

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

MARCH 16th - 31st

This referendum must stir the soul of white SA, says Bishop Peter Storey

# The real question: can we repent?

STAL 16/3/72

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**T**HE most important question that whites must answer tomorrow is not about sanctions or sporting ties, nor is it about Mr de Klerk's blueprints or Mr Mandela's intentions. It is not even about the bully boys or the AWR.

It is simply whether we have become more moral and more decent. Moving in the black community, that is the question I hear most often: "Will the whites be any different this time?"

Will we? Think about it.

The most consistent characteristic of white voting has been its sheer lack of morality. Each time we had an opportunity to end the cruellest form of racial domination and each time the majority of us strengthened it. We blessed the Group Areas Act and the uprooting of blacks. We voted for de-  
lection without trial. We closed

our eyes to torture. We supported militarisation to preserve these abominations.

And each time the deep question about what happens to the soul of a people when they are so consistently immoral was ignored.

Wrong became right: friends who warned us became our enemies; democracy was called communism; fascism became freedom; colour, not character, defined people. God was co-opted and became the mascot of a racist ideology. We reached 1984 long before George Orwell and we defended our rulers' lies with the fanaticism of true believers.

Now we are being given another chance — not just to make a judgment, but to do the right thing. It's really nothing less than a chance to save our collective soul.

We preachers often talk of the

necessity for repentance — a change of heart — if people are to be freed to leave the past and live into a new and better future. The fact remains that for the first time we have a State President who has done something moral about apartheid.

Blacks are not unappreciative, but they have yet to be convinced that these changes reflect any deep transformation in the hearts of whites as a whole. Potchefstroom simply confirmed for blacks that when the chips are down whites will still vote with their skins and with utter disregard for the disenfranchised majority.

I find it deeply distasteful to vote once more in a whites-only poll and I certainly reject the idea that we whites — who bear most of the guilt for its present ruinous state — should have any veto

power over the future of this country.

But there is a kind of poetic justice in this referendum: tomorrow whites will not so much be making a judgment as being under judgment. The world and our fellow South Africans will be watching to see if we are morally capable of being different — in fact, whether we have repented.

Certainly there are risks involved in moving forward into change, but they pale into insignificance compared with the greater risk of refusing to do so.

Behind all the political hype — the promises and the threats — this is what is most important of all: March 17 gives whites a chance to be different and to do the moral thing. It is a day when we could find our soul again. □

(Report by Bishop P Storey, Bishop of the South Western Transvaal District of the Methodist Church, 114 Risak Street, Johannesburg.)



# Now, reform gets her nod

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16/3/92

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A former Conservative Party organiser decides "yes" is the only way to vote. GUY JEPSON reports.

**F**ORMER Conservative Party organiser Mignon Jorge (Twiggy) Pay was outraged when CP supporters shouted down the DP speaker at a referendum debate in Virginia.

She was still fuming two hours later, back at her home in the CP-dominated mining town's Saaiplaas suburb.

Sharing a sofa with her English-speaking husband Zion (a self-styled conservative), Twiggy Pay (48) declared her intention not only to vote "yes" tomorrow, but also to join the Democratic Party.

"I am going for the 'yes' vote. There is no other way you can vote. No person with a right mind can vote 'no' — that way you can't solve the problem.

At the meeting — a reasonably well-behaved straight debate between the DP and the CP in the local community hall last Tuesday — Mrs Pay sat in the DP camp, which included eight black members/supporters, some of whom have been campaigning for a "yes" vote in the Free State gold fields.

Since the meeting she has twice been threatened.

Although he clearly disagreed with his wife's



Agreeing to differ . . . Twiggy and Zion Pay. Picture: Stephen Davimes

politics, Zion said Twiggy was entitled to her views, just as he was entitled to his.

"That's what democracy is all about — although I am not a complete democrat," he said, and laughed as his wife talked of the "Boereoorlog" that sometimes took place at home over matters political.

An "old South-Wester", Mrs Pay — who has five children, two still at school — worked as a committee member for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in SWA/Namibia.

She voted Nat when the family came to South Africa 11 years ago.

However, in 1988, after experiencing "problems" with black people in Saaiplaas, one of the suburbs affected by the

mines' non-racial residential policy, Mrs Pay worked for the CP in a municipal election.

She remained in the conservative camp — despite being deeply shocked at the sight of right-wing thugs assaulting a black woman.

"She was a big woman. They were hitting her. She was on the ground. Then a schoolboy came and kicked her — a schoolboy!"

Mrs Pay played a key organisational role in the CP's 1989 general election campaign for the election of Dr Hannes Meyer, a personal friend.

"In a way Hannes and I have always been Right, but not totally Right. I could never reconcile myself to that hatred, that enmity.

"It's like they're al-

ready in a war with people. I regard myself as a Christian and I cannot act like that.

"After the election (Dr Meyer lost the four-way contest to the NP's Piet Clase by 47 votes) I said 'I am finished'."

Rejecting the CP, Mrs Pay refuses to again be associated with the NP.

She nevertheless feels that because the DP's campaign for a "yes" vote in the region is being conducted separately from the NP's, she can exercise her political choice without being compromised.

"There are many CPs who feel the same way as I do — they want to vote yes, but they don't want to vote for FW," she said. □

(Report by G Jepson, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Dear Star reader,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Very sincerely,

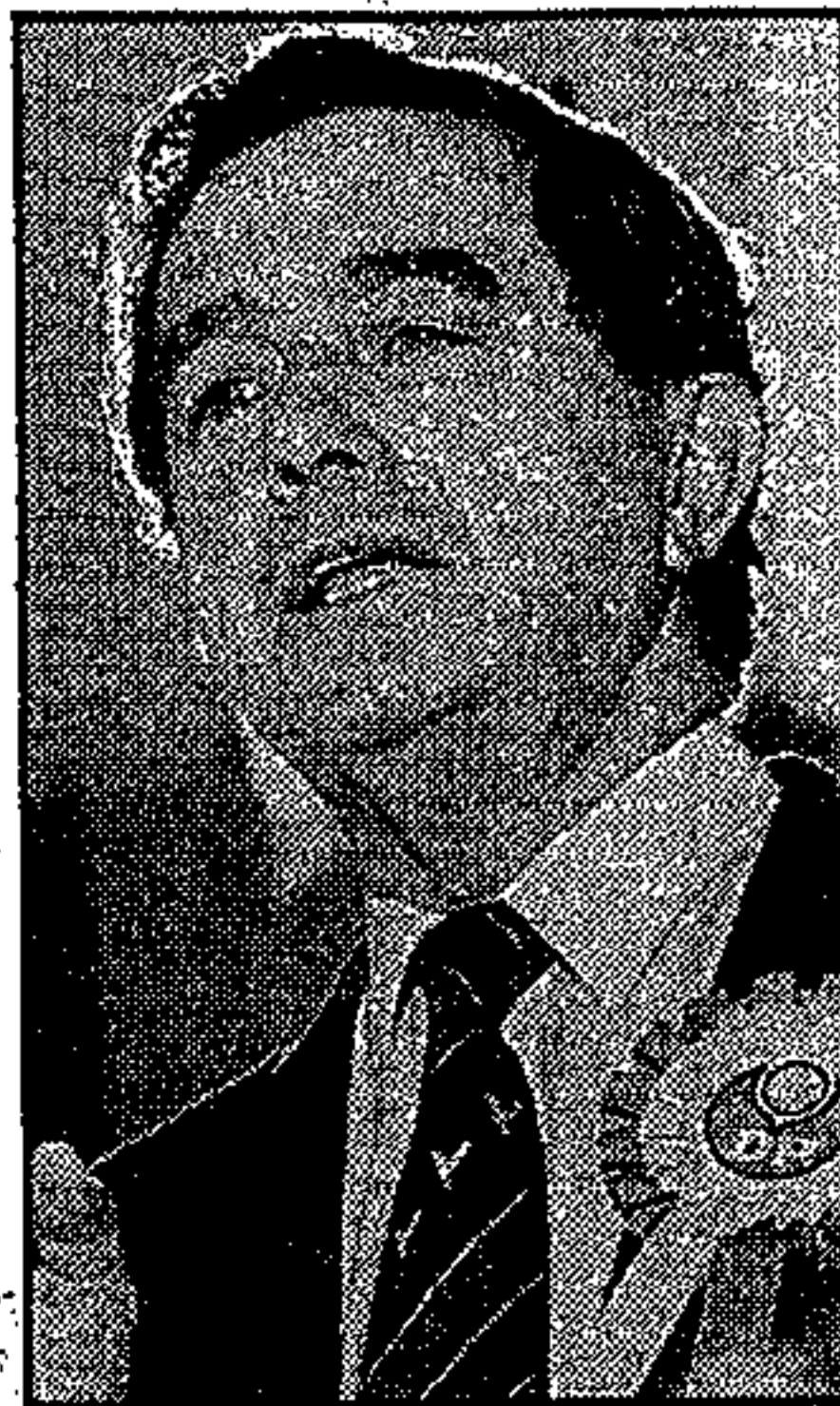
*Zach de Beer*  
Zach de Beer



**Democratic Party**

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STAR  
16/3/92



Dr Zach de Beer



# A last appeal... Yes

STAR 16/3/92

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The referendum campaign has been a unique experience for all South Africans. The Star's Political Editor, SHAUN JOHNSON, reviews the extraordinary political interlude whose climax is about to be reached, and introduces a final appeal to Star readers from three of the most prominent politicians in the campaign.

were wooed by a simultaneous softening of policy, such as the promise not to return to grand apartheid.

Concern was clearly discernible in the "yes" camp as the campaign entered its final week, and in some cases there

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

This led to a renewed assault from the "yes" campaign, and an attempt to shift the terrain

straightforward. As one "no" campaigner said at the time: "Those who would be impressed by Mr de Klerk's expensive roadshow are not likely to vote with us anyway. We're talking to our own people in our own style — which is their style."

Speakers opted for traditional constituency-type rallies, tirelessly pushing simple, visceral messages of fear and hatred. Methodically, the message was presented in town after town. It was made all the more effective by the fact that, with few exceptions, the right-wing campaign was clothed in its Sunday best — the widespread bully-boy tactics of Potchefstroom and elsewhere were absent. Wavering voters were not frightened off, indeed, they

This changed rapidly in the first week of the campaign. Suddenly, the signals began to filter through that, in spite of the razzmatazz and sheer scale of the "FW de Klerk roadshow", the newly forged right-wing alliance was making gains.

The right wing's "no" campaign was a shoestring operation compared to the nationwide presidential flyabout. It lacked the glitz and glamour — and, as a direct result, the saturation media coverage — of the "yes" operation, but it had the advantage of being earthy and

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

Today, only hours before the polls open, neither fear nor confidence clearly prevails: the mood in both camps is one of uncertainty.

Confidence brimmed in the "yes" camp in the aftermath of the announcement. The Conservative Party was in large part responsible for it — fumbling, stuttering and agonising as it did over the very issue of participation.

The confidence was compounded as the National Party

away from that dictated by the right wing. Thus, while Mr de Klerk and others still had to face barrages of questions about issues such as communism, they took the fight to their opponents. The linking of a "no" vote to fascism and Nazism was effective, as was the tactic of painting a doomsday picture of the future in isolation.

Chief Buthelezi provided a fillip, too, by distancing himself from Dr Treurnicht. Only near the end of the campaign was the CP really on the defensive.

Now, on the day before the poll, the truth is that neither camp knows in its heart what will be announced at white South Africa's high noon on Wednesday, in the curiously appropriate venue of the HF Ver-

woerd building in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town.

What they and the voters do know, however, is that President de Klerk's referendum will be recorded as a unique event in SA politics.

It is unique, most obviously, in that it marks white South Africa's final confrontation with its own soul — a people is being called upon to pronounce upon its own destiny and will not get the chance to change its mind. Whites, as whites, will never again hold the future thus in their hands, alone.

It has been a very different experience for most whites in another sense, though — because although they have long practised a form of truncated

democracy, its outcome has never been so uncertain. In the past there have been countless energetic exercises — in general and by-elections and even in other referendums — but this one is not about the size of the Nat majority. This one is about whether the NP and its allies can win at all.

Above, The Star prints letters it requested from three of the most prominent leaders in the campaign, addressed to you, the reader. From each, it is a last attempt to persuade those of you who have the vote, to vote one way or another, and those who do not have the vote to support one or other cause from the sidelines. Tomorrow, your minds will have to be made up once and for all. □

# Or No?



STAR 16/3/92

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The Star Monday March 16 1992

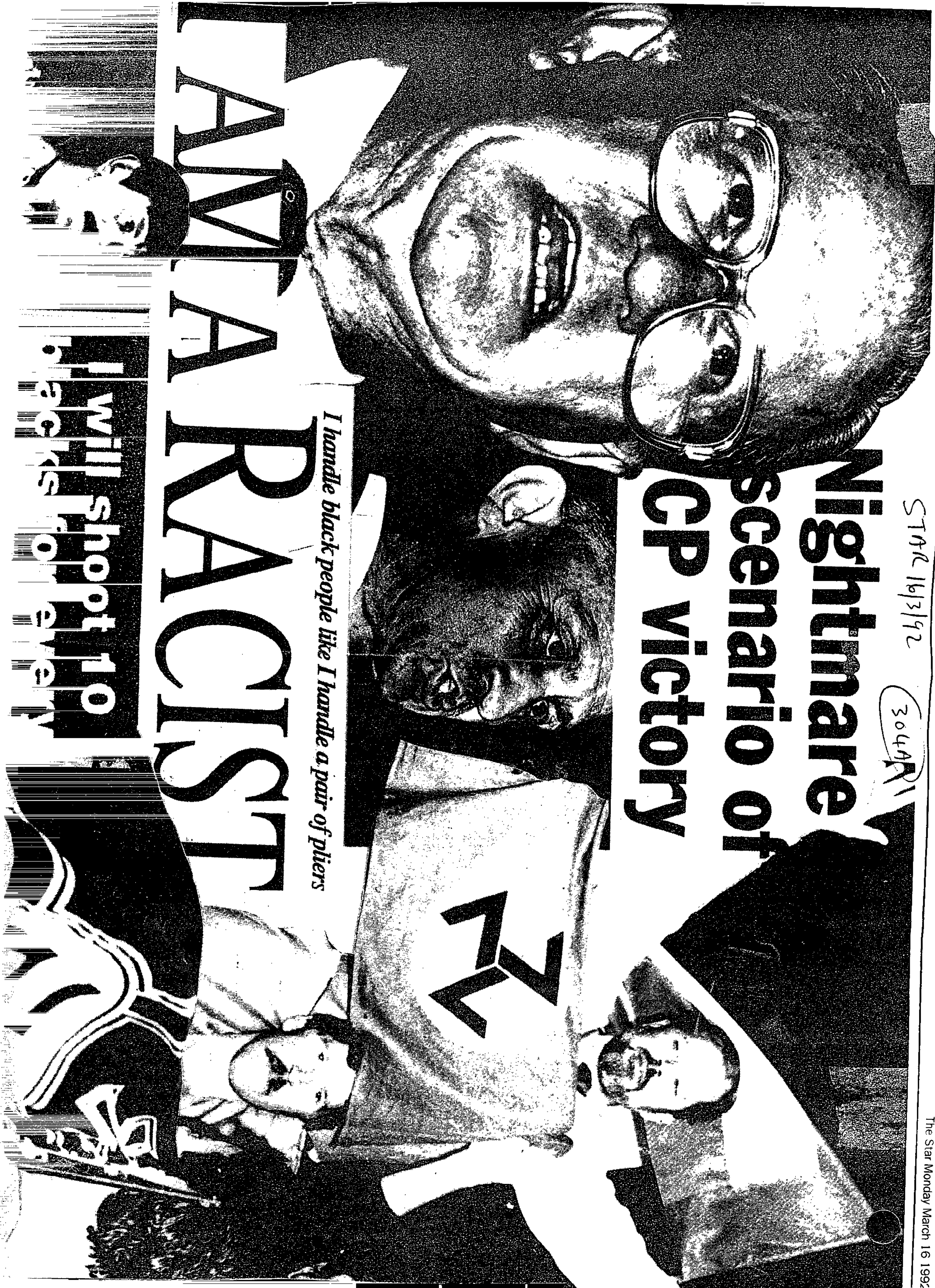
# Nightmare scenario of CP victory

*I handle black people like I handle a pair of pliers*

# AVARACTIST

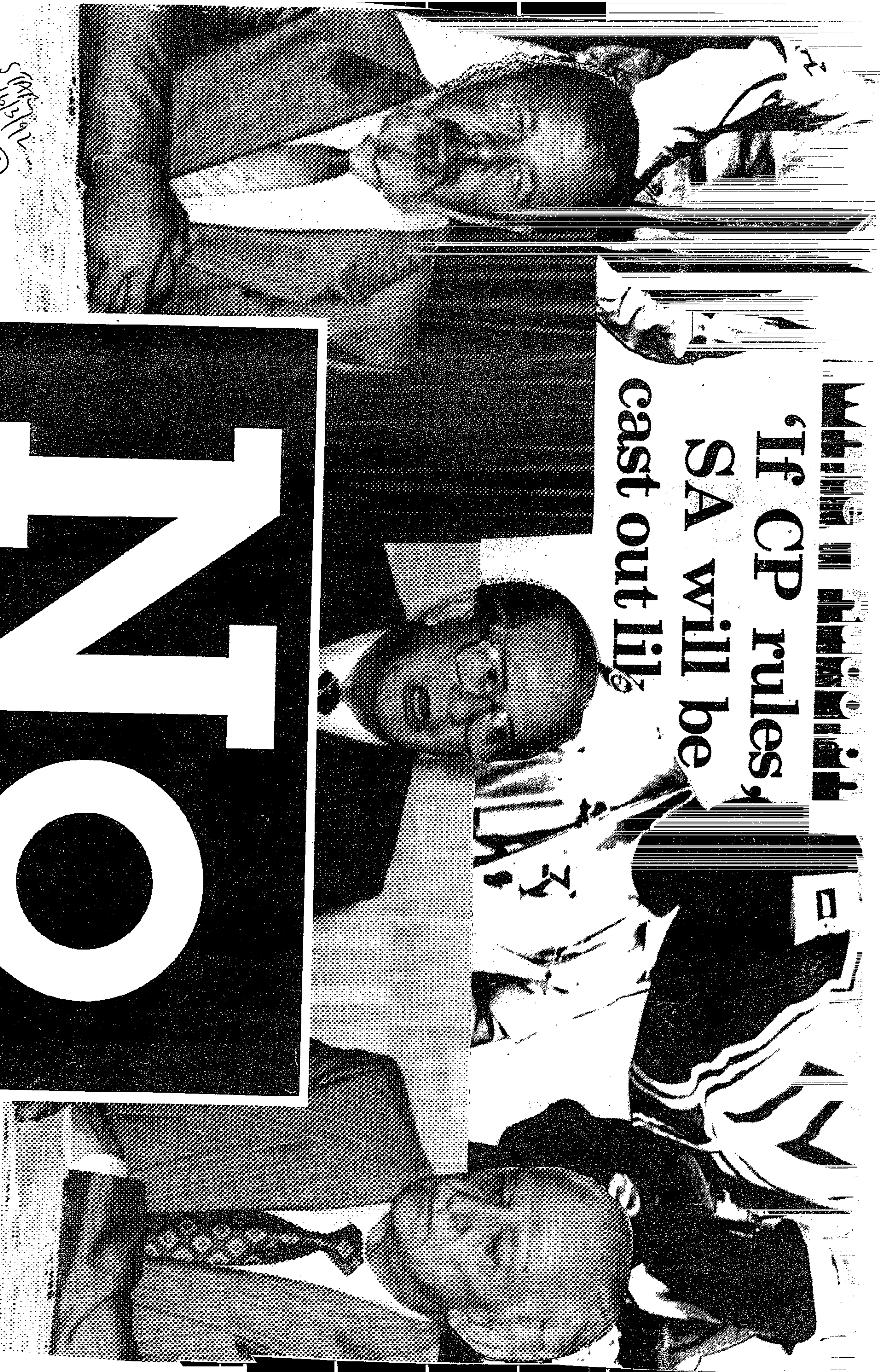
I will shoot 10

black men every





**When the Communists  
'If CP rules,  
SA will be  
cast out its**



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# Moment of truth for SA

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

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

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday he believed that, after a swing to the right wing last week, wavering voters were now responding to the messages of the "yes" campaign and "coming back". The Conservative Party-led "no" campaign was now in disarray because of its "refused policies", he said, and the publicity blitz presenting the AWB as a neo-Nazi organisation had been effective.

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

In his statement, Mr de Klerk said Wednesday's result could "make or break" South Africa. He said a "no" would be a "slap in the face" for more than 20 million other South Africans, "who also want to be and are part of South Africa, and are waiting anxiously for a 'yes'".

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

Wrapping up his campaign on Saturday night, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said "the time for unitary states is over". He said his party wanted whites to be able to decide their own lives and future while other peoples would have the same freedom to take decisions affecting their lives.

Meanwhile, fears have been expressed that there might be intimidation of voters at the polling booths. Democratic Party MP Tony Leon said he was concerned that certain rightist elements might attempt to intimidate or obstruct voters after alleged irregularities at special voting booths in Johannesburg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

South Africa next year.

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STAR 16/3/92

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**I**magine the shame  
of being expelled from  
The Family of Man.

Imagine the shame of belonging  
to a nation with a code of ethics  
which cannot-and will not-be  
tolerated by any fair-thinking  
man or woman on earth.

A ... .. CODE OF ETHICS  
based upon racism, oppression  
and injustice.

A code of ethics which is evil.

Evil will triumph on Tuesday

March 17 only if good men and  
women stand by and do nothing.

Imagine the shame  
of doing nothing.

**Vote YES**



## REFERENDUM '92

YES

## Mine chief says he was misquoted by the CP

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

A chamber statement yesterday said "Referendum 92" a CP pamphlet, quoted Main as saying "It is not sanctions which do us damage, but the threat of sanctions. We have the minerals the rest of the world wants. Why should we be sanctioned?"

Main said the words attributed to him were not altogether correct and had

been used in the wrong context. "Presented as they are, without placing them in the wider context in which they were uttered, the words appear to suggest that I, and by implication the mining industry, have scant regard for the damaging effects of sanctions. This is not true," Main said.

"The mining industry has been damaged by the international community's adoption of a trade embargo. Some 10 000 jobs were lost in the coal mining industry as a direct result of sanctions," (S. Thomas, 141 Commissioner St. Johannesburg)

## FW needs support and extra courage

FATHER and son Alwyn and Derrick Lubbe will vote "yes" in tomorrow's referendum, but for different reasons.

Alwyn, a civil servant, wants to strengthen the hand of President F.W. de Klerk in negotiations with black opposition groups.

His son, an architect, wants to defeat pro-apartheid rightwingers seeking a "no" in the white poll.

Alwyn (63) echoes the uncertainty that permeates the five million-strong white minority as it contemplates a future under black rule.

"We have to vote 'yes' to strengthen De Klerk's hand, even though I can't

say I know for sure what he will do with it," he said.

Derrick and wife Betsy, both 32, are members of the African National Congress.

The young couple said they preferred to support De Klerk as the lesser of two evils, rather than the Conservative Party of Dr. Andries Treurnicht.

"A 'no' vote would bring the CP to power and there would be a civil war soon afterwards," Derrick said.

"I have lived all my life with feelings of insecurity, always wondering how long white domination would last, and how it would end.

"It is with a sense of relief that we now have a referendum where I can fi-



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nally bury my fears. It would be a tragedy if whites lacked the courage to go forward."

A "no" majority would result in De Klerk stepping down and calling a general election which Derrick, his father and their families, and many other whites, fear Treurnicht would probably win.

"Unless we give De Klerk a chance, the door

that has been opened will be closed for good and another door to hell will be opened," Alwyn said.

"The only way for South Africa to get anywhere is through negotiations. To stop them now would be to step back goodness knows how many years."

Asked Derrick: "What about the millions of blacks who have tasted a little bit of freedom since their parties were unbanned?"

"What the Government is doing is a good thing," Alwyn said. "But there is a lot of accompanying uncertainty. Like many Afrikaners, I have this fear that I am going to lose my Afrikaans language, culture and history." - *Sapa-Reuters*



# Blacks watching keenly, fearfully

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AR 16/3/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Probably for the first time in South African voting history, the results of an all-white poll are being as eagerly — and tensely — awaited in black communities as they are among the voting minority.

With polling day imminent and the result a mere 48 hours away, there is a clear perception among black people excluded from the voting that a No majority would be an unthinkable disaster.

While political organisations like the ANC initially regarded the outcome of the white poll as a foregone conclusion, the apparent effectiveness of the rightwing campaign has shaken this assurance.

For many, the words "future" and Yes have become synonymous. "Our future depends on a Yes vote," one person said.

There are those in the black communities who look no further than the probable reintroduction of the pass laws as the likely result of a Conservative Party victory. This alone would be grounds for defiance and conflict, they claim. "I'll never never carry that dompas again — they can do what they like," said one. He was clearly reflecting a mood that has now taken hold strongly.

There are others, at last enjoying the fruits of past battles waged against apartheid — for example those living in Johannesburg's city centre and suburbs — who are also watching the "white fight" keenly and nervously.

"A No vote means I could lose my house," remarked a woman who has battled for months since the abolition of the Group Areas Act to get her property transferred from a nominee into her name.

Civic associations are concerned that hard-fought gains would be reversed in the fields of housing and local government negotiations, in the event of a No vote and the collapse of national constitutional talks.

Sandy Lebesse, publicity secretary for the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, had no hesitation in saying that those with the privilege to vote should exercise a Yes vote.

The support for the Yes vote is also a measure of the degree to which people in the townships have begun to pin their hopes on the Codesa negotiation process. It is not clear how well Codesa is understood or how critically it is evaluated, but undoubtedly it has become a fixture — a hopeful fixture — on the political landscape.

Many equate a Yes vote with a vote for Codesa.

In past racial elections, whites (and later Indian and Coloured people) who chose to boycott the polls were regarded as politically "correct" in the townships, from the vantage point of the liberation struggle.

This is no longer uniformly true. Heated "to vote or not to vote" debates have been taking place in left circles — with disenfranchised black activists hotly advising white proponents of the boycott that they are playing with the future of the voteless majority.

(News by J. Collinge, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



# Codesa parties should have tested support

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**TOMORROW'S** exclusively white referendum has captured the imagination of South Africans and that of international observers. It has drawn cautious to angry responses from the rightwing and an ambivalent reaction from the ANC.

Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed misgivings about the question formulated, as well as the short notice accorded to the rightwing for campaigning.

The ANC was concerned about the symbolic and practical consequences of an ethnic referendum. In its view, such a referendum was tantamount to a white veto. What, precisely, is at issue here?

The referendum raises an important question regarding Codesa: Who is talking to whom, and on whose behalf?

An essential requirement for meaningful negotiation is, among others, that the parties to this process should represent a clearly identifiable and tested constituency. The reality is that, to date, the current process of reform has been based on estimated or imagined support for the various participants.

Originally, bilateral talks were confined to the ANC and the National Party. Now Codesa includes a host of parties, a large number of which have dubious origins and minimal, if any, support.

The importance of tested support in a negotiation process cannot be over-emphasised. It should be recalled that the Nationalists' victory in the last election was not on the basis of a "reform" campaign. On the contrary, Mr PW Botha warned that a Democratic Party victory would unban "terrorists" and "communists".

Consequently, February 1990 and the aftermath should not be construed as indicative of white

**VINCENT MAPHAI**, associate professor of political science at the University of the Western Cape, looks at tomorrow's referendum and calls for a similar election to determine participation in Codesa.

aspirations. It was against this background that the rightwing advanced a moral argument, that the Government was undemocratic in embarking upon reform without a mandate.

Needless to say, this is a shallow claim. The rightwing hardly understands what democracy entails. If the Conservative Party and its allies were earnest about democracy, then they should have taken into consideration the views of the disenfranchised majority. Instead, they are concerned with weakening a system which already excludes the majority.

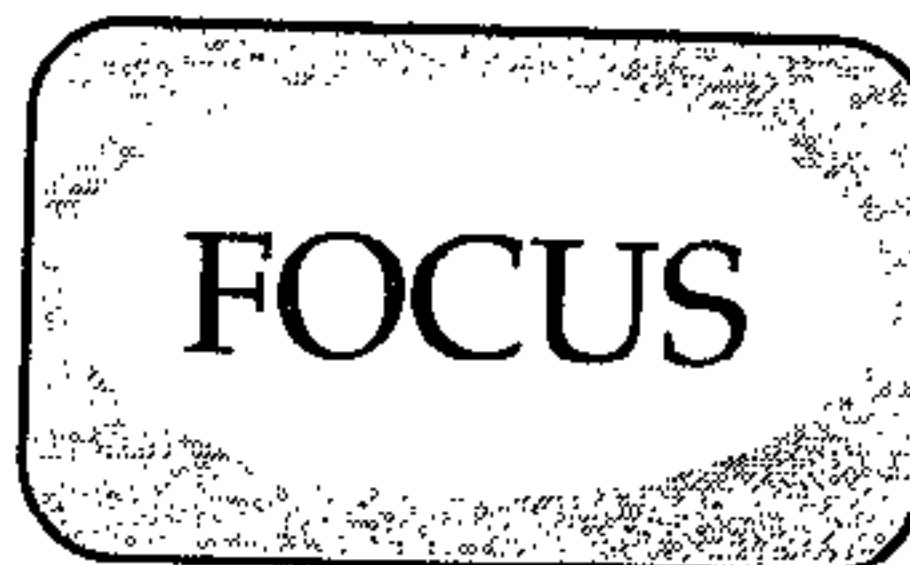
Nevertheless, successful negotiations require a democratic mandate. This remains the case, even if the rightwing moral claims are dismissed, as I have done. There are moral, as well as strategic imperatives here.

Negotiation involves compromises, some of which may prove costly to the players involved. It follows, then, that such risks should be underpinned by an understanding that the other party is in a position to deliver its side of the deal. It would be foolish for a party to make compromises, and alienate part of its support, only to discover that the other side is a toothless tiger.

From the ANC's position, State President Mr FW de Klerk has to provide evidence of electoral support. The converse is also true.

The worst case scenario for De Klerk is to enter into pacts with the ANC, only to discover that the latter is unable to confer the much-needed legitimacy on the process.

Consequently, what is wrong



with this process, is not that a referendum is taking place, but that it is confined to one racial group.

If whites are entitled to be represented democratically, the same principle should apply to the oppressed. What is worse is that immigrants to South Africa are placed in a position to influence major development in this country.

Behind this selective referendum, lies an arrogant and patronising attitude on the part of the Nationalists, that black representation need not be decided democratically. The legacy of bantustan chiefs, town councillors and tricameral functionaries - all of whom abound in Codesa - is illustrative of the disregard for a democratic process.

It is essential to establish the size, if any, of the support for other participants in Codesa. On the surface, Codesa seems to include parties with negligible, if any, support, and to exclude those with the potential to derail its deliberations.

However obnoxious the concept of a racial referendum may sound, it has demonstrated important lessons regarding the Codesa option.

Firstly, a key actor within Codesa, the National Party, may have over-estimated its support. This is not unusual for a party in power for too long. It could easily

lose touch with the rank and file, as the closing years of the Thatcher rule have demonstrated.

Secondly, the reform process is evidently not entirely irreversible. This lesson is particularly important for the international community. The ANC's critics, notably the PAC and Azapo, can only derive cynical pleasure from this development. They feel vindicated after their frequent warnings regarding a possible white backlash.

Thirdly, all the 19 Codesa participants collectively failed to stem the rightwing tide which forced the referendum.

The worst case scenario for Codesa is for the "left" opposition to launch similar campaigns. Already, pockets within Azapo and the PAC have reiterated demands for an elected constituent assembly. Such a test, they argue, is essential to test the ANC's support and its mandate to negotiate.

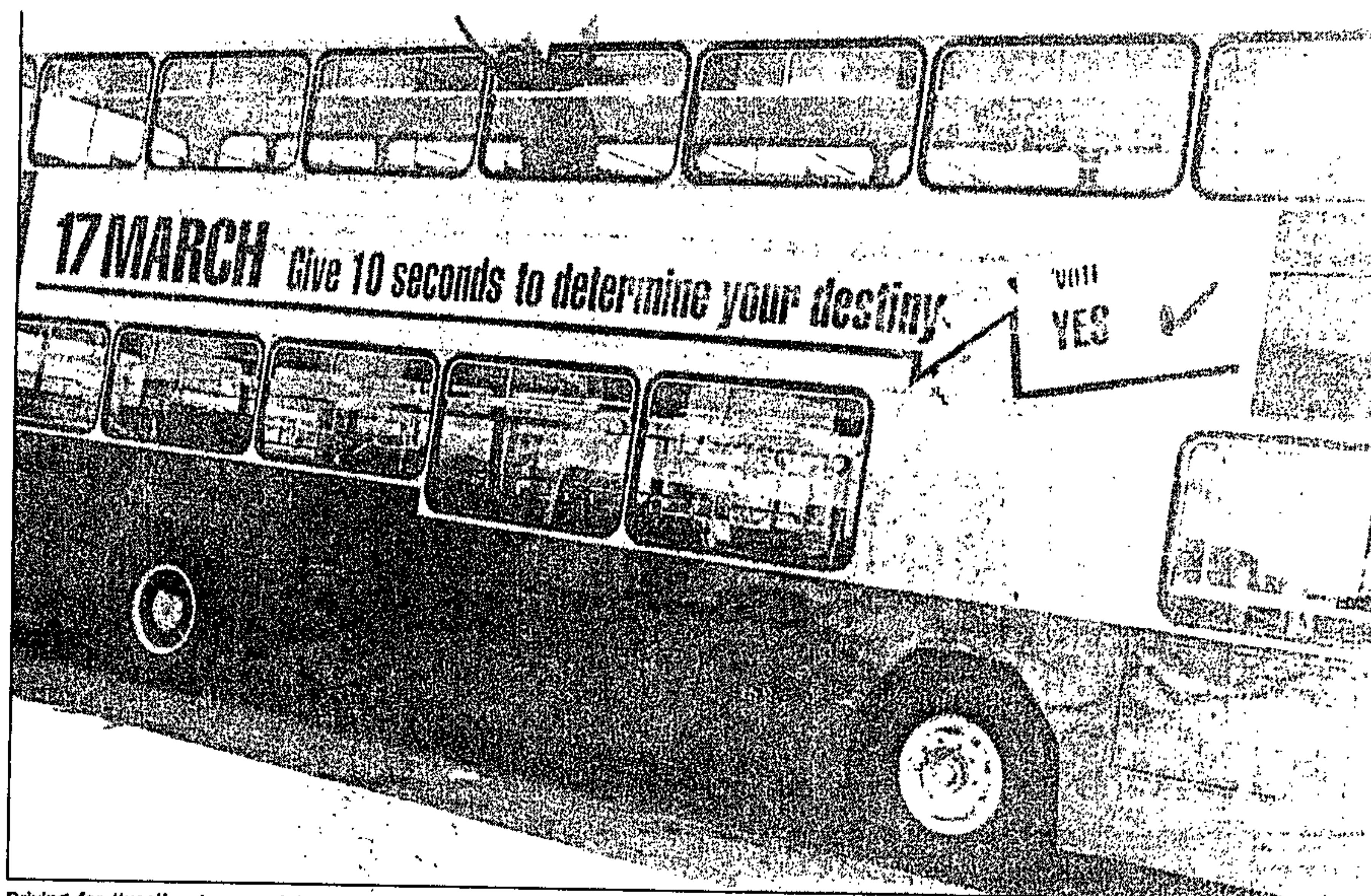
What are the implications for a rightwing victory? However unlikely it is considered, such a victory will undoubtedly plunge the country into a major political crisis.

Furthermore, the ANC in particular, will end up with egg on its face. Its credibility could be undermined, as its ability to read political developments with a measure of reliability is questioned.

In short, the organisation will have invested the bulk of its political capital into a worthless venture. Ironically, it is this possibility of losing face, that could transform into a strength for the ANC. Humiliated people often unleash a vindictive blow.

A rightwing victory could have the effect of immeasurably strengthening the ANC to return to the militant rhetoric and strategies of the mid-eighties. In effect, it will recapture the militant high ground which it has conceded to the PAC since February 1990.





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

Picture: George Mashinini

## CP sanctions propaganda blasted

Chamber of Mines chief executive Tom Main yesterday denounced Conservative Party efforts to use his views on sanctions to persuade South Africans to vote "no" in the referendum. **STAR 16/3/92**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Main said developments in the former Soviet Union could now facilitate the availability of strategic minerals which in the past — in spite of sanctions — the Western democracies had relied on South Africa to provide. **(304A)**

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

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



# Scare tactics condemned

Political Staff

STAR 16/3/92

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

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

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

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

Mr Chikane said the SACC believed there were indications

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

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

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

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



16/3/92

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## Where the polling booths are

Polling stations will be open tomorrow from 7 am to 9 pm.

### BEZUIDENHOUT

Cyrildene Primary School  
Kensington High School  
Bertrams Jnr School  
Jeppe Boys' High  
Hofland Park Recreation Centre

### HILLBROW

Johannesburg Girls' Prep School

### HOUGHTON

Houghton Primary School  
H A Jack School  
Dirkie Uys Primary School  
Norwood Primary School  
Lyndhurst School

### JEPPE

Johannesburg City Hall  
Malvern Primary School  
Rewlatch Primary School  
John Mitchell Primary School

### PARK TOWN

Roseneath Primary School  
Greenside Primary School  
Temple Emanuel

Parkview Junior School

### ROSETTENVILLE

Pioneer Community Hall  
Suidrand Primary School  
Highveld Primary School  
Rosettenville Central Primary School  
President Kruger Home Hall

### TURFFONTEIN

Fakkel High School  
Glenanda Primary School  
Balmondeor Primary School  
Turffontein Primary School  
Danie Theron Primary School

### WESTDENE

President F D Roosevelt Primary School  
Louw Geldenhuys Primary School  
DR Church Hall 3rd St Greyfont  
Gen Christiaan de Wet Primary School  
Triomf Primary School

### YEOVILLE

Patterson Park Recreation Centre

Jabula Recreation Centre  
Athlone Girls High  
Yeoville Recreation Centre and Park

### JOHANNESBURG NORTH

Parkhurst Primary School  
Rosebank Primary School  
Fairway Primary School  
Craighall Primary School  
Blairgowrie Primary School

### JOHANNESBURG WEST

President Hall, NGK Church, Melville  
Rand Afrikaans University, O-Laboratory  
Brixton Primary School  
Main Foyer, Council Hall  
Wing, Civic Centre, Braamfontein.

### LANGLAAGTE

Jim Fouche Primary School, Crosby.  
'Kierieklapper', Bride Avenue, Mayfair-West.  
Theo Wassenaar Primary School, Roberttsham.

### MARAISBURG

Newlands Primary School

### NORTH RAND

Afrikaans Primary School, Halfway House  
NG Church Hall, Ferndale  
Rooihuiskraal Historical Terrain, Rooihuiskraal  
English Primary School, Randpark Ridge  
Afrikaans Primary School, Birch Acres  
The New Broederstroom, Broederstroom  
Afrikaans Primary School, Olifantsfontein  
English High School, Fourways

### SANDTON AND RANDBURG

Rembrandt Park Primary School  
Rivonia Primary School  
Sandown Hall  
Wendywood Primary School  
I R, Griffiths Primary School, Blairgowrie  
Bryanston High School  
Bryanston Primary School  
Randburg Primary School  
Fontainebleau Primary School, Randburg  
Risidale Primary School  
Northcliff Primary School



# 'No' feeling isn't

## General - ex-officers

STAFF 16/3/92 (304A)

The battle of the generals is on.

It started with a statement in support of a "no" vote by a group of former army and police generals — and then came a counter statement by another group of retired generals and vice-admirals.

Yesterday eight former army and police generals said they would vote against political reform in tomorrow's referendum, citing the threat of a communist takeover if democracy talks continued.

Several retired generals and vice-admirals then came out in support of a "yes" vote.

A spokesman for the officers in favour of the

"yes" said that although they did not wish to become involved in debate, they did not want the public to get the impression the generals from the "no" camp offered the only view.

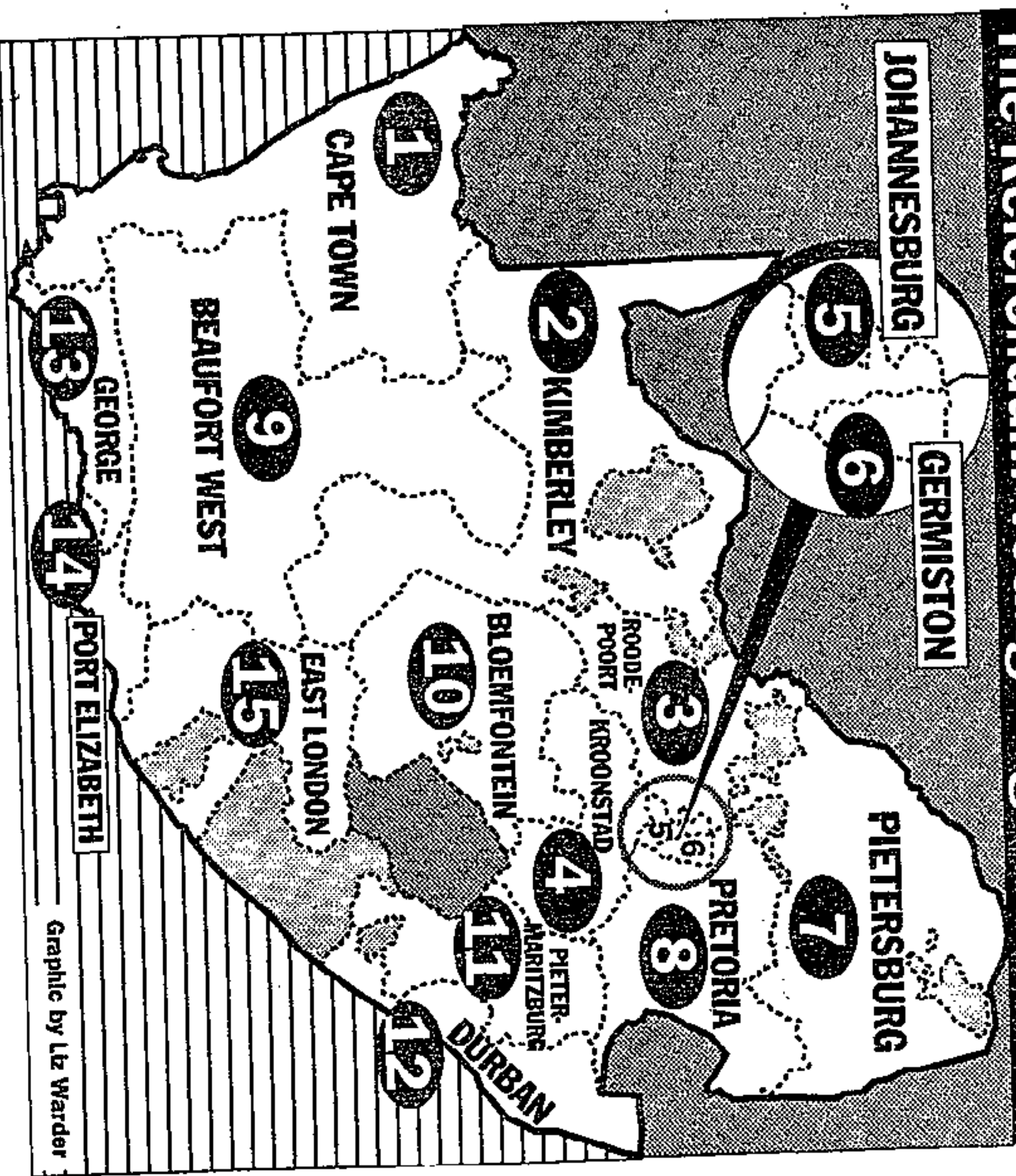
Those in favour of a "yes" vote include General H G de Wit and Lieutenant-Generals E I R Gleeson, A M Muller, J R Dutton, A van Deventer, K Pickersgill, and J van Loggerenberg.

Vice-Admirals A P Putter, G Sidercombe and R Edwards and Major-Generals E A C Pienaar and D R Marais are also in favour of a "yes".

(Report by M A Farquharson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Divided for just a day... these are the 15 regions into which South Africa has been divided for polling purposes in tomorrow's referendum. It is expected that the results in individual regions will be announced as they become available on Wednesday, before the announcement of the final tally.

## The Referendum Voting Regions



Graphic by Liz Warder

## De Klerk clarifies presidency issue

STAFF 16/3/92 (304A)

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

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

- That the constitution should provide for power-sharing.
- That a presidency should be established in which the office of president would be rotated.
- That such a presidency should reach decisions on the basis of consensus.

- That no person within the presidency should hold as much power as he did at present.

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



# BRIEFING

Dear reader of The Star,

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

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

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

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

With best wishes,

*F W de Klerk*

F W de Klerk



The State President



President F W de Klerk

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

F W de Klerk

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

Andries Treurnicht



# Irish turn friendly 304A

By Anthony Garvey  
Star Foreign Service

STAR  
16/3/92

DUBLIN — Ireland's Anti-Apartheid Movement is to re-style itself as an Irish-South African friendship society once an interracial government is in place.

The movement's president, the Rev. Terence McCaughey, said: "When it happens, we will regard our job as a movement for democracy in South Africa as at an end."

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, a former chairman of the movement, said it could happen soon.

"The institutions are gone. I

never expected I would live to see it, I must say. The homelands are the last and they're going," he said.

Dr. Cruise O'Brien added: "The country is heading toward an interracial coalition government if the referendum works, which I think it will."

Dr. Cruise O'Brien recently split from AAM, ostensibly because he considered it representative only of the ANC viewpoint.

But now he has admitted that he began to have serious reservations in the mid-'80s, when the AAM accepted the affiliation of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA.



Dear Star reader,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,

*A. J. Treurnicht*

Dr A P Treurnicht

**KP**  
**Conservative Party**

304A

STAR  
16/3/92



Dr Andries Treurnicht



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

STAR 16/3/92

304A

# CP misreads the signals

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

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

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

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

or another since blacks were excluded from Parliament in 1910.

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

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

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

The NP and its DP referendum

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Chief Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CP's vision of a racially and/or ethni-

ly based confederation of South African states. He labels the policy "unthinkable".

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

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

(Report P Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Jhb)



# Scare tactics condemned

Political Staff

STAR 16/3/92

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

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

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

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he argued.

"Movement toward a non-racial democratic South Africa is movement toward — not away from — where God wants us. A just God calls us to move towards justice and peace."

Mr Chikane said the SACC believed there were indications

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

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

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

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



## REFERENDUM

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau

# Spends R5 600 to cast his vote

STAR

16/3/92

3044

WASHINGTON — He does not want his name published ("my father's in the CP"), but we'll call him Bill. He is a white South African and he travelled about 5 000 km, by helicopter, light plane, scheduled airliner and taxi, over the frozen tundra, south over the Arctic circle, down the Pacific coast to Los Angeles to cast his vote for President de Klerk in the referendum.

Then Bill, who is on contract with a company involved in oil exploration in the vast frozen

north of Alaska, in an area known as the National Petroleum Reserve, had a fast food hamburger in the balmy spring weather of California and flew all the way back again. "I feel really good about it," he said by telephone from the airport at Anchorage. "I decided to do this the moment I heard I could vote."

South Africans temporarily in the United States and Canada were able to vote at South African missions in North America

provided they could produce their Book of Life, the only document which the Department of Home Affairs is prepared to accept for identification purposes.

Like most of the other 25 000 eligible voters in the US, Bill did not have his Book of Life with him. A phone call and bank draft to his mother in the Transvaal ensured that the document could be delivered to him by air courier, care of friends in Los Angeles — and it

arrived just in time to let Bill dash to the South African consulate in Beverly Hills, make his cross, and speed off to the airport. The total cost of his vote: "I suppose about \$2 000 (R5 600). But it was worth it."

The story of Bill's journey was one of many. All over North America, South Africans travelled long distances, through a major storm system in the case of those in the Eastern US, to cast their votes.

Some, who had not heard, or did not believe, they needed a Book of Life in order to vote, made the journey in vain.

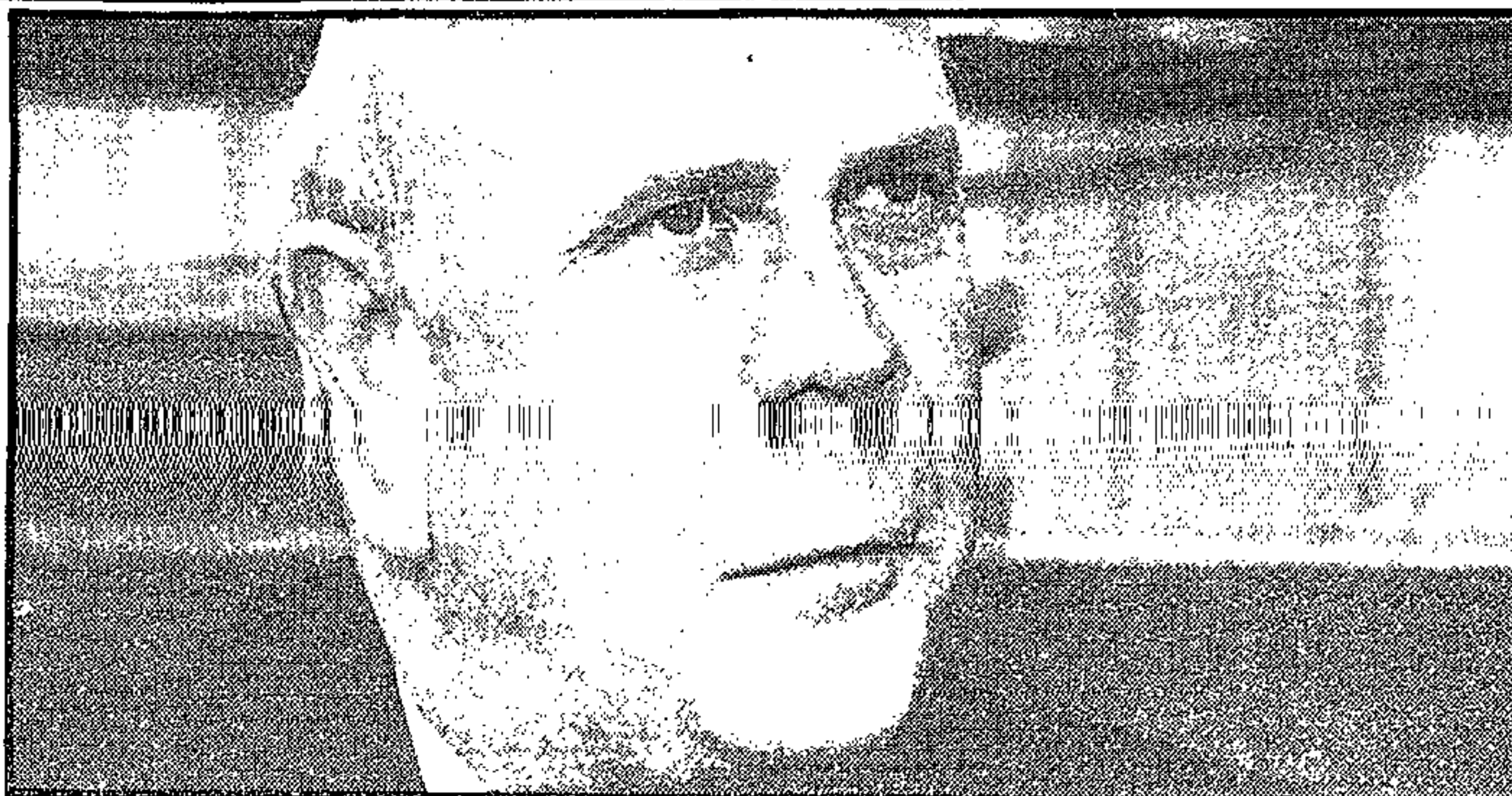
"My family is very divided on the issue. My Dad's totally CP, and serves on some local committee. I don't want to embarrass him. My Mom goes along with what my Dad says, although she likes Mr de Klerk. But we kids are all 100 percent behind the changes," Bill said. "It's our future and our country and I want to be able to tell my kids some day that I had a say in the change."

(Report by H.S. Robertson, 3426 Reserveir Road NW, Washington, DC)



# your choice

16/3/94  
Argus  
B54A



## PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk said today that he was asking for a "Yes" for justice and a "Yes" for a better South Africa in tomorrow's referendum.

In a special pre-referendum message he said tomorrow was a day of decision.

"For the white voters of South Africa it means that they must take the most critical decision in the modern history of our country. It is a decision that could make or break South Africa. No-one will escape from its consequences. Therefore no-one can afford to sit uninvolved on the sideline.

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

"The future of everyone who votes is at stake — more so the future of their children is in their hands on March 17.

"We who will vote on March 17 must, however, also know that we not only hold the future in our hand. There are more than 20 million other South Africans who are also, and who want to be, part of South Africa and who are anxiously waiting for a "Yes". For them a "No" vote will mean rejection — a slap in the face.

"There are also others who have an interest in the result of March 17 — and South Africa needs them. There are many intending investors who are

waiting for a "Yes". If it is "No" they will not invest. Those who have already invested will withdraw. There are friendly governments worldwide who base their friendship on the trust that reform will work. A "No" will end that friendship.

"For every white South African the moment of truth is here. A "No" vote cannot achieve justice. White security cannot be built on injustice, racism, discrimination and unworkable segregation dreams, only on the truth and reality which tell us all:

"Your hope, your prosperity, your safety, your security are locked up in your ability to reach with all who are irrevocably part of South Africa an agreement, to come to an accord, to reach an understanding about a new constitution.

"This can only be achieved through reform and negotiation. This can only succeed if we say "Yes" for a just solution that can work.

"I ask no-one to say "Yes" to surrender, suicide or a "winner-takes-all" constitution. I am asking for a "Yes" for survival. I am asking a "Yes" for power sharing and not for domination. I am asking for a "Yes" for the maintenance of values and standards, for long-term stability, for honourable cooperation, for conciliation and peaceful coexistence, and for true democracy."

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



now

(30417)  
ARG 16/3/92



## DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT

**D**R A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, today called on voters in the referendum to say "No" in order to keep open their options for the future.

In a pre-referendum message he said that the white voters were "truly at the crossroads". Only they themselves could decide how tomorrow's vote would affect their future.

A government's track record should indicate where it was going. There was no doubt that the government had persistently deceived the electorate during the 1984 referendum campaign, through two subsequent elections and by way of many assurances, promises and guarantees over the years.

"There is no reason why you should trust them again. To give a blank cheque to someone who has deceived you is doubly foolish.

"Rhodesia said "Yes". Their pre-1979

referendum campaign was a carbon copy of the National Party's present crusade: say "Yes" and sanctions will disappear, investment will pour in, there will be peace and a secure future. Guarantees, minority rights and solemn pledged were bandied about to coerce whites into surrendering their country, which they did. They were even told that a "Yes" vote would prevent a Marxist regime.

"We must judge the future which a

"Yes" vote has given us. There are few voters in South Africa today who have not been adversely affected by "reform". Even the International Monetary Fund has said that foreign investment is likely to be lower than it was under apartheid and sanctions.

"The simple truth is that nobody invests in a Marxist third-world country and that is what we will become with a "Yes" vote. Only a strong government can ensure the stability necessary to attract investment to our country.

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

"I urge the white nation to vote "No" — and to opt for a second chance to vote. An election will give you the opportunity to examine each political party's policy in detail, with time on your side.

"A rushed "Yes" vote is a blank cheque for a government you know you can't trust. Do not waste your last chance. There is no going back from ANC rule."

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



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

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

## Dr No misreads Buthelezi script

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## WHAT SOME MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE REFERENDUM

**The National Party is playing its favourite game, consulting the minority on matters that affect the majority. The NP talks of "democracy" and "non-racialism", yet offers the "kragdadiges" the right to veto the significant advances made by CODESA - a gamble that could lead to untold damage and strife.**

**De Klerk is asking the oppressed to "klim op die wa" of the NP.**

**How can he offer membership of a "non-racial" National Party to the people of Mitchells Plain on one day and, the very next day call a whites only referendum.**

**This is the same white constituency that has already brought South Africa to the brink of ruin.**

**It was the National Party who, for forty years, imposed the "baas and boy" culture which still prevails to this day. And it was the National Party which banned, jailed, exiled, terrorised and murdered the opponents of this**

ABDULLAH Rashida  
ABERCROMBIE A  
ADAM Y  
ADAMS Dawn  
ADEN SERVICE STATION  
ANGELUS Desi  
ASMAL Professor Kader  
BADSHA Nasima and Omar  
BASKIN Mrs Thelma  
BASKIN Dr Mick  
BERGER Guy  
BHAM TAYOB and KHAN  
BICKFORD-SMITH Vivian  
BOESAK Dr Allan  
BOOTH Michelle  
BOSCH Dawie  
BREY and ASSOCIATES  
BRINK Andre  
BUNTING Brian and Sonia  
BURGESS Anneliese  
BUSY CORNER BUTCHERIES  
BUTHELEZI Sitsa  
CAPE TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL  
ASSOCIATION  
CLARKE Johnathan  
COETZEE Professor Ample  
COMMLIFE INSURANCE BROKERS  
COOPER David  
CORNELL Debra  
CORNELL Jude  
CRAGG Dr Carol  
CRAWFORD-BROWNE Terry  
DE KELLER D G  
DE TOLLY Cllr Jenny  
DE VRIES Dianne  
DE SOUZA Timmie  
DIBA Vincent  
DIETRICH Ms Jane  
DINGSLEY Charles  
DISPENSING FAMILY  
PRACTITIONERS ASSOC.  
DONALD Kirsty  
EBERHARD Anton  
EBERHARD Rolfe  
EBRAHIM Zora  
ESAU Cecyl  
FESTER Lucille  
FIELD Roger  
FIG Dave  
GEORGE Waleed  
GIHWALA Dr R  
GORDON Roy  
GOTTSCHALK Keith  
HALL Ruth  
HANGANA Nonatyala  
HANSROD Riaz  
HOFMEYR Beatie  
HOFMEYR Willie  
INDEPENDENT BUSINESS FORUM  
ISMAIL Mr E  
JACOBS Whitey  
JAFFER Dr Z  
JAFFER Naseegh  
JAFFER Adam  
JAFFER Rachmat  
JONAS Bongani  
JOSHUA Huxley  
JURGENS Donovan  
KALLOWAY Dr Peter  
KEEGAN Margy and Tim  
KENYON Chris  
KNAAP Magriet  
KGABOESELE P  
KOKO Moses  
LAZARUS Ray  
LEVY Moira  
LEWIS Steve  
LIDDLE Leslie  
LUTER Marcelle and June  
MAARTMAN Blanche and Ben  
MAGWAZA Zodwa  
MANGWANA Ms Thobeka  
MATCO SUPERMARKET  
(Elsies River)  
McCONNEY Vera  
McDOUGALL K  
MHLAULI Veliswa  
MICHAELS Norman  
MOHAMED Dr A E  
MOHAMED Dr M  
MOLATA Tebele  
MOOSA Dr N A  
MOOSA Essa  
MTEBELE  
MTEBELE



**De Klerk has offered no confession of guilt. The notorious hit squads have still not been disbanded.**

**The impression this referendum gives is that it is De Klerk alone who has brought South Africa from despair to hope. But it was the struggle for liberation, supported by international solidarity, that won from De Klerk the changes for which he and his party now claim credit.**

**While democrats need to express a preference for a "yes" outcome, this is not a mandate for De Klerk. We see it as the only way of preventing a return to the days of Verwoerdian apartheid.**

**The only morally just and practical solution for South Africa lies in a free and equal election for Constituent Assembly charged with the duty of preparing a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic constitution for our country.**

NCUBE Patrick  
NEDERLANDER Eddi  
NGCULU Masiza  
ODENDAL Andre  
OMAR Dr M  
OOSTHUYSEN Erika  
PANDOR Nadir  
PANDOR Sharif  
PHINYANE Nomawonga  
RASOOL Nazeema  
REYNOLDS Mrs Mary  
REYNOLDS Dr Louis  
RHODA Tony  
ROBERTSON F J  
ROBINS Stephen  
SAAYMAN Ms L  
SACHS Alby  
SCREEN David  
SEMAAR Achmat  
SEPTEMBER Hettie & Reg  
SHAPIRO Alan  
SHAPIRO David  
SHAPIRO Gaby  
SHAPIRO Ms Julia  
SHAPIRO Jonathan  
SHAPIRO Rosmary  
SIMMERS Willie  
SIMMERS Veronica  
SMITH Calvin  
STEENKAMP Mr F  
STEYN Lala  
STRANDFONTEIN TOYOTA  
SWARTZ Yasmina  
SWARTZ Fatima  
TATHAM George  
THORNTON Amy  
TSHABALALA Mvuyi  
TUROK Karina  
VAN DER MERWE Andrew  
VAN DER RHEEDE Neville  
VAN HOREN Michelle and Clive  
VAN DEN HEEVER Cllr Annamla  
VINCENT Diba  
VLOTMAN Sandra  
WAGLEY Basheer  
WAPNICK Ms Dana  
WAPNICK Ms Ros  
WHITE Dr Neil  
WHITE Hyllton  
WILDSCHUT Adele  
WILKINSON Alwyn  
XABA Mbuso  
YELD Nan  
YENGONI Tony  
ZWEIGENTHAL Dr Virginia

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ANC100



## How NP sacrificed PW Botha for a win

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

304A

THE National Party sacrificed former President PW Botha to ensure victory in the 1989 general election.

This emerged from the minutes - published in a newspaper report yesterday - of a Cabinet meeting on August 14, 1989, weeks before the general election.

All 15 Cabinet Ministers who attended that meeting expressed the fear that the NP could lose the election if Botha remained in office.

According to the minutes, not even Botha's security council comrades, the then Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok stood by him.

Leading the charge was the man who would be king, the then Minister of National Education, Mr Frederik Wilhelm de Klerk.

Sowetan 16/3/92



# NOW IS THE HOUR

(304#)  
R4-16/3/92

City votes vital tomorrow as parties scramble for support in make-or-break poll

**TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff**

CITY votes will be a critical factor tomorrow when more than 3.2 million voters go to the polls in a crucial ballot to decide South Africa's destiny.

After a weekend of jitters about the result and warnings of No vote advances, there was cautious optimism today that the Yes campaign would win the day.

Yes vote predictions among most politicians now vary between 55 and 60 percent.

But the Conservative Party remains confident of sizeable support, with some even predicting a No victory.

The ANC is watching the outcome "with concern".

All parties have launched a final scramble for support in a last-minute bid to sway voters before polls open at 7am tomorrow. The polls will be open until 9pm and voters may cast ballots at any of more than 1 300 polling stations throughout the country.

National Party secretary General Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday he believed that after a swing to the right last week, wavering voters were now responding to the messages of the Yes campaign and coming back.

The Yes campaign had "peaked at the right time", but the Conservative Party-led No campaign was in disarray because of its confused policies, he said.

Further, the publicity blitz presenting the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as a neo-nazi organisation had been effective.

But sources in both camps conceded that the result was still anything but certain.

CP sources predicted a "narrow margin" for the No vote, but admitted it could go either way.

Party spokesmen acknowledged that in the absence of canvassing — there simply was not enough time for a full canvass — they had no clear picture of national trends. Na-

● Where you can vote: See page 14.

● Letters and Your choice now: See pages 18 and 19.

Referendum results will be coming in on Wednesday morning. We will provide a continuous update on this crucial poll from 10.15 am onwards. The phone number to call is 087 2000 230. Calls are charged at R1,41 a minute.

Parrot Publishing Ltd.

Nationalists have admitted concern about a possibly high "tie-factor".

The Nationalists warned against complacency among voters who were sympathetic to the Yes campaign.

Dr Van der Merwe said he was still concerned about the English-speaking vote — a major target area for the Conservative Party — but did not think any CP gains in this constituency would be enough to swing the result.

Eight former army and po-

lice generals yesterday struck a last-minute blow for the No campaign, announcing they would be voting against President De Klerk.

But later this was countered by another group of retired generals and vice-admirals who said they would vote Yes.

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

Conservative Party secretary Mr Andries Beyers said: "The Yes campaigners have reason to be concerned. We are ready for a good result."

He lashed out at the "intimidation" of companies which had called for a Yes vote, declaring their intervention "undemocratic", and said he feared this could reduce the No vote tally.

The CP's Mr Koos van der

Merwe believed there would be a "photo-finish", but he felt a No vote could "just win".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac De Beer said there would be a high Yes vote in urban areas which would more than cancel out the No vote in plateland areas, where there were far fewer voters.

The vote in DP-minded city areas could make all the difference.

As the campaign drew to a close, political leaders delivered their final messages.

President De Klerk said he was asking for a Yes for justice and a better South Africa. A No from the whites would be a "slap in the face" for the more than 20 million other South Africans "who also want to be and are part of South Africa, and are waiting anxiously for a Yes".

Dr De Beer said voters would be casting the most important votes of their lives tomorrow. South Africa's future would depend entirely on the result.

And CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht called on voters to say No to keep open their options for the future.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the ANC was monitoring the campaign "with concern" and warned against complacency.

"Everything must be done to ensure there is a clear and unequivocal Yes," he said, adding that the ANC was not convinced the NP had "done their best" in the campaign.



STAR 16/3/92

304A

## Irregularities claim

The CP has appointed a legal team to check all special votes cast in London last week for the whites-only referendum, Fanie Jacobs, chairman of the CP's referendum monitoring committee, said yesterday. "There were so many irregularities with the foreign vote, it is hardly possible to mention them all," he said on his arrival back in SA from London. Reports from SA embassies around the world indicate that expatriates and tourists flocked to vote and that most openly voted "yes".

## Relly calls for 'yes'

Gavin Relly, chairman of chemical giant AECL, says a "no" vote could stop SA from becoming a great nation. In a statement that describes people's fears as genuine, he says rational people will certainly choose the State President's route. "It is clearly a difficult road but it winds upwards to promising horizons and there is help and friendship along the way from the international community. On the other hand, an emotive choice for a road receding back into history is by definition unpromising and pessimistic."

## Modise warning

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

## Suzman: vote 'yes'

Veteran politician Helen Suzman today came out firmly in support of a "yes" vote in the referendum. "I shall vote yes for negotiations to continue towards a new nonracial democracy because it is morally right, economically sound, and politically inevitable."

## Ian Smith urges 'yes'

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has called for a "yes" vote. Mr Smith yesterday declared himself to be in favour of a negotiated future for South Africa. Speaking from Harare, he called on voters to reaffirm the mandate President de Klerk received in 1989. Such a step would strengthen Mr de Klerk's hand in negotiations.

## 'IFP signed no pact'

Senior Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member, Musa Myeni yesterday denied having signed a non-aggression pact with AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche. "It is misrepresentation, deliberate mischief-making by certain agents of the media, claiming that a pact was signed," Mr Myeni said. "Nobody signed anything. There was nothing to be signed."

(Referendum briefs edited by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

● Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by R S Steyn, content approved by R Anderson, and political cartoons by D Fedler and D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Jhb



On the campaign trail today . . .

## Punishing weeks draw to a close

By Michael Sparks

More than three weeks of possibly the most intense political campaigning South Africa has seen is drawing to an end.

Few political meetings are scheduled for today after members of the various parties crisscrossed the country cam-

paigning for support.

President F W de Klerk kept up a punishing schedule of baby-kissing and pressing the flesh, while also running the country, but he will not address any public meetings today.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha will address a joint meeting with Dem-

ocratic Party leader Zach de Beer in Johannesburg today.

Also campaigning is the president's wife, Marike de Klerk, who will visit northern Durban and the Natal north coast.

No right-wing meetings are planned.

(Report by M Sparks, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



## Group outlines Codesa pitfalls

16/3/87  
37AR  
The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday called on parties to Codesa to reassess their negotiating priorities. (304A)

In a report, "Codesa: The Road to Serfdom or Freedom", the IFF outlined pitfalls associated with the transitional or interim government structures being discussed at Codesa.

The report argues that both the NP and ANC positions cast doubt over whether SA voters will have a final say on a new constitution. — Sapa.

## Mayor calls for 'yes'

(304A)

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, has called for a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum. He said yesterday he hoped the Mother City would be able to present the disenfranchised people of South Africa with "a 90% poll with a resounding 'yes'".

AT 16/3/92



# Govt agents 'gave CP stolen papers'

WELLINGTON. — Government agents had supplied the Conservative Party with stolen secret ANC and SACP documents on Codesa, the deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said on Saturday.

Speaking at a meeting in Wellington, he said Codesa participants had spied on each other and stolen each other's documents.

Papers taken by "F W de Klerk's agents" showed the ANC and SACP were not interested in power-sharing, he said. It would be "full-on communism as formulated by Marx and Engels" if they came into power.

The documents also said the SACP was the intellectual leader of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

"They say negotiations are a part of the struggle, that they will seize power at the negotiating table," Dr Hartzenberg said.

"They will not talk about socialism now because it's been discredited, but when they come into government."

Report by Ben MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament



# They're all CP in thirstland

By WESSEL DE KOCK

NOT much manages to divert the guys in the pub at Hanover from their pool playing and drinking.

That there have been interruptions in the past is evidenced by the huge black-lettered sign in Afrikaans and, yes, in English, that customers should please refrain from drawing and "demonstrating" their firearms in the bar.

But when Pik Botha came on the 8pm TV news to rasp that South Africa has entered a beneficent "rainy" season in politics under President F W de Klerk, a howl of laughter went up.

"Jy moet hier kom kuier, ou maat!" one shouted, because the Karoo north of Victoria West is bone-dry from the drought. And it isn't Nat.

From Britstown, to Strydenburg to Hopetown on the old diamond route to Kimberley, and from Richmond and Hanover on the Great North Road, the posters littering the lamp-posts are all Conservative Party.

Some we haven't even seen down in Cape Town: After NP Action, ANC Satisfaction, Vashby! Die Nattes het Min Dae.

Around some of the lamp-posts and stop streets in the small towns also grow tufts of dusty, bare-footed children. They don't beg, just stare when you get out of the car. The poverty is grinding, like the heat.

This is the Cape's hinterland, the great Karoo, different from the world of Codesa, where negotiators whip back and forth in air-conditioned capsules.

It is a land of survival, vast and seemingly untouched, except for the huge pantheconics that roar past between Cape Town and Johannesburg, sometimes at the rate of one a minute.

It also represents the biggest voting areas in tomorrow's national referendum — but with the smallest number of votes. The Beaufort West area, through which the north road snakes, commands only 36 857 votes, Kimberley 71 000.

One of the most vigorous political arguments I heard was early morning outside the hotel at Richmond between a band of coloured workers. "The whites all vote Kapee but when its cricket they all shout together," one proclaimed, after giving a detailed rundown of his family history and the white progenitors involved.

Yes, they said when I joined them, the whole district was "rotten" with the CP. That's true. No, hat had not made them lose hope for the future, here's always cricket.

A 2 000-kilometre trip through the territory persuaded me that the sentiments are decidedly for Dr Andries Treurnicht, but whether its headed people will vote for him and exchange

(3047)  
CT 16/3/92

## Survival country from world of Codesa

one set of uncertainties for another is difficult to say.

No such uncertainty exists at Orania, Professor Carel Boshoff's core town for the Afrikaner volksstaat and the heart of the right-wing confederal idea.

More than 800km from Cape Town and in the crook of the Hopefield, Petrusville, De Aar arm, the 3 600-hectare settlement relies for its future strength on the mighty Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, 100km to the south-east.

At Hopetown they tell me: "Watch out for those guys, they won't be served by a coloured in the bakery but when they sit in the pub they don't care a damn who serves them."

It is the one town without any "yes" or "no" posters at all. "We all made up our minds a long time ago," the bright-eyed young woman tells me at the local Orania shop.



**REBEL TRADITION ...** Mr Ben Raubenheimer, principal of Professor Carel Boshoff's pioneering volksstaat school at Orania, against a picture of Cape rebel Jopie Fourie, shot by the government after the 1914 rebellion.

They will all vote "no" but have such contempt for Mr De Klerk's government that they do not envisage negotiations with him at all. With an ANC government, which they regard as inevitable, yes.

The settlement is remarkably green in the grey Karoo. Big signs make it clear, in three languages, that the town, with its 3 000 inhabitants, is private property.

And there are no Terre'Blanche-style commandos protecting the town. A foreign TV team was very disappointed when they were told that the heaviest armament was a .22 with which to shoot rabbits. I'm told.

These purists are not a bunch of Transvaalers running from the violence, Mr Danie van Rensburg, one of Professor Boshoff's confidantes, assures me.

But, he says: "We are keeping the tents ready

for the Afrikaner refugees who will inevitably come."

The volksskool, with its 100-pupils, is a marvel in the desert. Fully computerised, it is the very antithesis of the ossewa on the walls in its courtyard. Good schooling might be a growth industry in the Afrikaner state when education collapses in the new South Africa, principal Mr Ben Raubenheimer assures me.

As one leaves Orania for the long trip south, the fledgling state becomes just another irrelevant smudge on the darkening horizon. A "yes" vote will not marginalise Professor Boshoff or the rightwing. But Orania might find its true perspective in the Karoo.

In Britstown an elderly coloured man, one of those that Professor Boshoff would like not to have in his state, tells me: "Ag, meneer hie die Karoo is elke...

Picture: WESSEL DE KOCK



# SACP again pleads for Yes vote

Staff Reporter

REGIONAL spokesman of the SACP Mr Richard Martin yesterday repeated the organisation's plea to whites to vote "yes" in tomorrow's referendum.

Speaking at an SACP/ANC/Cosatu rally in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain — attended by about 100 people — Mr Martin said that although the organisation still believed the referendum was racist, they thought a "yes" vote would help the country.

Western Cape chairman of the ANC Dr Allan Boesak challenged the NP to come forward publicly to prove its "rumoured" support by coloured people.

He said the ANC had achieved the greatest victory in years by changing the NP's thinking on issues such as an interim government and a vote for all.



# If you're scared of majority rule, Vote "Yes".

(3047)

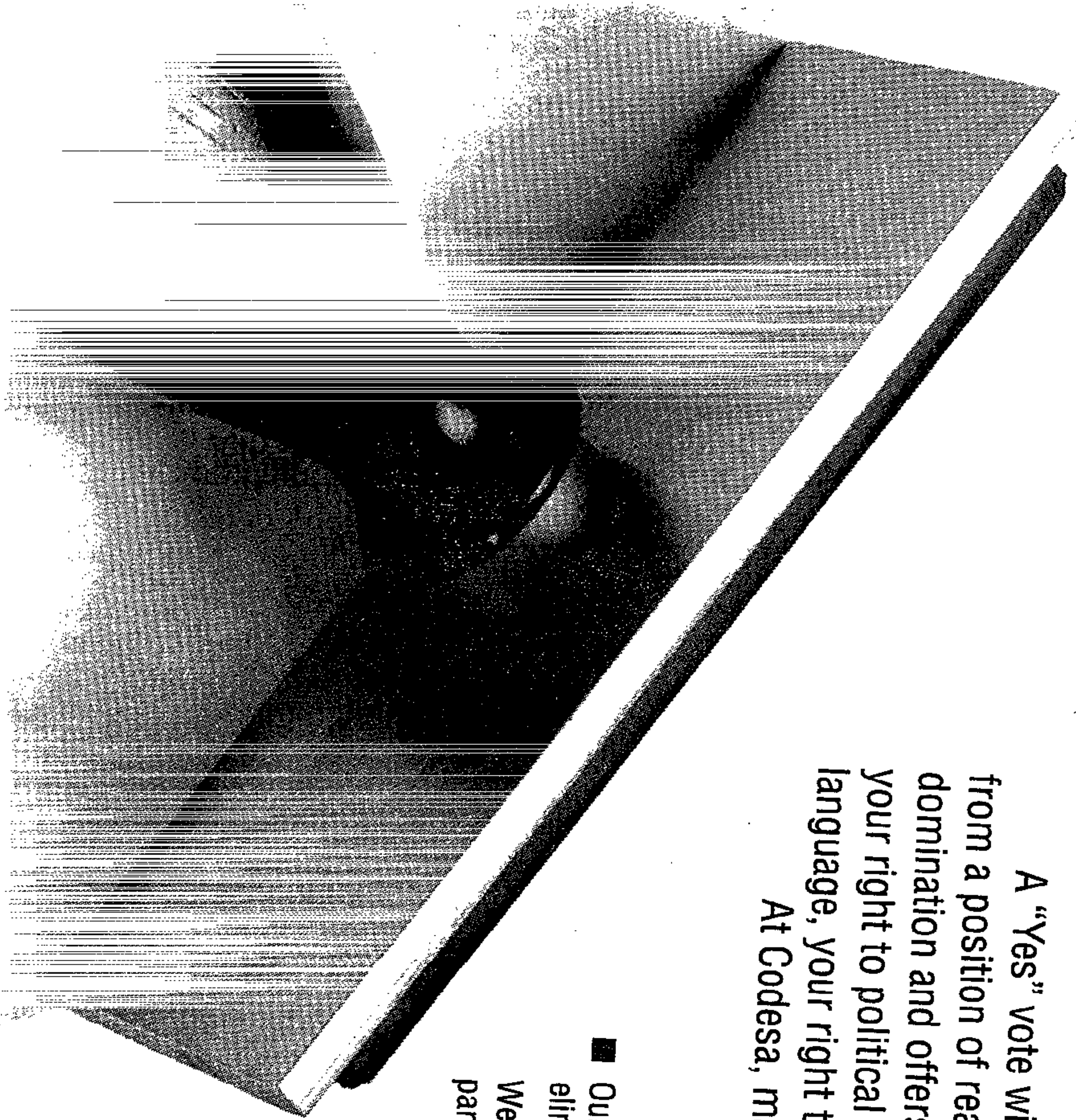
A "Yes" vote will allow us to do what Rhodesians never did. Negotiate, from a position of real strength, a democratic constitution that prevents domination and offers security to those who have a lot to lose — protecting your right to political freedom, your own religion, your own values, your own language, your right to own property, savings, investments, pension funds. At Codesa, many of these guarantees have already been secured :

- Our opponents demanded a simple winner-takes-all majority voting system, eliminating smaller parties and making domination possible. We and others insisted on proportional representation in which all political parties with 5% or more voter support are represented in Parliament.

**AFTER NEGOTIATION,  
THEY AGREED**

- Our opponents demanded that a future Parliament (that they hoped to dominate) be all-powerful. We and others insisted that the future Constitution and Charter of Fundamental Rights, which limit the power of government over individuals, be the highest authority in South Africa.

**AFTER NEGOTIATION,  
THEY AGREED**





- Our opponents demanded a Marxist, socialist economic policy with nationalisation as a policy cornerstone.

We and others insist on a free enterprise economy with protection of private ownership of property and goods.

*Recently their leader, under international pressure as well, called on his movement to review their Marxist nationalisation policy.*

- Our opponents demanded a single-chamber Parliament (that they hoped to dominate).  
We and others insisted on a two-chamber Parliament to prevent the abuse of power by the future government and to guard the interests of minorities.

**AFTER NEGOTIATION,  
THEY AGREED**

- Our opponents demanded that the current Constitution and Parliament be suspended and South Africa ruled by decree before negotiations could start.

We and others insisted that both the current Constitution, as amended by Parliament from time to time, and Parliament itself remain in power until a new Constitution is agreed on.

**AFTER NEGOTIATION  
THEY AGREED**

A strong "Yes" vote will give us the power we need to negotiate the strongest constitution possible – which, once it has the approval of all parties, no single party will have sufficient power to disregard.

A "Yes" vote now, secures your future now. But a "No" vote will mean that years from now, when you're dragged to the negotiating table, like the Rhodesians, you'll have no power to negotiate.

A strong "Yes" vote is your best guarantee of a South Africa we can all live in without fear.

**NP**

**17 March.**



# 'No' vote a serious challenge - Chikane

(304A) Sowetan 16/3/92  
A MAJORITY "no" vote in tomorrow's referendum would create a serious challenge for the churches because it would strengthen the argument for a violent resolution to the injustices of apartheid.

This was said yesterday by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Chikane said it would also mean that the majority of whites in this country were racist and wanted to maintain the old apartheid order.

"The fact that the referendum is taking place at all, and the way the respective parties' campaigns have taken place, has reopened old wounds caused by the preceding decades of apartheid and oppression," said Chikane.

"The racist language that has characterised so much of the debate is not new. We

have heard it for generations. We grieve to be hearing it again now at a time that this nation should be moving toward reconciliation."

He said South Africa's religious community faced a difficult and important post-referendum "pastoral challenge to bring healing where hurt had been caused".

Chikane said the result of a "no" vote would be too ghastly to contemplate.

He asserted that the SACC was not indifferent to the question of religious freedom.

The council, he said, was part of an interfaith project coordinated by the World Conference on Religion and Peace to draw up a charter of religious freedoms and responsibilities for the future.

By RUTH BHENGU



# 'No' vote a serious challenge - Chikane

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By RUTH BHENGU

# De Klerk may not get his landslide win

*Sowetan 16/3/92* *304A*

**THE landslide victory which President FW de Klerk expects in tomorrow's referendum is unlikely.**

The National Party, chief advocates of a "yes" vote, were this weekend shocked by results of canvassing in the Transvaal and Free State which indicated that they could lose the majority in both provinces.

Canvassers in the Free State and Transvaal reportedly stated that an outright victory in these two provinces was unlikely and speculated a 60 percent "no" victory.

The bitter acrimony that developed during the campaign trail of the past two weeks, which saw a senior Cabinet Minister and indeed the President himself come under the ominous threat of physical violence from the far Right, holds the promise of culminating in only a marginal victory for the "yes" vote.

A senior NP source yesterday said he was willing to guess a "yes" majority of "way less than 60 percent", saying that two weeks ago there was a chance of a greater major-

ity.

The battle for the decisive vote of English-speaking South Africans has now intensified.

The Conservative Party, which is campaigning for a "no", has targetted this constituency from the start of the campaign.

The NP and its ally in the referendum, the Democratic Party, have shifted to overdrive to try to secure this bloc of voters.

The CP has, however, become confident as the campaign progresses. Having started off as the underdog in the race, the CP has come out as the favourite.

A senior CP Member of Parliament yesterday said the party was more confident of a victory of at least 50 plus one.

"If the President feels that a 50 plus one victory will indicate support for his reform, then I believe we can at least match that expectation for ourselves," he said.

The "no" vote campaign has been bolstered by the spiralling violence in black communities over re-

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
**Political Correspondent**

cent weeks. Mr Clive Derby-Lewis of the CP said in this regard that De Klerk's warning of imminent violence was unfounded.

Meanwhile, foreign investors and governments are holding back major investments and a possible end to economic and financial sanctions if the "yes" vote triumphs.





GOVERNMENT agents had supplied the Conservative Party with stolen secret ANC and SACP documents on Codesa, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend.

Speaking at a referendum meeting in Wellington in the Cape, he said participants in Codesa spied on one another and stole one another's documents. He was in possession of documents stolen from the ANC and SACP by "FW de Klerk's agents".

The documents said the SACP was the intellectual leader of the ANC/SACP/Gosatu alliance.

"They say negotiations are a part of the struggle, that they will seize power at the negotiating table.

"They will not talk about socialism now because it has been discredited, but when they come into government, it will be full-on com-

# State agents 'pass' ANC secrets to CP

Sowetan 16/3/92

munism as formulated by Marx and Engels."

Hartzenberg also said that if the CP came to power, it would tell black leaders that it had a mandate to free its people, and that it would do precisely that. It would tell them, and other groups, that they could carry on with Codesa, but the new government would not pay the costs.

It would be then that one would discover what an impoverished party the lawless ANC was, he said.

Replying to a question from the floor, he said

he could not accept that his party colleague, Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, had said Western Cape farmers would be left in the lurch if a CP government came to power.

The party was prepared to work with every farmer and producer to defeat sanctions, but not at the cost of the freedom of the white nation.

If SACP chief Chris Hani came to power, he would nationalise half of all the farming land. People said a "no" vote would mean fruit

sanctions and wine farmers would not be able to export any more.

"But a 'yes' vote will ensure you have nothing to export," he said.

The CP's "chief No-agent" at Wellington, Mr Nico Smit, told the meeting that as a member of the KWV co-op, he felt threatened by a pamphlet with a message from the KWV chairman urging him to vote "yes".

"We have firsthand evidence that you called for a 'yes' vote."

Even if there was a "yes" majority, there would still be Afrikaners and rightwingers. And if there was a "no" vote "we will sort you out just like Vlokke (former Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok) was sorted out".

"The ANC sorted out Vlokke. The true Afrikaner will sort you out... You will be sent to plant trees like General (Magnus) Malan, but in Siberia, not Krusna." - Sapa.

Report by Ben Maclellan, Press Gallery, Parliament.

## REFERENDUM '92

# Blacks 'not ripe for democracy'

*Sowetan 16/3/92*

LOURENS Jordaan depends on blacks for his living but will vote "no" in tomorrow's referendum because he believes they are not ready for democracy.

*lancy in Maritzburg.*

"I'd say more than 60 percent of blacks are not ripe for democracy. They're still in the stage Europe knew as feudalism."

"If you give them democracy they'll throw it away. It has happened throughout Africa," said Jordaan, a jovial, unkempt figure who runs an insurance and financial consul-

Political commentators

believe organisations like the African National Congress would stage a nationwide uprising including black consumer boycotts if the CP took power and reimposed apartheid.

But Jordaan is unimpressed.

"Yes, we are interdependent on each other. I need them, and they need the white man."

"There must be an area

under white control and an area under black control.

"Blacks can live and

work in the white area but

they must not have political

rights. Blacks must have

their own homelands where

they can start practising

democracy."

Jordaan lives comfortably with his wife, a daughter (17) and son (10).

If a black came and lived

next door to his R250 000

home, friction would be

inevitable "because the

cultures are so different".

"We must reintroduce

the ban on mixed marriages

because mulatto children

never fit in. Look at the

chaos and poverty of South

America, ruled by mixed-

race people with no identity.

"If a 'Yes' vote wins I

see a bleak future of total

# NO

*304A*

chaos.

He sees a white revolt

happening in much the

same way as the Great Trek.

"It will be dribs and

drabs. For one man the last

straw will be this, for an-

other that. Eventually there

will be a big movement."

*Sapa-Reuters*



## Civil war is a real possibility, says SACC

THE SA Council of Churches yesterday warned of civil war if whites voted "no" in Tuesday's referendum.

"A 'no' vote will mean the majority of white South Africans are racists ... Civil war could well be the result (of a 'no' majority)." *6/Day 16/3/92*

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The SACC said it was alarmed at the use of the scare of communism by proponents of a "no" vote. *(304) (304)*

"What these speakers actually are saying is that movement away from apartheid and towards a democratic SA is an anti-God movement." *(25)*

"Movement towards a non-racial, democratic SA is movement towards, not away from, where God wants us." — Sapa.

Report by A Lefoka, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

## Civil war is a real possibility, says SACC

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# Japan warns SA against 'no' vote

B1 Day 16/3/92

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TOKYO — Japan's most powerful business group warned SA whites on Friday that they will face the cold shoulder from Japan if they vote "no" in tomorrow's referendum.

The Federation of Economic Organisations, Japan's most powerful business group, is to send an economic mission to SA and other southern African nations in May, a senior federation official said.

"But we may have to suspend the mission if the whites vote 'no' to President De Klerk's apartheid reforms and SA will face isolation again," the official said.

The federation is considering closer economic relations with southern African nations on the assumption SA can be an economic engine for the region, he said.

"But the situation will change completely if SA faces economic sanctions and international isolation again," the official said.

Japan and SA agreed on January 13 to set up full diplomatic relations, upgrading links from consular level.

Last October, Japan followed the US and other nations in ending economic sanctions against SA, apart from sales of computers for military use.

"During the economic sanctions, Japanese companies had to keep a low profile, to avoid international criticism that Japan was the largest trading partner of an apartheid country," the federation official said.

On Saturday, Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen said it was important the ongoing reform process in SA continued uninterrupted, saying Codesa marked a turning point in the reform process.

Commenting on the March 17 referendum in a statement issued by

Finland's embassy in Cape Town, Vayrynen said: "Finland emphasises once again, on the eve of the forthcoming voting to be held in SA, the importance of the ongoing reform process for the country and its future."

"Finland thus expresses her strong wish that this process continues uninterrupted. If this happens, the obstacles to abolishing the national sanctions still in force in Finland can be removed promptly."

Last week Denmark, the only EC member that still bans trade with SA, said it would lift its embargo if SA whites voted "yes".

Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen had informed De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela of the decision, a ministry official said.

But Ellemann-Jensen's action, taken after a meeting of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, provoked protests from opposition MPs who had wanted to impose further conditions before lifting sanctions.

Three centrist and left-wing opposition parties want Denmark to lift its trade ban only if De Klerk wins a "yes" vote in the referendum, promises there will be no more whites-only referendums and pledges to continue dismantling apartheid.

Ellemann-Jensen rejected their demands, saying it would be "not only ridiculous, but also dangerous" for the reform process if Denmark expected De Klerk to give special guarantees at such a difficult time.

Denmark's 11 EC partners last year voted to lift their ban on imports of gold coins, iron and steel from SA to encourage De Klerk's reform process, but the Danish opposition blocked the move for nine months until it was satisfied the pace of reform was being maintained. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Frontline States push for a 'yes'

WINDHOEK — Delegates to the Frontline States summit in Lusaka hoped SA whites would be guided by the fact that peace and security for all South Africans depended on the continuation and amicable conclusion of Codesa, they said in a communiqué on Friday.

"The choice before the white voters is to join in a new democratic SA or to remain in the dark days of apartheid and racism," the southern African state's representatives said.

In Harare, defence and security ministers of the seven Frontline States accused SA of continued attempts to destabilise their countries despite positive political developments in the Republic.

In a communiqué at the end of a two-day meeting which reviewed interstate defence and security in southern Africa, the ministers accused SA of gathering economic and military intelligence from the Frontline States.

"The ministers observed that as long as apartheid, civil strife and political instability continue in SA, that country will remain the main threat to the peace, stability and economic development of member states."

They noted "with concern" political hurdles still to be surmounted in SA.

Calling for a speedier resolution of the political obstacles, the ministers affirmed their support for liberation movements and urged SA political parties to join in the peace process.

They had taken note of the white referendum to be held on March 17 and hoped the outcome would contribute to democracy. *By Day 16/3/92*

The Frontline States also expressed support for the peace process in Angola. They urged the government and Unita to continue working for national unity and to take all necessary steps to ensure a peaceful general election.



# 'No' vote a serious challenge - Chikane

(304) Sowetan 16/3/92

A MAJORITY "no" vote in tomorrow's referendum would create a serious challenge for the churches because it would strengthen the argument for a violent resolution to the injustices of apartheid.

This was said yesterday by the Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Chikane said it would also mean that the majority of whites in this country were racist and wanted to maintain the old apartheid order.

"The fact that the referendum is taking place at all, and the way the respective parties' campaigns have taken place, has reopened old wounds caused by the preceding decades of apartheid and oppression," said Chikane.

"The racist language that has characterised so much of the debate is not new. We

By RUTH BHENGU

have heard it for generations. We grieve to be hearing it again now at a time that this nation should be moving toward reconciliation."

He said South Africa's religious community faced a difficult and important post-referendum "pastoral challenge to bring healing where hurt had been caused".

Chikane said the result of a "no" vote would be too ghastly to contemplate.

He asserted that the SACC was not indifferent to the question of religious freedom.

The council, he said, was part of an interfaith project coordinated by the World Conference on Religion and Peace to draw up a charter of religious freedoms and responsibilities for the future.



**A**L THE consequences of a "no" vote in tomorrow's referendum, and the implications of an Andries Treurnicht-led CP government, cannot fully be assessed, but it is safe to say SA would face international isolation much more severe than it endured in the apartheid era.

SA's infrastructure would run down. There would be fearful conflict, and in the end the terms of a transfer of power to a black majority or an all-black government would be of a "take it or leave it" nature.

Speaking to a conservative farming community in the southern Free State on Thursday, Foreign Minister P. Botha sketched the full implications of isolation in stark terms, cutting out the double-speak of past government denials of the effect of sanctions.

Reading from the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, and from previously "secret" documents, he told of the huge battle to find markets for SA products, and to keep export-based industries' unemployment figures as low as possible.

**T**he majority of the 360 audience listened intently, and showed some horror, but still some of the rightwingers refused to accept his standpoint, saying he was exaggerating and that sanctions would not be reintroduced.

A frustrated Botha responded: "I can give you an explanation and a description of what fighting sanctions is like, but I cannot give you the ability to comprehend."

The CP campaign has been based on a seductive argument. With the resurgence of nationalism throughout the world since the collapse of communism, and especially the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the ugly nationalist war in Yugoslavia, it has fudged the issues to make its partition plan look respectable and in step with the international mood. CP moderates have attempted to hide the CP/HNP/AWB alliance's unacceptable face by trying to convince voters that old-style apartheid would not be reintroduced. Treurnicht has gone so far as to say this on public platforms.

# High voter turnout could be crucial to referendum result

Bill Paddock 16/3/92

BILLY PADDOCK

2044

But the short and intense campaign has taken its toll, and the mask has often slipped. Inconsistencies in CP statements have been exploited by "yes" vote campaigners, most notably by DP leader Zach de Beer.

Though the CP/HNP/AWB alliance continued to draw strong support in many areas, there was evidence last week that voters were no longer being taken in by the simplistic message that "yes" would be a vote for communism, while CP speakers made no satisfactory attempt to spell out their own policies, and the consequences of voting "no".

Even so, it has been difficult for observers to read the voters' mood. In the CP territory of Hartswater, people say they will vote "yes", while in so-called liberal areas, such as Johannesburg's northern suburbs, some voters say they feel inclined to vote "no". They put forward a variety of reasons, including those being exploited by the CP — crime, the recession and fear of a black, ANC-dominated government.

It is becoming more evident that Treurnicht and the CP blundered when they entered into an alliance with the neo-Nazi AWB, and the NP and DP can be thankful for their lapse. If there is one thing frightening voters more than the possibility of communists in a future government it is the AWB, with its swastika-like emblem and its



PIK BOTHA

masked and sinister Ystergarde.

The AWB hijacked a right-wing solidarity meeting in Pretoria and totally disregarded the authority of police. Later their leader, Eugene Terre-Blanche, warned in a TV interview that his organisation was pre-

pared for armed insurrection. At Treurnicht's meetings the uniformed "Iron Guard" have acted as ushers.

The NP has not missed the chance to exploit this ugly side of the right-wing effort, and its poster and advertising campaign, focused on the violent and destructive armed wing of the alliance, has been starkly effective. It shows a "terrorist" in a balaclava holding a pistol, the three 7s of the AWB emblem alongside a swastika, with the words: "You can stop this man." The advertisement certainly provides a good reason for voting "yes" tomorrow.

"I would have voted 'no', but it is impossible for me to do so now, because I would be aligning myself with neo-Nazis," one Killarney resident told a Business Day reporter. The sentiment was echoed by many of her neighbours.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe predicts the right wing will splinter after the referendum, especially if it is convincingly defeated. Other political analysts agree the tensions within the CP are too strong to cover up and contain. They feel the "pragmatists" led by Koos van der Merwe and Cehill Pienaar are championing at the bit to take the party into negotiations, while deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and his followers remain close to the HNP position.

CP speakers have regularly es-

poused positions and policies in public that directly contradict official published policy, and MPs are a bit at sea in trying to pinpoint what the CP actually stands for.

Rosettenville NP MP Sheila Camerer says she has canvassed her constituency and among the liberal section the "yes" vote is "80% strong", while the more conservative section is split 50/50. Camerer says a 60% majority is on the cards for a "yes".

Springs MP Piet Coetzer is also very optimistic. He would regard a 60%-majority as a "landslide", and a 55% majority as "decisive".

The CP's Koos van der Merwe predicted on a radio talk show that "no" voters would win by 52% to 48%.

Independent analysts have warned that a lie factor has to be taken into account in canvassing, and NP election officials say that in the last general election it was 20%.

Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, of the Centre for Policy Studies at the HSRC, warns that complacency or a stayaway due to voter uncertainty and insecurity could result in a very narrow "yes" victory. Even so, and taking the lie factor into account, he believes the "yes" vote will win.

The percentage poll would be a crucial factor in determining the size of a majority. Opinion surveys based on the 1983 referendum, when there was a percentage poll of about 72%, indicate a 57%-43% "yes" majority. If the poll goes up to 80%, this could increase to more than 60%.

**H**owever, Schlemmer says if the "yes" vote wins with less than 58% of votes cast, the referendum could intensify the crisis that led to the calling of the poll in the first place.

The NP is worried that people will not bother to vote, believing a "yes" victory is assured, and Zach de Beer is also concerned about apathy. He has used this as one of the main thrusts of his campaign — "I beg you please to come and vote 'yes'".

Most political analysts tend to think the "yes" vote will be 55%, but at the same time they acknowledge it is virtually impossible to assess how the referendum will go.

It is generally agreed, however, that the higher the poll the greater the chance of a convincing "yes".



## Protesters confront Mangope

TAUNG — Bophuthatswana police on Friday stopped a demonstration by a crowd of people after it disrupted a rally addressed by President Lucas Mangope. *Friday 16/3/92*

There were no reports of casualties or arrests.

The rally was interrupted for about 30 minutes before police brought the situation under control.

Demonstrators waved placards reading "What happened with the public pension fund's R2bn".

In reaction Mangope said the fund was the healthiest in southern Africa.

Meanwhile in Johannesburg, about 500 people marched on John Vorster Square on Saturday to hand over a memorandum calling for SA interference to curb the repression in Bophuthatswana.

The leader of the march, deposed Chief Sam Mankurwane from Taung in Bophuthatswana, told the recipient of the memorandum, Capt Louis Els, that the march was being held to show the world there was repression in Bophuthatswana and Mangope was not the country's representative.

"We demand the immediate and unconditional reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into SA," he said.

The memorandum called for the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of all Acts which repressed human rights and for free political activity. — Sapa.

**PROFESSIONAL  
ACCOUNTANTS &**

# Killarney feels it has little choice

*Friday 16/3/92*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said there would be a sizeable minor-

## REFERENDUM The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country. **DARIUS SANAI** spoke to people in the Johannesburg suburb of Killarney.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Right-wing support growing

# Polls show referendum will be close

B/D ay 16/3/92  
(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Campaigners for a "yes" vote yesterday remained confident of winning tomorrow's referendum, but acknowledged that the right wing was making significant inroads into their likely majority.

Many analysts and politicians who last week said they expected about a 55% "yes" majority were revising their predictions downwards and by yesterday were talking of a close 53%-47% split.

NP canvass returns pointed to a probable loss of the biggest referendum region, Pretoria, with the Free State also being threatened. This concurred with the DP's view that Pretoria's more than 500 000 voters would vote "no" by two to one.

The "yes" campaigners were hoping that big majorities in areas such as DP constituencies, would offset the negative votes in Transvaal and areas of the Free State and eastern Cape.

DP campaign monitor James Selfe said the Free State, which had become increasingly CP, had moved to the right, but its vote was difficult to predict. Some CP supporters were planning to vote "yes" because they believed in trying to negotiate their own homeland rather than being at the mercy of a winner-takes-all battle.

This was borne out by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who campaigned heavily in conservative rural areas, saying he was surprised at the amount of positive support.

Botha said DP supporters had a lot of trust in their party's leadership and trusted that it would not betray them or lead them into disaster. They had an absolute

BILLY PADDOCK

guarantee that the party's leaders would not accept any negotiations or decisions which did not entrench fundamental human rights, equality, freedom and protection of property and individual rights.

Selfe said there would not be many waverers left by today, although many voters would by now have decided to either abstain or spoil their ballot papers "because they feel caught between the devil and the deep blue sea".

He said he had access to very recent survey results conducted by reliable researchers on voter attitudes to negotiations and issues such as an interim government. These results were much more detailed than the referendum question.

"White voters indicated clearly that they were in favour of negotiations. The positive response to continuing negotiations was very high and makes me confident. But they are very cautious about issues such as an interim government and would like to see the negotiations drawn out for as long as possible to put off the day of reckoning for as long as possible."

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports that President F W de Klerk ended his campaign in the Afrikaaner heartland of the northern Transvaal on Saturday in a confident mood, predicting a "yes" win.

Speaking to about 600 party faithful at Pietersburg, De Klerk emphasised that negotiations were working and that substantial victories were being won at Codesa.

Rounding off a hectic public speaking

□ To Page 2

## Referendum

B/D ay 16/3/92  
(304A)

campaign during which he made 85 speeches in seven working days, De Klerk told the meeting: "We are not asking for a suicide constitution, we are asking for a survival constitution."

He said NP victories included agreement between parties that the constitution would not be suspended, that agreement should be reached by consensus and that there should be a devolution of power.

"We have filled in the cheque," he said, countering the CP campaign that a "yes" vote would give government a blank cheque. De Klerk asked his supporters to ensure the "yes" vote was overwhelming. "I am asking for a victory that will echo throughout the world," he said.

Report by W Paddock, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town; and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Pages 5 and 10

□ From Page 1



## Businesses urge staff to vote 'yes'

SHARON WOOD and BILLY PADDOCK

MANY businesses are breaking with traditional policies of political non-involvement and are urging staff members to vote "yes" in tomorrow's referendum.

Nedcor distributed a letter to staff members on Friday saying that a "yes" vote would be in line with sound economic principles. It would also be in line with Nedcor's values and moral convictions.

A Nedbank spokesman said at the weekend that while the company was urging the staff to vote "yes", this was not a party political standpoint and the group would not give money to a political party.

Nedcor's move follows recent chairmen's letters sent to the staff of two other major banks, Standard and FNB, discouraging them from casting "no" votes.

Standard chairman Henri de Villiers said that to reject negotiation, or even to register a substantial minority vote against it, would endanger the future of SA as a functioning economy.

A source said at the weekend that while banks and big business were confident of a "yes" win, they expected the victory mar-

□ To Page 2

## Businesses

gin to be smaller than had been forecast.

As far as he was aware not one business had made provision for a "no" victory.

A "no" vote would lead to the reintroduction of sanctions, forcing SA to act on a shrunk business stage and would negate the benefits of open capital markets and vibrant export growth, the source said.

A major scientific poll of leading businessmen has shown that many company CEOs have distributed literature to staff members spelling out the negative effects of voting "no".

The poll, conducted by Research Surveys in Cape Town, shows top executives and decision-makers forecast plunging profits, huge retrenchments and the general disintegration of operations with increased international isolation.

A major multinational vehicle manufacturing company predicts its SA operation could collapse, with the loss of more than 7 000 jobs, if there is a majority "no".

There was a 75% response rate from the initial sample of 120 top executives, and survey manager Jan Hofmeyr said this was a very accurate indicator of what would happen in the business world.

He said executives had taken time to

complete the survey, and in a separate section with open-ended questions they had gone into substantial detail — which gave surveyors the ability to gauge the qualitative context of the figures.

A "no" vote would overwhelmingly dent investor confidence, with companies predicting an immediate 3.5% decline following a negative result and some potential collapse within the next 10 years.

A major building company said that given a "yes" majority it could predict sustainable growth for 10 years at 10%. The average of other predictions was between 3.5% and 5% sustainable growth.

But in the event of a "no" win, the prediction was for 3% to 30% job losses, with increases being almost exponential.

Some 36% of companies said a "yes" vote would increase consumer spending.

They all expressed concern that sanctions would be reimposed and warned that this would result in a lack of growth, and job losses.

A letter from Rennie's CE Piet Steyn to senior staff said the World Bank was expected to pump R15bn into development in SA, but a "no" win might imperil this.

From Page 1

# Dutch PM Lubbers to visit South Africa 'as planned'

STAR 17/3/92  
THE HAGUE — Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers declared yesterday that he would visit South Africa as planned, despite objections by the ANC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier yesterday that his organisation still opposed Mr Lubbers' plans for an official visit to South Africa in August, and that he personally should be consulted about it.

Interviewed by the radio station Veronica, Mr Mandela said the dates of August 10 and 11 were "unacceptable to the ANC because it is not certain that in August there will be an interim government" in South Africa.

Mr Lubbers's visit had already been postponed from February at the request of the ANC, which then said it had not been consulted over dates and considered the visit "premature and inopportune".

Mr Lubbers said on television yesterday that all parties (the South African Government and the ANC) had agreed to the August 10-11 dates.

He made it clear the visit had



Ruud Lubbers . . . trip has caused controversy.

been organised at a time when South Africa's transition to majority rule appeared to be progressing steadily, but said "this is not a condition, and therefore the visit will go ahead as planned".

What concerned him at the moment, he said, was the "necessity" for Mr de Klerk to win support in today's referendum, support he described as an essential condition for the continuation of democratic reform.



# Grasp this hand of friendship

STAR 17/3/92

**A**FRICA is extending a warm hand of friendship to white South Africans as they vote in the referendum today. Pray to God the white voters do not spit on it, for then it might not be extended again for a long time, if at all.

Ironically, the whites will be voting in the referendum primarily as Africans themselves. Whether they like it or not, their Africanism is something that will inexorably influence their destiny, regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

This does not necessarily mean the Conservative Party is wrong in saying in its referendum campaign that its policy of ethnic differentiation is in line with an international trend. That may well be so, but it is not something that can be assured or promoted by a "no" vote in the referendum today.

A negative vote, ironically, is more likely to impede the CP's dream of a separate white existence than to promote it, because it would result in the speedy ruination of the South African economy and could plunge the country into chaos beyond any white control. It would weaken rather than strengthen the whites' ability to decide their own destiny and protect their culture and identity.

While a negative vote would unleash an unprecedented international campaign against the South African economy, a "yes" vote will have the opposite effect. That effect could even go beyond an international effort to boost the South African economy. It could result in the world community using its influence to ensure that Codesa does not lead to the destruction of the values and structures that white South Africans hold dear — those that are compatible, that is, with international democratic norms. And who would want any others?

Beyond that, a "yes" vote could lead to the international community using the very powerful economic levers at its disposal to ensure that whoever governs the new South Africa respects and nurtures democracy and human rights.

There is no guarantee that this will happen, but it is a strong probability. It certainly will not happen if there is a "no" vote. In

## Out of Africa

GERALD  
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that event South Africa's whites will be on their own in a hostile world and their chances of survival as a significant ethnic entity will diminish dramatically.

The ability of the outside world to influence the course of events in South Africa should not be underestimated. Codesa is making progress not least because it has strong international support. It would certainly not get this support if it began to block white efforts to secure adequate protection of their identity and their rights through constitutional means — which is the most reliable way to achieve this objective.

It is not only the Europeans and the Americans who would want to protect these things. The Africans, too, have an interest in it. While Africa remains firmly opposed to anything smacking of white domination, it looks to South Africa to play a major role in helping to rescue the continent from economic decline. It recognises that the whites hold the key to prosperity in South Africa, whatever black extremists in this country may say. There is no African government that wants to see whites impoverished, either in retribution for apartheid or for any other reason.

African governments have no interest in seeing South Africa going to economic ruin under racist black domination. They want to see a stable and prosperous South Africa serving as an example and an anchor for the rest of the continent. They know this cannot be done without the whites. But they are not prepared to pay for what the whites can offer by condoning white racism. They have already demonstrated this by their support for sanctions and armed struggle against apartheid at considerable cost to themselves and will no doubt do so again if they have to.

But they would infinitely prefer to see their friendship reciprocated. □

(Report by G L'Ange, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

The diplomacy of isolation must be replaced with a  
diplomacy of participation, argues RAU's Prof Deon Geldenhuys

# Time for SA to dare to be bold

Star 17/3/92

174

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30.4.92

**N**OW that South Africa is re-turning to the international fold, many people are only beginning to realise how isolated the country has been, says Professor Deon Geldenhuys, head of political studies at Rand Afrikaans University.

In an article in the latest International Affairs Bulletin, he said more than one generation had known only a country facing constant international adversity.

"Pretoria was forced on to the defensive in its foreign relations. South African foreign policy was therefore designed to counter the rising tide of isolation and the threat of more drastic forms of external intervention.

"Harsh, repressive measures at home were thus accompanied by militant behaviour abroad, particularly in the southern African region."

A new co-operative relationship had been developed between South Africa and its regional neighbours since the independence of Namibia and the abolition of apartheid.

"For the first time since the early '70s South Africa's official representation abroad is expanding."

Socio-cultural interaction between South Africa and the rest of the world had improved and this could be seen in the greater freedom of movement granted to South African passport holders and the number of new airlines on the South African route.

Professor Geldenhuys said the ANC could still affect the pace of South Africa's return to international respectability.

"The ostensible increase in SA Communist Party support is not likely to inspire Western confi-

dence in the future of South Africa and it is on the West that the South African economy will remain critically dependent.

"South African diplomacy in the phase of transition has to alert the world to the possibility that the first post-apartheid government may well include communists among its members. This may not be a particularly appealing prospect to foreign nations with vested interests in South Africa."

He said the diplomacy of isolation had now to be replaced with a diplomacy of participation.

The timely merging of the diplomatic corps and the ANC's foreign service would make it more representative of the general population and would help the situation internationally.

The country would also have to rethink its ties to pariah states like Israel and Taiwan.

"The important consideration is whether a state on the road back to international respectability should still be seen in the close company of the so-called pariah states.

"A state is after all supposed to have no permanent friends, only permanent interests.

"South Africa can now afford to become somewhat bold and even demanding when dealing with other states," Professor Geldenhuys added.

He concluded: "Many countries would probably take the view that they had done their duty by somehow contributing to the struggle against apartheid: what follows thereafter is none of their responsibility."

"South Africa will need the world far more than the world needs South Africa." — Sapa. □



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## RSC squatter removal slated

Political Staff (304A)

ARG 17/3/92  
THE ANC today condemned ef-  
forts by the Northern Cape Re-  
gional Services Council to ex-  
clude blacks from the area.

Fifteen squatters, including  
women with children, were ar-  
rested at Koekenaap at the  
weekend after they built  
shacks on RSC land. They were  
released on bail yesterday af-  
ter lawyers intervened.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr said it  
was bitterly ironic that "these  
evictions took place three days  
before the referendum in which  
people are being asked to vote  
for change".

He accused police of violat-  
ing the National Peace Accord  
because "they refused to in-  
form people of charges on  
which they were arrested".



IFRAT LADIES 1100 1400/1500

RENTAL 1000 1400/1500

FREE 1000 1400/1500

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and all stationers, Indian Printers or stamp makers.

**Breedt must keep Vaal flowing**

► P23

**Trends**

**GUESS WHO'S GOING TO 'HOOK' YOU TO THE MOVIES?**

► P1

**TRENDS**

**Small pets for small spaces**

► P13

**REFERENDUM DAY**

The countdown is over, the day is here. Whites go to the polls after one of the most concentrated political campaigns in the country's history, and both the "yes" and "no" camps agree that the result of today's voting will live with South Africa's people for decades to come. For reports and analysis see pages 2 and 16

**INSIDE**

**3**

## Man dies in blast

In the second bomb attack on a Lowveld educational institution in two days, a man is killed and a woman injured when a powerful bomb yesterday blasts the home of an Afrikaans school principal.

**4**

## Huge IRA bomb found

Northern Ireland police discover a 730 kg IRA bomb hidden in a West Belfast apartment block that

# High turnout expected as thousands stream to polls

# It's 'make or break' day

STAFK 17/13/92

Political Staff (304/4)

Whites flocked to the polls in their thousands as voting began around the country early today in the reform referendum that President de Klerk says could "make or break" South Africa.

With more than three million whites eligible to vote, early polling trends reflect unprecedented interest.

Analysts have predicted that a high turnout would benefit the "yes" campaign. At the Johannesburg City Hall, nearly 1 500 people voted in the first hour. NP official Koos Roes said this was "exceptional".

Early morning voting at the NGK Church in Melville saw young professionals from the suburb's large artistic community lining up alongside safari-suited senior citizens.

A queue of 400 stood outside I.R. Griffiths Primary School in Randburg before 7 am waiting to cast their votes. DP helper Theresa Beyers said the high turnout was unexpected.

At Cyrilene Primary School, voters waited from 6.50 am and nearly 100 votes were cast within the first 15 minutes.

In Turfontein people were standing in queues 20 minutes before polling stations opened. At the Laerskool Turfontein a CP campaign worker said he found that many people were afraid about foreign countries imposing sanctions on South Africa if they voted "no".

More than 300 Sandtonians had cast their votes by 7.30 am in what David Daling, DP MP, described as "an unprecedented turnout".

About 30 people queued outside the Vereeniging Town Hall — the largest of

the polling centres in the town — shortly before voting began. Many of the voters reported to tables manned by CP officials before casting their votes.

At Paul Kruger Hall in Krugersdorp West a handful of uniformed AWB members milled around but no incidents were reported.

The National Party lodged an official complaint about the presence of armed AWB members shortly after the opening of the main polling station in Pietersburg this morning.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht arrived at the main polling centre in Nykistroom at 7 am to cast his vote.

Strong right-wing support was evident in Phalaborwa and Louis Trichardt.

Voting at Nelspruit got off to a brisk start with long queues of people hoping to cast their votes before 8 am.

An exhausted chief referendum officer Piet Colyn told The Star last night that "things were running smoothly" in the huge logistical effort demanded by the calling of the snap poll — which involves the establishment of some 1 500 polling stations around the country.

The South African Police yesterday said voters need not fear for their safety at the polls, and said plans had been made to ensure the maintenance of law and order after the result was announced tomorrow.

Last night a mood of cautious optimism swept through the "yes" camp.

The nervousness that had set in because of perceived right-wing gains lifted, and pro-yes campaigners forecast a "55 percent-plus" victory for the cause of reform and a negotiated settlement.

However, Dr Treurnicht predicted a narrow win for the "no" vote.

Report by E. Wagh, 17 Saint Street, Johannesburg



Taking a stand... former Miss South Africa Lorna Potgieter was one of the first voters in Houghton today.

Picture: Karen Fletcher





**Breedt must keep Vaal flowing**

► P23



**TREND**

**GUESS WHO'S GOING TO 'HOOK' YOU TO THE MOVIES?**

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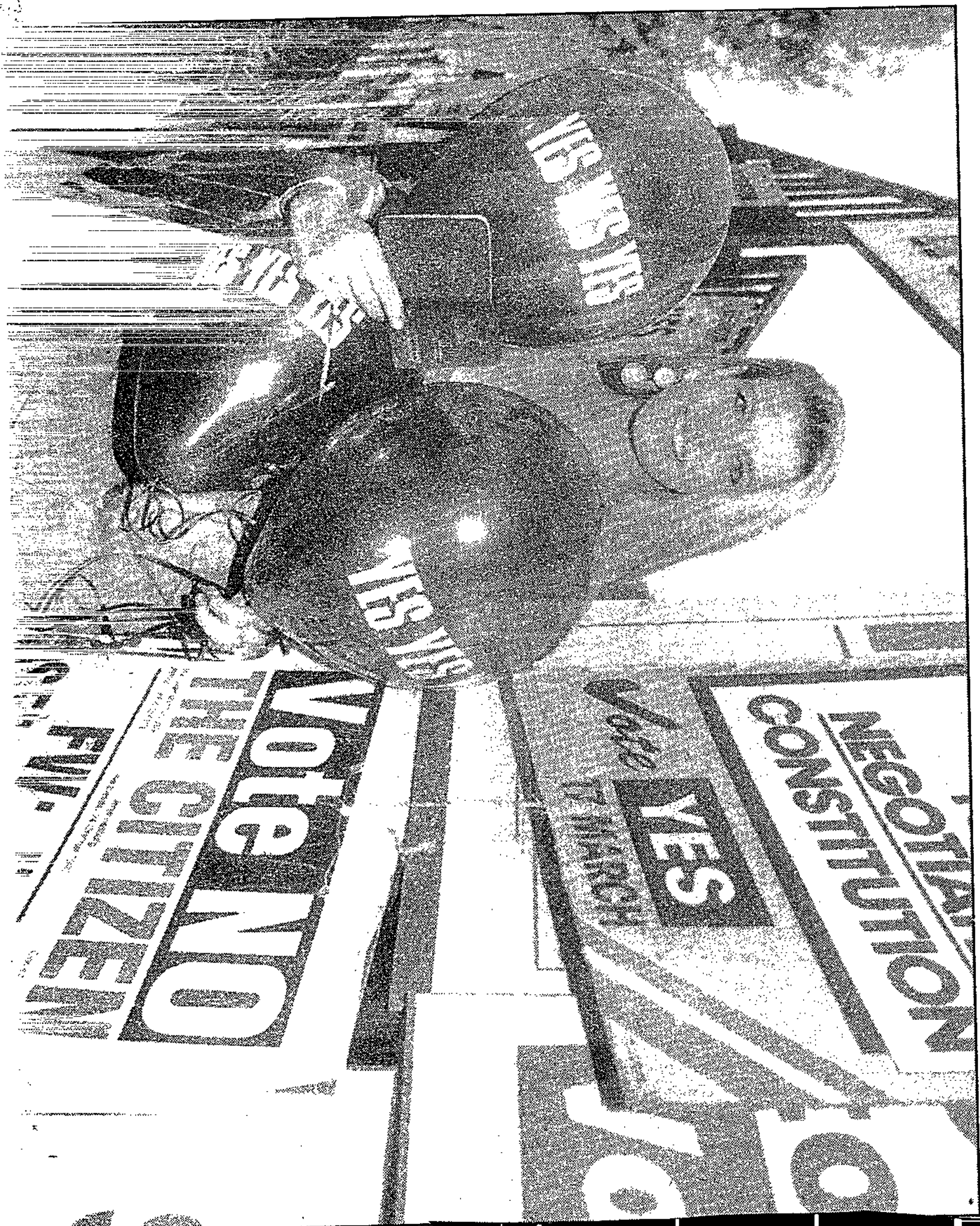
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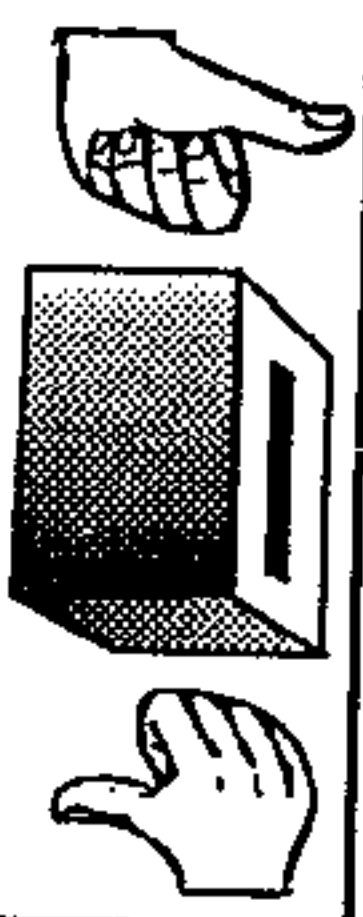
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## REFERENDUM DAY

### CP stays mum

on 'no' adverts

The Conservative Party has refused to disclose the identity of two groups placing newspaper advertisements in support of the "no" vote. (304A)

The "Businessmen for a Better South Africa" and the "United Front for a Better South Africa" have placed several full-page advertisements using the CP's Pretoria address.

CP chief secretary Andries Beyers said the two groups had chosen to place their advertisements through the CP. He denied the groups were "CP fronts" and said the groups had paid for the advertisements.

Mr Beyers refused to divulge the names of the businesses, saying the CP had undertaken to keep them confidential.

Asked why they had not simply placed the advertisements themselves, he said it was because they feared the advertisements might have a negative impact on their businesses.

This was why businesses in favour of the "yes" vote had not always disclosed their names.

(Report by P. Fabrics, 47 Sauer St., Johannesburg.)

### Churches asked

to stay open today

By Shaun Johnson

Bishop Peter Storey has asked all Methodist churches in Johannesburg and Soweto to be open for prayer throughout Referendum Day. (304A)

Bishop Storey of the southern Transvaal district of the Methodist Church has also asked that wherever possible services be held early in the morning or at lunch hour today.

"Contrary to what some politicians suggest, God is not neutral in this referendum," Bishop Storey said.

"The second command of Jesus is to love our neighbours: ourselves, and while Christians must vote knowing that a 'yes' will be an insult to their black neighbours who cannot vote, we must pray that the 'no' campaign emphasising white selfishness will be defeated."

(Report by S. Johnson, 47 Sauer St., Johannesburg.)

By Esther Waugh

In spite of all the excitement over retired army and police generals coming out in favour of "yes" and "no" votes in today's referendum, there was no possibility of a military coup in South Africa. The Star was told by Major-General P H Groenewald yesterday.

General Groenewald, a retired army general who along with seven others announced he would support the "no" vote in the referendum, said it would be "ridiculous" to believe a

## This is our golden chance, says De Beer

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter (304A)

The acrimony of the referendum campaign had obscured the fact that it offered whites a wonderful opportunity to do the right thing, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday in a closing speech at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Voters should look upon the referendum today as a "great, shining, positive opportunity," he told the enthusiastic audience.

"When you return a 'yes' majority tomorrow, you will send us back to Codesa to continue negotiations for a new constitution based upon equal dignity for all South Africans, and protection for everyone's rights," he told the lunchtime rally.

Dr de Beer called on "yes" voters who had spent their lives opposing the National Party government not to be "squeamish" about their temporary alliance against the right wing.

Dr de Beer shared the platform with Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Several prominent South Africans, including former Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer, marathon runner Bruce Fordyce, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall, cricket boss Allan Border, Graeme Pollock, Vincent van der Bijl and Bob Hewitt attended the meeting in support of a "yes" vote.

Mr Botha said today was one of the most decisive days in the history of South Africa because of the far-reaching implications of the poll result.

Dr de Beer rejected the claim by the right-wing alliance that by voting "no", voters would get another chance to vote again.

This was not only untrue but actually "treacherous," he said.

"For a 'no' majority will

## No chance of SADF coup - retired general

By Esther Waugh

coup could be staged by the SADF. Not only was it not part of the SADF's culture to consider such a thing, but the permanent force was in any event very small, he said.

General Groenewald said the political views of defence force members mirrored the entire political spectrum and it would therefore be difficult to keep plans of a coup secret.

He also denied that the generals were campaigning actively for a "no" vote within the defence force. It would have been "highly irregular" to have done so, he said.

The eight police and defence force generals, who said they had fought communism in Angola, South West Africa and SA, felt it was necessary to publicly voice their support for a "no" vote because communism was

not dead - contrary to statements made by President de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers.

General Groenewald, who said he has never been a member of the Conservative Party and has always voted for the NP, said communism was alive and well in South Africa.

Evidence of this was the presence of communists at Codesa, communists dominating the ANC and the growth in SACP

membership, he said.

Eight generals - Major-General Groenewald, General H J van den Bergh, General G J Joubert, Lieutenant-General J C Visser, Lieutenant-General F G van Zyl, Major-General C J Hartzenberg, Major-General J Fourie and Major-General M C Botha - signed a statement saying that communism was still using the same tactics in South Africa, "only dressed in a

different jacket".

The generals said they were concerned that a "yes" vote victory could promote a takeover by the ANC and SACP and that it could lead to the security forces losing their powers.

After the announcement that the eight would vote "no", several retired generals and vice-admirals responded by saying they supported President de Klerk's reforms. They included General H G de Wit and Lieutenant-Generals E I R Gleeson, A M Muller, and J R Dutton.

(Report by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer St., Jhb.)

## 'No' IFP pact with AWP

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The Transvaal leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday rejected reports that it had entered into a non-aggression pact with the AWP.

"The IFP does not wish to associate itself politically with racist organisations and would not endorse the politics of white far right wing organisations like the AWP," Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said.

He said he did not know about any discussions between Mr Musa Myeni and the AWP.

Mr Khoza and the Transvaal leadership looked forward to a "yes" vote in today's referendum, and endorsed their president's statements regarding the referendum.

He said: "The IFP is committed to do what it can to bring the CP and AWP into the negotiation process in Codesa and would not wish to be seen as an ally of political parties and organisations which are not prepared to sit down with a full range of black political parties or organisations in South Africa to negotiate for a new constitution."

(Report by J. Myburgh, 47 Sauer St., Jhb.)

## Show must go on

A "yes" vote will mean that the show will go on, a chorus of South African musicians said yesterday. "A 'yes' vote means a future for all South Africans. Anything else spells disaster," they said. Nineteen personalities and groups endorsed the statement. They include Alex Jay, David Kramer, Johannes Kerkorrel, P J Powers, Little Sister, Mango Groove - who said they regretted that not all the members of the band were entitled to vote - Jennifer Ferguson, Wired to the Floor, Baillyhoo, Diamond Dogs, Electric Petals, Lesley Rae Dowling, Mauritz Lotz, Neil Johnson, Outland, Patricia Lewis, Slam Factory, Tananas and Wozani.

A "yes" vote would mean peace through a negotiated settlement, foreign investment, job creation, an end to violence and a reduction of crime, international opportunities for all SA musicians, and foreign artists and sportsmen playing in SA.

## OUA warns whites

Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday warned whites in SA not to reject reform. "The white population should realise that the future of SA lies in the continuation of the process of negotiations, such as those already begun under Codesa."

## Intimidation denied

The NP yesterday rejected CP allegations that business support for a "yes" vote amounted to intimidation or unfair practices. "In a country of free speech, it is the right of every citizen, including the owner and managers of business firms, to propagate their own views," said NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe. "The attack of the CP on business firms is, therefore, purely a sign of their utter desperation. On Tuesday it is a matter between each voter and his conscience."

Sandton mayor Bruce Burns has urged all residents to make every effort to vote "yes". He said it concerned him to read about what appeared to be considerable apathy among English-speaking voters. "Anything other than a 'yes' vote will spell disaster," Mr Burns said.

Denmark will lift its sanctions against SA if the referendum gives the Government a mandate to continue on its path to a democratic society, SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday. Denmark has been the only European Community

## Denmark awaits 'yes'

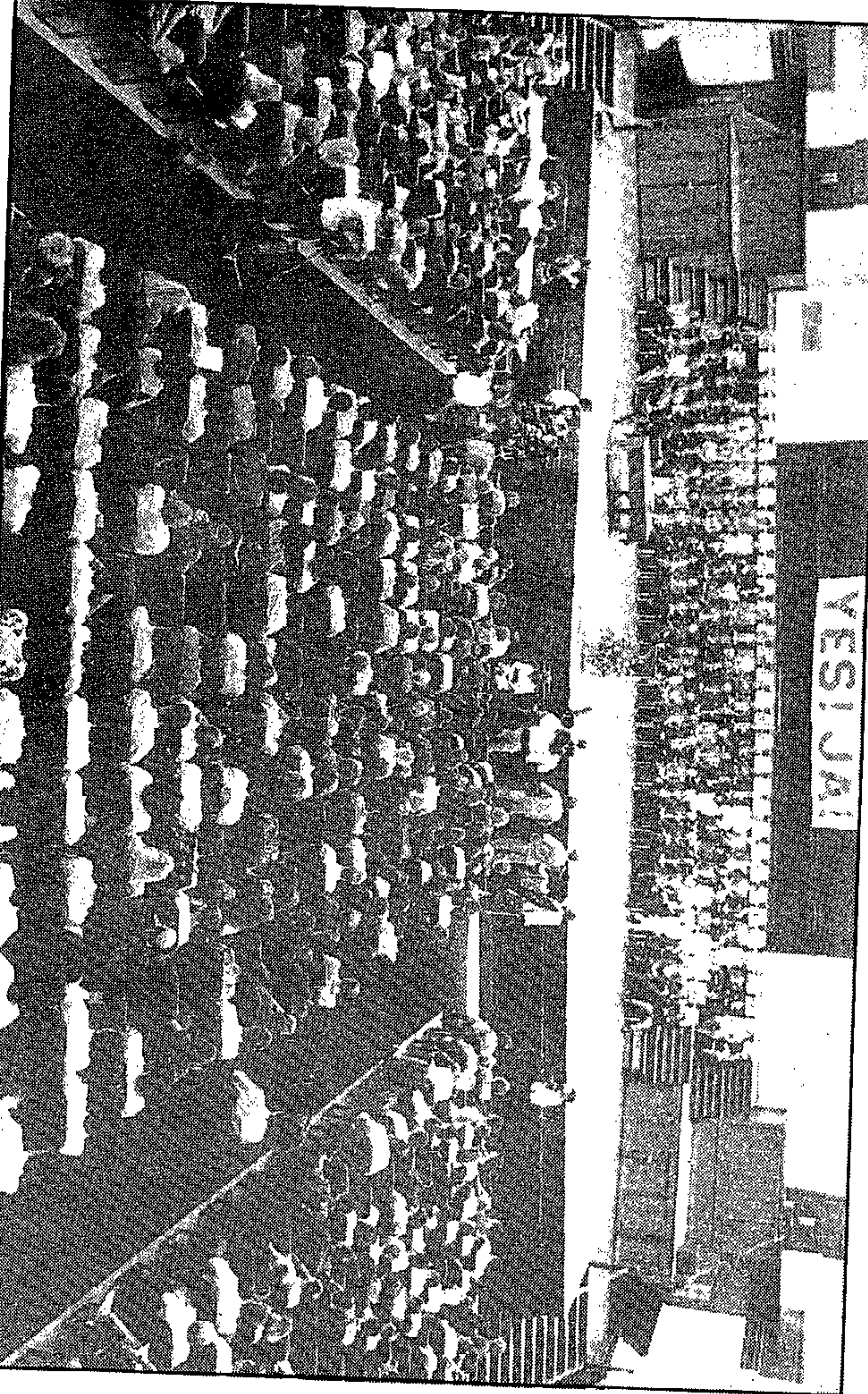
insurers issue 'no' warning

## Insurers issue 'no' warning

By Esther Waugh

Voting "no" today could negatively affect policyholders' pension and life insurance claims, said Life Offices Association deputy director Jurie Wessels.

In the event of a "no", the stock market may drop sharply or collapse. Shares and property were the main areas in which life insurance companies invested. Both would be severely affected by renewed sanctions.



Lunchtime rally... celebrities back the "yes" campaign as speakers Zach de Beer and Pik Botha take the stage at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday. Well-known faces included Helen Suzman, Harry Oppenheimer, Bruce Fordyce, John Hall, Ali Bacher, Graeme Pollock, Vincent van der Bijl and Bob Hewitt.

(304A)

parties achieving large majorities in general elections should realise that each ballot cast in the referendum was of equal value, Dr de Beer said.

He also urged whites not to vote their grievances today.

Mr Botha said the Government had avoided disaster by dismantling apartheid "just in time, and almost too late". He asked whites to consider the total isolation the country would have been in if the Government had not reformed in

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## Taking stand in Right's domain

By Esther Waugh

STAR 1713192

(304A)

It's the flying pickets! A group of white citizens in favour of a "yes" vote plan to gather in Johannesburg this morning and set off for far-flung polling booths in right-wing strongholds, where they would cast their votes.

A spokesman for the group, who wished to remain anonymous, said the idea was to make a stand "in the face of adversity". By voting in conservative areas, the group was showing its support for "liberals" living in right-wing towns, he said.

The effort was not linked to any specific party and had been organised by whites who would be voting "yes" today.

They would split into at least six groups this morning and travel to Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Roodepoort, Germiston, Vereeniging and Kroonstad, he said.

The spokesman said the group would wear "positive" T-shirts and would be asked not to rise to any right-wing provocation at the polling stations.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by R S Steyn, content approved by R Anderson, and political cartoons by D Fedler and D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.



# Where you can cast your vote

30419

MRG 17/3/92

## Who to phone if you need a lift to the polls

### Political Staff

VOTERS who need transport today, polling day in the referendum, can ring telephone numbers of the Democratic Party and the National Party throughout the Peninsula.

### DP numbers are:

City centre 45 1420, Claremont 64 4731, Constantia 72 0907, Green Point 439 1312, Groote Schuur 689 8931, Gardens 461 5980, Maitland 451 420, Milnerton, Belvedere and Pinelands 531 8987, Sea Point 434 3232/439 2956, Simon's Town 782 3127 and Wynberg 705 4977.

### National Party numbers are:

Bellville 946 2407, Claremont 683 5862/683 5864, Constantia 72 6205 (after working hours), De Kuilen (Eversdal) 960 092 and Kulis River 903 2778, Durbanville 963 423, Gardens 454 138, Green Point 439 1312, Maitland 511 2736, Table View 557 9200, Farow 921 732, Pinelands 613 881, Sea Point 438 9603, Hout Bay 790 1364, Simon's Town 736 3411, Tygervallei 933 3070, Vasco 591 2233, Goodwood 592 4647 and Wynberg 705 4997.



der Berg Street, Riversdale.

**OUDSTHOORN:** Nasionale Padwinkel, Harold; Langkloof Farmers Co-op, Avontuur; home of L Barkhuizen, behind the DRC hall, Noll; home of Mr C Nortje, on Scheeperskraal farm, Uniondale district; magistrate's Office, Van Riebeeck Street, Joubertina; De Jager Sport Complex, Voortrekker Street, Oudsthoorn; DRC hall, Le Roux Street, De Rust; DRC hall, Cango Valley, at Matjies River; magistrate's office, Caltitzdorp; home of Mr Pieter Wannenburg, on Rooirivier farm, Oudsthoorn district; magistrate's office, Voortrekker Street, Uniondale; SADF Infantry School, Military Base, Park Road 231, Oudsthoorn.

**SWELLENDAM:** courtroom, magistrate's

VOTERS in the Peninsula may cast their referendum votes at any one of the following polling stations between 7 am and 3 pm on Tuesday March 17.

They must have their identity books or temporary identity documents with them. No other form of identification will be accepted.

Polling stations in the Peninsula area will be established at:

**CERES:** Courtroom, SA Police, Nieuwoudtville; church hall, Middepos; municipality office, Gouda; courtroom, Magistrate's office, Tulbagh; courtroom, magistrate's office, Wolseley; courtroom, magistrate's office, Ceres; Town Hall,

Prince Alfred Hamlet, DRC hall, Op-die-Berg; courtroom, magistrate's office, Sutherland; H M F Cloete, Komproms, Sutherland; town hall, Riebeeck-West; DRC hall, Riebeeck-Kasteel; courtroom, SA Police, De Doorns; Waaboorn Hall, Breërivier.

**GEORGE:** City Hall, Civic Centre, York Street, George; DRC hall, Wilderness Heights, Protea Hall, Main Street, Karatara; town hall, Flamingo Avenue, Sedgefield; town hall, Queen Street, Knysna; The Tent, The Green, opposite Karos Wilderness Hotel, Wilderness; DRC hall, Napier Street, Blanco; DRC hall, Leeuwbosch; DRC hall, Hoekwil.

**MOSSIEL BAY:** Town

hall, enr Van Riebeeck and Niekerk streets, Heidelberg; Holiday Hut No 10, Main Road, Witsand; City Hall, Civic Centre, Mossel Bay; ATKV Hall, Paardekraal Road, Hartenbos; Periodic courtroom, Long Street, Great Brak River; school hall, Priamary School Ruitersbos, Ruitersbos; Secondary School, Herbertsdale; home of Mr C Ellis (adjacent to store), on the farm, Moerasrivier; DRC hall, Outenique, Diepkloof; Divisional Council rondavels, Courtmond; magistrate's office, Hot Street, Albertina; hall at Palinggat, Main Road west, Still Bay; home of Mr J A Streicher, on Swarth-euwel farm, Riversdale district; town hall, Van



court, recascurp; school hall, Herberg Children's Home, Main Road, Struisbaai; Van Breda School, Baards-keerdersbosch; DRC hall, Church Street, Van Wyksdorp; town hall, Van Riebeeck Street, Ladismith; SAP court-room, Barrydale; City hall, Voortrekker Street, Swellendam; courtroom, Coetzee Street, Bonnievale; town hall, Aston, Hofmeyer Hall, Bad Street, Montagu; home of Mr T K Sinclair on Concordia farm, Koo, Montagu district; SAP courtroom, McGregor.

**BELLVILLE:** Recreation Hall, White Nurses' Home, Tygerberg Hospital, Tygervalley; banquet hall, Civic Centre, Voortrekker Road, Bellville; Vredelust DRC hall, 85 13th Avenue, Bellville.

**CALEDON:** council chamber, municipality, Napier; DRC hall, Caledon; DRC hall, Stanford, Vanbrakel Store, Springerskull, Caledon; DRC hall, Riviersonderend; town hall, Greyton; town hall, Villiersdorp; DRC hall, Botrivier; courtroom, magistrates' office, Grabouw; town hall, Kleinmond; courtroom, magistrate's office, Hermanus.

**CLAREMONT:** Rotary Club Hall, Kinkle Road, Newlands; Civic Centre hall, Main Road,

**BIG YES:** Mr David Fletcher, 73, with the clear referendum message he has painted on the fence of his Hof Street home. Although Mr Fletcher, a British subject, cannot vote, he wanted to show white South Africans where to make their crosses today. He has been in the country only two years, but his family has strong ties with South Africa.

Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

Claremont; Simon van

der Stel Primary School, cnr Waterloo and Upper Church streets, Wynberg; Social Club Hall, (opp Protea Grocery Store), Norwich Life sport complex, Protea Road, Claremont.

**CONSTANTIA:** Kirstenof Primary School, Lente Street, Constantia; Old Winery Hall, Constantia Road, Constantia; Moth Memorial Hall, Children's Road, Bergvliet.

**DE KUILLEN:** DRC hall, Stellenberg, Edelweiss Crescent, Eversdal; Van Riebeeck Hall, Van Riebeeck Road, Kuilsrivier, DRC hall La Rochelle, cnr Meerlust and Hadley streets, Belhar.

**DURBANVILLE:** City Hall, Main Road, Durbanville; Voortrekker Hall, Van Riebeeck Avenue, Kenridge; Community Centre, Edgemead Drive, Edgemead; Tygerberg Technical College, Rothschild Boulevard, Panorama; Monte Vista Primary School hall, Huising Avenue, Monte Vista; Welgemoed Primary School hall, Nederburgh Street, Wel-

gemoed.  
**GREEN POINT:**  
Civic Centre, Main Road, Sea Point

Temple Israel Hall, Portwood Road, Green Point; town hall, Victoria Road, Woodstock; (additional): Moravian Hill Student Centre, off Constitution Street, Zonnebloem Campus, Cape Technicon, Cape Town; Civic Centre, Second Floor, Podium Hall, Hertogs Boulevard, Cape Town; Reception Room, city hall, Darling Street, Cape Town.

**GRROOTE SCHUR:** Gordons Sports Associations, Liesbeeck Park Road, Mowbray; Observatory Municipal Hall, Collingwood Road, Observatory; Newlands School Clinic, cnr Main Street and Kildare Road, Newlands; Mowbray Town Hall, Main Road, Mowbray.

**HELDERBERG:** City hall, Main Road, Somerset West; Gordon's Bay Boat Angling Club, Main Road, Gordon's Bay; D F Malan Memorial Centre

Foyer, Coetzenburg, Stellenbosch; Ou Herenhuus, Elsenburg Agricultural College, Muldersvlei; sports club, Bottelary Road, Bottelary; Bastion Primary School, Jacaranda Street, Brackenfell.

**CAPE TOWN** — **GARDENS:** Jan van Riebeeck Primary School, 52 Kloof Street, Cape Town; Good Hope Seminary Junior, 21 Vredehoek Ave, Vredehoek.

**MAITLAND:** Martin Adams Hall, Koeberg Road, Brooklyn; town hall, Tafelberg Road; Bothasig; Maitland Town Hall, Voortrekker Road, Maitland; Janssens Hall, Janssens Street, Milnerton.

**MALMESBURY:** Liebrand van Niekerk Hall, South Road, Table View; town hall, Malmesbury; school hall, Primary School Van Riebeeckstrand, Melkbos; magistrate's office, Main Road, Darling; The Community Hall, Outer Road, Yzerfontein; town hall, Hopefield; municipality community hall, Langebaan; recreation

hall, Air Force Base, Langebaanweg; recreation hall, rugby grounds, Esperia Street, Vredenburg; recreation hall, Holiday Camps, Sal-danha; municipal hall, St Helena Bay; town Hall, Veldrif.

**PAARL:** Recreation hall, Allandale Prison, Huguenot; Noordeind Primary School hall, Main Road, Northern Paarl; Paarl Motors, Jan van Riebeeck Drive, Huguenot; Hall-Store, Malanot Farm (Mr Hendrik Malan), Windmeul; Atkinson Motors, Fabrik Street, Paarl; city hall, Main Street, Paarl; KWV Cafeteria, Main Street, Paarl; Wine Hall, Agricultural Society, showgrounds, Paarl; town hall, Franschoek, Hall-Store, Biene Donne Experimental Farm, Groot Drakenstein; DRC hall, Klappmuts.

**PAROW:** Civic Centre, Voortrekker Road, Parow; DRC hall, Friesland Street, Oostersee; DRC hall, Reitz Street, Parow-North.

**PIKETBERG:** Magistrate's office, Main

station, Redelinghuys; home of Mr J H C Barnard, Eselsfontein, Het Kruis; municipal hall, Eendekull; courtroom, Porterville; library hall, municipality, Piketberg; NGK hall, Op die Berg; show hall, showgrounds, Citrusdal; shop of Lieb Engelbrecht, Paleisheuvel; home of Mr D Slabbert, Olyfendoschkraal, Clanwilliam; DRC hall, Graatwater; DRC hall, Leopoldville; recreation hall, Lambertsbaai; home of Mrs A Theron, Vondeling, Clanwilliam, DRC hall, Trawal; DRC hall, Lutzville.

**PINELANDS:** Golden Grove Primary School, Stuart Street, Ronderbosch; DRC hall, Central Avenue, Pinelands.

**SEA POINT:** Camps Bay Club, The Med Way; Camps Bay, Bowls Club; Hout Bay, The Green & Sea Point Hebrew Congregational Hall, 10 Marais Road, Sea Point; Tafelberg Junior School, King's Road, Sea Point.

**SIMON'S TOWN:** General du Preez Hall, Pollsmoor Prison, Pollsmoor; Zeekoewele school hall, Sun Valley Primary School, Sun Valley; Civic Centre, Fish Hoek; RA Edwards Sports Complex, Glen Road, Glencourt; Sea Fisheries

complex, Poplar Ave., Thornton.

**FALSE BAY:** The German Hall, Springfield Road, Philippi; Charles Morkel Stadium, Church Street, Strand; Ottery-Ferness Sports Club, Tristania Avenue, Ottery; Sunlands Primary School, Sunlands, Kenwyn; (additional): town hall, Main Road, Strand; international departure hall, D F Malan Airport, Cape Town.

**VASCO:** community hall, Civic Centre, McDonald Street, Goodwood.

**WELLINGTON:** Civic Centre, c/o Old Paarl Road & Paradys Street, Brackenfell; Mountainview Stud Farm (Mr Noel Bester), Old Dur-

banville Road (now Tygerbergvalley Road (M13), Milnerton; community hall, Kalabaskraal; Klein Wolwe Dans farm (Mr Sam Currie), Kliphewel; Weltevrede farm (Mrs Mostert), Paardeberg; C P van der Merwe Hall, Teachers' College Boland, Jan van Riebeeck Street, Wellington; Farmers' Association Hall, Philadelphia; Civic Centre, Brighton Road, Kraalfontein.

**WORCESTER:** Rooiberg Wine Cellar, Vink- river, Robertson district,



17/3/92

Argus

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Road, Clanwilliam; community hall, Elizabethfontein, Clanwilliam; community hall, Elizabethfontein, Clanwilliam; courtroom, Main Road, Clanwilliam; community hall, Koringberg; City Hall, Moorreesburg; store of G A Visser, Suurfontein, Sauer; DRC hall, Aurora; recreation hall in Caravan Park, Dwarskersbos, Velddrif; Primary School hall, Vallei Street, Klaver; Burrell Hall, Doringbaai; DRC Mother Congregation, church Hall, Vredendal; store of W J Engelbrecht, Elandsbaai; courtroom, police

Office, Lighthouse Road, Kommetjie; Camel Rock Restaurant, Scarborough; Muizenberg Pavilion, Muizenberg; Civic Centre, Simon's Town; Protea Sports Club, Main Road, Retreat.

**STELLENBOSCH:**  
City hall, Plein Street, Stellenbosch.

**TIGER VALLEY:**  
DRC hall Parowvallei, Frederick Street, Parow Valley; school hall, Windsor Primary School, Leafmore Street, Kenwyn; DRC hall, Parow Valley East; Mark Street, Parow Valley; Zerilda Steyn Hall, Ruyterwacht; sports

Town Hall, Church Street, Robertson; Agterkliphoogte Wine Cellar, Robertson district; Town Hall, High Street, Worcester; Brandvlei Wine Cellar, Worcester district; T C Botha, Stettyn, Worcester district; library hall, municipality, 17 Le Seur Street, Rawsonville.

**WYNBERG:** Southfield Civic Centre, cnr Victoria- and Casino roads, Southfield; Wynberg Sports Club, cnr Rosmead and Wetton Road, Wynberg; Methodist Church Hall, Langenhoven Street, Southfield.



# Whites must choose the path of honour

Sowetan 17/3/92

(304A)

TODAY, is March 17 1992, referendum day.

It is the day on which almost 3,3 million registered white voters in South Africa will decide whether their collective future lies through reaching a negotiated settlement with almost 30 million black people along the lines chosen by President FW de Klerk.

If this is what they want, they will vote a simple "yes". If they are opposed to the existing framework of negotiations, they will vote "no".

This might seem to be a very simple choice for the white people of South Africa. Simple? Maybe in its wording, yes. But today's vote is not a vote for or against any specific game plan of any specific party.

Today's vote is not about cricket, or the international community, or mining, or big capital.

As the Conservative Party's Mr Andries Beyers said during the election campaign of the past three weeks: "Today's referendum is about power, who has it and who keeps it. . ." The issues in today's referendum do indeed run deeper than a simple "yes" or "no" for continued negotiations, as it has been put.

Today is the day that whites in South Africa have been waiting for for almost 350 years. For 350 years, whites in South Africa have known that there would come a day when they would, as it were, have to hand over power.

For 350 years whites in South Africa have known that there would come a day when they would have to make this big decision. For 350 years, that day has been "out there somewhere". . . But that day has ar-



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

rived, today is that day.

President FW de Klerk said it himself, in Parliament, when he announced the referendum: "It is the moment of truth for whites in South Africa."

Today is the day that whites in South Africa have been postponing for 350 years, and there is no return. But whatever the outcome of today's referendum, the days when whites have held a monopoly on political power in this part of the world are over.

The international community and the political leadership as well as the majority of the people of South Africa, have accepted this and will work to see a democratic non-racial social and political order in place in the country.

Whichever way the vote goes tomorrow, whites will never have the same privileges as before. In the event of a "yes" victory, the white grip on political power will be shared by black people through negotiations - this much has been promised.

Similarly, the proportionally large amount of money that has for decades gone into social services for whites, will be dissolved into a relatively smaller pool of finance for a large number of other people.

The "no" vote could, quite



FW de Klerk

possibly, win the day, and the consequences of this can be interpreted in many ways. There are, if the "nos" have it, however, two certainties: the one is that a general election will be called and the CP/AWB/HNP axis will try to contest it in terms of the present constitution.

It is, however, unlikely that De Klerk, who heads a non-racial party, will enter into a general election against an all-white party in terms of a constitution which is in reality devoid of actual racist legislation; especially in the light of near institutions like Codesa and widespread international approval thereof.

The other certainty is that, if the CP/AWB/HNP axis actually wins the election, and gets to power after the (improbable) general election, the internal up-

rising, coupled with the external pressure would bring down a far rightwing government within months, perhaps even weeks.

Whichever way the whites vote today, their moment of truth has arrived. They must choose between going out the honourable way, through peaceful negotiations; or at the tip of a sword...

After the years of repression in South Africa, and after the giant steps towards reconciliation that have been taken in recent years, internationally and locally, it is actually inconceivable that a group of people with the outlook on life such as that expressed by the CP/AWB/HNP axis can a) come to power and b) stay in power.

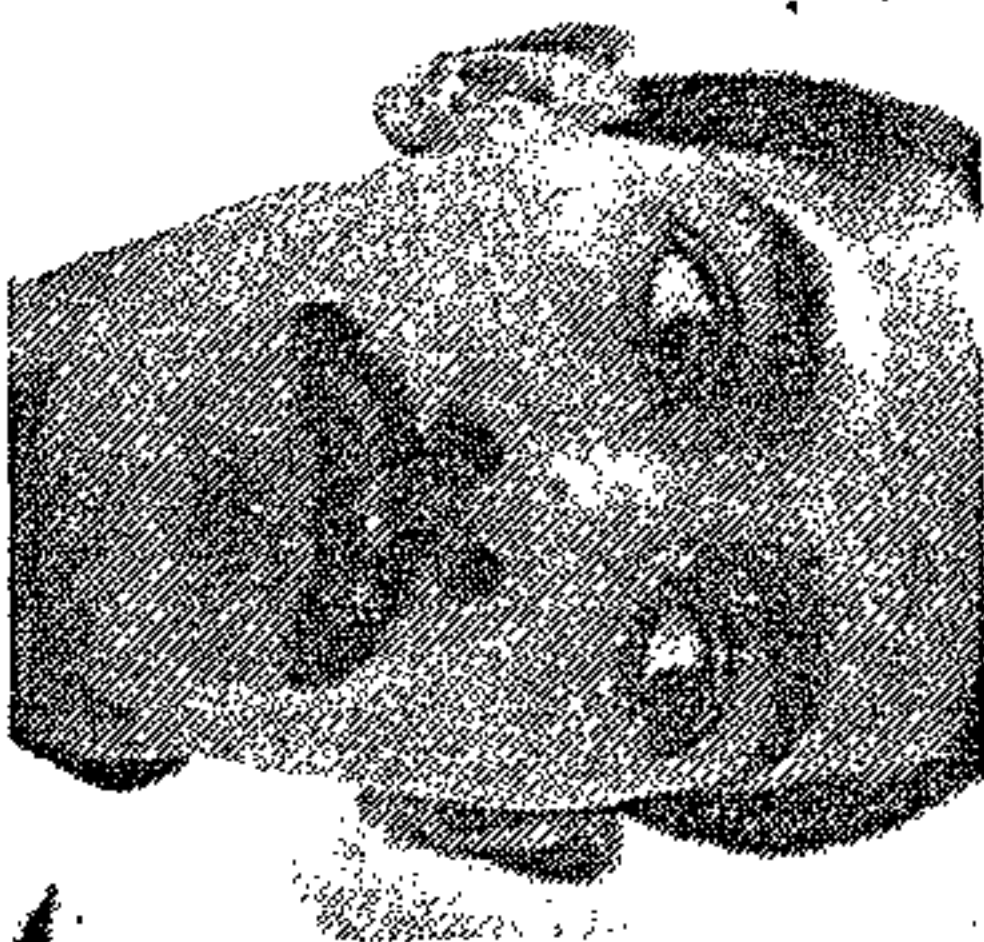
Consider the bizarre scenario: more than 30 million people, including the most powerful whites in the country (ironically), standing at the gates of Parliament shouting slogans at a band of political dogmatists - some dressed in grey suits and shoes, others in khaki and on horseback.

An even more bizarre scenario is one of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, and Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, landing at Dulles International Airport in Washington DC, and meeting US President George Bush with the message: "We have reimposed apartheid."

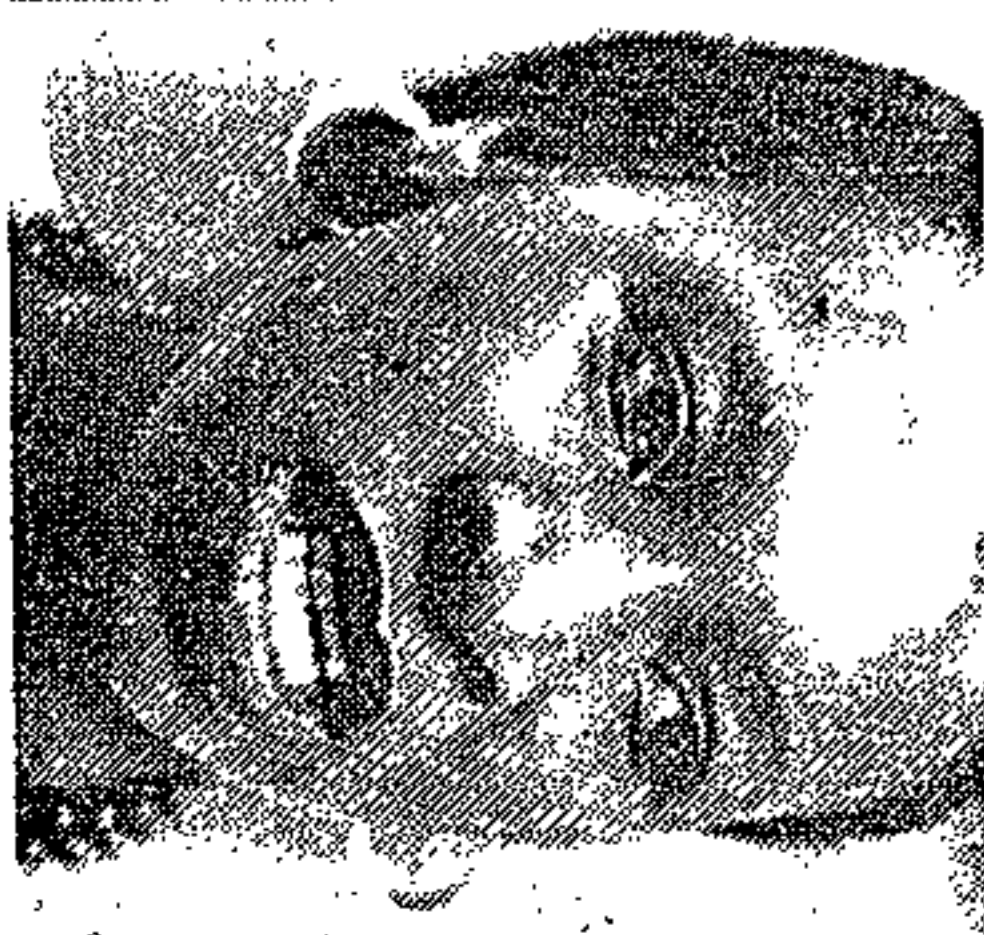
Alas, it remains up to the white voters of South Africa for whom, ironically, as a privileged group, there is actually no way out and no turning back.

They cannot postpone this day indefinitely.





MARK MANUEL



JUDITH MABUNDA



GAIL ISAACS



THAMI MBATHA



TSHEKO RABOANE

# Blacks keeping fingers crossed

MILLIONS of blacks are hoping for a "yes" vote in today's whites-only referendum, according to a snap survey conducted by *Sowetan* yesterday.

Housewives, shop assistants, cashiers and teachers expressed trepidation and anxieties about the possible outcome of the referendum.

Many said they were hoping white voters to give State President Mr FW De Klerk a "yes" vote to enable him to continue with negotiations.

Mr Gabriel Khunou, one of the "non-voters" *Sowetan* interviewed, said he expected a marginal National

By SONTI MASEKO

Party victory.

Khunou said in a sense a "yes" or "no" vote would not change the political situation in the country.

"Either way, we'll still have other people ruling us. It's white people fighting over who will be baas."

"But I would like De Klerk to win so that we continue with Codesa," he said.

Mr Tshako Raboane said he was hoping for "yes" vote because De Klerk "is a moderate Boer, and easier to work with."

"The issue at hand is that the problems in the country have been identified and, whatever the outcome of the referendum, these problems will have to be sorted out," Raboane said.

Mr Thami Mbatha of Mofolo, Soweto, said he was hoping for a "yes" vote so that the Government's reforms were not reversed.

He said he was unhappy that black people won't be voting.

Miss Judith Mabunda, an unemployed Sowetomother, was annoyed at being unable to vote.

She said: "All I want is to speak for myself. I am not interested in a 'yes' or 'no' vote for as long as I cannot vote."

She said life under a rightwing government would be unbearable.

"If the rightwing should come to power, I would be prepared to fight until we are all dead rather than live like the living dead, without rights," she said.

Most women approached were reluctant or too afraid to speak.

They said they were not interested and did not want to be involved in politics.

However, one of them, Mrs Charlotte Dippenaar, later said: "If we do not talk for ourselves, nothing is going to get better."

She said whatever the outcome of

the referendum she hoped for a better future.

"All we want is peace and human rights," said Mrs Gail Isaacs.

A security officer, Mr Mark Manuel, said he was anxious about the outcome of the referendum considering what rightwing leaders had said.

He said he would be keeping his fingers crossed for a "yes" vote.

"I think (Mr Eugene) Terre'blanche (AWB leader) will be more angry if white voters vote 'yes'. They might go underground and become aggressive and start bombings like terrorists," Manuel said.

*Sowetan* 17/3/92

(304/1) (44)



# Mixed views on whites-only poll

*Sowetan 17/3/92*

A "YES" or "no" vote in today's whites-only referendum would make no difference in the lives of black people, the PAC and Azapo said yesterday.

Inkatha Freedom Party said, however, that a "yes" vote would speed up the process of change, even though Codesa's "weaknesses needed to be corrected".

The ANC said it was totally opposed to the idea that whites should decide the future of the country alone. (304A)

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said: "But we accept the fact that whites are faced with a harsh decision in the referendum. They can either kill the prospects of a negotiated settlement or defend

them." (11/17)

PAC's deputy secretary-general, Mr Carter Seleke, said the referendum was meaningless to blacks.

"Both De Klerk and Terre'Blanche are fighting for the control of the oppressed black masses."

Azapo said a "yes" vote in the referendum would strengthen De Klerk's position at Codesa.



# Now's the hour



President FW de Klerk marks time as he winds up an exhausting referendum campaign. Pic: AP.

**AS MILLIONS of black South Africans hold their breath, white voters today go to the polls to determine whether or not to continue negotiating a peaceful settlement.**

Black people initially stood aloof from what is clearly a racist whites-only poll, especially after recent political developments in the country.

But, during the past week, as it became a distinct possibility that the Conservative Party-led "no" vote could win today's referendum, the danger of a return to old-style apartheid has caused blacks from all walks of life to come out strongly in favour of a "yes" vote.

Tension has also been mounting and there have been fears of violence and intimidation at polling stations.

Political analyst Professor Willem Kleyhans said yesterday he feared there would be intimidation during a build-up

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

of voting later this afternoon.

He said if a single voter felt intimidated by a rowdy, lobbying crowd at a polling station, the voter could apply to the Supreme Court to have the whole referendum - with millions of rands spent on the campaigns alone - declared void.

"I would not be surprised if scuffles broke out from 5pm," he said.

## Overwhelming

By late yesterday, the possibility of a "no" victory became even stronger as reports indicated that the only thing that could save the "yes" campaign would be the vote of the traditionally English-speaking Democratic Party supporters.

When State President FW de Klerk put the question to voters in the white House of Assembly on March 2, and the Conservative Party fumbled for 24 hours for a response, an overwhelming "yes" appeared within reach.

But as campaigning gathered momen-

tum over the past two weeks, the reality is that the far right axis of the CP/Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Herstigte Nasionale Party has dug in its heels and secured the rural vote.

In the Free State and the Transvaal even the State President was greeted with violence and by the weekend National Party canvassers reported that it was likely that these two provinces could record a "no" majority.

By late yesterday the feeling was that support for the "no" vote was gathering force even in the metropolitan areas.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer pleaded with English-speaking voters not to be apathetic and to vote "yes" today.

De Beer said a "no" vote would be a declaration of war against South Africa's black majority.

He said there was no merit in wishing away the racist whites-only referendum now.

"In other words, whether we like it or not, we've got it and now it must be won for the 'yes' vote."



# Buthelezi: AWB pact is 'gimmick'

CT 17/6/92

Own Correspondent

364A

ULUNDI — A non-aggression pact, claimed to have been signed by Inkatha and the AWB, was condemned yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha's Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza.

Chief Buthelezi said the agreement represented a "very cheap gimmick" aimed at using the IFP in the referendum.

He told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he had not been informed of the pact, signed by high-ranking Transvaal IFP member Mr Musa Myeni, and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The KwaZulu chief minister said he regarded the referendum as a "whites only" affair and he did not want to be used by either side.

Mr Khoza said yesterday that the reports of a non-aggression treaty with the AWB were false.

He said the IFP was committed to bringing the CP and the AWB into the Codesa negotiations.



...resounding 'yes' vote in today's referendum. ET 17/3/92 304A Picture: AP

# Top men join Pik call

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — About 100 prominent South Africans in business, church, sport and entertainment joined Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at the Johannesburg city hall yesterday to call for a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum.

Mr Botha greeted many of them on the steps of the hall, including former Anglo American Corporation and De Beers chairman Mr Harry Oppenheimer, who said: "I don't like playing for such high stakes."

About 700 people heard Mr Botha and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer warn of dire consequences should the "no" vote prevail today.

Others present at the meeting were businessmen Messrs Peter Wrighton, Clive Menell, Mike Rosholt and John Hall. Among the sports personalities were United Cricket Board managing director Dr Ali Bacher, Comrades marathon legend Bruce Fordyce and Transvaal Rugby Football Union president Dr Louis Luyt. Pastor Ray McCauley, head of the Rhema Church, was there as was Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

## SA 'in a tailspin' — ET

**CARLETONVILLE.** — The government had sent the country into a revolutionary tailspin and could not honour the undertakings it had given, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said last night.

Addressing about 1 000 people here, Mr Terre'Blanche said President F W de Klerk "must be hoping for a 'no' vote so that he can make an easy exit".

The right-wing leader said a "yes" vote would mean the end of civilisation in South Africa, because it was a case of "small smelly black men" versus a nation that had attained atom-bomb technology and who had transplanted hearts. — Sapa

Interviewed before the meeting, they all said they were confident of a "yes" vote winning today.

Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said he was more confident than last week and felt the "no" campaign had peaked too early. He predicted 55% of whites would vote "yes".

Mr Botha painted a bleak picture if a "no" vote was returned. He said the country would be entirely isolated.

Like the Oceanos, the country would sink abruptly and countries now preparing to reinvest would draw back, he said.

He said Denmark would lift its sanctions if the referendum gave the government a mandate to continue on its path to a democratic society.

Dr De Beer said a "no" vote would be a declaration of war against the majority of South Africans.

Prominent businesswomen Ms Reeva Forman said: "A no vote will destroy all we have invested in the country."

Singer Des Lindberg said he would vote "yes because I'm not bloody crazy".

His wife Dawn said she would vote "yes" because "in order to have something left, we must do something right".



CT 17/92  
(304A)  
**Sweden could lift sanctions**

PRETORIA — A "yes" vote in the referendum would help eliminate sanctions imposed on South Africa by Sweden, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Margaretha af Ugglas said yesterday.

She expressed "high hopes" that Codesa would "proceed rapidly, resulting in a new and democratic constitution for SA in the near future". — Sapa



# UK press puts SA under spotlight

364A

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Britain's media commentators yesterday put white South Africa under a glaring spotlight in an attempt to gauge today's critical outcome.

The build-up to the referendum was carried prominently in virtually every newspaper.

Influential Financial Times columnist Ms Patti Waldmeir said most whites would vote for the party which struck the best bargain for white interests.

President F W de Klerk's experiments with "visionary rhetoric" in promising a grand and beautiful multiracial future fell flat with audiences more wor-

ried than inspired by change, she said.

The Conservative Party had kept its message simple: Vote "no" and stop the advance of communism in the form of the ANC with its SACP ally.

The Nationalists had, in contrast, run a "wordy and unimaginative" campaign.

Today's vote would tell whether whites believed Mr De Klerk's vow to share power without abandoning it, or Dr Andries Treurnicht's promise of security in separation.

The Western Mail, Wales's largest daily, said in an editorial that Mr De Klerk's warning that there was "no alternative to justice" was widely understood

among South Africans to mean much more.

"It means that, since the black majority has begun to realise its own strength, white South Africans can no longer count on long-term survival for their lifestyles or themselves so long as their system of democracy continues to exclude the country's majority as if it were an inferior breed."

South Africa's return to the world community depended on whites "completing their trek to justice".

The choice was whether to rejoin the world or to unleash a bloody civil war.

"One can only hope they will choose sanity," it concluded.

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(3040)  
**Extra police at  
polling booths**

CT 17/92  
DURBAN. — Extra police will be deployed at polling booths today.

A police statement said the SAP would "do everything possible to insure that law and order will be maintained at all the polling booths."

The statement said safety precautions had already been implemented at the booths.



## Dutch angry at ANC call

ROTTERDAM. — The ANC wants the planned official visit by Dutch Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers in August postponed yet again, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela's comment has drawn angry reactions from spokesmen of two major parties, the Christian Democrats (CDA) and the VVD.

● The Netherlands said yesterday it had lifted a ban on most sporting contacts with South Africa, but 14 sports were still blacklisted because teams were still segregated. — Sapa

# Experts say 'yes' votes gaining

CT 17/3/92

(304A)

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The "yes" vote campaign has gained in the last days and, although dependent on voter turnout, the result of today's referendum is likely to be a "yes" win of between 56% and 61%.

According to a report by independent political analysts Professor Japie Spoelstra and Mr Donald Simpson on the eve of the referendum, if the turnout is low — close to two million — it will be a low "yes" figure.

Noting ex-Rhodesian prime minister Mr Ian Smith's call for a "yes" vote, the report said 55% of Afrikaans-speakers were likely to vote "yes", as would 75% of English-speakers.

However, the votes would be more markedly divided by socio-economic and demographic boundaries.

The right-wing decision to take part in the referendum had been a big mistake on its part, said the report.

The report noted that after 10 years of avoiding the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, "a disaster has been reaped" by the CP to gain electoral success and manoeuvrability.

About 32% of whites were unhappy with the CP and the NP, said the analysts. "Yes" was the least horrible choice. The choice of two hells." — Sapa



# SA's biggest ad campaign ends

*B/day*  
TODAY marks the end of the largest print campaign in SA advertising history — nearly a month of daily advertisements urging people to vote "yes" or "no", or simply to vote at all in the referendum.

Newspapers have been filled with messages from political parties, the private sector and individuals campaigning to swing the vote. No total adspend figure is available on referendum advertising and no one is prepared to venture a guess. But advertisers say it is without doubt the largest campaign in SA's history.

The Private Sector Referendum Fund raised R3,6m to promote the "yes" vote. Times Media Limited marketing GM Peter McKenzie said response to the fund's advertising, which included boards at the World Cup in Australia and TV slots, had been encouraging.

A CP spokesman said yesterday the party's head office had spent R250 000 on Transvaal advertising.

Advertising industry sources said about R125 000 had been spent on bus advertising alone. Private placement of adverts — often taking a full newspaper page — had added a considerable amount to the total adspend.

Advertisers said the outcome of the vote would show how successful

the campaigns had been.

The NP spent more than R3,6m on its campaign which ran in three phases. Gordon Muller, media and corporate communications director for Saatchi & Saatchi, Klerck & Barrett, the agency running the NP's campaign, said the first part explained the question and how people should vote. The second phase used shock tactics. The third, run in the past two days, was intended to show the benefits of reform.

Outdoor Advertising Association GM Natalie Wilkes said referendum ads required a record number of buses to be posted, live TV link-ups at major airports, and stadium signs in Australia and New Zealand.

Moving Media and Bus Marketing Services had initiated a campaign using 210 buses in four cities.

Reports on referendum results will be broadcast on Rent-a-Sign's giant video wall at Jan Smuts Airport via a live link-up with the SABC.

One of the more imaginative referendum-linked adverts was one for Hansa Pilsener by D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles. It said: "This is no time to have a lager mentality", and told people to say "yes" to a "progressive move away from the lager".

Report by M Klein, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

17/3/92 304A  
MARCIA KLEIN

# Percentage poll crucial to outcome

LAST-minute indications yesterday were that the "yes" votes would take today's referendum, but experts and campaigners warned that the percentage poll would be crucial to the outcome.

NP leaders predicted a "yes" victory of at least 55% as advertising campaigns aimed last-ditch appeals at uncertain English speakers.

"Yes" campaigners were starting to show signs of optimism yesterday after what one MP described as "mid-campaign blues".

NP MP Sheila Camerer said: "Our goal is still 60% but I think it would be realistic to look at between 55% and 60%."

The NP campaign head office in Pretoria had been getting "encouraging indications" in the past few days of a swing back to the "yes" campaign, she said.

DP national communications director James Selfe pointed out that there had been no reliable canvassing of voters on which to base firm predictions. But it could be close — with "yes" votes somewhere between 50% and 55%.

Most voters in the Cape, Natal and Johannesburg were expected to come out on the side of the "yes" campaign — but major question marks hung over Pretoria,

## Business Day Reporters

the western and northern Transvaal and the Free State.

The CP has been reluctant to make predictions but has grown in confidence as the campaign progressed.

Sapa reports that independent analysts Prof Japie Spoelstra and Donald Simpson predicted a "yes" majority of between 56% and 61%, but said this would be lower if only about 2-million of the 3.2-million voters went to the polls.

Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said he was more confident than he was last week and felt the "no" campaign had peaked too early. He predicted that 55% of whites would vote "yes".

Analyst Prof Willem Kleyrhans predicted a "no" vote if the percentage poll was below 60%.

Apparently addressing himself to waverers, particularly English-speaking voters, CP leader Andries Treurnicht emphasised yesterday that a "no" vote would give voters a second chance to vote.

"Vote 'no' and you make sure you can vote again on the best policies put forward by the different parties," Treurnicht said.

□ To Page 2

at the CP's final media conference in the campaign. However, Treurnicht said he gained the impression President F W de Klerk was attempting to back down on his promise to resign if a "no" vote was returned because he was emphasising the violence that would ensue.

HNP leader Jaap Marais told a news briefing whites had many reasons to vote "no". These included personal safety, economic and a rejection of an "NP/ANC coalition" as a government.

About 100 prominent South Africans in business, church, sport and entertainment joined Foreign Minister P. W. Botha at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday to call for a resounding "yes" vote.

Botha greeted many of them on the steps of the hall. Among them was former Anglo American Corporation and De Beers chairman Harry Oppenheimer, who commented: "I don't like playing for such high stakes."

About 700 people heard Botha and DP leader Zach de Beer warn of dire consequences should the "no" vote prevail today. Others present at the meeting were businessmen Peter Wrihton, Clive Menell, Mike Rosholt and John Hall. Among the sports personalities were United Cricket Board MD Ali Bacher, Cornrades marathon legend Bruce Fordyce and Transvaal Rugby Football Union president Louis Luyt. Rhema Church head Pastor Ray McCauley was there, as was Methodist Bishop Peter Storey. Interviewed before the meeting, they all said they were confident of a "yes" vote winning.

Botha painted a bleak picture if a "no" vote was returned. He said the country would be entirely isolated. Like the

Oceania, the country would sink abruptly and countries now preparing to reinvest would draw back.

Botha said the sanctions campaign against SA would be so fierce that white workers would virtually be firing themselves if a "no" vote was returned. He conceded the economy was in a bad way, but claimed a disaster had been avoided. Progress was being made, he said, pointing out that SA's trade with Africa amounted to more than R10bn last year.

He stated CP leaders for claiming that they would talk to the ANC, saying no black leader would sit down with the CP to discuss the reintroduction of apartheid.

De Beer had an equally dire message, saying a "no" vote would be a declaration of war against most South Africans.

Prominent businessman Reeva Fomm said: "A 'no' vote will destroy all we have invested in the country."

Singer Des Lindberg said he would "vote 'yes' because I'm not bloody crazy". His wife Dawn said she would vote "yes" because "in order to have something left, we must do something right".

De Beer told the audience: "Your single vote, or that of your brother or sister, nephew, niece or friend, can be the deciding factor for the whole of SA."

He said those supporting a "no" vote would only buy time for whites.

"They are actually suggesting that if you vote 'no' tomorrow, you buy yourselves time to think again — that you can always vote 'yes' later. This is not only untrue, it is actually treacherous."

Report by G. Kelly, P. Bulger and T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb. Sapa, 141 Commissioner St. Jhb.

See Pages 3, 7, 8 and 15

□ From Page 1

Poll

8/000 17/3/92

3044



# Little hope for the right in Fish Hoek

CP CANVASSERS may well have given Fish Hoek up as a lost cause.

This seaside community is the major centre in the Simonstown constituency which for decades provided knife-edge election tussles between the NP and opposition parties.

While some voters are a bit confused by the issues, definite "no" votes are few and far between.

Hairdressing assistant San is unsure as to how she will vote.

"I am totally confused. I don't know how I will vote. Normally I am an NP supporter but I don't know what FW is doing now. I don't know whether war will break out if I say 'yes' or 'no'. Every night on TV there is so much talk, there are so many different views that I get confused and don't know what is happening. But in the end I think I will vote 'yes' as I think things will get better then. There will be peace, sanctions will stop and there will be better sporting links."

Nineteen-year-old language student Elizabeth is also unsure.

She is not normally politically involved but realises there is a lot at stake. Uncertain as to how she will cast her vote, she nevertheless believes the job situation will improve with a "yes" vote while violence will escalate dramatically if the "no" vote wins.

"Already we are living in a jail in our own home and it will just get worse. It is important for SA for things to improve," Elizabeth said.

CP supporter Elria, a smartly dressed secretary, will also probably vote 'yes'. "I would like to vote for the CP but you have to think about the future and what is good for the children. The past is past. Otherwise its back to sanctions."

"We have been used to running the whole show and it is quite frightening to think that now we have to hand everything over like in Zimbabwe. We might lose everything and jobs will be more scarce. But I still think you have to think ahead."

Liberal-minded Wendy was clear about her decision, saying over a cup of tea: "Yes, otherwise its back to the dark ages

## REFERENDUM

### The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country. **LINDA ENSOR** spoke to people in the Cape Town suburb of Fish Hoek

and isolation from the rest of the world."

"Yes, that is the right thing to do," was another response. Or, more commonly: "Yes, there is no other way."

In between ordering his hamburger and coke at "Linda's Sizzlers" caravan, house renovator and maintenance man Don said there was no way to vote but "yes". A "no" vote would usher in more sanctions than SA had ever seen.

Middle-aged estate agent Peter, sitting behind his desk, said he believed President F W de Klerk was going in the right direction with his reforms. A "no" vote would bring back sanctions, the country would get poorer and poorer and he would not be able to sell any houses.

He said "the blacks" would be very upset and there would be lots of trouble.

Retired civil servant Jan, who has always voted NP, will be giving his support to the "yes" vote in the firm conviction that progress cannot be stopped, despite all its attendant problems.

For rugby fan James, a municipal employee, the issue was clear-cut. A "yes" vote would mean more sport. "I can't wait to see SA in the Olympic Games," he said, adding that a "no" vote would mean a regression to stage one and economic deterioration.

Report by L Ensor, 122 St George's St. Cape Town.

## Right-wingers targeting



ONE OF the Codesa working groups was recently treated to a George Bernard Shaw aphorism which possibly cut a little closer to the bone than was intended.

The story goes that Shaw approached a woman and asked her if she would be prepared to spend the night with him for a million pounds. She considered briefly, and said yes.

He then asked if she would be prepared to spend the night with him for five pounds. She indignantly replied: "What do you think I am, a prostitute?"

Shaw responded: "That we have already established. All we are doing now is haggling about the price."

Codesa delegates were told the story because it was pertinent to one of the most problematic issues facing them: what constitutes a principle and what constitutes detail.

In the three months of Codesa's existence, delegates in almost every one of the five working groups have been faced with the problem of distinguishing between the two. Codesa has limited its role to providing a framework for the creation of a new SA rather than detailing precisely the elements of a the new SA.

Codesa's declaration of intent calls for the setting in motion of the process which will result in a new constitution, which means Codesa must build the vehicle but not the vehicle itself. But what constitutes setting up the process and what constitutes the process itself?

The distinction between principle and specifics can be difficult, particularly when organisations want

# Principle vs detail at Codesa

12/02/92 17/3/92

(304A)

**Today's referendum is about continuing the negotiating process at Codesa. TIM COHEN reports on its progress.**

decisions to remain vague in some circumstances, while they want exactitude in others.

The danger is that parties will gloss over the difficult questions in order to gain the semblance of an agreement by achieving "consensus" on the principles, only to be forced to face those questions later.

Nothing demonstrates this danger more than the Pretoria Minute on the suspension of armed struggle, which resulted in parties not only having to face later the issues they had ducked at the time, but which resulted in arguments about what had been agreed in the first place.

To what extent are Codesa delegates glossing over the difficult questions in an effort to secure "consensus" at a furious rate?

The answer is that their success so far has been distinctly mixed.

In some situations, a lack of detail is not a hindrance because the parties know the blank spaces will be filled in by another body with a clearer method of achieving agreement than the "sufficient consensus" method adopted by Codesa.

Hence, the one-line agreement on

the participation of political minorities will be clarified by an elected constitution-making body. The agreement says vaguely that: "A new constitution should provide for effective participation of minority political parties consistent with democracy."

Where Codesa has performed less adequately is on the establishment of a transitional executive structure.

The parties agreed last week on the necessity for such a body, but no sooner was the decision taken than a furious public row broke out about what the function and powers of the body actually were.

"Dramatic breakthrough", boasted government ministers, who interpreted the agreement as laying the foundation for a "super cabinet", leaving the distinct impression that Codesa delegates would be willing to take up cabinet posts.

"Not so!" shrieked the ANC. The body would stand independent from the existing Cabinet, but oversee it and other aspects of government.

In fact the agreement allows for both interpretations.

Sufficient attention was not paid to the detail at that stage, although the publicity which surrounded the issue will force the working group to address the problem more specifically.

Current Codesa management committee chairman and former Operation Vula trialist Pravin Gordhan says precisely because of the Pretoria Minute debacle, Codesa will be careful not to make the same mistakes -- and as a victim of that dispute, he is particularly sensitive to the issue.

But do all delegates see the problem with such a clear focus? Differences over their "agreement" on a transitional executive authority show that they probably do not.

Codesa chairman and DP leader Zach de Beer says during his whole political career, he has driven to work thinking of ways to defeat his opponents. But Codesa has forced a profound change in his modus operandi. The only way to get others to agree is by making concessions.

De Beer's forthrightness forces him to assert what no other delegate has done so far. No Codesa delegate has yet admitted to a single concession, yet profound concessions have been made.

So far, concessions have been cloaked in semantics. What the ANC calls a constituent assembly, govern-

ment calls an interim government. Both do essentially the same thing: elect a constitution-making body and govern in the interim. Both indicate deviations from the organisations' original positions.

The desire to disguise concessions derives from the perceived need to create the so-called "win-win" scenario. The problem with this is that it is based on the assumption that political parties should all emerge from Codesa as winners, whereas the real winners ought to be SA's population.

Codesa delegates have yet to admit that reaching agreement only on principles can be the same as not reaching agreement at all, that agreement on details involves concessions and that making concessions requires a strong stomach.

Where Codesa is exceeding expectations is in its dedication to the process of negotiation.

Working group meetings are punctuated by what is referred to as "those famous tea breaks". The atmosphere has nurtured an understanding between delegates which has encouraged progress on issues which at first appeared insoluble.

Barring a "no" vote, it would take something cataclysmic for the process to be reversed at this stage, Gordhan says, but he warns that the organisations involved have very distinct agendas and their differences cannot be minimised.

But judging by the affable camaraderie that Codesa delegates display towards one another, SA's future may be less bleak than one is sometimes tempted to believe.

## LETTERS



# Military men split over vote

FORMER SA Defence Force brass are divided about how they will vote in today's referendum. 6/02/92 17/3/92

In an advertisement placed in The Citizen, one of SA's most famous soldiers, Col Jan Breytenbach of 32 Buffalo Battalion — which earned a fearsome reputation in the Angola war — and brother of formerly exiled writer Breyten Breytenbach, said: "A 'no' vote will help buy time, will halt the crazy stampede to hand SA over to the ANC and its controlling partner, the SA Communist Party." The retired soldier, in a message to "fellow veterans of recent African wars", said: "You did not lose in Angola. You were betrayed by politicians acting under foreign pressure."

However, several prominent former SADF and SAP generals said in a statement they would vote "yes" in the referendum. They include former commissioner of police Gen Hennie de Witt, and former

PATRICK BULGER

SADF lieutenants-general Ian Gleeson, A M Muller, J R Dutton, A van Deventer, K Pickersgill and J van Loggerenberg.

The former head of the defunct Bureau of State Security, Hendrik van den Bergh, will vote "no", as will a former police commissioner G J Joubert. Also voting "no" is former CID chief J C Visser and former chief of the uniform branch, F G van Zyl. (304A)

A spokesman for the SADF said most of the names mentioned were those of people who had left the armed services several years ago. Former SADF head Gen Constand Viljoen was not available for comment. A family member said he would not be going public on how he would vote.

DP MP for Walmer and former SA Air Force chief Lt-Gen Bob Rogers is expected to be among the "yes" voters.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

SIMON BARBER

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March 17 1992

7

## Reagan calls for support for FW

WASHINGTON — A "yes" victory in today's referendum will keep SA on track for "a promising future", says former US President Ronald Reagan.

Writing in the Los Angeles Times, Reagan warned a defeat for President F W de Klerk would trigger prolonged discord, even if it did not "automatically lead to a civil war".

SA was a potentially great nation,

he said. "With its excellent infrastructure and diverse economy, SA can be the engine of growth for the entire southern African region, provided the shift to multiracial democracy can be managed in a context of stability and calm."

Reagan, who has stayed clear of politics since leaving office, was

urged to speak up by a conservative Washington-based foreign policy lobbying group, which asked not to be identified. A spokesman for the group said he believed the staunchly anti-communist Reagan was still widely admired by South Africans who might be tempted to vote "no".

Report by S Barber, TML, 1010 Vermont Ave, Washington DC.



# 'Madhouse' as final preparations made

810ay 17/3/92 304A  
THOUSANDS of people anxious to obtain identity documents before the referendum besieged Home Affairs Department offices nationwide yesterday.

About 30 000 identity books and temporary documents had been issued around the country in the past week, said Home Affairs representative Jan van der Merwe.

As the last day for obtaining documentation drew to a close yesterday, officials were being run off their feet in the bid to meet the demand, said Van der Merwe.

He said the department's office in Pretoria, which had issued 3 500 identity documents since last Monday, was "like a madhouse". That phrase was applied frequently yesterday as political parties made last-minute preparations.

DP organiser Juliet Berning said the party's telephones had been ringing non-stop from 7am through to last night. Most of the callers had been voters enquiring about the location of polling stations.

The fact that so many people did not know where to cast their votes could have "quite an impact" on the result, she said.

The DP also expressed concern that there might not be enough polling officers to assist all elderly citizens.

Many of the calls received by the DP yesterday were from elderly people, particularly those living in Hillbrow who had not been visited by campaigners.

Hillbrow's polling officer said yesterday

ADRIAN HADLAND

several teams of officials had been working constantly since last Friday, taking special votes at old age homes and residential hotels.

She expected all the elderly in Hillbrow to have been contacted by officials by 9pm last night.

The NP's regional secretary Julie Coetzer said she was particularly concerned about voters in hospitals.

Another NP spokesman predicted yesterday that the polling booth at the Johannesburg City Hall would be one of the busiest, with up to 5 000 voters expected between 1pm and 2pm alone.

Meanwhile, GERALD REILLY reports that all the razzmatazz — banners, barkers and bunting — associated with polling and general elections will be present today at the 1 400 polling stations in the country.

A government source yesterday estimated between 35 000 and 40 000 officials would be involved in voting halls and in the counting process in the 15 polling regions.

And if party political barkers and "yes" and "no" helpers are added, the total could be close to 100 000.

A strong police presence will be maintained at polling stations and voters have been assured by police commissioner Johan van der Merwe that they will be able to cast their votes without fear of interference or intimidation.

Report by A Hadland and G Reilly, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

**T**ODAY we choose between danger and disaster. Danger if we vote "yes" to pressing ahead with the negotiations we are embarked upon. Certain disaster if we lose heart, if we try to turn back the clock, if we attempt the impossible of forcing our country back into the era of racial mistrust.

There can be no guarantees of the outcome of a "yes" majority today. Our future has still to be negotiated by men and women who represent the diversity of interests that are unique to this country. The only promise is the promise of hope.

Negotiations involve give and take — none of us can expect sustainable agreements on our future if those agreements have to be imposed by force. Just as much as we might want to take from the Codesa negotiations, we have to give. That is what we will be voting "yes" for.

Eugene Terre Blanche, Andries Treurnicht, Jaap Marais and their ungenerous followers would have us vote "no" by sowing apprehension of the unknown.

Since when have South Africans been timorous? How can we now step back from the future a "yes" vote would allow us to

throw ourselves?

Ours is the most vibrant of this continent's economies; ours are the wealthiest

and healthiest people; and ours are the people with the best hope for the future. We may have to cope with inflation, with unemployment, with insecurity. But our best hope of dealing with difficulties will be under a mutually agreed constitution.

Neither the ultra right nor the extreme left has a sustainable place in today's brave new world. We saw the disaster communism visited on a large part of the world; we saw the disaster inflicted by

fascism and Nazism. The world's people have rejected both. We, again, are part of the world.

We all know the consequences of a retreat towards the false security of apartheid. Our friends abroad will again distance themselves, our competitors will do their best to vilify us and our exports, the investors who see the new South Africa as a place of opportunity will think again, the banks which are again ready to lend to us will take fright, the airlines will cut us from their schedules and we will have to make do with our own resources.

But we should not vote "yes" through fear of what a "no" vote would visit on us. Rather, we should vote "yes" because of the tremendous promise a united South Africa has.

Voting "yes" means we are prepared to give our best economic shot, that we can take the risk of going for broke. Voting "no" guarantees us economic stagnation at the very best. Voting "no" shows that we do not have the stomach to face risks.

Voting "yes" signifies to ourselves and to the world that the vitality which created this country has not been stifled by fear.



B/day 17/3/92

### **OAU chief voices concern**

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday warned SA whites not to reject reform. Salim, a Tanzanian, expressed "serious reservations" about the referendum being confined to whites. "This may, unfortunately, give the white population the illusion that it can exercise a veto over the transition to peace." They should rather realise that the future lay in the continuation of Codesa negotiations, he said.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters and Sapa-AFP

304A



**'WE'LL LEAVE  
WORLD CUP  
IF VOTE  
IS FOR 'NO'**

— GEOFF DAKIN  
Cricket boss



**'NO' IS A  
DECLARATION  
OF WAR  
ON BLACKS'**

— ZACH DE BEER  
DP leader



**'BUSINESS  
WANTS TO  
GIVE POWER  
TO ANC'**

— ANDRIES TREURNICHT  
CP leader



# Crunch Day

30441  
CT 17/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**POLITICAL parties last night predicted a photo-finish when millions of white voters stream to the polls today for their date with destiny.**

As parties launched a last-minute drive to influence undecided voters before today's make-or-break referendum, both the "yes" and the "no" camps were predicting narrow victories in a cliffhanger contest.

There were several developments yesterday.

• A "no" vote could lead to the postponement of tomorrow's budget.

• Mr Geoff Dakin, president of the United Cricket Board of SA, warned that he would withdraw the SA team from the World Cup if there was a "no" vote.

**Knife-edge**

• Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer warned that a "no" vote would be a declaration of war against the majority of South Africans.

• Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht accused big business of throwing caution to the winds with its obsession to ensure a handover of power to ANC "tyranny".

• The Stock Exchange remained on a knife-edge as investors awaited the referendum result.



• Voters will need their ID books

**WHERE  
TO VOTE  
TODAY  
IN CITY**

• The financial rand plummeted to a two-year low — R4 to the dollar.

• Exporters were preparing to move strongly into new markets if there is a "yes" vote today.

Meanwhile, key strategists in both the National and Democratic parties said reformists could pull off a decisive win if they succeeded in the difficult task of mobilising their supporters to vote.

NP secretary general Dr Stoffer van der Merwe was cautiously optimistic, saying he was "pretty convinced" the reformists would achieve a "yes" majority. He would not be drawn on a predicted margin of victory.

NP information director Mrs Sheila Camerer said the party was "deeply concerned" about voter apathy, but said the NP was still looking at a "yes" majority of 55-60%.

But another key government source close to the heart of the campaign admitted: "We are scared to death."

DP election monitor Mr James Selfe said his party expected the final outcome to be close, with

the "yes" group garnering between 50% and 55% of votes cast.

Conservative Party referendum spokesman Mr Paul Fouche said his party expected a "nail-biting" finish.

"Whoever wins, it will be very marginal," he said from the CP's central office in Pretoria.

As the various party headquarters began collating and assessing final intelligence reports and private polls, all sides agreed that today's contest was the most difficult to predict in South Africa's election history.

Not only was there wholesale confusion and uncertainty among 2.3 million potential voters, but the snap three-week campaign had not allowed party machines to use traditional door-to-door canvassing techniques to tap effectively into the mood of the voters.

Dr Van der Merwe said the large number of undecided and large number of undecided and

**To page 2**

**No-vote threat to the budget — Page 5**



**STAR  
CITIZEN**

... Opera star Aviva Pelham yesterday became a South African citizen in time for her to vote "yes" when the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, handed her her certificate of citizenship outside the Nico Malan Theatre.

Picture: BENNY GDOOL



confused voters made it "difficult to read the real picture" and the outcome of the poll in some of the 15 referendum regions was "anyone's guess".

The general impression was that the number of undecided voters was declining but he could not say if this was likely to favour the "yes" or the "no" vote.

A decisive factor in the referendum would be the size of the turnout, with a larger percentage poll favouring the "yes" campaign, he said.

In an 11th-hour plea to white voters to turn out en masse to cast their ballots in what President F W de Klerk has called their "day of reckoning," Dr Van der Merwe said last night:

"This is the most significant opportunity that white voters have been granted to determine their own future — it's a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and they should grasp it."

The CP last night agreed that the size of the turnout would be critical in deciding which side

won the referendum, with a low poll favouring the "no" camp.

(304A) CT 17/5/92  
Mr Selfe, DP election monitor, emphasised the vital need for a big turnout to clinch a "yes" vote.

He said the vote of every "yes" supporter was "desperately needed" to cancel out the huge right-wing voter totals expected in rural and working class constituencies in the Transvaal and the Free State in particular.

He said the DP was confident of most of its metropolitan strongholds — particularly in Cape Town — but said some alarming feedback had been received from areas like Pretoria where the "no's" could snare up to two-thirds of the votes.

● The results of the referendum will be announced from about 10:30am tomorrow. The final outcome should be known shortly after noon.

# Blacks divided on poll

Sowetan 18/3/92

304A

SOWETAN/Radio Metro callers were last night split on the significance of the referendum to South Africa's future.

Some told host Tim Modise that a "yes" vote would speed up the reform process while others said a "no" result would draw the lines between blacks and whites.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said neither a "yes" nor a "no" vote would make a difference.

"If there is a 'yes' vote with a small margin, De Klerk will go back to



Codesa and tell his colleagues: 'You see, I only scraped through luckily, so I shouldn't forget the feelings of the other whites who voted 'no'.

"But if there's a 'no' vote, blacks would have to close ranks and gang up against whites," Moodley said.

He said the constituent

assembly was the answer to this country's problems.

Peter of Berea said he hoped for a "yes" vote.

"A contrary vote will spell doom for the country," he said.

Richard of Soweto said State President FW de Klerk made a big mistake when he called for a whites-only referendum.

"If there's a 'no' vote, blacks will have no option but to pick up arms and fight," he said.

Joe of Diepkloof asked: "Why do whites have to go to each other's throats over our land?"



# Confident FW makes his cross

STAR 18/3/92  
Pretoria Correspondent (304A)

President de Klerk said after casting his vote at the Arcadia Primary School yesterday he was not making predictions, but was optimistic about the referendum's outcome.

An enthusiastic crowd converged on the president when he arrived at the school at about 9 am, declaring he was in a buoyant mood.

Mr de Klerk and his wife Marike, with former State President Marais Viljoen and others accompanying them, were whisked past a long line of voters.

As security police shielded him on both sides, the president probably did not notice a coffin, complete with wreath, at the entrance to the school grounds. A poster on the coffin proclaimed: "Stop the 'murder of the nation'. Vote No."

Moments after Mr de Klerk and his group had entered the voting hall, a voter waiting in the queue said: "You're jumping the queue. I may change my mind at the last moment."

Inside the hall, photographers, in a bid to get the best view of the president casting his vote, caused a table to collapse and an elderly woman to fall down.

Outside again, journalists



Buoyant mood . . . President de Klerk casts his vote.

crowding around Mr de Klerk were pushed against a rockery, causing some to stumble.

"Don't worry, they have deserved it a little," the president remarked.

When asked how he had voted, Mr de Klerk said: "I have definitely voted correctly. That's 'yes'.

"There is a wonderful enthusiasm here. And we are getting feedback that the people are voting quickly and with enthusiasm," he said.

When Mr de Klerk was leaving the school grounds, a voice rang out from the Conservative Party's tent: "Cheerio, FW. Bye, FW."



Political Editor Shaun Johnson on the aftermath of the referendum

# The hangover after the party

STAR 18/3/92

3044

**T**HIS is being written while white voters are still streaming to polling stations around the country, deciding on the future of the negotiations process. By the time you read it, you will probably already know the result of the most important referendum in South Africa's history.

It is a perilous exercise indeed, under the circumstances, for me to assume an outcome one way or the other, but I am taking the risk in order to raise pivotal issues that would arise after the announcement of the "yes" majority I expect.

With a deep breath, then: if the majority mandate for the continuation of constitutional talks in Codesa is delivered, the spotlight will immediately fall on two vital actors in the unfolding South African drama. These are the defeated right wing, and the temporarily marginalised ANC.

The response of the right wing will, of course, be determined in large part by the magnitude of the "yes" victory. If it is close — I

would define "close" as being anything below 55 percent for the reformists — President de Klerk will be empowered to proceed, but will not have thrown off his right-wing shackles.

The Conservative Party will be volatile, and obstructionist. Dr Treurnicht will press for an election, and point to the size of the swing in sympathy away from the National Party since the last white poll. President de Klerk will have to take a risky decision — either to doff a cap in the CP's direction and therefore slow down progress towards a transitional executive authority, or proceed on the basis that the vast majority of the population is behind Codesa.

In this scenario, he would point to the fact that the referendum involved only 15 percent of the population, and that only a percentage of that figure voted against negotiations as currently constituted.

If the result is a resounding defeat for the right wing, we can expect Dr Treurnicht and his allies to reject the poll out of hand. It

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

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

This will bring into play the tensions within the CP itself: those who forced the leadership into the fray would argue that the party had now proved the size of its constituency — and it is considerable, even in the event of a decisive defeat — and should take that to Codesa, where it would become a significant player. Hardliners would retort that the constitutional road had been travelled, and

that the only option lay in extra-parliamentary resistance.

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

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

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

white fears "responsibly" during the referendum campaign, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa noted that the organisation's leadership was not happy with Mr de Klerk's repeated refrain about "bottom lines". At the beginning of the campaign some ANC figures said privately they were pleased that the referendum would get rid of the "albatross" of Mr de Klerk's promise to consult

his electorate. Now they cannot be sure that it won't be brought back. Open-ended negotiations and absolute non-negotiables are by definition incompatible. Nelson Mandela said so plainly immediately after he was released from prison. Therefore we can expect that while Codesa will get a boost ("it will go turbo", as one delegate put it) after a "yes" vote, there

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

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

The ANC is not going to take kindly to such ultimatums. While saying that the NP had handled

all be problems emanating from the last fling of old-style white politics.

However, the difference between these problems and the problems which would arise if I am wrong and the "no" vote prevails, is that they are surmountable. □



# A chance to allay both white and black fears

STR 18/3/92

Allister Sparks



FOR the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics. Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

Even the language of the campaigning has sometimes reflected this recidivism. I heard President de Klerk talk on Radio Today on Monday about "these other 26 million more-or-less South Africans". And Kent Durr, our ambassador in London, claims that although there was only a 52 percent "yes" vote for a republic in 1961, "the whole country" accepted the result. Not counting, presumably, those more-or-less South Africans.

It is not yet as serious or as immediate as the challenge from the Right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed, for many things seem to be getting worse, not better.

For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people — and not a single white — have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at their 4 percent unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43 percent.

We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are doing most of the starving.

Last week, I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a "no" vote because they feared that if the "yesses" won the level of political violence instigated by the third force would

increase.

It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political problem.

We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is likely to grow. The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, are bound to cause black expectations to soar. And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the Left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right-wing has been exploiting white fears now. It is the moment the PAC is

already preparing for, refusing to participate in Codesa so that it can exploit its non-participation later and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause.

A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what always one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual awareness of these dangers. For example Mr de Klerk in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe should have a better awareness of the serious implications this would have for the ANC's support among black youth.

Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process. Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa and against nonracialism to the "One Settler One Bullet" campaign.

One thing that is not part of a

zero-sum game is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness. As Unisa's Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star last weekend, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is now rampant and seemingly uncontrollable.

Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force who used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like "ANC terrorism" are now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible.

There has, says Professor Nell, been "a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline and internal accountability".

"The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the occupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to

an emergency call, hijacking hot-spots are unpoliced, inquiries and complaints are politely fielded — and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken."

Whether or not Professor Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the collapse of effective policing — and that if Mr de Klerk does not want the reform process to be derailed he is going to have to get the security forces into proper shape.

A total shake-up is needed, starting at the top. Fiddling with more Cabinet reshuffles is not enough. Mr de Klerk must do as he did when he brought Derek Keys into the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and go outside his own party to find the right kind of tough, straight, competent man for the job, someone with the ability and credibility to restore the confidence of the black community as well as the white. He could do worse than look to Van Zyl Slabbert. □

# rolls!

**likelihood of a big victory**

ARG 18/3/92

3049



# YES

## High turnout of voters strengthens

### Political Staff

THE Yes vote drew first blood in the referendum today when the largely conservative Port Elizabeth area returned a thumping majority.

In a 74 percent poll, 87 216 of the 117 282 voters — almost three to one — said YES.

University of Potchefstroom election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie calculated that if the trend continued nationally there would be a 68 percent Yes vote.

Counting of votes began at 7am in the 15 voting regions while the country waited anxiously.

The first result was expected to be Beaufort West — but a there was a recount. The final, national result is expected about 1pm.

Initial fears about complacency were dispelled as voters swamped polls across the country in what politicians and officials described as unprecedented voter enthusiasm.

The unexpectedly-high turnout is widely interpreted as good news for the Yes campaign.

Fears of apathy among English-speakers appeared to be unfounded as they flocked to the booths.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said he had not seen such voter enthusiasm in his 40 years in politics.

He predicted a Yes majority of up to 90 percent in the Johannesburg area.

Some polling stations on the Witwatersrand ran out of ballot papers and others were so overcrowded that voters had to be taken by bus to less busy booths.

But Nationalist politicians believe there will be a strong No vote in regions such as Pietersburg, Roodepoort and Pretoria.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers predicted a "very high" Yes vote of near 70 percent in the Cape.

DP President's Councillor Mr James Selfe predicted a countrywide Yes vote percentage of "between the upper 50s and early 60s" in a poll of about 70 percent.

### "Backed off"

"We have indications of a Yes vote from unexpected quarters and that the No vote is going to be smaller than expected. Even in likely No vote areas our reports indicate that despite deep concern about unemployment and crime, people backed off supporting the No campaign," he said.

Mr Selfe predicted the emergence of damaging stresses and strains within the rightwing movement, adding: "We could even see some serious movement towards a rightwing presence at Codesa."

While some Conservative Party MPs have conceded defeat, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht remained tight-lipped.

He said he would "calmly await" the full result in Pretoria before commenting.

18/3/92

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Argus

# Voting fever prompts last minute bids to 'stop destruction' of SA

**WILLEM STEENKAMP**  
Staff Reporter

VOTING fever, coupled with fears that a No result would "destroy South Africa's future", prompted several people to queue at Home Affairs offices in a desperate last-minute bid for temporary identity documents.

This was not the only sign that the Yes campaign had reached frenzy pitch in Cape Town.

At 5 pm during rush hour traffic, Rhodes Drive motorists hooted in support of two placard-bearing University of Cape Town students standing on top of the rose garden pavilion.

Fifth-year medical students Miss Roux van den Berg and Mr Simon Pickstone-Taylor were waving a huge poster exhorting people to vote Yes.

Miss Roux said they were worried about the apathy among students and decided they had to do something to convince people to vote Yes.

The consequences of a No vote so "petrified" Dutch immigrant Mr Tom Metzlar that he became a South African citizen at the last minute, aided by city councillor Mrs. Enlialie Stoltz, so he could vote Yes.

No vote may destroy the future of South Africa.

Miss Joanna Pentz, 29, a Kenyan-born British citizen who has lived here most of her life, found she could not vote even though she had an ID document. The words "South African Citizen" did not appear on her document.

"I knew I would never be able to live with myself if I did not cast my vote. At 7 pm I got my temporary ID and I am now on my way to vote Yes, a definite Yes," she said.

Mrs Ethel van Zyl, 82, from Tamboerskloof needed the help of friends Mrs Valda Johnson and Mr Richard Kruger to get to the polling station in Gardens.

"I may be old, but that does not mean I don't have to vote. I am thankful for my friends helping me get here, and I voted Yes and I am proud of it."

Mr Kruger said he was from Poland.

"I jumped ship in 1969, in Cape Town Harbour. I wanted to escape communism. I applied for political asylum, it



Mr van den Berg and Mr Simon Pickstone-Taylor in the rose garden in Rhodes picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus

was granted and I became a South African citizen. Don't ask me if I voted yes or no. I jumped ship to escape communism, that is all."

In Claremont a young man and a friend with No-stickers on their shirts, were sitting at the No table. The man, who refused to give his name, said he supported the No vote. He later admitted he was from Germany and not being a South African citizen was not allowed to vote anyway.

## Mandela to meet Muslims

Political Staff Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in Cape tomorrow for a four-day visit in a plane from Johannesburg. During his visit he will meet with the Muslim community in the city.



# Hopes high for 'yes' win

English-speakers may

have tipped the scales

SM 18/3/72

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — National Party and Democratic Party leaders were today confidently proclaiming a resounding victory for reform after a huge turnout in yesterday's watershed referendum.

More than 1.6 million white voters surged to the polls in unprecedented numbers, especially in urban areas, pushing the poll up to about 74 percent.

English-speaking voters in Democratic Party urban strongholds turned out in droves and may have tipped the balance towards a convincing mandate for reform. DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said that never in his 40 years of politics had he seen such a turnout.

"We have polls of 0 to 100 percent in some areas and I believe we have built up such a tremendous lead that there is no way the Conservative Party can win — they just haven't got the numbers."

Chief referendum officer Piet Colyn said this morning the tallying of the ballots and counterfoils after the polls closed at 9 o'clock last night had gone well and counting was under way.

The first regional result is expected to be Beaufort West with the large urban regions coming in last, probably between noon and 1pm.

Today Finance Minister and Transvaal NP leader Barend du Plessis said: "I am confident we have scored a resounding victory and a rejection of radicalism." He was hoping for a two-

(304)

thirds victory but said anything above 55 percent would be "resounding" because of the complexity of putting across the case for reform.

"Yesterday marked a turning point in our politics. Bonds were formed across old battle lines — and not only between the NP and the DP."

"Many Conservative Party members crossed an important threshold yesterday. They said in effect that they were prepared to talk about CP policy but they were not buying it."

Reports and pictures —  
Pages 2, 8, 9, 16 and 17

He said the most impressive feature of the referendum was the high turnout which "marked an awakening of real interest among white South Africans in what was happening."

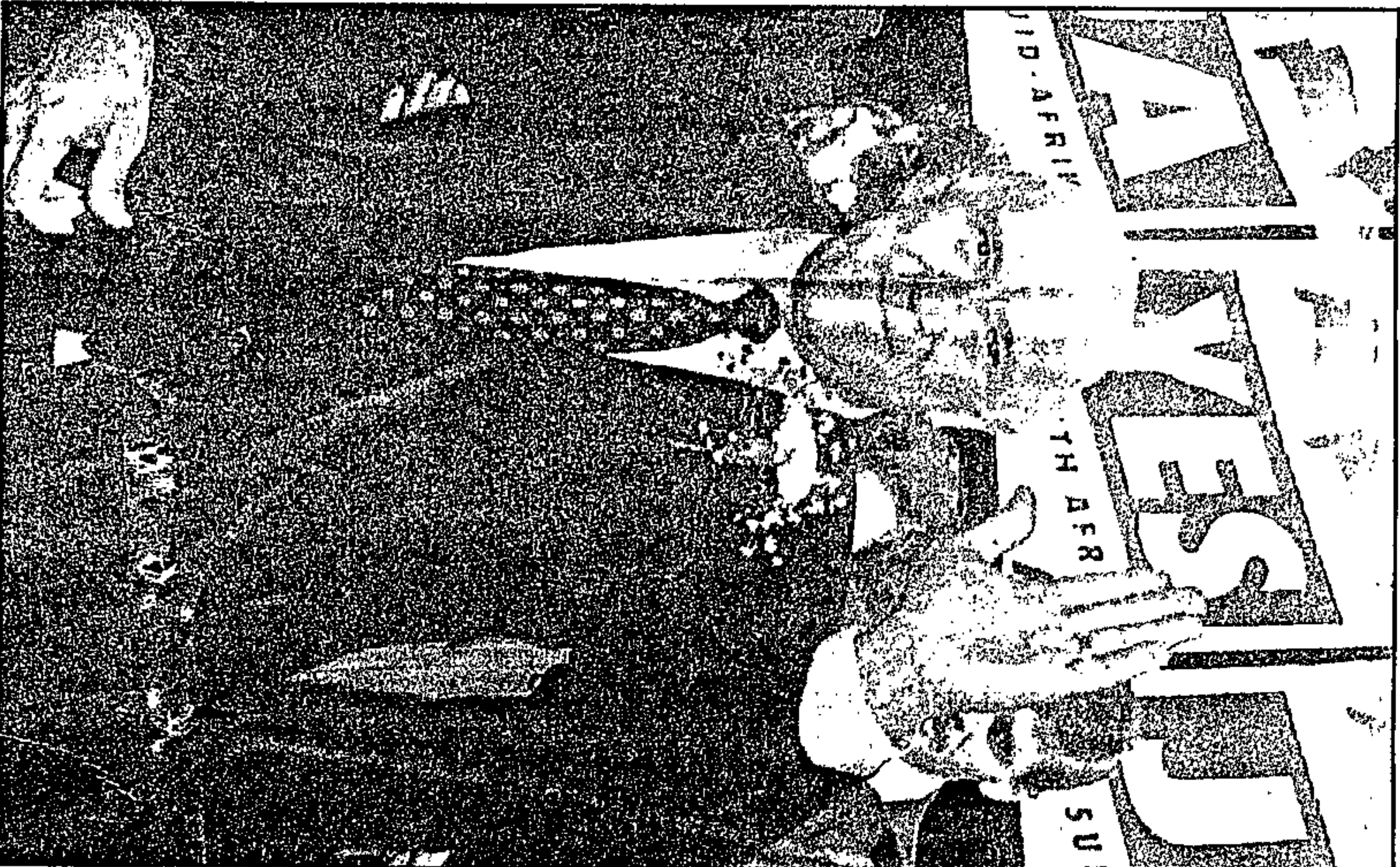
Thousands of voters who had so far sat on the edge, now found themselves "slap in the middle, realising that every vote counts."

Mr du Plessis said another feature of the referendum was that people put aside their grievances about the state of the economy and other problems and voted on the real issue of the referendum.

"The vote showed a deep realisation that this was a watershed in our history; that now was the time to stand up and be counted."

Mr Colyn said today the official poll would only be known once all the votes had been counted but conservatively estimated it at "over 70 percent."

Other well-informed sources said it would probably go as high as 74 percent.



President's referendum . . . F W de Klerk waves to supporters after casting his vote for reform in Pretoria yesterday. Pictures: AP

Opposition vote . . . CP chief Andries Treurnicht casts his vote, against Government reform policies, in Nyisroom.



## Surge of killing follows voting

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

A brief calm in Reef townships on referendum day yesterday was followed by a storm of violent attacks last night and early today.

At least 12 people died in brutal train killings or bloody attacks on the Reef between yesterday evening and early today, police said.

Police said the bodies of two men were found with hack and head wounds between Crown and Nasrec Stations, Johannesburg, just after 7 am today. They had apparently been attacked and thrown from a train.

Another man was found soon after midnight near the railway line at Lindela Station, Kaitshong. His body had been badly severed and it was not known if he was the victim of a train attack, police said.

Six more people died on the East Rand last night. Three bodies were found with bullet wounds in Kaitshong. Two people were thrown from a train and one man was stabbed and tossed from a moving train between South Side and Wadeville Stations.

In Orlando West, Soweto, police found the body of a man who had been "neck-laced". Another man, who had been stabbed to death, was found in Mzimhlope, Soweto, early today.

In Dobsonville last night, police found the body of a man who had been stabbed to death in a burn-out house. The house was one of three set alight at about 9 pm.

A man was seriously injured outside the women's hostel in Alexandra, when a mob attacked him and tried to hack him to death.

Four people — including a child and two women — were killed in separate attacks in Natal. The women and child died when unknown gunmen sprayed bullets into their home in Ndabeni, Richmond.

The renewed killings brought to 300 the number of people who have died in countrywide unrest since the referendum was announced on February 20.

The SA Communist Party has attributed the upsurge in violence during the referendum campaign to a "sinister third force prepared to win white 'no' votes with the blood of blacks".



# Record turnout stuns officials

304R  
ARA 18/3/92

## Staff Reporters

THE record turnout of voters in the Peninsula and the Western and Southern Cape has astounded referendum and party officials.

In some areas a percentage poll of more than 80 percent is estimated and senior party workers at several polling stations in the southern suburbs confidently predicted a Yes vote majority of 90 percent three hours before polls closed.

Traditional Democratic Party areas such as Constantia, Simon's Town, Sea Point, Green Point and the southern suburbs were "frantically busy" and set for an overwhelming Yes majority.

The No camp was scarcely visible, with lone officials and posters appearing at few polling stations.

According to Caledon NP MP Mr Lampie Fick, there also appeared to be an avalanche of Yes votes in the Southern Cape.

Cape Town referendum officer Mr P Schoeman said the 27 polling stations in greater Cape Town and the Boland had been "very, very busy".

People had streamed to the polls throughout the day and voting was still brisk at most stations up to the close at 9pm.

By 8pm, 370 520 of the 470 881 voters in the Cape Town region had voted.

Most votes were cast at Maitland, Bellville, Claremont, Constantia, Durbanville, Groote Schuur, Helderberg, Sea Point and Simon's Town.

In Durbanville 23 090 votes were cast by 8pm, in Green Point 22 545, in Helderberg 22 250, in Malmesbury 22 220 and Maitland 19 000.

Gardens recorded 11 250 votes at 8pm and Claremont 15 633.

In the Boland 12 598 votes had been cast in Paarl by 8pm, 13 500 in Stellenbosch and 13 026 in Caledon.

More than 3 000 had been cast in Walvis Bay by 8pm, Mr Schoeman said.

In Bellville, which had only about 15 000 registered voters, 16 000 people voted, said Nationalist MP Mr Neels Ackerman.

Polling stations in Gansbaai, Hermanus and Kleinmond ran out of ballot papers by mid-morning and emergency supplies had to be brought in.

Thousands of votes were cast during the first two hours of voting in Gardens and Vredehoek, with an average of 300 people passing through the stations every hour.

DP MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew said: "The turnout is unprecedented."

At the Cape Town City Hall and Civic Centre, queues stretched for hundreds of metres as people waited hours to vote.

When the queues became too long, DP workers transported voters to other stations to cast their ballots.

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# Extraordinary day — and FW's best birthday present

## Political Staff

IT was ironic, policemen forming a human barricade to prevent the demonstrating voteless from toy-toying their way into parliament while white voters opted to share the institution with them.

Standing behind large, hastily hung no entry signs, policemen guarded the gates to parliament yesterday as thousands protested against what they dubbed the "bosses' budget".

Only metres away Home Affairs director-general Mr Piet Colyn was announcing staggering referendum results which effectively welcomed black people as political equals.

These were some of the extraordinary scenes in Cape Town as South Africa endured the tension of a poll described as the most crucial in the country's history.

Policemen dressed in blue stopped singing and chanting protesters entering the H F Verwoerd Building at lunchtime. Some policemen clutched antique wooden billyclubs behind their backs, but did not use them.

A mounted water cannon lurked watchfully in Roeland Street, ready to up-end and bruise the lawbreakers. A fire hose lay ready too, connected to a hydrant in the Verwoerd building. It was not needed either.

Other policemen of the new Internal Stability Unit blocked

alternative entrances to parliament while the white change of heart unfolded dramatically inside.

One bobbing protester bore a poster reading "4 million whites can't decide for 30 million blacks". He didn't yet know that the four million were readily agreeing.

No sooner had the passion of the voteless throng subsided and dispersed than a group of well-wishers were singing "Happy Birthday" to a triumphant President De Klerk in the garden of Tuynhuys, which adjoins parliament.

He turned 56, a figure he considered something of a good omen in a chat to his aides on Tuesday night. He and most of his top people in the National Party were expecting that kind of outcome, 54 to 58 percent — not a wipe-out of the "no" vote.

Mr De Klerk happily received the birthday greeting, calling on his friend and spiritual advisor, "Dopper" preacher the Rev Pieter Bingle, to preface his address to the nation from the steps of Tuynhuys with a prayer.

Mr De Klerk said he planned to have an open house at Groote Schuur last night and that there was a "surprise" party to celebrate his birthday.

Clearly it wasn't that much of a surprise. The only thing that really raised his eyebrows yesterday was the size of the electorate's present.

# Dutch to ask Mandela why he opposes visit to SA by Lubbers

The Argus Correspondent

THE HAGUE. — The Dutch government is to seek an explanation from ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela why he is attempting to veto the planned visit to South Africa in August by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

The Dutch insist that the

visit go ahead because they believe that Mr. Mandela gave his approval during talks with Dutch ministers in Switzerland earlier this year.

Mr. Mandela said in a television interview screened in Holland on Monday that Mr. Lubbers, his deputy Mr. Wim Kok and Foreign Minister

Hans van den Broek would not be welcome because an interim government would not yet be in place.

The statement came as a total surprise to the Dutch leaders. It is the second time such a visit has been rejected by Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Lubbers and Mr. Van

den Broek were to have gone to South Africa last month, but that was called off because the ANC said it had not been consulted.

The dispute appeared to have been patched up by Mr. Kok at meetings with Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk during the World Eco-

nomic Forum in Switzerland in January.

Foreign ministry sources at The Hague said yesterday that the Dutch Embassy in South Africa had obtained the green light for the visit from the external relations section of the ANC and not from Mr. Mandela personally.



# Even apathetic diehards find enthusiasm for poll

Staff Reporters

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18/3/92  
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The country's whites formed the polls in unprecedented numbers yesterday to make their crosses for history.

Some rolled in in wheelchairs, activists toy-toyed to polling stations, plattelaland farmers drove kilometres to get to town and city centre office workers queued during their lunch hour to cast their lots.

Voters ranged from those who have conscientiously participated in all previous polls to those who have never bothered to vote, from diehard former frogs to right-wing fanatics.

It was a decisive day in South Africa's history. And a huge majority eligible to take part did so with enthusiasm.

At the Johannesburg City Hall, a South African resident of German ancestry — who said he used to be a staunch Nazi like his grandfather — said he decided to vote "yes" because it was needed for the country to prosper.

"If we can just become part of the international community, we'll be 10 times better than anyone else, and that's the truth," he said.

Then there was the naturalised former Frenchman who turned out to vote at Krugersdorp East Junior School, saying he last time he had used the ballot box was 26 years ago — when he had voted for Charles de Gaulle.

In the final hours before polling stations closed at 9 pm, feverish voting took place across the country.

In a countdown reminiscent of the final gunshot at the Comrades Marathon, a blind woman entered the Melville NG Kerk polling station with her husband at 8.59 pm. Officials had to guide the woman's hand into the slot of the ballot box for what was the final vote registered in the constituency.

At several referendum centres, extra ballot papers had to be ordered as officials tried to fulfil the unexpected demand.

At some polling stations, queues stretched around the block.

At the Fontainebleau Primary School in Randburg, enterprising schoolboys living across the road sold parking space at their parents' property at R1 a car.

In Johannesburg's south, there were massive traffic jams in Rosettenville's main street and around polling stations in Turfontein.

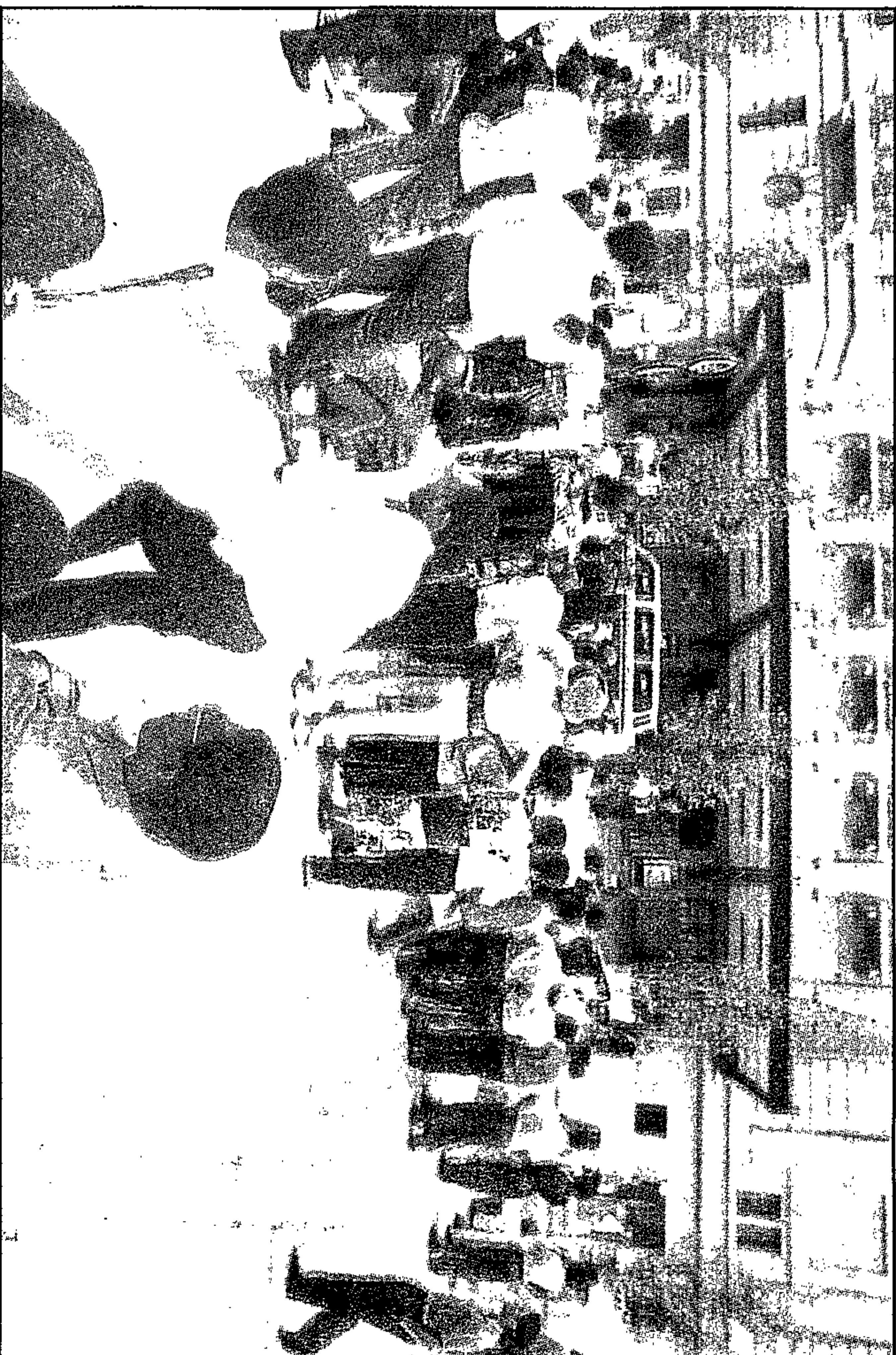
Forest Hill city councillor Wallie de Waal described voters' enthusiasm as "unbelievable".

Reaction from Johannesburg MPs ranged from Hillbrow DP MP Lester Fuchs' "fantastic" to Johannesburg West MP and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer's more sober "positive".

Many voters said South Africa's World Cup cricket triumph and pending rugby tours to the country had influenced them to vote "yes".

Others said they were giving President de Klerk the go-ahead for their children's future.

At Johannesburg City Hall, a voter made up his mind on what way to vote at the last minute.



Spectator sport . . . voteless blacks flock to polling stations in Johannesburg along with whites.

stating cricket as the persuasive factor.

"I love the cricket, man. It makes my heart so glad to see South Africa back in international sport. I can't tell Kepler

to bugger off," he said.

Quashing earlier fears of complacency among English voters — a decisive factor in the referendum — Johannesburg's northern suburbs resi-

dents streamed to the polls.

Over 26 000 Sandtonians cast their votes in what town councillor Peter Jardine described as "an amazing turnout". Not unexpectedly, referen-

dum day was marred by racial incidents and sporadic ultra-right-wing intimidation.

At a Linmeyer polling station in the south of Johannesburg, "no" campaigners produced a

coffin which they said they were saving for Mr de Klerk.

At Johannesburg Girls' Preparatory School, seemingly intoxicated rightwingers hurled verbal abuse at opposition supporters.

DP worker Natalie du Toit said a rightwinger from Brits rudely asked her what the "yes" sticker on her chest meant.

"I replied 'it's my future', at which point he said 'it means now you can go and f...ing screw kaffirs'," Mrs du Toit said. She intends laying charges against the man.

The man also made similar comments about a dancer who formed part of a group of entertainers who gave a "dance for a better future" performance at the polling station.

Temperatures rose when rightwingers placed a number of large orange "Nee/No" stickers on a DP worker's car and deflated the car's tyres.

Although sporadic right-wing intimidation was swiftly handled by referendum officials, some voters could not help but feel threatened.

At Rosebank Primary School, an elderly woman said she went to vote early "in case I don't last the rest of the day".

In Roodepoort, on the West Rand, security forces were highly visible at the city hall last night after rumours that the AWB was arriving to disrupt television broadcasts from there. The rumours proved to be unfounded.

Other West Rand polling stations were extremely busy last night and a record number of voters took part in the referendum in the west.



# Uphill to ballot box

STAR 18/3/92

Police confirmed at least five bomb threats yesterday — three of them at polling stations. A West Rand police spokesman confirmed two bomb threats were received at Monument Primary School in Krugersdorp, while a Witwatersrand police spokesman said police reacted to a bomb threat at the Randburg Magistrates' Court. Police found no explosives at these venues. In Natal, two bomb scares were received at two Durban polling stations. Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said telephonic reports of bomb scares at Glenwood Primary School in Umbilo and at Westridge Park Tennis stadium turned out to be false alarms. There is no indication at this stage who is responsible for the threats.

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Johannesburg personnel executives Bill Martin and Jesse Fulton say they were prevented from voting by a Home Affairs official who delayed their naturalisation applications. Mr Martin said: "I applied in good time at the Frederick Street offices, and the official took a photostat of my permanent residence certificate, then said later I would not be able to vote because there was no proof that I had permanent residence. "When I challenged him he agreed he had taken the photostat, and simply said it was now too late for me to be processed in time to vote. With Jesse the reason he gave was that she had changed her name when she married! Her marriage certificate was put in with her application. He told her: 'Look lady, you are not going to vote, and that's it.'"

□ □ □ □

When a uniformed police sergeant went to cast his vote in Boksburg early today, policemen turned him away from the polling station. "They told me the district commissioner had ordered that no uniformed police could vote," the sergeant said. An East Rand police spokesman said district police commissioner Brigadier Desmond Keyter, had "not issued such a command". She said there must have been a misunderstanding. "But we have spoken to the branch commander there to make sure it does not happen again," she said. It seemed the Boksburg police had been asked to cast early votes so that they would be available for uninterrupted duty today. When the sergeant, stationed in Johannesburg, had gone to vote, they had assumed he had already cast his early vote and was trying for a second time around.



No vote . . . a black man outside a Johannesburg polling station watches a white woman going to cast her ballot. Picture: AP.



# Yeoville in STAR 18/3/92 holiday mood on poll day

By Julianne du Toit

304A

People with eccentric headgear, with yarmulkas, with dreadlocks, with turbans, elderly people with walking sticks and in wheelchairs all turned out to vote in Yeoville yesterday, many for the first time.

Many voters admitted to never having voted before, either out of cynicism or because a liberal opposition MP has been returned unopposed since 1987, but yesterday they were out in their thousands.

They wove their way through the black children playing on the swings in the grounds and through the people selling colourful T-shirts urging people to "vote love".

In a more obscure — or optimistic — poster in Rocket Street, the band Live Jimi Presley urged voters: "Stop the drought! Vote".

Bellevue East resident Desmond Cohen said he was voting "yes" because he was sane and had a high IQ. His vote had nothing to do with the fact that he was in the import business, he said.

"I would have voted yes if I was a banker or drug dealer too," he said.

His banker friend Harold Silber said he was not voting "yes" for cricket but for reform, democracy and peace.

The mood was one of a public holiday, with children playing outside and people lounging on the grass.

# CP farmers STAR 18/3/92 lend a hand at Jeppe poll

By Paula Fray

(304A)

At Jeppe High School, the Conservative Party had some determined ground support from out-of-town helpers — including farmers from Thabazimbi.

In marked contrast to the double-breasted natty suits and rosettes sported by DP supporters, the CP helpers wore shorts, casual pants and open-necked shirts. Despite obvious cynicism and scorn from "yes" voters in the traditional liberal area, the farmers stood firm.

A business-like approach to voting was a general trend in Johannesburg's eastern suburbs, and many voters said they had made up their minds before arriving at the polling booth.

The large turn-out was marked by determined bids by many voters to get to the polls. There were elderly people needing aid, a woman who had just come out of hospital after an operation and another hospital patient in the queue.

At Cyrildene Primary School, 72-year-old Victor Aschman was drumming up support for a "yes" vote. Involved in politics since 1938, Mr Aschman said the polling was marked by the high turn-out and a lack of antagonism and electioneering between candidates and parties.

Several voting areas were heading for a record poll.

In Johannesburg East, in the last 20 minutes of voting, there was a rush to the polls. By 9 pm, 4 180 had voted at Jeppe, compared to 1 400 in the 1989 general election.



# Poll, warnings are hot news in Europe

By Alan Robinson  
Star Bureau

STAR 181392  
(304A)

LONDON — South Africa's referendum was the major news item in Europe yesterday, dominating headlines in all major countries.

All reports have one gripping theme: a warning that a "no" vote would bring civil war, economic chaos and international ostracism.

Most major news organisations have reporters and cameramen in SA to record the vote.

Without exception, the message is that it is going to be desperately

close. Overall, President de Klerk is tipped to scrape home by just a few percentage points.

A 53/47 percent split is mentioned by several SA-based correspondents. Many believe that if the outcome is that close it will be almost impossible for Mr de Klerk to proceed with his plans for further constitutional talks.

Reports in French, German and British papers this week have emphasised the uncertainty among white South Africans about their future in Africa.

Emigration inquiries are said to be soaring.

# 'We hope it's last time blacks are excluded'

By Zingisa Mkhuma

STAR 18/3/92

Johannesburg whites who voted in the referendum yesterday said they hoped it would be the last to exclude blacks.

A snap survey carried out by The Star showed that most voters in the area supported the "yes" campaign.

Scores of people leaving the Yeoville polling centre said they had voted "yes".

Brent Quinn a first-time voter, said he had cast a "yes" vote for the negotiation process, but he hoped that the referendum would be the last whites only election in the country.

304A  
"The fact that whites are still voting alone in the referendum is disgraceful, we need normality in this country in that everybody can vote," Mr Quinn said.

Carol Marshall, who was in exile for 15 years, said she was disappointed to come back to a South Africa where the majority of the people still could not vote.

"It is the first time that I have voted in this country and I am shocked that it is still a whites-only affair," she said.

A Greek immigrant, who refused to be named, said she voted "yes" because she believed a "yes" win would bring

about positive changes and more equality.

At the Rosebank polling station Democratic Party member Pat Rogers said many people had turned up to vote and he was hopeful that it would be the last whites-only vote.

An elderly couple who had just voted "yes" said they were optimistic that there was still a chance for blacks and whites to build a future for the country.

Said the woman: "I feel that voting would help our future and yours too, and I hope it is not a waste of time. If voting 'yes' helps you, it will also help me."



# Trendies, safari-suiters rub shoulders in Melville

By Peter Davies 18/3/92

The polling station at Melville's NGK church yesterday reflected the Johannesburg suburb's cosmopolitan mix, with trendy members of the area's large artistic community lining up to vote alongside senior citizens in their safari suits and starched skirts.

Many said it was the first time they had ever cast ballots. "I broke my voting virginity today," was how one woman described it.

Others, like veteran actor Gordon Mulholland, said they were seasoned voters.

"I believe in a yes vote. It's our only saving grace. The other option would be absolute doom for all of us. I mean, 'yes' is such a positive word anyway isn't it," said Mulholland.

Cabaret star Nataniel, swathed in black, announced he wanted to visit all the polling stations in the area and cast as many votes as he could.

Another "yes" man earned the wrath of the "no" vote by blasting out his specially composed "yes" rap song from a portable tape deck.

There was a marked lack of

tension though, with both "yes" and "no" marquees deserted for most of the day, as voters made their crosses, then left for work.

Indeed the only split appeared to emanate from the tea room at the back of the church hall.

There, a band of "yes" workers dished up sandwiches, chicken, boerewors and tea in steadfast seclusion from the two "no" ladies — whose fare of rusks seemed to be in less demand.

After an afternoon lull, the voting tempo picked up again around 5 pm.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, who was in attendance, said: "It seems to be following the same pattern as this morning. The vote is flowing well — better than we expected. This is a positive indication."

"If we had a stayaway for complacency or for whatever other reasons in the Johannesburg region, it would have had a negative effect on the whole picture. But that hasn't happened."

Mr Meyer said the estimation at 4 pm was that there would be a 72 percent voter turn-out in the Johannesburg West constituency.

# AWB members booted out at polling stations

Staff Reporters  
18/13/192

Khaki-clad AWB supporters were unceremoniously booted out of five polling stations yesterday as referendum officials and police guarded against right-wing intimidation.

The rightwingers — some armed and some hurling insults at National Party officials — hovered around polling stations in Pietersburg, Zebediela, Krugersdorp, Port Natal and Bothasig in the Cape. But they were swiftly told to

STAFF  
18/13/192

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leave.

In Pietersburg, armed AWB members were ordered to move away from the entrance to the polling station after an official objection by the National Party against their presence.

The AWB supporters were also asked to remove firearms and batons from their holsters before they were permitted to enter the polling station to vote.

Chief "yes" organiser in Pietersburg, Nic van Oudtshoorn, had a heated argument with CP MP Dr Willie Snyman over the presence of the AWB contingent.

At a polling station in Zebediela, in the northern Transvaal, four men were ordered to remove their balaclava-like masks which, a police spokesman said, contravened voting procedures.

A handful of AWB members were present at the Paul Kruger Hall in Krugersdorp West.

In Port Natal, a uniformed AWB man was escorted from a polling station at Glenmore Junior Primary School.

The man, who did not want to be named, said this was a "gross irregularity".

In Bothasig, uniformed AWB members caused a disturbance when they "used abusive language and criticised NP posters", an official said.

The two women and four men, sporting the AWB's swastika-like emblem, were ordered to leave the voting venue after a complaint by Environment Minister Louis Pienaar.

Sapa reports from East London that an AWB member argued with bystanders at Crewe Primary School polling station in the Border area after calling Nelson Mandela a "kaffir". He said Mr Mandela was a criminal and asked how a criminal could govern SA.

The man, who spoke with a British accent and was dressed in full AWB uniform and armed with a baton, left on his motorcycle after voting.

No incidents of violence in connection with the referendum were reported.

Near Cape Town, AWB militants put up grisly signs at referendum polling stations outside polling stations on Tuesday, warning whites a vote for multiracial rule meant "yes" to murder and rape.



# Record turnout stuns officials

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Staff Reporters

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It seems percent is estimated and senior party workers at  
kind of ta several polling stations in the southern suburbs  
try and ge confidently predicted a Yes vote majority of 90  
very stran percent three hours before polls closed.

Traditional Democratic Party areas such as  
□ □ Constantia, Simon's Town, Sea Point, Green Point  
and the southern suburbs were "frantically busy"  
OFFICIAL and set for an overwhelming Yes majority.  
of Home The No camp was scarcely visible, with lone of-  
went scur ficials and posters appearing at few polling  
following stations.  
creams c  
violet safe According to Caledon NP MP Mr Lampie Fick,  
ble voting there also appeared to be an avalanche of Yes  
Mr Tuy votes in the Southern Cape.

director o Cape Town referendum officer Mr P Schoeman  
facturer, said the 27 polling stations in greater Cape Town  
cream of and the Boland had been "very, very busy".  
would "hi People had streamed to the polls throughout the  
voters w day and voting was still brisk at most stations up  
their finge to the close at 9pm.

A Home By 8pm, 370 520 of the 470 881 voters in the Cape  
spokesma Town region had voted.

had been Most votes were cast at Maitland, Bellville,  
disproved Claremont, Constantia, Durbanville, Groote  
Mrs Ma Schuur, Helderberg, Sea Point and Simon's Town.

ficial, cla In Durbanville 23 090 votes were cast by 8pm, in  
mover als Green Point 22 545, in Helderberg 22 250, in  
the votin Malmesbury 22 220 and Maitland 19 000.

showed up Gardens recorded 11 250 votes at 8pm and Clare-  
let light. mont 15 633.

She said In the Boland 12 598 votes had been cast in  
polish from Paarl by 8pm, 13 500 in Stellenbosch and 13 026 in  
ing to vot Caledon.

were put u More than 3 000 had been cast in Walvis Bay by  
light the 8pm, Mr Schoeman said.

the dye. In Bellville, which had only about 15 000 reg-  
stered voters, 16 000 people voted, said Nationalist  
□ □ MP Mr Neels Ackerman.

A TOUCH Polling stations in Gansbaai, Hermanus and  
fused by Kleinmond ran out of ballot papers by mid-morn-  
found his ing and emergency supplies had to be brought in.  
Nelspruit. Thousands of votes were cast during the first

Enterin two hours of voting in Gardens and Vredehoek,  
he was of with an average of 300 people passing through the  
stations every hour.

by an attr DP MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew said: "The  
young lac turnout is unprecedented."

the tem At the Cape Town City Hall and Civic Centre,  
stroked he queues stretched for hundreds of metres as people  
"Can't waited hours to vote.

slapping When the queues became too long, DP workers  
to the No transported voters to other stations to cast their  
bosom. ballots.  
Chastise



**SUNSET POLL:** The sun sets as voters queue at the Kuils Riv  
Streicher, right, Mrs Gwen Streicher and 18-year-old St



**SHOCK TACTICS:** An AWB sup-  
porter holds one of his organisa-  
tion's grim referendum posters,  
which shows a man being  
necklaced.



**COME INTO MY PARLO**  
affair, with 1



# 200 students march to polling station

By Jo-Anne Collinge

STAR 18/3/92

304A

In a "yes for democracy" demonstration yesterday, about 200 Witwatersrand University students of all colours marched up the hill to the Johannesburg Civic Centre where about half went inside to vote "yes" while their disfranchised companions sat on the terrace singing freedom songs.

"We are saying no to war and yes to peace. There is nothing glorious about war. And there is nothing romantic about war," said SRC vice-president Prince Mafojane as he urged white students to go ahead and vote "yes".

"As you cast your 'yes' vote our hearts will be with you and we know that your hearts will be with those of us who cannot vote," he said.

The white students trooped off — several in African National Congress T-shirts — to vote, and a wave of laughter erupted as Mr Mafojane asked: "Comrades, can we sit down — those of us that cannot vote?"

Wits SRC has rejected the racial nature of the referendum.

Its position is in line with the 86 percent of 2 124 students who voted recently in a special campus referendum and rejected the right of whites alone to determine the future of negotiations.

Nevertheless, the SRC took the view that a "yes" vote in the whites-only poll was essential "for the removal of all excuses for delaying negotiations".

The students seated outside the Civic Centre sang freedom songs and held aloft posters with slogans like "No to fascism", "Yes to Codesa" and "Smash apartheid polls". A single water-bomb, dropped from somewhere in the civic centre, burst harmlessly on the paving.

As the voting students emerged from the polling station and the voteless got up to toyi-toyi, a National Party organiser ventured forward to offer them "Stem Ja" sun visors. They were readily accepted and adorned more than a few disfranchised heads as the students raised their fists to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika before toyi-toying exuberantly back to campus.



# Sandton 'yes' vote swings into practice

STAR

28/3/92

304A

SANDTON has, according to new management committee chairman Willem Hefer, presented its town council with a challenge: only 419 of its 27 000 voters said "no" to the reform process in last week's referendum, according to reliable sources.

Hefer says it is time to put that vote into practice. That means finding a system to replace apartheid structures which have divided white towns from their neighbouring townships.

And while Hefer tries to hammer out structural change, his mayoral counterpart, Bruce Burns, is trying to bring people together on a social side.

His theme for the year is "good-will". But bringing people together is no easy task — as has been illustrated by months of political infighting in the Sandton council.

## Secret deals

Hefer and other councillors involved with negotiations in the Metropolitan Chamber and the Northern Joint Negotiating Forum (NJNF) have been accused of making secret deals with leaders of Alexandra and Randburg.

Stormy council meetings have seen scenes where some councillors have claimed a "ruling group" in the council has agreed to a merger without consulting residents.

All of this has been hotly denied and a special edition of the council newsletter, the Sandtonian, was issued this month detailing the aims of the chamber and the NJNF.

The future of Sandton and Alexandra are inextricably linked and some form of joint administration has to be found, Hefer says.

Like circus jugglers, the Sandton councillors have to simultaneously address the stark inequalities which divide Alexandra from Sandton and he fears the town's whites may have of footing the bill.

Hefer believes it is vital to hammer out a system of local govern-



**FINDING NEW SYSTEMS:** Willem Hefer looks at ways to face the challenges.

● Picture: JOHN HOGG

ment before Codesa puts its mind to the subject — so that the chamber can present a package Codesa would find difficult to refuse.

"We must use that muscle. We have to go faster than Codesa because they will eventually get around to putting their minds to local government and, at that point, we must be ready."

And this week saw the breakthrough he and other councillors have been battling for since December. A Metropolitan Chamber docu-

**Bitter in-fighting has plagued the Sandton council. But its new leadership has high hopes for the town's constitutional future. BRENDAN TEMPLETON reports.**

ment drawn up at the end of 1991 setting out interim guidelines was finally ratified by the Sandton council on Monday.

The document outlines a process which should see the Metropolitan Chamber becoming a regional government with a second tier, consisting of several joint negotiating forums such as the NJNF, which could be in place by next year.

With the ratification of the document, Hefer believes that true negotiations can now begin.

One of biggest stumbling blocks to the establishment of joint administration is the huge debt accumulated by black local authorities — Alexandra's accumulated loan obligations stand at R295 million and its operating deficit is R40 million.

Hefer's solution is simple: they have to be written off — and he is optimistic this will happen. "Those debts were accumulated by apartheid structures which cannot be passed on to anyone else, certainly not on to Sandton. The baggage of the past must stay in the past so that we can negotiate the future."

Minister of Local Government and National Housing Leon Wessels indicated last week that this would probably take place. Calling for joint local administration, he said in Parliament: "The residents of the present local areas will not inherit someone else's bad debt."

## Greatest need

But while Hefer admits that some redistribution of wealth will inevitably take place, he says he does not like the term and prefers to call it "cross-subsidisation".

He points out that this has been going on ever since the regional service councils were introduced. Under the present system, levies are pooled and are used where the need is the greatest.

By bringing in more-efficient, legitimate management systems in township administration, he believes he can slash Alexandra's staff costs from R21 million to R7 million without affecting services.

Also, the development of businesses in townships — a process prevented by apartheid legislation — would eventually provide a rates base which would make them independent of more affluent areas.

He and Burns are confident the people of Sandton and Alexandra can live together in harmony, and believe the goodwill evident in negotiations and between the communities justifies this belief.



# 'Yes' victory, but not a landslide win,

By Carina le Grange,  
Thabo Leshilo  
and Jacqueline Myburgh

South Africa's top political analysts last night said the massive voter turn-out in yesterday's referendum pointed to a "yes" majority in the poll.

Predictions were that the percentage poll of the referendum would be in excess of 70 percent.

And the ones who may have swung the election in favour of the NP/DP alliance are the undecided English-speaking voters who have been the un-

predictable factor throughout the campaign, according to Rand Afrikaans University political analyst Professor Albert Venter.

"They have obviously finally decided to go and vote," he said. Professor Venter predicted that about 70 percent of this group of 15 to 20 percent of voters would vote "yes".

"This won't push the 'yes' win to 60 percent, but I think it will be between 55 and 57 percent.

"White people certainly seemed to realise that this was the most important vote they had cast in their lives and they went to cast it," Stellenbosch University's Professor Willie Esterhuysen said.

However, he expressed concern at early indications after polling stations had closed that the polling percentage in the Western Cape seemed to be lower than elsewhere.

He remained optimistic that there would at least be a 58 per centage "yes" win, but stressed this percentage was less than what was needed to reverse the "legacy of apartheid".

Professor Esterhuysen believed an overall high percentage poll would favour the "yes" vote. He believed many people who had previously found it difficult to vote "yes" since it could be interpreted as support for the NP, had nevertheless decided to cast their ballots. He

further believed that 95 percent of the newly naturalised citizens would vote "yes".

He felt that the outcome in Pretoria and the Orange Free State could prove to be determining factors.

Wits University political analyst Eugene Nyathi attributed the high number of voters to the realisation by whites of the significant economic implications of the referendum.

Another factor was that both sides had succeeded in reaching all their constituencies in the "brief but intense" campaign.

He said a sweeping victory for President de Klerk was unlikely, and predicted a 55 to 60 percent "yes".

Mr Nyathi said Mr de Klerk should "come down hard" on right-wing elements who may resort to violence if defeated at the polls.

Another Wits analyst Dr Philip Frankel said the high turn-out, especially in the urban areas, favoured a "yes" vote.

"The referendum has generated enormous interest and that tends to favour a 'yes' vote," he said.

He, however, ruled out the possibility of a landslide victory for the "yes" campaigners.

Professor Willem de Klerk said although most political analysts believed that a high percentage poll favoured the "yes" vote, his own feeling was that

this would be so only in urban areas.

He also said although many analysts had forecast a "yes" vote of between 53 and 58 percent, "we may be surprised by a higher 'yes' win". He stressed that this was an intuitive deduction.

Political observer Otto Krause said the situation looked a "lot better" than it had late last week when he was feeling very pessimistic about a successful "yes" vote.

"Even the CP has conceded that a big turn-out would mean a higher 'yes' vote," he said. "It's difficult to define a landslide win, but with some luck we might hit 60 percent."

## Tannie takes STAR 18/3/92 on councillor

By Julianne du Toit (3044)

Prominent Nationalist Koois Roets found it was no safe business urging people to vote "yes" at the Johannesburg City Hall.

One small elderly woman rounded on the NP polling official and insulted him thoroughly for telling her what to vote, at one stage whipping off her jersey and threatening to hit the tall, burly Mr Roets.

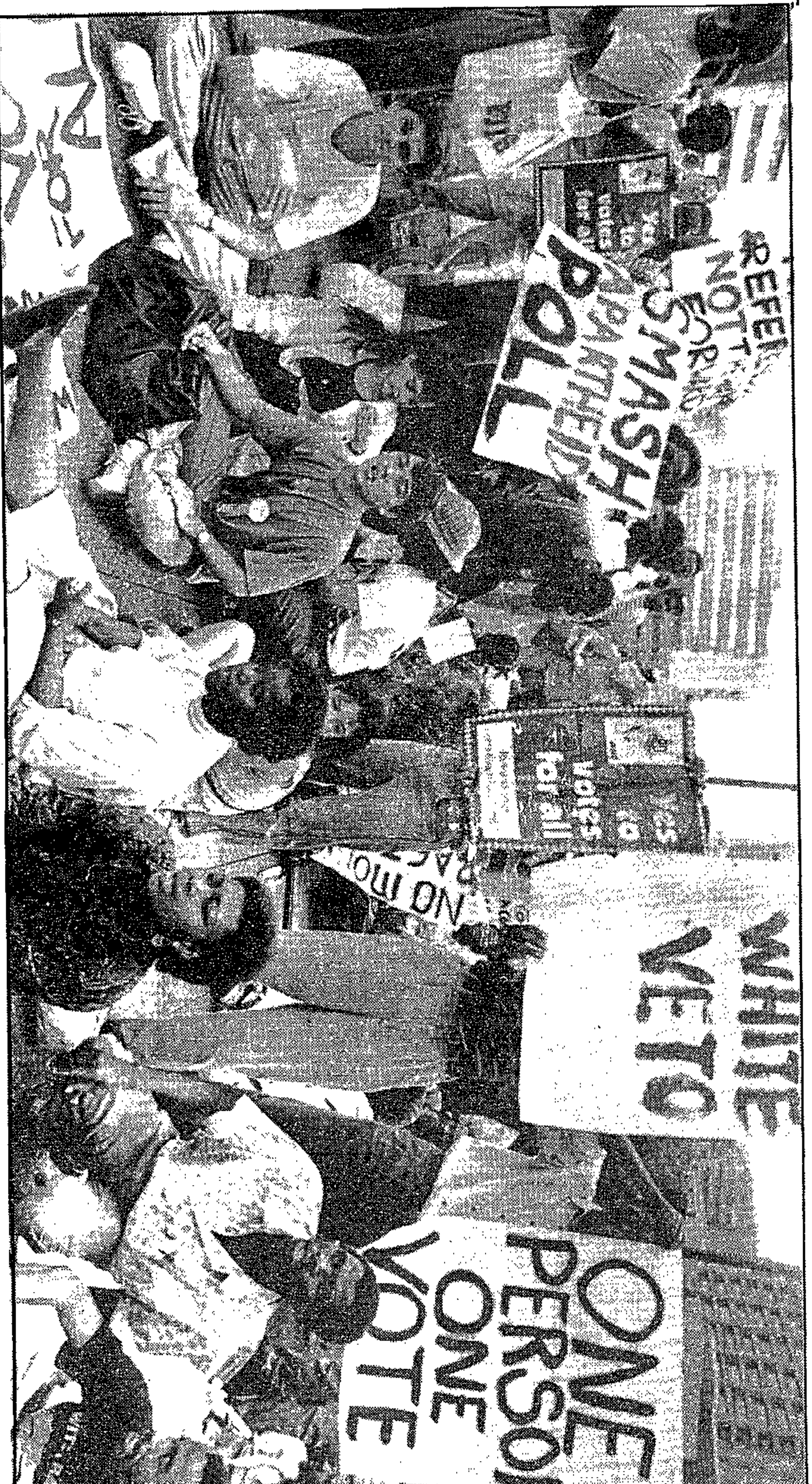
She contented herself with throwing her bag at the legs of the management committee member and former mayor.

She refused to put her hand under the ultraviolet light, saying the blue light was the way they caught "crooks in the post office". Then she took the oath that she had not voted before in the referendum.

The "no" lobbyists applauded her, saying they wished there were more "tannies" like her.

An attempt by a traffic official to calm the woman down and stop her shouting about "kaffirs and kooles" at the top of her voice only resulted in more insults from the woman, who refused to give her name.

"Leave my mother out of this," shouted the traffic officer after her.



"Yes" for democracy... Wits students, demanding one person, one vote, demonstrate outside the Johannesburg Civic Centre and urge their white fellow students to swell the "yes" total. (524) STAR 18/3/92

Picture: Alf Kumalo



18/3/92

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304A

# say experts

The massive turn-out of voters was very promising and probably attributable to the fact that "the facts of the future have been driven home".

Leading election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie said the high percentage poll had been made possible by the fact that it was easier to vote in a referendum than in a general election when people were forced to vote in their constituencies.

"The massive turn-out is not necessarily because people are more interested, but because it is easier to vote," he said.

However, both parties had tried anything to get as many of their supporters to the polls.

Professor Laurie did not

want to hazard a prediction on the outcome of the referendum.

In both rural and urban areas, some polling stations ran out of ballot papers, and in many places traffic snarl-ups and two-hour-long waits in queues were a feature of D-Day.

Urgent measures also had to be taken at a number of stations to accommodate voters where the queues made it clear that not all voters would be able to pass through the voting booth by the 9 pm closing time.

At some polling stations, voting percentages of more than 100 percent were recorded because voters were not restricted to voting in the constituency in which they are registered.



# Pik's spirits boosted as north-west casts ballots

STAR 18/3/92

By Shirley Woodgate (3044)

Johannesburg's north-western suburbs came out solidly in support of a "yes" vote in yesterday's referendum, said National Party and Democratic Party helpers.

"Excellent" was Foreign Minister Pik Botha's description of voter response in his Westdene constituency.

He predicted a 70 to 75 per cent "yes" vote for the north-west, with 12 000 in favour of reform and 3 000 people voting for the CP.

"Countrywide I'm looking at 60 percent for the State President. Dr Treurnicht challenged the Government after the Potchefstroom by-election that the CP now represented the white electorate. The fact is we do not need 70 percent — any (winning) percentage will prove him wrong," Mr Botha said.

"What matters is not the size of our victory but the constitution that we will put forward to the country."

His elation followed MEC Olaus van Zyl's earlier com-



Excellent . . . Pik Botha on voter response in his Westdene constituency.

ment — "It's a landslide for the north-west, in Johannesburg north and in Fontainebleau" — while manning the Risdale polling station. This is one of the suburbs comprising the Westdene constituency, which includes Westdene proper, Linden, Northcliff, Roosevelt Park, Greymont and Triomf.

The CP had clearly written off this region as a no-go zone from the start. Worse — they were not even providing the

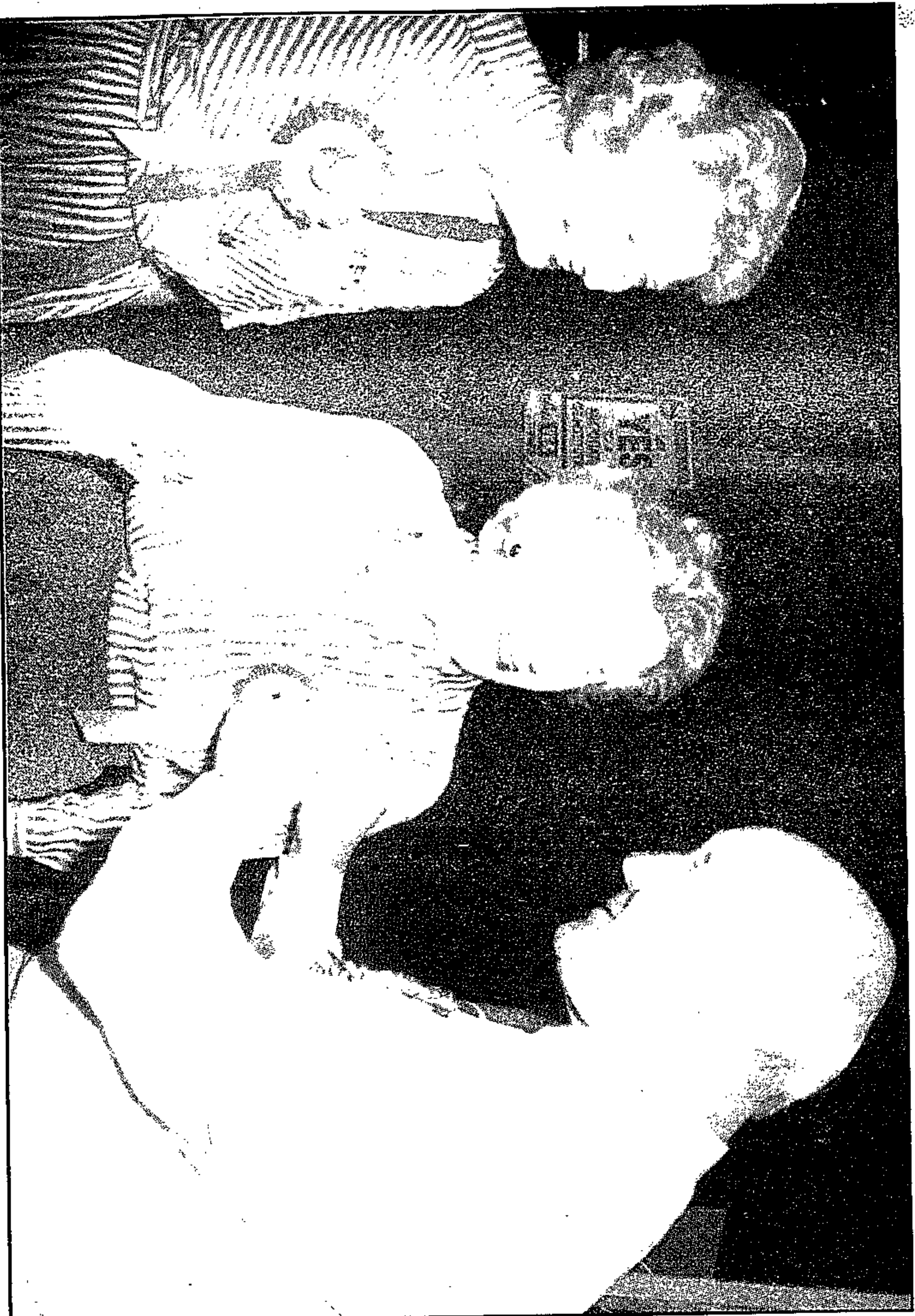
usual election boerewors and pannekoek fare for supporters.

Even at Triomf, regarded as an AWB urban stronghold, the table was unmanned all day.

But this is where the no's did best, squashing earlier optimism with a late afternoon rush that experts estimated brought in a final 62 percent "no" vote for the former Sophiatown. The 38 percent "yes" vote was a slight improvement on the expected 30 to 35 percent, said one worker.

Mr Botha said the overall tally for the north-west showed the NP and DP combined won more votes than the two parties received separately in 1989.

Various reasons were given for the improvement. It was suggested that CP supporters had voted "yes" on economic rather than political grounds; voters may have come in from other areas; certain people who did not normally vote in party-political elections had gone to the polling station to make their cross in a crisis; and finally, Mr Botha said, it was just possible that DP and NP supporters had pulled out all the stops when the crunch had come.



Honour for veteran . . . Rosebark polling booth official Christopher Newton Thompson pins a rosette on veteran politician Helen Suzman, who was there to greet voters last night. Looking on is Philippa Newton Thompson. Picture: Alf Kumalo





This voter would not let her handicap prevent her from casting her vote at the Johannesburg City Hall in yesterday's referendum. Pic: VELI NHLAPO

# LOOKS LIKE A 'YES'

**WHITE voters turned out in their thousands at polling stations around the country to cast their ballots in yesterday's "moment of truth" referendum.**

The big turnout favoured a "yes" vote and by late yesterday the news from the three biggest voting districts - Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town - was that a landslide "yes" victory was a possibility.

Fears of apathy among English-speakers, which had prompted analysts to say the rightwing had a fighting chance, appeared to be unfounded as thousands of English speakers flocked to the booths.

State President Mr FW de Klerk cast his ballot in Pretoria where voting was brisk.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

His adversary, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, voted at Nylstroom.

Queues at the 1 500 polling stations around the country stretched up to 1km by lunch time in some places. Three stations in Johannesburg's northern suburbs ran out of ballot papers.

While blacks followed voting trends with interest, violence in the townships continued. Three people were killed - one in Meadowlands, Soweto and two in Alexandra Township.

At the polling stations themselves, police guarded against intimidation by

• To page 2

## Voters stand in queues

Soweto 18/3/92

• From page 1

rightwingers. Khaki-clad AWB supporters were booted out of five polling stations.

The rightwingers, some armed and others hurling insults at National Party officials, hovered around polling stations in Pietersburg, Zebediela, Krugersdorp, Port Natal and Bothasig in the Cape.

At Krāaifontein near Cape Town AWB members displayed a photograph of a black man being "necklaced".

"That is what whites can expect from blacks if there is a 'yes' vote today. If there is a 'yes' vote there is going to be war," AWB commander Mr Steph Jacobson said.

### Confidence

A National Party official at the Johannesburg City Hall polling station, Mr Koos Roets, said he was surprised at what he called an "exceptional turnout".

He said it was "the best" turnout he had ever seen.

At Yeoville's Recreation Centre the mood was the same, and in both places there was overwhelming confidence of a "yes" victory.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, who visited the Johannesburg City Hall polling station, said he was confident of a "yes" victory.

# Industry holds thumbs for a 'yes' vote

THE property industry, having called strongly for a "yes" vote in yesterday's referendum, is anxiously awaiting the outcome. It expects a boom if the answer is "yes", and a slump if it is "no".

The SA Property Owners Association (Sapoa) said it was perturbed about the side issues that had been introduced into the referendum debate.

"The fundamental question is whether SA can afford, both morally and from a business perspec-

tive, to move back to where the world vilified us and where we all suffered as a result of sanctions," said executive director Brian Kirchmann.

Lew Geffen estate agents chairman Lew Geffen says the past week and the weekend's show days have seen a frenzy of negotiating and bartering.

"Although most sales have been put on hold until the results are known, all are subject to the referendum result," he said.

"Some sales are subject to a 70% yes vote in the

referendum. However, there are those buyers who are using this as a lever to get properties at lower prices."

A "yes" vote would spark a renewed scramble for properties as the mandate for stability and economic growth is given the green light, he said.

Seeff Residential Properties (Transvaal) MD Bernard O'Riain said a "yes" vote was essential for the property owner as economic influences had already put a lid on property

growth this year.

"To thrive, property needs an atmosphere of both economic and political stability. The referendum result is a potential threat to both the sagging economy and our political future," he said.

A resounding "yes" vote would do much to end the state of uncertainty surrounding the property industry.

"We are tired of this and we want to know where we are going," he said.

A "no" vote would result in a political storm causing property values to plummet to a level from which they would take a long time to recover.

Aida Holdings chairman Aida Geffen said the "bottom would fall out" of the property market if the vote were to be "no".

"If the vote is no, property owners will suffer losses amounting to billions of rands and the peripheral effects will be very serious," O'Riain said.



# AWB's grisly posters

Staff Reporters

AWB members toured the Peninsula putting up grisly posters yesterday — and threatening violence if the "yes" vote won.

The posters depicted a black man being burnt to death with a petrol-soaked tyre.

Cape AWB leader Mr Steph Jacobson told voters that this awaited them in the new South Africa.

The group — who were involved in several incidents in an otherwise quiet polling day — also hoisted tyres high onto poles at voting booths.

Tension rose at Herzlia High School in Vredenhoeck when the bakkie carrying the uniformed group parked there for

nearly 30 minutes.

"Reject the anti-Christ, vote 'no'," four burly AWB members shouted from the back of a pick-up truck at another polling station.

At Goodwood the AWB disrupted proceedings by hoisting placards fixed to a tyre and labelling President F W de Klerk as an anti-Christ.

The group was also involved in



**FLAG-WAVING** ... A bakkie full of AWB supporters led by local AWB leader Mr Steph Jacobson toured Peninsula polling stations during the referendum yesterday.

Picture: HAROLD KING

an altercation with Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momberg at Fish Hoek just before 8pm.

Early yesterday a polling official at the Bothasig town hall said six uniformed AWB members had "used abusive language and criticised NP posters at the polling station".

In Pietersburg, Transvaal, the

atmosphere was tense shortly after the main referendum polling station opened, following an official complaint by the NP about the presence of armed AWB members.

In East London an AWB member argued noisily with bystanders at a polling station, calling ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela a "kaffir".

MARCH 17: THE REFERENDUM

# City, Boland voters storm the polls

## Staff Reporters

HECTIC voting characterised referendum polling in the Peninsula and the Boland yesterday.

The Mayor and Mayoress of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde and his wife Trish, who had publicly urged Cape Townians to vote "yes", voted at the Southfield polling station when the doors opened at 7am.

At Cape Town City Hall voters were ferried to a polling station in District Six to ease the congestion. Over 600 voters an hour went through the polling booths yesterday morning.

The control officer at the city hall, Mrs Annette Heinicke, said 90% of the voters seemed to have voted "yes".

At Sea Point Civic Centre, Green Point MP Mr Henrie Bester described voting yesterday morning as "unequally in voting history". More than 4 000 voters had voted there by lunchtime.

At Maitland's three polling stations 6 527 voters had made their crosses by noon.

Long queues formed at voting points even before they opened, and party workers did their best to bring in elderly and infirm voters.

By late afternoon more than

## Roundup of voting at local polling stations

2 000 voters had visited the polling station at the Good Hope Seminary Junior School. A spokesman there said this was considerably as Gar-

dens was notoriously apathetic. Voting at the Claremont Civic Centre peaked yesterday morning, the day in the throng was Mr Ray, with a long queue extending out into the Main Road.

A steady stream of voters kept coming to cast his "yes" vote. Dr Alex Borjine, the executive director of Idasa Institute for a Demo-

cratic Alternative in SA) was also in the queue there.

Students were in the majority in the long queue outside Mowbray Town Hall, but a number of senior citizens from a nearby old age home were there too.

A 94-year-old professional tap dancer, Mr Peter Coetzee, who still performs once a week at the Heidelberg Tavern, tapped his way down the queue to cast a "yes" vote.

Voting was brisk even in the small West Coast town of Melkbosstrand, where National Party officials said more than 700 people had voted before noon.

In the Boland voting was equally brisk.

Voters streamed through the Stellenbosch Town Hall all morning at a rate of about 1 000 an hour. By noon over 6 200 had cast their votes.

Returning officer Mr Vic Jordaan said he had officiated in four elections, but had never before seen such a large turnout.

The vast majority — some said as many as 80% — appeared to be voting yes.

In Klipmuts 240 out of just over 600 voters had voted by 12.30pm.

"Yes" campaigner Mr Charles Miller said said only 20 of the 240 had been to the "no" table before voting.

A high percentage poll was also expected at Paarl.

unions in the Western Cape food industry before being banned in the 50s.  
Mondela, Government Minister



## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

**Old-age homes: admission restricted to Whites**

\*1. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) Whether any old-age homes falling under the control of her Department are restricting admission to White persons; if so, (a) why and (b) in terms of what statutory provisions and/or regulations;
- (2) whether it is the policy of the Government, despite the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, to give financial assistance to old-age homes which refuse admission on the basis of race; if so, (a) why and (b) when will the application of this policy be stopped;
- (3) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

C3E

**The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:**

- (1) No old-age homes are under the control of the Department of National Health and Population Development;
- (a) and (b) fall away;
- (2) (a) the Government gives financial assistance to all registered private welfare organizations that render services to the aged if funds are available. Each private welfare organization has full control over the management of its own facilities and determines its own admission policy. The State only monitors the standard of service; and
- (b) the Department of National Health and Population Development is reconsidering the existing welfare policy in collaboration with the welfare community;
- (3) no.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr M A HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's answer, will the State continue to give assistance in cases where old-aged homes continue to discriminate against people of colour?

**The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:**

Mr Chairman, as I have stated, private welfare organizations are in full control of their own facilities. The Government will recommend that there should be no discrimination against people. However, a community can provide its own services according to its own culture and wishes and not on the basis of discrimination. [Interjections.]

**Identity permits: referendum**

\*2. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) What are the details of the criteria and/or tests employed to ascertain whether a person qualifies for an identity permit allowing him/her to vote in the referendum to be held on 17 March 1992;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

C5E

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- (1) and (2)

The Identification Act, 1986 (Act 72 of 1986), in terms of which identity documents are issued, does not make mention of "identity permits". Should the honourable member however with the word "identity permit" mean "temporary identity certificate" he is referred to my Department's media release of 6 March 1992 in this regard, a copy of which is laid upon the Table.

**MEDIA RELEASE BY MR P J COLYN,  
CHIEF REFERENDUM OFFICER**

**For immediate release**

**Temporary identity certificates**

In order to vote it is a requirement to be in possession of an identity document or temporary identity certificate. This requirement is prescribed in the referendum regulations and Polling as well as Presiding Officers will have no discretion to accept any alternative proof of identification on referendum day.

The need for the alternative of a temporary identity certificate arises from the fact that when a person obtains a driver's licence his identity document is handed in at the licensing authority for same to be reissued, containing the driver's licence. In other cases a person may have lost his or her identity document and for them not to be excluded from voting, a temporary identity certificate may be obtained from any Regional or District office of the Department of Home Affairs before referendum day.

Persons who applied for identity documents before 6 March 1992 must please not approach the Department with a view to obtaining temporary identity certificates in the interim. It is hoped that all such identity documents will be issued by 11 March 1992 and will therefore reach voters before referendum day.

When applying for a temporary identity certificate a person will have to submit two identical photographs. The applicant's fingerprints will be taken and a fee of R4 is payable. The department

will endeavour to issue the document in the shortest possible time.

Temporary identity certificates can only be issued to persons who have previously been issued with an identity document and whose particulars have already been included in the population register and not to first time applicants. Applicants need also apply in person and such certificates can therefore not be issued to persons presently abroad.

In order to assist members of the public in this matter, it has been decided to extend the public hours of some Regional and District offices of the Department of Home Affairs. This will be done on a selective basis according to the need therefor and details in this respect will be obtainable from the offices concerned.

*Issued by the department of Home Affairs,  
Pretoria*

Date: 6 March 1992

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

## General Affairs:

## Codesa: religious exercises/rites

\*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

The ministers or officials of what church denominations and/or religions have performed their religious exercises or rites during the sessions of Codesa?

B338E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, at the request of the organising committee of Codesa, the following ministers of religious or church organisations participated in prayers at the opening of Codesa 1 in the order indicated, but not at any other sittings as implied in the question:

Prof J A Heyns (DR Church)

Bishop D Napier (Roman Catholic Church)

Rev Stanley Mogoba (Methodist Church)

Sheikh Nazim Mohamed (Islam)

Pandit Nardev Vedalanker (Hindu)

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris (Jewish)

At the request of the three Christians they prayed first, followed by the other representatives.

In his prayer Prof Heyns explicitly addressed our Heavenly Father, God the Holy Ghost and his Son Jesus Christ. In a short statement beforehand Prof Heyns indicated himself as the representative of 77% of the inhabitants of our country who regard themselves as Christians and who believe in the eternal living God of the Bible.

Prof Heyns later stated his conviction that the occasion was not an affront to the living God and did not amount to the recognition of polytheism.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

I want to tell the hon the Minister that Codesa is constituted in such a way and functions in such a way that it conflicts with the history of the Protestant heritage which is practised by this side of the House. [Interjections.]

In the history of the Protestant heritage there were often times when Protestants were the minority as far as numbers were concerned. Secondly, in the history of Protestantism there were often periods too during which its exponents were scorned by those who opposed them. There were also periods during which the exponents of Protestantism had to endure persecution by people who begrudged them the right to existence. (304H)

Over the past two days it has become clear that there are almost 900 000 Protestants in Southern Africa who, in spite of everything that has washed over them in the course of three weeks... [Interjections]... in respect of everything that was stated against them by means of propaganda in the course of three weeks... [Interjections]... are not prepared, in spite of everything that the hon the Minister does, to permit a wave to engulf them and that the basic principles on which their view of life and the world are founded and based will not permit them to be shunted out of those religious convictions which they have and which they have built up over a few centuries by a few actions over a few weeks. [Time expired.]

\*Mr H J BESTER: Mr Chairman, the question we should ask ourselves is what the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe's motive is in putting this interpellation. [Interjections.] It is to make political capital by attacking members of this House who are represented at Codesa regarding their religious convictions and how they express them there. We reject this type of attack.

\*An HON MEMBER: With contempt.

\*Mr H J BESTER: With contempt. [Interjections.] Firstly, we reject it because this party and its predecessors have always stood fundamentally for religious freedom. If there is one element of fascism which is untenable it is the introduction of a State religion and the subjecting of all inhabitants of a country to that State religion. We reject that. [Interjections.]

Secondly, we hope the days are past when political meetings are opened with devout prayers which are followed by the propounding

of policies which are diametrically opposed to the norms of those religious convictions. [Interjections.] They must not come forward with these sanctimonious protestations about Codesa. They should show us how they express the values of Protestant ethics in their lives—the values of justice, peace and human fellowship. [Interjections.] If they exemplify these aspects, we shall agree to pray together about this.

\*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, according to the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe this is an insurmountable difference. Yes, it is an insurmountable difference of 68%, and here they sit bankrupt, condemned, rejected and bewildered—without an answer. [Interjections.] The hon member is not only a poor politician; he is an even poorer theologian if one has to listen to his arguments. [Interjections.]

The CP has a pathetic and disgraceful record as regards the misuse of religion, by making it a political football. People's most sincere feelings and religious convictions are exploited shamelessly to mislead them politically.

Hon members undoubtedly recall the despicable use of the three saxes by the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition after the 1983 referendum.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister must withdraw the word despicable ("gemene").

\*The MINISTER: I withdraw it, Sir.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister may proceed.

\*The MINISTER: They did all this with the intention of identifying the NP with the devil. [Interjections.] There was also the repeated misleading of voters during past elections on the content and theme of the Speaker's prayer with which the meetings of this House of Parliament are duly opened every day and to which hon members of the CP have never lodged any objection in this House.

There is also their allegation that Christians are yoked together with heathens in this House in spite of the fact that no constitution since 1910 has limited membership of Parliament to Christians. As long as an hon member of this House apparently had a white skin, it was never necessary for any member of the Official Opposition

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Yes, it's 'yes'

## But CP calls poll a 'farce'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE "yes" campaign last night appeared poised for a convincing victory as a deluge of white voters flooded to the polls in record numbers across the country.

As voting closed last night, both the National and Democratic parties were predicting a win of around 60%, while some members of the "no" camp conceded it would take "a miracle" to reverse the tide.

With the prospect of defeat looming large, Dr. F. W. de Klerk, last night declared the referendum "a farce" and "a scandal", and threatened not to recognise the outcome if the "yes" vote triumphed.

The CP official claimed that the make or break poll had been marred by wholesale irregularities and media bias, and that it planned to challenge the outcome in the courts — a move that could delay the announcement of the result later today.

The referendum's chief electoral officer, Mr. Piet Coen, last night predicted that the turnout would be substantially higher than 70%. But some commentators believe that the un-

precedented turnout could test the 80% level.

An hour before polls closed the turnout had already reached the 71% mark, with 2.3 million of South Africa's 3.3 million white voters casting their ballots.

The stampede to the polls was so unexpected that officials ran out of ballot papers in a number of areas. President F. W. de Klerk said he was confident of victory and NP secretary-general Dr. Stofel van der Merwe added he was feeling "very confident" and had a "gut feeling" that a 60% "yes" vote was possible.

Dr. Van der Merwe said the "anxiety factor" — the "yes" camp's prediction as referendum day approached — had been overcome. "We have crossed that bridge," he said.

The NP's prediction was echoed by DP leader Dr. Zach de Beer who said that throughout the campaign he had expected a 60% "yes" margin.

He predicted that with such "overwhelming" majorities achieved by the "yes" camp in DP strongholds in the major metropolitan areas it would be difficult for the plateland to catch up. Dr. De Beer said the likely positive outcome meant "full steam ahead for elections" and negotiations, leading to within two years.

10-page-4



CASTING VOTE... President F. W. de Klerk and the leader of the opposition, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, cast their votes in the referendum yesterday.

## Dutch visit 'to go ahead'

CT 13/3/92  
THE HAGUE. The

Dutch government was sticking to agreed plans for an official prime ministerial visit to South Africa in August despite objections from the ANC. Prime Minister Mr. Ruud Lubbers said yesterday in a letter to parliament (SOUTH).

The government saw no reason to go back on the agreed schedule, he said in the letter sent jointly with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hans van den Broek, who will accompany him with the Finance Minister.

Mr. Nelson Mandela said on Monday that the August dates for the visit were unacceptable because it was not certain a transitional government would be in place.



CT 18/2/92 (30419)

# Crucial count gets underway

Staff Reporter

ONCE polling stations closed in 27 constituencies in the Cape Town region last night, ballot boxes were sealed by Home Affairs officials under the careful scrutiny of elected representatives from the main political parties.

Under stringent police escort, the group would have ferried the boxes to the counting station at Parow Civic Centre where chief referendum officer in Cape Town, Mr P H Schoeman, and his team of about five counters will start counting at 7am.

A Department of Home Affairs spokesman, Mr Thomas Dreyer, said: "By regulation, the only people allowed into the counting halls are the officials appointed to count votes, as well as specially appointed representatives from the political parties."

The parties which will be represented in the heavily guarded counting halls are the NP, DP, CP and HNP, he said.

At 7am Mr Schoeman will remove boxes from the police-guarded safes, take out the votes, mix it up and place it in batches of 50 for the counters.

From about 10am, the figures will be

relayed to the Department of Home Affairs Office in Cape Town.

The director-general, Mr P J Colyn, should announce the result of the referendum between noon and 1pm at the large auditorium in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building.

Last night a harried Mr Colyn said the poll could be between 70% and 80%.

He said the "crucial moments" would be when the results from each region start pouring in today and said the voting was hectic in all the regions.

Mr Schoeman said the officials had been "busier" than they have ever been before.

# Voters swamp polling booths

VOTING in SA's most crucial ballot since 1948 was frenetic as hundreds of thousands of white voters flooded polling booths yesterday to decide SA's future political course.

Traffic snarl-ups and processing of as many as 800 voters an hour were reported from many polling stations in major centres.

Throughout the country, the pattern of voting could be characterised by one word — queues. Every centre reported lengthy lines, with people often spilling into adjoining streets.

Fears of apathy among English-speakers — which prompted analysts to say the right wing had a fighting chance — appeared to be unfounded as thousands flocked to the booths.

Referendum officers at some booths in Johannesburg's northern suburbs were taken by surprise by the high turnout, saying if the trend continued they would run out of ballot papers.

In Parktown, Johannesburg, 3 100 of 5 000 registered voters had voted by midday.

According to initial figures at noon, more than 41 000 people had voted in the Johannesburg region, about 77 000 in the Germiston area and about 62 000 in Roodepoort.

In the northern Transvaal, about 35 000 people had cast their ballots by 11.30am, but voting was expected to be boosted by lunchtime and after-work voters.

In the Free State, polling was just as heavy. By 2pm, officials said 35% of registered voters had cast their ballots in the Bloemfontein area.

At one stage, referendum officers at the Tempe military base near Bloemfontein had to scurry about for more booths, as hundreds of national servicemen wanting to cast their ballots caused serious bottlenecks.

In Pretoria, where President F W de Klerk cast his ballot, voting was brisk. CP leader Andries Treurnicht voted in Nylstroom.

Voting in the Vaal Triangle was heavy, with a strong turnout up to five hours after the booths opened. The Vaal's busiest voting booth was the Vereeniging Town Hall, where about

81 Day 18/3/92 304A

## REFERENDUM

# '92

2 000 votes had been cast by 10.30am.

In neighbouring Vanderbijlpark and Meyerton, voters also turned out in droves, while a long queue was evident at the Laerskool Paardekraal, Krugersdorp's voting station.

At least 807 people had voted in Westonaria, far West Rand, by 10am and NP officials were confident of a "yes" vote despite a computer printed banner reading: "No, No 1 000 times No" at the sporting ground.

About 6 000 votes had been recorded at the Durban City Hall by 3pm.

"I have never seen so many voters — not since the 1960 referendum," an official at Berea Primary School polling station remarked.

Durban's regional referendum officer Dries Coetzee released the following figures of votes cast in the region by 3pm: Umhlatazana 6 500; Berea 8 300; Port Natal 7 400; Umbilo 6 080; Toti 9 000; Greytown 10 390; and Umfolozi 7 750.

Reports from Maritzburg indicated that 10 000 of the 40 000 voters there had cast their votes by noon.

In northern Natal, Dundee and Newcastle officials reported a steady turnout.

On Cape Town's Atlantic seaboard, the "yes" vote was reportedly sweeping the boards by late yesterday.

The "no" camp was virtually non-existent with the odd poster swamped by DP and NP ones.

The Atlantic seaboard, including Camps Bay, Sea Point and Green Point, has 32 000 registered voters.

At the Green Point and Sea Point civic centre, senior DP organiser Neil Ross said he had never witnessed such a turnout. An official said 2 700 people had voted by 11.30 am.

At the Temple Israel polling booth in Green Point — "normally one of the quietest" according to an official — queues occupied the pavement all morning.

In the Eastern Cape, more than a third of the 103 000 white voters in the region had cast their votes by 1pm. By mid-afternoon about 40 000 votes had been recorded.

Referendum officer D C van Schalkwyk said a total of 29 438 people had voted in the region, with East London North recording 4 567 votes, East London City 4 951, Queenstown 4 694, King William's Town 4 004, Cradock 3 659 and Aliwal North 3 357.

The presiding officer at the Alasdair Carnegie Hall in Gonubie, D van Lamp, said 1 345 people had cast their votes by noon.

Few incidents were reported at polling stations around the country.

At Zebediela, five men wearing balaclavas were warned to remove them after police said disguises near voting stations were not allowed. In Parktown, Johannesburg, police intervened to end an altercation between a "no" supporter and a voter.

And in Durban, police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said telephonic reports of bomb scares at Umbilo's Glenwood Primary School and at Westridge Park Tennis Stadium turned out to be false alarms.

While both "yes" and "no" campaigners were confident of victory, both sides were pleasantly surprised at the turnout.

"We are overwhelmed. The polling booths are besieged," said DP MP Peter Soal.

Polling officer in Somerset West G van Dyk described the tempo as "tremendous".

It was expected that up to 80% of the three-million registered voters would have cast their ballots by the time the poll closed at 9pm last night, observers said. — Sapa.



Voters turn out in force

# 'Yes' vote should win, CP concedes

304A  
B/day 18/3/92

PATRICK BULGER  
and ADRIAN HADLAND

CP LEADERS last night conceded the "no" camp was likely to be defeated in SA's most crucial referendum.

White voters flooded polling stations in unexpectedly large numbers to register a resounding endorsement for continued reform and negotiations towards a new constitution.

Shortly before the polls closed at 9pm, a senior CP official said the "no" vote would lose. And NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe predicted a "yes" vote of around 60% in a 72% poll.

However, LINDEN BIRNS reports that by 6.30pm the average turnout at polling stations countrywide was just 55.3%. Home Affairs officials in Johannesburg reported the lowest average poll at 30% just after 6.15pm, while Port Elizabeth's 68.4% was the country's highest turnout.

CP deputy chairman of constitutional affairs Corne Mulder said a "no" majority would be a "miracle". He predicted a 58% "yes" vote and said the CP had erred after Potchefstroom by claiming it represented a majority of white voters, when it in fact represented only 42% of them.

The referendum was called the day after the NP suffered a humiliating defeat in the Potchefstroom by-election a month ago.

Spokesmen from all parties said yesterday's poll had attracted unprecedented interest. They said a 72% poll was likely.

The much-feared apathy among English voters in urban areas failed to materialise as English speakers braved rain in Cape

## REFERENDUM '92

Town and long queues elsewhere to make their choices.

From Walvis Bay on the Atlantic coast to Warner Beach on the other side of the country, voters flocked to polling booths. In some cases ballot papers ran out and party workers had to obtain extra supplies.

DP leader Zach de Beer said that throughout the campaign he had expected a 60% "yes".

"I went around the polls all day, and at all seats there was an enormous poll with very little sign of any 'no' votes. With such an overwhelming majority in Johannesburg it would take the whole of the plateau to catch us up," De Beer said last night. He said the likely outcome meant "full steam ahead for Codesa" and negotiations leading to elections under a new constitution within two years.

As the likelihood of a resounding "yes" vote increased throughout the day, leading CP officials complained of widespread irregularities they alleged had favoured the "yes" camp. CP acting secretary for the Transvaal, Paul Fouche, said some voters were being allowed to vote more

□ To Page 2

## Referendum

B/day 18/3/92 304A

than once. "The whole referendum has been most irregular," he said.

CP spokesmen alleged voters had been intimidated into voting "yes" by big business, the international community, the state and the world sporting fraternity.

Earlier, in an apparent attempt to downplay the militancy the AWB had injected into the "no" campaign, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche ordered his followers not to wear uniforms to polling booths. In some areas, AWB supporters waving flags from bakkies loudly urged a "no" vote.

Mulder said a likely "yes" win in nine of the 15 referendum districts meant the NP's reforms did not command a following from almost half the country. He said the NP would have difficulty enforcing its will in areas that had posted a "no" vote. He said the three-week campaign had been overwhelmingly biased towards a "yes" vote and that the "no" vote had ended up

looking "pathetic".

The day's polling attracted extraordinary interest. In central Johannesburg a large group of blacks cheered Foreign Minister Pik Botha and chanted "yes, yes" outside the City Hall polling booth. Hospital patients, some of them with drips still attached to their arms, and elderly folk in wheelchairs were among throngs of voters who made their choices at Rosebank and RAU in Johannesburg.

At several polling booths, in Houghton, Parktown, Parkview and the Johannesburg City Hall, polling officials desperately sought to replenish their exhausted supplies of ballot papers.

It was SA's fourth referendum this century and the third in the past three decades. In the last referendum in 1983, to decide on the tricameral Parliament, the percentage poll was 76%.

● See Pages 3 and 5

□ From Page 1

# CP homeland dream dashed

Sowetan 19/3/92

304A

SA Press Association

CONSERVATIVE Party hopes of identifying the Free State and Northern Cape as part of a future white homeland have been convincingly spoilt by three referendum results which the party had banked on.

Results in Kroonstad, Bloemfontein and Kimberley have dashed what political foes of the CP have labelled its "booby prize" — a regional claim of majority support in central South Africa.

The expected result of a Northern Transvaal "no" victory has not advanced this second option which was to have been a major fall-back position against State President FW de Klerk's advancing reforms.

Senior National Party MPs were among those who initially expressed concern over the regional break-up of the results which they felt threatened the Government with an outcome which would identify large areas as CP-held self-determination zones.

A constituency by constituency result, they argued up to the eve of the poll, would fragment the CP support and ward off such a consolidated claim to territorial support.

The Free State and Northern Cape, along with the Western Transvaal, were seen as a likely picking if the CP-HNP-AWB axis could swing the vote away from De Klerk to any significant measure.

If that happened, the MPs argued, Dr Andries Treurnicht could argue that such territories were not prepared to go along with the rest of South Africa.

The results have now destroyed such an alternative strategy for the rightwing and seem to indicate that the Northern Transvaal's Pietersburg district - economically a near desert - will be the only "no" territory which the CP alliance can try to lead away from a negotiated settlement.



# Officials disagree at poll

*Sowetan 19/3/92*  
SOUTH Africa was kept on tenterhooks yesterday for the final referendum tally as disagreement between officials in the Roodepoort region delayed the result in the area - including Conservative strongholds such as Carletonville and Potchefstroom - until after 4pm.

The Roodepoort result — 52,3 percent "yes" — was

finally announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis during his Budget speech. (304A)

Chief referendum official Mr Piet Colyn said last night the CP had objected to the Roodepoort and Beaufort West results.

# No 'official' language

STAR 19/3/92

304A

Regarding "Call for English to be the main language" (The Star, March 2), the ANC Language Commission was intrigued that the English Academy of Southern Africa (EASA) had decided to take such a unilateral decision.

If both the ANC Language Commission and EASA contemplate an equitable language policy for a future democratic South Africa, then there should be no conflict whatsoever as expressed in the overt or implied statements recently issued by both the ANC Language Commission (February 13) and the EASA (March 2). If, however, the EASA believes that it can pontificate on the language rights of over 35 million inhabitants of this country, then there is bound to be confrontation.

For a start, an elitist language body such as the EASA (we deliberately avoid the term "academy" precisely for its elitist and linguistically chauvinistic connotations in a post-colonial country such as South Africa), cannot continue to dictate the linguistic lives of the masses. Instead, both the ANC and the EASA will have to respect the opinion of the masses regarding the language issue,

particularly at grassroots level.

English is a colonial language. It carries a perennial colonial albatross around its neck. It is just as guilty of linguistic injustices in this country as its colonial bedfellow, Afrikaans. It is a question of the degrees or intensity of the linguistic oppression that we are addressing. To put it colloquially, the kettle may call the pot black, but both villains will always remain the same.

It is the height of linguistic arrogance for the EASA to think that they can impose English as an "official language" at this stage without consulting all the users of the language.

The ANC believes that:

"No language shall be declared 'official'. Instead, the State shall be empowered to designate one or more of these languages to be used for defined purposes at the national level or in any region or area where it is used widely".

Please note the clause "The State shall be empowered..."

The Union of South Africa Act of 1910 decreed both English and Dutch as the so-called "official" languages. The majority of the people of this country were not consulted. Instead,

Afrikaans was decreed an "official" language in 1925, a language as young (in corpus planning terms) as the other indigenous languages of this country.

To add insult to injury (if we may use a cliché), Prof Jenkins states that:

"There is no standard South African English at present."

Instead, the 35 million or so South Africans are expected to use "Standard British English". This is not only an academic insult to such socio-linguists as Professors William Lanham and Jean and William Brandford, but also to Buntu Mfenyana and the present writer, whose current Ph.D. research areas are actually based on the distinctive features of "South African Black English".

Professor Elwyn Jenkins is advised to defer to the decision-makers of the EASA and solicit a fresh mandate on the language issue. Otherwise, history will judge him as another Lord Milner, a label he would most likely find unwelcome.

Qedusizi Buthelezi  
Co-ordinator,

ANC Language Commission,  
Department of Arts and Culture  
Johannesburg



# Property leaders delighted over prospects in wake of vote

By Frank Jeans  
and Meg Wilson

STAR

19/3/92

Property leaders are joyous over prospects for all sectors of the market on the back of the resounding yes for President de Klerk's reform initiative.

The overwhelming response by South Africa's three million white voters opens the way for more confident foreign investors to look again at the viable property opportunities awaiting their wealth of funds.

There is consensus in the market place, however, that amid the referendum euphoria it would be wrong to assume a sudden surge in property.

There remains persistent economic sluggishness and the bogey of high interest rates, combined with the ever-widening gap of affordability.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the referendum outcome has laid the foundation for a positive movement in property.

Les Weil, chairman of property group, JH Isaacs, says: "The decision by the white electorate will assist us to take-up our

rightful place in the world community, where global and regional interaction are vital for our economic development.

"Investors, both local and overseas, are now reassured."

Mr Weil believes that, as new investments are made, all sectors of the property market will benefit.

He endorses the view, too, that in relative terms South African property remains cheap, so that the current recessionary conditions provide a sound opportunity for purchasers and tenants to secure or let property on favourable terms.

A further favourable factor resulting from the massive yes is that many property transactions which were conditional on a positive vote will be concluded, thereby helping to get markets moving again.

"With a new constitution showing stability and sensible economic policies there are a lot of friends abroad who would like to see this country succeed and play a leading role in subcontinent," says Mr Weil.

While he cautions

against hopes of an immediate property upturn in view of the struggling economy aggravated by prolonged drought, the JHI chairman has no doubt that "looking back five years from now some very wise property decisions will have been made in 1992".

Gerald Leissner, managing director of Anglo American Property Services, has no doubt that the commercial and residential markets will pick up but he does not envisage a huge rush of new investment and development.

"International investment still depends on politics and on perceived investment potential," he says.

"Certainly, there will be more foreign investors and potential investors coming to look."

Sanlam Properties general manager development, Fanie Lategan, believes major institutions will now definitely be taking another look at projects that had been shelved for some time.

He expects the market will show definite signs of an upturn by the end of the year, and growth in

1994, ending the longest downturn ever

New developments will have a multiplier effect on the economy, ultimately putting more money in the pockets of buyers.

However, in line with most other commentators, Sanlam points out that there are other factors which affect the market, such as continuing violence, a persistent lack of confidence among local investors and the need for some economic stimulus, such as a further drop in bond rates.

Sanlam is also concerned at the existing affordability gap, and Danie van der Berg, general manager in charge of specialist projects, including the company's residential developments, says developers entering the market now will have to take special cognisance of this.

Eskel Jawitz, of JH Isaacs-Eskel Jawitz Real Estate, says renewed confidence will now come back into the market.

"Realistically, though, the real hard work now begins because we have to understand that a yes vote will not bring about an overnight miracle."

# Happy birthday

FW thanks crowd at Tuynhuys for 'magnificent victory'

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk could at last get away from the glare of publicity and referendum crowds last night after what he described as a "magnificent victory".

This was the birthday gift he had asked the electorate to give him during the short and gruelling election campaign. Yesterday was also his 56th birthday.

When he appeared on the steps of Tuynhuys in the afternoon a large crowd spontaneously sang "happy birthday to you".

After an international Press conference in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building in Parliament Street, which ended at 6pm, Mr De Klerk was the host at a party at Tuynhuys. He described it as an "open house" for his friends.

After that he was going to what was supposed to be a "sort of surprise, surprise" party for his birthday — but he already knew about it.

He added that what would happen there would be a surprise.

It had been organised by personal friends.

A smiling Mr De Klerk, looking remarkably fresh after the taxing few weeks he had been through, said: "I will slip away at some stage and for the first time since the start of the campaign have some time where I will be absolutely free from cameras and public and media attention."

There were no details of the presents he may have received for his birthday, apart from the Yes victory, but his staff at Tuynhuys said they were inundated with messages of congratulation. There were also bouquets of flowers, baskets of fruit and birthday cards sent to his official residence, Groote Schuur.

One of those to ring in the morning was ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. He wished Mr De Klerk well on his birthday as well as on the referendum result.

Mr De Klerk began his momentous day when he arrived at Tuynhuys about 9am.

By then he knew that there would be a majority Yes vote and the indications were that it would be the "landslide one" he had asked for. He had spent Tuesday night quietly at home with his family, receiving some assessments of how the voting had gone.

Later he said at the Press conference that he was not much of a gambling man and that he had throughout been confident that he would win.

Yesterday the impression of a landslide victory grew as he watched the results on television in a big room in Tuynhuys along with some of his friends. For a long time he was joined by Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, his main ally in the referendum campaign.

He had asked for a big victory so that the rightwing could not quibble afterwards.

At his Press conference Mr De Klerk expressed his appreciation to the electorate for having concentrated on the question and for not having allowed themselves to be distracted by side issues.

ly!  
ent victory'



# 'Victory for Codesa'

BY voting "yes", whites had extended a hand of friendship to blacks which should be reciprocated.

This was said by a Cape Town caller during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback last night.

The caller told host Tim Modise that he was, however, worried by pro-Azapo sentiments that were expressed by several callers on the programme.

Azapo's national media officer Mr Khangale Makhado had dismissed the "yes" vote as meaningless for black people.

"De Klerk and Treunicht

are two sides of the same coin with the former representing the smooth part and the latter the rougher side. De Klerk should relinquish power," Makhado said.

Bruce of Durban said "radical" groups should stop preaching the revolution.

"This is time for recon-

ciliation. Colour is meaningless because I eat the same food as white people," he said.

Yusuf Salojee of the ANC said a "yes" vote was a victory for Codesa. "We want to build the new South Africa on the foundation of a non-racial democracy."

# Crisis meeting for CP

304A  
ARG 19/8/92

## Political Staff

THE humiliated Conservative Party caucus had a crisis meeting today to evaluate the rightwing's crushing referendum defeat and plan strategy in the face of renewed calls to join negotiations.

As Codesa returned squarely to the centre of the political stage after the Yes-vote triumph, deep differences emerged in the CP.

President De Klerk, adopting a conciliatory attitude, is going out of his way to woo some of the rightwing to the negotiation table.

Nationalist politicians are hopeful of a split developing in the CP with one faction willing to talk.

Among some rightwingers there are mutterings of violence unless there is a whites-only election.

A CP source said today the party had been shattered, among other things because its calculations were so far out.

It had expected to do far better but there had been a huge lie factor. In some areas MPs calculated that the No side would get three to four times the number of votes it did.

The ANC said in a statement the result "is a mandate not only for President De Klerk, but for all the parties in Codesa to act with all deliberate speed to set up an interim government that will prepare and supervise truly democratic elections for a constituent assembly".

## World Cup rugby



on

referendum result is  
and expectations.

ie end, Yes prevailed  
stunning 68.6 percent  
2 percent. Generally,  
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on of 60 percent Yes,  
best; 55 percent at  
rst.  
Given the passion of the  
ghtwing campaign, the  
ear of indifference among  
es supporters and the  
rratic voting record of  
nglish-speakers, apathy  
was deemed a major  
threat. As it turned out,  
there was no such thing. A  
umping 85.5 percent poll  
not paid to that — and to  
the No aspirations.

□ □ □

The Yes landslide is an  
mpathic endorsement of  
resident F W de Klerk's  
ctions and a go-ahead for  
odesa, the multiparty  
negotiating forum.

Before the referendum,  
ghtwing by-election gains  
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tics threatened to  
ndermine President De  
lerk's mandate. In the  
ent, there was no option  
ut to put the question to  
the eligible electorate at  
rge.

The response now is  
verwhelmingly in favour;  
ery voting region, save  
e, is firmly behind the  
odesa initiative.  
onservative elements  
ve been firmly put down  
a democratic test of  
length.

□ □ □

Clearly, the swaggering,  
timidatory tactics of the  
es of the AWP is  
ormously damaging to  
e Conservative alliance.  
rdinary citizens are  
pulsed by such militant  
rogance.

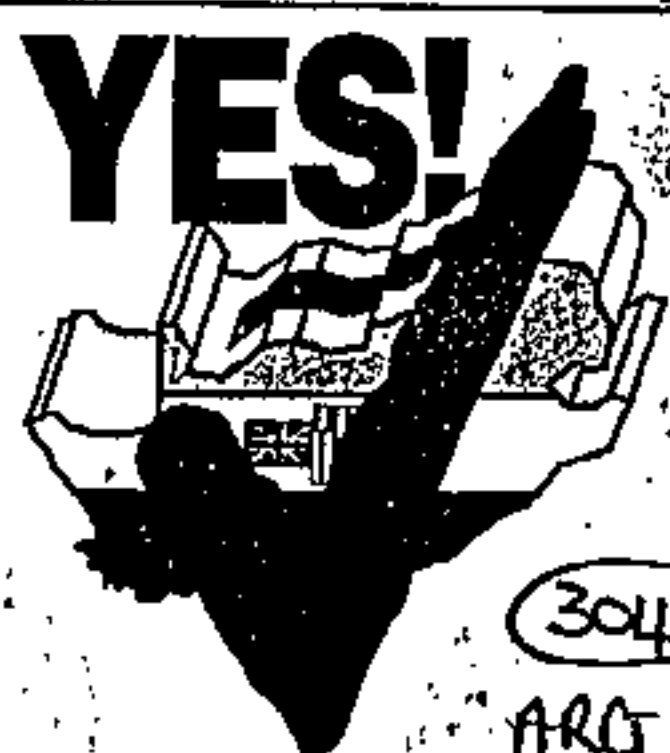
The Conservative Party,  
its post mortem, needs  
re-appraise its position.  
o stand back from  
ainstream political  
irection will surely make it  
relevant.

Overall, the outcome of  
e referendum is critically  
important domestically,  
nd for South Africa's  
ernational standing.

For one, it demonstrates  
eyond doubt that whites  
e for peace and justice  
all. It is a clear signal to  
thers of a commitment to  
ursue this course through  
egotiation, and that they  
ek a like response in the  
rest for a common,  
ared future.

Not only is F W de  
erk's hand extended in  
endship, it is  
ngthened by electoral  
sicle.

# WHAT YES! A BOOST!



**SOUTH** Africa basked  
in a new, friendlier  
world today as confi-  
dence in the country's  
future soared.

It was good news on all  
fronts. The world breathed a  
collective sigh of relief at the  
outcome of the white referen-  
dum.

As President Bush tele-  
phoned to congratulate Mr De  
Klerk for his overwhelming  
victory, heads of state across  
the globe expressed their de-  
light at the outcome which  
keeps South Africa firmly on  
course for a negotiated politi-  
cal settlement.

On the economic front, South  
African shares and bonds rock-  
eted and the financial rand  
soared. Denmark immediately  
lifted sanctions and announced  
that Danish Foreign Minister  
Lille Ellemann-Jensen would  
make a working visit to South  
Africa next month.

Arch-sanctions proponents  
Canada and Sweden said they  
would review their trade ban  
policies.

Britain's Co-operative  
Wholesale Society, with more  
than 5 000 shops, said it was  
ending its boycott of South Afri-  
can produce.

## Optimistic

At home, business leaders  
and industrialists were opti-  
mistic and there was new con-  
fidence on the Johannesburg  
Stock Exchange where prices  
rose in most sectors.

Mr Bush telephoned Presi-  
dent De Klerk to convey his  
personal congratulations, and  
White House officials said  
there had been "a friendly and  
upbeat conversation" between  
them.

Both the White House and  
the State Department hailed  
the result as a triumph for the  
process towards peace and de-  
mocracy and urged the Conser-  
vative Party to rethink its boy-  
cott of Codesa.

In New York a wave of relief  
swept through the United Na-  
tions. Secretary-general Bout-  
ros Boutros Ghali said it was  
"a major step forward" and "a  
new factor for peace and de-  
velopment throughout Africa".

In London, politicians, media  
and anti-apartheid campaign-  
ers have responded with enthu-  
siasm and optimism to the  
overwhelming Yes vote.

In France the reaction to the  
Yes vote was an unanimous



**TRIUMPHANT:** With his wife Marike at his side, President De Klerk acknowledges the cheers of the crowd in the gardens of Tuynhuys after the huge Yes triumph in the referendum.

sigh of relief, but there were  
doubts.

"When exactly does a power-  
sharing government come into  
office?" asked a government  
spokesman.

President Mitterrand paid  
tribute to the courage of Mr De  
Klerk and Mr Mandela.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl said  
in a letter to Mr De Klerk that  
the German government would  
continue to do all in its power  
to support Mr de Klerk's poli-  
cies.

## "Magnificent"

The Dutch government de-  
scribed the overwhelming Yes  
as "magnificent" and "historic".  
Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers  
said he hoped it would go down  
in history as "the day the peo-  
ple of South Africa ended  
apartheid".

The European Commission  
in Brussels said negotiations  
for a non-racial constitution at  
Codesa now offered "a unique  
opportunity for the peaceful  
transformation".

Australian Prime Minister  
Mr Paul Keating said "it is im-  
portant that the victory won by  
whites in favour of genuine re-

form acts as a catalyst to ac-  
celerate the development of a  
non-racial constitution".

New Zealand Prime Minister  
Jim Bolger said South Africa  
"is now well on the way to be-  
coming a full and respected  
member of the international  
community".

Canadian Prime Minister  
Brian Mulroney indicated sanc-  
tions could be reviewed. He  
called it "a victory for democ-  
racy and human rights" and  
said Canada would send  
R12 million to support demo-  
cratic development.

Commonwealth Secretary-  
General Chief Emeka Anyaoki  
described the outcome as "a  
vote of confidence in a non-ra-  
cial future". He said: "The re-  
sult shows that a clear major-  
ity of white South Africans  
have spoken unequivocally in  
support of a peaceful end to  
apartheid."

Organisation of African Uni-  
ty secretary-general Salim Ah-  
med Salim said: "The white  
population has chosen the di-  
rection of peace. I urge all the  
parties to seize this opportuni-  
ty to engage in constructive di-  
alogue."

## Crisis meeting for CP

### Political Staff

THE humiliated Conservative Party caucus had a  
crisis meeting today to evaluate the rightwing's  
crushing referendum defeat and plan strategy in  
the face of renewed calls to join negotiations.

As Codesa returned squarely to the centre of the  
political stage after the Yes-vote triumph, deep  
differences emerged in the CP.

President De Klerk, adopting a conciliatory atti-  
tude, is going out of his way to woo some of the  
rightwing to the negotiation table.

Nationalist politicians are hopeful of a split de-  
veloping in the CP with one faction willing to talk.

Among some rightwingers there are mutterings  
of violence unless there is a whites-only election.

A CP source said today the party had been shat-  
tered, among other things because its calculations  
were so far out.

It had expected to do far better but there had  
been a huge lie factor. In some areas MPs calcu-  
lated that the No side would get three to four  
times the number of votes it did.

The ANC said in a statement the result "is a  
mandate not only for President De Klerk, but for  
all the parties in Codesa to act with all deliberate  
speed to set up an interim government that will  
prepare and supervise truly democratic elections  
for a constituent assembly".

304A  
ARC 19/3/92



# The Star

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THURSDAY MARCH 19 1992

CITY LATE \*\*

1992 BUDGET 1992

SPECIAL

Full contents of speech by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis

PLUS

Facts, Figures, Analysis

Pages 3, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 25

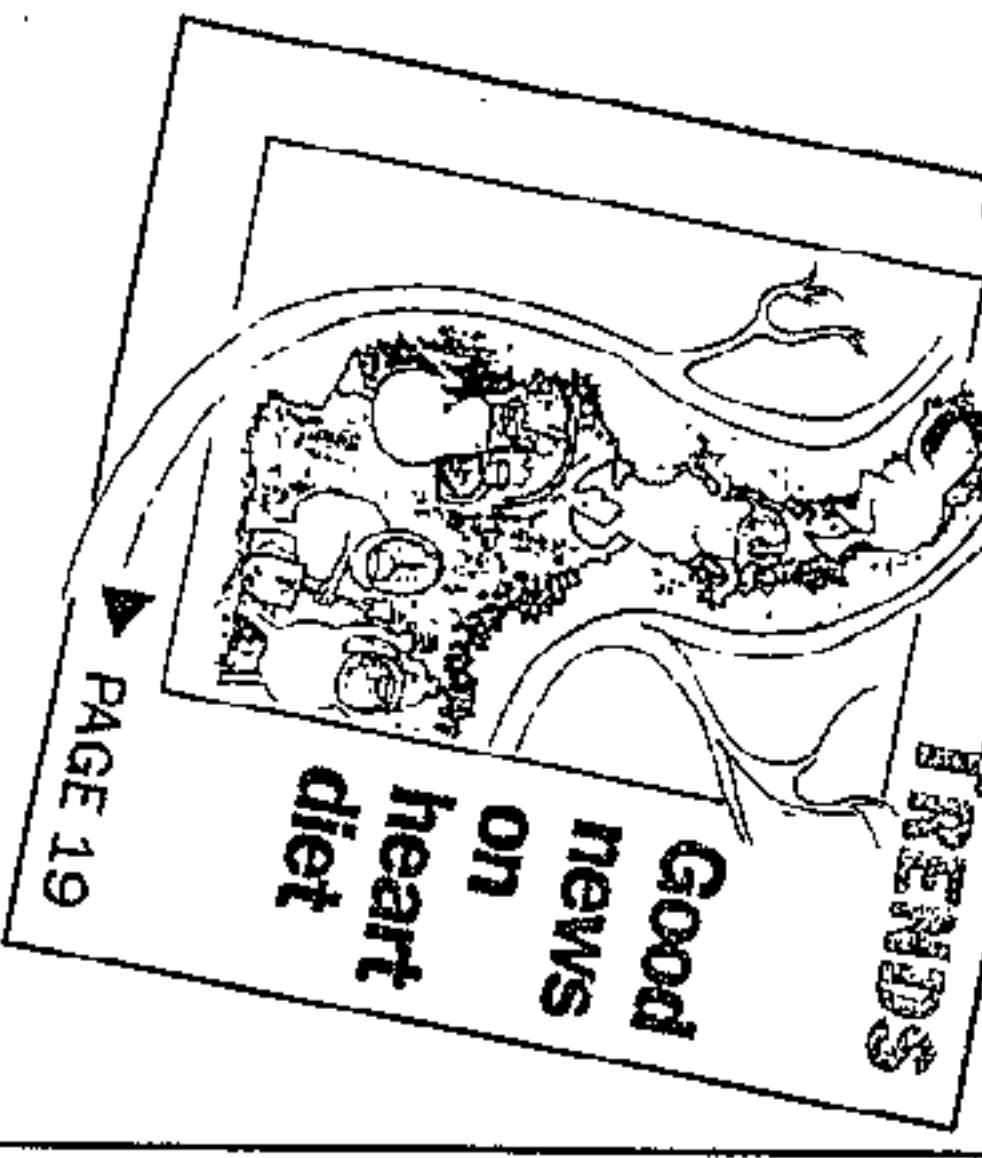


Look who's going up on CCV

PAGE 8



Making Sunday a family fun day



Good news on heart diet

PAGE 19

INSIDE

4

Bush rivals defeated

The US presidential race becomes clearer after Bill Clinton and George Bush defeat their rivals in the industrial heart of the country.

5

Man dies in ambush

One man is killed and another is injured when gunmen ambush their car near the Free State/Transkei border.

## Slight relief in Barend's tough Budget

STAR 19/3/92

Finance Staff

There was little joy for taxpayers in yesterday's R100 billion Budget presented to Parliament by Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis.

Main points of the Budget were:

- Petrol up 8c a litre, with an additional 1c inland transport levy.
- Slight increases in tax on

liquor, cigarettes and beverages.

- Significantly higher sums allocated for education, health and housing.
- Increased social pensions and a further move to racial parity.
- R1 bn in drought relief.
- Another R1 bn to fight crime.

After the euphoria and joy over the outcome of the referendum, in financial circles

the Budget was called a "non-event" which would produce very little spark to economic growth.

The ANC and its allies, including the Congress of SA Trade Unions, threatened a general strike if the Government did not address its demands including the scrapping VAT on food, reduction of food prices and the immediate equalisation of per-

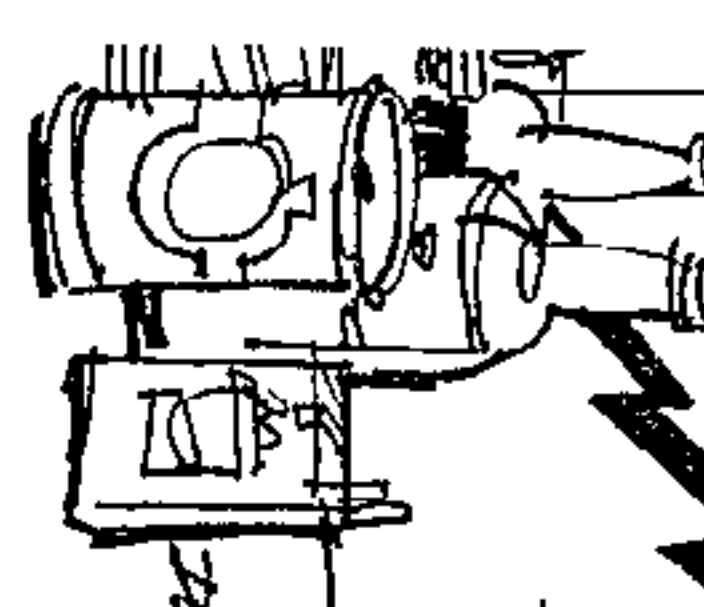
The total tax burden on individual taxpayers is set to increase further this year which, together with the increase in fuel prices, is bound to push inflation even higher.

Mr du Plessis was accused by analysts of having again used "sleight of hand" to disguise the fact that individuals will contribute in excess of 42 percent of Government revenue in the current tax

year. This is up from 38 percent last year.

While the top marginal tax rate on individuals was maintained at 43 percent, Mr du Plessis announced tax concessions totalling R1.45 billion.

Dr Azar Jannine, chief economist for economic think-tank Econometric, expressed his disappointment



● To Page 3

## Voters dump apartheid

STAR 19/3/92

By Peter Fabricius (3c4A) and Shaun Johnson (3c4A)

CAPE TOWN — White South Africans have emphatically "closed the book of apartheid" with yesterday's landslide 68.7 percent "yes" victory in the referendum.

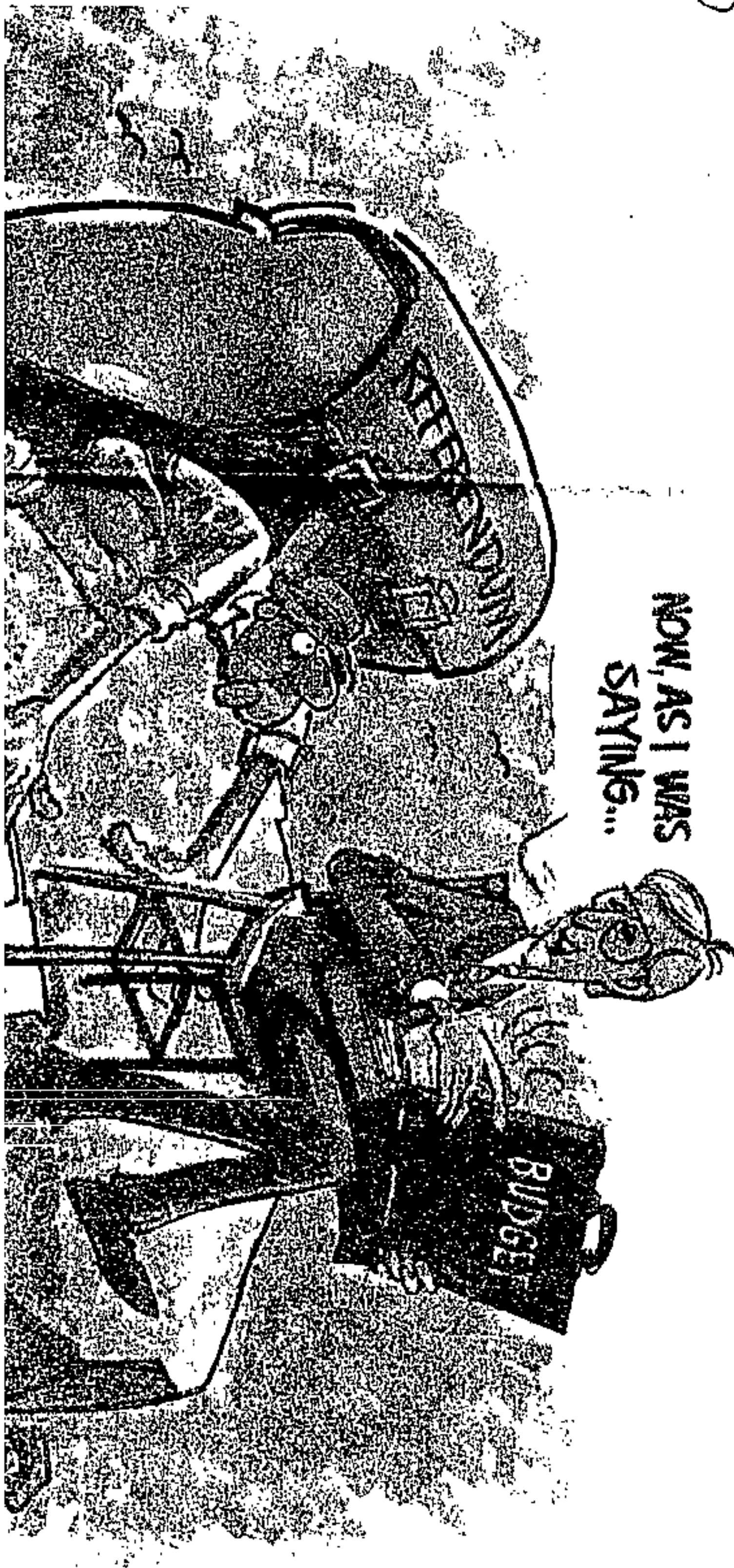
The victory by President de Klerk and the Democratic Party was hailed last night as a massive vote for normalisation in a united country.

Nearly 2 million whites voted "yes" against 875 000 "no" votes — delivering a stunning 1 million majority in favour of a negotiated future via Codesa.

The result was 1 924 186 "yes" votes, 875 619 "no" votes and 5 142 spoilt papers. The "no" campaign drew 31.3 percent of the vote.

"The message of this referendum is that this is the real birthday of the real new South African nation," a in-

NOW, AS I WAS SAYING...



JSE gets 'yes' boost

By Magnus Heyseck

Shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange surged yesterday as it became clear that President de Klerk had received overwhelming support for his reform plans.

The market started rising almost immediately as the first results started coming in. By the close, the overall market was 43 points higher at 3573 and the industrial index up by 82 points to 4738.

This happened despite a major strengthening of the financial rand from R3.98 in the morning to R3.70.

The Budget speech was delivered too late to affect the JSE, but analysts are confident that the market



There could be vigorous new investment once the level of violence subsides, and once there is clarity about the ANC's economic policies.

## 'Privileged to be here'

Canadians John and Alena Schram feel privileged to be in South Africa in a time that throws up saints and heroes.

News..... 2-17 Briefing..... 25  
Trends..... 19 Business..... 27  
Letters..... 23 Prices..... 29  
Opinion..... 24 Sport..... 33-36

## NEWSLINE

### Family of 4 dies in crash

A Beroon family — Francois Priesloo (32), his wife Yvette (29) and their daughters Tharier (5) and Roelle (2) — have died in a road accident. The driver of the other vehicle, Daniel Louis Swaneepoel (32) is in a critical condition.

### Long detour for ship's crew

Crew members of the Onib, which sank off the Cape coast after a collision with the Fatihkhar, will be offloaded in Rio de Janeiro instead of their destination, Singapore. The Fatihkhar's captain would not offload them in Cape Town.

### Police seize forged notes

Police have seized forged R50 notes and arrested three people in Florida Glen, west of Johannesburg.

### Denmark marks the day

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen will visit SA next month and economic sanctions will be lifted tomorrow, the ministry said.

### Bara strike affects admissions

Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital has had to cut down on the number of surgical cases being admitted because of a laundry workers' strike.

### 'Downs captain on theft charges

Mamelodi Sundowns captain Ernest Chirwa was yesterday charged with 14 counts of theft involving R133 000.

### Markets at a glance

JSE overall (close)..... 3573 (+44)  
Hong Kong gold open..... N/A (\$340.81)  
Rand/dollar (Mar 18)..... R2.678  
Financial rand (Mar 18)..... R3.69  
London (FTSE-100 close)..... 2464.7 (-26.5)  
Tokyo (Nikkei noon)..... 20185.09 (+420.78)  
New York (Dow close)..... 3254.25 (-1.79)

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Angela Day 835-7181/2

steps of Tynahms. Around him stood DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and members of the Cabinet, while a crowd of ecstatic supporters cheered and sang "Happy birthday" to Mr de Klerk, who turned 56 yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said at a subsequent press conference: "The massive positive result sends out a powerful message to all South Africans... that those who have the power in terms of the present, imperfect constitution really mean it when they say we want to share power."

Number of votes:  
Yes: 1 924 186  
No: 875 619  
Total: 2 799 805  
Percent of votes:  
Yes: 68.7%  
No: 31.3%

Percentage poll: 85%  
Spill votes: 5 142.

Referendum  
reports and pictures -  
Pages 2, 10 and 25

"We want it to be fair and equitable."

Mr de Klerk added: "This referendum, more than the 2nd of February 1990, has changed and will change the face of South Africa."

Fourteen of the country's 15 regions voted "yes", the exception being Pietersburg.

After long delays because the CP disrupted the count, the last result came in after 4 pm from the former Conservative stronghold of Robodepoort.

The "yes" vote won in this

● To Page 2

### SA to meet England in Sunday semifinal

Australia's 57-run victory over the West Indies yesterday and Pakistan's seven-wicket win over New Zealand opens the way for two dramatic World Cup cricket semifinals at the weekend.

The Kiwis face Pakistan in Auckland on Saturday and South Africa plays England in Sydney on Sunday.

M-Net will begin screening a live broadcast at 6 am on Sunday. It is not known if SABC-TV will screen the match. — Own Correspondent

● Pictures and reports  
— Page 35 and Back Page

## Divided CP licks its wounds

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

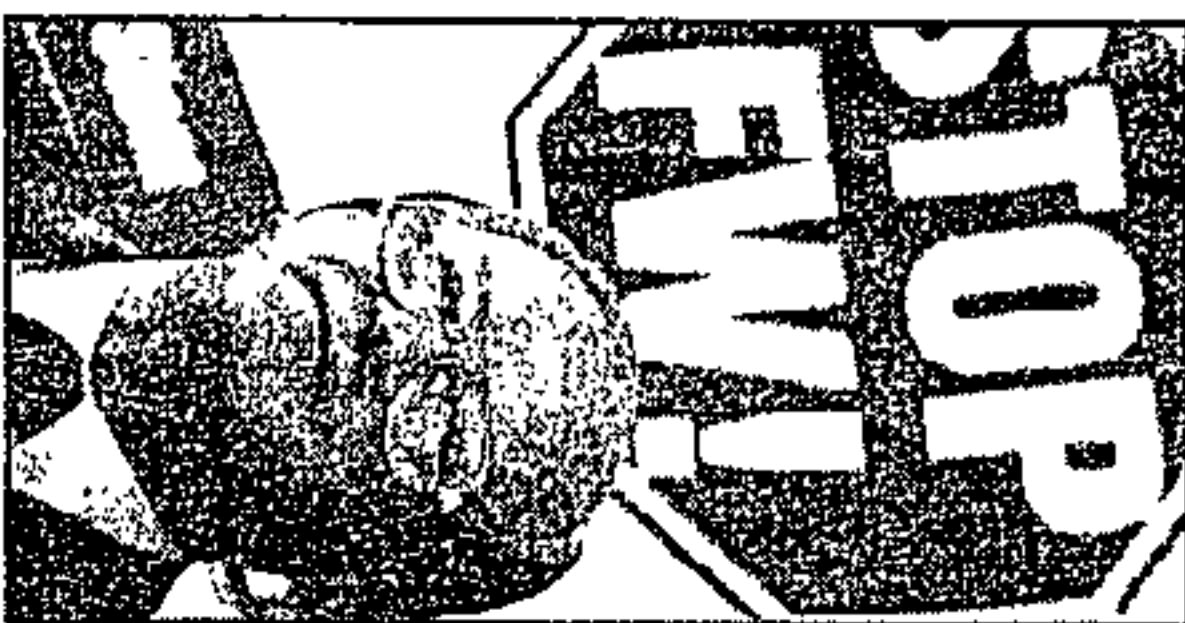
CAPE TOWN — A shell-shocked Conservative Party this morning resumed a caucus meeting called in Cape Town last night to lick its wounds and consider its future, amid predictions of a split in the party.

After its drubbing in the referendum, tensions between the pro-negotiation and anti-negotiation factions could reach breaking point.

CP sources said the pro-negotiation faction under maverick MP Koos van der Merwe would probably argue that the route of ousting the Government through the ballot box was now closed.

The party now had no option but to go into Codesa to try to negotiate for some form of regional autonomy for a white state.

The Van der Merwe faction is likely to be fiercely opposed by the hardliners under deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who might shift the argument by accusing Mr van der Merwe



Disappointed... CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

of undermining the CP's referendum campaign by making repeated statements contradicting official policy.

Observers believe Mr van der Merwe deliberately did this during the campaign to

shift the party leftwards, knowing the leadership could not contradict him for fear of undermining party unity.

Mr van der Merwe and his allies declared that the party could not return to apartheid and was prepared to negotiate, even with the ANC.

The result has been that Mr de Klerk has been given a resounding mandate for reform which the CP can no longer credibly dispute.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday said the chances of a CP split were strong because of the divergent directions the party had taken during the campaign.

And David Gant, chairman of the DP's national executive, said "genuine non-racist Afrikaners" — like Mr van der Merwe and CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar — would now realise that the only way to achieve their legitimate political objectives was to take part in Codesa.

## Wotta, hippopotamystery

By Clyde Johnson  
Lowveld Bureau

SCHAGEN — A watchman got the fright of his life on Tuesday night when he went to investigate an "illegally parked caravan".

Jacob Mlawza was doing his rounds at the Crocodile Country Inn near Schagen at 9 pm when he noticed what he thought was an illegally parked caravan 20 m ahead.

"As I approached, the caravan moved — so I quickly made my way towards it. I was less than 5 m away when I realised I was face to face with a hippo," he said.

## SA to host rugby 1995 World Cup

The "yes" vote has ensured South Africa will be awarded the hosting of the 1995 rugby World Cup when the International Board meets next month in New Zealand to decide on the venue.

That was the news from IRB chairman, Dr Roger Vanderfield of Australia, on his arrival yesterday to attend the commemorative dinner for the formation of the SA Rugby Football Union in Kimberley tomorrow night. Accompanying him was New Zealand Rugby Union council chairman Eddie Tonks. — Barry Glasspool.

TELSTAR

Win R1 000 to buy a lovely garden — Page 26



from 10 years to five. While the reaction of the business community to the outcome of the referendum was very favourable, the Budget elicited a much more subdued response.

● More reports -  
Pages 27 to 30

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# Disagreement delays Roodepoort result

STAR 19/3/92  
3041

By Glen Elsas  
and Bunt West

South Africa waited anxiously for the final referendum tally yesterday as disagreement between officials in the Roodepoort region delayed the result in the area — which includes Conservative strongholds such as Carletonville and Potchefstroom — not being made known until after 4 pm.

The Roodepoort result — 52,3 percent “yes” — was finally announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis during his Budget speech yesterday.

Chief referendum official Piet Colyn said last night the Conservative Party had objected to the Roodepoort and Beaufort West results. Because “legal steps” might be taken, he would make no further comment.

At the Roodepoort Town Hall, media representatives heard rumblings of discontent throughout the day although officials — including the 160 people counting the votes — took an oath of secrecy concerning the happenings inside the hall.

Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg, apparently started the controversy just before 7 am when he insisted — according to sources — that all the officials should be registered and counted as he was afraid some may “pop out from under the tables with ‘yes’ votes in their pockets”.

Mr Jacobs later denied he had made this remark and said whoever had made the allegation had broken the vow of secrecy.

The counting started only after 9 am.

At one stage during the day’s proceedings, presiding officer Braam de Villiers came outside to speak to the media. He explained that the counting was taking a long time as “technical” errors had occurred with special votes.

Some of the votes were recounted up to three times and, when the result was announced, the CP was still clearly dissatisfied. Mr Jacobs said the number of special votes was still a matter for dispute and added that the CP would take up the issue “at a suitable time”.

## Referendum results

Regions	YES	%	NO	%	Spoilt papers
Beaufort West	18 941	61%	11 798	38,4%	71
Bloemfontein	58 066	58,6%	41 017	41,4%	167
Cape Town	355 527	84,9%	63 325	15,1%	769
Durban	204 371	85,0%	35 975	15,0%	436
East London	66 675	78,3%	18 498	21,7%	198
George	40 075	65,4%	21 211	34,6%	98
Germiston	164 025	65,4%	86 844	34,6%	464
Johannesburg	324 686	78,3%	89 957	21,7%	860
Kimberley	33 504	54,5%	27 993	45,5%	74
Kroonstad	54 531	51,5%	51 279	48,5%	176
Pietermaritzburg	66 500	76%	21 023	24%	119
Pietersburg	37 612	43%	49 820	57%	227
Port Elizabeth	87 216	74%	29 909	25,5%	157
Pretoria	287 720	57,4%	213 825	42,6%	790
Roodepoort	124 737	52,3%	113 145	47,7%	536
TOTAL	1 924 186	68,6%	875 619	31,2%	5 142

# Big business urges action to kickstart the economy

STAR 19/3/92  
3049

By Paula Fray

As business reacted to the resounding “yes” vote, there were immediate calls last night for South Africans to harness the post-referendum optimism to rebuild the flagging economy.

SA Chamber of Business said yesterday the result should give a new thrust to business and investor confidence at home and overseas.

“The outcome of the referendum will undoubtedly have a positive influence on the medium and longer-term performance of the SA economy and should lead to any remaining sanctions being lifted soon,” said president Hennie Viljoen.

The onus, he said, was now on South Africa to create an environment of stability and growth which would promote investment and job creation.

This view was echoed by Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mike Cato who exhorted businesses to put the referendum behind them and focus efforts on growth and development.

National Productivity Institute executive director Dr Jan Visser agreed that people needed to put the referendum behind them and “get on with the job”.

The “yes” vote gave South Africa an opportunity to confidently exploit its foreign economic relations in growing exports in order to kick-start the lagging domestic economy and achieve a higher overall economic growth rate, said Saito chief executive Wim Holtes.

Anglo American Corporation described the referendum result as “outstanding”.

“White South Africans have unambiguously displayed good sense and humanity and have voted to continue negotiating a common future with their fellow South Africans,” the mining corporation stated last night.

From an economic point of view, the biggest advantage of the referendum’s conclusion was that insecurity had been removed, said Afrikaanse Handel-sinstituit president Attie du Plessis.

The pro-reform result was a triumph of common sense over

“yesterday’s stereotypical thinking” according to Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa president Theo Behrens.

He said the mandate given to Mr de Klerk was a shot in the arm for the business community. “The hospitality industry, in particular, is confident it will be able to take its rightful place in the world again.”

Castrol SA chief executive Derryck Spence said the overwhelming “yes” vote would allow the company to determine its destiny without outside interference as well as focus on attracting investment and expanding its operations.

In property, a period of waiting ended yesterday for many sellers who had added in a “yes” vote clause to their sales.

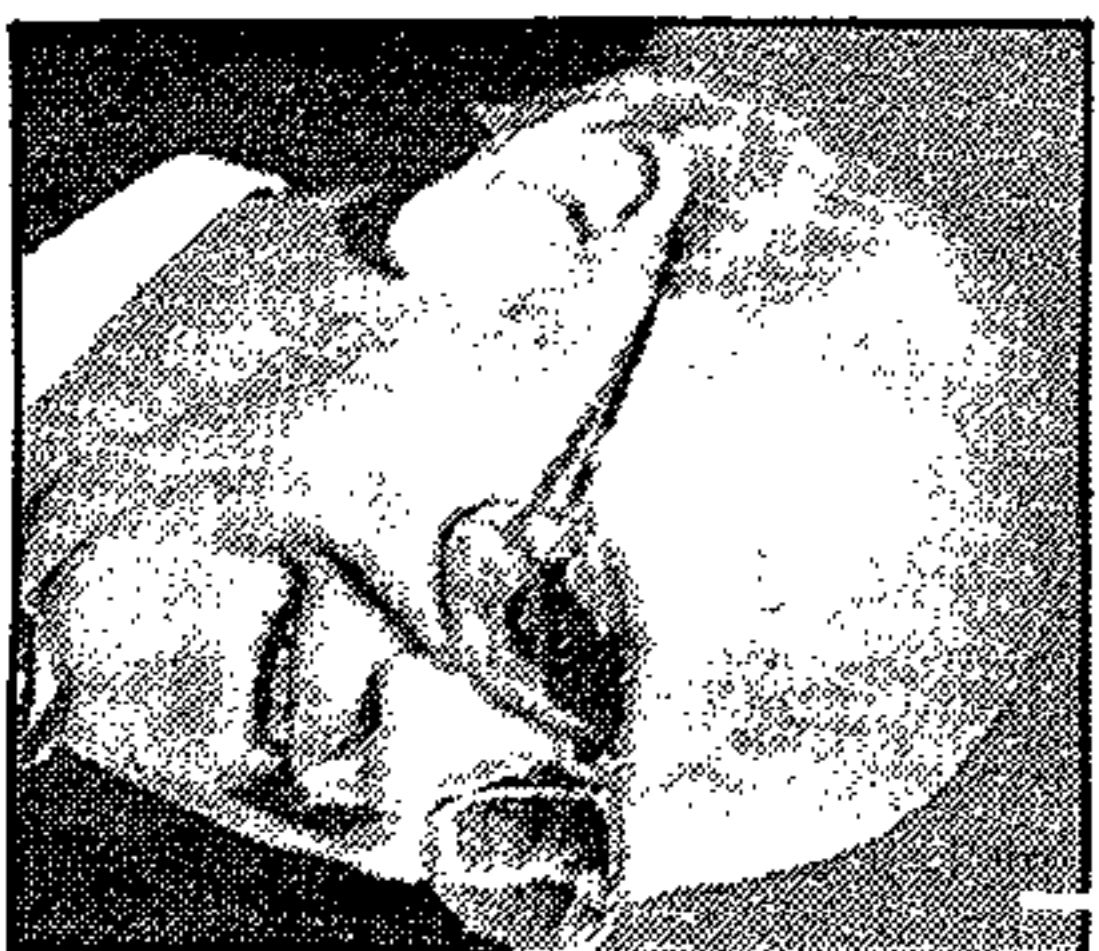
Seeff Organisation Holdings chairman Lawrence Seeff said the result was positive news for the property business.

Camdon group MD Scott McRae said the majority “yes” vote would produce a surge in value in the property market, boost the construction sector and attract overseas investors.



# Right 'has no choice but to join Codesa'

STAR 19/3/92



F.W. de Klerk... 'yes' vote best birthday present ever.

## A great gift to mark his birthday

By Louise Burgers

While South African voters yesterday gave State President F.W. de Klerk the best birthday present he could ever expect by giving a thunderous "Yes" backing to his brave reforms.

Mr de Klerk turned 56 on the day that will be recorded in history as a turning point for SA. An early birthday wish came from ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said he had telephoned Mr de Klerk yesterday morning to congratulate him. As Mr de Klerk walked down the steps of Tuynhuis in Cape Town to give his victory speech at 3 pm, supporters shouted "Yes, Yes", and started singing "Happy Birthday".

The only clue that his birthday had not completely skipped his mind came when a jubilant Mr de Klerk told the crowd: "Today is the real birthday of the new South Africa."

And before delivering his Budget speech in Parliament yesterday afternoon, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis also publicly congratulated Mr de Klerk on his birthday. "There could hardly have been a better birthday present than the result of the referendum. What you have achieved in this campaign makes a year of your life extremely important for everyone. Our prayers are with you," he said.

## Political Staff

(3044)

With a clear two-thirds majority of whites expressing their support for the negotiations process, the focus has shifted to Codesa and tangible progress in the constitutional talks.

Extra-parliamentary groups have unanimously welcomed the landslide victory for negotiations and appealed to the defeated right wing to join constitutional talks.

The ANC said the result "was a mandate not only to President de Klerk, but to all the parties involved in Codesa to act with all deliberate speed in the negotiation process in order to realise an interim government that will prepare and supervise truly democratic elections for a constituent assembly".

The ANC called on the "no" vote camp to accept their defeat with grace and reiterated the invitation for the right wing to join Codesa.

## Trounced

Nelson Mandela said the right wing was welcome to state their views at the negotiations table "no matter how repulsive their views might be".

He said the result was in principle the farewell to apartheid, but its real demise depended on a change in thought patterns and institutions.

"This must be the absolute last occasion on which South Africa is subjected to the indignity of a racial or ethnic referendum," the ANC added.

And before delivering his Budget speech in Parliament yesterday afternoon, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis also publicly congratulated Mr de Klerk on his birthday. "There could hardly have been a better birthday present than the result of the referendum. What you have achieved in this campaign makes a year of your life extremely important for everyone. Our prayers are with you," he said.

SA Council of Churches secretary-general the Rev Frank

Chikane warned: "It is important for all South Africans and the world at large to understand that this is not a 'yes' for NP policies or their line of negotiations. It is a broader expression of the willingness to enter into negotiations with the majority who have been excluded from the racist Parliament."

● Kallveane Chief Minister Cephas Zitha said: "This puts the negotiation process irrevocably on the road and beyond the reach of those who would harm it."

● Iasas director Dr Alex Boraine commented: "The fact that whites have opted for sanity will be of enormous encouragement to black South Africans and augurs well for a more peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy."

● Azapo president Pandelani Netolovhodwe said: "There is no better evil between President F.W. de Klerk's NP and Dr Andries Treurnicht's CP. The advocates of the 'yes' or 'no' vote are two sides of the same coin. None of the two streams is capable of delivering freedom to the black majority."

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said: "I and the IFP are overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution, which the 'yes' vote in the referendum indicates."

● Ciskei Council of State chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo asserted: "The 'yes' vote is definitely a victory for politics of negotiation. The beauty of democracy is that although the CP lost the vote, they have made their fears known."

● Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said that if Mr de Klerk interpreted the result as a licence for a new constitution or an interim government, he would meet the opposition of the Afrikaner nation.

● National Olympic Committee of SA chairman Sam Ramsamy said: "A majority vote going the other way would have doomed South African sport and our country for goodness knows how long."



Howzat... cricket fans Matthew Rosen (9) and Moabi Malebye (12) of St John's Preparatory School are delighted that the South African side will still be able to compete in future World Cups. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

## Treurnicht blames media, intimidation for defeat

STAR 19/3/92

The Conservative Party leader blamed the media, international pressure, and intimidation — anything but his own policies — for the landslide "yes".

But Dr Andries Treurnicht vowed that the "white nation's" struggle for self-determination would continue. Conceding defeat, he said the result contrasted with political patterns of the past few years.

"The unprecedented, orchestrated media assault, foreign intervention and blackmail, and the blatant threats by employers all played a significant role. The hy-

terical claims of the possibility of sanctions and the ghost of unemployment was clearly just too much for many voters."

He said the "struggle for freedom and survival" would now continue with greater seriousness than ever before and had entered a new phase. Refusing to be drawn on violent opposition, he said the CP would fight a political battle as long as constitutional avenues remained open. The result could not be interpreted as a blank cheque to implement a transitional government or new constitution. If Dr Klerk interprets it as such, he would face Afrikaner resistance.

## Apartheid book closed, says FW

STAR 19/3/92

From Page 1

Cape Town the poll was 88.3 percent and the "yes" vote 84.7 percent of the total.

An astonishing feature of the referendum was the extraordinary interest it generated among voters.

Over 2.8 million of the country's 3.29 million registered voters went to the polls, recording a record 85 percent poll.

DP urban strongholds in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and the eastern Cape delivered huge majorities, turning a win into a landslide.

In Johannesburg the percentage poll was 84 and the "yes" vote 78 percent, in Durban the poll was 86.6 percent and the "yes" vote 84.8 percent, and in

whole. "Whites should not fear democracy," he added. At a press conference last night Mr de Klerk struck a conciliatory note towards the defeated right wing. He appealed to "no" voters to accept the clear mandate for negotiations, and again urged them to join constitutional talks.

Mr de Klerk said he was not worried about the right wing now resorting to violence, as "the majority of them and their leaders are responsible people."

He expected "some realignment" of right-wing forces after some agonising within their ranks in coming weeks. But, regarding the AWB, he said people who broke laws would be vigorously pursued.

## Cricketers heave sigh of relief

By Peter Robinson

SYDNEY — Kepler Wessels and his SA cricket side responded with relief last night to the news that the referendum had returned a "yes" vote.

"We're very, very happy," said Wessels. "We hadn't really been worried until the past few days when everyone became pessimistic."

"But we're delighted things have turned out the way they have. It's a positive move and it's what all of us wanted."

Wessels was in an upbeat mood after Australia had beaten the West Indies, ensuring that South Africa would stay in Sydney for their semi-final against England on Sunday.

Dr Ali Bacher, managing director of the United Cricket Board of SA, yesterday hailed the referendum result, saying it "has paved the way for the greatest era in South African cricket, and will enable cricket to continue to unite our nation and build pride in our country wherever we play."

He said the results had reaffirmed the board's resolve to develop the game in disadvantaged areas, and so provide new opportunities through cricket for all South Africans.

## KILLS COMPUTER VIRUSES



APR 19 1994

# Yes vote the turning point in our history

Political Staff

3049

PRESIDENT De Klerk described the Yes vote in the referendum as the go-ahead to build a new South Africa with room for all its people.

He said it was a landslide victory for peace.

Addressing a large crowd in the gardens of Tuynhuys he said the new society would provide security for those who had a lot to lose and full and equal democratic rights for those who had not so far shared in this.

He called on all South Africans to reach out to build a better future.

"Our future lies in bringing together those who really want peace and in forging this nation together in an overwhelming majority who are against radicalism from whichever side."

Mr De Klerk said the landslide Yes vote would be recorded as one of the fundamental turning points in the history of South Africa.

"Today we have closed the book on apartheid," he said to loud applause.

There had been objections to the fact that the referendum had been all-white. But there was perhaps an element of justice in the fact that those who started a long chapter in the country's history were called upon to close it.

"What started out with idealism in a quest for justice but could not attain justice for all had to be replaced by the only viable policy — power sharing, co-operation, the building of one nation in one undivided South Africa," he said.

"It does not often happen in one generation that a nation gets the opportunity to rise above itself, but the white electorate has risen above itself in this referendum.

"The white electorate has reached out through this landslide victory to all our compatriots and all other South Africans.

"The message of this referendum is that today is the real birthday of the real, new South African nation."

It was also a message of conciliation and reaching out to real justice.

The result placed tremendous responsibility on all who voted Yes and on the leaders of those who could not vote.

"Nothing is going to be easy, but we have laid the foundation on which to build," said Mr de Klerk.



# No more racist polls, say marchers

304A  
ARG 19/3/92

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

THE next time a march was held in central Cape Town its leaders would not stop outside Tuynhuys but would enter the State President's office and instal Mr Nelson Mandela as president, said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

He told a crowd — which at its peak numbered an estimated 20 000 — on the Grand Parade yesterday that "the present person there is illegitimate".

He said the referendum "is behind us — we must move forward and ensure that the aspirations and ideals of our people are realised".

Congress of South Africa Trade Unions general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the only other vote which the Democratic Movement would allow to take place in South Africa was a vote which would transfer power to the majority.

Speaking after a march to parliament, he said his message to President De Klerk was that there would be no more racist elections.

He said: "We are saying to De Klerk that the time to go is now. By June we want to see an interim government and by the end of the year we want to have elections for a constituent assembly."

Yesterday's march, organised by the ANC, Cosatu and

the SA Communist Party, comprised a crowd which noisily wound its way through central Cape Town.

As police in camouflage uniforms lined the streets, the procession was led by Mr Naidoo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani, Western Cape ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak and Cosatu national president Mr John Gomomo as they followed four men carrying a black cardboard coffin which read "ANC says bury the racist budget".

Shops along the route closed their doors, office workers watched from balconies and parts of central Cape Town were closed to traffic during the procession.

Near Tuynhuys a group of youths broke away from the main body of marchers, chanting derogatory slogans at police.

Outside Tuynhuys police declined to take a memorandum from Dr Boesak but fetched Dr Marius Ackermann, President De Klerk's legal advisor, who took the document and promised to hand it over to the State President.

In the document, which was read to people attending a People's Budget rally on the Grand Parade before the march started, the SACP, the ANC and Cosatu demanded an interim government by June and democratic elections for a constituent assembly by December.



# Boost for Codesa, but it won't be all plain sailing

By Jo-Anne Collinge

STAR 19/3/92

3044

With more than two out of three white voters behind negotiations, it's full steam ahead for Codesa — but rough seas and tricky cross currents can be expected.

This was a central message of political analysts on the implications of the referendum.

There was also a perception that a right-wing split was almost inevitable and this would feed greater militancy among a faction that would continue to shun negotiations.

"The result puts an enormous responsibility on the Government to negotiate and not to mess around with Codesa," commented Idasa's Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, predicting that negotiations would gain considerable pace.

On the one hand, "President

de Klerk has much more flexibility than he had before. The referendum puts paid to the need for an all-white election and gets Mr de Klerk around the (tricameral election) problem of 1994," Dr Slabbert said.

Pressures would begin to build within the ANC constituency for answers on education, the ending of violence and the creation of jobs.

Dr Slabbert argued that the unexpected success of the "yes" campaign owed a lot to other parties in Codesa, especially the ANC who allowed it to be "conducted in climate that forced attention on to central question". This meant that the ANC also emerged with a fresh bargaining chip: They "played ball" when the NP needed this.

Steven Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, predicted a "bumpy period" for Codesa.

"The result is going to raise expectations on both sides — and those expectations are not going to be the same," he said.

Turning to the implications for the CP, he commented: "I think a split is pretty inevitable. The days of white electoral politics are over and CP as an electoral force is finished."

While part of the CP would join negotiations, "the worrying thing is what happens to the guys who don't. Their only option is to disrupt the process".

Stellenbosch University's Professor Sampie Terreblanche said the landslide "yes" would do a lot for Mr de Klerk's personal prestige, which had taken a knock with Inkathagane and Nelson Mandela's attack on him at Codesa.

On the other hand, he lost the bargaining ploy that "if the ANC is not accommodative, next time around it may have to

bargain with Andries Treurnicht." He predicted Mr de Klerk would "attempt to take a hard line" because he had made "quite a lot of promises during the campaign".

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town remarked that the result might have been "almost as unexpected as Zimbabwe's victory over England in the World Cup."

But he stressed: "We should not forget, in the euphoria of the moment, that nearly one-third of the white population has voted against reform — even though they were outspent by at least five to one by the 'yes' parties and were opposed by all the mainstream newspapers.

He concurred that "some of the promises Mr de Klerk had made to his electorate were going to be very hard to sell to the ANC" but added: "The scale of the victory should give an enormous boost to Codesa."



# World welcomes result but urges caution

STAR 19/3/92

By Garner Thomson  
and Sapa-Reuter-AP (2044)

LONDON — World leaders, politicians, the media and anti-apartheid campaigners have responded with enthusiasm and optimism to the overwhelming go-ahead South Africa's white voters have given President de Klerk's policy of reform.

But some cautioned that yesterday's euphoria should not obscure the very real problems the country still faced in the shape of a shaky economy, widespread violence and the continued smouldering antagonism from the hard right.

British Prime Minister John Major said the outcome sounded SA's return to the international community.

"This result would never have been achieved without the courage and leadership shown by President de Klerk. I congratulate the white electorate for choosing the path of reform," he said in a statement.

"The white electorate's decision will be backed by the vast majority of South Africans who did not vote, but whose future was just as much at stake," Mr Major said.

US President George Bush applauded the mandate for reform and called on all South Africans to join in the transition to democracy.

The United States embassy in Cape Town said the US would continue to look to promoting investment and trade to assist SA's economic growth.

Alan Robinson reports from London that Europe heaved a collective sigh of relief.

And nowhere was the delight greater than in The Hague, where the Dutch government described the overwhelming "yes" vote as "historic".

Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers dubbed yesterday as "the day of no return" for South Africa and said he hoped it would go down in history as "the day the people of South Africa ended apartheid".

Mr Lubbers went on television shortly after midday to tell the Dutch people of the verdict reached. He disclosed that he had already sent a telegram of congratulations to Mr de Klerk. Mr Lubbers emphasised his



Crucial count . . . the world held its breath yesterday as referendum results poured in. Here, state officials count ballots from the Pretoria region in the Pretoria City Hall.

determination to visit South Africa in August and said he would not be deterred by "misunderstandings" and breakdowns in communication.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is reported to have said he does not want Mr Lubbers to pay an official visit until an interim government is in place.

The Dutch parliament will today debate a motion to lift the last remaining economic embargo against SA — the ban on petroleum products.

Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, sent a message to Mr de Klerk in which he said the referendum result had given him a mandate to continue along the path of building SA's future on

the basis of reconciliation.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeke Anyaoki in a statement described the outcome as "a vote of confidence in a non-racial future".

James Thomlin reports from Paris that French reaction was a unanimous sigh of relief, but doubt was expressed as to its real meaning.

An official at the presidential Elysee said: "We are overjoyed that the white voters showed such political maturity. But when exactly does a power-sharing government come into office?"

A spokeswoman at the office of Prime Minister Edith Cresson said: "We have naturally supported Mr de Klerk in this historic moment. Now South

Africa can speed ahead and become the economic powerhouse on the continent."

Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe welcomed the results and said: "Japan hopes that all the parties concerned . . . will accept the result of the referendum seriously and participate in (negotiations).

Sweden, once an ardent critic of South Africa's apartheid, said it would discuss lifting sanctions against Pretoria.

"If the reform process moves ahead without interruption, the last hindrance to a decision to abolish our sanctions is removed," Foreign Minister Margaretha at Ugglas said.

Mrs at Ugglas said she would take up the issue tomorrow at a meeting of the state's Foreign

Affairs Advisory Council, Sweden's top foreign policy body.

Swedish radio said Ingvar Carlsson, leader of the opposition Social Democrats, called for sanctions to be retained.

Canada would re-allocate five million Canadian dollars of Official Development Assistance for activities in support of democratic development in South Africa, the Canadian Embassy said in a statement.

Denmark welcomed the overwhelming "yes" vote and said it would lift trade sanctions.

"This is a red-letter day for South Africa, but also for the forces in the international community that support the South African reform process," Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said in a statement.

"The lifting of Danish sanctions will take effect on Friday. We can then renew and expand our economic ties," he said.

"We shall also provide substantial aid to help even out the large social and economic differences in South Africa."

India's President R Venkataraman said in a special message to Mr de Klerk: "India welcomes your historic win and looks forward to accepting South Africa in the mainstream of the world's democracies."

New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger said SA "is now well on the way to becoming a full and respected member of the international community".

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, said: "Now real progress must be made rapidly toward a genuinely democratic constitution through Codesa . . . It would be tragic if Mr De Klerk were to interpret the vote as a mandate to try and impose the National Party's constitutional proposals on to the people of South Africa."

Some British observers remain concerned about SA's future, regardless of the result.

Speaking from Cape Town, the BBC's southern Africa correspondent, John Harrison, told UK viewers: "He (President De Klerk) has a need to be cautious. He can't over-celebrate. There are huge problems ahead of him, there are huge problems ahead for South Africa, and I think if he took simply the result of this referendum as an unqualified mandate, he would be very mistaken."

Harrison warned that violence was likely to increase in the months ahead.

He said: "I think we will see continuing violence in the townships where black groups are competing for political control, and I think also we will see a backlash from the hard right, impatient with the idea of negotiating with the likes of Nelson Mandela . . . the prospect for South Africa is grim."

South Africa watchers and analysts were cautious about the meaning of the vote. One summed up: "The destiny of South Africa on Tuesday was in the hands of the whites — how will the blacks interpret the vote result. How soon will they dena . . ."



THE FEW hundred people gathered in the gardens of Tuynhuys — and the many more hanging from windows in Parliament to see President de Klerk — lived through a few minutes that brought to an end generations of history.

The occasion was so charged that those gathered clapped after an opening prayer, they clapped and chanted at intervals during President de Klerk's short address, and they fell silent as he celebrated white South Africa's final admission that it is irrevocably part of Africa.

Many wept through their broad smiles.

It was not an ordinary political speech. It will find its place in history alongside other famous summations of a people's destiny.

## Acrimony

Mr de Klerk, and the many Democratic Party allies who stood behind him, were brimming with pride that the expectations of history had been con-founded: instead of being whipped into immoral defeat, they were standing proud and staring their chosen future in the face.

The acrimony and politicking of the referendum campaign was forgotten in that short interlude beneath the architectural symbol of old white power. Mr de Klerk's message was, more than anything else, a moral one.

He said:

It was a big day for our land ... Today will be (remembered) as one of the most fundamental turning points in the history of South Africa.

Today we have closed the book of apartheid. That chapter is over.

There were those who objected to the fact that this was an all-white referendum.

But I think (there is) an element of justice that we, who started this long chapter in our history, were called upon to close the book of apartheid.

(Apartheid) could not attain justice for all South Africans, and therefore it had to be aban-

# Real birthday of new SA

STAR 19/3/92

It was the most emotional moment a white South African could ever experience, when President de Klerk and his "yes" allies emerged smiling into the sunlight on the steps of Tuynhuys. The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON describes the scene, and records the highlights of Mr de Klerk's extraordinary victory speech.

304A

Winning wave ... President de Klerk, surrounded by smiling cabinet ministers, waves from the steps of Tuynhuys, Cape Town, after the country's resounding "yes" vote.

Picture: AFP



doned and replaced by the only viable policy in this country, and that is power-sharing, co-operation, the building of one nation in one undivided South Africa.

It doesn't often happen that in one generation a nation gets the

opportunity to rise above itself. The white electorate has risen above itself in this referendum. The white electorate has reached out through this landslide win for the yes vote, has reached out to all other South Africans.

The message of this referendum is in a sense (that this is) the real birthday of the real new South African nation ... Today we gave final effect to a process of many years, to really begin building a new South Africa.

I am also convinced that this result has placed an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of all of us who supported a yes vote ... But also on the shoulders of all the leaders of those who could not vote, and their followers.

Because this result asks recognition from the leaders of all the other population groups in South Africa ... that only through co-operation, only through meeting each other, only through give-and-take, will we achieve an accord upon

which long-term stability, safety and progress can be built. We stand on the eve of real and urgent negotiations. Standing on this threshold, we face a future full of challenges. Nothing is going to be easy. But we have chosen our direction ...

I say let us look forward, let us take hands, let us use this magnificent result to create the impetus for what we have to do and what we are about to do.

I would like to thank all of those who made this magnificent result, this positive result, this yes for South Africa, possible.

The yes vote was not a vote for a party, it was a yes vote for South Africa, for a philosophy, for a solution.

It has brought our nation to a truly great moment. May we not lose this greatness again in petty party-political squabbles.

Let us use this new high platform to move onwards and forwards into a new future, a better future for all South Africans.

I put my hands out, and I say to all other South Africans on behalf of all who voted yes: Come. Let us walk forward together. Come, let us find the peace. Come, let us end the violence ... Come, let us make certain that the future is beautiful and open and clean.

## Security

And we look above, and together we thank God for this beautiful land and all its people ... Together we are going to build a new South Africa, that has place and space for all its people. That offers security to those who have a lot to lose. That offers to those who have not participated before full democratic rights, equal opportunities, full citizenship together with everyone else.

Our future lies in bringing together those who really want peace. And in building this nation together, the overwhelming majority reject radicalism from any source.

It is up to us, the 90 to 95 per cent from all walks of life, to take hands and stand firm against radicalism ...

There is no doubt that this has been a landslide. Not a landslide in the sense that we are euphoric, or that we are plainly victorious. It was a landslide for the cause of peace and justice in this country.

I thank you for your support. I wish you well. Everything of the best. Let us say yes for South Africa. □



Denis Beckett interviews a couple involved in the Canadian Dialogue Fund

# Greasing the wheels of change

STAR 19/3/92

IN APARTHEID'S heyday, dissidence was an amateur sport. Ladies in homemade sashes lined Jan Smuts Avenue with homemade banners; lawyers put in extra hours on conscience cases; thinkers churned out tracts on backroom roneo machines. The last thing most expected was to be paid, and when they did look for funds, the last place they'd look was the diplomatic corps.

Foreign money was dangerous money for political causes. Locals were shy of getting it, embassies wary of giving it.

This had a strength: no money meant no corruption. It also had a problem: no money meant little growth of new thinking.

Over the years the pattern changed. Now, the practice is to supercharge "alternative" thought at full steam — all of it sponsored, much sponsored by the embassies, and a significant part sponsored by one embassy in particular.

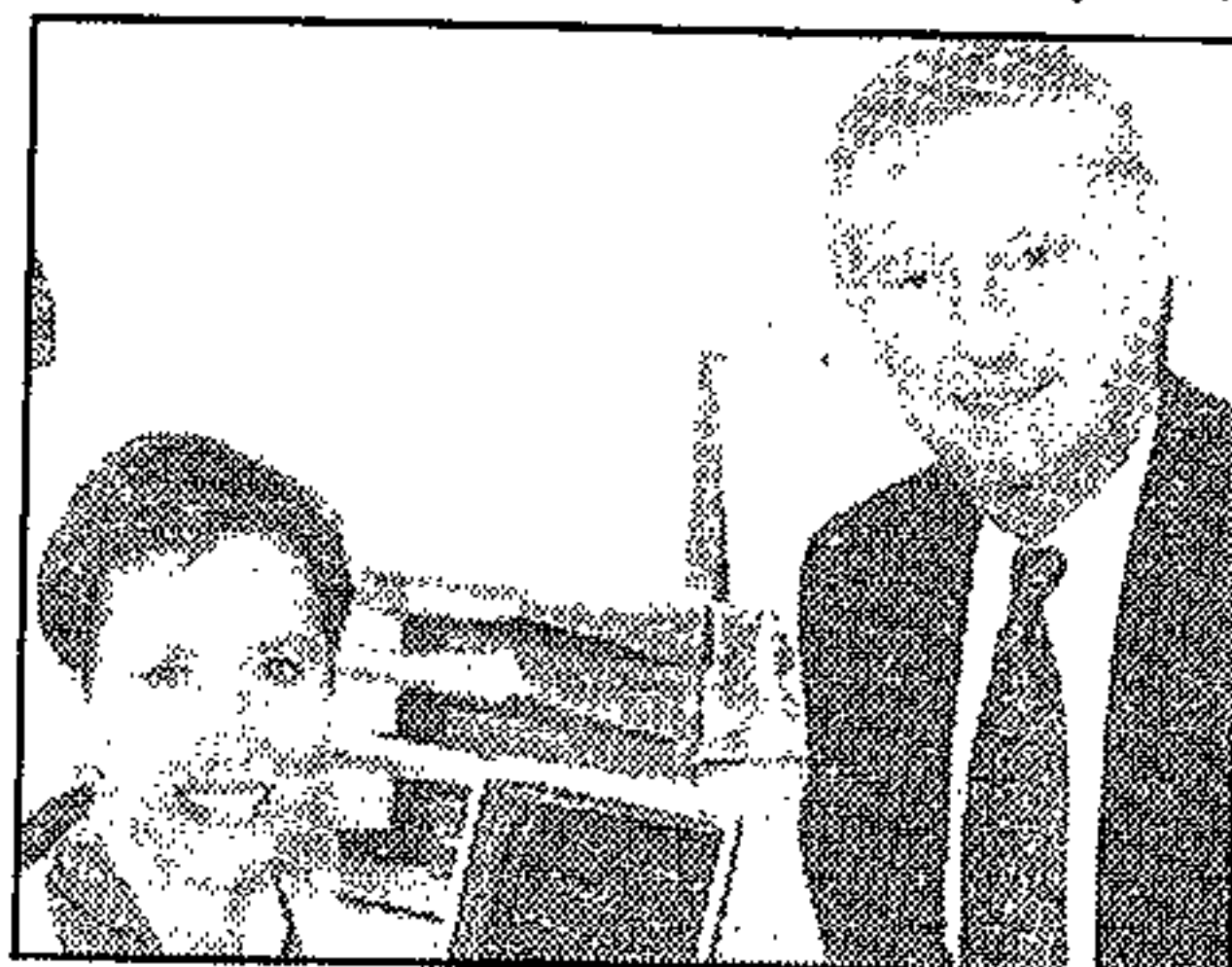
The Canadians have embraced the role of cultivating the spread of South African ideas. Four years ago they set up a unique mechanism for this purpose: the Dialogue Fund, to support ventures that "help remove the deep-seated fears and ignorance on which apartheid has prospered".

The Dialogue Fund has been a major intervention in the South African social landscape. It has also been, while not exactly secret, by no means widely advertised, having started at a time of hot temperatures over what was called foreign meddling.

The mood has changed and so has the ambassador. The new incumbent, Christopher Westdal, so youthful that first-timers to the residence often expect him to go to call his father, adopts the line that "if we do it, be proud of it".

Thus when The Star inquired about the Dialogue Fund, John and Alena Schram, the husband-and-wife team at the embassy who inspired the fund with their colleague Bryan Burton, spelled it out.

Normal embassy spending is a long-winded affair stiff with red



304A  
John and Alena Schram . . . through their involvement in change in South Africa they feel "privileged to be here in a time that throws up saints and heroes".

tape. "We took months getting an Order-in-Council to buy a \$7 500 ceremonial chair for the Vanuatu parliament," cites John Schram.

So the idea was a speedy, on-site, decision-making system to streamline Canada's involvement in South African change. Fortune had it that an adventurous Foreign Minister, Joe Clark, was in office in Ottawa, and the Dialogue Fund became the only operation of its kind run by Canada anywhere in the world, and possibly the only fund of its kind operated by any embassy in South Africa.

The fund — R4.5 million for the current year — has meant, says Alena Schram, "a Canadian presence in nearly every breakthrough you can think of".

Among these: the Five Freedoms Forum tour to Lusaka; the Standing for the Truth campaign to desegregate Pretoria's buses; Nelson Mandela addressing the University of Pretoria; the Voëlvry tour by "alternative Afrikaner" musicians; the Bishopscourt Conference of black leaders; and the Rustenburg Conference of Churches (at which, says John Schram, "Canada helped some South Africans to confess the sins of apartheid").

Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies was granted R250 000 for constitutional research involving Canadian experts and ANC lawyers. The Centre for Human Rights Studies at Tuks has a similar sum to explore "Jurisprudence for a New South Africa". The University of the Western

Cape has the same again to co-ordinate the endeavours of "the democratic legal community".

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers was awarded R275 000 to spread constitutional expertise; R80 000 went to help the student groups Nusas and Sancio to merge; many publications have benefited by bulk subscriptions or training schemes; grants have been made to groups such as Peace Action and the Forum on Post-Apartheid Investment Policy; and readers of The Star who sign peace pledges are sent certificates by courtesy of Canada.

To date the fund has helped more than 300 projects. The sums are small in relation to Canada's total aid package: some 35 million Canadian tax dollars flow into South African education and community development each year. The Dialogue Fund is unique not only for its flexibility but also for its unabashed involvement in promoting political change.

For the Schrams, South Africa was not an easy assignment. It has been a moral factor for them for a long time, intruding even on their wedding night in 1968. Alena had bought a special bottle of wine for them to share, but when she produced it John felt obliged to veto it. It was a Paarl Riesling.

When they were offered a Pretoria posting in 1988 "we talked it over hard with friends. All except one said 'Yes, go, and do what good you can'". They came, and did, and now feel vindicated and "privileged to be here, in a time

that throws up saints and heroes. You don't get this level of challenge in calm countries".

It has not, however, been wholly comfortable. "We're well aware of the status our green cards and diplomatic numberplates imposed on us. It wasn't easy, when one morning we could be with brave people insisting on the public's right to catch a public bus, and by afternoon they'd be in jail and we'd be visiting in a limousine.

"But we were able to help. Many were the times we were phoned in the small hours and told that so-and-so was taken in, and we phoned the police and they heard 'embassy' and we heard a muffled discussion and then someone said 'oh, he was released 10 minutes ago'. Many were the times — before 1990 — that our car outside a meeting may have softened or forestalled a raid."

February 1990 changed those things. Experience diminished the Schrams' unease over living lives of plenty. Alena no longer dresses especially humbly when going out to development projects. "You can't try to be what you aren't. You've got to be what you are, try to be comfortable with it, and make what difference you can. We've done what we could. There's hardly a conference we haven't been involved in, and we see the effects.

"For instance the ANC, with so little to go on, has managed to put together a Bill of rights and negotiating proposals that are better than the Nats do with all their resources — even some Stellenbosch academics acknowledge that.

"We've never sought publicity. But you approach us at the right time. Perhaps now it is right to let South Africans know of the efforts Canada has been making to help achieve a better society here, and to let Canada sense the recognition that is felt by tomorrow's decision-makers."

Later this year the Schrams move on. The Dialogue Fund stays and continues, in its way, to fund the fight for a sounder South Africa. □



## ROUNDUP

# Rightwing threats 'laid to rest'

By JOE MDHLELA and Sapa

THE African National Congress fervently hoped that the landslide "yes" vote victory would finally lay to rest the threat of the ultra-rightwing, ANC executive Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

"The rightwing extremists demonstrably do not speak on behalf of the majority of white South Africans," Jordan said in Johannesburg.

"They are, however, a dangerous and desperate minority who stubbornly wish to cling to a discredited past. Their policies and the 'swart gevaar' propaganda they employed in this campaign were resoundingly rebuffed by the white voters," Jordan said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said a "no" vote in the short term would have created difficulties by the rightwing.

"But the forces of peace are too strong to be disrupted by any force," he said.

In principle, the referendum signalled the end of white privilege but apartheid was far from dead.

The South African Council of Churches, the South African Communist Party and Inkatha Freedom Party also welcomed the "yes" vote.

The Pan Africanist Congress, however, condemned the referendum and described it as an insult to the "dispossessed masses".

It said it was absurd that three million white voters should decide the future of 28 million blacks.

### Massive support

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, however, warned that the victory should not be used as a support for National Party policies.

He said for him the victory marked a relief for "those who were prepared to go to the trenches."

In a statement, the SACP said: "Never again must there be a whites-only poll in our country."

The statement said the SACP and ANC had urged their white members to vote positively "even though we objected to the ethnic exclusivity of the poll."

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "I and the IFP are overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution."

Buthelezi said he was campaigning for the inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa.

"It is wishful thinking to think that so important a body can continue much longer without us being represented," Buthelezi said.



# Big yes for democracy

Sowetan 19/3/92

304A

**WHITE South Africans have given a resounding "yes" for constitutional negotiations and a democratic new constitution for the country.**

This was the mandate which the country's white

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**

voters gave State President FW de Klerk in Tuesday's referendum.

And against all odds, the Democratic Party vote rescued the ailing National

Party to secure the historic referendum.

The "yes" vote triumphed against a Conservative Party-led "no" campaign with a solid 68 percent majority.

In an unprecedented poll, white voters for the first time in the country's history on Tuesday converged on the 1 500 polling stations nationwide by hundreds of thousands.

In some areas of Johannesburg's northern suburbs — predominantly Democratic Party strongholds — polls verging on 100 percent were reported.

But the biggest poll was recorded in Durban where a 123 percent poll sent the voting patterns off the graph.

This exceptional situation was caused by more voters turning out than were registered — possibly people on holiday.

The greatest percentage victory was registered in Cape Town where 355 527

voters said "yes" against a meagre 63 325 (15 percent). And in Johannesburg 324 686 voters, predominantly liberals, sank 89 957 "no" voters to secure a whopping 78 percent majority.

The Roodepoort vote was delayed until late in the day yesterday as the CP's Mr Faan Jacobs produced a string of reasons for delays through recounts and rebundling of ballot papers.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Dr Jaap Marais, yesterday re-acted in a subdued but calculated way to the trouncing the far right received.

"We have accepted that the new South Africa is going to come into existence," Marais said.

He added, however, that the question of secession will now gain momentum, especially in the light of the emerging possibility of a unitary state.



# Big 'yes' may weaken F W S. hand at Codesa

21 May 19/3/92

ALAN FINE (3044)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's referendum gamble succeeded beyond even his own wildest expectations. In electoral terms the right has been vanquished, and work at Codesa can be resumed in earnest. But Codesa will not be the same as before. The precise meaning of De Klerk's ambiguous referendum mandate is set to become a hotly debated issue there.

It would appear at first sight that De Klerk and the NP return to Codesa with their hand strengthened, with a reinforced mandate. It was, after all, De Klerk's precise intention in calling the referendum to demonstrate that he did have a mandate from the white electorate to continue negotiating a new constitution for SA. That was what the referendum question asked, and the mandate has been overwhelmingly delivered.

To understand the ambiguity of the mandate, though, one needs to look at the NP's referendum strategy. It was a two-pronged affair. The main argument put to voters — by the NP and all the other "yes" protagonists — was that the consequences of a majority "no" vote would be violence, chaos and economic collapse. The only real option was negotiation.

So far, so good. But the NP went further. Faced with a powerful right-wing slogan which argued that De Klerk was asking for a blank cheque, he and the NP had to do more than ask voters for permission to negotiate. They were forced to spell out their "bottom line" principles to counter the white electorate that its interests would be looked after in the negotiations.

These "principles" included such concepts as the maintenance of standards, the prevention of domination, the maintenance of language and cultural rights and maximum devolution of power. These promises, arguably, were crucial to producing the landslide.

These principles, while open to varying interpretations, are obviously not inconsistent with crucial aspects of NP policy and with the party's constitutional proposals. For



□ TREURNICHT

tion" is a principle on which NP proposals for a rotating presidency and a compulsory multiparty cabinet are based. Similarly, references to cultural rights could be the basis for segregated schools where white communities want them.

These are also among the NP policies which the ANC alliance most strongly opposes. But it will hardly be surprising to see NP negotiators arriving at Codesa and saying: "You may not like these proposals, but we have little room to manoeuvre. As you know, this is our bottom line mandate from nearly two-thirds of the white electorate." And the NP will be able to threaten yet another whites-only poll if it is forced to make any significant concessions.

De Klerk cannot be said to have pulled a fast one. He had no choice but to spell out to voters what he stands for. Nevertheless, looked at from this perspective, he may feel he has killed two birds with one stone — routed the right and entrenched his bargaining position in relation to the left.

But it may not be that simple. While the main arguments used by the NP were designed to convince waverers on the right of the party, a



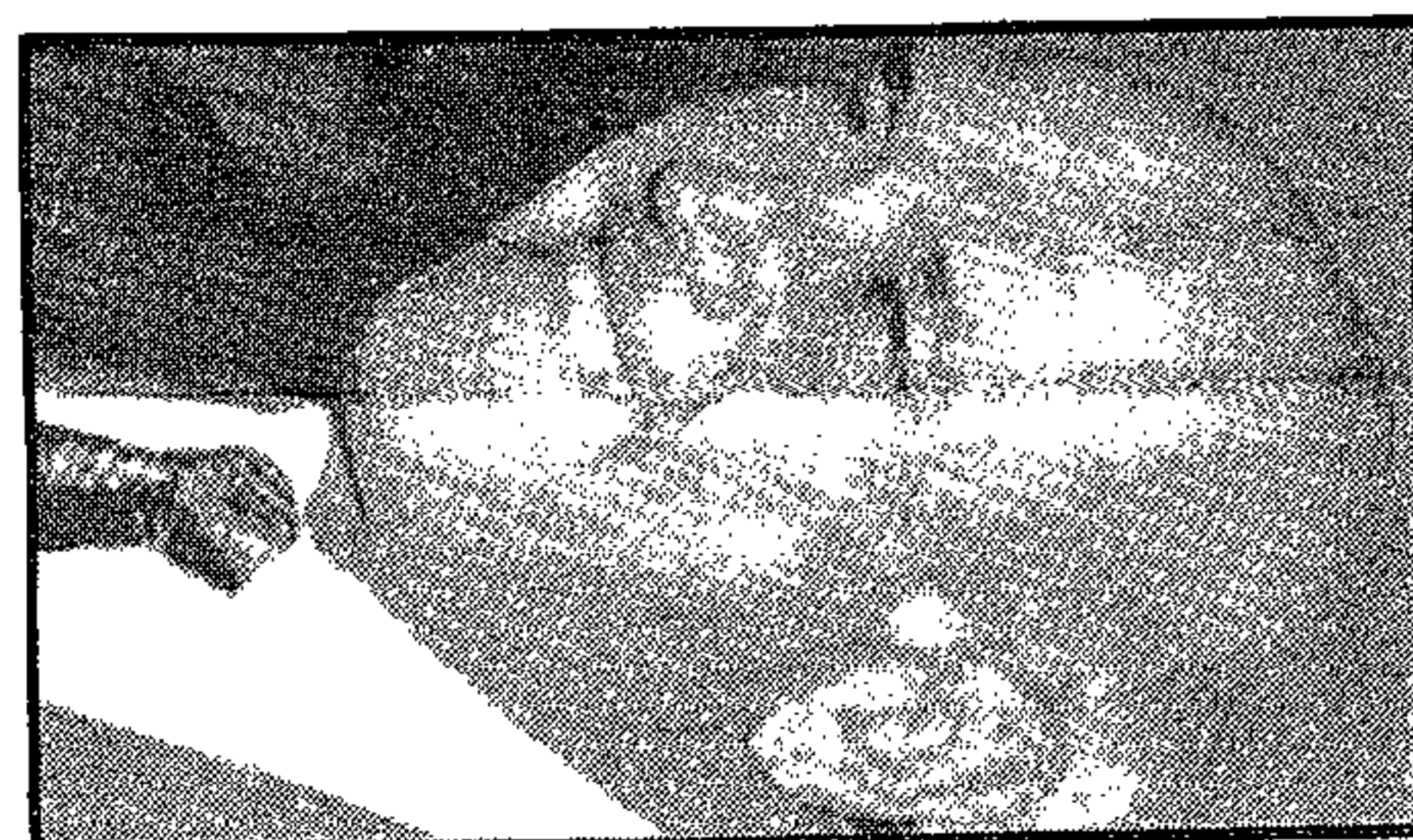
□ MANDELA

fair amount of energy was diverted into ensuring that liberals and the left — none of whom look kindly upon some of the NP's constitutional proposals — would vote "yes" alongside NP faithfuls.

The basis of this argument was that a "yes" vote was not a vote for the NP or De Klerk, but a vote for negotiation. It would therefore be less than honest for the NP to characterise each of the 1 924 186 "yesses" as a vote of support for the NP's proposals — particularly its more convoluted ones.

In fact, the huge margin of victory may be a double-edged sword for De Klerk. As Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman puts it, ANC president Nelson Mandela may now be justified in telling his NP counterpart: "You gave us nightmares about the right. Now we can see that it is no electoral threat at all."

Looked at from this perspective, the NP's ability to use the right-wing threat as a bargaining chip in support of some of its more conservative proposals has been significantly weakened. It may even strengthen the hand of ANC hardliners who — carried away by the euphoria of the



□ DE KLERK

strong "yes" vote — could argue the need to compromise is now far less than it was before the referendum.

In this light, while the referendum represents a triumph against the right — which can now be dealt with as no more than a highly vocal minority — a narrow "yes" victory may have strengthened De Klerk more in his dealings with the left. He would have been able to argue that any hardline ANC alliance demands could tip the scale in favour of the right. But this no longer holds.

Nevertheless, the ANC would do well not to misjudge the mood of the white electorate. It is not as adventurous as some may think. As Friedman puts it: "My biggest fear is that they (the ANC) will not realise that there remains a big white problem out there — not only those who voted 'no', but the large numbers who reluctantly voted 'yes' purely because they saw a settlement as preferable to a last-ditch stand."

Codesa's main task now will be to thrash out remaining constitutional principles and put in place an initial executive structure which will plan national elections to a fully fledged interim government. This govern-

ment will rule while — in its guise as a constituent assembly — it finalises the details of a new constitution.

What of the future of the right? There can be little doubt that many leaders of the CP, including Koos van der Merwe and those of his ilk, will enter the negotiation process sooner or later in an attempt to win a limited form of CP-style self-determination in a smaller white enclave than envisaged in current CP policy. Agreement on this is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

Those CP leaders committed to constitutional politics but who refuse to enter the process will find themselves out in the cold. It will be interesting to see which way Andries Treurnich jumps.

Then there are those within the right-wing alliance who fall into neither of these camps. It remains a sad fact of SA life that democratisation is unlikely to occur without some right-wing violence. There is no reason to disbelieve those who threatened that they will take up arms in the event of a "yes" vote. The trick will be to deal with them in an appropriate way.

Tuesday's demonstration that the right represents less than 6% of SA's total adult population reduces those militants from a political to a terrorist threat. They should be dealt with through normal policing methods, and preferably with due regard to their civil rights.

That threat, however small in terms of numbers, cannot be discounted if people's safety is to be ensured by competent and energetic work on the part of the security forces. Similarly, the township violence which mysteriously erupts whenever a crucial political event is about to occur, needs to be rooted out.

This will require that the security forces, while non-partisan, are nevertheless led by people committed to easing SA into its post-apartheid future. For those senior officers not committed to change — like the eight retired generals who publicly supported a "no" vote — it is time they were eased into early retirement with whatever golden handshakes it takes.

The referendum was a triumph. But it was only one step on a road still pitted with numerous political and economic problems.



# Mandela urges right wing to join Codesa

ADRIAN HADLAND  
and PETER DELMAR

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the CP and SA's other right-wing groups should accept their referendum defeat with grace and join Codesa.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution".

Welcoming the decisive "yes" vote polled in Tuesday's referendum, Mandela told a news conference there were no alternatives to negotiations, and while rejecting in principle the whites-only poll, said President F W de Klerk now had the mandate he required to "act with all deliberate speed in the negotiation process in order to realise an interim government".

Mandela said the right wing would be free to put any issue on the agenda for negotiations, including self-determination. "No matter how reprehensible their views, they are entitled to put them on the table."

The threat of ultra right-wing violence in the wake of the referendum defeat meant the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would continue to function. It would be "political suicide" to abandon MK when the right wing was arming itself to attack.

Mandela dismissed suggestions of a rotating presidency in an interim government. "We are not going to accept that now because the NP thinks it may be in opposition under an interim government."

Until an interim government was instituted, the ANC would not recommend the lifting of international sanctions, an ANC statement said.

The SACP and the PAC yesterday described the referendum outcome as en-

19/3/92 (304A) REFERENCE '92

couraging, but maintained their criticism of its exclusion of blacks.

An SACP statement said: "The referendum result confirms what we have said all along: the overwhelming majority of South Africans is in favour of negotiations for a new, non-racial and democratic SA. We now expect to see rapid and meaningful progress in the negotiations process."

Sapa reports PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said in a statement the organisation condemned the referendum.

"The all-white referendum is an obscenity and an insult to the dispossessed masses of our country. It is absurd that 3-million white voters can decide the future of 30-million Africans." Had there been a CP victory whites would have been set on confrontation with the black majority. However, "the majority for De Klerk's NP leaves us less than enthusiastic, but nevertheless hopeful that whites in this country desire to live in peace with blacks".

The SACP said the "yes" vote was a victory for negotiations, not De Klerk.

It appeared to try to take some credit for the result, saying it and the ANC had called on white members — whom it estimated numbered 50 000 — to vote "yes".

Inkatha said it was inordinately glad about the "yes" referendum result.

Buthelezi said his party rejected suggestions that there had been any alliance between itself and the CP.



# '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 reform.

"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.

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".

□ Counting of votes in the Roodepoort area was held up until mid-afternoon yesterday after being scheduled to start at 7pm. CP MP for Losberg, Fanie Jacobs, delayed proceedings with objections as to the authenticity of the officials counting votes.

He insisted they be properly identified before counting could get under way, 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 ballot official about spoilt papers.

□ From Page 1



# Voters rally behind reform

Bl Day 19/3/92.

304A



● DE KLERK

CAPE TOWN — SA had finally and irrevocably abandoned apartheid, President F W de Klerk declared yesterday while the world joined him in celebrating what he described as the most momentous day in the country's history.

The 85% voter turnout in Tuesday's referendum ensured a 68% "yes" vote, with two out of three white South Africans coming out in support of negotiations on a new constitution.

De Klerk's joy was shared at home and abroad.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi both warmly welcomed the result.

Not even the most optimistic analyst predicted the extent of the landslide win. Overall, 1 924 186 voters voted "yes" — representing a 68,73% majority. Only Pietersburg among the 15 regions did not vote "yes".

The overall poll was 85,54%, far exceeding the 1983 referendum turnout of 66%.

Analysts said a majority of English- and Afrikaans-speakers had voted "yes".

NP strategists could hardly contain their glee at taking the tough districts of Pretoria, Roodepoort, Bloemfontein and Kroonstad. They were also surprised by the overwhelming majorities in Cape Town and Durban, and delighted by the result in the George region, which emphatically rejected former President P W Botha's call for a "no" vote.

The emphatic nature of De Klerk's victory suggested the referendum would be the last racially defined poll in SA, political

TIM COHEN

commentators said.

At a news conference after the full results were processed, De Klerk said the result of the referendum would give impetus to negotiations.

He extended a hand of friendship to all those who voted "no", and speculated that there would be a fundamental realignment of forces on the right, with some entering the negotiations process.

## REFERENDUM '92

Asked whether the referendum would be the last white poll, De Klerk said this depended on whether the NP could deliver a constitution in terms of its mandate.

If it did, then there would be no need to consult white voters again. However, if the final settlement did not fall within the mandate obtained in the referendum, "some method would have to be found" to test white opinion. But he was confident this would not be necessary.

He concluded by saying: "The referendum, more than February 2, will change the face of SA."

When De Klerk emerged from his Tuynhuis residence to deliver his victory

speech, the waiting crowd immediately broke into applause and sang "Happy Birthday". He turned 56 yesterday.

He told the crowd that the day was "the most fundamental turning point in our history". In spite of criticism that only whites could vote, it was fitting that whites were called upon to close the book on apartheid.

The policy of separate development had been abandoned and replaced by the only viable policy for SA — power-sharing, co-operation and the building of one nation in one undivided SA.

"The white electorate has reached out to all our compatriots and the message of this referendum is that today is the real birthday of the real new SA."

But he cautioned that the result was likely to lead to violence from "radicals from both left and right". He appealed to South Africans to "not lose this day in petty party political quarrels. Let us use this new high platform and move on and forward to a new future for all SA."

The referendum result reflects almost exactly the proportion of combined votes cast for the NP and the DP in the 1989 election.

The result indicates that the pro-reform vote managed to reverse the trend towards the CP in recent by-elections, proving NP strategists right in thinking that CP by-election gains were a result of a "protest vote".

In the 1989 election, the combined DP and NP vote amounted to 68% of the total vote, compared to the 68,73% support for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

● See Pages 3, 5 and 12



# Congratulations stream in

B/day 19/3/92

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Business Day Reporter

YESTERDAY's resounding "yes" referendum vote provoked an immediate and enthusiastic international reaction.

Congratulations for President F W de Klerk streamed in from around the world, with the US and many European, African and other governments describing the result as an overwhelming victory for negotiations.

Sapa-Reuter reports that British Prime Minister John Major has "warmly" welcomed the outcome, saying it sounded SA's return to the international community.

"This result would never have been achieved without the courage and leadership shown by President de Klerk. I congratulate the white electorate for choosing the path of reform. It will bring SA back into the international community," he said in a statement released by the British embassy in Cape Town.

Sapa-AP reports Dutch premier Ruud Lubbers heralded the outcome as "a magnificent result".

Lubbers said he had sent a telegram of congratulations to De Klerk, and would contact him personally later.

The Dutch parliament will debate a motion today to lift the last remaining economic embargo against SA — the ban on petroleum products.

A spokesman for the liberal VVD party said the party had been waiting for a favourable referendum result before intro-

ducing its motion to end all economic sanctions against SA.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the cabinet: "If the 'yes' vote triumphs as first results indicate, our generation can hope to witness at last the abolition of apartheid and the creation of a democratic, nonracial society in SA."

"This prospect will constitute a factor for peace throughout Africa," he said.

Denmark welcomed the result and said it would lift trade sanctions.

"This is a red-letter day for SA, but also for the forces in the international community that support the SA reform process," Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said in a statement.

He congratulated De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela on leading the reform negotiations with what he said was courage and strength of will.

"The lifting of Danish sanctions will take effect on Friday. We can then renew and expand our economic ties," he said.

"We shall also provide substantial aid to help even out the large social and economic differences and thus help consolidate democracy in SA."

Japan welcomed the result. Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe said Japan hoped all parties concerned would accept the result and take part in negotiations.



An exiled writer's impressions of SA

# Change holds out hope for us all

STAR 20/3/92

**A**S AN active campaigner against apartheid, South African writer and editor Madi Gray went into political exile in Europe in 1972. After visiting the country for the first time in nearly 20 years, she compares progress towards the "new" South Africa with the political ideal she has championed throughout that time:

"On my first visit to SA in nearly two decades, a month after the unbannings, several friends were preparing to join the ANC. Others expressed interest. Now most have changed their minds.

"Instead, they are afraid and confused. In the media, the non-racial organisations feature as undisciplined at best, and vengeful, divided and paralysed at worst.

"Will SA become like the Congo? people ask. Will the violence spread from the townships? Are we about to lose our homes and businesses? Do our children have a future here?

"I met questions like this in many parts of South Africa. It struck me that they arose not only because change has been so rapid, but also because it came with no forewarning. In January 1990 the ANC was still regarded as a terrorist organisation. Five months later, President de Klerk began discussing the future of the country with its leaders.

"But I also believe my friends have been conned into these doubts and fears.

"The real question to be asked is: Who gains and who loses when the country is unstable? The only winners are those who wish to create fear and confusion.

"When violence spread from Natal to the Transvaal, I was struck by two coincidences: its link in time to Inkatha's decision to become a political party and recruit members in other provinces; and to the ANC and the Government signing the Pretoria Minute and the ANC suspending the armed struggle.

"Sickening revelations of police or military involvement in death squads and other violence have surfaced in the past year or so. Witnesses agree that the purpose

has been to weaken support for the ANC — and they have had some degree of success.

"But one thing is clear: the revelations prove clearly that, from the taxi wars to Inkatha-ANC rivalry, combatants are being manipulated by outsiders. Right-wing extremists are making common cause with black groups fighting for control of their own turf. If these forces are controlled, there seems little risk of a bloodbath.

"But, if so much has changed, so much has also remained the same. As former white areas become nonracial, the idea of life in the ghetto for millions of people is still based on newscasts. Twenty years on and many of my white friends have still never visited an employee in Soweto or Langa.

"How can you know what is happening — or help — if you don't try to find out? I asked my friends.

"On the other hand, when I met representatives of the ANC, trade unions or the popular organisations, I was struck by their warmth and lack of bitterness. The qualities of their leaders were impressive. So was the commitment and sincerity of members.

"Despite the appalling educational system and scandalous illiteracy rates, black people in SA are better educated than anywhere south of the Sahara. They are already building their own houses, trying to improve education, opening clinics and child-care centres, starting crime-prevention programmes, running crisis centres, creating jobs and incomes for themselves. So many white people I know are unaware of all this.

"I am privileged, though. I saw people tackling their problems. I came away convinced that if they were given the opportunity to participate in the future of the country, as well as some resources to tackle the job, they would invest their energy and creativity in dealing with the problems all agree need to be solved.

"The mechanisms are already being worked out in Codesa. It holds out hope for all of us, 'insiders' and exiles alike." □



# Interim govt 'soon'

# Reform

# gets a

# boost

STAR 20/3/92

Political Staff

304A

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

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

Speaking in Cape Town at the start of a four-day tour yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992. We think this is possible."

"We sincerely hope, now that Mr de Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Mandela urged Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and his right-wing allies to join Codesa.

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

● Picture and reports  
— Page 2, 14 and 15



# Tokyo trip for De Klerk

304A ARG 20/3/92

TOKYO. — President De Klerk, his position strengthened by victory in the referendum this week, will visit Japan in early June, the newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun reported today.

Quoting government sources, the national daily said Mr De Klerk would meet Prime Minister Mr Kiichi Miyazawa and Emperor Akihito during a stay of four or five days. He would also visit provincial cities.

Yomiuri said talks with Mr Miyazawa would concentrate on economic and trade relations and on a conference on economic development in Africa to be held in Tokyo next year.

No-one at the Japanese Foreign Ministry was immediately available for comment.

Earlier this week a ministry official said the two governments were discussing a possible De Klerk visit to Tokyo, but nothing had been decided.

The subject was believed certain to come up when Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrives in Tokyo on Monday for talks with his Japanese counterpart, Mr Michio Watanabe.

The two countries re-established full diplomatic relations in January after decades of estrangement. Tokyo had earlier lifted all remaining economic sanctions on Pretoria with

the exception of a ban on computers with military applications.

Relations were expected to improve quickly after the referendum.

A senior official of Keidanren, Japan's largest business group, said the body would send an economic mission to Southern African countries in May. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.



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

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

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

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

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

# Right-wings coup unlikely

STAR 20/3/92

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

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

In a pre-referendum message to soldiers who fought in these wars, he said: "You did not lose

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

...wars, he said: "You did not lose in Angola... You did not lose in

Namibia. You were betrayed by politicians under foreign pressure." In a clear reference to Mr de Klerk's reform policies, Colonel Breyenbach warned that the same politicians might again be preparing to submit to "foreign pressure".

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

But these factors should not be overstressed. As Helmoet Roemer-Heliman, South Africa correspondent for Jane's Week-

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

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

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

Force are disgruntled with the way in which the Defence Forces has been downgraded recently; there have been cuts – in real terms – in defence spending; military service has been reduced from two years to one; and, critically, President P W Botha's national security man-

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

**Some officers in the upper echelons of the Permanent**

lion. Like the police, the Defence Forces composition militates against rebellion. Of the estimated 35 000 men who are being trained as soldiers less than half are white conscripts; the remainder are volunteer soldiers from the black communities. The loyalty of neither the

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

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

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

Given the large non-permanent component of the Defence Force, news of a planned coup would almost certainly leak as it would almost certainly reach national servicemen and Citizen Force soldiers were mustered to implement it.

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







# FW 'can't deliver freedom'

Sowetan 26/3/92

(304A)

THE National Party was incapable of delivering freedom to the black majority, president of Azapo Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference following State President FW de Klerk's victory in the whites-only referendum, Nefolovhodwe said both the NP and the Conservative Party were two sides of the same coin.

"Whilst the 'no' side of this coin is rough, blatant and unsophisticated, the 'yes' side seems to be smooth, polished and sophisticated. Yet it undermines the total liberation of our land and people," Nefolovhodwe said.

He also said an interim government was on the cards

By SONTI MASEKO

now that De Klerk had been given a mandate to press ahead.

"Azapo will not be surprised if this kind of government is installed before the end this year," he said.

He reiterated that the whites-only referendum was meaningless to blacks.

He said: "The 'yes' vote has not resolved the real conflict in our country, which is the bringing into being of majority rule in Azania."



# Relief will spread beyond our borders

THE ALMOST tangible sense of relief that gripped South Africa as a result of the referendum will be felt well beyond the country's borders.

The white electorate's ringing endorsement of President de Klerk's search for a negotiated settlement has as many implications for a long suffering region as it does for South Africans themselves.

After three decades of conflict, costing hundreds of thousands of lives and causing incalculable material damage, southern Africa can hope that peace is, at long last, at hand.

Not all the trials and tribulations of the states of the region can be laid at apartheid's door. Mismanagement and incorrect policies have contributed to their predicament.

But just as the region's wars have been the single most damaging factor, so a regional peace and a stable, friendly post-apartheid SA will be the single most important factor in their efforts to revive often shattered economies.

Apartheid has dominated southern Africa, first propping up minority white governments, later cajoling, coercing or cudgelling black-ruled

STAR  
20/3/92

(3041)  
(2554)

The effects of Tuesday's referendum will be felt far beyond South Africa's borders, reports  
MICHAEL HOLMAN.

neighbours into submission.

From Angola on the western seaboard to Mozambique in the east, not a country escaped the tactics of Pretoria, sometimes brutal, sometimes misleadingly benign.

Mozambique, still battling rebels who not so long ago enjoyed Pretoria's support, has endured both.

Pretoria's campaign, which ended only when President de



War in Angola . . . hopefully the referendum will reach into the heart of a violent sub-continent.

Klerk took office 2½ years ago, had two main objectives.

The first was to drive the guerilla wing of the ANC out of its bases in Angola and Mozambique, and keep them out of Botswana and Zambia, in an effort to create a *cordon sanitaire* around South Africa.

The second was to ensure that SA controlled the region's routes to the sea, and direct

the bulk of the area's trade through South African ports.

Admittedly, the region provided fertile soil for South African intervention.

Southern Africa has had to undergo two wars of independence, said one African diplomat recently, looking back on events since 1960.

"The first was seeking to end colonial ties with Britain or Portugal, the second with

South Africa when we became the front line states. The second has been the toughest: being caught up in South Africa's struggle."

For Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the first round was costly enough.

But as the diplomat indicated, the second round of fighting proved the most devastating for Mozambique and Angola, caught up in civil wars exploited by Pretoria.

For these front line countries, trying to sustain fragile ceasefires, yesterday's referendum will be seen as a critical step in the peace process.

Sapped by sanctions, drained by conflict at home, and acknowledging that apartheid was unworkable, Pretoria ceded independence for Namibia which paved the way to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, and the ending of the country's civil war.

The process is now culminating in the most important development of all, reaching into the heart of violence in southern Africa: The devastating giant has taken a fundamental step towards reaching peace at home. — The Financial Times News Service. □



# The games were white, but some of the keenest fans were black

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**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** was in Soweto as the results of the referendum came through to a voteless but jubilant township audience

*Wlmaail 2013-26/3/92*  
**J**ACKIE MOLEFE, assistant to the manager of Maponya's Supermarket, had the latest referendum results scribbled on the palm of her hand in red ink.

"Our side has 65,5 percent," she said looking at her palm. "Theirs has 35,5."

Voteless in the most crucial vote in the history of South Africa, she followed it nonetheless from the day it was announced to Wednesday, when the votes were counted. Throughout the day, she telephoned home from the supermarket and had her mother hold the receiver up to the television, so she could hear results as they were updated.

"I've been waiting for this," she said. She knew the outcome would be a yes, she said, because a yes vote was just.

"This is not their land. This is our land," she said. "We should share the wealth of this world. God created the earth for each and every one of us, not for the Boers only, not for any particular person."

As for the Conservative Party and others who voted no, she said, "they can just go back to Holland".

**U**nlike previous white elections, unnoticed by and irrelevant to the disenfranchised majority, this one was seen by many blacks as a true crossroads, the point from where South Africa would proceed to a promising future, or fall back into that painful past.

And most, upon learning the direction the country would be going, greeted the news with joy. Mavis Ntlapo leaped from her seat at Alex Hair, a beauty salon in Orlando West, shrieking.

"We are heading for negotiations," she said. "Everything should be fixed now. We should reach a 'new' South Africa. We have had enough of the old one."

Lydia Mazulu, checking parcels at the supermarket, had not heard the news — black radio stations were off the air yesterday due to a wildcat strike. "Yes, yes, yes! Congratulations," she said. "Maybe things are going to go right. White and black are going to learn to be together."

The outcome of the referendum seems to have made President FW de Klerk something of a hero in Soweto.

"I want you to bring him here," said Ntlapo of the state president. "I want to kiss him."

"Wish him Happy Birthday from us!" shouted another patron from under a hair dryer.

But some blacks, frustrated at being forced to observe, as they always have, from the sidelines, adopted a fatalistic attitude to the referendum, and shrugged off word of the "yes" victory as if it were so much talk about

the weather. "They felt either way they would not be much involved," said supermarket manager Lucas Hlahane. A yes vote would be nice, but a no vote would not have come as much a surprise, he said. "We are used to suffering. If we went back 20 years we would pick up the pieces and go on."

Kim Tsitseroe said though he was

happy about the result, "apartheid will still be in people's hearts. It will still be there until my grandson's child is born".

Blacks were far more concerned with progress being made at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), and they view the referendum in the light of how it will affect the negotiating process.

"They are going to expect a lot from De Klerk," Hlahane said. "Now that he has a mandate, he has no more excuses. Now that he has the white man behind him, he has to produce."

Whether the CP participates in negotiations, he did not care. "Now that the CP has lost its credibility, it must just close up shop."

It had rendered itself "outmoded, out of fashion, impractical", he said. "South Africa is one state, it must never be subdivided. We want to become one strong nation, not get cut up into pieces."

**B**ut there is fear on the part of some that the defeated CP will take some kind of revenge. Said *City Press* editor Khulu Sibiyi: "It is a founded fear. The CP may, just may, create chaos in this country. They have not exactly extended the hand of peace to us."

Indeed, if there is anything that would distract from the referendum victory it is the violence that has wracked the townships, relentless, seemingly impervious to prospects of political change — or, more ominously, because of it.

Black townships have been swept up in the worst wave of unrest in months and the violence had not appeared to abate yesterday. Police and military vehicles rolled through the mud of Meadowlands, one of the hardest hit sections of Soweto.

A blue and white poster from the referendum campaign tied to a street lamp was out of place in this place of the voteless majority, though the sentiment applied. "Vote yes, vote peace," it said.

Soaked in a sudden downpour the poster was sodden and limp. It would seem a bad omen, but not in Soweto. Rain, in the black community, is a sign of luck, said Ray Nxumalo, a *Weekly Mail* journalist and Soweto resident. "Especially on such a day," he said, "it would be seen as a blessing."

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Ray Nxumalo lines up for his National Party hotdog

Photo: GUY ADAMS







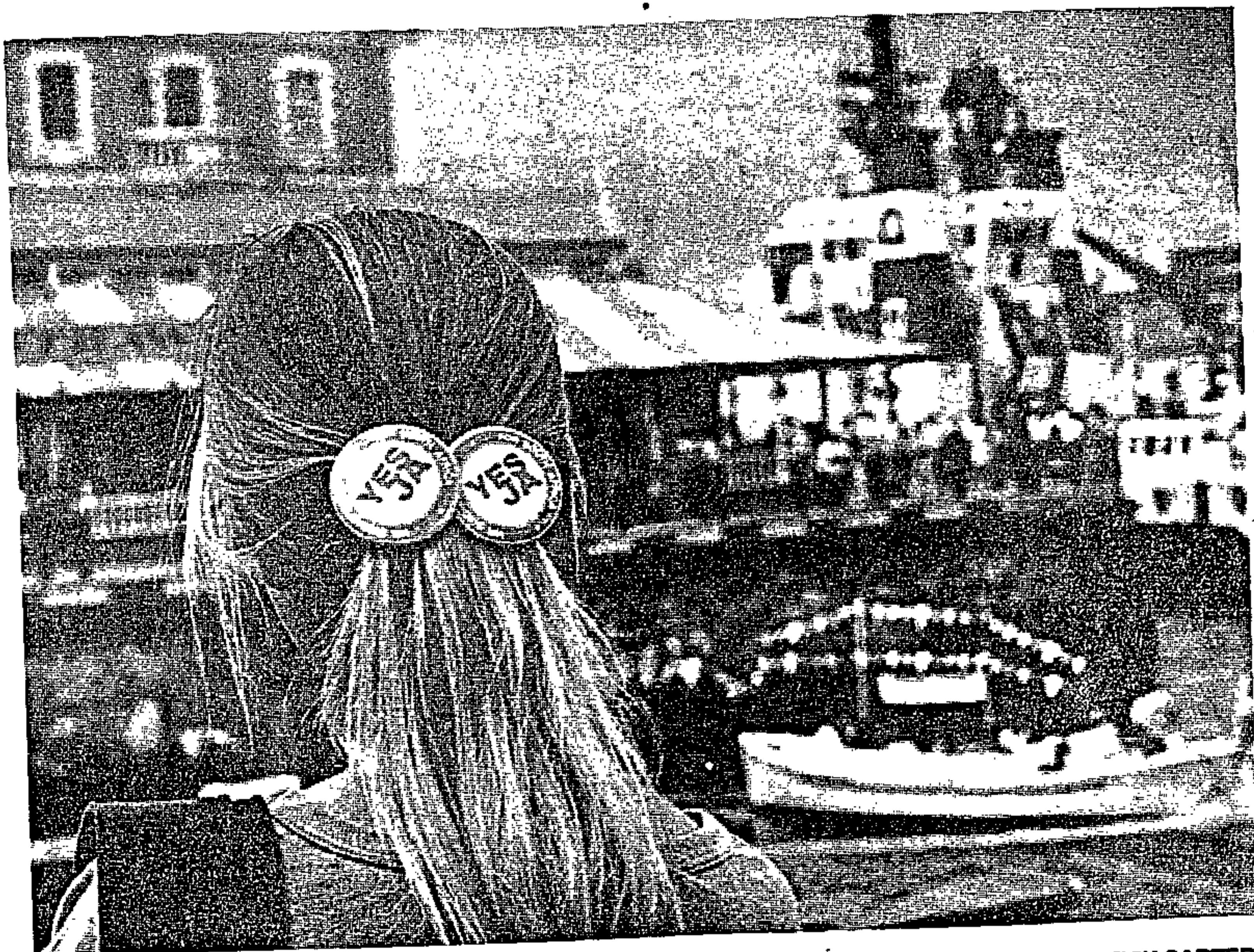


Photo: KEVIN CARTER

A Cape Town resident finds another way of saying yes

By EDDIE KOCH

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

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

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

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

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

## Fascists a threat to a 'new' SA

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

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

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

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

The pair also claim many mem-

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

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

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

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

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



# No more w/mcuf racial local 20/3-26/3/92 elections

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

Minister of Local Govern-  
ment and National Housing  
Leon Wessels yesterday  
announced that all municipal  
elections would be post-  
poned pending the establish-  
ment of an interim govern-  
ment.

The Convention for a  
Democratic South Africa  
(Codesa) saw local govern-  
ment as a priority and would  
start discussions to hammer  
out a policy as soon as possi-  
ble.

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

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

The minister's announce-  
ment was acknowledged  
guardedly by Moses Maye-  
kiso, the president of the  
Civic Associations of the  
Southern Transvaal (Cast)  
and president-elect of the  
new national civic associa-  
tion.

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

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



# Police say 'no' to the Budget protesters

By DREW FORREST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

according to Sapa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# A black man among the boerewors

By RAY NXUMALO

(304A)

THE defeat of the Nats in a by-election in Potchefstroom brought about this week's referendum, but referendum day showed that Potchefstroom may still have a heart after all — and a bit of hospitality too.

A strong smell of braaiing boerewors greeted most of the people who came to cast their ballots at Andries Hendrik Potgieter banquet hall on the main road. At the Action Yes Group caravan, Lorraine Liebenberg boasted: "Ons maak die beste boerewors roll."

And the best boerewors roll came free if one supported a yes vote: just in case the recipient had forgotten where to put his cross, a blue tag stuck into the sausage reminded voters which way to go.

However, not all those who got a roll got to cast a vote, but solidarity with reform was rewarded.

I was not eligible to cast a vote, but sensing which direction I hoped the results would go was enough to secure me a "yes" boerewors roll. Even the serviettes and the paper cups for the free drinks promoted a yes vote.

A carnival-like atmosphere prevailed around the "yes" camp with folk music blaring from a mini hi-fi system while women proclaimed to "be busy with a typical South African activity". This while they filled a roll with home-made tomato gravy and a piece of boerewors.

"I'll vote yes," said 19-year-old Potchefstroom University student Hanti Otto, as she dabbed the "yes" serviette on the corner of her mouth.

Ice-cream seller Meshack Mbatha (26) was confused by all the razzmatazz: he does not know what a referendum is or what impact it may have on his life.

"Even those who buy don't say what they've come here for." He thought whites had come to have a big party.

At the other camp things were less pleasant and they were certainly not generous with edibles. A few women dished out long, incomprehensible — and inedible — pamphlets telling people why they should vote no.

A family which had probably voted in favour of reform dumped several crumpled pamphlets in front of the canvassers as they drove off.

"Never mind that, just pick it up," one "no" canvasser told her colleague. Her cheeks had completely changed colour as her friend reluctantly retrieved the papers.

The "no" camp has itself to blame — certainly not the media — for alienating possible no voters and the general public.

The younger conservative men walked about their caravan emblazoned with big neon orange "no" posters dressed in their traditional khaki clothes, with set jaws and fixed, intimidating stares.

As we tried to talk to people who seemed inclined to vote no, one

hunched old man, walking stick in hand, told us: "Los ons mense uit, julle mors julle tyd — ons het niks met julle te doen nie." (Leave our people alone, you are wasting your time, we don't want anything to do with you).

Steeped in *baasskap* mentality, he obviously could not comprehend a scenario in which a black journalist asked a white man about his political outlook. The "new" South Africa has come too soon for him.



# Pensions parity *CT 20/3/92* 'at R1bn cost' *304A*

By AUDREY D'ANGELO  
Business Editor

IT would have cost the government R3bn to eliminate fiscal drag completely and another R1bn to achieve complete parity between black, coloured and white social pensions, Gerhard Croeser, director general of the Department of Finance, said yesterday.

Croeser pointed out that it had cost the government R4bn in revenue to cut value added tax (VAT) from the 12% originally intended to 10%. This might have been used to reduce direct taxation.

He was taking part in the annual Old Mutual-Nedbank budget forum at which economists and business people stressed the need for economic growth, for the money set aside in the budget for housing, education and health to be used effectively and soon and for capitalising on international goodwill.

## Budget 'offers little' to lift economy

Brian Kantor, professor of economics at the University of Cape Town, said this week's budget was a short-term one. "It is a consensus budget, but it makes few concessions to populist feeling and offers little to improve the economy."

Urging the Reserve Bank to look again at monetary policy, Kantor stressed that there would be no revival of the economy until this was relaxed.

He pointed out that renewed access to International Monetary Fund (IMF) help meant that there was no longer a balance of payments constraint on growth.

He urged the Reserve Bank to look at the lower production

price index (PPI) rather than the consumer price index (CPI) as an indicator that interest rates could come down.

Reserve Bank deputy governor J H Meijer said he and his colleagues "continually agonised over the interest rates".

The Reserve Bank would have to look again at monetary policy in the light of the budget. But, Meijer emphasised, it could not ignore the CPI in deciding whether interest rates could come down because that was the inflation rate the man in the street was aware of.

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) executive director Raymond Parsons said fiscal drag was one of the reasons for the sting in the tail of the current recession. The extra money collected from taxpayers through fiscal drag was equal to 4% of GDP.

"It is a sword of Damocles hanging over our economy and is not encouraging economic growth."



# FW in a hurry as world cheers

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CT 20/92

PORTUGAL, Germany and Britain yesterday called for the lifting of remaining sanctions in the wake of the referendum's "yes" vote and President F W de Klerk, in an interview with CNN, vowed yesterday to press for rapid agreement on power-sharing.

"I'm in a hurry to reach a conclusion as soon as possible," he said, adding: "I would like to move to implementation of the agreements as soon as is humanly possible."

While several countries indicated that they would start lifting more of the remaining sanctions, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday reiterated the ANC's stand that it would support the lifting of certain sanctions only after the installation of an interim government.

Canadian Foreign Minister Ms Barbara McDougall said the time for a review of sanctions "is coming very soon".

Wednesday's stream of international congratulatory messages turned into a torrent yesterday, with Czechoslovakia, China, Morocco, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Italy and even Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi lauding the referendum outcome. — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP



# PAC 'should join Codesa'

HARARE — Zimbabwe, regarded as one of the PAC's closest allies, wants the organisation to join Codesa.

"The PAC must be in there, putting its claim and stake for power for the people," a Zimbabwean official, who declined to be named, told Reuters.

The PAC claims Codesa will result in a "false" multi-racial democracy and a raw deal for blacks.

(304A)  
But the Zimbabwean official, who is involved in policy-making on South Africa, said: "We really don't see why they should not be in Codesa ... De Klerk's reforms have gone too far to be reversed."

He said Zimbabwe would use its position as chairman of the Frontline States to persuade the PAC to join Codesa. — Sapa-Reuters CT 20/3/92



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# Mandela calls for interim govt

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday called for an interim government this year to oversee the dismantling of apartheid following the massive white vote for reform.

He said President F W de Klerk had to move quickly to share power.

"Our demand is that the interim government must be introduced this year, and we think that is possible," Mr Mandela told a press conference at the start of a four-day tour of the Western Cape.

He said the NP should also be able to participate in the negotiations with enthusiasm and vigour.

The position of the ANC in regard to the referendum was crystal clear and it was opposed to any ethnic, divided, racist poll.

"We don't subscribe to the view that any national group is entitled to make decisions which bind the overwhelming majority of the population. We sincerely hope that this is the last time the country will be faced with a situation where the future of the whole country is placed in the hands of a minority," he said.

However: "Because of our interest in the peace process and in negotiations, we were one of the organisations that called upon the

whites to vote 'yes' and we are happy about that result."

Such a racist referendum inflamed passions and made sober discussions on very sensitive issues very difficult.

"We also hope that the overwhelming support and endorsement of the negotiation process will therefore remove all political dilemmas on the part of the ruling National Party because very often in the past they have told us about the difficulties which they have with their own constituency."

The ANC also appealed to the right wing to accept their defeat and join Codesa, he said.



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# Now let's get on with reform

It is difficult to imagine a better 56th birthday present for President F W de Klerk than a referendum majority approaching 70%. But as F W himself was anxious to stress, the "yes" vote was not a vote for him; it was a vote for reform.

It was, in a sense, a vote for Helen Suzman, Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and all those unsung others who kept progressive values alive for so many lonely years. And, though a majority of Afrikaans-speakers probably voted "yes," a majority of this size would not have been possible had English-speakers not shaken off their traditional apathy.

For too long, English-speakers felt irrelevant in SA politics. The heavy polls in traditional English-speaking opposition urban areas show that, given what could have been an 11th-hour chance to prevent SA from sliding back into chaos, they rallied behind the call of sanity in enormous and unprecedented numbers.

Faced with a choice between danger and disaster, they rejected the fallacious call for a return to the peaceful prosperity of the Sixties that never actually existed, and opted for the route that, for all its dangers, in fact is the only one that offers any hope.

The private-sector advertising campaign and those hordes of sportsmen and showbiz types filling the ether with exhortations probably played their part; so, from the other side, did the unsavoury activities of the far Right.

Never in the history of SA, and seldom anywhere else, can the entire media have spoken with so unanimous and forceful a voice.

Though the CP's unhappiness with this is understandable, it was the spiritual ancestors of the CP — not least Connie Mulder — who developed the use of the electronic media as a political propaganda machine. They had no scruples about using it then; it's hypocritical to complain when it's turned against them.

But while the referendum has given F W an overwhelming endorsement, the basic problems remain. With the referendum out of the way, the negotiating process must press on.

The "yes" vote represents an amazing — possibly unique — acceptance by a ruling elite that it must give up power. For all the rumblings among blacks about their fate being once again in the hands of the white majority, let's hope that this admission by the whites will engender a reciprocal goodwill that will smooth the road to a new political dispensation.

One sure consequence of the massive majority will be to cause a major rethink among white non-Nationalists.

For the CP, the apparent alliance with the Far Right clearly backfired. And the group within the CP in favour of joining the negotiating process, which has already come close to splitting the party, will have to take seriously F W's invitation to join the party.

Inkatha will also have to reconsider its position. However unauthorised the Inkatha elements that are perceived to

have talked to the CP may have been, the incident has contributed to a growing marginalisation of the movement. The policies that served Mangosuthu Buthelezi so well for so long now seem to be becoming counterproductive.

And what of the DP? Does it still have a future, now that its policies have in effect been taken over by government?

It was ironic that, at the final prereferendum rally in Johannesburg, Zach de Beer (on TV, at least) spoke in Afrikaans; Pik Botha in English.

The answer is surely just what it was before the referendum: the NP's commitment to deregulation and the market mechanism is so unconvincing (as Barend du Plessis' Budget has shown yet again) that, at least until a sensible new constitution is firmly in place, we need more than ever an alternative white progressive movement whose commitment to economic as well as political liberalism is unimpeachable.

But even if the referendum is little more than a sign we're moving in the right direction, that's more than can be said for what must be Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' least impressive Budget. What is little more than a bookkeeping exercise does nothing to either stimulate the growth rate or curb inflation.

There are the necessary but predictable increased spending on health, education and police, and the predictable increases in tax on booze, 'baccy and petrol. And that's it.

Lack of progress in government's stated tax reform policies is blamed on adverse economic conditions, which is a sad admission of blinkered vision and lack of imagination. The possibility that it's precisely the lack of these reforms that is playing a major part in our appalling economic performance just doesn't seem to have occurred to Du Plessis.

Though there's lip service to protecting middle-income individuals against inflation, it's a dollar to a doughnut that, in the upshot, inflation and tax will combine through fiscal drag to extend the progressive impoverishment of the white middle class.

Certainly the swingeing increase in transfer duties will stifle any renaissance in the residential property market. One of the few positive aspects is the proposed new approach to taxing insurance funds — but whereas the bad news in the Budget is for real, this is still no more than a proposal.

The Budget projection — which is certain to turn out an underestimate — is for a 2,7% real increase in government spending. Which, with an expected economic growth rate of only 1%, means an even greater share of our resources will go into the public sector.

If this is the best our so-called free-enterprise government can do, maybe the sooner the ANC takes over, the better. Or at least let's get some more English-speaking businessmen in the Cabinet who know what economics is all about.

We simply cannot defer economic reform until we have a new constitution. That will only guarantee that we won't get the growth rate we need to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the underprivileged.



# Now for the real work

The Churchillian truth is that this is only the end of the beginning



For once the intelligence of an electorate was underestimated. Though President F W de Klerk spoke of a landslide when he launched his lightning referendum campaign, few thought this remotely possible

until the first result came through on Wednesday morning.

It is important to remember that, before voting started, a "no" vote was regarded as a possibility. The cricket bosses took it so seriously that they announced the possible withdrawal of the successful SA team from the World Cup. Several big foreign business deals were put on hold. Ships in Cape Town harbour were refusing to load boxes of export apples until the result was known.

There was much discussion about what De Klerk could regard as a reasonable mandate. Observers anxiously recalled the "majority of one" which Verwoerd had said in 1960 would be sufficient to make SA a republic — but they pointed out that De Klerk would need much more than that to feel safe. Many experts suggested that a "yes" vote of between 55% and 58% would probably be sufficient — but they expected "no" majorities in as many as seven regions.

The most optimistic calculations — based on mathematical models or gut feel, or both

— predicted a "yes" vote of around 60%. It was accepted that such a result would be a personal triumph for De Klerk. But as soon as voting began it was clear that something was up. Whites were seized, perhaps for the first time, with a determination to make a decisive statement. This was probably the most important political question they would ever be asked to answer. In contrast, the 1983 referendum (dramatic as it may have seemed at the time) merely extended a meaningless vote to Asians and coloureds without promising to address the central problem of SA politics: the political role of the black majority.

Now there was no confusion: whites were asked to approve a process that will inevitably lead to a nonracial general election and abolish white control (though not necessarily all white power). It was impossible to avoid or misunderstand the implications.

The turnout on Tuesday astounded even seasoned party organisers. Even so, most experts were cautious when the polls closed, talking of "high hopes" for a strong vote for reform. In the event, De Klerk got his landslide. The final "yes" percentage was over



Winner de Klerk

68% — crushing by any electoral standards, and unbelievable in our political history.

Only the Pietersburg region had a "no" majority, and even there 43% of the voters were prepared to support De Klerk. The Free State, which had been written off as CP territory by most observers, delivered a solid overall "yes" vote of nearly 55%. Natal, led by the supposedly conservative English-speaking majority, wiped out the CP challenge with a remarkable 82% "yes" vote — 10% higher than the support Natalians

gave P W Botha in the 1983 referendum.

Even Pretoria delivered a clear 57% reform vote, despite its huge complement of civil servants and security personnel, along with the CP-held constituencies in the eastern Transvaal. Roodepoort, the region whose boundaries enclosed all the CP strongholds in the western Transvaal, also squeaked in with a 52% "yes" — with the lowest poll (77%), suggesting a stayaway by conservative voters who could not face supporting De Klerk or CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

The finality of the vote leaves the Right crushed and humiliated, their earlier swagger and bravado making the defeat even crueler. They can hardly pretend now that there are Afrikaner enclaves that want no part of a nonracial SA. They certainly cannot claim the support of a majority of Afrikaners, let alone most whites — and they were pushing both these claims extravagantly after the Potchefstroom by-election. Election expert Donald Simpson estimates that 61% of Afrikaners voted "yes" on Tuesday.

Partition was always unworkable. Now it has been exposed as such to its proponents. The secessionist Boerestaats option must now be seen in the light of Wednesday's admission by the Afrikaner Volkswag's Carel Boshoff that "we now accept that the new SA will be a unitary state."

Rightwingers must also accept that the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) will go ahead with or without them — and that unless they join it, they will have no moral authority to question its decisions.

Why did the Right lose so badly? Treurnicht advanced many excuses. He talked of the "unprecedented media assault, foreign intervention and threats against employees by employers." He argued that "hysterical claims of the possibility of sanctions or a bloodbath and the ghost of unemployment

## GOING BACK TO CODESA

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While it made clear its rejection of racial polling from the outset, the ANC nevertheless encouraged a "yes" vote and behaved circumspectly throughout the referendum campaign. It kept a low profile, doing nothing that might have antagonised black opponents or confused whites.

For this the ANC may well expect — and get — practical acknowledgment from the NP at Codesa, where the negotiation process will now accelerate. Chances are that the major parties' immediate agendas will merge.

The referendum result weakens the ANC's political position at the talks — President F W De Klerk is centre stage once again. It was quick to claim that the President now has a firm mandate to press ahead and that, having effectively shed the white Right, he will feel more confident about making concessions. The ANC says it has made concessions on

limiting its role in a transitional executive — which it wants set up by mid-year followed by constituent assembly elections in December.

The ANC, perhaps ungraciously, played down De Klerk's personal triumph. The result was not an endorsement of the NP but rather "a vote in support of Codesa and the negotiation process," according to an ANC spokesman.

On sanctions, the ANC will have to move smartly and be more flexible, given the tide of international sentiment in favour of De Klerk.

At Codesa, crucial issues which will now move into sharper focus include: compromises on power-sharing; timetables; the status of the conference; and when elections will be held for a constitution-making forum.

□ The FM will publish a special report on Codesa next week.



were clearly just too much for many voters."

Certainly these things must have been influential — but why not? They combined to form an entirely reasonable case against a "no" vote. The advertising campaign for the "yes" vote may have been slick and extravagant — but it also had the only acceptable product. The fact is that the Right was thrashed because it had nothing to offer beyond a vague promise of a return to the past.

But the thrashing was not inevitable. The referendum build-up was so tense precisely because nobody knew just how many voters would fall for racist nostalgia and simply refuse to face reality. After all, whites have made a habit of falling for racist propaganda for 40 years. There is an argument that the CP made a terrible error in aligning itself with the fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB); that if Treurnicht had managed to retain his "reasonable man" image he would have done better.

But this alliance was an unavoidable gamble. The CP strategists knew that the partition policy alone was too hollow and unrealistic to attract a majority of voters. This was why they were initially reluctant even to take part in the referendum. To get a chance of majority support, the CP needed to draw on the gut racism which nurtures the AWB — the racism that was always the smouldering soul of true apartheid. In the event, more than two-thirds of the voters were repelled, and the gamble failed.

A boycott would theoretically have suited the CP. But it had no moral grounds for refusing to take part. It had repeatedly claimed that De Klerk no longer represented a majority of whites. Faced with De Klerk's challenge, in the form of a fair and unequivocal question, the CP would have been ridiculed and discredited if it had stayed out.

There were also bad CP miscalculations which compounded its weak strategic position and showed a poverty of leadership qualities. Treurnicht, for instance, completely misread the importance of the cricket World Cup to an electorate long starved of international competition. And people had had enough of sanctions — which they always suspected were damaging, whatever the old Nats told them. They were sick of being deprived of rugby tours; they were tired of being ashamed of SA; they did not like being reminded of the days when they were bullied by P W Botha, and when men were dying futilely in Namibia and Angola. This referendum reminded them of that past — and they chose smartly to slam the door on it.

Increasingly hapless under pressure, the CP's contradictions began to show. Even gullible white conservatives noticed that Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe was saying apartheid could not be restored, while Treurnicht clearly indicated that it would be. One of them was lying, and nobody was sure which it was. What is policy now?

When the extent of the CP's rejection became clear, the humiliation had some strange effects. In Roodepoort there was the

spectacle of Losberg MP Fanie Jacobs delaying the announcement of the region's voting on the most ridiculous grounds. He claimed it was possible that people had been skulking under tables in order to fill ballot boxes with extra "yes" voting slips! Such behaviour indicates a mind shocked by the destruction of its own delusions.

Though the chosen alternative to the CP's nonvision is hardly a path to milk and honey, the genius of De Klerk's campaign, paradoxically, was its honesty and integrity.

Without quite offering blood, toil, tears and sweat, he went out of his way not to sweeten his vision of the future. His Ministers had already announced white education cuts before the Potchefstroom by-election. During the referendum campaign he made a point of revealing that the Budget would be tough. It was also made clear to civil servants that their claims for bigger salary increases would not succeed. He refused to buy votes.

The electorate, long accustomed to half-truths and comfortable assurances from politicians on all sides, must have been startled by De Klerk's stubborn honesty — and decided that they liked it.

Winston Churchill advised magnanimity in victory, and so it was with De Klerk — though, celebrating his 56th birthday, he did bask in the victory. Flanked by Cabinet colleagues and senior members of the NP and DP, he addressed a crowd of several hundred outside Tuynhuys. In a rare move the gates from Tuynhuys into the Gardens were opened and members of the public allowed in to see and listen.

He described the result as a fundamental shift in attitudes. "Today we have closed the door on apartheid." He said it was somehow apt that whites, who had started the saga of apartheid, were the ones to end the long chapter in SA's history. The white electorate had "risen above itself" and reached out to fellow South Africans. "Today is in a certain sense the real birthday of the new South African nation."

Even senior Nats were surprised by the extent of the victory. But rather than gloat, they beamed with relief that what was prob-



On referendum day ... a confrontation with reality

## THE LAST WHITE POLL

### Regional results

	Share of 3,2m voters	YES vote	Poll
Cape Town	14%	85%	88%
Durban	8%	85%	85%
Johannesburg	15%	78%	85%
East London	3%	78%	82%
Maritzburg	4%	76%	80%
Port Elizabeth	4%	74%	86%
Germiston	10%	65%	81%
George	2%	65%	96%
Beaufort West	1%	63%	84%
Bloemfontein	4%	59%	89%
Pretoria	17%	57%	90%
Kimberley	2%	54%	86%
Roodepoort	9%	52%	77%
Kroonstad	4%	51%	80%
Pietersburg	3%	43%	88%

### TOTALS:

Yes — 1,924 186 (68,7%).

No — 875 619 (31,2%).

Overall poll: 85%

ably the toughest battle of their political lives was over.

At a press conference on Wednesday evening De Klerk was conciliatory. He could have pushed the knife even further into the mortally wounded CP, but didn't. He called instead for rightwingers, including their leaders, to reassess their attitudes and join the negotiation process. He said the result was "extraordinary" and should create confidence both internally and internationally.

The parliamentary CP was visibly shattered by its defeat. Barely half the caucus attended the Budget sitting. Treurnicht was absent and the few senior members in the chamber slumped in their seats. Members knew that many of their own constituents had rejected them for De Klerk.

In a way the result was a victory for Overvaal's Van der Merwe, the leader of a group of CP MPs who want to participate in Codesa. There seems little doubt that the party will now divide more clearly than ever into moderate and radical factions — and possibly even disintegrate.

But as UCT's Prof Robert Schrire thoughtfully pointed out on Wednesday, the CP "may be down but not out." Their powers of recovery will depend on how quickly the Nats take advantage of the referendum. De Klerk certainly has his mandate — he must do something with it. And until the CP goes into Codesa, De Klerk will in effect be the spokesman for all whites. He will have to represent all their legitimate interests — and address their fears.

On Wednesday afternoon, while the results were being announced at the administrative complex alongside parliament (the H F Verwoerd Building, a superb irony), several thousand ANC supporters marched to the gates of parliament in protest against the "white" Budget.

It was a sobering reminder, amid the euphoria, that this referendum is only the end of the beginning.



# Vote: Splits loom in CP, DP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE bulk of the demoralised Conservative Party was now leaning towards some form of involvement in the negotiation process, party sources revealed yesterday.

And as the referendum shockwaves reverberated around Parliament yesterday, strains also emerged in the Democratic Party over its campaign alliance with the National Party.

There was intense speculation of an impending shake-up — including possible splits — in both white opposition parties.

CP sources said that no clarity was reached at yesterday's caucus meeting on the direction of the party in the wake of its resounding rejection by white voters this week.

Dr Andries Treurnicht's position as CP leader has increasingly come into question.

There have been suggestions that both he and his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg could be ousted.

Dr Treurnicht yesterday cancelled a "victory" rally scheduled for the Pretoria City Hall last night.

The divisions in the CP were high-

lighted by claims that voters and certain unnamed MPs had "betrayed" the cause for white self-determination.

The CP's Transvaal secretary, Mr Paul Fouche, has called for a purge of the party's pro-negotiations faction.

Some CP MPs were said to be so devastated by the referendum result that they were telling parliamentary colleagues of their plans for early retirement.

"It's as if my entire family has been wiped out in a motor accident," one veteran CP MP said.

## Agonising

However, it was clear that MPs who hoped to continue playing a role in South African politics were agonising over how they could maintain their relevance.

One said that it was patently clear from the referendum that the rank-and-file of the white electorate believed that negotiation was the best way to resolve the country's problems.

He felt that the CP could best exploit its wealth of experience and

To page 2

## From page 1

technical expertise by engaging other parties at Codesa (304A)

An alliance between representatives of the parties committed to protecting minority rights at Codesa could develop into a powerful force, he said.

Another CP MP suggested that a way to make an input into negotiations without being co-opted would be to set up an allied forum of constitutional experts which could make a direct input into Codesa deliberations.

Another way to allay white fears and allow the CP to save face would be to change Codesa's controversial Declaration of Intent in such a manner that it would allow for a strong federal — or even confederal — interpretation.

CP MPs yesterday emphasised that it would be at least a week before the party's future strategies on negotiation and other matters were resolved.

Meanwhile, cracks within the DP ranks were underlined yesterday at

the party's first post-referendum caucus meeting.

A significant minority of DP MPs are clearly uncomfortable about the way in which the party became part of the NP bandwagon and "FW de Klerk personality cult". CT 20/3/92

Particularly MPs with ANC sympathies felt it had been a mistake for the DP to become too closely identified with the NP and its apartheid heritage.

Some MPs said a split within the party was only a matter of time. Others said that certain MPs may leave the party but it did not amount to a significant number.

Sapa-AFP reports that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said the pro-reform vote would boost the cause of his organisation.

He said the AWB's "time has come" and he expected right-wingers despondent at the result to flock to his organisation's militant banner.



# CURRENT ISSUES



## The Call for a Constituent Assembly

Part 2 *New Nation*  
*Cleaning Nation*  
20/3 - 27/3/92

304A

Last week we looked at the question of the mechanisms for drawing up the constitution. We saw how the convocation of Codesa has brought the question of who will write the new constitution to the fore? This issue is important because it raises the question of whose interests the new constitution will represent.

Last week we looked at the proposals of the National Party and its allies on how the constitution will be drawn up. This week we will look at the positions within the democratic movement on how the constitution should be drawn up.



People living in 'homelands' must be included in the elections.

to the Assembly. Many organisations in the democratic movement support the idea of proportional representation. This means that people will not vote for individual delegates to the Assembly but for political parties. Seats will be allocated on the basis of the number of votes attained by a particular party. For example, if the Assembly has a hundred seats and the ANC wins 80 percent of the votes in an election, it will get 80 seats in the Assembly.

But does this system of **proportional representation** mean that any party will be represented in the Assembly no matter how small its support among the people? According to proposals made by the ANC only those parties who get at least five percent of the vote can be represented in the Assembly. This is an attempt to ensure that only parties with significant support can have delegates in the Assembly.

Although the system of proportional representation attempts to ensure that only parties with significant support can be represented at the Assembly, it does raise the issue of the accountability of the delegates to those who elect them. In the system of proportional representation the people have no way of making individual delegates accountable because, in most cases, delegates to the Assembly are chosen by the Head Office of the political parties. For instance, an activist in a township like Tembisa can be appointed by the Head Office of say, the ANC, although she does not enjoy the confidence and support of the people and activists of Tembisa. This system could therefore promote loyalties to those already in the leadership and not necessarily to the people.

cratic movement support eighteen years of age at which people should be allowed to vote for delegates to the Assembly. Although in most countries the voting age is eighteen years, in some countries it is sixteen. The lowering of the age group for voting in these countries has been in recognition of the role of the youth in the struggle for change, like in Cuba and Nicaragua. Clearly in the discussion on the future constitution these issues have to be debated.

Another issue that has been raised around the composition of the Assembly is the participation of the people who have been classified as citizens of the "independent" homelands by the South African government over the years. These include people living in Transkei, Bophutatswana, Ciskei and Venda. All democratic organisations agree that people living in these areas will be part of elections for an Assembly.

### The tasks of the Assembly

All organisations in the democratic movement have agreed that the main task of the Assembly will be to draw up a new constitution for the country. This task of the Assembly has raised two issues for debate:

Firstly, how will decisions in the Assembly be taken? Will all the parties represented there have to agree to the constitution before it can be implemented? For example, in its resolutions, the ANC says that decisions will be implemented if they are supported by two thirds of the delegates.

The second issue concerns the relationship between decisions arrived at by Codesa and the work of the Assembly. At the moment Codesa is negotiating principles for the new constitution. The issue of the ability of the Assembly to differ significantly with the principles arrived at in Codesa is important because the Assembly will be more representative than Codesa and will also reflect the interests of the majority of the people better.

In its recent proposals, the ANC has introduced another important task for the Assembly. The ANC argues that the Assembly must appoint an

Interim Cabinet and also pass legislation that will facilitate the transition to majority rule. This means that the Assembly, once it is elected, will take over the tasks of the Interim Government, since the Assembly will now be the most representative structure in the country. Once the Assembly has been elected the majority party in the Assembly, with or without the assistance of other parties, will become the government of the day.

Another issue that is connected to the tasks that will be performed by the Assembly is the question of how long the Assembly will convene and whether the constitution it agrees on will be put before the people for approval. The question of how long the Assembly convenes has become important especially because the National Party has proposed a so-called transitional Parliament which will last for at least ten years. In its latest proposals the ANC says that the Assembly must complete its work within months. As we have already seen, the issue of accountability of delegates to the Assembly is an important one. The idea of a non-racial referendum to confirm that the delegates to the Assembly have fulfilled their mandate has been raised as a way of ensuring that the delegates remain accountable and carry out the wishes of the people who elected them. Most organisations agree that after the Assembly has completed its work it should disband and elections based on the new constitution should be held.

### Conclusion

The position taken by the democratic movement on how the constitution must be drawn up is clearly opposed to those put forward by the National Party and its allies. It is clear that for the democratic movement to ensure that a new democratic constitution is drawn up in a democratic manner a lot of struggles still lie ahead. The key question is to what extent the democratic movement is prepared to compromise on since it is clear that the National Party intends to protect white minority rule in a new form.

### The Constituent Assembly

Most organisations within the democratic movement and socialist movements are agreed that a new constitution must be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly. This position is shared by progressive organisations both within and outside of Codesa. A Constituent Assembly is a body elected by all the people and its main responsibility will be to draw up a constitution for the new South Africa.

The reason why all progressive organisations support the idea of elected delegates to draw up a constitution is that at the moment there are many political parties and homeland governments which say they enjoy the support of the people. These parties say they have a right to participate in the process of drawing up a new constitution. But organisations within the democratic movement say that most of these political parties and homeland governments have no support among the people. Democratic organisations say that most of these parties are sponsored by the Nationalist government. In order to ensure that the new constitution reflects the interests of the people, those responsible for drawing up the constitution must be elected by the people in free, non-racial and fair elections. Only such an elected Constituent Assembly can ensure that the process of drawing up a democratic constitution is itself democratic.

### Composition and accountability of the Assembly

One of the issues raised by the call for a Constituent Assembly is that of what





# Thousands cheer ANC leader at Langa High

VUYO BAVUMA  
Weekend Argus Reporter

30/4

ARG 21/3/92

THEY came in their thousands to crisis-hit Langa High School to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela urging pupils to obtain "university degrees so as to be prepared when the day of freedom comes".

For an hour the cheering crowds forgot the crisis besetting the school following the "sacking" of Mr Joel Magwaca by pupils.

Mr Magwaca returned to his post this week, but the pupils at the school have not attended classes.

Mr Mandela, speaking mainly in Xhosa, emphasised that the pupils should get two degrees as "a matric certificate and a degree isn't enough these days".

He said he understood that the black pupils were facing "many hardships com-

pared to white children who have almost everything at their disposal".

Mr Mandela drew a tumultuous response when he said he first visited the school in January 1948 when the principal was Mr I D Mkize.

His closing words moved the crowd: "I am 74 years old. My day is coming but I know I'll die smiling because our future is in the hands of well-trained youths who will lead the nation very well."

Earlier Mr Mandela told staff members that they should be determined to continue in spite of being in an environment which did not have enough resources.

He also apologised to white teachers for the injustices done by "some members of our communities" and thanked them for their sacrifices.



# Real battle to change whites' hearts and minds now begins

S T M T W T F S  
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**P**LEIN Street, Cape Town, Wednesday, March 18 1992, just after 2 pm. There they were for an instant, in frozen tableau: all the elements of the great unfolding South African drama, all visible within one sweep of the eye.

Journalists were in the H F Verwoerd Building of the parliamentary complex, struggling to keep up with and interpret the results of the referendum in which whites were in the process of voluntarily releasing their grip on exclusive power.

Suddenly, outside the windows of the auditorium, a great mass of black faces pressed up against the glass.

They were chanting and singing about the power that was coming their way.

The journalists looked for a moment like a crowd at a tennis match: their heads turned rhythmically from the final doings of the old South Africa on the right, to the debut performance of the new on the left.

A line of policemen separated the two worlds, and the reporters occupied the neither space between.

President de Klerk said later on that jubilant, unforgettable day that the decision by the whites — more even than his famous speech two years before — marked the birth of a totally new, unrecognisable South Africa.

He is probably right.

On February 2 1990 he made a decision about the future, and hoped he could take his supporters along with him. This week, they confirmed it.

But now that the celebrations are winding down, it is becoming clear that although an almighty battle has been won, the war is yet to be fought.

There can be no question that posterity will

UNDERCURRENT  
AFFAIRS

SHAUN

Johnson



**AS IT played out, the referendum campaign assumed apocalyptic qualities, and eventually came down to a straight choice between Mr de Klerk and Dr Treurnicht.**

record that white South Africa made a choice of astounding courage on Tuesday.

But it was not, in the first instance, a choice in favour of those eager black faces at the window, waiting for the police to move aside and let them in.

It is on this issue that the real war to change white hearts and minds is just beginning.

I wonder, sadly, what would have happened if the referendum question had simply asked whites whether or not they wanted a nonracial government — in other words, if the alternative of a Conservative Party in power had not been part of the equation.

As it played out, the referendum campaign assumed apocalyptic qualities, and eventually came down to a straight choice between De Klerk and Treurnicht.

And in the event, Treurnicht and his allies proved unsaleable.

My point is that while many white South Africans know what they voted against, they're not so clear on what they voted for.

The challenge facing Messrs De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi, De Beer and others is to convert the rejection of the atavistic Right into active support for the colour-blind future.

White South Africa was politicised as never before, and had to make choices which mattered as never before.

People have an extraordinary capacity for adapting to new situations, but they have to be hit over the head with the realities first.

The Conservative Party is now banking on there being a huge hang-over after the party. They speak of biding their time until the implications of the white "yes" vote sink in, and there is a vicious backlash.

The real test of white sincerity lies in confronting this expectation.

● On a lighter note, "Referendum '92" will be remembered for making a few additions to the South African political lexicon.

The first is the re-nicknaming of the Conservative Party leader. "Dr No" shall henceforth be known as "Dr No Votes".

The second is that the proper location of the Boerestaat was indicated with blinding clarity on our television screens: it's got to be somewhere in the Pietersburg area. The further suggestion is that a new South African government should close all its borders with said Boerestaat, leaving it to trade directly with ... Zimbabwe.

The third is that the awards for the best performers in the referendum campaign can now be announced.

Most effective "Yes" campaigner: Eugene TerreBlanche.

Most effective "No" campaigner: Robert Mugabe.



# Blacks feel sense of relief

over 'yes'

JOE LOUW

BLACK "stand-by voters" generally exchanged the nervous tension they felt about the outcome of this week's all-white referendum for some gallows humour.

With his eyes sparkling and exaggerated gestures, one old-timer at the Bree Street taxi rank said: "They (the Conservatives) just had to lose. Man, they were offering people horses and Voortrekker wagons when South Africa is driving BMWs. Their women dress in kappies when people want Christian Dior!"

A fellow black journalist quipped without batting an eyelid: "I never feared the Boers, whatever the result. Who I really fear are the Zulus!" I asked if I could quote him on that and he said: "I'm dead serious" and burst out laughing.

Up until referendum day, most blacks had been gloomy, fearing the worst. But after the result was heard in places where blacks gather to drink or be entertained, and on taxis and buses, there was a palpable sense of relief.

## Molested

"We want peace in the townships more than anything else — even more than political power," a Soweto businessman said.

"Whatever new deal comes out of this new situation will be useless unless we can be safe in our homes and on our streets and unless our children are not molested on their way to and in their schools."

The same hopes of a better deal were echoed by a well-educated city worker: "Now that FW has won," he commented, "and he used the option to consult white people only among themselves about the future of this country, black people too should get together and redirect these negotiations."

"We should forget about the vote, that is non-negotiable anyway. It is a right of every citizen, not a favour. What we have to talk about is land. We want our land back. That is what we have to talk about."

At the corner of Fraser and Jeppe, a worker from a nearby building site was having his lunch — half a loaf of bread, chips and a soft drink — looking tired and staring into the distance.

## Better life

I didn't want to bother him but tried anyway. What did he think of this referendum business, I asked cautiously. He looked at me long before replying in Zulu: "These things of white people, I don't enter them. I don't know anything."

Many black women did not seem to have any opinions either way about the outcome of the referendum. "I think it's better for white people," was an average response among working women. "Maybe for our children it will be better too."

Most mothers I spoke to in and around Alexandra were much less concerned about the referendum than about the violence that had been racking their township.

A man I spoke to in Alex expressed the hope for a better life with a vivid demonstration. He pointed to a huge pile of garbage in an adjacent empty lot and said: "That is where they have to start and then they must give us jobs."



3047  
ARC 21/3/92

## British papers warn on future

**W**ITHOUT exception, Britain's newspapers splashed the referendum results, expressed relief at the outcome and looked forward to a South Africa free of violence and racial oppression.

However, once again, several more serious papers warn that the Republic still faces immense problems that will have to be overcome before the world safely can welcome a truly democratic South Africa.

Under the headline "Now The Hard Part", a London Times leading article praises Mr De Klerk's "mastery of his country's politics", his vanquishing of the CP and his deft comeback from his Potchefstroom by-election defeat.

However, it accuses him of "reneging" on his promise to the white electorate that he would permit them a final veto on the terms of any multiracial constitution.

"They were shown no such constitution on Tuesday ... resentment of this breach of faith will form the basis of white antagonism to any deal with black leaders."

The Daily Telegraph applauds the President for fulfilling the world's demands against all odds. But, the West, it says, now must consider its debt of honour.

"It is for the world to consider whether the time has come for the West to stop wringing hands and start searching purses."

The Guardian, which sees apartheid "gasping its last", praises Mr De Klerk's "truly remarkable achievement". Euphoria is in order, it adds — although not for long. "It is all the more important now to move fast toward setting up the interim multiracial executive which will prepare South Africa's first one-person, one-vote election and a new constitution. Only if all of this flows smoothly will the alienated and the unemployed majority begin to identify with the reforms."

The Daily Mail adds: "Let us rejoice that South Africa's white tribes (Afrikaner as well as English) have used the ballot box emphatically to avert a bloodbath."

"Remaining international sanctions must be scrapped forthwith. South Africans, black and white, now need and deserve all the help they can get."



**NEGOTIATIONS:** JOHN PERLMAN and ESTHER WAUGH spell out how the referendum qualifying round has changed the national finals at Codesa

304A 21/3/92

# Back to the main match

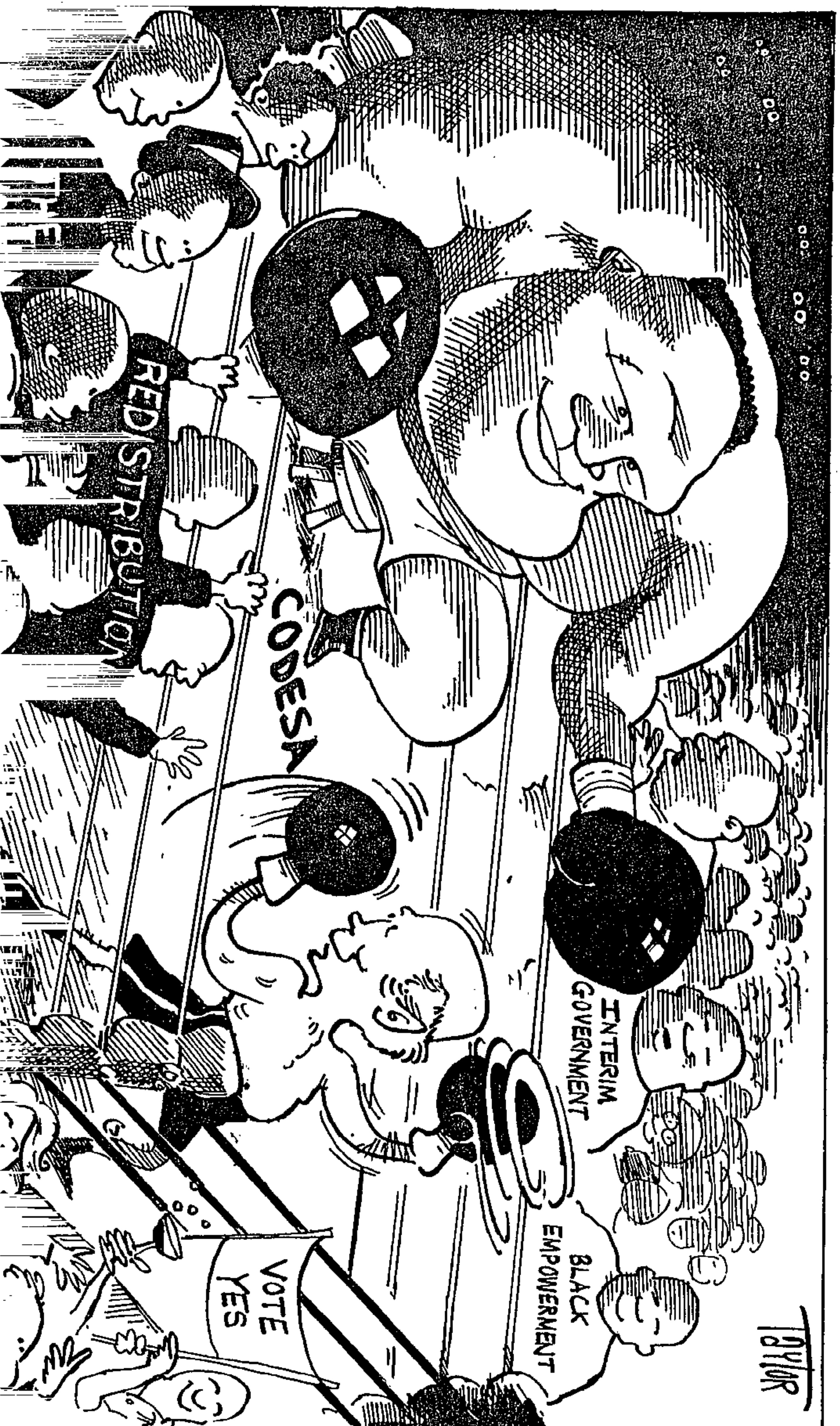
**O**NE more glass of champagne, and then let's put the rest of the case on ice. That, one imagines, will be the word from the De Klerk camp this weekend.

The referendum campaign was the closest the Nats have come in a while to some "mass action" of their own. But for now at least, white South Africa's impact on the political process is very much back in the hands of the politicians.

The referendum result has clearly strengthened the Nats' hand in crucial ways. The Potchefstroom by-election, which was less than a month ago, seems like a distant memory. This week's National Party scarcely resembles the bunch of worried men, desperately trying to dampen talk of division and dissent in their own ranks. The referendum gamble — and it was a gamble — confirmed De Klerk's standing as a politician who plays best when he plays boldly.

He has now laid to rest any doubts that the negotiation road is the one the majority of whites would choose. But after that, what?

Most of the cards the referendum has thrust into the State President's hand are trumps only in the game of white politics — apart from his enhanced international status which will





whites would choose. But after that, what?

Most of the cards the referendum has thrust into the State President's hand are trumps only in the game of white politics — apart from his enhanced international status which will again limit the ANC's room to mount pressure.

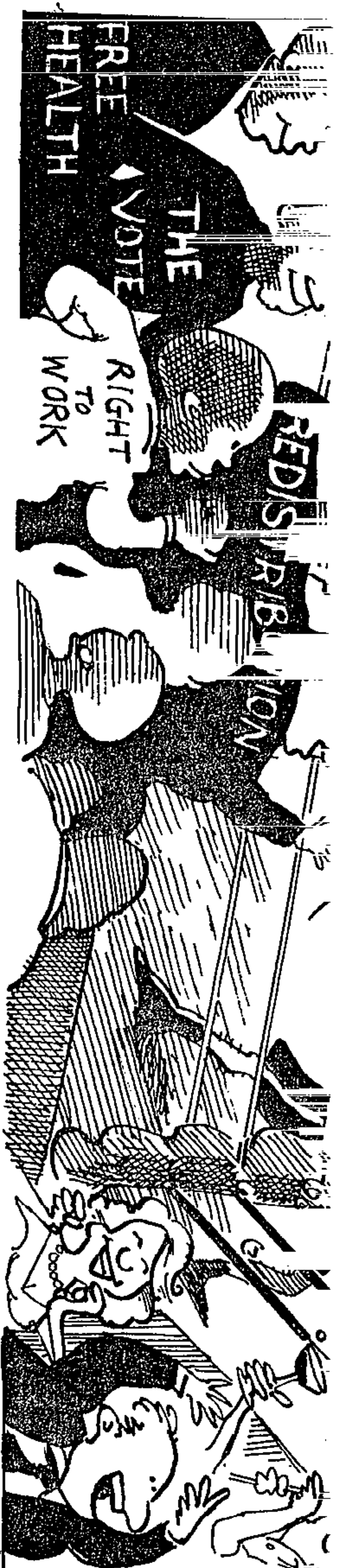
Is De Klerk going to go into Codesa interpreting his mandate as a "yes" for NP principles — despite the fact that many whites who voted "yes" would rather die than vote Nat? Or will he see his role now as endorsing a much broader New South Africanism?

That is what Mandela called on him to do soon after Wednesday's result was announced. "We now expect Mr De Klerk has been freed from all the political dilemmas of the National Party, political dilemmas of their own making. We hope National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group but that they will regard themselves now as part of the leadership of the total population."

Top Nats are rather vague on this point. NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe says: "The NP and the Government can now negotiate on the same basis as before their defeat in the Potchefstroom by-election. The size of the majority in Tuesday's referendum has strengthened the hand and confidence of the Government in negotiation."

Commentators have noted that in securing his solid "yes", De Klerk committed himself to positions on the constitution that looked dangerously like non-negotiables. Van der Merwe said this was not the case. "The bottom lines were there all along."

He acknowledged that negotiations have proceeded smoothly thus far because these non-negotiables have been avoided by concentrating first on the common areas between the different parties. "The NP knows that certain points will be difficult to nego-



tiate," Van der Merwe said. He stopped short of spelling out what they were, but said the nature of a future economic system could prove difficult in negotiations.

So could a number of other things. But for now at least South Africans won't mind a bit of banging on the negotiating table. The "yes" vote renewed hope of reaching a negotiated settlement.

The immediate gains of the referendum victory are in the blow delivered to the Right. Some within the CP will argue that the party should take its voting strength and take up a seat at the negotiating table.

**T**HE far Right's threats of rebellion and war might test the resolve of sections of the security forces to act against their kin, and the ability of De Klerk to control armed forces, but where Eugene TerreBlanche and others have been hit is not so much in the rout of the "no" vote, but in the fact that charges of Nat betrayal now ring somewhat hollow.

Monday is the start of a new week in many ways — meetings of all working committees at Codesa and the start of a crucial period in which the President must turn the points he scored in this week's qualifying match into material advantage in the national finals.

The referendum was the last time politics would be played as a whites-only game. In the resumption of the main match,

## "We hope now that National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group and regard themselves as part of the leadership of the total population."

Nelson Mandela after the referendum.

Some of the players who were temporarily sidelined will be making up for lost time. With the "yes" vote safely banked, the ANC and the SACP pointed out that they had accepted a whites-only poll very grudgingly indeed.

"Many of us considered it a bit of an outrage, an insult that the decisive voice will be that of the whites," said Pallo Jordan, ANC director of publicity. "Whites must now accept the inevitability of one person one vote elections," said SACP chief Chris Hani. He cautioned that the euphoria generated by the landslide victory would have to give way to hard realism. "The fact is, millions of blacks are still without a say in government," he said.

Hani said De Klerk was "caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. He has to deal with whites who are nervous about the political empowerment of blacks. On the other hand, blacks say their political participation in government is long overdue."

"Now that the decks have been cleared and De Klerk has been given an endorsement, there can be no excuse in delaying the Codesa programme. We must make a drive for the

acceleration of Codesa. The outcome of Codesa is crucial to all of us. The referendum was for whites only. We must now prepare for Codesa II."

De Klerk this week agreed that Wednesday's landslide victory had indeed given impetus to the negotiations process. "We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time," he said. ANC president Nelson Mandela was even more specific. "Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992," he said. "We think this is possible. We sincerely hope, now that Mr De Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed."

The 19 participants at Codesa have already agreed on the need for transitional structures and that a "transitional executive authority" should be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa. But moving with speed is one thing, moving smoothly is another.

Jordan and Hani outlined areas of difference that would test Codesa's ability to find common ground. "What is plain is that the overwhelming majority of people in the country

want to see change, and now that majority includes whites as well. In this sense that makes the negotiations easier," Jordan said.

"At the same time we shouldn't deceive ourselves that because an area of commonality has been clearly established that the details are going to be easy to negotiate. I believe that the distance between white and black in South Africa has been narrowed on certain issues — votes for all, civil liberties, freedom of speech, the issue of checks and balances on government."

**U**P until now, the Government has had complete license and white voters have accepted that. Now the majority of whites realises that this could be very dangerous, Jordan says.

"But then there are other very significant differences. Newspaper editors and other while opinion makers refer mockingly to the ANC's concern for such things as the right to work, to health and education. There is a real gulf between black and white here. It comes out in the cavalier way

opinion makers dismiss our concerns about the inequitable distribution of wealth and resources. Those are going to be the most thorny areas of constitutional negotiation because they will require a sensitisation of whites to the poverty among blacks," Jordan says.

The other thorny patch, he says, is the ongoing violence, which was probably a more immediate concern in many townships than the referendum. "We have always been faced with this riddle: we have compelling evidence that military intelligence is deeply implicated in this violence. And if one understands the lines of command in SA they report directly to the President. If De Klerk knows about it, why does he do nothing about it? Either they are acting out his agenda, or they are so well entrenched he can't touch them. As long as these questions remain unanswered, it could mean that Codesa and other forces become irrelevant. "You go to great lengths to reach agreement and some will card outside does what he likes and gets away with it."

The ANC and the SACP have indicated clearly that they will not just be using Codesa to push demands. "The pressure has to be kept up, inside and outside," Jordan said. "We have already reiterated that various forms of sanctions need to be maintained and their lifting tied to the political process. And marches and demonstrations are still very much part of our thinking while the institutions of apartheid remain in place."



A few weeks ago, Potchefstroom was a new word in the victorious rightwing lexicon. This week, the elations faded, reports **JOHN PERLMAN** of Weekend Argus Political Staff.

## Different mood as Potch turns around

304A 21/3/92

**I**T can't have been much fun being a No man in Potchefstroom on Wednesday. It wasn't just that the Yes votes kept pouring in every time the radio went bleep-leepbleep. There was nowhere to turn for comfort.

No point heading for the house at 71 Du Plooy Street, which just a few weeks ago rang with cries of "KP! KP!" when Andries Beyers swept to victory in the by-election. The Conservative Party headquarters was deserted.

A couple of blocks away, you just had to enter the headquarters of Action Group Yes (AGY) to qualify for a glass of champagne.

"When Eugene Terre'Blanche came along, we all shouted 'Vote Yes and stay in the saddle'," said one man with a laugh. "He looked around for his supporters, found nothing, and didn't stay very long."

Quite a change from last month, when the right not only wrenched the Potchefstroom seat from the Nats, but also took a dominating — some say intimidating — hold over the town on election day.

"I believe we got an overwhelming Yes majority in this town," says Mr Gerald van der Merwe, a local businessman who set up the AGY.

He believes the AGY spoke a language Potch people could understand. "We said: 'We've never been involved in politics before, but this thing is too important to leave to the politicians, with their personal ambitions and grudges'."

The people in the Indian area bordering the industrial zone and in the African township of Ikageng further out, watched it all with interest, but at a distance.

"I'd say most Indians and coloureds prayed for a Yes vote because they want a moderate government," said one shopowner.

Pleased about the Yes vote, he was far from becoming a card-carrying Nat. "I can't just forget that we have been prejudiced against for more than 40 years."

Nearby, Mr Kingston Moleko, Mr Freddie Mokataka and Mr Paul Setsetsi helped to organise a prayer service before the referendum — "not to pray for a Yes vote," said Mr Moleko, "but to pray for peace."

They expected white South Africa to vote Yes. "I am happy because otherwise we would have had civil war," said Mr Setsetsi.

All three talked of Potchefstroom as "a rough town". "A black person doesn't want to be walking there late at night," said Mr Moleko.



Black "stand-by voters" generally exchanged the nervous tension they felt about the outcome of last week's all-white referendum with some gallows humour. Weekend Argus Reporter JOE LOUW was listening.

## Blacks talk about future and peace

ARG 21/3/92

(204A)

**W**ITH his eyes sparkling and exaggerated gestures, one old-timer at the Bree Street taxi rank said: "They (the Conservatives) just had to lose. Man, they were offering people horses and Voortrekker wagons when South Africa is driving BMWs. Their women dress in kappies when people want Christian Dior".

A fellow black journalist, without batting an eyelid, quipped: "Me, I never feared the Boers, whatever the result. Who I really fear are the Zulus". I asked if I could quote him on that and he said: "I'm dead serious", and he burst out laughing.

Until referendum day, most blacks had been gloomy, fearing the worst. But, after the result, there was a palpable sense of relief.

People were prepared to talk about the future, their hope of more jobs and an end to the violence.

"We want peace in the townships more than anything else — even more than political power," said a Soweto businessman. "Whatever new deal comes out of this new situation will be useless unless we can be safe in our homes and on our

streets and our children will not be molested on their way to and in their schools."

A well-educated city worker said: "Now that F W has won, and he used the option to consult white people only about the future of this country, black people, too, should get together and redirect these negotiations."

"We should forget about the vote; that is non-negotiable, anyway. It is a right of every citizen, not a favour. What we have to talk about is land. We want our land back."

Many black women did not seem to have any opinions either way about the referendum.

"I think it's better for white people," was an average response among working women. "Maybe, for our children it will be better, too." Most mothers to whom I spoke in and around Alexandra were much less concerned about the referendum than about the violence.

A man in Alex pointed to a huge pile of garbage in an adjacent empty lot and said: "That is where they have to start and then they must give us jobs."



# Potch parties as CP tide stemmed

STAR 21/3/92

JOHN PERLMAN  
Chief Reporter

304A

I CAN'T have been much fun being a "man in Potchefstroom" on Wednesday. It wasn't just that the "yes" votes kept pouring in every time the radio said "bleepbleepbleep". There was nowhere to turn for a comforting word.

No point heading for the house at Du Plooy Street, which just a few weeks ago rang with cries of "KP! KP!" when Andries Beyers swept to victory in the by-election. The Conservative Party headquarters was deserted and padlocked for good measure.

No point ringing the one number written big and bold on the signboard outside — it just rang and rang. And no point ringing the other, which responded only with what was either a fax machine signal or an anguished wail.

A couple of blocks away, in the middle of the town that had caused all the trouble, you just had to enter the headquarters of Action Group Yes (AGY) to qualify for a glass of champagne. The talk all round was of the celebratory atmosphere at the polls the night before.

"When Eugene TerreBlanche came along, we all shouted 'Vote yes and stay in the saddle'," said one man with a laugh. "He didn't stay very long."

Quite a change from last month, when the Right not only wrenched Potchefstroom from the Nats by more than 2 100 votes, but also took a dominating — some say intimidating — hold over the town on election day. "I believe we got an overwhelming 'yes' majority in this town," said Gerald van der Merwe, a local businessman who set up the AGY.

How does he explain the turnaround? "I was very dejected about the CP coming in and a lot of us felt very ashamed," Van der Merwe said. "I called a group of businessmen and others to a meeting and the first thing I said was: 'Well it looks like Potch has dropped the country in the shit'."

The AGY distanced itself firmly from the Nats from day one and ran a fast-paced, imaginative campaign — anyone who picked up a free wors roll at the polling station had to eat round a blue "yes" flag sticking out the middle. "We took the organised-chaos approach. We never had subcommittees or anything like that. If an idea sounded even vaguely worthwhile, we said 'Let's do it'."



**NO DOUBT ABOUT IT:** Members of Action Group Yes in Potchefstroom watch as another result comes in. The group's founder, Gerald van der Merwe, is in the centre, arms folded.



**NOBODY'S HOME:** The CP headquarters in Potchefstroom — scene of by-election joy last month — is deserted and locked up as the "yes" votes pour in with the rain.

● Photographs: JOHN PERLMAN

But the main factor, he said, was that the AGY spoke a language Potch people could understand. "We said to people: 'You know us well. We do business together, we sit together in church. We have never been involved in politics, but this thing is too important to leave to the politicians, with their personal ambitions and grudges.'"

Most of the messages were simple. "We never tried to suggest that a 'yes' vote means moonlight and roses. We said a 'yes' means difficult times ahead, but a 'no' vote — with the damage to business and the loss of jobs —

means disaster."

That was reflected in one AGY poster: "Vorentoe is moeilik, omdraai is onmoontlik (Forward is difficult, retreat is impossible)". Van der Merwe had politely declined the offer of a local university professor to write all their material and speeches. "That slogan was offered by some guy who just dropped in," said Van der Merwe.

Even more persuasive, perhaps, were the posters put up just before voting day. "Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem," said one, "Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika" the other — both with "stem ja"

underneath. "The CP wanted to slaughter us for that, but the anthem doesn't belong to them," Van der Merwe said.

He believes the AGY has a life beyond the referendum. "We have all been so bamboozled with party politics in the past," he said. "Now we are going to get active in municipal politics as well."

Municipal politics, of course, is going to be shaken out of its old ethnic ways, and the AGY may well find its road ahead is as windy as the one the State President will now have to travel. The people in the town's Indian area, and in the black township of Ikageng, further out, watched the referendum with interest, but at a distance.

"I would say most Indians and coloureds prayed for a 'yes' vote because they want a moderate government," said the owner of an electrical shop, who did not want to be named. "We do have to do business in this town."

Pleased that the "yes" vote was coming in strongly, he is nevertheless some way from becoming a card-carrying Nat. "I can't just forget that we have been prejudiced against for more than 40 years. I can't get excited about a South African cricket team winning in Australia, not yet. And I feel the same way about the Nats. I believe most people of my age group do."

In a small office nearby, Kingston Moleko, Freddie Mokataka and Paul Setsetsi are part of a tuition project, set up after schooling in Ikageng was disrupted. They also organised a prayer service last Sunday — "not to pray for a 'yes' vote," said Moleko, "but to pray for peace."

All three expected white South Africa to vote "yes". "I am happy because otherwise we would have had civil war," said Setsetsi. But they also believe that the pressure on De Klerk cannot be eased. "If he thinks he can relax now we will have to change that," said Mokataka. "De Klerk is still being referee and player," said Moleko. "And we have had no proper answers on important issues like nationalisation."

All three talk of Potchefstroom as "a rough town. A black person doesn't want to be walking there late at night," said Moleko. They have had no dealings with the AGY or any white organisations in the town. "Even though they were for the 'yes' vote, I never expected them to come out here, because they probably thought it had nothing to do with us."



# Good news

STAR 21/3/92

3041

**COPENHAGEN** — The Danish government lifted its trade sanctions on South Africa yesterday and granted R58 million to help the country's transition to full democracy.

Prime Minister Poul Schluter sent a letter to President F W de Klerk this week confirming the end of Denmark's six-year trade boycott.

Schluter's government had bypassed parliament, where it has a minority of seats, and obtained a royal decree from Crown Prince Frederik to lift the sanctions.

Frederik signed the decree on Wednesday when it became clear a majority of white South Africans had voted to support De Klerk in writing a new constitution to give the black majority the vote.

Schluter said the transition aid of R58 million would be given to South Africa over the next five years.

"The outcome of the referendum has paved the way also for a renewal of the co-operation between South Africa and Denmark," Schluter said.

Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen will lead a delegation of Danish businessmen to South Africa from April 12 to 16. Ellemann-Jensen plans to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

From Brussels it is reported that the European Community could soon propose the lifting of United Nations embargoes on oil and arms sales to South Africa, as well as a UN ban on nuclear co-operation.

An EC spokesman said in Copenhagen yesterday that the announcement, made by a spokesman for the EC's Portuguese presidency, follows the massive "yes" vote by South African whites on Tuesday.

**SOUTH Africa said 'yes' — and the messages from foreign lands are very promising.**



The Portuguese presidency also wants Community members to restore military attaches to their various embassies in Pretoria and to strengthen the EC's diplomatic representation in South Africa.

The Portuguese proposals will be made officially to a meeting of senior officials of EC countries in Lisbon on April 1, then submitted to an EC ministerial meeting for approval.

From Canberra it is reported that Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating sent personal messages to De Klerk and Mandela yesterday signalling early Australian moves to lift economic sanctions.

His office said Keating told the South African leaders he was confident that continued progress towards the adoption of a nonracial constitution would permit early moves towards full restoration of commercial and economic relations between the two countries.

Canberra's policy is to adhere to the sanctions-lifting timetable agreed to at October's Commonwealth summit and to act in concert with other Commonwealth countries.

But it is sufficiently

flexible to enable sanctions to be lifted at the request of the all-party Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which is to meet again next month.

In his message to Mandela, Keating said he shared the ANC leader's relief and satisfaction at the referendum result.

"It is encouraging to know that the great majority of the white population in South Africa appreciates the urgent need for reform and supports the historic process on which you, President de Klerk and other South African leaders are embarked," he said.

In London, Britain's Liberal Democratic Party has called for the progressive lifting of mandatory sanctions and South Africa's re-admission to international bodies.

In welcoming the result of Tuesday's referendum, Sir David Steel, foreign affairs spokesman and former party leader, said it was now time to change the carrot for the stick.

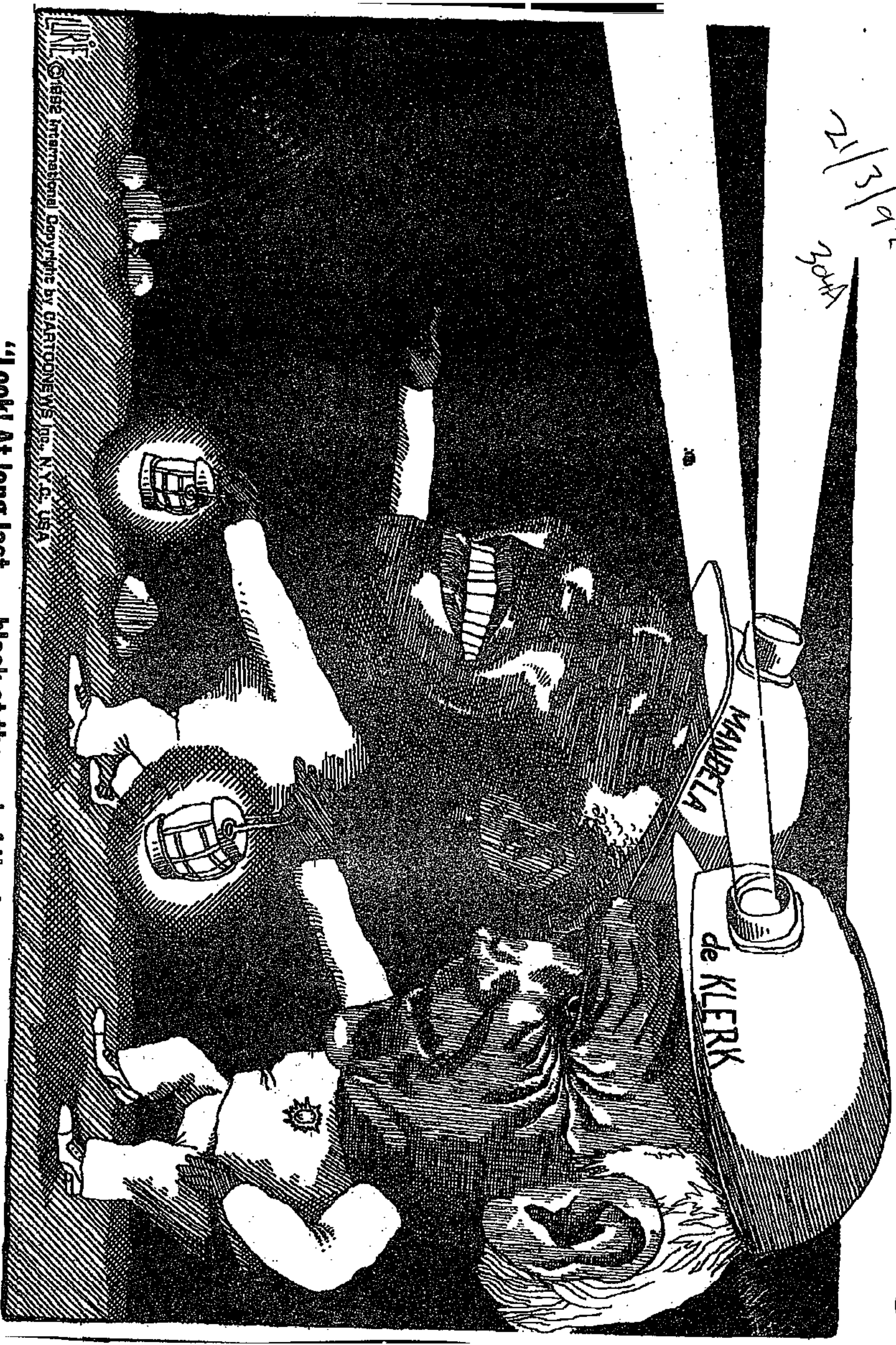
Describing the outcome of the referendum as momentous, Sir David said: "The outside world must now be active in encouraging the constitutional convention which is preparing the transition to democracy."

"As progress is made towards the formation of the interim government — perhaps as early as this summer — we should propose the progressive lifting of mandatory sanctions and the admission of South Africa to international bodies."

From New Delhi it is reported that India, founder of the international movement against apartheid, said yesterday it was heartened by South Africa's referendum vote in favour of reform and hoped it would lead to a non-racial government. Sapa-AFP-Reuter, C. Correspondent.



*For*  
**fills FV's main**  
*2/3/92*  
*29th*



“Look! At long last — black at the end of the tunnel!”

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# Party mood in suburbia

STAR 21/3/92

304A

REFERENDUM parties were the order of the day in the affluent suburbs north of Johannesburg on Wednesday, as it became increasingly clear there was going to be an overwhelming "yes" vote.

Restaurants instantly came up with "haute cuisine", such as "Pik's potjeko's" and punch called "Slovo's Sting", for patrons arriving bearing placards saying "Who is Treurnicht?" and the like.

At Hyde Park Corner, women could be seen lunching with radios pressed to their ears.

Audrey Golden said

## CAROLINE HURRY

that if there had been a "no" vote, "I would have been out of a job, as part of my work is to bring international speakers out to South Africa".

## No future

Public relations officer Sue von Oppell agreed. "I'm an ex-Rhodesian but felt that without the 'yes' vote, South African could not have had a future."

Roland Jordan of Sandton said he had been to Nylstroom to hear President de Klerk's talk the previous weekend.

"F W assured us he would protect the rights of private property owners, so I'm very happy we're not being sold down the river," Jordan said.

Only Austrian film producer Sven Forsell was a little pessimistic about the outcome.

"One eye cries while the other laughs," he said. "Let's see what F W is going to do. I think people voted 'yes' because they were too scared to vote 'no'."

"I would also like to point out that no other country in Africa has prospered under black majority rule."



# Left, right into the laager

**B**RAAVLEIS RULES in white South Africa. The ritual seems an essential part of any party, political or otherwise, that involves pale-skinned citizens.

While NGK congregations and trompoppie platoons offered some competition selling melktert and cake, it was the smell of fat smoking on hot coals that dominated polling stations from Tamboerskloof to Tygerberg on Tuesday.

That was the day when the people who used to be the right wing batted it out against the people who still are.

In Brooklyn, the boerewors nearly caused what the media likes to call "an incident". Mr Deon Pretorius and Mr Johan Smit had set up a braai and were selling "free enterprise boerewors" when Conservative Party officials instructed them to move as they were standing in front of the "No" posters.

So they moved, "and the NP welcomed us into their fold", they said. They admitted that the boerewors industry would be the last to suffer in the event of a "no" vote. Three Standard Four pupils wandered past with a "yes" badge on one breast pocket, a "no" on the other.

Down the road in Goodwood a CP member engaged me in a conversation about the AWB.

"Do you know what those colours mean?" he asked, pointing out the red, black and white of the AWB logo. They are the internationally accepted colours for the white race. That's why the Nazis used them. And the triple seven means domina-



South 21/3 - 26/3/92  
Justin Pearce SOUTH Reporter

A political home in the master race was offered to our reporter when he prowled the polls in Cape Town's northern suburbs.

## One parrot doesn't make an Afrikaner

THE FACE of HF Verwoerd overlooks a map which merges South Africa with Namibia.

"Onthou 6 September, 1966. Ruk uit die dolk (Remember 6 September, 1966. Pull out the dagger)", reads the text of the poster.

"The dagger that stabbed Verwoerd was to bury the Afrikaner," says a woman in a floral crimp-lene dress and a "no" badge at the Kuils River polling station.

"How much do you know about the New Age Religion? Or the Luminant? That is a plot by people like the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds.

They want one world government, state and religion. They want racelessness, classlessness, genderlessness — "that is why there

is so much homosexuality nowadays — loss of identity, godlessness. This is the reason for the new South Africa."

She defines an Afrikaner as one "who identifies himself with the idea of Afrikanerdom".

What about Afrikaans-speaking coloureds?

"I have a parrot. I can teach him to speak Afrikaans, but that doesn't make him one of the Volk. I see a coloured as someone who is closer to me than a black person, but still I understand nothing of his culture."

This good lady of the CP will not give me her name. "I don't want to give a press interview," she says and hands me over to her menfolk.

"I am a member of the CP and I will do anything for the survival of the white race. If my leader says we must use armed force, then I will."

Who does he consider his leader? "Dr Treurnicht."

The CP gentleman directed me to Mr Frederick Botha, an AWB rep-

resentative who looks uncannily like a clone of Eugene Terre'blanche. (Is this what they call eugenics?)

Unlike the khaki brigade whom I had seen waving swastika and vierkleur flags from a speeding bakkie, this man was dressed in a light grey suit, and spoke in a tone of quiet, absolute assurance with the occasional literary flourish.

He stood in front of a display of AWB posters urging voters to "reject the Anichrist, vote no".

"There is more than one reason for the slogan on this poster," Botha explained. In the referendum the right-wing parties are concerned with the volk, land and God. Sport or whatever else comes second.

"Personally I see Codesa as a nest of adders where alien (vreemde) gods are served."

What is an alien god, I ask.

"Any god that is not my God. My God does not sit with the sportsmen. The ANC, communist, liberal-orientated Codesa is nothing other than the Anichrist."

The state president's actions have ensured that streams of people are overflowing into the AWB."

Not in Goodwood, I'm afraid. Meneer Botha. The voters stream towards the "yes" tables, ignoring the luscious chocolate cake offered by the "no" camp.

White South Africans have chosen between ugly certainties of the New Right and beautiful confusion of the Old Right who have now turned er... well... something else.

And in the grand tradition of South African politics, confusion has won the day.



# 13 'no' seats may have voted 'yes'

STAR 21/3/92

JOHN PERLMAN

THIRTEEN parliamentary seats held by the Conservative Party delivered "yes" majorities in the referendum.

That is the conclusion reached by independent political analyst Donald Simpson and Potchefstroom University maths professor Japie Spoelstra who yesterday completed an extensive number-crunching exercise using referendum data and the statistics of the 1989 general election.

Simpson and Spoelstra found that the following constituencies voted "yes": Brakpan (approximate majority 300), Delmas (40), Heilbron (200), Ladybrand (700),

Maraisburg (100), Meyerton (2 500), Potchefstroom (1 700), Rodeplaat (30), Sasolburg (420), Smithfield (200), Uitenhage (240), Virginia (1 000) and Welkom (300).

"Virginia and Potchefstroom are particularly interesting, given that the CP won them with such big majorities in recent by-elections," Simpson said. "In a general election, however, it is unlikely all the yes votes would vote Nat."

Simpson said his figures showed that "the full scale of the CP defeat has in fact been hid-

den. In the Transvaal and the Free State the no vote was 3 percent lower than the CP total in the 1989 election.

"The CP did, however double their support among English speakers in Durban and Cape Town.

"Ten percent of English speakers who voted Nat in 1989 voted no and would probably vote CP in future," Simpson said.

He said that the yes vote also represented 60 percent of all registered voters.

"If the CP had abstained and all of those people had voted, it wouldn't have mattered," Simpson said.



# NORTH looking SOUTH



By Lilian Roberts

304A  
A former Kaapenaar

turned Vaalie  
South 21/3-26/3/92

JA-NEE, even the 27 million uitlanders to the great white day of reckoning have been bulldozed into referendum-speak. In one great booming self-righteous voice, the two-headed Big Brother of business and mass media has succeeded in vacuuming decent thoughts from our brains. The droll monosyllables "yes" and "no" have seeped into the collective unconscious.

"No" signs flashed in neon lights next to spitbraais in Randfontein, "Yes" peak caps were generously dished out to a mixed group of protesting Wits students at the Braamfontein Civic Centre and, of course, "No" koeksisters were the sweet reward at CP tents. I mean, even when you found the time to contemplate your navel, some gnat would slip a "Why you should support us" pamphlet under your door. And considering that the south of Johannesburg has been infiltrated by uitlanders (one school in Malvern which two years ago was pale now has 60 percent black pupils and nobody seems to mind), the whole exercise is a touch ironic.

After the three weeks of brainwashing, the spectacle of our paler compatriots lining up in polling stations did take on a macabre allure.

That's why about a hundred "non-voters" stood aghast outside the Johannesburg City Hall watching a handful of AWB types.

"I'm calling for a no vote because I don't want blacks living with me," screeched one of ET's make-up plastered melktert. "And the black standing across there said whether there is a yes or a no vote there will be a war."

And the subjects of her wrath were basically passing their time bemused at the pseudo-democratic business. Who in their right minds would allow such a melktert a say over the destiny of millions?

Now that the mania has passed and hopefully will never be revisited, there is one referendum byproduct painted on a wall near the SABC studios in Auckland Park, which definitely should become a national monument.

It shows caricatures of Treurnicht and De Klerk painted in yellow ballot boxes with the slogan "Kies 'n Doos" sprayed above.

Makes you think doesn't it?



# Yes, it's a big no to majority rule

Scott 21/3-26/3/92

(3044)

**W**HEN THE referendum began, everyone, from President FW de Klerk and the National Party all the way to the left, argued that the referendum was about continuing the reform process.

More particularly, it was about the principle of negotiating a new constitution.

If it was that straightforward, then De Klerk would have no excuse to hold back the process. Unfortunately, it is not.

Besides the obvious differences in interpretation about what negotiations mean, significant shifts occurred during the campaign.

De Klerk and the NP moved quickly from supporting an open-ended process of bargaining between South Africans about their future to saying that a "yes" vote meant support for the NP's own proposals.

They created a bottom-line. They would accept nothing less than the basic elements of the NP's position, such as effective minority participation in government (which is different to multi-partyism), strong protection of private property, joint cabinet authority, weak presidential powers distributed between three people who make up the executive, and so on.

Indeed, their last major advert said those who rejected majority

rule should vote "yes"!

What they did — and I have no illusions that this was not planned from the beginning — was to twist the referendum into a process to strengthen De Klerk and the NP as opposed to the negotiation process.

They speak now in Codesa and internationally, not just as the NP or the government, but as representatives of a majority of whites.

It is the difficult task of those who voted "yes", but not for the NP, to identify how big their numbers are in that majority.

It is also their difficult task to fight back to make the original purpose of the referendum the final purpose — to overcome the government's manipulation of the process.

In short, De Klerk has emerged stronger to push his party's anti-majority rule, anti-democratic positions within Codesa and outside it.

He will propagandise the result to try to push back the small concessions he has made, and to make sure the pressure is now put on the democratic movement to make even greater concessions than it has.

If he doesn't get his way, will he try the trick of saying he does not have a mandate and give whites another chance to block the process?

The alliance between the National Party, big business and foreign governments with an interest in retaining economic structures and

Now that the 'yes' voters have won the day, the task facing South Africans is to overcome the government's manipulation of the reform process, political scientist and South African Communist Party member **Dr Ian Phillips** argues:

restricted political democracy in South Africa was brought out into the open very clearly during the campaign.

It must be noted that exactly those governments and companies that resisted sanctions against apartheid because "they would hurt the black majority more than the racist regime" suddenly declared that sanctions would be declared against a CP "racist regime".

It should also be emphasised that there are still major differences between the requirements for a democratic state and one which is

still geared towards minority domination of an essentially white business variety.

The violence in black communities continues to rage. Its perpetrators still direct their activities regardless of a largely toothless National Peace Accord and without much effort, it seems, on the part of the state to do anything about it.

The liberation movement is at one when it sees the violence as a strategy conducted against the people by surrogate forces which are formally outside state structures but which operate inside them.

The state's strategy in this area has been undented but might become more flexible as it tries to build a perception that it is the only force able to secure peace and thereby secure support from many people even in the black community.

De Klerk now needs to accept responsibility for the violence.

The divisions within the white community that were identified and held up as partial evidence of the government's political crisis have been papered over to some extent.

To sharpen those divisions requires, among other things, the destruction of the personality cult of De Klerk and the propaganda machine of the state.

The idea that De Klerk is the beginning and end of the "negotiation process" as claimed by himself and others needs to be exploded. Although "yes whites" now out-

number "no whites", many of the latter could act like wounded bulls: some have already rejected the result.

They are located in the far flung areas of our country: the northern Transvaal, the OFS, northern Cape, mining towns and other areas.

They are present in those areas where many of the liberation movements' structures are not as strong as they could be. A continuation of the "white-on-black violence" which we have seen increasing since 1990 is likely.

Random, racist attacks on black people and democratic organisations could continue and increase. We have seen some homeland administrations are quite enthusiastic in their support for anti-liberation movement policies.

It is not necessary to sign agreements with other parties to conduct a combined offensive against anyone. The question for them is to judge when the things that keep them apart become less important than the common purpose of staying in powerful positions.

It might be that the original conception of the Patriotic Front as a structure of individual organisations to pit themselves against the government and its allies requires resuscitation.

Without positive and effective pressure on them, very little of material benefit to the majority can emerge from the reform process.



## Never again a racist poll, says the ANC

South 21/3-26/3/92  
THE ANC has questioned the De Klerk government's commitment to democratic values following the way in which it chose to conduct the referendum.

"It is one of those ironies of the history of our country that a referendum to test support for the democratisation process should itself have been conducted in such an undemocratic manner," the ANC said in a statement on Wednesday.

"The future of our country is not a matter 'for whites only'. It is the concern of all South Africans. The appeals to racial chauvinism and the ethnic passions around this referendum campaign illustrate the dangers inherent in racial and ethnic exercises of this nature."

The ANC welcomed the "landslide victory" for the yes voters, but it demanded that a racist poll never be repeated. "This must be the absolute last occasion on which South Africa is subjected to the indignity of a racial or ethnic referendum," the ANC said.

The ANC called on all those who voted "no" to accept their defeat with grace and join Codesa.

"There is no other alternative to negotiations."

"The ANC stands ready and willing to work together with all for a better life for all South Africans."

The ANC called upon the international community to assist the process of change in South Africa.

**Justin Pearce**



# Women in drive to influence negotiations

South 21/3-26/3/92

THE BLACK SASH has called on Codesa to make its proceedings public by broadcasting them in full on radio and television.

The organisation raised concerns about the legitimacy and brief of Codesa at its national conference last week.

"Codesa is a positive step in the negotiation process but we believe only an elected body should have the right to decide on a Bill of Rights and constitution," the Black Sash resolved.

"These issues should not be debated in advance in secret meetings by parties at Codesa."

The organisation proposed a

Human Rights Review Committee be established — comprising all prominent human rights organisations — to review all resolutions tabled at Codesa.

The Black Sash called on Codesa to prevent the government from unilaterally restructuring or privatising the SABC.

"Impartial reporting is an essential component for free and fair elections and for many South Africans, particularly rural people, radio is the main source of contact with the events and concerns of this country," it said.

Meanwhile, the ANC Women's League will build a stronger pres-

ence for women during the negotiation and election process when it sets up its own negotiations forum.

This decision flows from the league's Western Cape regional conference last weekend.

"We will conduct an active education drive around these issues to ensure all women remain informed, specially in rural areas," a spokesperson for the league said.

The campaign for a women's charter will also be intensified and involve the Women's Alliance in the process.

"The campaign will focus on researching and compiling a charter that guarantees specific rights, pro-

tection and affirmative action for women in the future South Africa.

Elected on to the regional executive committee were: Ms Mildred Lesa (chairperson), Ms Nomatya Hangana (secretary), Ms Rashida Abdullah (vice-chairperson) and Mrs Rhoda Joemat.

The PAC's African Women's Organisation of Azania (AWO) held its second annual congress in Bloemfontein last weekend where it unanimously approved the PAC's decision to withdraw from Codesa.

Ms Ellen Mothopeng, daughter-in-law of the former PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, was elected chairperson of AWO.



# Is it still Yes to non-racialism?

304A

MAY 21/3/92

**P**LEIN Street, Cape Town, Wednesday, March 18 1992, just after 2pm. There they were for an instant, in frozen tableau: All the elements of the great unfolding South African drama, all visible within one sweep of the eye.

Journalists were in the HF Verwoerd Building of the parliamentary complex, struggling to keep up with, and interpret, the results of the referendum in which whites were in the process of voluntarily releasing their grip on exclusive power.

Suddenly, outside the windows of the auditorium, a great mass of black faces pressed up against the glass.

They were chanting and singing about the power that was coming their way.

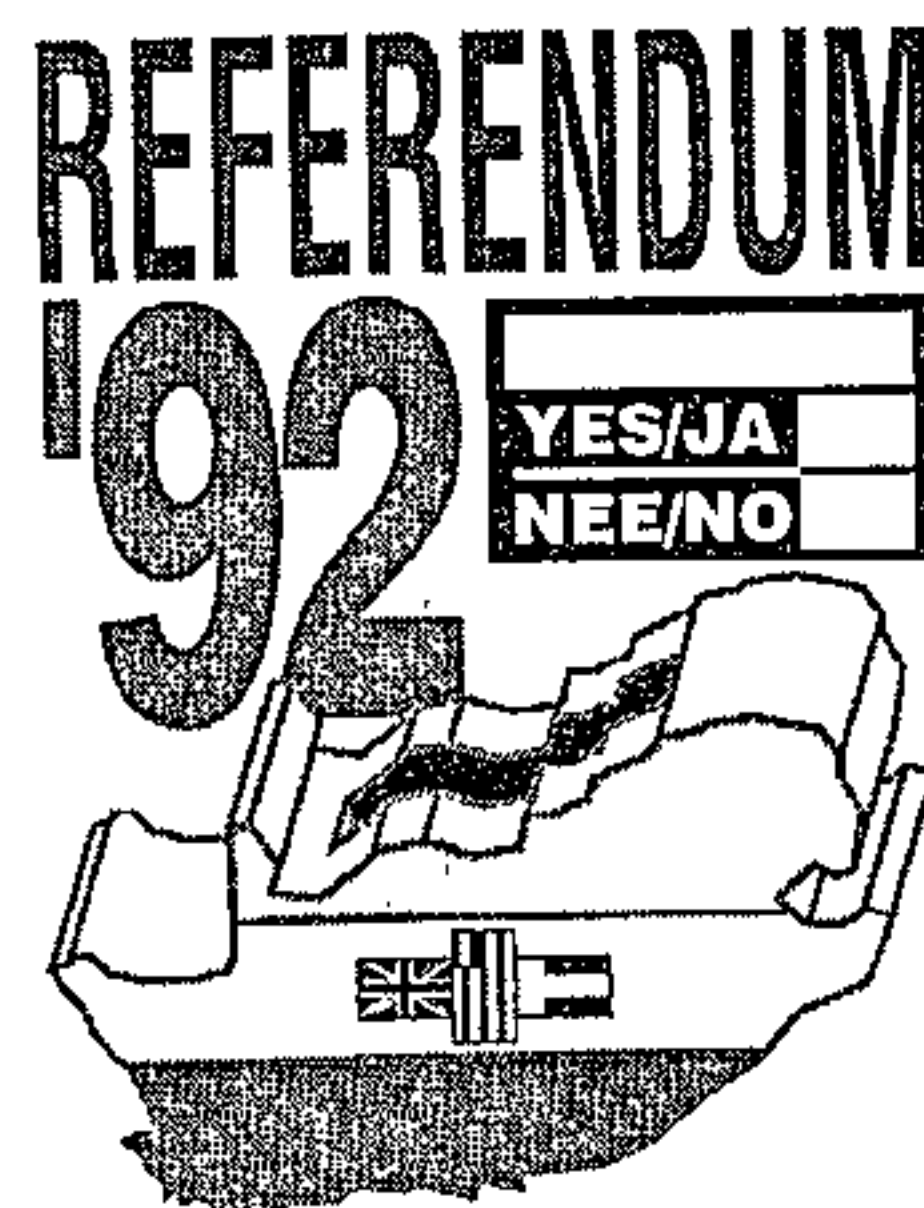
The journalists looked for a moment like a crowd at a tennis match: Their heads turned rhythmically from the final doings of the old South Africa on the right, to the debut performance of the new on the left.

A line of policemen separated the two worlds and the reporters occupied the nether space between.

President De Klerk said later on that jubilant, unforgettable day that the decision by the whites — more so even than his famous speech two years before — marked the birth of a totally new, unrecognisable South Africa.

He is probably right.

On February 2 1990, he made a decision about the future and hoped he could take his supporters along with him. This



March 18 was the day when the counting had to start — and stop. The day when the accounting had to begin.

Political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON** observed the dramatic events.

## Poll against rightists may not be vote for colour-blind future

week, they confirmed it.

Now that the celebrations are winding down, however, it is becoming clear that although an almighty battle has been won, the war is yet to be fought.

There can be no question that posterity will record that white South Africa made a choice of astounding courage on Tuesday.

But it was not, in the first instance, a choice in favour of those eager black faces at the window, waiting for the police to move aside and let them in.

It is on this issue that the real war to change white hearts and minds is just beginning.

I wonder, sadly, what would have happened if the referendum question had simply asked whites whether or not they wanted a nonracial government — in other words, if the alternative of a Conservative Party in power had not been part of the equation.

As it played out, the referendum campaign assumed apocalyptic qualities and eventually came down to a straight choice between Mr De Klerk and Dr Andries Treurnicht.

In the event, Dr Treurnicht and his allies proved unsaleable.

My point is that while many white South Africans know what they voted

against, they're not so clear on what they voted for.

The challenge facing Messrs De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi, De Beer and others is to convert the rejection of the atavistic right into active support for the colour-blind future.

It is a much less hopeless task after this week's events.

White South Africa was politicised as never before and had to make choices which mattered as never before.

People have an extraordinary capacity for adapting to new situations, but they have to be hit over the head with the realities first.

The CP now is banking on there being a huge hangover after the party. They speak of biding their time until the implications of the white Yes vote sink in and there is a vicious backlash.

The real test of white sincerity lies in confounding this expectation.

■ On a lighter note, "Referendum '92" will be remembered for making a few additions to the South African political lexicon.

The first is the re-nicknaming of the CP leader. "Dr No" shall henceforth be known as "Dr No Votes".

The second is that the proper location of the Boerestaat was indicated with blinding clarity on our television screens: It's got to be somewhere in the Pietersburg area. The further suggestion is that a new South African government should close all its borders with said Boerestaat, leaving it to trade directly with ... Zimbabwe.

The third is that the awards for the best performers in the referendum campaign can now be announced:

■ Most effective Yes campaigner: Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

■ Most effective No campaigner: President Robert Mugabe.



## A grave threat in the House?

MR Salmon Barnard, Conservative Party frontbencher and MP for Hercules, was ordered out of the House of Assembly yesterday afternoon — and then appeared both to threaten the Chairman, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, and reflect on the previous Speaker, the late Mr Louis le Grange.

Dr Van Rensburg had warned Mr Barnard several times to stop making interjections.

When he then interrupted Provincial Affairs Minister Leon Wesels, Dr Van Rensburg immediately asked him to leave the chamber.

Mr Barnard walked to the middle of the aisle, then turned to the Chairman and declared: "I say the last person who ordered me out now lies in a grave."

On reaching the door he became involved in an altercation with a seated Nationalist MP.

CP whip and MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, rushed up, put his arms round Mr Barnard, and escorted him out.



# Dr No to be ousted in putsch?

CT 21/3/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

AN ATTEMPT to oust Dr Andries Treurnicht as leader of the embattled Conservative Party may be mounted by younger members of the caucus in the coming week.

The crisis racking the CP is likely to come to a head later this week with some disgruntled MPs considering a putsch against the old-guard leadership.

CP sources said yesterday that younger MPs determined to retain a political role in the new South Africa felt that the best way to re-gear the party to meet changed circumstances was to engineer a palace coup rather than split the CP.

## 'Shockwaves'

Party sources said the pro-negotiation faction might try to use the CP's dismal referendum performance as a pretext for ousting Dr Treurnicht and his hard-line deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

CP MPs said the crisis in the party had been passed on to the CP's national council, which will meet later next week in Bloemfontein.

As the post-referendum shockwaves continued to rock Parliament, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday played down speculation that some DP "ANC-friendly" members were thinking of leaving.

But party sources said that the first defections to the ANC could take place "sooner rather than later", possibly at the time of the Codesa plenary session at the end of April.

The CP's moment of reckoning could come earlier, with the party holding a series of caucus meetings next week.

Decisions about the party's future were put on hold yesterday as CP MPs

entered vigorously into acrimonious debate on the own affairs budget.

Alternatives being considered in CP circles include the party finding some role in multi-party negotiations, continuing largely on its present course or opting for an extra-parliamentary role — thought to be the least likely.

Dr Hartzenberg told Parliament that it was "a lie" that the party was going to split.

However, both he and Dr Treurnicht are expected to come under fire for forging a referendum pact with the AWB — the main reason being cited by political analysts for the collapse of the right-wing campaign.

Some CP members appear to believe that if they are unable to engineer a change of leadership, defections might become necessary.

Meanwhile, in the DP camp, Dr De Beer said that rumours about ANC-friendly MPs leaving the party had been around many times before, adding: "I have spoken to one of the most senior members concerned, who says there is no more basis for them now than in the past."

## 'Highly successful'

Dr De Beer said that the referendum partnership between the DP and the NP — one of the major sources of tension within the DP — had proved highly successful. People were asking whether this should not lead to some more formalised relationship.

He believed that the DP felt that such a step was unnecessary and undesirable at this stage.

A number of DP MPs, including Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Jan van Eck, emphasised during yesterday's debate that they had not voted "yes" for President F W de Klerk — but for a negotiated democratic constitution.



# ANC stand 'confuses' Dutch

From Chris Bateman. (2047) C123/92  
LONDON. — The Dutch government said yesterday it was as confused as ever over whether the ANC had approved or vetoed its planned August 10/11 visit to South Africa.

Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers told his parliament on Thursday, hours after it finally approved the dates, that it was "too early" however to lift economic sanctions against South Africa.

This news came as the Dutch

ambassador in South Africa, Mr Piet van Buuren, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met to try to smooth over the controversy generated by Mr Mandela's apparent sudden about-face on the visit.

In a bland statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday the ANC said "both parties agreed to refrain from further statements for the present".

However, a spokesman for Mr Lubbers in The Hague yesterday told our London Bureau that ap-

proval for the visit had been given "at least twice" by the ANC.

"At present we don't know whether it's a misunderstanding or a lack of communication in the ANC," Dutch presidential spokesman Mr Jaap van der Ploeg said last night.

The apparent about-turn is seen by observers as an ANC attempt to stem the tide of favourable international reaction to the white "yes" vote which some argue may weaken their Codesa bargaining position.



is an enormous undecided vote and the outcome of this meeting could guarantee that we lose, or it could allow the party to continue governing."

General Malan said President Botha's decision to relinquish leadership of the National Party in March had placed Mr De Klerk — elected by the caucus to the post — in an invidious position.

"If we fare well in the election he will take the credit — and if the party does badly the onus will be on him.

"In the eyes of the voters, the head of state and the party leader are in conflict, and they no longer know who to follow — the man who led them all these years and who has the track record, or the man chosen to lead the party into the future," said General Malan.

His account of telephone calls in the middle of the night after President Botha heard on TV news that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had said he would hold talks with Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha on August 28 was one of the meeting's most dramatic moments.

"You telephoned me that night — it was 2.30," General Malan said.

"When I heard it was you, I grabbed a pen and paper immediately, because I thought now we are at war or a security crisis has broken out.

"You told me you couldn't sleep — we had given you the biggest problem of your life. I accept that.

"You asked if I had seen Kaunda's television announcement. I told you I hadn't. You asked if I knew about it. I told you I did not know about it officially, but had heard of the visit in the course of the day, while I was busy with Dr Savimbi and a delegation from Zaire with colleague Pik and his staff.

"You said you were going to resign. I asked you to give me the opportunity to telephone the two colleagues concerned so that we could sort things out. I couldn't see why you should leave or resign, because it would plunge us into a crisis.

"You said yes I could call them and I did.

"I telephoned you at five minutes past three and said I had spoken to the two colleagues, given them your message and they would call you the next day.

"You said again you were going to resign; we would read about it tomorrow. I asked you: Please President reconsider your resignation.

"You said you would not do so."

The next morning, according to General Malan, President Botha informed him that meetings of the State Security Council and the Cabinet had been cancelled and he refused to meet General Malan and the ministers who were going to Zambia.

Pik Botha was uncharacteristically reticent during the cabinet meeting, saying simply that he sup-

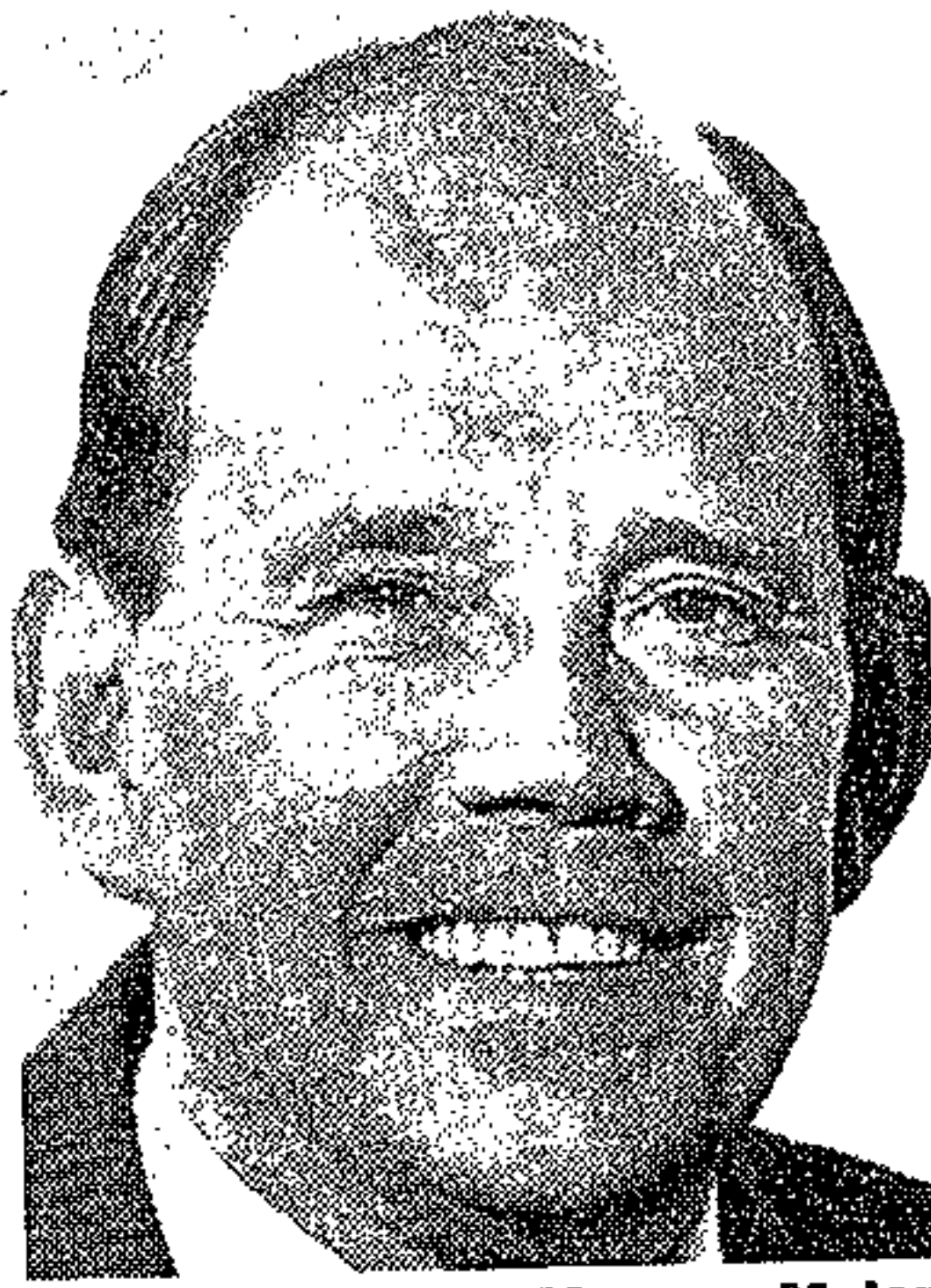
# The day they met to praise Caesar — and to bury him

304A

SI Times 22/3/92



EARNED DRUBBING ... Eil Louw



GOOD TIMES ... Magnus Malan



RETICENT ... Pik Botha

ported Mr De Klerk and speaking only another 34 words.

Reminded by President Botha that he had made no mention of the proposed visit to Zambia during a telephone conversation on the night of August 10, Mr Botha responded: Yes.

Asked by the President if he had said, "This is not the kind of thing you solve on the telephone," Mr Botha answered:

"Among other things, yes. But you said much more."

PW: Yes, I was angry.

Pik: Exactly.

PW: This superman was angry.

Pik: Yes, you were.

The Foreign Affairs Minister's only further contribution to the meeting was a "yes, please" when President Botha asked if the Cabinet wanted to adjourn for five minutes to discuss its proposal that he resign; and a further "yes" when Mr Botha reaffirmed his intention to resign that night and give his reasons.

Transport Minister Eil Louw earned a drubbing for raising the sensitive issue of President Botha's health.

Describing his 18-month tenure in the Cabinet as "the best time of my political career", Mr Louw said: "To be close to someone who is prepared to change

the course of history, who has the courage to do things, is an exceptional privilege ... but now I want to say something you should please not hold against me. The PW Botha I knew before your stroke is not the same man I have known since."

PW: Would you repeat what you just said?

Louw: I said, the leader PW Botha that I knew before the stroke is not the same man as the one after the stroke.

PW: Don't you think that is an unfortunate phrase?

Louw: President, let me just ...

PW: ... Why do you bring up my illness which has nothing to do with this morning's discussions?

Louw: President it has influenced the matter. For example this letter, this press statement ... it doesn't make sense coming from the man I know.

PW: Is that the story you want to spread? You are deviating from a very high-level discussion. You are becoming personal. Why are you doing this?

Louw: President ...

PW: Don't you want to drop this? You are saying a terrible thing.

Louw: President, I'm sorry, I didn't mean it like that. I assure you it doesn't

diminish my compassion for you ...

That Mr Louw had touched a sensitive nerve was evident from President Botha's response when all the ministers had spoken and adjourned briefly for tea.

"There was one incident to which I took exception. I put it down to lack of experience," he said when the Cabinet reconvened to deliver its unanimous verdict.

"Unfortunately, reference was made to an incident in my life when I took ill temporarily. Perhaps that is the greatest sin I have committed, to fall ill.

"I'm not prepared to appoint an acting president because I am not ill and I am in the country. Make your choice, here.

"And since a junior minister distastefully referred to my health, are you surprised that it has given in after what I've endured since 1985? You should be ashamed."

But ashamed or not, the Cabinet ministers each demanded that Mr Botha should resign and at the same time they paid glowing tribute to him.

These included:

GERRIT VILJOEN (Education and Development Aid): You brought me into active politics ... I have a deep loyalty to you personally, and to your

office ... you have frequently emphasised that we should have the liberty to tell you if, in our opinion, you should go, should vacate the office.

DAWIE DE VILLIERS (Privatisation): On this sad occasion ... we have to look to SA's future ... and, with all its shortcomings, the NP must win. The doubt and uncertainty that prevails ... must not be exploited to the detriment of the party, the individuals involved, the State President or his family ... but, for the moment, you have come to the end of your task.

KOBIE COETSEE (Justice): I have literally grown up before your eyes. I was and remain very close to you ... but the image of our administration this morning is, to put it mildly, not good. We have to help you to restore that image ... there is no choice.

DANIE STEYN (Economic Affairs and Technology): I was privileged to move in the light of your leadership ... there will never be another South African leader who can achieve as much as you ... but for the first time I am being increasingly confronted by the need to defend your actions ...

BAREND DU PLESSIS (Finance): Given a choice I would not be sitting here today. A man doesn't turn against his father ... but we are in mortal danger of losing the election ... though it hurts me to say so, I must support the proposal.

WILLIE VAN NIEKERK (National Health): What I know about politics, about administration, you taught me ... I had no idea politics could be so much fun ... but you must save our image ...

ADRIAAN VLOK (Law and Order): This is one of the saddest days of my life. Had I a choice I would not be sitting here. I have learned many lessons from you ... but this decision ... however heartsome ... is in the interest of the party, the country and Christianity.

President Botha's response was that he had "barely recognised myself while listening to you — the personal testimony delivered here was from people who regard me as a superman".

But, he said: "I don't think you want to carry on with me, so I'll make you an offer. I'll go on television tonight ... to announce my resignation and I'll give reasons.

"I have worked day and night for the security of this country. Day and night. I expected a different attitude from the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Law and Order, but they have softened in the process. You will have to look your soldiers and your police in the eye.

"The story ... is that I'm amassing more power, that I've become impossible ... that I'm not the same man after my stroke. What a humiliating remark that was ... and that from a man who claims it was wonderful to serve me ... are you surprised that things are going badly for the party if this happens to its leader?

"You've been stoking one another's fires since Saturday ... you want me to appoint an acting president. Who is he? Help me. Why am I appointing him? Give me the reasons. What do I tell the country?

FW DE KLERK: Well, it's because of your health, President.

PW: Oh, so in other words, I must lie to save you. No, I'm sorry colleague, I won't be party to the kind of hypocrisy you got the federal council to go along with. I will follow the path of my conscience.

Tonight, I will say that you wanted me to leave on a lie and that I'm not prepared to tell a lie. You must understand this.

FW: We do not wish to prescribe to you, President.

PW: Good. Thank you, gentlemen, goodbye.

## Their message was unequivocal: For the National Party's sake, go



304A  
S. Times  
22/3/92.

6 SUNDAY TIMES, March 22 1992

By MARLENE BURGER  
and DE WET POTGIETER

FOR terms ranging from three months to 23 years, he had been their political mentor. But at an emergency Cabinet meeting on Monday, August 14 1989, PW Botha's 16 ministers told him they wanted him to resign.

President Botha, claiming to be fully recovered from a stroke six months earlier, felt betrayed by National Party leader FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha whom he accused of going behind his back to meet with "the rogue of Africa", President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

He had called the meeting to settle the issue. But the Cabinet, beset with fears of losing the general election just three weeks away, had come both to bury Cae-

**Shaken by a growing loss of support to the right-wing and three weeks away from a general election, the Cabinet of State President PW Botha demanded that he step down in favour of FW de Klerk. Secret minutes of the 1989 Cabinet meeting, leaked to the Sunday Times, show it was a bitter and emotional confrontation**

sar and to praise him. Couched in tones varying from the sycophantic to the sentimental, their message was unequivocal: for the National Party's sake, go.

The first thrust, after National Party leader FW de Klerk had formally proposed that the President retire, came from Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

He said: "We have worked together for 23 years, walked a long road. We have shared many good times, experienced crises.

We've come through, we've had numerous successes.

"You are the person who has brought me where I am today, here in the Cabinet, and I speak these words with appreciation and recognition.

"But the interests of the National Party, the interests of South Africa, those are the most important to me.

"If we lose the coming election, South Africa loses. Things are not going well at the moment. There



# Safto overseas campaign after 'yes' wins the day

304A  
S | Times | Russ | 22/3/92  
By ZILLA EFRAT

SAFTO is set to embark on a highly visible campaign to promote South Africa abroad after this week's resounding "yes" vote.

It is involved in discussions with the Departments of Trade and Industry and Foreign Affairs regarding the campaign.

Part of the campaign will involve national SA displays in central areas targeting whole regions like the Middle East or south-east Asia, says Safto international division manager David Graham.

These across-the-board displays will promote SA's trade, tourism, investment opportunities and financial and services industries.

Mr Graham says: "The time has come to put SA back

on the map just as our cricketers have put us back on the sporting map.

"There were always clouds hanging over SA's future before the referendum, which made South Africans hesitant to promote themselves overseas. During the period of our isolation our competitor countries have made tremendous progress in developing their exports."

The referendum had done much to change the perceptions of SA abroad, and the world was now ready to look at SA as a supplier. But after so many years in the cold, a highly visible promotion campaign was required to market

SA as a reputable producer.

One company that will be proudly flying the SA flag after this week's "yes" vote is Macadams Manufacturing when it exhibits at the Iba '92 international bakery trade fair in Berlin in May.

Managing director Raimund Pouliart says that in the past Macadams had hidden its SA identity when it exhibited, and its last participation at this fair, held every four years, was threatened with a boycott.

The company had planned to cancel its participation if there had been a "no" vote. Instead it will now be serving SA wines and beers, and feature pictures of the Cape and a large protea display at its stand this year.



# Hard rain's gonna fall on Conservative Party

Special Correspondent

CIPRESS 22/3/92

THE CP will probably split soon following the drubbing they received in the referendum this week.

Hard words were spoken in the party's parliamentary caucus on Thursday after some members pleaded that the party seriously consider joining the negotiation process.

(3044)

This could be the spark that split the party because it has so far strongly opposed Codesa. The militant section under the leadership of Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg opposes participation.

CIPRESS 22/3/92

The names of at least six MPs are mentioned as pro-Codesa, including that of controversial MP Koos van der Merwe, who has caused a stir with his pre-referendum statements about turmoil in the party.

A group of fence-sitters include CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, whose leadership is at stake, and the two Mulder brothers, Corne and Pieter, sons of Info scandal minister Connie Mulder.

It was expected the Hartzenberg and Van der Merwe factions would lobby the middle group this weekend for the final day of reckoning - expected to be this week.



## CP to consider its options

S (Times 22/3/72)

THE Conservative Party, recovering from its drubbing in the referendum, holds a crucial head committee meeting on Saturday to decide whether to take part in Codesa. (3044)

Three options have emerged after a lengthy caucus meeting this week:

Enter negotiations at Codesa and risk a breakaway by ultra-rightists; maintain the status quo and risk being politically sidelined; pull out of parliamentary politics and go "underground".

Neither Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, nor any of his colleagues was prepared to discuss the future path of the party in the wake of the referendum.

Extremist AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche said, however, that if President De Klerk handed over power to the ANC his organisation would take it back by force.



# LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

S/Time's 22/3/92

304A

We the undersigned express our support for a negotiated resolution to our country's problems. However, we wish to register our disappointment at the lack of adequate participation of women at CODESA.

One of the basic principles to which participants have committed themselves in the DECLARATION OF INTENT is the rejection of gender discrimination and a commitment to establish a non-sexist SA.

Notwithstanding that the parties signed the DECLARATION, it is clear that they did not act in accordance with this commitment when they composed their delegations to the Working Groups.

The Management Committee was requested by CODESA 1 to address the issue of participation by women. The Management Committee should now inform the public of what they have done in this regard.

We therefore call on CODESA management to take action by introducing a gender advisory committee as part of CODESA. This committee could advise the working groups on the gender implications of their terms of reference and comment on their recommendations.

**BLACK SASH**

**ANC WOMENS LEAGUE**

**SUZANNE VOS, Inkatha Freedom Party**

**Dr S J SAUNDERS, Vice-Chancellor, UCT**

**Prof R W CHARLTON, Vice-Chancellor, WITS**

**Prof J V LEATT, Vice-Chancellor and Principal,  
University of Natal, Durban**

**Prof JAKES GERWEL, Rector, University of the  
Western Cape**

**Prof MIKE DE VRIES, University of Stellenbosch**

**Prof FLIP SMIT, Rector of University of Pretoria**

**Prof CAS VAN VUUREN, Rector of UNISA**

**SCHOOL OF LAW**

**HOWARD COLLEGE, University of Natal, Durban**

**CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS STUDIES,**

**University of Pretoria**

**THE CENTRE FOR APPLIED LEGAL STUDIES,  
WITS**

**THE COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE, University of  
the Western Cape**

**THE CENTRE FOR WOMENS STUDIES,  
UNISA**

**THE FEMINIST STUDY GROUP, University of  
Stellenbosch**

**CO-ORDINATED ACTION FOR BATTERED  
WOMEN**

**WOMENS LEGAL STATUS COMMITTEE**

**WOMENS LOBBY**

**PEOPLE OPPOSING WOMENS ABUSE**

**LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**



**T**HE referendum has come and gone. It is now back to business, that of trying to transform the old apartheid SA into a democratic one.

Although the euphoria of the 'yes' vote still lingers in the hearts and minds of those who supported the NP and the DP, the CP is still licking the wounds of defeat.

For us non-voters it was once again a question of shrugging one's shoulders and saying: "Well, they have enjoyed their showpiece but our time will come."

I have often been told that a vote means nothing. Some of my white friends tell me they have never voted in their lives. Whether this is true I will never know.

However, my contention has always been: 'At least they've a choice'. I don't.

It was interesting to hear the views of ordinary black people about the referendum outcome.

One can only hope that politicians have taken

note of this. For instance, an unscientific survey shows that the black middle class was excited about the referendum outcome. To them this means more economic opportunities and stability in the country.

The so-called blue collar worker also welcomed the result because he is tired of being bossed around and downgraded at his workplace by racist white supervisors.

Then of course there are the unemployed — some of them have no hope whatsoever under the present climate of getting a job — who believe something drastic has to happen to change their lives. This simply means a rev-

olution.

An interesting scenario comes from research conducted by Unisa's department of communications, who monitored and investigated "qualitatively the verbal propaganda strategies, techniques and tactics" of both the NP and CP during the referendum buildup.

The research shows the CP and NP went about this whole issue as if they had the sole right to current and future political reality in SA.

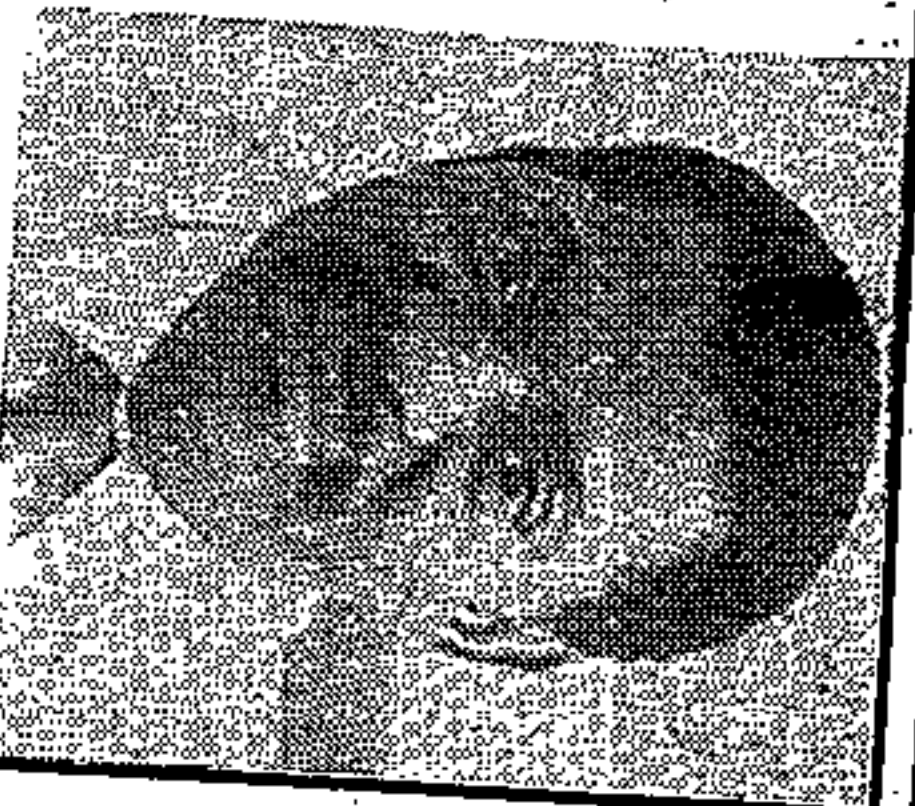
"In the process both camps had resorted to classic propaganda with the overall idea of emphasising the so-called lies told by both sides," it said. Those who said 'no'

were branded racists, while advocates of 'yes' were labelled friends of the communists.

The 'no' camp were seen as leading SA to total chaos, while the 'yes' camp were accused of asking the white electorate to give it a blank cheque for reform.

The 'no' camp tried to portray so-called black moderates as being part of them by citing the idea of a federal system. The 'yes' vote on the other hand used overseas leaders to back up their call for political change through negotiation at Codesa.

The 'no' camp said a negative vote would give white South Africans a real chance of negotiating



freedom for themselves, while the 'yes' camp claimed a positive vote would bring peace, prosperity and security for all.

We can only hope that the ANC and other black political groups have taken a lesson on how to campaign and utilise the media to the fullest when their turn comes.

Meanwhile expectations within the black community are running high for a just society. It is now important for De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and other leaders within Codesa to speed up reform.

"Apartheid is now financially dead and buried, after this victory the impulse to turn the clock back, to revive apartheid, has been lost," De Klerk said this week.

"The process of normalising the political situation in SA is not yet irreversible," retorted Nelson Mandela.

These leaders must now realise that the future of all of us rests on their broad shoulders. One wrong move by either of them — and we are all sunk into the depths of misery.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

CPress 22/3/92

**Our time will come**

3049





# Tribute to the liberals who stayed the course

304A  
S/Times  
22/3/92

**L**IKE Lot's wife, I cannot resist the temptation to look back, in the moment of deliverance, at the Sodom and Gomorrah of apartheid. The defeats of the past are more familiar, more comfortable perhaps, than the triumph of the referendum.

Wherever liberals gathered this week, it seemed, a new phrase cropped up, a tentative whisper: "I'm so proud to be South African."

To be South African is, of course, to have been fashioned by apartheid. To be a white South African is to have been shaped by bitterness, by humiliation, by guilt, by dogged defiance, and yes, by a suppressed, angry pride. To be a liberal South African is to have been shaped by defeat.

"The South Africans are tough," remarked an English cricketer, "they never give up."

If that is true, we have apartheid to thank for it. Ever since 1948, when as a bewildered schoolboy I watched my teachers cavort drunkenly through the corridors in celebration of the Nationalist triumph, life in South Africa has been a matter of dogged, hopeless resistance.

Alan Paton gave us a text to live by: "It is not necessary to succeed in order to undertake, and it is not necessary to hope in order to persevere." He attributed it to William the Silent, my librarian attributes it to Charles the Bold. The origin does not matter: it is a harsh prescription.

The early 60s were the worst, under Hendrik Verwoerd, the mad scientist obsessively classifying and labelling, and under John Vorster, the man of granite, systematically betraying the heritage of human rights in the Roman Dutch law which he was sworn to uphold. The day he destroyed *habeas corpus*, as we called it then, not quite accurately, was the day I seriously contemplated emigration.

That harsh period drove most left-wing leaders to flight, leaving it to Helen Suzman and the Progressives, and to the Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash, the academic liberals and the English newspapers, to keep alive the liberal ideals of justice, equality, and humanity. It was a lonely,

bitter, thankless business.

But what does not destroy, strengthens. Verwoerd was assassinated, and Vorster learned to compromise, forcing the fanatic Jaap Marais into rebellion. The engine of change turned out to be, as Michael O'Dowd had predicted, not underground revolutionary activity but the expanding economy that empowered new classes of people. Capitalism, the destroyer of all feudal systems, began to crack the granite, and chinks of light appeared.

From the time the black trade unions stepped on to the stage in Natal in the early 70s, liberation was assured. It was only a matter of time. The Nationalists, in the words of the German political scientist Heribert Adam, had to modernise racial domination, and the efforts to modernise opened the way for further change.

On the Left, of course, gradual change was perceived as a threat. It undermined the revolutionary fervour, the commitment to violent overthrow of the state on which a socialist Utopia was to be built. The 70s became the decade of ferocious intellectual attack on the liberals from their Left.

Both Wits and Cape Town were quickly captured and became strongholds of Marxist thought, producing an endless flow of propaganda, of twisted history, and of brainwashed students. Soon Nadine Gordimer was claiming exultantly that liberalism on the campuses was as dead as a dodo.

**S**IMULTANEOUS assaults were mounted on the Institute of Race Relations, on liberals within the Black Sash, on liberal newspapers, and of course on Parliament where Helen Suzman had held aloft the idea of liberty. The courts and the judges, and the law itself, came under attack, and it became impossible for a liberal to utter liberal ideas on the major campuses.

The anti-apartheid movement, intolerant of dissent, totalitarian in outlook, and violent in method, became a mirror image of the apartheid state. Dissidents were tortured and died in the police cells, and in the ANC camps; foes were assassinated by both sides; the instru-

ments of terrorism were used to control populations, for and against. The propaganda of apartheid was matched, lie for lie, by the propaganda of liberation.

Still the liberal banner was held aloft by Helen Suzman and, until his death, by Alan Paton; by John Kane-Berman of the Institute of Race Relations, and by Charles Simkins, professor of economics at Wits; by Jill Wentzel in the Black Sash, and by the new chancellor of Wits, Professor Charlton; by inchoate newspapers, and by the Democratic Party; by liberal lawyers and judges

.... When apartheid finally collapsed, bankrupt and discredited, and when the National Party began to search for a new direction, the path had been sign-posted. President De Klerk simply appropriated the entire liberal agenda. The liberals had lost every battle, and won the war.

**T**HE only remaining question was whether these values, which are central to Western civilisation and which stand in such stark contrast to the collectivist thinking that has come to us from Eastern Europe, from *Mittel-Europa*, had died in the minds and hearts of the white electorate.

That question was decisively answered on Tuesday when the voters flocked to the polls, Afrikaans and English, young and old, the hale and the sick, blue-rinse survivors of the United Party and dreadful squads of students, minds and feet toyi-toying in lockstep. They came in hundreds of thousands to do what the cynics of the Left had said they would never do: vote themselves out of privilege and power. It was the final triumph of the idea of liberal reform.

The old, hard-core liberals, uncertainly murmuring "I'm so proud to be South African," were entitled to their moment of joy.

They had fought a good fight. They finished their course. They kept the faith.

**KEN OWEN**



**Early morning, Wednesday, March 18** Ballot boxes from around the country have been brought to the 15 counting stations in the referendum regions. Tallying and checking of the ballots begin.

In an austere auditorium in the HF Verwoerd Building in Cape Town, directly opposite Parliament building, a group of 200 newsmen, diplomats and government officials have gathered.

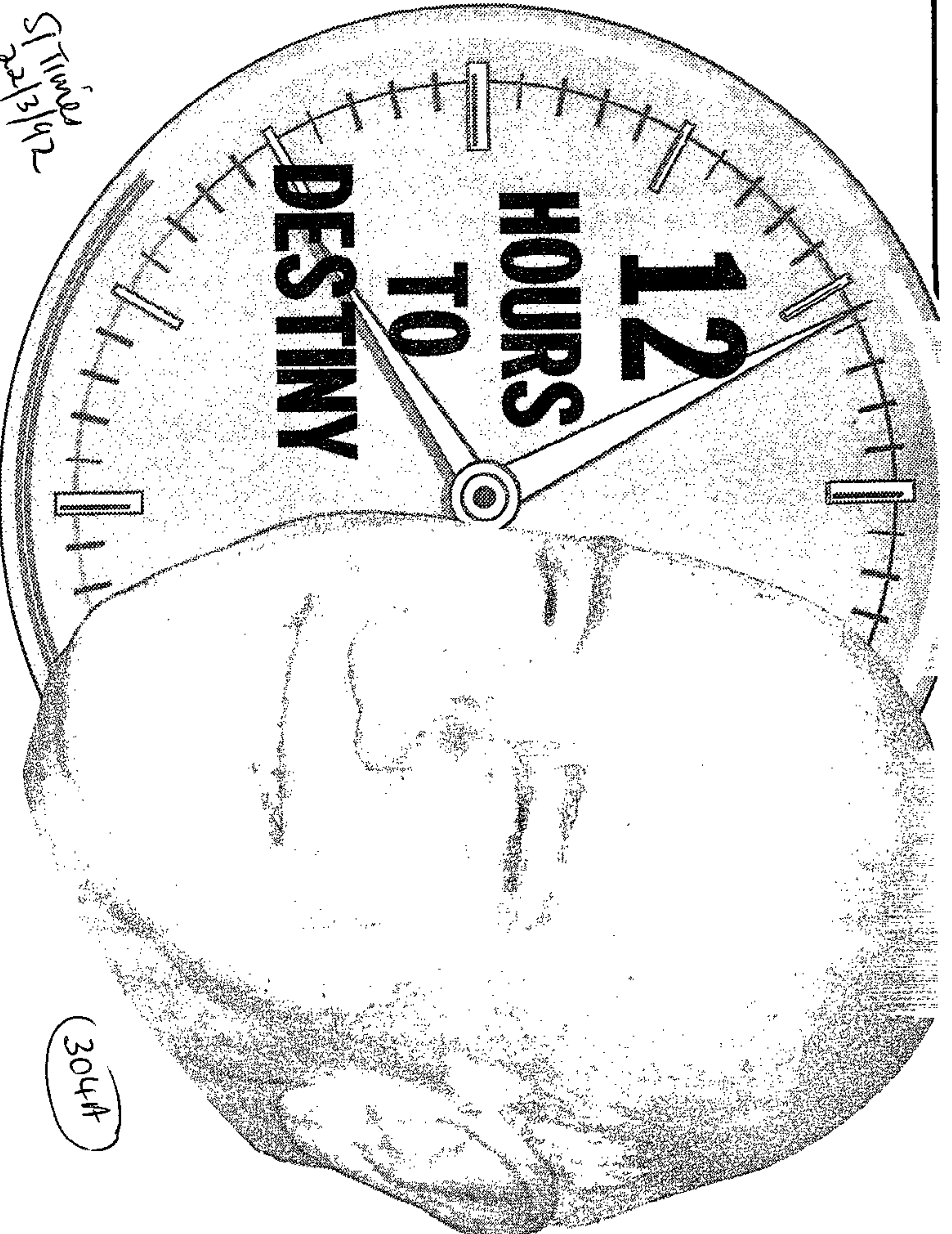
**10.17am Silver-haired Piet Colyn, chief referendum officer, slides into the chair behind a table loaded with microphones. The Port Elizabeth result is through. The "yes" vote majority is 74 percent, the turnout an astonishing 85 percent. The victory is at least 10 percent higher than even the most optimistic National Party prediction. Something quite extraordinary is afoot.**

**10.30** Share prices open steady on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The industrial index and the overall index are both up 11 points. The gold index also edges slightly up. Optimism has reached the JSE early.

**10.35** The financial rand is trading at R3.82.

**10.45** There is no cabinet meeting on Wednesday. Everybody's mind is on the referendum. All the ministers have received reports from their constituencies of high voter turnouts. Still, many expect a lower than 60 percent "yes" vote. Health Minister Rina Venter insists it will be higher. She tells President F.W. de Klerk so.

**11.04** The Maritzburg result is quickly in. The yes's have it by 75 percent. The poll is 81 percent. A crucial question is answered early in the day — the English-speakers, putting aside their apathy and antipa-



**FOR** a few hours this week South Africa held its breath. Had the country's white minority finally crossed its last political Rubicon? It had, overwhelmingly. As the scale of President F.W. de Klerk's referendum victory became known, the response of foreign governments and many ordinary South Africans was the same: relief, incredulity, joy. BRIAN POTTINGER and MARLENE BURGER compiled this chronology of events during the 12 hours that shook SA and astonished the world

**"yes". The "no" vote drew 875 000. Mr Colyn has made his last announcement.**

**4.35** The United States promises it will continue promoting investment and trade to help economic growth. The Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and United Nations send messages of support and congratulations.

**5.45** It is nearly the end of a long day. Mr De Klerk, showing some weariness, lingers a moment before entering the auditorium at the HF Verwoerd Building for his press conference.

He confides to a journalist that he had always expected to win but it was only when he started receiving reports on referendum day about the astonishing turnouts that he knew he was going to win well.

"At least now I do not have to keep looking over my right shoulder," he says.

**5.47** The press conference is brief. Mr De Klerk emphasises there are tough negotiations ahead, extends an olive branch to the Conservatives and thanks all who have supported him. Sixteen hundred kilometres away at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, everybody gathers around TV sets to watch Mr De Klerk.

Mr Yusuf Saloojee, international affairs administrative secretary, takes a call from his brother. "Aren't you happy?" asks his brother. "This means you won't have to go back into exile." Mr Saloojee has just returned from two decades abroad.

**6.35** The conference over, Mr De Klerk hosts a small reception at Tuynhuys for colleagues, senior officials and a few friends.

A dozen friends join him and wife Marike later that night for an intimate birthday party.

Across South Africa, thousands of other people are also celebrating at spontaneous "referendum parties".

**6.50** German chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Fran-



to support a 'resilient' Klerk's brand of reform.

11.05 The Firrand is trading at R3,68

11.05 Batches of results arrive within minutes of each other. Kroonstad has a narrow "yes" vote. The National Party had expected to lose it hands down. The sparse Beaufort West region returns a credible 61 percent "yes". Kimberley and Bloemfontein are both "yes". So is George.

11.15 Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, has sequestered himself in his Pretoria office.

"Doctor is catching up on his paperwork," his secretary explains to visitors.

In the CP headquarters boardroom, party workers watch the television coverage of the referendum. A large bowl of white flowers arrives for Dr Treurnicht.

12.10pm The ANC and Cosatu have called for a protest march against the Budget. In Cape Town the demonstrators march from the Grand Parade past Parliament. A thin line of policemen holds them back. A group of toyiboyers arrive outside the HF Verwoerd Building. They chant, whistle, sing and clamour on to police vehicles.

12.20 The Johannesburg Stock Exchange gathers confidence. The overall index gains 53 points.

12.33 Pietersburg result: the "no" vote wins by 56 percent, as expected. Germiston's returns arrive — a 65 percent "yes". The computer projections, say jubilant party officials, now predict a De Klerk victory in the high 60s.

12.58 The Pan Africanist Congress is the first political party to comment. The "yes" vote is a hopeful sign for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems, says spokesman Barney Desai.

1.00 Lunchtime, and the Cape Town result arrives. The "yes" vote wins by 84 percent.

1.01 The Conservative Party is outraged. MP Fanie Jacobs in Roodepoort is demanding a recount. Other CP spokesmen claim hundreds of "no" voters were turned away from the polls.

1.07 The first international reaction is received.

In London, Mr Douglas Hurd interrupts a TV interview to remark on "good news" from South Africa and says Mr De Klerk's courage has paid off.

1.10 East London result: 78 percent "yes".

1.12 From lunchtime onwards, estate agents note an increasing tempo of inquiries from both buyers and sellers. The market has been almost dormant for three weeks with tens of millions of rands of investment pending the outcome of the referendum.

1.15 The PAC now observes that the referendum is an "obscenity and an insult to the dispossessed masses of our country".

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2.11 A bitter Dr Treurnicht concedes defeat. He blames the media, "intimidation" of workers by their bosses and foreign intervention for the defeat.

Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the AWB, cannot be found.

Only bitterender Fanie Jacobs in the Roodepoort referendum region continues the battle. He demands another count.

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2.55 The South African Communist Party says the referendum result shows an overwhelming majority of South Africans are in favour of negotiations for a democratic South Africa.

3.06 The right-wingers start squabbling. Arch-conservative Robert van Tonder rounds on the Conservative Party for not having boycotted the referendum in the first place.

3.13 The fountain in front of Tuynhuys in Cape Town is awash with people. Government officials, politicians and newsmen gather on the steps. The police open the side gate leading on to Parliament Avenue and invite passers-by into the grounds. Bermuda-clad Swedish tourists with cameras mingle with dark-suited functionaries in the mid-afternoon heat.

Mr De Klerk emerges from the doors of Tuynhuys. He appears momentarily nonplussed by a burst of singing from a section of the crowd: "Happy Birthday, Dear FW."

He says: "Today we have closed the book on apartheid." As he turns to leave, Mr Jannie Roux, his director-general, pushes through the crowd and shoves a piece of paper in his hand.

Durban has voted 84 percent "yes". Mr De Klerk's hand shakes slightly as he reads the results. When he speaks, just for a moment

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3.17 SA motorsport chief Dave McGregor says his day has "improved immeasurably" after hearing the news that the "yes" vote has triumphed. "It is fantastic," he says.

3.18 Japan, Denmark, Holland and Sweden all offer congratulations. The Scandinavian countries promise either an immediate lifting of sanctions or discussions leading to their scrapping.

US President George Bush calls Mr De Klerk with a private message of support, as do Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

3.18 Mr Mervyn Smith, national chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, congratulates President De Klerk on his landslide victory.

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3.36 ANC president Nelson Mandela welcomes the overwhelming "yes" victory.

He urges whites not to fear a majority government, and calls on them to support the negotiation process towards full democracy.

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4.00 South African Chamber of Business president Hennie Viljoen says the outcome would have a positive influence on the medium and long term performance of the South African economy.

The financial rand closes at R3,68 against the dollar.

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# Blacks pray Pietersburg doesn't drown its sorrow in blood

## TOWN WITH NO

CIPRESS 22/3/92

3044

ASB

### CP Correspondent

BLACK reaction to the 'no' vote win in the Pietersburg region varied from a dismissive "So what?" to concern and apprehension that rightwingers may go on the offensive against blacks.

But liberals in the town, including journalists, said the town was bearing the brunt of a 'no' vote which included areas such as Nylostroom, Naboomspruit and Potgietersrus - known citadels of the far right.

Liberals and the local chamber of commerce in Pietersburg insist that the town itself, where the National Party currently holds a slim majority, voted 'yes', but was overwhelmed by the other areas.

### Bark in the bush

Working-class black apathy to the referendum was clear on voting day when two gardeners who were cleaning a municipality parking lot remarked that "now that we have cleaned the yard and the hall, they can go in and decide our fate".

The two men said they did not

see how the result would directly affect their lives.

"Whoever wins, I will still be here working for very little money," one of them said.

After the results were announced and the area was shown to be the only region in the country to have shunned De Klerk's reform initiative, many blacks shrugged off the results and said the rightwing did not have the capacity to stop the reform tide. "They can continue to bark in the bush and farms where they stay, but the process of changing

this country will go on. Codesa must move ahead and bring in a more representative government and deal with the fascists more sternly," said a chemist-scooter driver who asked not to be named.

Others, such as Lawrence Morosui of Mashite in Ga-Mphahlele, said he was not surprised by the results. "This is a genuine reflection of the attitude of whites in this region. I do not believe the story that whites in Pietersburg voted 'yes' in the majority because the day-to-day interaction of blacks with whites in the town itself is in line

with the outcome," he said.

Morosui said the likelihood of rightwing attacks was greater now, but said this was not only attributable to the referendum but also to the growing momentum of attacks by far rightists all over the country.

### Wounded tigers

"Now they are going to come full force like wounded tigers. Blacks have to brace themselves for this," he said.

Journalist Russel Molefe, who stays in the far rightwing strong-

old of Louis Trichardt, said he had known the result in the region could only be 'no'.

"They were honest and it means blacks in the region have to realise the resistance among these people against even the dismissable reforms of the National Party. This calls for more unity among blacks to protect themselves against the coming backlash of the far right," Molefe said.

So far no incident has been reported resulting from the obvious anger of the right in losing the referendum.

# SHAME



**ANC warned: Disband MK or there will be no Codesa 2**

# NOV FOR THE SHOWDOWN

S / Times 22/13/92

304A

By MIKE ROBERTSON,  
EDYTH BULBRING and  
CHARLENE SMITH

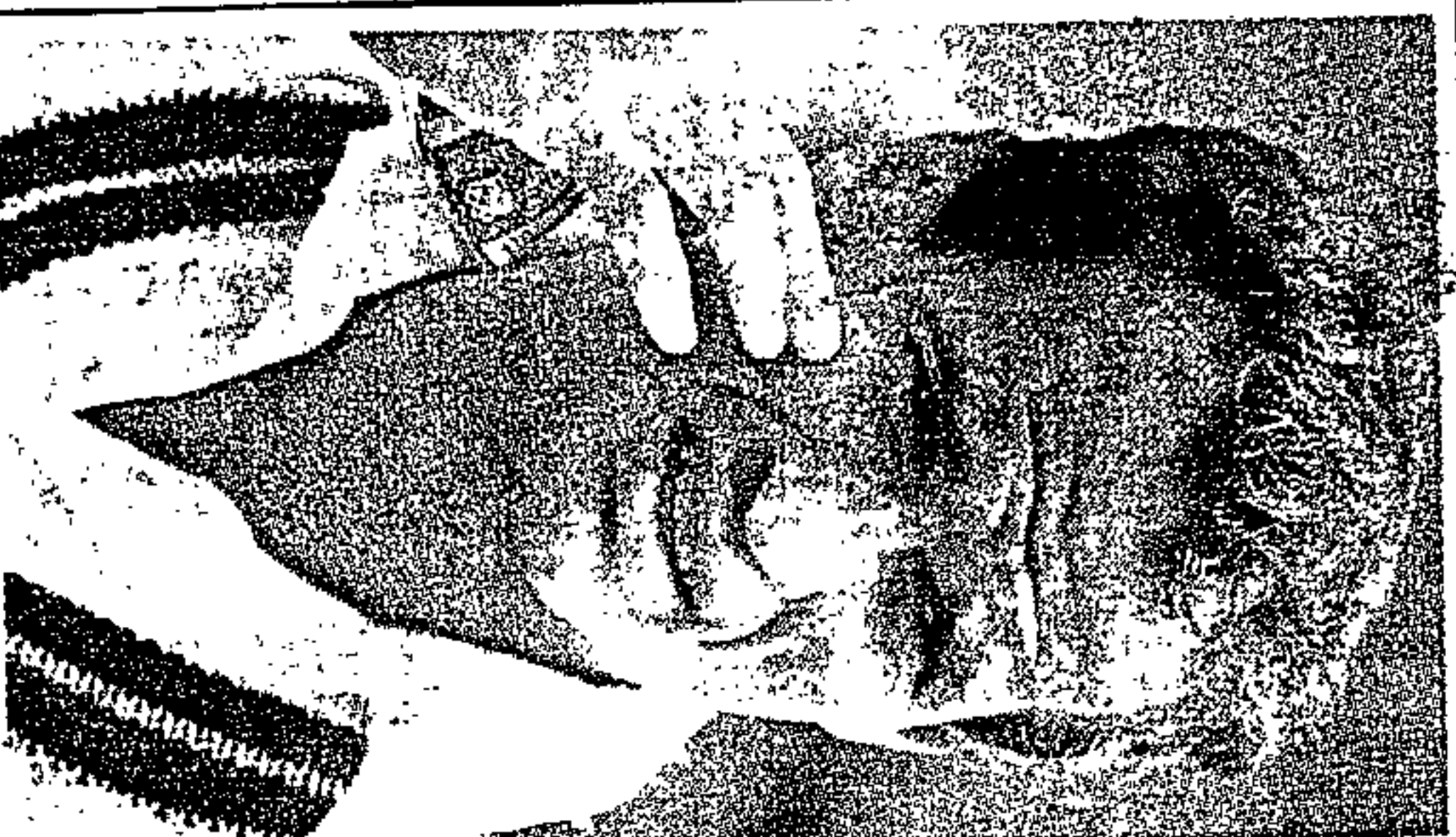
**THE government and the ANC are locked in a test of strength — only days after President FW De Klerk's resounding referendum win.**

Cabinet ministers said this weekend there would be no Codesa 2 unless the ANC finally abandoned the armed struggle and dismantled its military wing.

But Chris Han, SA Communist Party leader and head of MK, yesterday told a Sharpeville Day gathering that the ANC's private army would not be disbanded. He said a new army would be created for South Africa — and it would not be the SA Defence Force.

## Strike

Meanwhile, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that his organisation would destroy South Africa's economy.



KEPLER WESSELS... top of the pops

## Why Imran doesn't want to face SA in final

By COLIN BRYDEN  
Sydney

PAKISTAN captain Imran Khan will be rooting for England in today's World Cup final at

duce another outstanding performance. "The youngsters have grabbed these opportunities."



is".

## Strike

Meanwhile, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that his organisation would destroy South Africa's economy — unless the government reversed its decision to impose VAT on eight basic foodstuffs in 10 days' time.

And Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, also at Sharpeville yesterday, threatened that unless an interim government was established by July there would be a general strike, the likes of which had never been experienced in South Africa.

The sudden sabre-rattling spells the end of the tacit truce called by the parties during the referendum campaign and marks the beginning of tough negotiations for a political settlement.

Outlining first details of the "Super Cabinet" they envisage will be ruling South Africa within months, top government negotiators Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer this week bluntly warned that any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle.

They also said there would be no Codesa 2 — the plenary session scheduled for the end of April — unless the dispute over participation by the Zulu king was resolved.

Anticipating tough negotiations in forthcoming weeks, Dr Viljoen said: "We will enter a new phase of debate where what has been avoided will become the central focus."



THREAT: Mandela

He said the government would require a comprehensive agreement on all aspects of the DF Malan Accord, which dealt with the suspension of the armed struggle, a transitional executive and the role to be played by security forces in the transitional period.

Mr Meyer said there would have to be agreement on the scrapping of private armies before South Africa could enter the transitional period.

At the heart of Codesa's work in the weeks immediately ahead is the creation of an appointed "Super Cabinet" which will run the country, and in particular the security forces, until an elected interim government is in place.

Both government and ANC negotiators are confident that agreement will be reached before the end of April, in time for Codesa 2, and that the interim executive will be in place before the end of July.

The government wants the ANC to share power and have full responsibility for decisions taken by the interim executive. The ANC wants an interim executive, comprising all the Codesa political parties, which will oversee four multi-party committees — budget, local government, security and foreign affairs — and two non-partisan commissions, the media and the electoral process.

Dr Viljoen this week proposed a formula whereby other Codesa members could be drawn into cabinet-level responsibility while still having the right to opt out if they wish — rather like the position of Amichand Rajbansi and Alan Hendrickse in the tripartite government of President PW Botha.

One of the options the government will propose

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## Showdown looms

From Page 1

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to Codesa is the appointment of multi-party committees to advise the "Super Cabinet" on issues such as the security forces. The committees would be "consultative", but it would be difficult for the cabinet minister concerned to ignore their demands.

Some senior NP members appear to favour limiting participation in an interim executive comprising 20 to 24 members to five major parties, while others believed the "Super Cabinet" should be as widely representative as possible. *STimes 22/3/92*

Dr Viljoen added that the government would not accept the ANC's idea of creating a structure that would be above the present cabinet and Parliament.

Despite Mr Hani's public rhetoric, however, government negotiators believe there are signs of compromise.

Mr Meyer said he believed there was general acceptance on the side of the ANC that the setting up of an appointed interim executive needed to be linked to abandoning the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

ANC negotiators, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that the existence of MK and the demand that it renounce the armed struggle constituted a major obstacle.

This matter would be dealt with in setting up mechanisms to control all security forces and private armies that would form part of the agreement on the interim executive.

The row between the government and the ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance over joint decision-making in the economy has, meanwhile, resurrected itself in the wake of the referendum.

Mr Mandela — on three occasions in Cape Town on Friday — attacked the reimposition of VAT on eight basic foodstuffs exempted last year to assist the poor — and threatened to destroy the economy with mass action to stop the extended tax being imposed on March 31.

Finance Minister Brand du Plessis declined to comment. National Party chief finance spokesman Dr Francois Jacobsz said Mr Mandela's comments were highly irresponsible and lacked insight.

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To Page 2



# EVERYTHING KEEPS GOING ... WRONG for RIGHT

By Prof LOUWRENS PRETORIUS,  
Dept of Sociology, Unisa

304A

**T**UESDAY'S referendum results finally proved that the Conservative Party – and the broader rightwing movement – has reached the ceiling of its support.

Analysis of the referendum results, the 1989 general election results and the socio-economic profile of the white population suggests some interesting conclusions.

Firstly: The CP's share of the total vote has remained roughly unchanged since 1989. In the 1989 general election, the combined rightwing vote was some 32 percent of the total. This week the 'no' vote was just over 31 percent.

Secondly: The CP cannot win in areas where the percentage of Afrikaner voters is less than about 64 percent of the adult white population.

But even when an area contains many more Afrikaners, the CP seems incapable of reaching beyond its 1989 results.

In both the Bloemfontein and Kroonstad areas, the percentage of white Afrikaners is between 80 and 85 percent.

Yet, in the Kroonstad referendum area the 'no' vote was a minority 49 percent on Tuesday. In 1989 the combined rightwing vote was also 49 percent in the comparable group of constituencies.

The Bloemfontein area's 'no' vote was only 41 percent. In 1989 the comparable vote was 42 percent.

Thirdly: In terms of jobs, languages and voting results, Boksburg is the most typical constituency in the country. In the same terms Germiston was the most typical referendum area.

In these areas – and in SA as a whole – the proportion of Afrikaners amounts to some 52 percent and the proportion of "workers" is around 33 percent.

My analyses suggest that the best prediction of the combined rightwing vote in such areas would be roughly 29 percent.

In 1989 the Boksburg CP vote was 36 percent and on Tuesday the Germiston 'no' vote was 35 percent, while the total 'no' vote in the country was 31 percent.

In other words, the CP is a captive of the demographic realities of white society. The socio-economic make-up of the white population severely restricts the party's growth potential.

The CP is also hamstrung by a disastrous policy, a severe lack of campaign money, by serious internal divisions, by overwhelming media opposition, lacklustre and vacillating leadership, and by its links with the AWB.

Many analyses – and the various party strategists – tend to believe that the political attitudes of whites have



been irretrievably distorted by decades of conditioning in apartheid ideas and practices.

Hence it was widely expected – and predicted – that the rightwing 'no' campaigners would get massive support for their cause.

The outcome of Tuesday's referendum must suggest that these expectations and predictions grossly underestimated the political and economic rationality of voters.

I do not have sufficient information to prove the following generalisations about voters' reasons for voting 'yes'. But they must be considered seriously in attempts to explain both Tuesday's massive overall voting percentage and State President FW de Klerk's comfortable victory.

Firstly: Many whites – including people who in the past supported the CP and are likely to continue doing so – believe that "it is impossible to go

back to apartheid".

Secondly: Many voters still believe that some kind of geographical apartheid is both possible and desirable. But they also believe this should be achieved through negotiation.

Thirdly: Many whites are sick of being the polecats of the world, of having to hide their nationality when travelling abroad, of being isolated from the world and of not being able to trade their skills and products freely in the global market.

The "good feeling" which surrounds the presence and success of SA's cricketers in the World Cup competition is symbolic of a widespread and deeply felt joy at "being part of the world" again.

Fourthly: Many whites are aware of the dire political, economic, diplomatic and other repercussions of an attempted return to apartheid.

Commentators have suggested

that such awareness and the associated 'yes' votes were the result of "government and business propaganda and fear-mongering". The important consideration is of course that voters perceived the propaganda as having a strong basis in fact.

Fifthly: Whites have come to realise that there is no space in this country which they can rule or occupy alone. This does not necessarily mean that racism is declining or that liberalism is increasing.

Whites are however increasingly willing to reach a political, social and economic settlement with black people. They also realise that such a settlement can no longer be based on geographical separation which is coupled to political independence.

Sixthly: A majority of whites nevertheless still support a political dispensation which recognises and entrenches "group rights" in some way.

Both the rejection of partition and the support for "group rights" was exploited by De Klerk's emphasis on "bottom lines" in negotiations.

Lastly: A majority of whites – like most of their compatriots – are tired of unrest and violence. They want to talk peace.

There is, in short, very little socio-economic and ideological space left for a CP leadership who clings to its present policy and electoral strategy.

The CP cannot continue successfully in parliamentary politics without joining Codesa.

Because Dr AP Treurnicht led the party to this fate, his career must be close to its end. The pro-negotiation faction in the CP will have to take over, or find its own way to Codesa.

The hardliners can remain an ineffectual parliamentary minority. Or they can join the extra-parliamentary right.



# Apartheid's cruel legacy here for years

By Alan Robinson  
Star Bureau

SR/L  
23/3/92

LONDON — The "cruel inheritance" of apartheid will be with South Africa for years to come, says Glens Kinnock, activist wife of Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

Writing in the Observer yesterday, she says the effects are still felt especially in the fields of education and health. And it is in the rural areas that the structures of white domination still remain firmly established.

Mrs Kinnock visited South Africa earlier this year as chairwoman of the One World

Action charity movement and travelled extensively in the townships, particularly in the eastern Cape.

She reacts with horror and strong disapproval to many of the sights she saw and statistics she was given.

She says 7 million people in South Africa are without adequate shelter. "Homelessness is endemic, preventing stable relationships for many families and providing harsh evidence of chronic social inequality."

Mrs Kinnock writes: "Decades of institutionalised racism and exploitation have brought regression. African babies are

20 times more likely to die before their first birthday than white children and life expectancy for blacks is 20 years less than for whites."

She points out that in Duncan Village, East London, 200 people share one toilet "and we stood in the stench of human waste from rivulets of sewage running through the shanty huts."

On education, Mrs Kinnock — a schoolteacher herself — says some schools she visited had more than 100 children to a class. "Not one of the black schools I visited had a library or a

laboratory or a qualified maths teacher. Education is the pillar of apartheid and for generations in the past, and I fear to come, the inequalities that it guarantees have had, and will have, devastating effects."

She concludes: "It is not easy to assimilate the contradictions in modern South Africa. I saw the tragedies of people's devastated lives and the gigantic health, educational and economic problems facing the majority. These would be enough to daunt the most courageous spirits."

● Labour softens strident stand on Pretoria — Page 11



# Bush, Kohl boost pledge for De Klerk

(304A)  
ARC 23/3/92

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President George Bush and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl praised President De Klerk today for his political leadership and his referendum triumph and said they would be taking action soon to give South Africa further support.

They made their remarks after a series of weekend talks on the situation in the former Soviet republics and on the deadlock in world trade negotiations. Mr Bush said the talks had included South Africa, and added:

"I think we both are very pleased at the changes that have taken place there. I didn't tell Chancellor Kohl this, but I did call Mr De Klerk the day after the election to salute him for his courageous leadership. And all I can think of is that we want to move forward bilaterally, the United States and South Africa, just as fast as we can.

"There are some technicalities remaining, but our relationships have improved dramatically, and they will improve more under his leadership. The job isn't finished, but he has made a courageous start. So we talked about it and I think we both agreed the progress was dramatic."

Chancellor Kohl said many people did not fully understand what a wise course Mr De Klerk had steered, and how much he risked.

"I think if we go back to only five years ago, then it becomes apparent what a substantial step forward this (the referendum) is. And he deserves every support we can give him. And we are in agreement that we want to give him his support, each in his own way.

"At our next summit meeting in Lisbon among member countries of the EC we will certainly discuss this subject very thoroughly. Let me say that a failure of Mr De Klerk at the ballot box would have been indeed a catastrophe."



# Let's get on with it, says FW as Codesa resumes

Political Staff

3644 ARC 23/3/92

WORK in the five Codesa working groups resume today with a renewed sense of urgency after whites voted overwhelmingly for negotiations in the reform referendum.

The meeting today at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport is the first in two weeks. Meetings, scheduled for last week, were postponed due to the referendum.

After the victory for the Yes camp in the referendum, the focus has shifted to Codesa with both President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela indicating the referendum results had given new impetus to the negotiation process.

Mr De Klerk said: "We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time."

Mr Mandela said the ANC hoped Mr De Klerk would be able to move with speed after the endorsement of negotiations by the majority of whites.

At the last meeting, all Codesa participants agreed on the need for transitional arrangements and that a "transitional executive structure" be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa.

The working group dealing with transitional arrangements is now expected to start discussions on details of such a structure.

Work in the Codesa working groups are expected to be vigorously resumed. The next plenary session, Codesa 2, has been postponed until the end of April because progress in the groups has been too slow to stick to the original agreement that the next plenary session was to be held before the end of March.

A sub-committee dealing with the possible participation by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini met for two days last week to hear evidence from traditional leaders. The committee will continue hearing evidence this week.



**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff**

MR NELSON Mandela, making a strong plea for black unity, has urged the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa.

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the African National Congress, asked churches to walk the last mile to liberation with the ANC and warned the government of a strong ANC reaction if it went ahead and lifted the VAT exemption on basic foods.

He was given a hero's welcome at Dal Josafat Stadium in Paarl yesterday and surprised his bodyguards by going on an impromptu walk around the cycle track.

He said he had come to Paarl to thank the people for the support they had given him when he was in Victor Verster Prison.

The ANC president also came out strongly in defence of Afrikaans, beginning and ending his address in the language.

He said there were people going around saying they would abolish Afrikaans once they came to power.

"You must remember that Afrikaans is spoken by more than 80 percent of blacks in this country. How can you ban a language? We have no intention of banning Afrikaans."

He said the ANC wanted to transform Afrikaans from the language of the oppressor, police and jails into the language of the people and democracy.

"Our main demand is one people, one nation."

He said the ANC wanted black liberation movements to speak with one voice.

"We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation."

He said the ANC would like to respect PAC heroes such as its founder Mr Robert Sobukwe and former president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

"The fact that the PAC spends most of its time attacking the ANC is not only keeping us apart but preventing us from honouring men who have sacrificed."

He said the government had set March 31 as the date when basic food exempted from VAT would be taxed.

"Let them know we regard that as a challenge and that there is going to be a lot of turmoil in this country if they go ahead. We are going to fight. If business does not come forward to induce government to change this decision there will be problems in this country."

When told that a bus-load of ANC supporters had been arrested on their way to the rally he interrupted his address to accuse the government of talking peace with the ANC on one hand and on the other waging war on the organisation.

"To arrest people coming to a meeting to listen to their leaders is a serious provocation. It is something we cannot tolerate. We want the National Party to remove all obstacles in the way of co-operation."

● Earlier, the interim Boland West ANC committee conferred the freedom of the Berg River Valley on Mr Mandela in honour of his contribution to fighting for democracy.

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**Mandela plea to PAC**  
'Our main demand is one people, one nation' cry at hero's welcome



304A  
STAR 23/3/92

# Labour softens strident stand on Pretoria

The Labour Party's relations with Pretoria are likely to depend on what sort of SA emerges, reports GARNER THOMSON.

**S**OUTH Africa is likely to slip further down the list of Labour's preoccupations if Neil Kinnock and his party win the next UK elections — presuming the South African peace process stays on course.

If President de Klerk has achieved anything, it is to convince the world that the book on apartheid has truly been closed.

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

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

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

Brief and underplayed as it was, Glenys Kinnock's recent visit to South Africa was something of an indicator that dramatic moves were afoot inside Labour ranks. Although she went as a representative of a children's charity and not in any political capacity, it is unthinkable that the wife of the man who could be Britain's next socialist prime minister would be permitted to visit a country which was still regarded as a political pariah.

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

Although the AAM supports Nelson Mandela's insistence



New era ... Glenys Kinnock's recent visit to South Africa is a keen indicator of the Labour Party's changing attitude to the Pretoria Government.

that sanctions should remain in place for the moment, the tone is less strident.

Southern Africa experts are also looking to Gerald Kaufman for hints as to what a Labour government would have in store for South Africa. Volatile and prone to exaggeration as Shadow Foreign Secretary, he is nevertheless regarded, off-stage, as an intelligent and considered politician — one who, should he inherit the role in government, is almost certain to bring a considerably more measured approach to the South African question.

This is not to say a Labour government would not remain acutely vigilant as to what is happening inside South Africa's borders. Ultimately, all speculation as to Labour's relations with Pretoria depends on what kind of SA will emerge.

Already, the right-wing foreign policy think-tank, the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), has suggested that Mr Kinnock is planning to form a special "kitchen cabinet" of unelected advisers and influential leftwingers ... allegedly to bypass moderates in the party.

The IFF says the unofficial cabinet could encompass anti-apartheid campaigners including the AAM and Nelson Mandela, trade unionists and even Glenys Kinnock, an outspoken campaigner for left-wing causes.

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

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

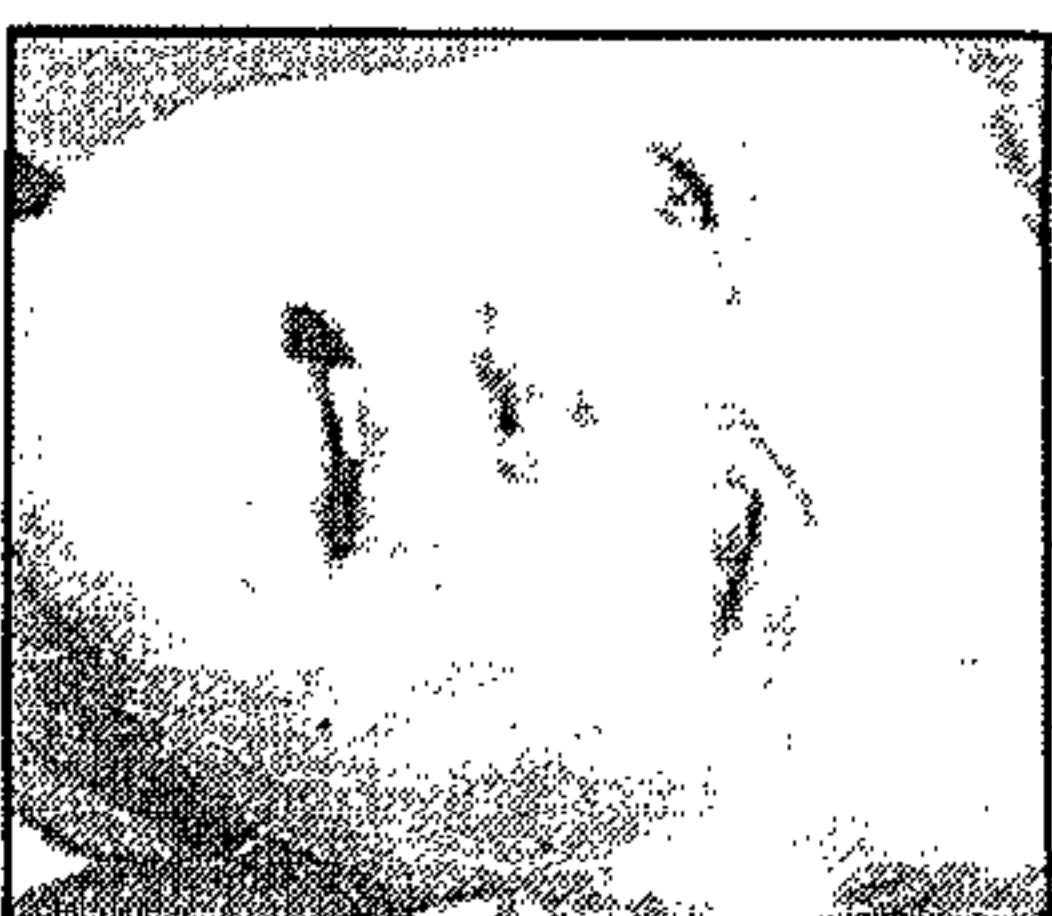
And, with the strong possibility that an interim government with black cabinet ministers could be in place by the end of the year, those perceptions will be dramatically more different from any held by any Labour government that has come before. □



# Time for US part On the back for SA

STAR 23/3/92

3044



Senator Edward Kennedy

**T**HERE were renewed calls from leading members of Congress last week for the US to launch a multibillion-dollar international aid programme for South Africa after the overwhelming "yes" vote in the referendum.

And one of the most influential members of the Senate, Senator Edward Kennedy, who has been a staunch supporter of sanctions, urged President Bush to double this year's US aid to South Africa, adding: "We must now move forward to ensure that additional aid is provided and that the US fully supports the extraordinary process of reform in South Africa."

Praise for President de Klerk and for the white electorate

The US Congress proposes rewarding South Africa with a massive pro-democracy aid package after the resounding "yes" vote in the recent referendum, reports HUGH ROBERTSON of The Star's Washington Bureau.

came from the chairman of the Africa subcommittee of the House of Representatives, Merwyn Dymally, who told a television interviewer that he now believed change in South Africa was irreversible and deserved active encouragement.

Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York, who introduced the first US sanctions against South Africa, urged the Bush administration to seize the opportunity created by the referendum result to "signal its

readiness to embark on a multinational South African Democracy Aid Initiative".

The initiative, first publicly mooted by Mr Solarz last year when he envisaged a multibillion-dollar aid programme that would finance an historic turning point in South Africa's development, was under active discussion on Capitol Hill earlier this year, but all negotiations with the administration were suspended pending the referendum result.

"The willingness of the Bush administration and other members of the international community to commit themselves now to such an initiative could provide an important incentive for South Africa's political leadership to continue moving forward towards the creation of a nonracial democracy," Mr Solarz said.

Last year Mr Solarz and 17 members of Congress, representing the leadership of both major parties, sent a letter to

Mr Bush asking him to launch the South African Democracy Aid Initiative. Since then the White House has asked the State Department to investigate the details.

Three unofficial committees were set up and these are now expected to resume work.

In his statement, Senator Kennedy said the referendum result was "a giant step towards full freedom for all South Africans" and would allow the

forces of democracy to move forward with renewed confidence.

"The US must stand ready to assist the people of South Africa in the establishment of their new nation. I have already urged a doubling of current US assistance to South Africa, especially in areas of health, education and housing. With the critical "yes" breakthrough we must now move forward to ensure that additional aid is provided and that the US fully supports the extraordinary process of reform in South Africa."

Senator Kennedy added: "All South Africans should know that America is proud of their achievement and that America continues to stand ready to do all we can to help." □



By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

# Govt proposals on interim body expected

The Government is expected today to make proposals for a multiparty interim body to give blacks advisory powers in central Government during the transition to a new constitution.

Government sources disclosed at the weekend that the plans would be submitted to Codesa's working group three today.

They indicated that the proposed mechanism was intended to function during the first phase of interim government —

until elections for a transitional legislature.

If, as sources suggest, the Government plans to only give blacks powers in the run-up to elections, it could run into stiff opposition from the ANC and other parties at Codesa.

The plan would not entail an extension of the present Cabinet, the sources said.

The idea of creating an interim government executive by extending the Cabinet was mooted by the Government a few weeks ago.

The plan submitted today will

be a response to an ANC plan for interim government published last month.

This proposed an interim government council appointed by Codesa to "supervise" the present Cabinet and trilateral Parliament during the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly. The interim council would also supervise specialist commissions overseeing vital areas of government.

But the council would not take full responsibility for government — because of ANC fears that it would then be

blamed for administering the remnants of apartheid while not wielding enough power to eradicate them.

The ANC plan clashed with the Government's insistence that any interim Government partners would have to share joint responsibility as well as joint control.

Government sources said last night that if the ANC refused to accept full responsibility for an interim government, then the only alternative was some form of advisory powers during the

transition for those outside Parliament.

This would form the basis of the Government's proposals at Codesa today. The Government sources stressed that today's proposals would have to be seen as only a first phase of transition. Earlier this month the Government agreed in principle with other Codesa parties that Codesa should appoint a "transitional executive structure".

It is not clear how today's proposals would tally with this idea. The proposals were finalised

this weekend at a meeting of President de Klerk and the heads of the Government and National Party delegations to Codesa's five working groups.

Although all Codesa delegates now expect Codesa to get into top gear after the referendum, several large problems loom.

Apart from possible disagreements over today's Government plan, one of the major obstacles to agreement on interim government — from the Government's point of view — is the ANC's military wing unbeknownst to we Sizwe.

Throughout the referendum campaign, Cabinet ministers insisted that they would not enter into any agreement on interim government, until the ANC finally renounced the armed struggle and fulfilled its various undertakings about controlling MK arms and activities.

Although this could cause problems, some Government and other Codesa sources believe the ANC will agree to joint control and monitoring of MK once some form of interim government has begun.

At the weekend Mr Mandela said the ANC would not disband its armed wing before the Government had phased out the South African Defence Force.



# Luck played its essential part

STAR 23/3/92 304A

**T**HE referendum result is close to being unique in the annals of politics. Here, the South African whites, who have become a by-word in the world for myopic bigotry, endorse a process that is most likely to reduce their political representatives in a year or two to a minority in an elected legislature. To make it even more exceptional whites have done this from a position of relative strength and in the absence of any sense of imminent defeat.

South African whites historically refused to take political risks and always demanded iron-clad guarantees. It was the great achievement of the "yes" campaign that it succeeded in persuading voters, as a 1989 Broederbond document put it, that politically there are simply no guarantees: the greatest risk we are taking today is not taking risks.

The referendum is not really about negotiations — the overwhelming majority of whites have for several years now supported it in preference to violence — but who should negotiate on behalf of whites and their allies.

The referendum campaign has been the ideal opportunity for President de Klerk to receive a personal endorsement from voters and for Dr Treurnicht to be decisively rejected. Although it was a high-risk strategy to call a referendum just after the shattering Potchefstroom defeat, Mr de Klerk was the winner from the start. Polls conducted by the NP in key constituencies during the first week of the campaign showed a 68-70 percent "yes" vote. The second and third week were devoted to frightening voters sufficiently to make certain that apathy would not prevail.

Nevertheless, the campaign was politically extremely important in bringing the negotiation process down to the grassroots in a most concrete way. The voters reacted more responsibly than any of the so-called experts dared to predict.

The result underlines the fact that by-elections are a most misleading gauge of white opinion. They are little more than an opportunity for the uncommitted to punish the Government for anything from crime to the climate. However, in this referendum the country's immediate future was at stake. It was a choice between negotiations and war with blacks. With the exception of the hard Right — which now clearly appears to have a ceiling of 30 percent — the electorate made the strategically sound decision.

The referendum campaign was also beneficial because it showed Mr de Klerk's best leadership characteristics. He recently told

## The Pattern of Politics

HERMANN GILIOMEE



interviewers he greatly admires Margaret Thatcher for demonstrating one particular dimension of leadership for which he has great respect: courage coupled with honesty. It is no underhand compliment to say that Mr de Klerk lived up to the Thatcherite yardstick of leadership.

In effect, the campaign greatly clarified the negotiation process. Mr de Klerk spelt it out that he asked for a mandate to get the NP's constitutional proposals approved at Codesa. While some minor alterations — for instance, with respect to the composition of the second House — could be condoned, Mr de Klerk would be honour bound to return to the white voters for a mandate if he could not get a power-sharing constitution accepted. The ANC would now have to decide whether it wanted to pursue negotiations with its adversary's bottom line so unambivalently spelt out.

Finally, the referendum campaign vividly demonstrated something that one long suspected. Napoleon used to ask of a man: Has he luck? Ability and integrity — which Mr de Klerk definitely has — are important, but without luck they are useless. Mr de Klerk was lucky to be elected leader of the NP with such a bland political profile. He was lucky to become State President just when Communism and the Soviet Union collapsed. This enabled him to get off the total onslaught hook and start negotiations with the ANC.

But Mr de Klerk's greatest stroke of luck yet was that the Conservative Party decided to take part in this referendum. I believe the analysts are correct who argue that without CP participation (and the concomitant DP apathy) the poll could have been as low as 30 percent. That would have landed us in almost as great a mess as a "no", for the Right wing would have been undefeated and all the more unyielding.

And so it is a good day to be a South African. Black and white South Africans are coming closer to each other, and we are lucky to have as our leaders on the one hand Nelson Mandela with his courage and forbearance and, on the other, F W de Klerk with his courage, commitment — and considerable degree of luck. □

● Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.



# CP to meet on Saturday to discuss new strategy

STAR 23/3/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

304A

The potentially divisive post-mortem process that began in the Conservative Party after its crushing defeat in last week's referendum is expected to come to a head on Saturday.

The CP's head committee, the highest decision-making body after congress, will meet to set a new direction for the party.

Sources said the party would try to present a show of unity but that if a new direction was agreed to, this could cause a split between rival factions.

Dr Andries Treurnicht's position could also be in jeopardy, although many MPs believe he is a unifying factor.

However, if it becomes impossible to hold the various factions together, Dr Treurnicht might be dumped in favour of someone who will give the party definite direction.

The referendum debacle has exacerbated divisions between the old guard under deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and a new breed of members under MP Koos van der Merwe.

The old guard wants to return to old-style Verwoerdian apartheid and sole hegemony over the whole of white SA, while the "young Turks" recognise they have no option but to negotiate for a much smaller "volkstaat".

Free State leader Cehill Pienaar yesterday said he believed the pro-negotiations faction had gained momentum since the referendum defeat. The referendum had made it clear that the CP was "not very popular among English-speakers".

Saturday's meeting will be the culmination of meetings of the CP's parliamentary caucus over the last week aimed at finding a new strategy.

The next special caucus meeting is tomorrow.



# PAC wants transitional government

304A  
Sowetan 23/3/92  
THE Pan Africanist Congress wants a transitional authority in South Africa, but not a transitional government, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzevanani said on Saturday.

Addressing University of Transkei students in Umtata, he said Namibian president Sam Nujoma had recently warned the PAC they should not opt for a Namibian-style transitional authority in which there had been "certain glaring irregularities".

Nujoma had also emphasised that South Africa's blacks should make sure there are foreign observers present during the transitional period. It should be the duty of the transitional authority to define the role of such observers.

Nemadzevanani said the PAC would meanwhile have to strengthen its liberation army to enable it to play an important role during the transitional period.

"An undemocratic constitution cannot usher in genuine changes. The new dispensation should be done by a democratic assembly under the banner of free and fair elections, while at the same time guarding against imperialist manipulation," he said.

He told a cheering crowd that Codesa was a political jamboree whose decisions had to be endorsed by the white Parliament. President F W de Klerk's referendum victory only meant that white power was still intact.

The PAC was against Codesa because of the undemocratic role it was playing and was "confused by De Klerk's role in the whole exercise in his capacity as head of state."

"He is the man who sits and debates at Codesa where a number of issues will be adopted. Immediately afterwards he runs to Parliament to decide whether to endorse or not to endorse certain resolutions," Nemadzevanani said.

The PAC was "all-out" to destroy Codesa.

The "yes" victory in the referendum would see to the implementation of an interim government which would be endorsed by Codesa and imposed on the people.

"We are heading for a worse government which will, among others, see to the banning of the PAC as an organisation." - Sapa



# SA and Namibia plan joint admin

304A

Sowetan 23/3/92

**LAGOS** - Namibia and South Africa are currently "working out the modalities" for joint administration of the Walvis Bay port in Namibia, Namibian High Commissioner in Nigeria, Mr Ndeutapo Amagulu, said at the weekend.

After long dispute over control of the port before and after independence of Namibia, the government of President FW de Klerk proposed "co-administration" of the port, pending its handing over to Namibia.

But Namibia would not accept the proposal if this proved to be "a method of delaying the handover" of the

port, said Amagulu.

Walvis Bay is very important to the economic life of Namibia because it is the country's only deep water port and has links with the Namibian hinterland, the high commissioner said.

Despite its independence, Namibia is still feeling the effect of South Africa's apartheid policy, he said.

Describing apartheid, he said it was "an ugly monster which had to be destroyed." Economic sanctions against South Africa should not be lifted until the end of apartheid, he said. - Sapa-AFP.



# Codesa to resume its work today

Sowetan 23/3/92

304A

**CODESA resumes its work today under the worst pressure since the first plenary session on December 19 and 20.**

Both the Government and the African National Congress - Codesa's leading parties - have in the past few days given tacit ultimatums that have threatened to disrupt the entire negotiations process.

At the centre of the furore is the question of the military during the transition period, especially the role of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After agreement was reached at Codesa's working Group Three on the appointment of a transitional executive structure (a proposed nonracial multiparty Cabinet), the Government has dug in its heels on the continued existence of MK.

Senior Cabinet Ministers suggested last week that a major showdown was looming at Codesa over this issue.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said: "We will enter a new phase of debate where what has been avoided will become the central focus."

A Government source confirmed yesterday the often repeated sentiment that no decision on an interim or transitional arrangement could be reached "while private armies were roaming about".

The possibility of Codesa 2 taking place, presumably by the end of April, has also been threatened.

Senior Government sources at the weekend reportedly said that there would be no Codesa 2 unless Umkhonto was completely disbanded.

Meanwhile the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance during Sharpeville memorial services at the weekend promised a large-scale offensive against what it broadly saw as the Government's continued and unilateral decision-making on significant political and economic issues.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela threatened mass action that would grind the

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

country's economy to a halt unless the Government reversed its decision to impose Value Added Tax on certain basic foodstuffs within 10 days.

At the same time Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo warned there would be unprecedented general strikes if an interim government were not installed by June.

Umkhonto chief Mr Chris Hani said at the weekend that MK would not be disbanded. A new army, one which was loyal to the new government, would have to be created in South Africa.

A senior ANC official, clarifying Hani's statement, said the SA Defence Force reported to one specific party (Government) in Codesa and would continue to do so under a new transitional regime.

"Furthermore the Government is only a participant in Codesa while the SADF reports to it. This is no different from MK reporting to the ANC," he said.

There is growing concern in political circles about the SADF.

It is understood that SADF officials working on a code of conduct for the army in terms of the National Peace Accord have not delivered yet.

The feeling among people involved in the discussions is that the army "wants to see which way things are going".

The heavy-worded statement between the alliance and Government has been interpreted as a test of strength between the two.

After the resounding "yes" victory in last week's referendum the Government has been patting itself on the back.

But ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend that elections towards the end of this year - presumably for a constituent assembly - would "show the Government what a landslide is".



# Holomisa wants to test the government

Sowetan

23/3/92

304A

CODESA must test the irrevocable commitment of the Government to change by insisting on the speedy establishment of an interim government, Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said on Saturday.

Holomisa said in the light of white South Africa's landslide victory for reform, a third round of Codesa could not be allowed.

"The working groups charged with this task must ensure that when Codesa 2 meets it has completed its brief."

Speaking at an African National Congress commemoration of Sharpeville Day in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, he said he would like to see the immediate installation, after Codesa 2, of machinery to deal with the restoration of South African citizenship to homeland residents.

"This machinery will also deal with the registration of voters and other electoral processes and pave the way for the involve-

ment of the international community in monitoring the process of change and elections."

If Codesa 2 decided to test the will of TBVC residents or of the entire nation to reincorporate these into South Africa, such processes should take place during this administrative phase which should not exceed six months, said Holomisa.

On the armed struggle, he said: "The ANC has not violated its undertakings in this regard."

"The existence of military wings of the liberation movements cannot be likened to (rightwing armies) since they were established to fight for civil liberties, political and economic empowerment."

On the violence in the country's black communities, he said people were being killed by unemployed black mercenaries from home and abroad, engaged by what he termed the forces of the system. - Sapa



# Makwetu lashes out at Codesa

*Sowetan 23/3/92*  
IN A scathing attack on Saturday, the Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu accused the Convention for a Democratic South Africa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of Sharpeville massacre, Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front.

"What is happening now in Codesa is not what was agreed upon by the PF participants in October last year," he added.

Makwetu said the PF had agreed that no single party should enter into any talks with

the "regime". He said instead, that the front should have been used to confront the regime.

The rally was dominated by anti-Codesa's slogans: "One Codesa member, one bullet. Down with Codesa, down. Trample on Codesa, trample."

Makwetu said white South Africans were responsible for the ongoing violence in the townships.

"De Klerk is not prepared to stop the violence because it is in his interest," Makwetu added.

He said the PAC would, in the Transkei within two weeks, map out plans to stop violence. - Sapa



By ALLISTER SPARKS

FOR the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics. Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

One benefit of the referendum is that it has forced the ANC to confront the right-wing problem. But now the focus must shift to the other side. The National Party, and indeed the whole of white South Africa, has yet to confront the upcoming left-wing problem.

It is not yet as serious or as immediate as the challenge from the right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed for many things seem to be getting worse, not better.

For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people — and not a single white — have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at their 4% unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43%.

### Disillusionment

We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are doing most of the starving.

Last week I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a 'no' vote because they feared that if the 'yesses' won the level of political violence instigated by the third force would increase.

It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political problem.

We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is likely to grow. The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, is bound to cause black expectations to soar.

And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the Left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right wing has been exploiting white fears now.

It is the moment the PAC is already preparing for, refusing to participate in Codesa so that it can exploit its non-participation later and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause.

# Shore up black community by security reform



**VAN ZYL SLABBERT:** Fits the bill for a tough, straight, competent man with credibility to shake up the security force and restore the confidence of the black and the white communities.

A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what allays one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual awareness of these dangers.

For example President De Klerk, in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of uMkhonto we Sizwe, should have a better awareness of the serious implications this would have for the ANC's support among black youth.

Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process. Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa and

against non-racialism to the "One Settler, One Bullet" campaign.

One thing that is not part of a zero-sum game is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness. As Unisa's Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star recently, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is now rampant and seemingly uncontrollable.

### Domestic Renamo

Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force which used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like "ANC terrorism" is now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible. There has, says Professor Nell, been "a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline and internal accountability."

"The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the occupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to an emergency call, hijacking hotspots are unpoliced, inquiries and complaints are politely fielded — and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken."

Whether or not Professor Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the collapse of effective policing — and that if President De Klerk does not want the reform process to be derailed he is going to have to get the security forces into proper shape.

A total shake-up is needed, starting at the top. Fiddling with more Cabinet reshuffles is not enough. President De Klerk must do as he did when he brought Derek Keys into the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and go outside his own party to find the right kind of tough, straight, competent man for the job, someone with the ability and credibility to restore the confidence of the black community as well as the white. He could do worse than look to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.



# Bush, Kohl pledge help

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau

STAR 23/3/92

WASHINGTON — American President George Bush and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl praised President de Klerk today for his referendum triumph and said they would be taking action soon to give South Africa further support.

They made their remarks after weekend talks.

President Bush said the talks had included South Africa: "I think we both are very pleased at the changes

that have taken place there.

"I didn't tell Chancellor Kohl this, but I did call Mr de Klerk the day after the election to salute him for his courageous leadership.

"And all I can think of is that we want to move forward bilaterally, the United States and South Africa, just as fast as we can."

Chancellor Kohl said many people did not fully understand what a wise course Mr de Klerk had steered, and how much he had risked.



# ANC to meet on Dutch visit

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders would meet this week to make a final decision on the proposed visit later this year by Dutch premier Mr. Ruud Lubbers. (3049) CT 23/3/92

ANC international relations department official Mr Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday no final decision had been made about the Dutch politician's visit.

He denied approval was given by

the ANC, saying ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Lubbers agreed at the recent World Economic Forum in Switzerland that no visit would take place until an interim government was installed.

ANC leaders would inform the Dutch government of their decision after their meeting, he said.

The Dutch government is reportedly confused about whether the ANC approved or vetoed the August visit.



# CP to be purely Afrikaner party?

364A CT 23/3/92

THE CP was considering changing its orientation and becoming an exclusively Afrikaner party, Free State chairman Mr Cehill Pienaar said yesterday.

When the party caucus reconvenes today it will consider whether it should continue in its present form — while a breakaway faction goes to Codesa — or become an exclusively Afrikaner party, he said.

It was being argued that the CP could not effectively represent white interests. Some felt English voters had let down the party.

Mr Pienaar, who is close to CP vertligte Mr Koos van der Merwe, denied speculation that he would be one of a small group of MPs keen to join Codesa. He also denied that the CP felt let down by English voters.

There has been speculation that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will now stand down.

Meanwhile, the effective truce between the ANC and the government during the referendum campaign has ended.

Squaring up for when Codesa negotiations resume today, the government warned at the weekend that the ANC demanded for an interim government would

not be met until the question of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe and its arms caches is finally resolved.

Another thorny issue is the participation of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela threatened to destroy the economy unless the government backed off its decision to impose VAT on eight basic foodstuffs.

The ANC has also criticised government proposals for a free market economic system to be entrenched in the constitution. — Own Correspondent and Political Correspondent



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# CP restructures while AWB prepares for war

*8/Day 23/3/92* *(304A)*

THE CP was considering changing its orientation and becoming an exclusively Afrikaner party, Free State chairman Cehill Pienaar said yesterday.

And AWB-leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said his private army was preparing for a race war, following the "yes" campaign victory in last week's referendum.

The CP's Pienaar said a caucus meeting begun after the referendum had not completed its work and would reconvene tomorrow to consider its options. Pienaar said three broad options were being examined:

That the party continue in its present form; that it change its stance and become an Afrikaner party representing Afrikaner interests; or that it permit a breakaway faction to leave the party and go to Codesa.

Pienaar said it was being argued that the CP could not effectively represent white interests. In some CP quarters English voters were said to have let down the party.

There has been speculation that CP leader Andries Treurnicht will now stand down. He has kept a low profile since the announcement of the referendum result. In his reaction to the result he said President De Klerk would realise the folly of power-

PATRICK BULGER

sharing but he gave no indication how the CP would counter that.

Pienaar, who is close to CP verligte Koos van der Merwe, denied speculation that he would be one of a small group of MPs keen to join Codesa. He also denied that the CP felt let down by English voters.

Reuter reports Terre'Blanche as saying in an interview on Friday the AWB had anticipated the referendum result and were preparing for a race war.

"... I'm grateful because it has expanded our numbers by 800 000," he said.

"We are immediately stepping up our defence preparations for the coming bloody revolution." The AWB's military wing, "Wenkommando" (Victory Commando) number about 5 000 men.

Political analysts said the likelihood of violence from the extreme right had increased following the referendum.

But they said the vast majority of whites who voted "no" would have no stomach for armed rebellion.

The AWB initially called for a boycott of the referendum because of the short, three-week notice given for campaigning.

It later joined the CP in campaigning for "no" vote. — Reuter.

that he will tend to think that



# More blacks pessimistic study

THEO RAWANA

8/10 aug 23/3/92  
FEWER blacks saw a brighter future for SA than six months before, and more saw a possibility of things getting worse, the latest Markinor study has found.

In a report titled Socio-Political Trends — December 1991, Markinor said the outlook of the future was affected by the dismal present situation. In spite of a deepening sense of gloom, blacks continued to be more optimistic than whites, "but the euphoria is over".

Markinor interviewed 800 white men and women (urban and rural), and 1 300 blacks, male and female (living in metropolitan areas).

Markinor said the economic situation, already grim in the last survey, was deteriorating and only a few whites and blacks experienced an improvement in their financial situation, whereas increasing proportions (36% blacks and 52% whites) saw their position worsen.

In line with the depressed picture among blacks, their confidence in a happy future has also taken a knock. "The positive score (very or fairly confident) dropped from

73% to 59%, or by 14 points; those not very or not at all confident increased from 27% to 40%." The outlook of whites, according to Markinor, showed less variation, but even here optimism decreased.

"The two racial groups have thus become very similar in their assessment of the future — different to earlier surveys in which blacks had shown (unrealistic) hopes and expectations," the researchers said.

In white-black relationships, the survey found that whereas in the past blacks assessed these positively, now a third of either race described the relationship positively and another third, average.

"Smaller proportions of blacks feel the racial situation is improving: from a high 53% in May 1990 the score declined continuously to the present 38%.

"Among whites the attitude remained fairly stable with roughly half of whites confirming a positive racial development, with only one in four whites seeing a deterioration," said Markinor.



# Lessons of whites-only referendum

304A

South Africa 24/3/92

**THERE is a valuable lesson to be learnt by the liberation movement in the recent whites-only referendum.**

Moreover, this referendum could have precipitated an unprecedented ideological shake-up in contemporary politics.

Since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, and the return to South Africa of its leaders and indeed the commencement of talks between Government and political leaders, both sides have had to look over their left and right shoulders respectively.

Government looked nervously over its right shoulder at the groundswell of far-right radicalism, and the ANC did likewise over its left, at the extreme left.

But that was in the context of negotiations, in the grand ideological picture these positions were quite significant. On the far right was the Conservative Party which 10 years ago, almost to the day, formed the radical nucleus of the National Party.

On the far left, the PAC reminded the ANC of things radical and unrelenting. Thirty-odd years ago, the PAC formed the radical core of the ANC, in a manner of speaking. Between the two of them, the CP and PAC have thus over the past 25 years been the conscience of the main political parties, as it were.

While the NP and ANC were said to represent the emerging political future of South Africa, the CP and the PAC represented all the fear and loathing still inherent in the country's collective subconscious.

The far right saw the NP as a danger to white hegemony in politics in South Africa, and indeed to the white people in Africa. The far left (PAC) saw the ANC as selling

## FOCUS

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political Correspondent

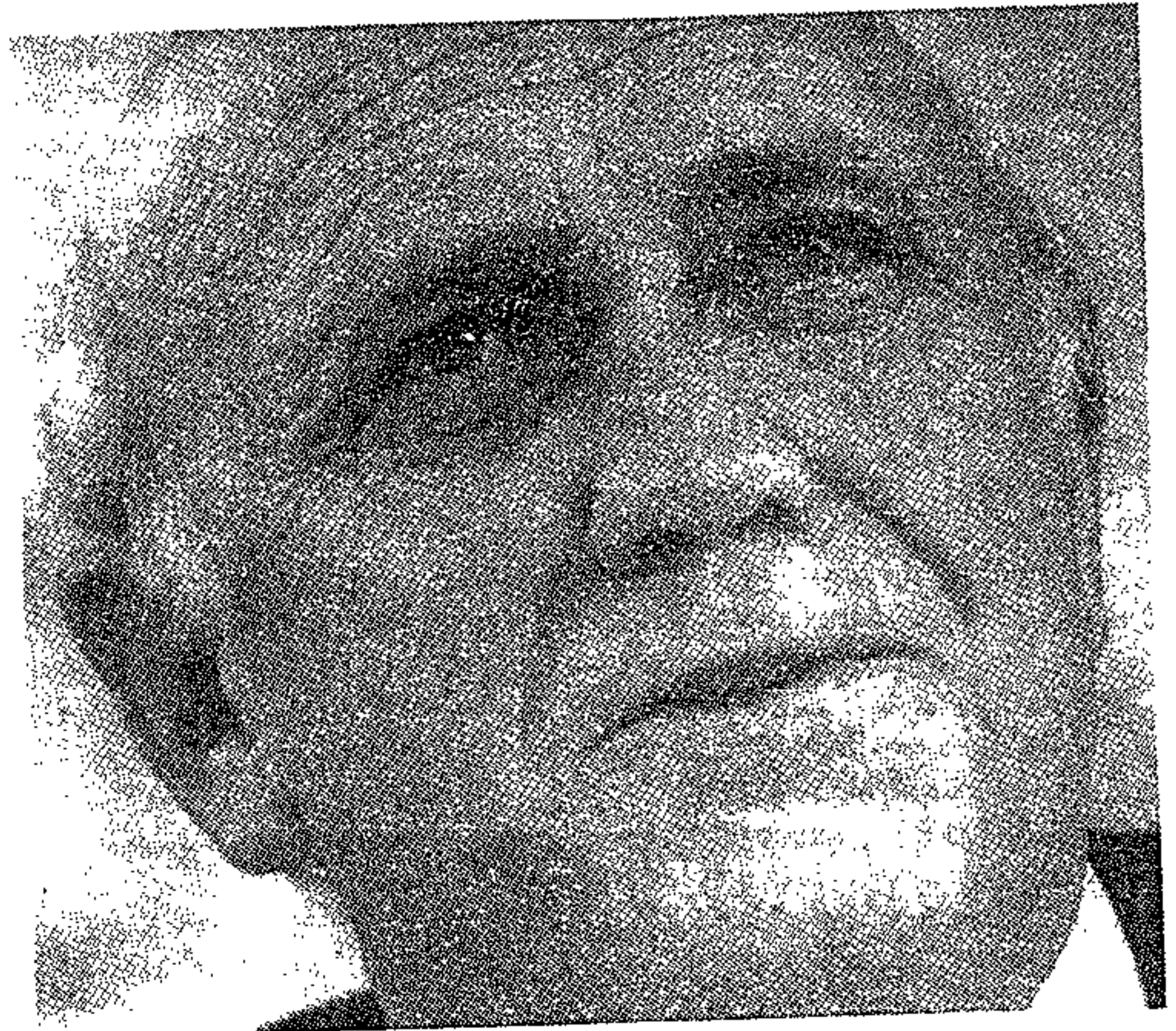
"African self-determination to white-liberal-capitalists". These two effectively then represented the age-old oft romanticised war for Africa between the colonialists (or settlers as the PAC calls them), and the indigenous people of the continent.

The big ideological battle in South Africa, on one level, then, was between these two positions; there was the ideological position (not actual conflict) of the PAC and CP; and then there was the ANC/Government position.

The linear spectrum was in a way switched for a revolving wheel within a wheel with the ANC and Government circling each other in political contact, and the CP and PAC literally out there somewhere going around and around but getting nowhere near the centre of things.

At the same time there was a desire from both the ANC and Government, and perhaps a perceived duty, too, to get the two (CP and PAC) into the centre - and not necessarily the political or ideological centre.

And shifting these mammoth ideologues to the centre of things is desirable — into a position where they, perhaps for their own sake as well as for the sake of national reconciliation could impact on the development of a new social and political order for the country,



**FW de Klerk dealt a heavy blow against the rightwing.**

however daunting a task it may seem.

Leaving the PAC/CP bloc on the fringes of the national debate would be disastrous - especially if a settlement is reached. The (logical) big fear is that a Renamo or Unita situation could develop in the region. And here is where the lesson can be learnt from President FW de Klerk's referendum.

De Klerk held his breath and did the most unsavoury thing in the light political developments.

As the head of a non-racial political party heading (with the ANC) negotiations obviously aimed at reaching a nonracial and democratic future, De Klerk called a whites-only referendum.

It was called a gamble, and risky, and a cheek, and racist, but call it what you will, De Klerk's referendum took care of the CP in a way only he could and on the CP's terms in a racist whites only poll. The

result is now history, and there are great expectations building up of a split in the CP camp, but more so of a palace coup that could see the far right at the negotiating table.

How does this affect the far left? Well it's simple, it is up to the ANC - Government has clearly dealt with its ghost. It might be a very academic argument, but if the far-right arrives at the negotiating table in whatever form, that outer circle will have been smashed.

Just how far talks within the black liberation movement could have gone earlier will remain a mystery, but one can speculate at length about exactly what serious talks (before any further negotiations) between the ANC and PAC might deliver.

In a way, De Klerk has buried his past. The ANC, through which the future no doubt lies, could make that future a lot brighter if it dealt with the PAC.



# PAC evaluates possibility of taking part in Codesa

Political Staff **STAR** 24/3/92

As pressure mounts on the Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, the organisation's vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday it would consider joining the negotiations forum "when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people".

Sapa reports that Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline states and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join Codesa.

The PAC's stance on negotiations is expected to top the agenda at the organisation's annual congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata early next month.

The PAC walked out of the first plenary session of Codesa after accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

● The PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday dismissed as incorrect a weekend report from Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana which said the PAC planned to form a Patriotic Front (PF) with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Ziana reported that the PAC's foreign affairs representative in Harare, Raymond Fihla, said the new alliance would replace the Patriotic Front formed between a range of organisations — including the PAC and the ANC — last year.

"We know nothing about the plan attributed

to the PAC," Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhado said.

PAC publicity spokesman Barney Desai said the PF with the ANC and other organisations still existed even though some front partners had joined Codesa.

Both organisations refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a "united front" at Codesa. Mr Mandela made the invitation at a public meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC would wait for "formal contact" from the ANC leader in this regard.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she doubted whether such a letter would be forthcoming.

"Azapo and the PAC do not need a letter from the ANC to join Codesa. Mr Mandela was only making a political statement showing the way forward and that we need all resources to get there," said Miss Marcus.



# 'Piet Skiet' parts ways with ET

MR Piet "Skiet" Rudolph yesterday resigned as secretary-general of the AWB, accusing its leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of bad management and costing the "no" campaign votes in the referendum.

Rudolph says in a letter he has had problems with Terre'Blanche's actions ever since the Ventersdorp incident last year, but had stayed on as an AWB member "for the sake of unity" and in the hope of aiding the cause.

He then accuses Terre'Blanche of ignoring his general staff, instead making his own decisions on vital matters.

"The manner in which you ignore the general staff's decisions and change your own decisions impulsively and at will, render the general staff redundant and makes proper management of the AWB impossible."

Rudolph claims he could mention many examples, but won't do so because his letter would go public and to prevent further tension on a personal level between

Terre'Blanche and other people.

Turning to the referendum, Rudolph accuses Terre'Blanche of costing the "no" campaign many votes, saying: "Terre'Blanche's announcement on the AWB's referendum stance was a personal decision and gave the impression of indecision."

"His one-sided agreement with Inkatha clashed directly with his promise to consult with the general staff on this matter. This led to adverse publicity, which damaged the AWB's cause in the referendum. Further, this also led to claims that the general staff was used as puppets."

The final straw, Rudolph said, was Terre'Blanche "secretly meeting with subordinates" to discuss the organising of the Wenkommandos and appointment of officers.

"In this way my authority was openly undermined," he said.

21/4 304A



## Right-wing input welcomed

ARG 24/3/92  
THE Afrikanervryheid-  
stiging's weekend deci-  
sion at Orania to submit a  
proposal to Codesa's constitu-  
tional committee has been  
welcomed by the ANC.

ANC spokesman Saki Ma-  
cozoma said the latest devel-  
opment followed repeated  
calls by his organisation to  
the right wing to submit pro-  
posals to Codesa.

"We are quite happy to  
hear them out," he added.

Avstig, a group within the  
right-wing cultural organisa-  
tion, the Afrikaner Volkswag,  
was formed to deal specifi-  
cally and speedily with plans  
for the Afrikaner's right to  
self-determination and sepa-  
ration from South Africa to  
establish an independent  
state, said Avstig spokesman  
and AV chairman Professor  
Carel Boshoff.

The document outlined  
ideas on the structure of the  
state stretching from the  
north-western Cape to Sal-  
danha Bay, its constitution  
and its relations with South  
Africa, he added.

Executive member Anna  
Boshoff emphasised that the  
AV was not political, but rep-  
resented the right wing's  
broad cultural development,  
supported by a membership  
of about 10 000 families.

Afstig would not sit around  
the table at Codesa, merely  
hand in the proposal dealing  
with the Volkstaat, she said.

Mr Macozoma emphasised  
that Codesa was committed  
to listening to other people's  
views.



# Tough transitional package

MC 24/3/92

(3644)

PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff reports on the government's proposals for transitional councils.

**T**HE government has announced plans to create broadly representative — but purely advisory — transitional councils to make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected power-sharing transitional government.

The proposed transitional councils — which the ANC has immediately rejected as “toy telephones” — were part of a package of transitional arrangements submitted by the government to Codesa yesterday.

The government's tough proposals for transitional arrangements were rejected by a number of parties to Codesa, including the ANC and the SACP.

The proposals deny an immediate power-sharing role for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe before creation of an interim government.

And the government has also proposed that members of the present tricameral parliament and homeland legislatures could form a senate with effective veto powers in a transitional or interim government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the state president and approved by Codesa and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional government representative of the whole population.

They would advise the present government on how to conduct free and fair elec-

tions for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation and possibly on the police, the defence force, and other areas.

Together the transitional councils would form a joint transitional council which could adopt resolutions which would have “persuasive power”.

The proposed transition councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government executive — but with one vital difference, they would be purely advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils would be “advisory to the present government”.

The government did not envisage them actually administering areas of government, although their precise functions were still to be negotiated.

The government's written proposal said the functions could include making recommendations on existing and new legislation.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis dismissed ANC criticism that the councils would be mere “toy telephones”. The councils would reach decisions by consensus and since the government would be part of that consensus, the councils' recommendations would have force.

Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers denied that the proposed councils were an attempt to perpetuate the present system or create a

talk shop.

He also denied that the government had reneged on an earlier agreement at Codesa that Codesa should appoint “transitional executive structures” in a first phase of transition.

Dr De Villiers said the transitional councils would be “part of a broadened executive” and would play an important role in preparing for transition.

Dr Viljoen said the government had decided on the transitional councils instead of its earlier plans to extend the cabinet, because this would have been seen as co-option.

Yesterday's proposals emphasised that the government would not enter into any agreements for a transitional government until:

- Political violence had been resolved and stability restored.

- The ANC had fulfilled its undertakings — under the Pretoria Minute and the DF

Malan Accord — to control the activities of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The government also made it clear that no transitional councils dealing with the police or the defence force could be established until agreements between the government and the ANC over the role of MK had been resolved.

Legislation to implement the transitional councils would be introduced as soon as agreement had been reached at Codesa.

This would not entail changes to the constitution.

The government made it clear that the proposed transitional councils would help prepare for a transitional government and would not themselves be part of the transitional government.

Yesterday's proposals also included the broad outlines of the government's plans for transitional government itself.

Draft legislation to amend the constitution and introduce a transitional constitution would be submitted to Codesa before the end of April.

The government's proposed transitional constitution would contain the following basic elements:

- Two houses of parliament, a national assembly and a senate.

- The national assembly to be elected on a system of proportional representation by all South African citizens over 18.

- If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives.

- If not the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies — including the tricameral parliament and the homeland legislatures.

- Both houses would have

to agree before legislation could be passed.

- The head of state would be a presidency formed by the leaders of the three to five strongest political parties jointly representing a majority in the national assembly.

- The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate every six months.

- The members of the cabinet to be appointed by the presidency on a consensus basis and need not be members of parliament.

- The constitution, including an enforceable charter of fundamental rights, would be the supreme law and would be administered by the Supreme Court.

Other features of the proposed transitional councils include:

- Each to have seven members. Six to be designated by Codesa's management committee and appointed by the state president.

One to be appointed by the state president — on the grounds of his expertise — after consultation with the management committee.

- Cabinet ministers and deputies and members of provincial executive committees may be members of transitional councils.

- Members will receive pay and benefits determined by the state president after consulting Codesa's management committee.

- The state president may fire any member on the recommendation of the management committee.



# Pressure on PAC to join the talks (304A)

The Argus Political Staff monitors the PAC's stance on Codesa. ARG 24/3/92

**A**S pressure mounts on the Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke says his organisation would consider joining the negotiations forum "when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people".

Sapa reports that Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and frontline states and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join Codesa.

The PAC's stance on negotiations is expected to top the agenda at the organisation's annual congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata early next month.

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Ziana reported that the PAC's foreign affairs representative in Harare, Mr Raymond Fihla, said the new alliance would replace the Patriotic Front formed between a range of organisations — including the PAC and the ANC — last year.

"We know nothing about the plan attributed to the PAC," Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhado said.

PAC publicity spokesman Barney Desai said the Patriotic Front with the ANC and other organisations still existed even though some front partners had joined Codesa.

Both organisations refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a "united front" at Codesa. Mr Mandela made the invitation at a public meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC would wait for "formal contact" from the ANC leader.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she doubted if such a letter would be forthcoming.

"Azapo and the PAC do not need a letter from the ANC to join Codesa. Mr Mandela was only making a political statement showing the way forward and that we need all resources to get there," said Ms Marcus.



# Boerestaat Party will also submit proposals to Codesa committee

STAR 24/3/92

304A

By Shirley Woodgate

Hard on the heels of the decision by the Afrikanervryheidstigting (Afstig) to submit a proposal to Codesa's constitutional committee, Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party will follow suit next week.

Afstig (a group within the right-wing cultural organisation, the Afrikaner Volkswag) was formed to deal specifically and speedily with plans for the Afrikaner's right to self-determination and separation from South Africa to establish an independent state, said Afstig spokesman and AV chairman Professor Carel Boshoff.

Commenting on an apparent overlap between the organisations, Mr van Tonder said there was no conflict between the two blueprints and wished Afstig well with its plans to acquire the northern Cape to Saldanha Bay.

"Afstig seeks a place for Afrikaners (all people who speak Afrikaans) who have never had a homeland. The BP seeks a homeland for 'boere' in the same way that near-



Carel Boshoff . . . seeks Afrikaner "volkstaat".

ly 90 nations in Africa and Europe have sought recognition in the past 50 years", he said.

Both were culturally based and non-racist, he claimed.

Neither right wing group will address Codesa and Mr van Tonder stressed: "No self-respecting nation will negotiate over its own territory, although I believe certain groups at Codesa, including the Zulus and Bophuthatswana, will give us a sympathetic hearing."

Afstig executive member Anna Boshoff emphasised the AV was not political, but represented

the right wing's broad cultural development, supported by a membership of about 10 000 families.

The ANC has welcomed the shift by the two right-wing organisations, claiming they had repeatedly been invited to participate in Codesa.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said: "Afstig's plans are worthy of being considered by the relevant working group dealing with the re-incorporation of the independent states — within the context that Codesa exists to end apartheid."

He stressed Codesa was committed to listening to other people's views and seeing how they could be accommodated. But separate states would be opposed.

Questions which would have to be asked when considering the Afstig request included where and how the Afrikaner homeland would be created, whether people would have to be moved to accommodate Afstig supporters, and how they proposed to move them, Mr Macozoma said.



# ANC, SACP turn down Govt proposals

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

STAR  
24/3/92

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by the ANC and the SACP.

"We are alarmed that the NP/Government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is 'the creation of a transitional executive structure' which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa," the ANC said.

Welcoming the Government's acceptance of the principle of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals were "objectionable in many fundamental aspects".

The SACP said the proposals were met with a "resounding rejection by virtually all delegations".

"Progress in this crucial working group has been delayed until now by the unwillingness of the SA Government and NP

delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements.

"Unfortunately ... the message that Codesa is sending to the SA Government and NP is that they must go back to the drawing board once more," said the SACP.

The ANC said the proposed Transitional Councils were unacceptable because their functions had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of the first phase of transition — levelling the political playing field to ensure free and fair elections.

The Government would be able to veto recommendations by the councils, control and run all aspects of the executive including security and State-run media, and formulate and implement legislation on all matters, the ANC said.

"It is particularly outrageous that in making their proposals, the NP/Government has elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory 'toy telephones'."



Why did so many experts fail to predict the strong 'yes' vote, asks Patrick Laurence

# Appeal of Right grossly inflated

STAR 24/3/92

304A

**A**S the dust settles after the agitation of the referendum campaign, one point emerges with startling clarity: how far off the mark many leading political analysts and psephologists were in their predictions of the result.

Like most laymen, most of them hopelessly underestimated the "yes" vote and grossly inflated the appeal of the tripartite alliance of rightist forces which campaigned for a "no" vote.

On the Friday before voters went to the polls, Weekly Mail published the predictions of several prominent political observers and interpreters. With one exception, Wim Booysse, a risk analyst, they would probably rather forget their forecasts.

They were asked to make three predictions: best case (for the "yes" vote), worst case, and most probable result. A sample of their most probable forecasts for the "yes" vote follows.

Hermann Gilliom, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, 57 percent; Steven Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, 54 percent; Alister Sparks, political journalist

and commentator, 58 to 60 percent. Albert Venter, professor of political studies at Rand Afrikaans University, 50 percent; and Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, political analyst and a former opposition leader in the House of Assembly, 55 to 60 percent.

The actual result was 68,7 percent for the "yes" vote against less than 32 percent for the "no" vote, a bigger majority than that gained by P W Botha in the 1983 referendum.

The question that arises is why did so many people, laymen as well as specialists, misread the mood of the white electorate? With the advantage of hindsight a number of reasons can be offered.

First, the National Party and its referendum ally, the Democratic Party, deliberately exaggerated the extent of the threat from the tripartite alliance of conservative forces opposing President de Klerk's call for a renewed mandate to negotiate a settlement with black leaders.

Their game plan was to ensure that the normally apathetic English-speaking voters were frightened into voting. Linked to their stratagem was an unprecedented propaganda campaign which fo-

cused on the devastating consequences of a "no" vote.

The stratagem worked well: the percentage poll was 85 percent against 76 percent in the 1983 referendum; polling was particularly heavy in the big cities where most of the normally apolitical English-speaking whites live.

The successful use of these shock tactics by the NP-DP alliance raises another question: why did seasoned journalists not detect it or did they go along with it for the sake of ensuring a triumph for the "yes" vote?

To move on to a second reason why so many people misinterpreted the mood of the electorate: too much attention was paid to by-election results. Political analysts who should have known better were particularly at fault; more often than not they simply calculated the swing to Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party since the 1989 general election — about 12 percent — and added it to the 32 percent which the CP won in the 1989 election.

They seemed to have forgotten that many people who vote against the governing party in by-elections are exercising a protest or grievance vote and that in a

national election, when the stakes are higher, their usual political loyalties reassert themselves. That seems to have occurred in the March 17 referendum: the result were very similar to that of the 1989 general election.

A third reason may relate to the established pattern of politics in the white community since 1910. In the more than eight decades since the Act of Union, successive governments in South Africa have only fallen to parties on their right.

The ousting of General J B M Hertzog by General J C Smuts in 1939 was exceptional. Hertzog and Smuts were in the same party and Hertzog was toppled in a palace coup against his wish to remain neutral in the war against Hitler.

But normally when a government looks vulnerable — and Mr de Klerk did look vulnerable after the CP's spectacular victory in the Potchefstroom by-election of February 19 — the assumption has been that the threat comes from the Right.

It may have formed the anvil on which so many wrong predictions were hammered out before March 17.

In retrospect it is clear that the

referendum result, and the imminent enfranchisement of the black majority, have changed the situation dramatically. Once solid working premises are being made obsolete by the rapid movement of events.

A fourth reason for the plethora of inaccurate predictions of the March 17 result takes account of 40 years of apartheid and associated *swart gevaar* propaganda. It requires a little introspection and rests on the postulate that rightist propaganda about President de Klerk's reforms leading to an "ANC dictatorship" evoked a response in many a "yes" voter's psyche.

For 40 of the last 43 years, the ANC has been demonised and whites warned of a multifaceted danger ranging from *swart gevaar* to total onslaught. Decades of propaganda by President de Klerk's predecessors in the NP rendered them vulnerable to Dr Treurnicht's warning that Mr de Klerk was merely opening the door to an ANC takeover and to black tyranny.

Many whites — to extend the argument — acknowledged to themselves that they had responded, however irrationally, to Dr Treurnicht's propaganda and —

while doing their utmost to excise or control it — wondered how many of their friends and neighbours had reacted in a similar manner.

The presumption — to continue the thesis — was that their friends and neighbours had and they might vote "no" as a result.

The Potchefstroom by-election complicated the situation. Analysis of the result at Potchefstroom pointed to a lie factor of about 20 percent: nearly a fifth of the voters declared they would vote NP but actually voted CP. Fears that a similar process may have been happening on a nationwide scale helped skewer the predictions against the "yes" vote.

A significant exception was Marketing and Media Research, its investigation showed the pro-negotiation camp would win by a margin of more than three-to-one, although at that stage — late February — there was still a huge undecided and undecided vote.

Footnote: The above article is not written in a mood of intellectual self-congratulation. My own referendum prediction rested on the inaccurate assumption the "no" vote started with a firm 40 percent. I forecast a 55 to 60 percent win for the "yes" camp. □



# Govt unveils transition plan

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

## ANC rejects 'toy telephone' councils

STAR 24/3/92

3044

3044

The Government has announced plans to create broadly representative — but purely advisory — transitional councils to make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected, power-sharing, transitional government.

The proposed transitional councils — which the ANC has immediately rejected as "toy telephones" — were part of a tough package of transitional arrangements

submitted by the Government to Codesa yesterday.

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements were immediately rejected by a number of parties to Codesa, including the ANC and SACP.

The proposals deny an immediate power-sharing role for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), before the creation of an interim government.

And the Government has

also proposed that members of the present tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures could form a senate with effective veto powers in a transitional government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the State President and approved by Codesa, and would help prepare the way for an elected transitional government representative of the whole population.

They would advise the present Government on how

to conduct free and fair elections for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a federal system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation, and possibly on a police, the defence force, and other areas.

Together, the transitional councils would form a joint transitional council which could adopt resolutions which would have "persuasive power".

The proposed transition

councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government executive — except that they would be purely advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa which would have supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils

would be "advisory to the present Government".

The Government did not envisage them actually administering areas of government, although their precise functions were still to be negotiated.

Yesterday's proposals stressed that the Government would not agree on a transitional government until:

- Political violence had been resolved and stability restored.

- The ANC had fulfilled its undertakings — under the Pretoria Minute and the DF

● To Page 3

P.T.O



# Transitional plan unveiled

STAR 24/3/92

● From Page 1

Malan Accord — to control MK. The Government also made it clear no transitional councils dealing with the police or defence force could be established until disagreement over MK was resolved.

Legislation to implement the councils would be introduced once agreement had been reached at Codesa. This would not entail changes to the constitution.

The councils would help prepare for a transitional government and would not themselves be part of the transitional government.

Yesterday's proposals also included the broad outlines of the Government's plans for transitional government itself.

Draft legislation to amend the constitution would be submitted to Codesa before the end of next month.

The Government's proposed transitional constitution has these basic elements:

- Two Houses of Parliament, a national assembly and a senate.
- The national assembly to be elected by proportional representation.

● If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives.

● If not, the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies — the tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures.

● Both Houses to agree before legislation could be passed.

● The head of state would be a presidency formed by the leaders of the strongest political parties.

● The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate.

● The constitution would be the supreme law and would be justiciable by the Supreme Court.

Other features of the proposed transitional councils are:

● Each to have seven members, six designated by Codesa's management committee; one appointed by the State President.

● Members to receive pay determined by the President after consulting Codesa's management committee.

● The President may fire any member on the recommendation of the committee.





(304A)  
HAG 24/3/92

# ANC gives thumbs-down to 'toy telephones, lame ducks'

The Argus Political Staff reports on rejection of the government's latest reform proposals.

**T**HE government's proposals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by parties to Codesa including the ANC and the SACP.

The ANC and SACP accused the government of "going back" on a Codesa agreement that a "transitional executive structure" be appointed by the convention.

"We are alarmed that the NP/government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is 'the creation of a transitional executive structure' which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa," the ANC said.

Both groups accused the

government of simultaneously wanting to be a player and the referee.

The ANC said the NP/government proposals raised serious questions about the government's conduct in negotiations.

Welcoming the government's acceptance of the principle of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals were "objectionable in many fundamental aspects".

The SACP said the proposals were met with a "resounding rejection by virtually all delegations".

"Progress in this crucial working group has been delayed until now by the unwillingness of the government and NP delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements.

"Unfortunately, after a long wait by all other delegations, the message that Codesa is sending to the government and NP is that they must go back to the drawing board once more," said the SACP.

The ANC said the proposed transitional councils were unacceptable because their functions had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of the first phase of transition — levelling the political playing field to ensure free and fair elections.

The government would be able to veto recommendations by the councils, control and run all aspects of the executive including security and state-run media, and formulate and implement legislation on all matters, the ANC said.

"It is particularly outrageous that in making their

proposals, the NP/government has elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory "toy telephones", the ANC said.

The SACP said the transitional councils were "lame ducks, glorified advisory boards" which would leave the tricameral parliament with the last word.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa emphasised that the ANC would not be co-opted and it rejected participation in these structures.

"The proposals are an insult to the integrity and intelligence of most Codesa participants. Clearly the government must go back to the drawing board, and come back as quickly as possible to Codesa ... but this time with serious proposals," the SACP said.



STAR 24/3/92  
**Pik urges Japan to invest**

TOKYO — Foreign Minister Pik Botha appealed to Japan today for investment to support the transition to a society free of apartheid.

In an earlier meeting with his Japanese counterpart, Michio Watanabe, Mr Botha said the overwhelming victory in

the referendum should quell doubts about determination to end institutionalised racism.

"What we need is economic growth. Without economic growth under the new constitution, it wouldn't matter who governs the country," Mr Botha said. — Sapa-AP.



## Women 'must enter politics'

Staff Reporter

WOMEN should not leave it to their husbands and other men to decide their political future, the wife of the State President, Mrs Marike de Klerk, said yesterday.

26/3/92  
Addressing more than 200 women and several Peninsula mayoresses at the Bellville Civic Centre, Mrs De Klerk said politics was not dirty and women should not be afraid to take part in it.

(3011)  
She warned that to protect minority groups and avoid a majority rule winner-takes-all solution, women had to take part in the decision-making bodies of their children's schools, and participate in community projects.



# Frelimo seeks key to peace

Sowetan 24/3/92

Sowetan 24/3/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

MAPUTO - Lasting peace in Mozambique will not be possible without continued Frelimo military activity, social tranquility, economic recovery, democracy and consolidating the rule of law.

This was declared in a communique after a week-long Frelimo Central Committee meeting in Maputo.

Mozambique official news agency AIM reports that the committee reaffirmed a "talk but fight" policy, and that it considered the actions of the armed forces as "fundamental in order to win peace".

It called on improved management, discipline and control of the armed forces after complaints that soldiers often went for months without pay and that combat rations were diverted to black markets.

According to AIM, the Mozambican government came under "severe criticism", with the central committee calling for "more active, more rigorous, and sharper activity by the government and by state bodies as a whole".

The government was urged to take immediate action in resolving conflicts of land distribution, to build low-cost housing and to act against the growing crime wave in the main urban areas.

In the meeting, Frelimo urged its members to "defend the peasants against the expropriation of their land and other injustices in land distribution".

In the cities, party members were called on to defend tenants of state-owned housing "against the acts of destabilisation practised by former landlords".

# Pik Botha on two-day Japan visit

304A

Sowetan 24/3/92

TOKYO - South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha arrived in Japan yesterday for the first high-level talks since Tokyo and Pretoria established full diplomatic ties in January.

Botha, on his first overseas trip since his government's victory in a referendum on reform last week, is expected to discuss economic relations and a possible visit to Tokyo by South African President FW de Klerk.

"We welcome the visit, the first by a Cabinet Minister since our two countries established diplomatic relations, and expect it to promote better ties," said a government official.

During his two-day visit, Botha was meeting Foreign Minister Mr Michio Watanabe to discuss bilateral ties and a possible De Klerk visit to Tokyo, the official said.

Speculation is growing that De Klerk could arrive as early as June for a visit highlighted by meetings with the Japanese Prime Minister and Emperor Akihito.

After decades of estrangement, the two countries established full diplomatic relations in mid-January. Japan and South Africa had previously operated only consulates, never embassies, in each other's country. All ties were cut during World War 2. - Sapa-Reuters



Pik Botha is in Japan.

# PAC could go back to Codesa

Sowetan 24/3/92 (304A)

THE Pan Africanist Congress hinted yesterday it could re-enter constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

But the PAC said the overwhelming pro-reform referendum vote did not guarantee the success of the important democracy talks.

"As to Codesa ... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people," PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Mr Vernon Mwaanga in Johannesburg.

"It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era.

"We are very, very carefully evaluating the situa-

tion and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States, and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country," Moseneke added.

The PAC has threatened to conduct a campaign to undermine Codesa since pulling out of the plenary session on charges of collusion between the African National Congress and the De Klerk Government.

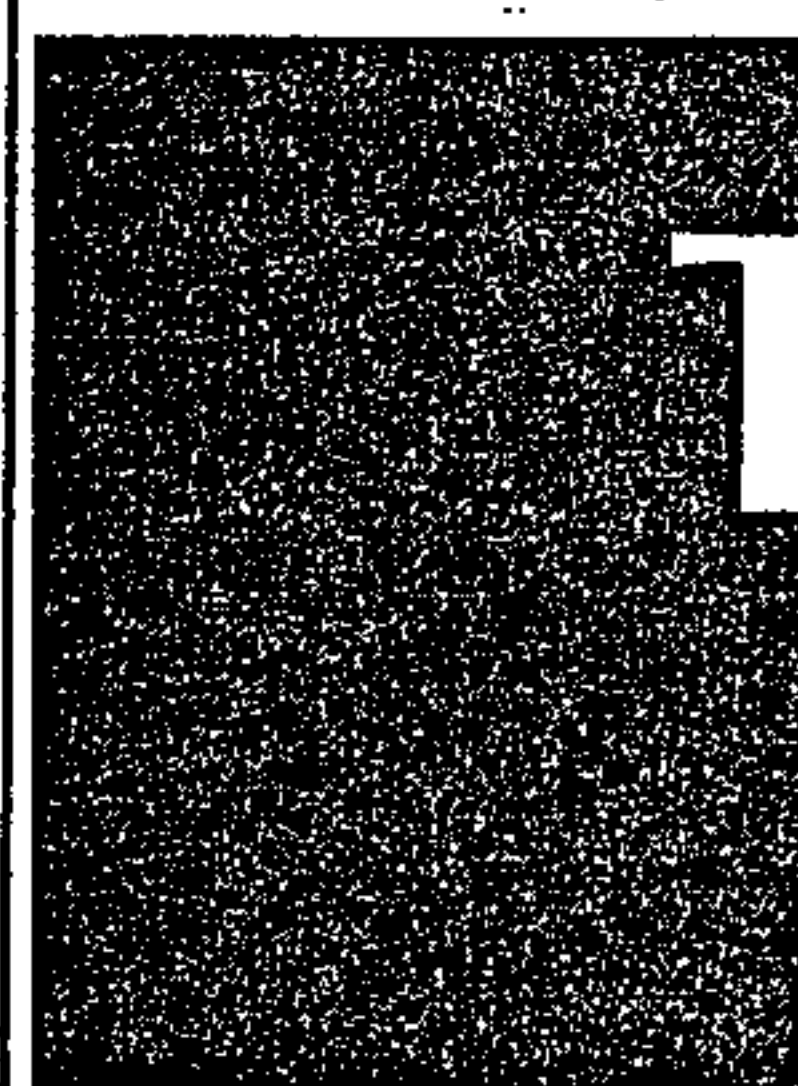
Moseneke called on the Frontline States to play a more active role in the peace process in South Africa.

"The Frontline States should play a more visible and important role than what has been happening up to now," he said.

Mwaanga said he and the

PAC vice-president had exchanged views on a number of wide-ranging issues concerning developments in South Africa.

He met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, among other political leaders in the country. He was scheduled to leave for Zambia yesterday after-noon. - Sapa



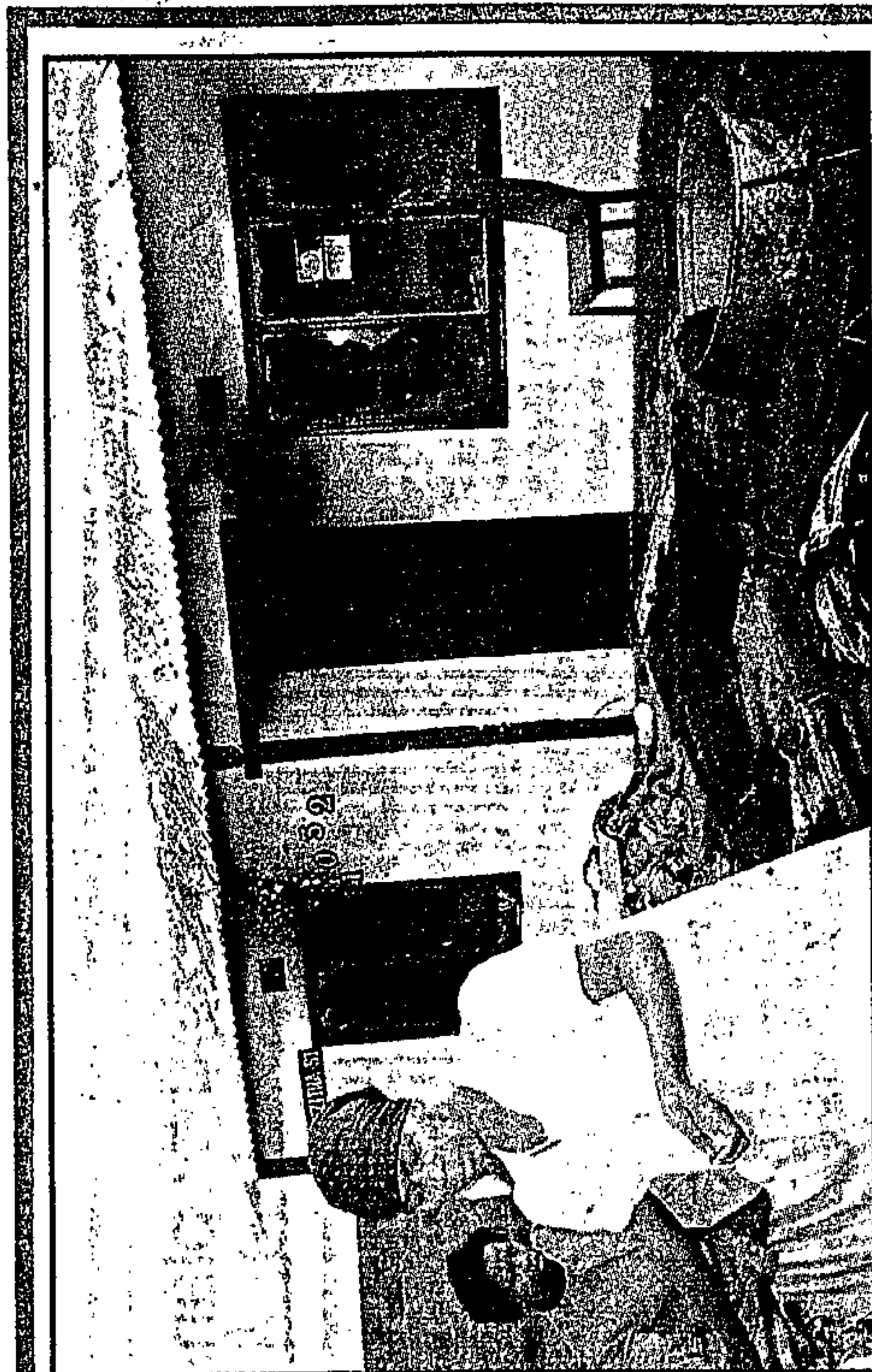


# Nats' interim

# plan

304A

80 welan 24/3/92



Ms Caroline Jwara stands next to the ruins of what used to be her relatives' home in Mzimhlophe, Soweto. The house was gutted during an attack on the family on Sunday night.

**THE Government yesterday proposed the creation of four transitional councils and the expansion of the Cabinet as the first phase of interim rule.**

These broadly-based transitional councils, however, would be purely advisory and were condemned by the ANC as "toy telephones".

They would advise various Government departments on regional and local government as well as finance.

The councils would, in co-operation with

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political Correspondent

the Department of Home Affairs, also facilitate and oversee free and fair elections to a constitution-making body.

This constitution-making body - or otherwise known as a "constituent assembly" - would be the second phase and would serve the dual purpose of running the country under an interim constitution as well as writing a new constitution.

304A

## NP plans rejected

304A

From page 1

While the Government has proposed councils to oversee law and order (police) and defence, the creation of these bodies was contingent upon the disbanding of what it called private armies and the surrender of arms caches.

The ANC reacted strongly against the proposals, saying the envisaged councils would entrench power in the present Government.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Barend du Plessis last night confirmed that the transitional councils would "advise" the relevant Ministers, as the first phase, but denied that they would be ineffective.

Viljoen said because the Government was part of Codesa, and because Government officials would also be appointed to the councils, these bodies could hardly be termed ineffectual at this stage.

Viljoen said these councils would not last very long and the next phase mooted by other sources would be the election to a constitution-making body.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

AWB secretary-general Piet "Skiet" Rudolph yesterday resigned his post in the organisation in protest against leader Eugene Terre'Blanche reaching a "unilateral agreement" with Inkatha. 6/24/92

The "non-aggression" agreement, struck by Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni and Terre'Blanche just before the referendum, was swiftly repudiated by Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

Terre'Blanche, who said he would give only a personal, not an official response, said yesterday: "I feel sorry for Mr. Rudolph but he is interfering with my authority, which he should have accepted."

He said he could not afford to lose control of the AWB.

## Piet 'Skiet' quits senior AWB post

The AWB general staff would issue an official response later. (224)

Among Rudolph's reasons for resigning were the pre-referendum discussions and Terre'Blanche's subsequent "unilateral" agreement with Inkatha. (304A)

Rudolph — who would remain a member of the AWB — said he had come to the conclusion that his loyalty to Terre'Blanche had been misplaced and that the AWB leader had been prepared to plot and scheme behind his back with people "he did not even know".

In so doing, Terre'Blanche had damaged the cause of the folk and of the AWB.



# PAC denies rumours it may join Codesa

CF 24/3/92 (3047)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress has no plans to join the Codesa talks on a new constitution, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, said yesterday.

Responding to reports the PAC would consider participation when appropriate, he said the organisation was continually evaluating its policies, not only on negotiations but on a much wider range.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC was pursuing various steps in relation to the Patriotic Front, involving the ANC and others and that an announcement on this could be expect-

ed soon. He reiterated that the PAC had at no stage stated it had plans to join Codesa.

Earlier, after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Mr Vernon Mwaanga, Mr Moseneke said in reply to a question on possible Codesa participation that the PAC would consider this when it was appropriate.

● Azapo yesterday snubbed Mr Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to the ANC's Patriotic Front partners to join forces with the ANC at Codesa. In a statement Azapo said it would not respond to calls made by the ANC through the media. — Sapa

# CP split looms in post-poll meeting

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party's post mortem after its heavy defeat in last week's referendum continues today amid growing signs that it is breaking up.

Already one caucus member has said "I'll walk" if the party does not agree to participate in Codesa — an issue which will be on the table today as a rider to a motion of confidence in the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht.

If the caucus adheres to present policy and rejects participation there is no doubt that before the end of the day it will have split after just 10 years in existence.

Natal leader Mr Carl Werth, tipped as possible leader of the pro-negotiation faction, declined to be drawn into the debate yesterday.

## Takeover?

But there is no denying the tension in the party ranks as it faces the consequences of a dreadful hiding at the polls last Tuesday when whites indicated clearly that they supported negotiations.

First prize for the pro-negotiation faction, believed to number about 15 members, is a takeover of the party and the axing of Dr Treurnicht and deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

It would appear, however, that the faction does not have the numbers to take over and that its members will be suspended if they attempt a coup.

If that happens, a new party is likely to be formed.



JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging secretary-general Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph yesterday resigned his position because of the "undemocratic" leadership of Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Mr Terre'Blanche said: "I've handed Mr Rudolph's letter over to the AWB general staff, and they will issue a statement on this matter on Monday or Tuesday."

In his letter of resignation, Mr Rudolph said he had had problems with the organisation's leadership since the incidents in Ventersdorp, but

## Piet 'Skiet' fires off salvo at AWB leader

had remained a member for the sake of unity.

The way in which Mr Terre'Blanche had overruled the decisions of the general staff and impulsively changed his own decisions had made the general staff redundant. Mr Rudolph claimed that Mr Ter-

re'Blanche's actions during the referendum had cost the organisation many votes.

He referred in particular to the AWB leader's "unilateral agreement" to a non-aggression pact with the Inkatha Freedom Party without consulting the general staff.

"The subsequent publicity had created problems and had harmed our referendum campaign.

"It also gave the impression that he (Mr Terre'Blanche) treated his general staff like shopwindow dummies."

Mr Rudolph described as the "last straw" the two occasions when Mr Terre'Blanche had undermined his authority by holding secret meetings with subordinates.

He said the AWB's organisation in Pretoria and the Eastern Transvaal "lay in tatters". — Sapa

TOKYO. — The South African government and political groups may reach agreement next month on forming an interim government, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told top officials here yesterday.

A Japanese foreign ministry official said Mr Botha told Foreign Minister Mr Michio Watanabe that "the agreement to form a provisional government could be reached as early as April" CT 243192

Mr Botha and Mr Watanabe discussed a possible visit to Tokyo by President

## Interim govt in April, says Pik

F W de Klerk, but did not come up with a timetable, the official said, adding Mr De Klerk could visit here in June.

Mr Botha also urged Japan to play a greater role in developing Southern African countries. (2044)

"We know that political reforms cannot

be carried out without economic development," he was quoted as saying.

Mr Watanabe did not make any commitment, but the foreign ministry said yesterday Tokyo would send an economic mission of business leaders and government officials to SA, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana in May.

Japan's business leaders hailed last week's referendum result and reaffirmed that the two countries would be establishing full diplomatic relations in January next year. — Sapa-Reuter



ANC rejects 'advisory' councils

# Govt tables proposals for interim rule

B 10 Aug 24/3/92

304A

GOVERNMENT and the NP yesterday tabled at Codesa proposals for the appointment of a series of "transitional councils" for areas of government "requiring special attention" during the preparatory phase of a transitional government.

These proposals were immediately rejected by the ANC on the grounds that the councils would have only advisory rather than executive powers.

The government/NP proposals also laid down the framework for the secondary phase — government based on a transitional constitution encompassing a rotating three- to five-man presidency, a cabinet appointed by consensus of the presidency and a bicameral system consisting of a national assembly and a senate. A charter of fundamental rights is a further feature of the NP's transitional plan.

The proposals for the second phase are essentially in line with the NP's constitutional proposals published last year.

During the preparatory phase the transitional councils would cover areas such as elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order, defence and possibly also education, housing, health and international relations. Their appointment would be facilitated through legislation passed in Parliament, starting possibly as early as April.

ALAN FINE

Thabo Mbeki, ANC head of working group 3, said the proposals "raised serious questions about the government's conduct in negotiations" in that they went against the in principle agreement of two weeks ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements was "the creation of a transitional executive structure" appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.

According to the proposals, each council would consist of six members designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. There would be a maximum of 30 council members, probably requiring that some individuals serve on more than one council.

All councils meeting together would constitute a Joint Transitional Council which would have undefined duties but which would be able to reach agreement on resolutions. The entire council structure would operate on the basis of consensus.

The transitional council for elections would be "charged with the preparations and planning for the holding of elections under the transitional constitution and to ensure that they will be free and fair".

The task of the councils for regional and local government would be primarily to

□ To Page 2

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□ From Page 1

delimitate the boundaries of provinces or federal states and local government areas.

The finance council "shall do planning and preparations relating to the handling of government finances in a next constitutional dispensation". Initiate and coordinate negotiations especially regarding intergovernmental financing, and "may be given the opportunity of making inputs regarding budgeting".

The establishment of councils for law and order and defence would depend on the progress of working group 1 dealing with a climate for free political expression.

Councils to deal with socio-economic issues and international relations were also possible, the proposals say.

Mbeki said the functions of the proposed councils had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of phase one of the transition, which was to level the political playing field and ensure fair elections.

The ANC's main objection to the proposed phase two framework was with regard to the proposals for the senate. Government has suggested the senate be regionally based. If sufficient progress on a system of regional government had not been made at the time of an election, "the senate can initially be composed of members of existing legislative bodies".

The ANC said that while it had no objec-

tions to a regionally based senate, the proposal would place in the senate existing discredited tricameral and homeland structures. It was unacceptable that such structures should coexist with, and have veto powers over, an elected constitutional making and governing assembly.

The status of the TBVC states in this process was unclear, and the ANC also objected that no council was proposed to oversee the state-run media.

Despite their differences, both Mbeki and government spokesmen expressed confidence that agreement could be reached, possibly before the end of April.

Commenting on the ANC's objections, a senior government source said government was flexible on the powers of the councils. The document was an initial proposal for negotiation rather than a unilateral imposed solution. "There may be an imbalance on the part of both ourselves and the ANC. We are perhaps too strong on control, but they are looking for power without taking responsibility."

He added that the councils — particularly those devoted to socio-economic issues — could serve an important function way beyond the transitional period in a similar way that the National Manpower Commission had for labour.

● See Page 4



# TV's tonight plan for talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government has unveiled a tough set of transitional proposals which deny a swift power-sharing role for the ANC and demand the disbanding of umkhonto weSizwe as a precondition for an interim constitution.

The headline proposals also stipulate that a negotiated interim constitution would be implemented only when violence and general lawlessness were brought under control, and calls for sanctions ended.

The plan for the "preparatory interim phase" by-passes opposition demands for joint control of the top government executive or a "super cabinet" responsible for the day-to-day running of the country. It proposes instead a series of purely advisory "transitional councils" (TCs) with still to be determined functions to help with planning for a new constitutional dispensation.

The ANC last night dismissed the government plan as "worse than co-option" and an "outrageous retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory 'toy telephones'."

## 'Lame ducks'

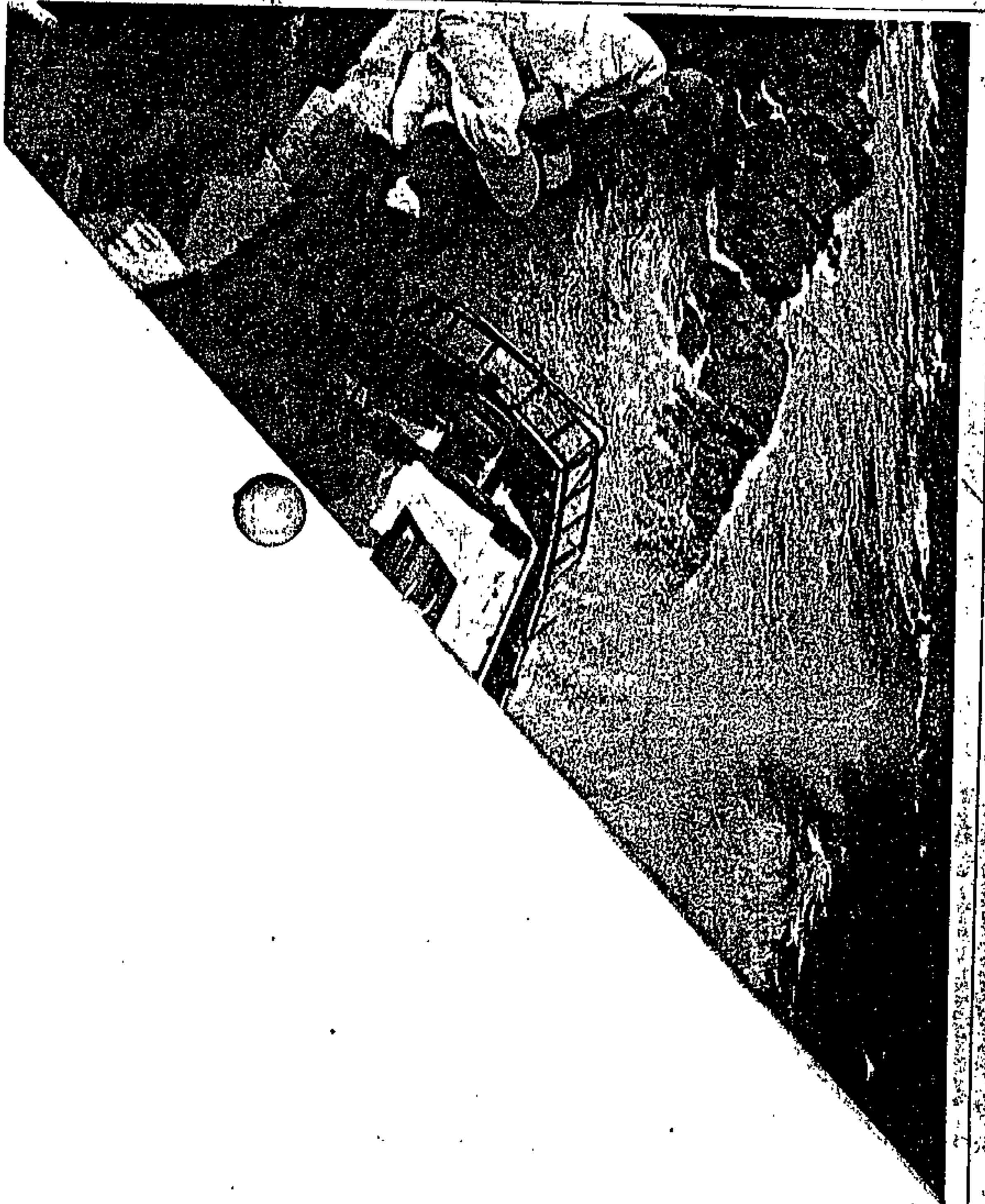
The SA Communist Party rejected the proposed TCs as "powerless lame ducks" and demanded the government go back to the drawing board "and come back as quickly as possible to Codessa, but this time with serious proposals."

Terms of the government plan, the multi-party TCs would formulate proposals and make recommendations in four areas: Elections, regional government, local government and government finance.

However, the last TC would be empowered only to deal with "planning and preparation relating to a next (rather than present) constitutional dispensation" and "may" only be given the opportunity of making inputs regarding budgeting.

The draft proposals also allow for an investigation into the "possibility of instituting" TCs in areas such as education, housing, health and international relations.

The seven members of the TCs, which would operate on the basis of consensus, would be appointed by the State President. Six would be designated by the management committee of Codessa and an additional member by the State President.



SMASHED  
beyond  
False



# Massive 'yes' was not an endorsement of the NP

STAR 25/3/92

304A

**T**HERE are disturbing signs that the Government is abusing the big "yes" vote in the referendum, using it not as an opportunity to build goodwill and national unity, but taking it as a mandate to ram through National Party policy.

The "yes" vote was achieved thanks to the support of thousands of non-Nats, liberals who have spent their lives opposing apartheid, who despise everything the Nats have done and are still deeply suspicious of their motives.

They turned out in unprecedented numbers to vote not for the National Party or for President de Klerk, but for the process of negotiation. It was their final act of self-vindication after years of frustration and abuse, and their massive turn-out saved FW from possible defeat at the hands of his own erstwhile followers.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged this in his acceptance speech. Now he is misusing it, claiming it as a mandate for his party's position.

The first inkling of this came within days of the referendum, with reports that the Government



**Allister Sparks**

was now going to get tough with the ANC and demand that if it did not disband its military wing immediately there would be no Codesa 2.

Then we had the Justice Department's peremptory announcement that executions are to be resumed. This displayed total contempt for Codesa, where the issue of capital punishment is on the agenda to be negotiated.

There are proposals before that body to abolish the death penalty.

Yet the Government has decided unilaterally to resume hangings after after their suspension two years ago to allow the whole issue of capital punishment to be reassessed.

One day later we have the Government tabling proposals for interim rule that virtually negate the progress made in negotiations

before the referendum.

A fortnight ago South Africa appeared to be on the edge of a breakthrough. The Government and the ANC had reached tacit agreement on the basic form the interim arrangements should take — an elected government and legislature with a transitional executive appointed by Codesa.

Now the Government has backed right away from that, putting forward a totally different proposal for a series of "transitional councils" that will have no executive authority at all and leaves full power in the hands of the present Cabinet.

The transitional councils will be powerless. The Government can veto any of their recommendations and continue running the country and the security forces and the SABC and everything else exactly as it does now. All the negotiations that have taken place about "levelling the political playing field" and ensuring free and fair elections seem to count for naught.

The cherry on the top is a proposal that the members of the present despised tricameral Par-

liament and the discredited "homeland" legislatures could form a Senate which would also have veto powers over the transitional councils' recommendations.

It is not only the substance of these proposals that rankle; the tone in which they have been presented is arrogant. Thus it is stated peremptorily that there will be no transitional government until the ANC has disbanded its military wing and all violence has stopped — as though poor policing, for which the regime is responsible, has nothing to do with the violence.

Thus, too, we are told that this is only a framework; the full proposals of what the Government has in mind for a transitional constitution will be presented to Codesa towards the end of April in the form of draft legislation.

Not an ordinary document, like all the other Codesa parties have presented, but *draft legislation* to emphasise who has the power, who's the boss.

It is quite clear that this high-handed approach, after months of reasonableness, is because the Government feels strengthened by

the referendum result. It has taken the "yes" vote as endorsement of its own party political line.

This was always a danger, of course, and many of us who voted "yes" were worried at the time that our votes would be abused in this way. It was epitomised by that doughty old warrior, Helen Joseph, who was harassed and silenced and house-arrested for nine years by this "reformist" Government and who went to vote in her wheelchair with a sign around her neck saying "I am voting for negotiation, not F W de Klerk."

It is the Democratic Party that now faces the biggest problem, for it was conned worst of all. It went fully into the "yes" vote campaign, even to the point of having its leaders appear on joint platforms with the Government, and now its votes are being taken as support for Nat policy.

The moment of decision for the DP is fast approaching. Its identity was badly blurred by the campaign, and now its support has been appropriated.

The party in any event faces a crisis of survival as the non-racial

South Africa for which it has striven so long is born. At its best, in the 1989 election, its 452 000 votes were about 20 percent of the country's electorate. When the electorate swells to include the whole population it will be less than 2,5 percent.

At that level it will fail to make the cut — probably five percent — in a general election run on a proportional representation list system. Even if it is extraordinarily successful in recruiting Indian and other members who are not white, it will only just make it with one or two MPs.

Spurred by the way the NP is abusing its referendum support, the long-awaited split in the DP cannot now be far off. A number of members, perhaps as many as a dozen MPs, will join the ANC. Others will linger a while, then join the Nats.

But its ideas and influence will live on, in other political groupings. Those who join the ANC will perform the immensely important task of giving substance to the ideal of non-racialism. Those who join the Nats will, hopefully, give it a sense of decency. □

# Buthelezi attacks NP proposals

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

STAR 25/3/92

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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a stinging attack on the Government's latest proposals for the transition period, labelling them "a constitutional vehicle designed to trample and drive all over KwaZulu".

He threatened "bold and high-profile countrywide action" if KwaZulu was excluded from Codesa decision-making.

The development — described by a National Party source as a "bolt from the blue" — came immediately after the sharp rejection of Government proposals by the ANC and SA Communist Party.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were made in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday.

They caused a stir at Codesa, where delegates met in the working group charged with securing agreement on a structural "package" for the run-up to non-racial elections.

Government proposals provide for transitional councils as a step towards transitional government.

The ANC/SACP alliance rejected them because the councils would have advisory, not executive, powers. Chief Buthelezi objected to the fact that they could make decisions about KwaZulu's future without its approval.

Democratic Party delegate Ken Andrew suggested a way out of the impasse. It included proposals that a transitional executive structure should include a transitional executive council

and a number of multiparty committees, with effective and not merely advisory powers.

In other developments:

- Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said a sub-committee had heard evidence on the possible participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

- The ANC proposed the appointment by Codesa of a media commission which would appoint an "independent communications authority" to take over State broadcasting powers.

- The ANC proposed a multiparty "national council for democracy" to compile an education programme for transition.

- A sub-committee yesterday explored co-operation between Codesa and the National Peace Committee.



# Mudge predicts rightwing will join reform process

3044 25/3/92 AKG

## Political Staff

PRETORIA. — If President De Klerk presses ahead with his reform programme, most rightwing groups will join the negotiation process or become irrelevant, says the leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia, Mr Dirk Mudge.

Mr Mudge told a conference in Pretoria that support for rightwing parties in Namibia — which had majority support among whites before independence two years ago — had dwindled to less than 20 percent.



Mr Dirk Mudge

In the last white election in Namibia in 1980, the National Party (which Mr Mudge called the Namibian equivalent of the South African Conservative Party) and the Herstigste Nasionale Party had jointly polled 57 percent of the white vote, compared with 43 percent for the DTA.

"That election was, in fact, a test of white opinion on the continuation of negotiations and 57 percent voted 'no'."

"However, the process continued, because they could not stop it, and today, ten years later, that 57 percent has vanished."

"In the end, the rightwingers joined the process, they joined the constitu-

tional assembly and today they are part of the government as minority parties."

Mr Mudge said he believed democracy to be the "ideal" way of safeguarding the interests of minorities such as Afrikaners who feared for their future under a majority government.

"This is best done by a Bill of Fundamental Rights, such as we have in Namibia, and a democracy entrenched in the constitution."

He said while coalitions between political parties were normal practice, these should not be entrenched in the constitution, as proposed by the National Party of South Africa at Codesa.

The DTA had refused an offer by the ruling party, Swapo, for various Cabinet posts because it wanted to retain its independence as an opposition party.

"The DTA decided to retain its independence, and we are now free to criticise the government because we don't owe it anything."

Mr Mudge said that while a future government in South Africa would have to work for national reconciliation, some forms of affirmative action were inevitable.

"As long as it is in the interest of the country and not only of a certain political party, I have no problem."

However, he warned South Africa not to repeat the mistake of the Namibian government, which had sacrificed efficiency in the public service by ignoring the criterion of merit in appointments.

Nelson Mandela's call on the PAC to join Codesa is nothing new, writes Michael Morris

# Still hesitating on the doorstep

STAR 25/3/92 (3044)

STAR 25/3/92

**F**ANFARE accompanied the formation of the Patriotic Front last year as the Left and Further Left of black politics edged themselves gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 — by virtue of a breakaway of hardliners from the ANC — rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotia-

tions intensify, risks mount both for those parties who are absent from the table, and for the parties who face strident opposition from absentees.

It is against this background that Mr Mandela made his appeal in Paarl on Sunday.

Black liberation movements, he said, should speak with one voice.

"We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation."

Mr Mandela's appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades

ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC arose at the time of the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council — which, in fact, included the PAC — the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the campaign.

But, in February, the PAC unexpectedly announced a campaign of its own, and declared March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time is reflected in a piece written by Mr Mandela himself in which he warns the PAC: "The three-year-old breakaway from the African National Congress

will find further survival very difficult if it persists in wrecking what it cannot build."

But it was in January 1962 that the young Mr Mandela rose above this internecine strife and, in an address to the conference of the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all "struggling peoples ... to close ranks, to stand firm as a rock and not allow themselves to be divided by petty political rivalries while their countries burn."

"At this critical moment in the history of struggle," he told delegates, "unity among our people in South Africa and in the other territories has become as vital as the air we breathe, and it should be preserved at all costs."

More than 10 years later, in a statement from Robben Island at the time of the Soweto uprising in

the mid-1970s, Mr Mandela put the case for a common black Front somewhat more bluntly when he said: "The first condition for victory is black unity."

"Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed."

"Our people ... must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity."

Political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against, rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint this week of the PAC's continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke remarked: "As to Codesa ... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people."

He added: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and the Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it. □



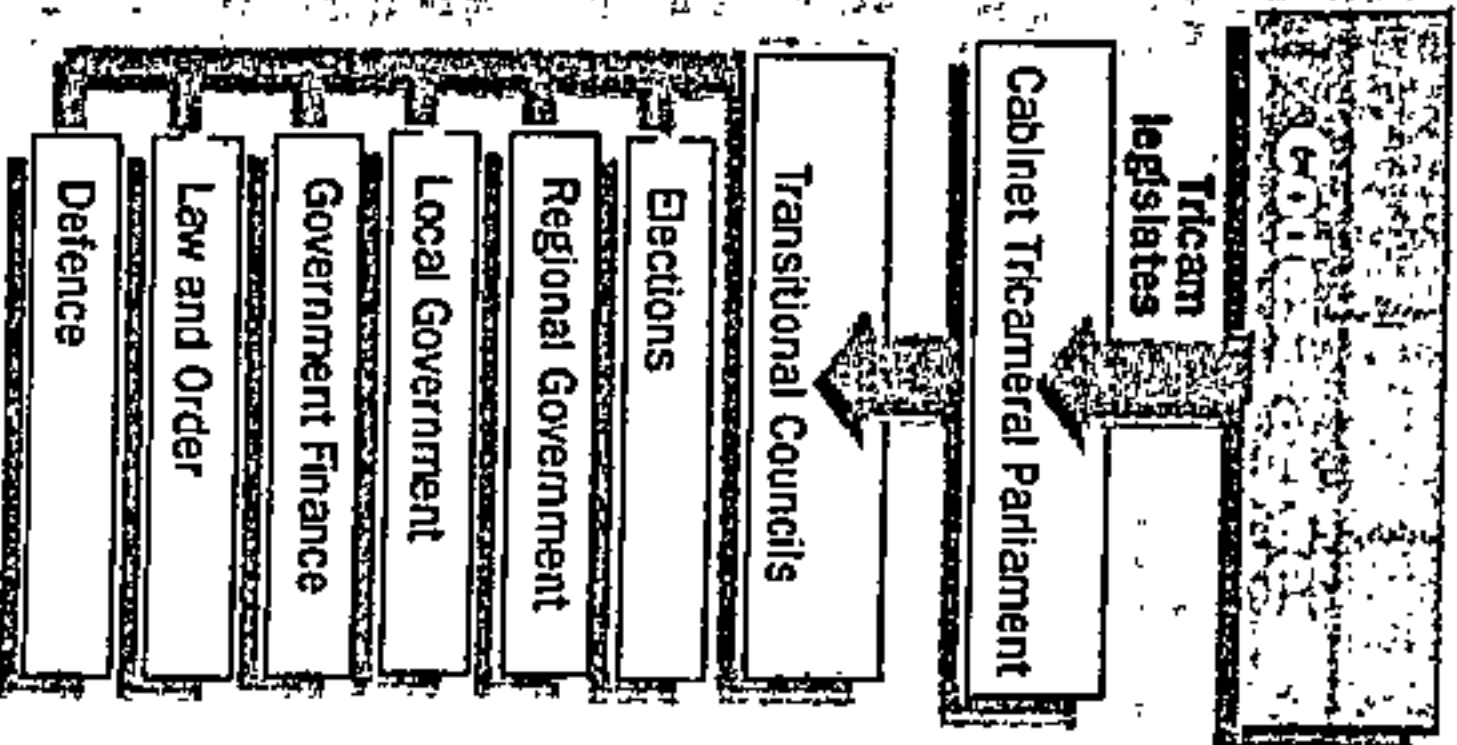
# Now for the real nitty-gritty

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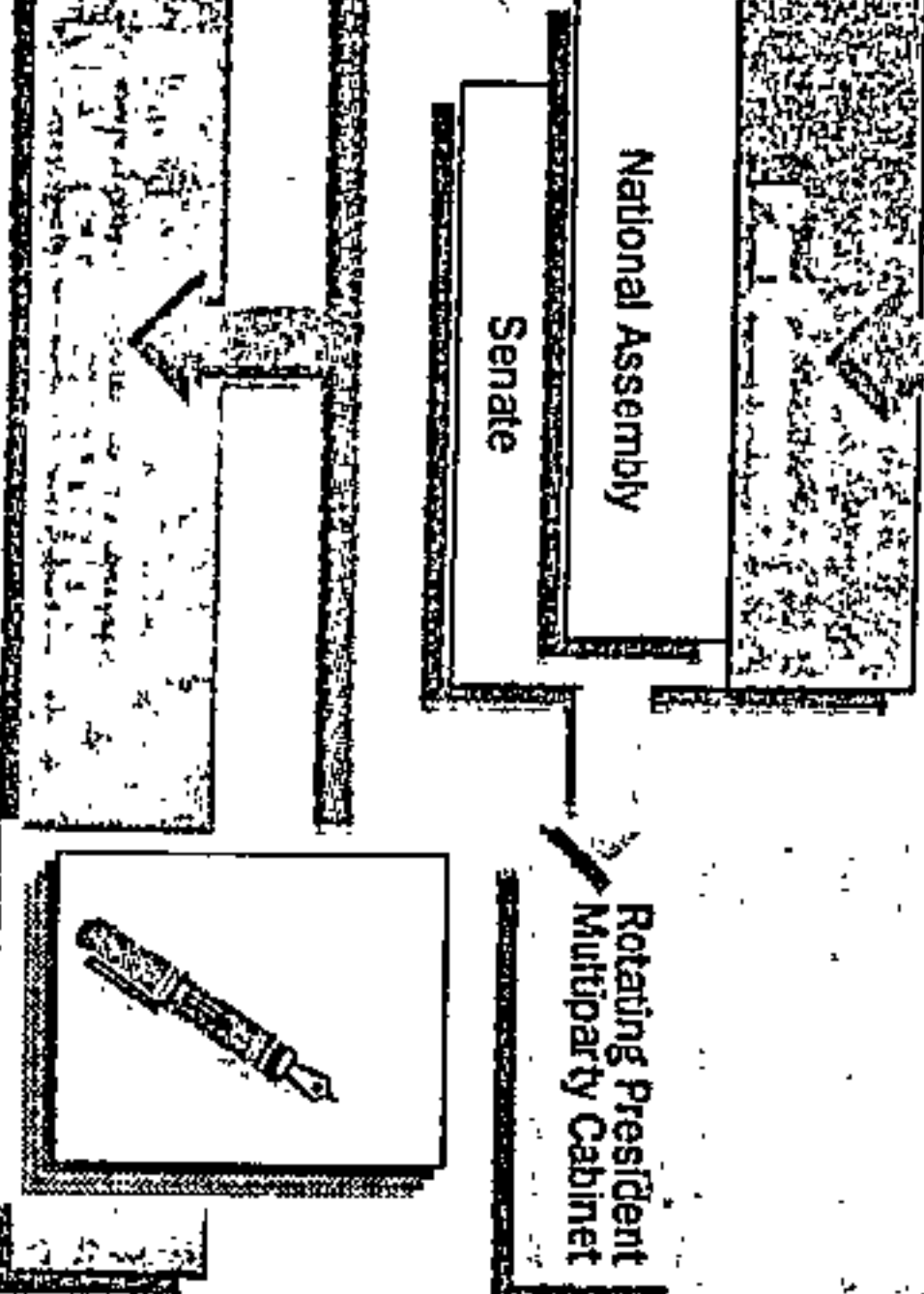
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## The NP proposals

### PHASE I: Preparatory steps



### PHASE II: Transitional structures



Graphic:  
GAIL  
IRWIN  
LIZ  
WARDER

As the Government and the ANC get closer to general agreement on interim rule, the remaining points of detailed difference stand out more clearly — and appear more intractable. The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON puts the latest Government proposals in context.

**W**ALK UP to a Codesa delegate at the World Trade Centre and ask him or her to summarise the key differences between the Government and ANC plans for transitional structures in South Africa.

The chances are very good that — assuming you have not run fortuitously into Dr Gerrit Viljoen or the ANC's Professor Kader Asmal — the delegates' eyes will glaze over, and a smile will be replaced by a look of frank panic.

The reason is that this stage of negotiations, which President de Klerk correctly characterises as "urgent and historic", is also unprecedentedly complicated.

There was a time, at the beginning of the year, when delegates used to express concern that Codesa was losing the "public out there" — that ordinary people were suffocating under a mass of detail. Now it is the delegates themselves who are gasping for breath.

As the negotiations process proceeds, broad principle has necessarily to give way to narrow detail. Proposals and counter-proposals are submitted in innumerable sub-committees each and every week — and not only by the major negotiating partners, but by no less than 19 participating organisations of varying influence and clarity of thought.

If one is to retain any level of comprehension, it is necessary to select from the competing messages those that matter. What matters most at the moment is the achievement of agreement on a "package" of proposals for how the country's administration will be structured in the vital period running up to the first all-in elections for a new parliament which will

eventually draft a new constitution.

On the principle of "sufficient consensus" which has developed in Codesa, such agreement will therefore require — at the very least — a bargain struck between the Government and the ANC, and preferably with the enthusiastic concurrence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the more substantial homelands.

The Star publishes a graphic illustration of the latest state of play in terms of the ANC and Government proposals. Both, in their present forms, are products of considerable bargaining over the past few months.

A key point of difference between the two should be clear from the diagrams, and it is on this terrain that much of the political battle in Codesa will be fought in coming weeks.

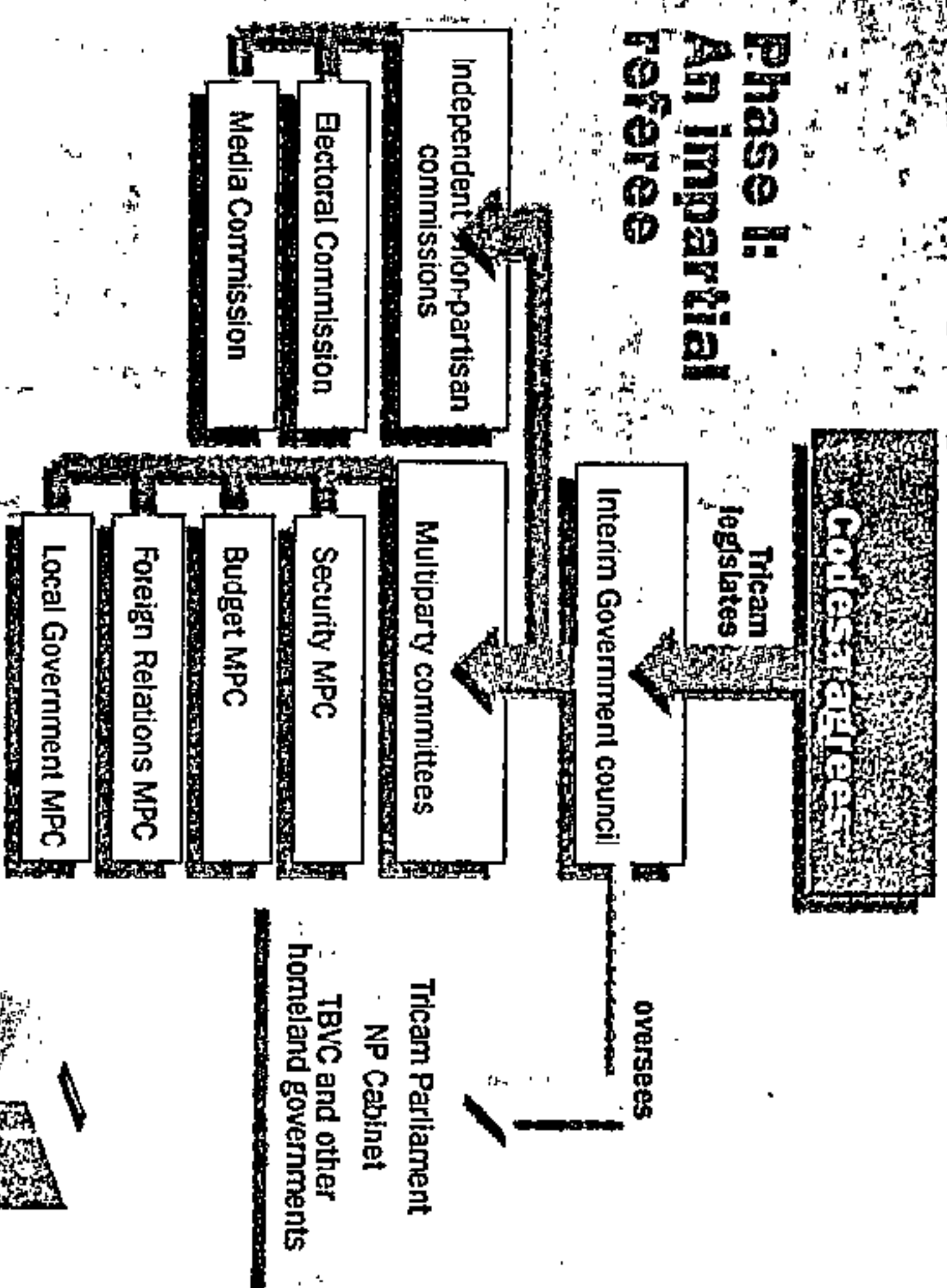
In Phase One of the ANC's proposal, an interim structure assumes supervisory powers over existing institutions including the cabinet, the tricameral Parliament, and homeland administrations. The Government plan inverts these lines of authority, leaving the existing cabinet with the final say, subject to advice from "transitional councils".

Debates over Phase Two — which will, when the time comes, be even more difficult than those under way now — can proceed only once the initial hurdles have already been negotiated.

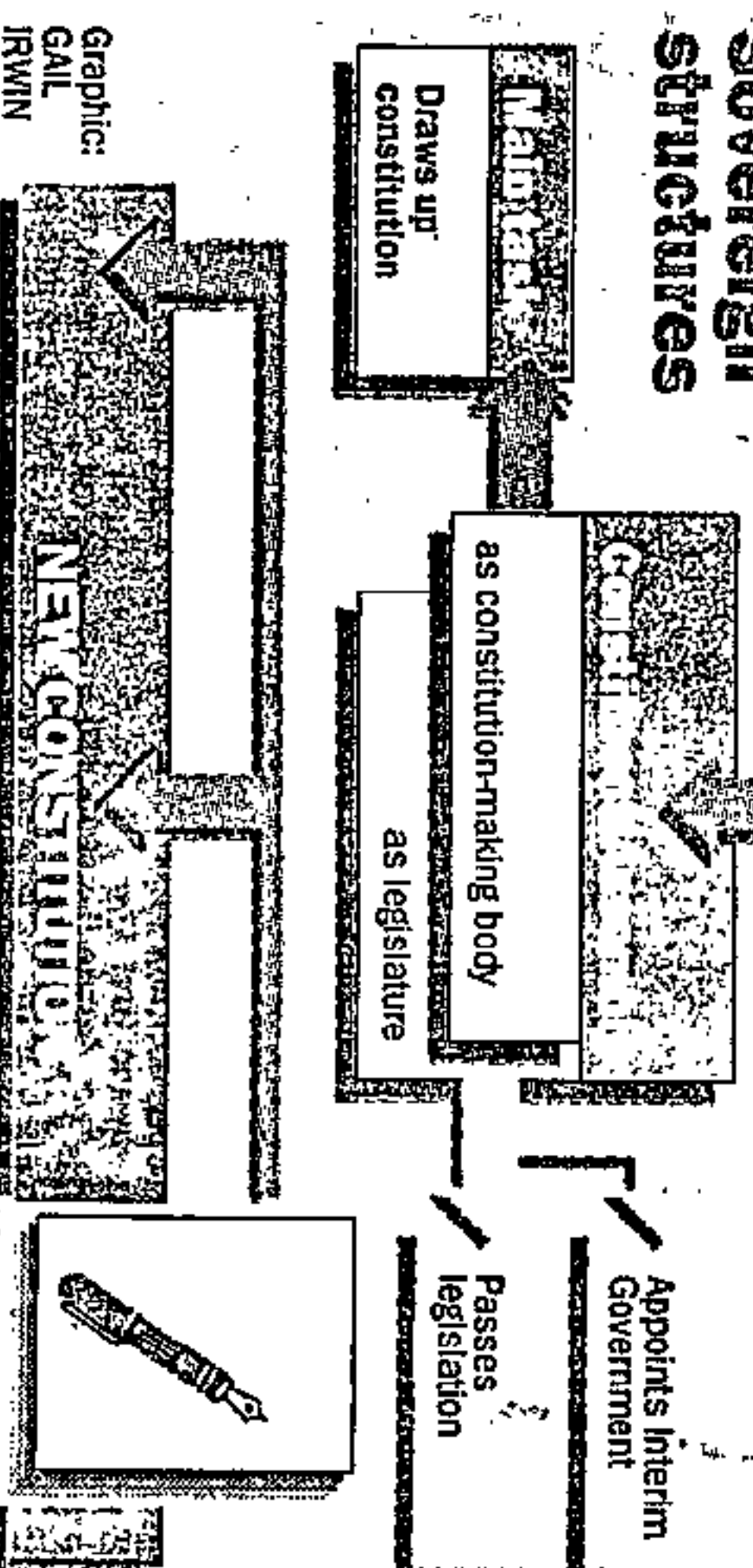
If, as many hope, South Africa is to enter into the first phase of transitional, nonracial government within weeks or months, it seems a path will have to be cleared between a position that leaves all executive power in the hands of the Government until elections are held, and one which takes most of it away, straight away. □

## The ANC proposals

### Phase I: An impartial referee



### Phase II: Sovereign structures



Graphic:  
GAIL  
IRWIN



# CP closes ranks behind Treurnicht

STAR 25/3/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

304A

The Conservative Party has closed ranks behind its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to counter growing speculation about splits and a leadership crisis in the wake of last week's referendum.

After a special caucus meeting to discuss strategy yesterday, CP chief whip Frank le Roux issued a statement in which the caucus expressed its confidence in and thanks to Dr Treurnicht for his "untiring diligence, pure leadership and sacrificial devotion to the interests of the volk and the Conservative Party".

The caucus confirmed its readiness to negotiate with other peoples (volke) but spoke out unanimously against participation in Codesa.

It stated four objections to Codesa — that it denied the supremacy of the Holy Trinity,

failed to recognise the right to self-determination of peoples, was dominated by communists, and its commitment to a unitary state was a recipe for a "bloody power struggle".

Some observers are interpreting the statement to mean that if these objections are removed, the CP could participate in Codesa — in other words that the CP is setting down certain conditions for participation in Codesa.

This could suggest that the pro-negotiation camp in the party is starting to prevail as the CP tries to set a new post-referendum direction.

However, the tensions within the party will only be put to the real test on Saturday when the head committee meets to make a firm decision on strategy.

This might help answer the question whether the united front that the party is now presenting is merely tactical or whether the party has really buried its differences.



# Buthelezi rejects Government plan

Sowetan 25/3/92

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the Government's transitional proposals, saying KwaZulu's interests were not considered when the proposals were drawn up.

In a statement released at the World Trade Centre, Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said that through this proposal a new South Africa was being fashioned without KwaZulu being consulted or even drawn into the whole process.

He said the transitional councils proposed by the Government would in effect be a legislator which included representation from the four TBVC states, but not KwaZulu.

KwaZulu would not be dictated to by TBVC states in committees and in councils from which it was excluded.

He rejected the proposed establishment of a transitional government or constituent assembly and the holding of elections before the future of self-governing territories had been decided on.

The statement said the KwaZulu government's recent compromise to forgo its position at Codesa in favour of that of the Zulu king had been rejected and that, therefore, demands were again being made that the KwaZulu government, the IFP and the king of the Zulus all be represented at Codesa. - *South African Press Association*.

# Pietersburg is worried by CP tag

Sowetan 25/3/92

304A

By DON SEOKANE

THE National Party, Democratic Party and businessmen in Pietersburg are worried that the town is "acquiring a rotten name as a hornet's nest of conservatism".

A week after the referendum results were announced these groups are adamant that, had it voted as a town and not as part of a region, Pietersburg would have registered a "yes" vote.

Referendum results showed that Pietersburg was the only region in the country to have registered a "no" vote - with a majority of 12 000.

However, DP and NP officials are saying that in Pietersburg as a town and not a region, the CP\AWB alliance was defeated by the DP and NP's joint campaign.

DP chairman Mr Jan van Vollenhoven said the CP could have received a 6 000 majority votes at Potgietersrus and a further 6 000 in the Waterberg constituency.

"This would clearly imply that Pietersburg, Lydenburg and Soutpansberg voted 'yes'. Canvassing figures by the DP, which correspond to those of the NP, indicate that

Pietersburg voted an overwhelming 'yes'," said Vollenhoven, adding that during the 1983 referendum Pietersburg as a town also voted "yes".

He said the DP urged the Government not to use Pietersburg as a collective name for isolated trouble spots in the Far Northern Transvaal.

"Pietersburg is acquiring a rotten name nationally and internationally as a hornet's nest of conservatism, which is completely contrary to the reality."

According to local papers, business leaders are also concerned about the negative publicity the town is acquiring because of the referendum results.

A local business leader said that in future business would depend on the effectiveness of the marketing strategy to wriggle Pietersburg out of the "negative publicity it has attracted".

## Coke to remain in Swaziland

Sowetan 25/3/92  
MBABANE - Coca-Cola has decided against returning to South Africa, the major concentrate-making plant it moved to Swaziland in 1987 because of anti-apartheid sanctions. Instead, the company is to spend R20-million on ex-

panding the Swaziland plant, almost doubling its investment in the kingdom. The move was announced yesterday by Coca-Cola's world vice-president, Mr George Gourlay, after a meeting with King Mswati.



NIES

## Call made to business to form negotiating body

(3041)

SHARON WOOD

BUSINESS should establish a formally constituted negotiating body to become more closely involved in negotiations concerning a new political and economic dispensation, Standard Bank Investment Corporation chairman Henri de Villiers said in the group's 1991 annual report released yesterday.

The negotiating body, on which leaders of SA's major corporates would be personally represented, should be funded by the private sector, he added.

"Given such a broader platform the business community would be in a position to promote policies favourable to business and the creation of wealth."

It was imperative that business acted as a main participant in the negotiating process and not as a facilitator, he said.

The establishment of Codesa had been the first time that a national process of political consultation had been open to the population as a whole.

Nevertheless, levels of conflict remained unacceptably high and businessmen would have to take into account the evident potential for further serious social disruption and the implied constraints on economic growth, he said. *B1 Day 25/3/92*

De Villiers said political and social issues would be the main determinants of the business climate in 1992.

He did not expect liquidity conditions to deteriorate and thus the group was budgeting for an increase in earnings in 1992 in spite of a continuing lack of satisfactory lending opportunities.

Opportunities in southern Africa for SA business, including the financial services sector, could be expected to grow because there were clear indications that many African governments were becoming aware of the need to establish a positive business climate.

# CP caucus stands by Treurnicht

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party's caucus yesterday closed ranks by formally supporting party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — but the knives are out for the dissidents who have been leaking details of an imminent party split.

In particular, a witch-hunt has been launched for the internal sources that have been disclosing information about the possible leadership coups and general turmoil racking the party since its humiliating defeat in last week's referendum.

The crunch for the party is expected to come at the weekend when the head committee meets to discuss the crisis in the party.

The statement issued after yesterday's caucus meeting gave only a glimpse of what had transpired and some of those who originally threw their lot in with the pro-negotiation rebels are now running for cover.

The statement issued by chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said the party reaffirmed its confidence in Dr Treurnicht and was committed to negotiations with leaders of other peoples (volke).

But the CP ruled out participation in Codesa at this stage.

Reasons given were:

- Doubts about the supremacy of "the Holy Trinity" at the forum.
- The failure to recognise self-determination of "our people".
- The domination of Codesa by communists.
- The forum's commitment to a unitary state which amounted to "a recipe for a bloody power struggle".

The party's old-guard leadership remains strongly opposed to any participation in Codesa but the rebels are expected to put their position on Saturday — and a split remains a distinct possibility.

## 'Walk out'

A prominent member of the party said at the weekend that he would "walk out" of the party if it did not opt for participation in Codesa.

He indicated yesterday that he stood by his statement and a number of MPs are thought to back him.

Central to the rebels' thinking is a plan to take over the party structures without necessarily splitting the CP.

Top Nationalist sources said yesterday that they were putting out feelers to disgruntled CP MPs and remained confident that there would be defections in coming weeks.

It is understood that some CP MPs are also considering the possibility of sitting as independents in Parliament.



# NP proposals ringing the bells of 'toy telephones'

THE 81-year-old ANC and SA Communist Party veteran Mr Govan Mbeki must have done a double take when the government took the wraps off its transitional proposals this week.

For the centre-piece of the government's plan to broaden democracy by giving blacks a voice in national politics — the proposed transitional councils (TCs) — has at first glance some uncanny similarities with the Native Representative Councils (NRCs) set up over 50 years ago.

At the time, the top brass of the ANC — including Mr Mbeki — were sucked into participation in these government-sponsored consultative structures.

## Emboldened

But the bodies were eventually abandoned by black leaders when it became obvious that the NRCs had no real power and served merely as talking shops to string them along indefinitely.

Indeed, it is Mr Mbeki who is widely credited with encapsulating the frustration of black leaders in the 1940s by declaring that they were no longer prepared to deal with black political aspirations in South Africa via "toy telephones".

This week saw a replay of earlier misgivings when the government, apparently emboldened by its impressive victory in the whites-only referendum, unveiled a fresh set of proposals designed to lure blacks into joint structures.

Only this time around it was Mr Govan Mbeki's 49-year-old son, Thabo, who was the ANC's chief spokesperson sounding the alarm bells about dangers of participation in toothless consultative or advisory bodies which kept the reins of powers safely out of black hands for an unspecified period.

## Opening bid

As was the case in the past, good behaviour held out the prospect of increased responsibilities but power-sharing between the black majority and the minority government, for the time being at least, is out of the question.

The government's opening bid as Codesa once again settles down to the earnest business of fashioning a democratic order is clearly not designed to set the minds of rank-and-file ANC supporters at ease.

The younger and more militant ANC supporter — not to mention Mr Govan Mbeki — must today be harbouring grave doubts about the government's game plan.

PAC members who have been in two minds about their controversial decision to boycott Codesa have been handed a ready-made excuse to justify their non-participation stance.

## Delaying tactic

The government's hardline proposals are all the more curious given a number of delicate behind-the-scenes initiatives by various parties — including a number of African governments sympathetic to the PAC — to persuade that organisation to rethink its strategy on negotiations.

Has the government laughed off attempts to woo the PAC into talks? Is it more concerned about winning over "no" voters in a bid to consolidate its white power base in the wake of the referendum?

These are unfortunately, but understandably, some of the suspicions that have been fanned in extra-parliamentary circles where there remains a widespread belief that the government is intent on delaying the consequences of majority rule for as long as possible.

The most charitable explanation that can be placed on the government's proposals is that they are merely an opening bid in a lengthy political poker game.

Having won the referendum by a landslide margin, government negotiators may well have decided that the pressure at Codesa for them to make major concessions necessitated them taking a tough stand during the early stages of bargaining.



Midweek Politics  
By ANTHONY  
JOHNSON

204A

CT 25/3/92

# PAC slams govt proposals

THE PAC could not participate in Codesa when the government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule, the PAC's publicity secretary, Mr. Barney Desai, said yesterday. **SC447**

The government's latest transitional proposals were a "non-starter" because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Councils, which were purely advisory in nature.

"The right of the African

people to self-determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto," he said.

Mr Desai added: "We cannot participate under these circumstances — we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule." **CT 25/3/92**

● In an angry reaction to the

government's proposed transitional arrangements, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that a new South Africa was being formed around the Zulu nation which could lead to its destruction.

Representatives from "independent" homelands were going to be in the transitional councils and in Codesa, helping to write KwaZulu's future for it. — Political Correspondent and Sapa



**A**RE THE government/NP proposals on transitional rule tabled at Codesa on Monday simply ill-conceived, poorly drafted and a reflection of an arrogance born of last week's huge referendum majority? Or do they contain within them the seeds not only of a relatively smooth transition but also of durable structures which will deepen democracy in the new SA for decades to come?

Judged purely on the document submitted, it is difficult to tell. But that should surprise no one since vagueness and incoherence are common features of proposals made in the early stages of all sorts of negotiations.

The proposals are seemingly constructed to leave at least some room for compromise. But they also conceal a number of unstated concerns, hidden agendas and even differences of opinion between members of the NP/government negotiating team.

Oddly enough, the government proposals for the less important "preparatory" first phase of interim rule have drawn the most flak from the ANC alliance. This is the system of "transitional councils" which government proposes should operate until a transitional government has been elected in terms of a transitional constitution. The council system has been attacked by almost all the groups outside the NP/government axis because of its purely advisory nature.

**T**he alliance appears largely content with the proposals for the framework of the secondary, post-election transitional phase — a rotating presidency; a joint cabinet; and a bicameral system comprising a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate representing regions. These proposals are in line with the NP constitutional proposals published last year. Not surprisingly, the NP would not be averse to a final constitution based on the very same principles. That, however, will be a matter for later debate.

One important exception to the alliance's present contentment on these secondary phase proposals is the central role suggested for members of existing apartheid structures, such as homeland legislatures, in the

# Hidden concerns shaped NP plan for transitional rule

B/Daw  
25/3/92

ALAN FINE

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senate if proper regional government structures are not established in time for elections.

The ANC alliance on Monday lost no time in entering into the spirit of political discourse following the release of the NP/government proposals. It warned of a crisis, it feigned horror and disbelief, questioned the NP's very commitment to negotiations and demanded that it return to the drawing board.

The ANC claims government agreed earlier this month to an all-party "super cabinet" which would ensure the NP did not have sole control as the country moved towards transitional government. Committees with no greater powers than to advise the present government perpetuate apartheid rule, it argues.

In reality, though, there is no crisis at all. A senior government Minister commented that if agreement could not be reached "we would have no right to call ourselves negotiators". And the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, following his expressions of horror, when pressed to describe the depth of the "crisis" conceded he was confident of a solution.

There is good reason to suppose this is so. The transitional councils are structurally not dissimilar to the ANC's proposed multiparty commissions on matters like security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government; and independent commissions on elections and the state-run media. (The government proposals are conspicuously silent on

control over the SABC.)

Similarly, the NP's proposed joint transitional council could serve the same purpose as the ANC's proposed interim government council were its powers to be enhanced. But at issue is the extent of the powers of these bodies.

It is perhaps not surprising that the initial proposals give away as little as possible in the opening shot at negotiating an interim structure. But the government source concedes that there is, and must be, room for flexibility on the issue. "It is up for negotiation. We are well aware that the transitional structures have to pass a test of legitimacy."

**H**e points out the proposed councils' members, although formally appointed by President F W de Klerk, would be nominated by Codesa.

His flexible view is not necessarily held unanimously in the NP. One member of the ANC alliance suggests there are divisions within the Cabinet on this question. He says there are strong signs in working group 3 discussions of government delegate Barend du Plessis adopting a far harder line than his NP counterpart Dawie de Villiers.

The government source — on the left wing of the NP — concedes that the proposals may be imperfect. He notes that while government is perhaps too strong on retaining as much

control as possible, the ANC alliance seeks power without responsibility. It can be expected that the eventual compromise will address this very question.

Mbeki unintentionally touched on the reason for this unstated government concern when he said that all the ANC wanted the first phase interim government to do was level the political playing field, and ensure free and fair elections. He said the government's first phase proposals covered areas properly the concern only of an elected assembly during the secondary phase.

But he did not then explain why the ANC believed commissions dealing with government finance and international relations were appropriate to the first phase. One assumes that the former, at least, is at the behest of Cosatu which is far more convinced than the ANC that the time has arrived to become involved in decision-making on socio-economic issues, and that forums for this purpose need to be put in place as soon as possible.

The issue of what areas of joint rule are appropriate to which phase of interim rule lurks behind many proposals on both sides. The ANC alliance, anticipating a comfortable majority in an elected constituent/national assembly, seeks to postpone many debates to that post-election period when, it proposes, decisions be taken by a two-thirds majority.

That is why Mbeki complained on Monday that the first phase struc-

tures proposed by government appear to be designed "to investigate matters that are otherwise the domain of a constitution-making body". He was referring, presumably, to the suggested transitional councils charged with delineating new provinces or federal states, and those dealing with such matters as housing, education and health.

The NP/government grouping, on the other hand, would prefer to resolve as many issues as possible at Codesa where decisions are taken by consensus. As a bonus, it seems, the transitional constitution will be negotiated there. The council system would also be a way of getting over the "interim government by stealth" syndrome which has caused the NP some discomfort. It has studiously avoided being drawn into forums not of its own making on economic policy, housing and the like.

But it may be ungenerous to leave it at that. At least some NP leaders take a visionary view, arguing that the councils could be used to draw in groups like organised business and labour, housing and education specialists and community organisations to the policy-making process.

"Transitional councils have tremendous potential in various disciplines. Their role could extend long beyond the passage of a new constitution," the government source says, citing the National Manpower Commission as an example of what could be achieved.

**O**f all the obstacles in the way of a smooth transition, none is more daunting than that of the independent homelands, especially Bophuthatswana and to a lesser extent the Ciskei. Bophuthatswana is resisting all attempts to renounce its independence at this stage.

The imperatives to try to remain independent are strong. As one of the parliamentary party delegates to the relevant working group puts it: it is more a case of civil servants and politicians looking for ways of protecting their jobs than a serious examination of constitutional options.

The ANC alliance believes it has a simple solution: cut off their SA government subsidies and they will soon co-operate. But the NP is not yet ready to take so drastic a step, and this may become one of the most heated financial debates in the first transitional government.



# CP caucus rallies around its leader

CAPE TOWN — The CP caucus yesterday closed ranks around leader Andries Treurnicht and immediately started a witch hunt for the leader of the breakaway pro-negotiation faction.

The caucus unanimously passed a motion of confidence in the leadership of the party and expressed thanks for Treurnicht's determination and rejected any participation in negotiations at Codesa.

It is understood the showdown between the pro-negotiators and the hardliners was more likely to happen on Saturday when the executive of the CP meets in Pretoria to consider its options following the drubbing the party received in the referendum last week.

At the weekend a senior CP member said the party had to change its tack and enter negotiations because the vast majority of whites had clearly shown in the referendum that this was where the future lay.

He said should the party not shift or if it expressed confidence in its leadership then he would walk out. It is understood that at least 10 to 12 others would walk with him. He said the showdown would either happen yesterday or on Saturday.

The CP issued a statement after its caucus meeting yesterday that expressed its confidence in Treurnicht's "pure (suiwer) leadership" and sacrificial attitude in the interest of the

nation (volk) and the CP.

CP chief whip Frans le Roux said the caucus recommit itself to negotiations with other ethnic groups but "unanimously rejects participation in Codesa".

Codesa refused to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost), did not acknowledge the right to self-determination of whites and was being hijacked by communists.

"Its commitment to a unified state for the majority of peoples is a recipe for a bloody power struggle," he said.

The caucus is an indication of the direction of the party but the executive, the highest decision-making body, is the arena where the real battle will be waged.

□ Sapa reports from Ventersdorp the AWB general staff yesterday denied anyone in the organisation, with exception of former AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa.

A statement issued by the general staff after an emergency meeting, reaffirmed that the AWB would not take part in the Codesa negotiations.

The statement was in reaction to Rudolph's statement that he would persuade AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche to join the talks at Codesa.

A motion of confidence in Terre-Blanche had been passed at the meeting, the statement said.

B/Day 25/3/92

BILLY PADDOCK



# New Inkatha threat to pull out of talks

B (Day) 25/3/92

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PATRICK BULGER

INKATHA yesterday rejected government proposals for a transitional authority and said it would find it difficult to remain in Codesa unless there was an end to political violence.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly released at Codesa, demanded the inclusion of a KwaZulu government delegation at Codesa.

And national chairman Frank Mdlalose, in a broadside at the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said Inkatha could not continue at the talks "with guns at our backs". Mdlalose said Inkatha would not agree to an interim government until there was peace and until Umkhonto had been disbanded, a position set out by the SA government on Monday.

Yesterday Codesa working group 3, dealing with interim arrangements, met to hear responses to government's proposals for advisory transitional councils to oversee the transition process.

It is understood that a compromise between government's proposals and the ANC proposals for a Codesa-appointed transitional executive structure was being discussed.

Government has proposed the creation of six-member transitional councils designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. The councils would oversee areas such as elections, regional and local government and government finances.

Buthelezi said yesterday that with the

exception of the transitional council on local government, the other councils could proceed with their work without consulting KwaZulu.

"A new SA is going to be fashioned around us and over our heads and we are going to have no say in the matter, whereas (the TBVC states) are going to be there in these councils and in Codesa helping to write our future for us."

He said KwaZulu could not accept a transitional government or a constituent assembly before the future of the self-governing territories had been decided.

He said an earlier compromise to forgo the KwaZulu government's place at Codesa in favour of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, was being withdrawn and KwaZulu would demand inclusion at Codesa.

The issue of the participation of the Zulu king should be resolved by the end of March, Mdlalose said.

Our political staff reports that the PAC said it could not participate in Codesa when government was clearly bent on frustrating majority rule.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said government's latest transitional proposals were a "non-starter" because they emulated the discredited Native Representative Council which was purely advisory in nature and allowed the regime to retain full control.

"The right of the African people to self-

□ To Page 2

## Inkatha

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□ From Page 1

determination will never see the light of day in terms of these proposals and all affirmative action to improve the quality of life of our people will be subject to an omnipresent white veto," he said, adding: "We cannot participate under these circumstances — we don't believe in majority rule that is not majority rule."

Sapa reports from Umtata that military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described

government's proposals as shocking and negative. The interim arrangements should assign power to all participants and not be perceived as a window-dressing exercise, he said.

Holomisa said government should be given a deadline by which it had to offer more acceptable proposals.

● See Page 8

## Single-city rule set to be hastened

By Anna Louw  
East Rand Bureau

STAR 26/3/92  
3041

The Government had no objection to amending last year's Interim Measures for Local Government Act to speed up the process of implementing single-city authorities, Minister of Local Government Leon Wesels said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said the implementation of single-city local authorities was linked by the national negotiations taking place at Codesa. Local government should not wait until it was overtaken by Codesa decisions. Already 127 towns had indicated they were negotiating single-city status. All had said separate local structures were not economically acceptable. — Sapa.

## 'No' advert was legal, says Nigel

The Conservative Party-controlled Nigel town council's decision to place an advertisement in a local newspaper advocating a "no" vote in last week's referendum was perfectly legal, management committee chairman Rudi Pretorius (CP) said yesterday.

Two National Party councillors have objected to the advertisement in the Nigel and Heidelberg Herald a week before the referendum.

Mr Pretorius said he reserved the space for the quarter-page advertisement, which stated "compiled and issued by the town clerk of Nigel".

The NP objected that the space for the advertisement had

been reserved before the matter had been discussed by the council.

Town Clerk Johan van Rensburg refused to get "embroiled in politics" and directed inquiries to Mr Pretorius.

Mr Pretorius said: "Just as Johannesburg council advocated a 'yes' vote in an advertisement, Nigel was entitled to support a 'no' vote."

## ANC 'prepared for worst' before referendum

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

STAR 26/3/92  
3042

The ANC apparently prepared two statements in response to the referendum results — in envelopes marked "no" and "yes".

When rumours about a massive swing to the Right spread, "the spectre of another white betrayal started to loom", reports the latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

"ANC leaders refused to be drawn on contingency measures. But so real was the concern, it is rumoured, that two statements — in case of a "yes" and "no" — were prepared.

"The envelopes were marked with bold letters so that speakers in the March 18 demonstrations would not produce the wrong statement," the report said.

However, as it turned out, there was no need to worry.



# Mayor puts his foot down

STAR  
26/3/92

By Gien Elsas  
West Rand Bureau

Krugersdorp's council meetings had lost their status and it was embarrassing to bring visitors to them, mayor Sakkie Nel told councillors at the start of his term last night.

He said the meetings sometimes resembled a battlefield in which the main aim seemed to be to belittle fellow councillors and officials.

"We will have to give serious thought to what is happening in this council. Either our councillors are too clever or our officials are too stupid for the positions they hold.

"Each item on the agenda goes through five different checkpoints before it is put before us. Too often we refer it back, dismiss it or presume that not enough thought and work has gone into its presentation," he said.

Mr Nel also added that councillors' attendance of meetings was worrying.

He would strive to be an impartial, would work exactly by the book, and would enforce the rules strictly.

● Roodepoort councillors are approaching various people to stand in the ward left vacant after the sudden resignation of Al Marais last month.

One of the people approached by the National Party caucus was former managing editor of a West Rand based group of newspapers, Cliff Buchler.

However, he turned down offers to stand as a NP candidate in a safe municipal ward because he believes any positive contribution he makes will be negated by the "constricting party line".

He said most councillors were very frustrated individuals often forced to decide between what was a strictly "municipal" affair and a political flashpoint.

"This situation gives rise to councillors being so hamstrung that they cannot think for themselves and for the ratepayers they represent," Mr Buchler said.

"I would prefer to assist the ratepayers as a newspaperman by bringing to their attention the inherent weaknesses that undoubtedly exist on councils."

# Business a friend of democracy

STAR 26/3/92

(482) 3047

Business in post-apartheid South Africa must adopt a dual strategy, says SA Foundation president Warren Clewlow.



Warren Clewlow

**A** PARTHEID had resulted in Government and business in South Africa being out of step, South Africa Foundation president Warren Clewlow said yesterday.

Speaking at the annual general meeting of the foundation in Johannesburg, Mr Clewlow said: "During the apartheid years, Government and business in South Africa were very much out of step and the resulting effect on our long-term prospects was negative."

Mr Clewlow said nowhere was this principle better illus-

trated than in some countries to the north of South Africa.

"Business is not made welcome — in fact it is portrayed as an enemy of democracy — government policies go against basic business principles and the result is poverty and deterioration."

In post-apartheid South Africa there was a chance to reverse the trend and build a partnership that would contribute to prosperity and peace.

"Already there are signs that Government, business and other important players are getting

together to focus their efforts in the right direction. This trend must be encouraged," Mr Clewlow said.

A dual strategy was required.

"On the one hand, encouraging businesses of a size to compete internationally, to be as efficient as possible, to stay abreast of technology and marketing and to do their best to make South Africa a leading nation in world terms.

"On the other hand, an intense domestic programme — and here we need something far greater than any effort ever

contemplated in the past — of job creation which can also, at the same time, meet the needs for housing and some of the other infrastructural requirements that are so important."

All this could only succeed against a backdrop of sound Government fiscal expenditure and investment policies, Mr Clewlow said.

He said Government decisions that encouraged investments, raised productivity and reduced the bias towards current consumption without falling into the trap of favouring the present at the expense of

the future should be encouraged.

"Tax provisions that favour investment over consumption are likewise beneficial, and Government expenditure itself needs to be clearly focused on productive projects."

If the Government was effective, private-sector productivity would be enhanced, leading to the availability of more resources for the economy as a whole. "With sound policies, a clear strategy and the efforts of all the key players, it will be possible to build a successful country," he said. — Sapa. □

Business in Africa is often portrayed as an enemy of democracy. Government policies go against basic business principles and the result is poverty and deterioration.



# Major strides to restore rule of law

*Sowetan 26/3/92 304A*

MAJOR strides towards the restoration of the rule of law and an end to the white membership of the National Party signified change during the last year, noted the South African Institute of Race Relations annual survey.

The SAIRR said the Internal Security Act, which provided for indefinite detention without trial on the whim of the police, was amended last year to limit detention to 10 days with longer periods requiring

authorisation by a judge.

Major discriminatory laws repealed during the period reviewed by the 1991/92 survey included the Group Areas, Land, and Population Registration Acts.

The just published survey noted that international television cameras watched State President FW de Klerk as he signed the repealing legislation towards the end of June last year.

Not all South Africans applauded De Klerk's lib-

eralising moves, said the survey.

The Conservative Party commented that structures which had existed for 300 years "have been abolished without any proper thought-out new plan for the future".

Lawyers for Human Rights, however, published a report in November listing 22 apartheid laws which, it said, were still on the statute book, among them the 1983 constitution.

The survey reported that

change was not limited to the repeal of laws. In October it was reported that at least a quarter of the delegates at the NP's Cape congress were people previously excluded from membership on the grounds that they had been classified coloured.

A month after that the congress of the NP's Transvaal wing was addressed for the first time by an African delegate.

The SAIRR further reported the cause of civil

liberties was promoted in 1991/2 by the SA Law Commission which published a draft Bill of Rights in November with a strong emphasis on individual liberty.

The commission emphasised its belief that group rights could be protected only through individual rights.

However, the introduction of the notion of class action would enable a person to go to court on behalf of a whole group. - Sapa

# CP tensions still bubble near surface

STAR 26/3/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Tensions between rival factions within the Conservative Party have not been dissipated by this week's caucus statement expressing unanimous support for the party leader and strong opposition to participation in Codesa.

Party sources said the lingering tensions could come to the surface at Saturday's meeting of the CP head committee in Pretoria.

They said a move to expel maverick pro-negotiations MP Koos van der Merwe was not being ruled out.

If this succeeded, other like-minded MPs could follow him, causing a split in the party.

The sources said hardliners had already made a tentative move to oust Mr van der Merwe at last Thursday's first meeting of the caucus after the referendum.

But Wonderboom MP Koos Botha — one of his strongest supporters in the caucus — threatened to walk out with him if he were expelled.

And the turbulence continued at Tuesday's caucus meeting when Heilbron MP Cehil Pienaar — another member of the Koos van der Merwe camp — was attacked for saying that after being rejected by English-speakers in the referendum, the CP should now concentrate on becoming an Afrikaner party.

"Verligtes" — who favour negotiations in Codesa for an Afri-

kaans volkstaat — were surprised by the caucus statement issued yesterday which set out four reasons why the CP would not take part in Codesa.

One source said it sounded like the sort of statement that could have been made before the referendum.

The statement had taken no cognisance of the fact that the CP's failure in the referendum had ruled out the possibility of realising its goals through the ballot box.

The sources said the party could not get away with pretending that the referendum defeat had not happened and that things could continue as usual.

However, CP "verligtes" have indicated that the caucus statement should be interpreted as meaning that the party was nudging closer to Codesa.

They said that by stating reasons for not taking part in Codesa, the CP had in fact set conditions for participation.

If these objections were removed by Codesa, the party could take part.

Hardliners, on the other hand, insist that the statement should be read to mean that CP participation in Codesa has been firmly ruled out.

It is clear that the cracks in the party have merely been papered over and are likely to emerge soon, probably at the head committee meeting.

But it is understood that the party caucus is to hold an extended "indaba" after the head committee meeting, which might be the occasion when differences are really thrashed out.



# 'No reason for dragging of heels'

*Southern*  
26/3/92

304A

By JAY NAIDOO  
general secretary of Cosatu

**THE** overwhelming mandate given by the white electorate to the negotiations process taking place in Codesa, despite the racist character of the referendum, lays the basis for a rapid advance in the transition to democracy.

President FW de Klerk has correctly admitted that the "yes" vote was not a vote for himself or the NP, but rather a vote for the negotiations process.

With this unambiguous mandate from the white electorate, there is now no excuse for the Government to drag its heels, inside or outside Codesa.

From Cosatu's perspective this means two things: firstly, we will intensify our campaign that by June a sovereign interim government should be set up, and the parties should have agreed to the holding of democratic Constituent Assembly elections by the end of 1992.

Secondly, we expect the Government to abandon its refusal to negotiate socio-economic issues, and to enter into forums with the major players in areas such as housing, development, education and health.

In particular, we demand that they agree to participate in the National Economic Negotiating Forum; and enter into discussions with the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT on food prices, the VAT structure, and poverty relief.

The Cosatu Central Executive Committee has stated that we will embark on a protracted general strike if there has been no progress in meeting these demands by June this year.

## FOCUS

This decision on national action was the result of sober reflection on the obstacles the regime has been placing in the way of meaningful negotiations. If anything: the referendum decisively indicates that the Government can no longer use the white electorate as an excuse to delay progress; and the Budget demonstrates that enormous pressure is going to be necessary to force the Government to relinquish exclusive control over political and economic power.

If the referendum result was a step forward for negotiations, then the 1992/93 Budget was a major step back.

### Concern

Cosatu has identified three broad areas which are of particular concern:

1. It is a rich man's Budget: despite predictions in the media that a capital gains tax and a tax on dividends would be introduced in this year's Budget, and support among some economists for this, the Budget was totally silent on this question.

These taxes, in addition to being redistributive measures, have the advantage of encouraging productive investment, job creation, and reinvestment of profits.

On the other hand, workers and the poor were totally ignored in a number of respects.

The 16 million people estimated by the Development Bank

of South Africa to be living below the poverty line don't appear to have featured in Mr Barend Du Plessis's Budget calculations:

Du Plessis rejected the demand to exempt all basic foodstuffs from VAT and removed the existing zero rating on eight foods;

Our demands for the exemption of medicines, electricity, and water from VAT were ignored by the Government;

No measures were adopted to lower food prices, despite the fact that food inflation is running at nearly 30 percent;

The poverty relief measures which were announced will fail to reach the poor, as did last year's, because the Government refused to negotiate an approach with welfare organisations;

The drought relief which the Budget provides for, is aimed at farmers, who already receive state subsidies, and not farm workers and rural poor, who are struggling to keep alive;

The petrol price rise comes on top of the petrol increase a few months ago, and can only worsen the spiralling inflation which is hitting the poor the hardest;

The lowering of bus subsidies will raise transport costs and lead to a further collapse of the passenger transport industry;

The money allocated to job creation will not significantly address the plight of the unemployed, since the Government has no coherent strategy to tackle the unemployment problem, to restructure training, and to ensure productive investment in our crisis-ridden industries.

It continues to refuse to negotiate these issues with trade unions and business.

2. The Budget is cast in the old apartheid mould: the Budget re-

mains apartheid and racist in character. Wasteful spending on duplicate Government departments and redundant apartheid structures is retained.

It is unconvincing, to say the least, for De Klerk to say that the "apartheid book has been closed", when black old age pensioners continue to receive 18 percent less than white old age pensioners.

### Discrimination

Racial discrimination in expenditure is even worse in areas such as health, education, and housing.

Further, in this period when we should be reorienting expenditure to social reconstruction, Cosatu believes that there should have been drastic cuts in defence expenditure.

It is obscene to spend nearly R10 billion on the SADF, when our people are deprived of basic necessities.

In addition to the R10 billion for SADF, R4,7 billion has been allocated to "secret services", plus unknown amounts for slush funds and covert projects similar to the CCB.

3. The unilateral and unnegotiated character of the Budget. This applies both to the sources allocation of the revenue. Cosatu in on record that our taxation system needs restructuring.

On the expenditure side, there was no consultation with organisations representing the majority as to where money should be allocated, and how it should be spent.

This applies particularly to social expenditure: increased allocations to health, housing, and education are not taking place in the context of a negotiated framework.

# Major strides to restore

## rule of law

*Journal 26/3/92*  
MAJOR strides towards the restoration of the rule of law and an end to whites-only membership of the National Party signified change during the last year, noted the South African Institute of Race Relations annual survey.

The SAIRR said the Internal Security Act, which provided for indefinite detention without trial on the whim of the police, was amended last year to limit detention to 10 days with longer periods requiring authorisation by a judge.

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The just-published survey noted that international television cameras watched State President FW de Klerk as he signed the repealing legislation towards the end of June last year.

Not all South Africans applauded De Klerk's liberalising moves, said the survey.

The Conservative Party commented that structures which had existed for 300 years "have been abolished without any proper thought-out new plan for the future".

Lawyers for Human Rights, however, published a report in November listing 22 apartheid laws which, it said, were still on the statute book, among them the 1983 constitution.

### Laws

The survey reported that change was not limited to the repeal of laws.

In October it was reported that at least a quarter of the delegates at the NP's Cape congress were people previously excluded from membership on the grounds that they had been classified coloured.

A month after that the congress of the NP's Transvaal wing was addressed for the first time by an African delegate.

The SAIRR further reported the cause of civil liberties was promoted in 1991/2 by the SA Law Commission which published a draft Bill of Rights in November with a strong emphasis on individual liberty.

The commission emphasised its belief that group rights could be protected only through individual rights.

However, the introduction of the notion of class action would enable a person to go to court on behalf of a whole group. The Government would be barred from supporting schools or private organisations which discriminated on the grounds of race, noted the survey. - Sapa.



# Myeni predicts

Sowetan 26/3/92

304A 16/1

## conflict at Codesa

**THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Transvaal leader, Mr Musa Myeni, on Wednesday warned of conflict between Zulus in the Natal region and a future transitional government if the Zulu monarch was excluded from Codesa.**

Excluding King Goodwill Zwelithini from Codesa amounted to the punishment of Zulus and the exclusion and isolation of Zulus from the constitutional process which "history will regret", Myeni said in Durban.

Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa forum, Myeni said there would be a major constitutional conflict during and after transition as current regional government structures in Natal might become compelled to submit to a transitional government.

"I foresee a major confrontation between the Zulu nation in this region of Natal and a future Marxist/Leninist government

### SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

which will rule on the basis of conspiracy and hatred for the Zulu people."

Claims that Zulus were adequately represented by political groupings such as the African National Congress or the IFP in Natal were "notenough", Myeni said.

"How does one go about implementing the new government decisions and legislations in areas falling under the jurisdiction of hereditary leaders without ensuring that such hereditary leaders are given a place in shaping their future in the constitution making process taking place in South Africa?" he asked.

Questioned on statements that the Zulu monarch was above politics, Myeni said Codesa was debating more than just politics and the king would in any event not directly be involved in the discussions and negotiations as this would be carried out by members of his delegation.

The king should have

freedom to choose who made up his delegation Myeni said, adding that he would like this group to be a "mixed bag" of people with different political affiliations.

Myeni emphasised that if Zulus were excluded from the constitution-making process they would resort to "all kinds of resistance".

Zwelithini should become part of this process while there was still time to prevent conflict.

There could be no peace without the participation of Zulus or

Afrikaners in the process, he added.

Codesa at present was not representative enough and there would be resistance from a number of groups outside this forum to a transitional government. A new government emanating from Codesa would amount to an illegitimate government, he said.

Myeni reiterated the IFP's demand for a regional authority in Natal "in which his majesty the king of the Zulus will have a seat albeit nominal but will have a seat over his territory. And then there will be peace".



# 4 councillors split from 'racist' CP

304A

Sowetan 26/3/92

FOUR Germiston Conservative Party councillors have resigned from their caucus, citing the party's refusal to negotiate in Codesa and its association with the far right during the referendum campaign as the reasons.

The councillors also objected to rightwing talk of an armed struggle to secure their "homeland".

The councillors, Mr Mario Valli, Mr Jackie Nel, Mr Rudolph van der Merwe and Mr Phoebe Sadler resigned on Tuesday.

They will remain in the

council as independents.

The resignations leave Mr Wouter Scholtz as the only CP councillor in Germiston.

Valli said it was imperative for the CP to negotiate at Codesa.

"It was due to lack of foresight and divided leadership as well as its association with the far right that cost the CP a lot of votes in the referendum.

"The CP's biggest mistake was to align itself with the far-right," he said.

Sadler said: "An armed struggle in my book is to-

tally out of the question. We will attain our goals only by going to Codesa."

Nel said he had always favoured negotiations and believed that Codesa was the only answer.

Van der Merwe said negotiations were the only road to follow.

National Party management committee chairman Mr Leon Louw last night said it would appear that the CP was showing signs of crumbling at local level.

In a statement, the four councillors said they supported the CP's policy of a

white fatherland and self-determination but believed that the party should put its case at Codesa.

In view of Germiston's impending amalgamation with Katlehong and Palm Ridge and the fact that the new council will be conducted on a multi-racial basis, the embracing of a whites-only policy was futile, the statement said.

"The Government has announced that future municipal elections would not be conducted on a racial basis. In this light we cannot propagate CP policy."



## NP campaigns for Indian support

CAPE TOWN — The NP has launched a recruitment drive in the Indian community.

It is being spearheaded by Sathie Naidoo, the NP MP for Durban Bay, and this week thousands of questionnaires compiled by him will be distributed through newspapers to the community in Natal.

The questionnaire asks respondents if they support President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives and the NP, and if they would like to join the party.

It points out that a newspaper sur-

vey indicated that 70% of Indians supported De Klerk and asks: "Are you one of them?"

Drawing on De Klerk's comment after the referendum that "the door on apartheid is finally closed", Naidoo urges: "Let us rally behind De Klerk and help govern SA better."

The questionnaire says the NP is committed to protecting political freedom, own languages, own values, own religion and strong regional and local government.

Political Staff

# Govt talks tough

304A

CT 26/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE government threatened yesterday to play "hardball" at the negotiation table by stalling all future Codesa agreements unless the ANC "came clean" on its military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).**

But key government negotiators signalled a willingness to make far-reaching concessions once a peaceful negotiating climate had been secured — including the integration of MK cadres into senior positions in the reconstituted security forces.

After repeated statements from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani in the past few days that MK would not be disbanded, a series of government ministers went on the offensive yesterday.

Security ministers issued a blunt warning to black leaders yesterday to move decisively to end "black-on-black slaughter" before progress could be made in negotiations towards "broadening of democracy".

Defence Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer said the effective demobilisation of MK was a "non-negotiable" pre-condition for the creation of a transitional government.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel also told a press briefing on Codesa yesterday that while peaceful process was part of democratic expression, mass action and strikes were "definitely not desirable" in a society in transition.

The ministers and their Justice counterpart, Mr Kobie Coetsee, were addressing a press briefing to spell out the pre-conditions set by the government to the creation of an interim constitution.

It emerged that the government was prepared to hold the entire process hostage unless political violence was reduced, MK

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# Government may back down from hardline stance

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government is showing signs of backing off the surprisingly tough stance it took this week on negotiations and the disbandment of the ANC's military wing.

Political observers were taken off guard by the hard positions the Government took after last week's highly successful referendum.

Most expected that the Government would emerge from the referendum with renewed confidence to negotiate a non-racial interim government.

But instead the Government submitted proposals to Codesa this week that would grant blacks no more than advisory powers in the first phase of transition.

In addition, the Government laid down a series of tough conditions that would have to be met before it entered into any binding transitional arrangements.

These included the final termination of the ANC's armed struggle, the disbandment of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, a return to political stability and — it emerged yesterday — the abandonment by parties of any policies aimed at sanctions or isolation of South Africa. Also, a termination of mass action.

The tough line was contin-

ued by three Cabinet Ministers at a briefing in Cape Town where a blunt message was sent out to black leaders to make peace with one another.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned black leaders to stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order.

But in spite of these tough public signals, ANC and other sources believe the Government's position might be largely tactical — and that it had already begun to back off some of them by mid-week.

They said the Government's transitional proposals were roundly condemned by all or virtually all other parties at Codesa this week. Codesa working group three on interim or transitional arrangements adjourned for two weeks.

Codesa sources said that, when confronted with the fact that this week's transitional proposals contradicted the Government's earlier agreement to a Codesa-appointed "transitional executive structure", the Government backed off and agreed transitional bodies would have more than just advisory powers in the first phase.

# Angolans hope talks in SA will spur investment

STAR 26/3/92

(304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Military and humanitarian aid for Angola dominated talks between President de Klerk and a top-level mission from Luanda yesterday, but Angolan sources hoped the meeting would go further in encouraging South African investment.

Money and skills remain Angola's most critical requirements. Most essential services are run-down.

The South African Government has already made it clear it does not have spare cash to help on the scale Angola needs, but investment

from South African business remains a largely untapped resource.

Sources in the delegation hoped the meeting with President de Klerk would send a positive signal to South Africa's business community.

Yesterday's meeting at Tuynhuys followed a meeting on Tuesday between the leader of the delegation, Angolan Defence Minister Colonel-General Pedro Maria Tonha, and SA Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer.

This meeting focused largely on a South African programme in Angola to train soldiers to lift landmines left over from the war. Large areas have been rendered uninhabitable by the landmines.

An inventory of humanitarian aid from

South Africa was also discussed.

Mr Meyer said yesterday: "We have already started the training in Angola on how to lift these mines."

President de Klerk said: "All the announced programmes are being implemented. Details are being negotiated."

Mr de Klerk's talks with General Tonha come just days before the reopening of a South African office in Luanda.

A member of the Angolan delegation, Manuel Augusto, has been designated as Luanda's representative in South Africa.

The Angolan army and Unita are to begin a two-month demobilisation on March 31, part of the preparation for multi-party elections scheduled for September.



STAR 26/3/92

# DP gains power balance in Randburg

By Bunty West

Randburg Democratic Party councillors have gained the balance of power in the management committee, after the three previously elected members resigned.

Those elected in their

place are DP members Deputy mayor Brian Crail as the new chairman, Gary Cooney as vice chairman, while the third member is independent councillor Cyril Ford.

At a special council meeting last night, the alliance between DP and National

Party councillors was broken after three years of peaceful co-existence.

DP caucus chairman Andre Jacobs explained: "After the former committee resigned, the Nats approached us to draw lots for a new management team. We decided this was not on."

From page 1

## Tough talk

was neutralised, calls for sanctions and mass action were stopped and "order and stability" were established in the country. (30/4/92)

The government's position is that there can be no "reliable" agreement at Codesa until the ANC has at very least agreed to a jointly monitored demobilisation of MK. CT 26/3/92

The government has also decided to hold off on agreements of critical importance to the ANC — such as the position of exiles and political prisoners — until the movement agrees to "play ball" on the thorny question of the armed struggle.

Progress in resolving what the government considers to be an appropriate violence- and intimidation-free climate for negotiations, and eventually elections, are now overtly being linked to the resolution of issues like indemnity for "political" prisoners and exiles.

Other government sources indicated the delicate matter of permanent indemnity for ANC and SACP leaders and cadres would also be used as a bargaining chip in bilateral negotiations.

### Sensitive

Top level bilateral talks between the government and the ANC are continuing about how best to resolve the sensitive issue of MK without the government or the ANC having to lose face.

While the government has been publicly demanding the complete disbanding of MK and other private armies, it is clear that behind the scenes efforts have been concentrating on how to integrate the wide variety of military and police forces that have been spawned — both intentionally and unintentionally — by the apartheid system.

In a significant softening of earlier positions, there is also a recognition in top government circles that members of MK — and other forces — would need to be accommodated in senior positions in the Defence Force and, perhaps more important, in the police.

One senior Codesa negotiator said yesterday that the moment an accommodation was reached on this sensitive issue the negotiation process could proceed with all possible speed.

It also emerged yesterday that the Codesa 2 plenary session — originally planned for the end of March but then postponed until the end of April — will not take place until concrete agreements have emerged from negotiations that would give fresh impetus to the whole process.

The government is also anxious swiftly to involve either parties or sections of parties on the fringes of the political spectrum — both left and right — in the negotiation process.

But sources emphasised that the process could not be put on hold indefinitely while parties currently on the sidelines try to make up their minds.



# Azapo rethink about Codesa after Yes vote

CT26/3/92 Own Correspondent (304A)

DURBAN. — Azapo seems poised to make a major about-turn by joining Codesa after repeatedly attacking the negotiating forum.

The movement — which has consistently refused to join Codesa — confirmed yesterday that a "major consultation" would take place this weekend.

A source said that the possibility of Azapo taking part in Codesa was top of the agenda.

National publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "Various issues are to be discussed, including the changed political climate particularly in the aftermath of the referendum and the tabling of an interim authority by the Nationalist government."

Some Azapo members have already expressed their fierce opposition to what they see as "compromising" the organisation.

# Maiden speech causes stir

Political Staff

3047

Freshman Conservative Party MP Andries Beyers told the House of Assembly yesterday that there could be no return to the past — but drew a stinging attack from the National Party for having “broken one of Parliament’s most hallowed traditions” by making a contentious maiden speech.

Mr Beyers, who won the Potchefstroom seat left vacant after the death of Louis le Grange, was taken to task by Deputy Minister of Fi-

nance Dr Theo Alant for flaunting the tradition which holds that maiden speeches should not be politically controversial.

In his speech, Mr Beyers said “freedom-loving” Afrikaners were ready to become involved in meaningful negotiations on their aims, but made it clear Codesa was not an appropriate forum for this.

He said the fact that the standard-bearers of Afrikaner nationalism had lost their grip on political power placed the Afrikaner nation before an important challenge: how to realise its ideal of

freedom from a position of relative powerlessness.

“I believe that from our present humiliation we can lift up our people and realise their freedom.”

He said the Afrikaner was part of the “final solution”.

“I believe that the freedom struggle in its new dimension will bring together people who have been driven away from each other for various reasons, including misunderstandings.”

Mr Beyers also paid tribute to Mr le Grange, the late Speaker.



# Transitional councils could be given executive powers

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

(304A)

TRANSITIONAL councils set up to advise the government on the changeover to an interim administration could be given some executive powers, it emerged yesterday as opposition to the National Party's latest proposals intensified.

And the government also rejected reports that it was close to sealing an agreement with the ANC on the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe, or on drawing some MK officers into the Defence Force.

Most Codesa parties accused the government of reneging on its

agreement earlier this month to establish a transitional executive structure which was intended to give all its Codesa partners a say in governing the country during the interim phase.

But contradicting indications that the council would have only advisory powers, top sources insisted yesterday that a clause in the proposal allows for negotiation on the precise duties and functions of transitional councils. ARG 27/3/92

Meanwhile, Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer firmly rejected reports of an imminent deal on the future of MK and control of the armed forces.

# Fresh bid to bring CP into Codesa

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT has launched a fresh bid to encourage the Conservative Party to join Codesa, offering to discuss ways of removing obstacles to a rightwing presence at the negotiations.

The invitation to talks on clearing the path to Codesa follows a unanimous statement from the Conservative caucus earlier this week setting out four reasons for the CP's rejection

of participation in the negotiating forum as it is presently constituted.

Speaking in debate yesterday, Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer, a key figure at Codesa, told the Conservatives it would be to their advantage, and benefit the negotiation process itself, if they joined the talks.

He said: "Think carefully about this. Has the time not arrived for you to make use of this opportunity? If there are obstacles, now is the time to talk about them."

ARG 27/3/92



# Boesak says sorry to church

(3644)

ARC 27/3/92

**SHARON SOROUR**  
Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak, prominent cleric and ANC Western Cape chairman, has apologised to the Catholic Church for the desecration of the crucifix outside St Mary's Cathedral by protesters in last week's "People's Budget" march.

Outrage followed the action on March 18 when a man sat astride the horizontal beam of the crucifix, just above the bolted right hand of the crucified Christ.

Others taking part in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP march to parliament tried to clamber up the cross.

Dr Boesak, one of the leaders of the march, said he was very distressed by the incident and said it was inexcusable.

The Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Lawrence Henry, could not be reached for comment, but according to his personal assistant, Mr Sydney Duval, the Archbishop had had several calls from Catholics, including a bishop, who were distressed by the incident.

Mr Duval said: "All the callers viewed the behaviour of those who sat on the crucifix as highly offensive."

Archbishop Henry had "voiced his protest with the relevant organisation", Mr Duval said.

Dr Boesak said he had written to the Archbishop "to tell him how I and the ANC condemn the actions of those people".

"There is no excuse whatsoever for this kind of insensitive behaviour ... I am very distressed and have sent a message of personal regret, and that of the ANC, to Archbishop Henry," Dr Boesak said.

The Argus has been inundated with letters and calls from "appalled" readers after a photograph of the desecration was published on March 19.

"The desecration of the most revered symbol of Christianity, the crucifix, by the marchers ... is a sad reflection of their disregard for the feelings of others.

"Those concerned would do well to reflect on how great a part the Christian church in South Africa has played in support of their cause," a reader wrote.

Another asked: "When are these people going to learn to respect that which others hold sacred?"

Dr Boesak, who said he had not seen the incident or the photograph, said the marchers "in their enthusiasm" might not have made the distinction between the crucifix and a normal statue.

But he was not offering this as an excuse and he hoped the Catholic Church would accept his and the ANC's apology.

● The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, is away and could not be reached for comment.

# National monuments under ANC spotlight

The Argus Correspondent (3641)

JOHANNESBURG. — The issue of flags, anthems and national monuments are to be considered by a commission, the ANC has announced.

Commissioner Wally Serote said although the ANC did not have a fixed view on these issues, they needed to be debated. "The flag emerged from within apartheid. We need to go to the people and see what they want. The same is true for the anthem," he said. ARG 27/3/92

"We realise these are sensitive issues. We need to allow a culture of tolerance and a debate to begin without hard positions," he added.

Commissioner Themba Sirayi said monuments like the Voortrekker Monument were "not national monuments, but Nationalist monuments".

The commission had no problem with the existence of such monuments, but felt it was not right that the State provided funds for monuments that were only of concern to a small proportion of the population, he said.

Also on the agenda of the commission is the preservation of anti-apartheid documents which are now held by the government.



# First faltering steps to a constitution

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved swiftly from the referendum victory to the issue which is once again centre-stage in South African politics — the negotiations at Codesa.

The government is now preparing to take the first concrete steps on the way to a new constitutional system.

Its proposals for transitional arrangements which were submitted to Codesa this week are meant as the preparation and planning stage for the implementation of a transitional constitution.

With the renewed mandate it received in the referendum the transitional arrangements document submitted to Codesa maintains that the government "can now proceed with vigour on the road of reform to a new negotiated democratic constitution securing equal representation for every South African citizen and eliminating domination".

The government will make known further proposals for a transitional constitution in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April.

These will obviously be based on the proposals passed last year by the National Party congresses which have much emphasis on the devolution of power to regional and local levels and the protection of minority rights, and aim to bring about a multiparty government.

Judging by the flak the transitional proposals have picked up from the ANC and KwaZulu, hard negotiations and tough bargaining lie ahead.

The ANC has accused Mr De Klerk and his government of going back on a Codesa agreement on a transitional executive authority.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the proposals, saying that no recognition has been given to the existence of self-governing states. Mr De Klerk may have to meet him soon.

All the same there is hope in government circles that an election for an interim government in which all South African citizens will be able to vote can be held before the end of the year.

One of the biggest remaining sticking points is the question of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr De Klerk has been on about this issue before. It caused a bitter row between him and Mr Mandela at the first meeting of Codesa in December. He then issued what amounted to an ultimatum to the ANC to dismantle its armed wing or disqualify itself from entering into binding agreements.

Mr Mandela then rejected conditions being imposed and



Commentary by TOS WENTZEL

accused the government of having failed to stop violence.

Rejecting conditions being laid down this time, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said MK was an issue on which there were ongoing discussions between the government and the ANC and he hoped an agreement could be reached soon. MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani has said in the past that details of arms caches would be revealed only when an interim government was in place.

The distinct impression is that Mr De Klerk is milking the MK issue for all it may be worth but this effort is one more of symbolic importance than of substance.

MK, quite frankly, never amounted to all that much and not even the ANC appears to believe that it can be reactivated in any meaningful way.

Against the background of this public squabble there are indications that delicate discussions between the government and ANC negotiators could lead to MK being accommodated within the SADF.

These negotiators are locked in a bilateral search for a "win-win" face-saving solution to the problem.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said this week "it would be inadvisable to say how far we are". He added that he thought the problem could be resolved.

ANC information director Dr Pello Jordan this week put MK's force level at between 5 000 and 10 000. Many of these members are still in camps in black African countries.

The ANC has also clashed with Mr De Klerk on the issue of advisory transitional councils which deny any immediate power-sharing role for the ANC.

From its latest proposals it is clear that the government has learned its lesson from the huge powers in the hands of the president in the present system. The way they were exercised by Mr P W Botha had something to do with this.

Now it proposes a rotating presidency consisting of the

leaders of three to five of the strongest parties in a national assembly.

In the referendum campaign Mr De Klerk pointed out that in negotiations so far broad consensus had already been reached on some fundamental issues.

Among these are the need for a multiparty democracy, a Bill of Rights, the separation of state powers along with the recognition of a regional basis in a future dispensation, an independent judiciary, proportional representation and the maintenance of language and cultural rights.

There are other minimum requirements on which, according to him, consensus must still be reached.

Among these are the maintenance of values which are important to many South Africans, the prevention of domination and the misuse of power, the effective protection of minority rights, protection of the rights of land owners, job security for public servants, a market-orientated economy and the devolution of power to regional and local government.

Meanwhile Mr De Klerk's conciliatory call to the rightwing to join in negotiations has so far had the reaction that could initially be expected.

It has been greeted with intense acrimony and recrimination and the cry that "the struggle continues".

In a bitter debate in the Assembly, CP MPs said the referendum had been a victory, not for the National Party or the president, but for the media, big money and the outside world. They made accusations about "intimidation" of employees. They also pointed out that nearly 900 000 people had voted "no".

The rightwingers are particularly sore because they were so far out in their calculations. Many had expected that the No side would do far better and might even have won. In the end they were shattered by the big defeat.

After long caucus meetings the CP has closed ranks behind Dr Andries Treurnicht to reject participation in Codesa.

In spite of the present show of unity there are still two factions in the party, one opposed to negotiations virtually under any circumstances and the other desperately looking for some formula which would make an approach to Codesa possible.

Some of the rightwing bodies are beginning to go their own way on the issue of negotiation. One of these, Avstig, which has ties with the Afrikaner Volkswag, is preparing to make a submission to Codesa.



Cosatu expects rapid reform, writes general-secretary Jay Naidoo

# No excuse for Government now

STAR 27/3/92

**THE OVERWHELMING** mandate given by the white electorate to the negotiations process taking place in Codesa, despite the racist character of the referendum, lays the basis for a rapid advance to democracy.

With this unambiguous mandate from the white electorate, there is now no excuse for the Government to drag its heels. From Cosatu's perspective this means two things:

Firstly, we will intensify our campaign that by June a sovereign interim government should be set up, and the parties should have agreed to the holding of democratic constituent-assembly elections by the end of this year.

Secondly, we expect the Government to abandon its refusal to negotiate socio-economic issues, and to enter into forums with the

major players in areas such as housing, development, education and health. In particular, we demand that they agree to participate in the National Economic Negotiating Forum and enter into discussions with the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT.

The Cosatu central executive committee has stated that we will embark on a protracted general strike if there has been no progress in meeting these demands by June.

Recent developments around the referendum and the Budget do not detract from this decision.

If the referendum result was a step forward for negotiations, then the 1992/93 Budget was a major step back. Without analysing the problems in detail, Cosatu has identified three broad areas of particular concern:

1. The Budget is a rich man's

Budget: despite predictions in the media that a capital gains tax and a tax on dividends would be introduced, and support among some economists for this, the Budget was totally silent on this question. These taxes, in addition to being redistributive measures, have the advantage of encouraging productive investment, job creation and investment of profits.

The 16 million people estimated by the Development Bank to be living below the poverty line don't appear to have featured in Barend du Plessis' Budget calculations.

2. The Budget is cast in the old apartheid mould: wasteful spending on duplicate Government departments and redundant apartheid structures is retained.

3. The Budget was unilateral and unnegotiated. This applies both to the source of revenue and its allocation. Cosatu is on record that

our taxation system needs restructuring. But the trend of greater burdens being placed on the individual and the poor through indirect (consumption) tax, and income tax, is entrenched.

The negotiations process is not yet irreversible.

The book of apartheid will be closed when the Government enters into bona fide socio-economic negotiations with the major players, and when an agreement is reached to hold democratic elections for a constituent assembly, and a sovereign interim government is established.

The general strike in November last year should leave no one in any doubt about our preparedness to take action if these reasonable demands are not met. Negotiations are not endless. Nor is the patience of our people. □



# MK: A problem of give and take

Sowetan 27/3/92

304A

CODESA'S work is seriously dependent on agreements reached in Working Group One, where negotiators are trying to reach agreement on "the creation of a climate for free political participation".

The big question in this working group is one that has until now been on the back burner in the general political scenario - the future of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

And the Government this past week dug in its heels on the issue, saying that no settlement can be reached on an interim government unless the ANC disbanded its army and called off the armed struggle.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town on Wednesday that there was no longer any need for an armed struggle and suggested the time for the armed struggle was over, especially in terms of internal political developments.

"Political normalisation in this country, especially after the referendum, has long passed the point of reversibility," Meyer said.

But be that as it may, to disband MK and to hand over all its arms caches is perhaps for the ANC a more difficult task than it was for the movement to "suspend" the armed struggle, as it did on August 6 1990 during the meeting from which the Pretoria Minute came.

Besides being politically unsavoury - the ANC could face mass dissent among MK cadres and its membership if it disbanded its military wing - it places the movement in a position where it has to let go of one of two of its biggest bargaining chips, the other being mass action.

But that is yet another story. The

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

immediate problem is one of reaching an amicable agreement on the disbanding of MK, which will not cause the ANC to lose too much face among (militant) black supporters, and which will at the same time not test the sensibilities of the present military regime.

The Government and the ANC are presently engaged in ongoing bi-lateral talks and both sides are confident that an agreement can be reached.

In the ANC, the question of integration is regarded as an "extremely complex and sensitive issue," according to its official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Needless to say, the Government regards the issue in a similar way, but in terms of its thinking, the word is not so much incorporation as it is accommodation.

There is a train of thought in Government circles that members of MK could be "accommodated" in the SADF.

The Government fears that incorporation into the SADF could give credibility to ANC boasts that it was the armed struggle that has brought the political process as far as it is.

While the Government believes that there is no merit in this argument, it could be read by military personnel as admitting that MK was a force to be reckoned with.

The other, logical, fear is that if



MK chief Chris Hani

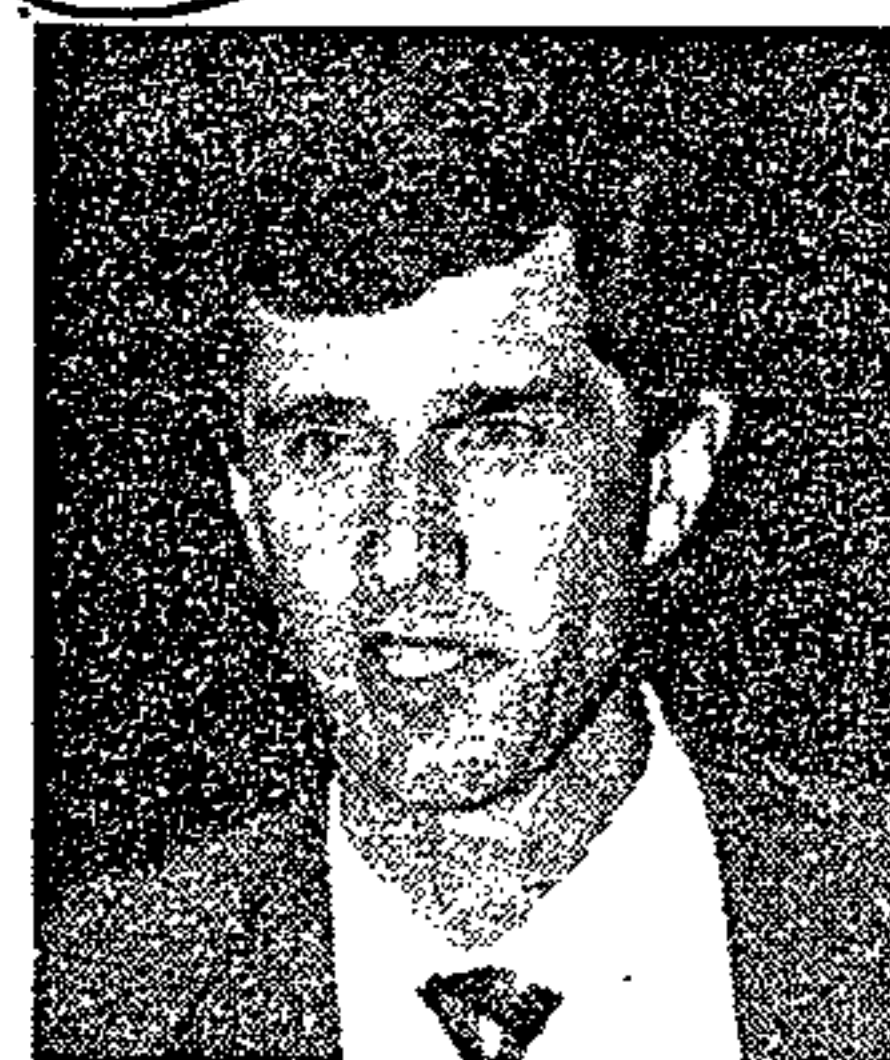
MK cadres are admitted to the SADF as ordinary volunteers without any rank or seniority, they could see themselves as foot soldiers of the white generals.

Both the Government and the ANC has, at least in terms of some of the ideas that are going around, given this serious thought, and there is confluence, particularly in the area of instituting specialised training of existing officers of high rank in MK so as to overcome this problem.

The ANC says in the April edition of Mayibuye that "continued upgrading of MK cadres and training for senior ANC members" obviously with an eye on placement in the Defence Ministry, was one way of overcoming this problem.

This would also solve the problem of "SADF domination". And, the ANC believes, this is ultimately what the ruling National Party seeks - as a kind of "security fallback" which Mayibuye explains represents "a more effective veto than a constitution would provide".

Therefore the ANC believes in the upgrading of its cadres and political leadership and working towards "ensuring a balanced and representative command structure



SADF chief Roelf Meyer

in the course of integration."

But it is now, possibly next month, before an interim government is appointed, that the question of MK will reach a critical point, and the argument cannot continue to be spoken of in the abstract or in academic discourse.

"It will be politically untenable for the different armed forces to retain separate identities under an interim government," Mayibuye says.

The ANC believes that a Joint High Command under an interim government has to be created to minimise the possibility of "SADF disruption of the transition".

"Ideally the new defence force should be established by the democratic government so that its role, composition, character and doctrines can be shaped by democratic principles," the ANC says.

Whichever way is chosen out of this obviously loaded situation, the ANC and the Government agree that the psychological and political preparation of the personnel of both armies would be the first step.

"Vital to this is a programme of reconciliation," Mayibuye explains.

# Voortrekker Monument stays, says ANC

27/3/92

PATRICK BULGER

WHAT a relief. The ANC does not intend dismantling the Voortrekker Monument should it come to power.

However, the co-ordinator of the ANC's commission on museums, monuments and heraldry, Themba Sirayi, said yesterday the upkeep of "own affairs" monuments would not be the responsibility of a future central government.

Sirayi, director of the cultural centre at Fort Hare University, said in Johannesburg yesterday: "There is a notion that the Voortrekker Monument is a national monument but I want to stress it is not."

Different groups were free to declare their own monuments "as long as that will not require the state to inject funds".

He said the commission would be re-examining the role of monuments, symbols and museums in the new SA and wanted to extend the right to social identity, peace and beauty to Africans who had been denied these rights by apartheid. He said 97% of the declared monuments "commemorate the white culture of dominance".

He said a preliminary workshop held by

the commission had recommended that SA's national postage stamps be changed to reflect a Codesa theme. The commission also believed there should be a moratorium on developing Robben Island and on the proclamation of new monuments.

Sirayi said the commission wanted volumes of archives confiscated by the state returned so that a comprehensive history of the ANC could be compiled.

The commission's work would be guided by sensitivity for the symbols of others and would seek to build a culture of tolerance.

● Picture: Page 3



ADVERTISING

# The R10m binge

FM 27/3/92

150 304A

The referendum was certainly good for the advertising industry. At least R10m was splurged on urging people to vote Yes, No or merely to vote at all in the three weeks of the campaign, calculates Media Shop media director John Barham.

Considering that much of the advertising was placed at discounted rates, the exposure value was almost certainly higher than R10m, says Barham. Some was still being spent after the vote to say "thanks" or "thank goodness."

But was advertising good for the referendum? The quality was mixed, but its sheer volume must have had an enormous impact, believes Elliot Schwartz, MD of SBBW. "The presence of the advertising was a lot more important than its substance," he says. "That must have shaken a lot of people out of their lethargy."

Schwartz wonders, though, why negative comparisons are allowed in political advertising, but not in commercial advertising.

A feature was the extent to which the business sector threw its weight behind the Yes campaign. Collectively, businessmen backed the Private Sector Referendum Fund and Bob Rightford's "Group of Concerned South Africans", which was one of the few to overtly adopt a moralistic stance. "Imagine the shame of being expelled from the Family of Man" was its message.

Individual companies also leaped on to the bandwagon, ignoring the dangers of alienating consumers at a stage when it was not clear how small the negative vote would be.

Kelloggs, Engen, Protea Assurance, Sage Life and the American Chamber of Commerce were among the many businesses which bought space to support a Yes vote. Vantage Pension Administrators, perhaps confident that a high poll would translate into a Yes vote, seemed to echo the neutral stance of the SA Communication Service in simply urging people to vote.

And Radio 702, which had drawn some flak over the pro-Yes stand of some of its broadcasters and possibly intimidated by a flood of No-voting callers, took a firmly fence-sitting position in its ads, proclaiming itself as a station which allows the free expression of opinion by both sides.

Which is all very admirable. Except that a government representing No-voters would probably close down media which allowed that same freedom to its opponents.

Nay-sayers were few and far between in the advertising columns, though an individual in La Rochelle placed a small ad complaining, "My house burgled, neighbour murdered, office burgled, car broken into. Is this FW's new SA? Vote No."

At least he knew where he stood. Another confused individual placed a half-page urging people to register their protest by voting both Yes and No.

RADFORD JORDAN

# Death of the volksparty

 FM 27/3/92  
 304A


Radford Jordan is a former senior lecturer in political studies at Wits University. He argues that last week's watershed white referendum broke the mould of Afrikaner politics.

To ensure victory in the referendum for the "yes" vote, the recurrent pattern of white SA politics had to be broken.

If this meant that voters had to be stampeded back into the government fold by what has been called "an unprecedented and brutal media blitz", what a crowning mercy that this result could be, and was, achieved.

In the recurrent pattern of SA politics, three types of party can be distinguished. There were urban parties of a largely English complexion which never had more than a toehold in parliament, so that no account need be taken of them here. There were parties, which, from being purely rural, gathered support so that they eventually won a majority of seats in parliament.

Professor Alf Stadler of Wits University gave to this kind of party in its pre government phase the apt name "volksparty." Once a volksparty achieved office, it found itself obliged to take account of interests other than rural ones; this made it vulnerable to challenge by a new volksparty, dedicated to the values for which it had originally stood. Stadler calls such a party "centrist" once it

thus becomes vulnerable.

In terms of this analysis, the SA Party became centrist at some time between 1912 and 1924, the UP at some time between 1943 and 1948. Neither grasped the full extent of its vulnerability until it met with defeat at the polls. The NP long seemed invulnerable because the HNP never rated as a volksparty; the CP took some time to get into its stride. Only the result of the Potchefstroom by-election lent the CP the menacing guise which is the hallmark of a true volksparty, thus branding the NP as centrist.

What stopped the CP in its tracks was a tacit coalition of business interests that cut across language divisions, a coalition that could not but come into existence if the interests of the country and no less its own, were to be safeguarded. It may seem strange that this development came about so late in the political history of White SA.

At least 25 years ago, the late Professor L H Samuels, the first head of the Wits Business School, made an important discovery. There was in substance a consensus between English and Afrikaans businessmen on most political questions which directly affected business. If most Afrikaans businessmen were less vocal on these subjects, this was dictated by expediency. With the referendum in prospect, this business consensus could no longer remain passive. Some employers even told their staff that with a majority of "no" votes their jobs might go up in smoke. If such a development would really have been unavoidable, how could a decent employer keep mum?

As for Afrikaner business, it is likely that the Broederbond gave them their cue. It is fairly clear that the Bond has increasingly adopted a reformist role since the Soweto disturbance of 1976. This was only to be expected, since no elitist body can stand idly by once a revolutionary situation is clearly developing.

Not long after the 1976 Soweto disturbances, a committee chaired by Professor Viljoen, a recent president of the Bond, set to work on the stabilisation of home ownership for urban Blacks. Wimpie de Klerk, elder brother of the State President, was a member of this committee, on which prominent blacks also served. From its work flowed the introduction of 99-year leases, which offered blacks a form of thinly disguised freehold. It is a fair inference that from these small beginnings, the reformers won over their fellow Broeders, or at any rate substantial and influential elements in the Bond, to the cause of reform on a broader front.

What all this amounts to is that in the short referendum campaign elites, including business leaders, have at least performed a function they had long neglected: that of showing less informed voters which way they must vote in defence of their vital interests. This is what the vote is all about in any mature polity. To make people more aware of this is to do them a service, not to hijack them. Having had this learning experience at the polls they should be less likely to relapse into the psephological tribalism which has enabled every past volksparty to flourish at the country's expense.



# Pik: SA set for full ties with Singapore

AF 27/3/92

(30747)

SINGAPORE. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha completed a four-country Asian swing yesterday, saying steps were under way to implement full diplomatic relations with Singapore.

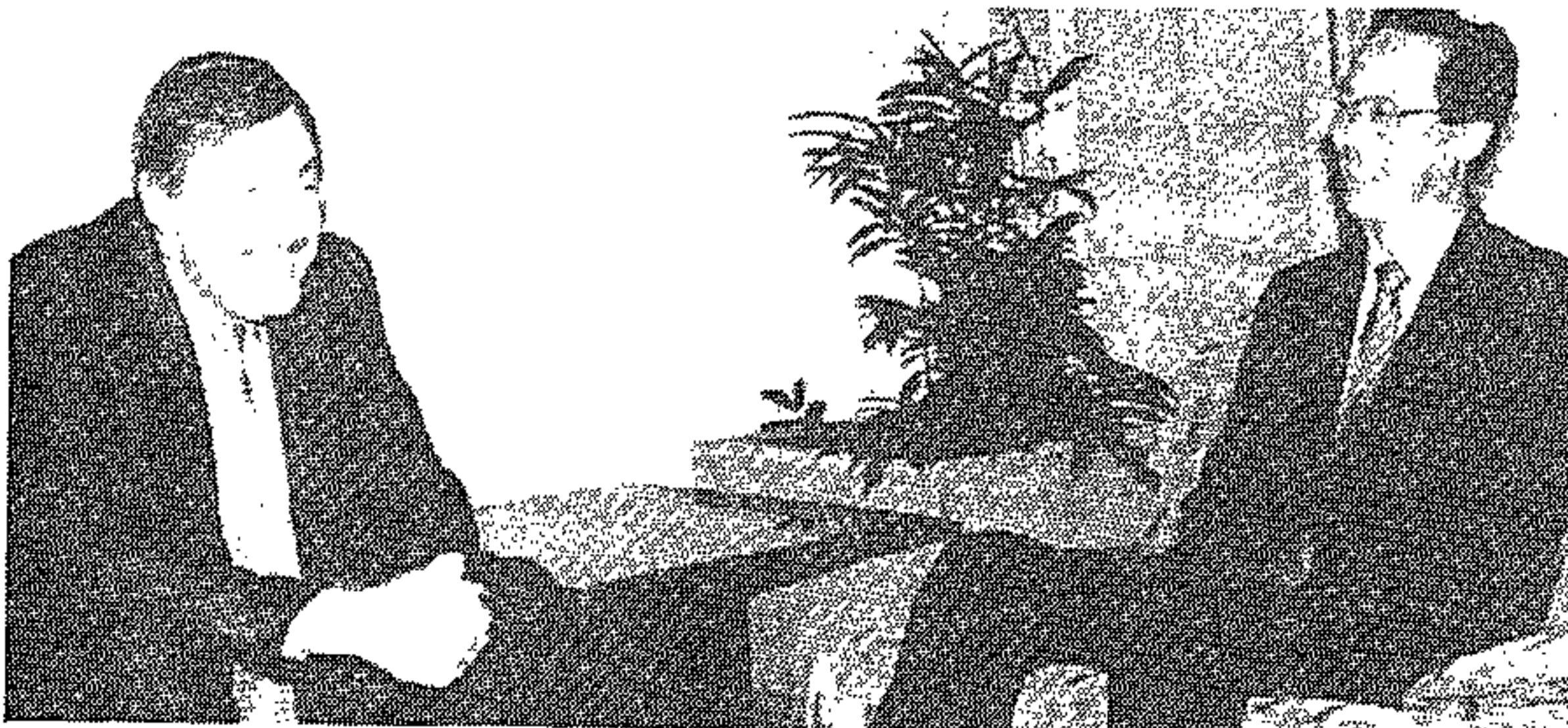
Mr Botha visited Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and Singapore to promote SA ties with Asia.

Referring to last week's landslide vote in favour of reform, he said: "Now that apartheid is gone we can continue to expand in important areas (in Asia)."

Singapore, which recently appointed a special representative to SA, has announced plans to lift a 1965 ban on imports from SA. Even with the embargo, trade last year between the two countries amounted to \$300 million (R840m).

Mr Botha yesterday met Prime Minister Mr Goh Chok Tong and Foreign Minister Mr Wong Kan Seng.

On the last day of his three-day



**COURTESY CALL ...** Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha talks with Singapore Prime Minister Mr Goh Chok Tong yesterday. Picture: AP

visit to the country, he predicted that the National Party would "very soon become a party with whites in the minority".

"We are going to open our doors to non-whites to join, and I can assure you that the whites will find themselves in the minority in the not too distant future."

He said the "end of apartheid was very significant, but more significant will be the role of the

black leaders". There were "too many differences within the black political parties, and until they resolve their differences nothing can be achieved".

Mr Botha singled out the SACP as a major obstacle to majority rule. — UPI, Sapa-AFP

● Full economic and diplomatic links on way — Page 13

# CP to thrash out Codesa policy

Own Correspondents

(3047)

27/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party's head committee, the party's highest executive authority, meets in Pretoria tomorrow to thrash out the party's stand on going to Codesa in the face of growing disillusionment at the referendum result and resignations at local level.

On Wednesday four Germiston CP councillors walked out of the party caucus, citing the unworkability of CP policy as their reason. One of them, attorney Mr Jack Nel who has acted on behalf of mass killer Barend Stydom and other right-wingers like Mr Piet Rudolph, said the CP MPs had not yet walked

out because of "strategic reasons".

Yesterday CP officials were divided on whether a pro-negotiation faction — said to include MPs Mr Koos van der Merwe, Mr Koos Botha and Mr Cehill Plenaar — would use the opportunity to break from the CP to put the case for an Afrikaner homeland to Codesa.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Mr Van der Merwe yesterday complained that efforts were being made to drive a wedge between him and other members of the CP caucus.

Mr Van der Merwe said newspaper reports alleging that he was the leader of the so-called "pro-negotiation faction" — as op-

posed to the so-called "militant faction" — were aimed at sowing division in the party.

"I wish to state frankly that I wholeheartedly support the CP's standpoint over non-participation in Codesa," he said in a statement.

Mr Van der Merwe, who in the past has been a strong advocate for negotiations, said yesterday that he had repeatedly drawn attention in public to the fact that the composition and actions of Codesa made participation by the CP in the forum undesirable.

He continued to stand by this viewpoint. "So to try and create the impression that I, as an individual or with other members of the

caucus, differ from the official viewpoint of the CP, is misleading," Mr Van der Merwe said.

Mr Van der Merwe's statement follows on the decision by the CP caucus to formally back its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, this week.

However, CP sources indicated that the division in the party over negotiations is likely to re-emerge when the party's head committee meets tomorrow.

However, the rift may be papered over until a national CP congress, postponed because of the referendum, is held shortly.



# Govt's old citizenship policy is collapsing

Political Staff

CT 27/3/82

THE government's old apartheid policy of making every black person a citizen of one of the ten homelands is collapsing.

Last year, fewer than 2 000 homeland citizenship certificates were issued in three of the non-independent homelands, while none were issued in the other three non-independent homelands, although 5,9 million still had to be issued.

By the end of last year, only 2,2 million homeland citizenship certificates had been issued in the six homelands, 1,6 million of them, 72,8% of the total, in KwaZulu.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, when he replied to a question

tabled in Parliament by Mr Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North).

Last year, 312 new citizenship certificates were issued in KwaZulu, 1 428 in QwaQwa and 240 in KwaNdebele, but none had been issued in Lebowa, Gazankulu or KaNgwane.

Only 278 321 certificates had been issued in Lebowa, 16,9% of the total; 173 250 in QwaQwa, 14,7% of the total; 98 444 in Gazankulu, 16,8% of the total; 4 574 in KaNgwane, 0,7% of the total; and 47 430 in KwaNdebele, 11,2% of the total.

In KwaZulu, however, 1 611 543 homeland citizenship certificates had been issued, 44,5% of the total.

In 1978, Dr Connie Mulder said government policy was to make every black South African a citizen of one of the homelands.



# CURRENT ISSUES

1992						
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	1	2	3	4	5	6
	8	9	10	11	12	13
	15	16	17	18	19	20
	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

## After the Referendum

New Nation [Learning Nation] 27/3 - 2/4/92

(3045)

The Whites-only referendum of March 17 has come and gone. The majority of White voters, almost 70%, voted "yes" to the question posed by FW De Klerk on whether the reform process should continue. In some areas black people stood near polling booths cheering the "yes" voters; in other areas, SASCO student activists marched to the booths calling for a "yes" vote. These people felt that whatever our past rejection of the white minority government, the CP would stop CODESA and take us back from the prospect of a transfer of power. Some activists, on the other hand, hoped for a "no" victory so that the victorious CP could stop the negotiations process and force the ANC to adopt a more radical programme again. Most of us probably felt confused, thinking that Apartheid seems to be on the way out and yet whites are still deciding on the future of the vast majority of people, who are forced to stand back and watch.



not to mention the National Party's attempts to ensure that a new constitution is imposed on South Africa undemocratically, the liberation movement has been faced with a problem.

### After the Referendum

Since February 2 1990, the liberatory movement has always argued that De Klerk did not come to negotiations because of a moral change of heart on the part of the apartheid regime but because of real economic and political pressure.

The referendum question asked by De Klerk should be looked at very carefully in this regard. In many ways the question put to white voters also reveals the strategy of the government. It speaks about the "process started by FW De Klerk", and about the negotiations process "leading to a new constitution". These underlined words tell us much about the strategy



what the main organisations of the ruling class and the people have said about it, so that we can judge the likely impact of the "yes" vote on our lives in the near future.

### **The National Party's Argument**

The De Klerk regime has argued that negotiations are the only option for South Africa because the past National Party policy of Apartheid has failed. At the same time De Klerk has openly said that he is not about to negotiate away the privileges white South Africans have always enjoyed. He has said that "community values" (meaning white schools and residential areas) will be maintained; that "free enterprise" (meaning the continuation of privatisation, VAT and retrenchments) will be guaranteed; and that no "loss of property through nationalisation" (meaning continued monopoly control over all aspects of economic life in SA by the big corporations) will be accepted.

### **Debates in the Liberatory Movement**

Within the liberatory movement, there have been differences in opinion about the referendum. The ANC said that whites should vote in the referendum and vote "yes". The ANC argued that while it rejected the fact that the referendum was a whites-only one, it had a duty to offer guidance to white democrats who were justifiably concerned that a CP victory would sink negotiations. A tactical compromise like encouraging whites to vote against the CP threat would help the strategic cause of the transfer of power through CODESA.

Meanwhile organisations such as the PAC have argued that the referendum was not only racist but irrelevant and that they should address themselves primarily to their black constituency which was excluded from the referendum anyway.

### **The Referendum and the Working Class**

In the main, the fact that the referendum was an all-white affair has largely left black people in the role of by-standers. But despite the fact that the referendum was for whites it was quite clear that the real issue at stake was how to relate to blacks in general and the black working class in particular. The CP argued quite specifically that a "yes" vote was a vote for the ANC and Mandela. They played on the fears of the white workers and the poorer sections of the middle classes that the loss of their past privileges and jobs is due to De Klerk's reforms. But more generally they played on the fears that CODESA would lead to communism.

In response to this the National Party referendum machine went out of their way to ensure that white voters understood that De Klerk represented Free Enterprise. The black working class was used as a bogeyman in the form of the threat that a "no" vote would mean that the black working class would embark on wildcat strikes and the ANC would reactivate MK.

In the midst of all this, in the few days in the run up to the referendum, the black working class suffered the most vicious attacks as killer squads attacked residents in townships like Alexandra and Meadowlands around Johannesburg and those around Durban.

### **What About the Right Wing?**

The threat of a CP victory and the collapse of negotiations was the strongest argument raised in favour of calling for a "yes" vote. The CP's explicit promises to go back to old-style Apartheid and revive the war on black people's rights cannot be taken lightly by anyone serious about real change in South Africa. Fascist groupings like the A WB threaten the lives of black people as well as all the organisations of the people. In this regard those people who argue in favour of a CP victory on the grounds that this would immediately cause an upsurge in mass activity are naive. It is the kind of argument that calls on us to welcome attacks on our lives in order to make us and our organisations stronger.

In the same way, those people who say that the referendum result was going to be irrelevant are not saying how the Right threat against any future prospect for democracy is going to be defeated.

Caught between the threat of the Right Wing and the record of the state's violence against the people,

referendum. The government hopes to win the initiative in the negotiations by proving that the De Klerk regime is not only responsible for the negotiations, but is also in control of the process and therefore should be able to draw up a constitution. This attempt at being a referee and a player the government has already had some success with by winning the concession from the ANC that the racist tricameral parliament will have to ratify decisions of CODESA.

The referendum victory for De Klerk is a victory over two forces - the CP/AWB Right and the ANC and the liberatory movement. On the one side the CP has been shown to have no real alternative programme for whites at this stage and on the other side the initiative and responsibility for negotiations and CODESA has been taken temporarily from the ANC. De Klerk has emerged as the force responsible for the reforms in SA and as the force without which the Right could not have been defeated. By making his regime indispensable to peace and progress, De Klerk is in a much stronger position to extract even more compromises on majority rule from the ANC.

As regards the International community, the referendum result has been hailed as proof that change is irreversible and that white South Africans have proven that they have buried the corpse of Apartheid. Sanctions and trade embargoes have been dropped on the grounds of this evidence. De Klerk's government has therefore also scored a major victory amongst various foreign governments and finance houses who had come under pressure over the last decade to impose sanctions against the Apartheid regime.



CODESA

# Deep in the second half

FM 27/3/92

(304A) ~~304A~~

Despite the objections raised by the ANC and others over the government-NP proposals for transitional arrangements, the impasse is not intractable.

The proposals are substantially those adopted by the Nat federal congress months ago — except for the idea of creating “transitional councils.” These have been derided by the ANC as “toy telephones” because, though they would be broadly representative, they are envisaged as purely advisory bodies. They would make recommendations on important policy areas, in advance of elections for an interim government.

It should be remembered, however, that the ANC's transitional proposals also call for the creation of such structures, called “multiparty committees,” to take charge of the most important areas like the Budget.

The difference, however, is that the ANC proposes that these committees will have complete control over those areas, and fall under an “interim government council” made up of parties in Codesa which would oversee parliament and the Cabinet.

Such differences would seem amenable to some kind of consensus being hammered out.

The same may be said for what now appear to have become government's preconditions for agreeing to set up a transitional government. It wants solved “decisively” the question of political violence and the “suspension” of the ANC's armed struggle.

This, of course, refers more specifically to the disbandment of the ANC's armed wing, the relatively small Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The issue, always sensitive, now moves up the agenda.

The ANC refuses to deal with the question until an interim government is in place, whereupon it envisages MK and the SADF being merged. In any event, the ANC says the matter also involves the armies of the homeland governments.

ANC spokesmen also claim that the issue is being sensationalised through the press, and point out that it is being dealt with in continuing bilateral talks with government.

Clearly, a large measure of mutual suspicion still exists between the major players. While the Democratic Party in principle supports President F W de Klerk's stance on private armies — and it is difficult to conceive of any other approach — the DP does not believe this matter will hold up the negotiation process. The irony is that MK, judging by all the evidence available, hardly exists — its existence is a matter of symbolism, not military confrontation.

While the ANC welcomes government's acceptance of an elected constitution-making body, it says the proposals for two phases of the transition are objectionable in many

fundamental respects.

Firstly, the transitional councils would in effect leave all powers in the hands of the present government, thereby allowing it to act both as referee and player. “We are alarmed that the NP-government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the Working Group a fortnight ago, that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is ‘the creation of a transi-



tional executive structure,’ which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.”

The government's proposal implies that the present constitution will stay unamended until an elected constitution-making body is in place. This is apparently at variance with an earlier agreement that Codesa decisions will be given legal effect “through amendments to the existing constitution.”

The proposed transitional councils are unacceptable to the ANC because “their functions have nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of Phase One of the transition, which is to level the political playing field and ensure free and fair elections under conditions of free political activity.”

The ANC suspects that the mooted transitional councils could investigate matters that should be the domain of a constitution-making body. Nor will these councils have any executive powers to carry out the Codesa mandate, says the ANC. Rather, the present government will retain powers to veto recommendations of the councils.

As far as Phase Two is concerned, the ANC finds it “strange in the extreme that the government should even entertain the view that the present racist parliament

should co-exist with a democratically elected constitution-making body, and have powers of veto over decisions of such a body.”

Despite its problems, the ANC says “we will ensure that nothing derails this process and that negotiations continue.”

There is no doubt that both sides have the will, the resources and the flexibility to overcome obstacles. The main problem appears to be one of sovereignty: which institutions will possess it, and at what stage? There is a danger that parliament will be undermined, thus affecting its future legitimacy.

It is to be hoped that the correct decisions are made now. Constitutionally, the point of no return is approaching and after that De Klerk's bargaining power will also diminish.

## CONSERVATIVE PARTY

### After the fall

FM 27/3/92

The Conservative Party was ready to split this week unless a compromise could be worked out to satisfy both the moderate and hardline factions in the party who are squabbling over whether or not to participate in Codesa.

It has also emerged that Andries Treurnicht is almost certain to resign as leader and possibly retire from politics. He is 71, has been MP for Waterberg in the northern Transvaal for 20 years and has headed the CP since its formation in 1982. The CP would retain the seat in a by-election.

As the FM went to press, the 42-member CP caucus was meeting in Cape Town to continue discussions on the party's future that started after last week's referendum.

Further meetings were scheduled for the rest of the week culminating in a “hoofraad” (head council) indaba in Bloemfontein on Saturday at which a final decision is expected.

The CP and its rightwing allies were so soundly thrashed in the referendum that nearly all its MPs believe there is no point in the party continuing in its present form.

Some caucus members now acknowledge that the party's biggest mistake was to participate in the referendum. “F W de Klerk set a trap. He took a big chance, but we walked right into it. We should have seen what was coming,” says one MP.

They also blame the alliance with the AWB which, under Eugene Terre'Blanche's embarrassing leadership, was allowed to dominate the rightwing campaign. They believe the link with the AWB lost the CP thousands of votes.

The resignation this week of AWB secre-



# Alone against the dragons

**FM SUZMAN'S SOLO YEARS** edited by Phyllis Lewsen (Jonathan Ball-Ad Donker, 276pp, R70).

When the young F W de Klerk was elected MP for Vereeniging in 1972, Helen Suzman had already represented Houghton for 19 years. When she finally gave up her seat at the 1989 general election, she was by far the longest-serving MP, having sat since 1953.

The other veterans with unbroken service at that stage were almost of another generation: Speaker Louis le Grange had been elected to parliament in 1966 along with Nat chief whip Alex van Breda; CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenburg took his seat in 1970. All the rest came later.

Suzman survived all her contemporaries and many of her juniors. It was partly due to her stamina and determination that the principles and policies she fought for — often against crushing odds — have finally triumphed among white voters.

She watched successive National Party leaders — Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster, Botha — refine and apply the mad racist ideology that was to bring the country to the point of ruin. She listened to Harold Macmillan's "winds of change" speech; she saw Verwoerd assassinated in the House of Assembly. She witnessed the fall of Mulder, Vorster and Diederichs in the wake of the Info scandal and outlasted Leaders of the Opposition, including Sir De Villiers Graaff and Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Above all, it was her fate to make a career out of opposing the apartheid policies of the National Party. She did so for 36 years. The remarkable thing is that she was alone in the House for more than a third of them: from the 1961 general election, when she was the only member of the breakaway Progressive Party to retain her seat, until the election of six new Progs in the 1974 general election. It is worth recalling their names: Colin Eglin, Rene de Villiers, Alex Boraine, Gordon Waddell, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Rupert Lorimer.

The years alone — the period covered by this book — were the toughest. Even those affluent areas of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town that were to become known as "Prog country" — and which fervently voted "yes" last week for a nonracial democracy — refused to accept tentative Prog alternatives such as a qualified franchise.

The mood of those times is neatly captured in Suzman's report-back speech to her constituency after the 1962 parliamentary session. She noted that "I was fortunate in obtaining a private member's day on which to introduce my Bill amending the Immorality Act. I must here express thanks to one of the coloured representatives for agreeing to formally second my first reading amendment. Had he not agreed to do so, I should have been unable to present my case to the

House at a second reading. I found that though privately many Nationalist MPs supported my views ... the Nat whip was on, and no-one dared do so in the House."

She continued: "My case was simple — I wanted to repeal those sections of the Immorality Act that related to immoral relations across the colour line. I had an embarrassing number of ugly cases to draw on to support my contention that this was a grim law with some shocking side effects. From 1950 to 1960, nearly 7 000 people have been prosecuted and nearly 4 000 convicted under this disgusting law. The side effects are frightful — scores of suicides, murder, blackmail, misery for families of people involved."

In the Eighties, even P W Botha saw his way clear to repealing the Immorality Act; in the Sixties this was apparently unthinkable — even though it had become law only a



decade before.

One has a certain understanding for the Nats who felt unable to risk flouting the party line, thereby defying Verwoerd. The real shame attached to the United Party (UP), the once-great party of Hertzog and Smuts. But we must also remember that, except for the *Rand Daily Mail*, all the major English-language newspapers firmly backed the UP until the mid-Seventies.

After Suzman had introduced her Bill, the UP "asked for a select committee before the second reading — parliamentary language for saying they did not accept the principle of repealing the offending section, only wanted the situation investigated ... the Bill was talked out and no vote taken."

The ineffectiveness of the UP keeps cropping up, both in Suzman's report-back speeches and in the extracts from Hansard. For instance, at her 1970 report-back, Suz-

man noted that "Graaff is on record as saying that the UP will uphold the customary colour bar and will take measures to protect any group of white workers against any transgression of the customary colour bar ... When I pointed out the need for compulsory education at least up to primary school in order to train skilled workers, Graaff and Emdin (the UP education spokesman) asked: 'What will it cost?' Quite ludicrous! Set the aim and work to achieve it as fast as possible. Spend less on defence and police and the vast trappings of apartheid and there'll be money for education. Our attitude should be: 'We can't afford not to educate our non-white population.'"

If only those wise words had been heeded in 1970 — or even 1980. But nobody was prepared to listen, and now we are living with the consequences of the Nat and UP folly.

Reading Suzman's various speeches, one is struck by the directness of expression, the ability to sum up a complicated issue with a few chatty words, and, above all, the humour. Sometimes it was gently withering, sometimes bitingly sarcastic, but always irresistible.

Even those Nat opponents who thought she was the advance guard of the communist hordes confessed to a sneaking admiration for her; some of them, like Speaker Hendrik Klopper (later an inspiration to the break-away Conservative Party), must have come close to being charmed by her.

Why, then, with her good looks, vivacity, common sense and wit, did the white electorate remain immune for so long to the appeal of Helen Suzman and her party? I suspect it was largely because there was no television in those days — and all radio political coverage was in the palm of the Nats. Unless you actually attended a meeting in Houghton, the only way you would find out about her was through the newspapers. And in the limited space available, the true vigour and force of her contribution could hardly be apparent.

Even when we did get TV in 1976, it was so biased in favour of the National Party that the liberal opposition spokesmen had little chance. Only Van Zyl Slabbert, when he became Leader of the Opposition, was able to get something approaching reasonable coverage.

Never mind the personalities. Both before and after the introduction of TV, the issues raised by Suzman were simply not allowed on the air. Forced removals, resettlement camps, prison squalor, detention without trial, deaths in detention, rural poverty, malnutrition — these matters were either ignored by the SABC or mentioned briefly from the State's point of view. There was no political investigative reporting.

But, for the MPs themselves, there is no excuse. They could not, and cannot, claim that they did not know. As this book reveals



## RECYCLING BUILDING MATERIALS

FM 27/3/92

**Waste not, want not**

306

The idea of using discarded building materials — usually stuck away in city dumps and landfills — for informal-settlement construction is gaining support. There are few other ways low- or non-income-earning blacks can obtain building materials. The property and low-cost housing industries believe the concept (mooted by the *FM*) has merit.

Most people in areas set aside by provincial administrations for informal settlement — some serviced, others not — use plastic and cardboard to build shacks.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration's Physical Planning & Development Department says it would be keen to redeploy second-hand building materials. It is prepared to set aside delivery areas from which these could be distributed.

Understandably, TPA director Jan Breytenbach has no qualms about accepting donations from the private sector for urbanisation. His 1991-1992 budget of R180m is intended to provide only rudimentary services like water and sewerage or lavatories to the 36 informal communities on the Witwatersrand. He estimates there are an additional 360 000 families — with 6,2 people per family — waiting for such serviced sites in his area.

The department's technical inspector, André Venter, has volunteered to allocate the delivery sites.

Some related problems arise out of the suggestion. One is the cost of transport and another the time limits imposed on demolishers. Concrete has to be removed from the bricks to make them fit for re-use. The cost of transporting rubble could be as high as R1,4m from one major site alone, according to leading demolisher, Wreckers, which is about to implode a Johannesburg city block to make room for BankCity. Auto House on the corner of Fraser and Jeppe streets, which takes up half a block, will be levelled on Sunday. It will be followed by Aitkin House on April 25.

Wreckers MD Mike Perkin suggests that for such jobs — far from informal settlements — unused mine land within 5km of the CBD could be set aside for further dispersal points. "Bricks and other materials could then be cleaned up by the end-users

without the imposition of time limits," he points out.

Murphy Demolishers' Dave Murphy says a clean-up process is often not necessary — as when taking up brick driveways. All demolishers canvassed — including Express, which is about to take down the Hyperama sheds in Edenvale — confirm that millions of bricks and other re-usable materials are thrown away in the course of their work. While doors and windows have a ready



**Auto House ... out of implosion, bricks and work**

second-hand market and are sold on demolition sites, or to discount building traders, bricks are dumped into landfills, at golf courses or municipal tips.

Rand Mine Properties, which owns large areas of land adjacent to townships and central Johannesburg, says it is prepared to discuss the idea of using suitable areas as clean-up sites. One obvious concern is the disposal of large chunks of rubble resulting from implosion and the need to ensure that only materials suitable for re-use are delivered to designated sites.

The clean-up process could be completed earlier than delivery to dispersal sites. The only person involved in brick recycling is Thomas Masingi who has run Rixile Demolishers, of Newtown, Johannesburg, for 22 years. Rixile's demolition work is usually on small sites — his clients include RMP — where enough time is available to clean bricks. These he gets free before processing and selling them. He employs eight women who can process up to 1 000 bricks a day.

Masingi comments: "Ninety per cent of my customers are rich whites. Blacks are only now starting to realise that second-hand bricks, and even halfbricks, can be used, particularly on the inside of houses where they are plastered over. Face bricks can be used on the outside. As far as I'm concerned, if the bricks are used by the squatters, it

won't deprive me of business."

PPC group MD Ted Hodgkiss says he may consider donating cement to selected projects as part of the company's social responsibility programme.

Bricks make up one-third of the price of a house. Low-cost housing agencies such as the SA Housing Trust, the Urban Foundation and the Independent Development Trust, could find that the money saved on the cost of bricks, along with materials donated by developers, could be used to provide employment for shack dwellers to build homes. This is the principle behind using on-the-spot labour at Rietfontein where a water main is being constructed under the direction of consulting engineer BKS.

**CLIFTON BUNGALOWS****Testing the price**

The sale of what are widely regarded as the most sought-after residential properties in SA — the Clifton bungalow sites in Cape Town — is headed for a long legal battle.

Leaseholders are trying to make the city council sell the properties at prices set six years ago. *FM 27/3/92*

The 170 sites on the beach at Clifton are leased from the council at nominal rentals but long-term leases, including the modest bungalows on the sites, now sell for much more than they would have in 1986 when the council decided in principle to sell the sites.

Prices were set at around R200 000. They were regarded as steep then but not unreasonable.

Technicalities delayed the sales. Earlier this year, the council decided to test the market by selling three vacant sites and one which had a bungalow. They fetched a total of R2,6m.

The plots ranged in size from 371 m<sup>2</sup> to 520 m<sup>2</sup> and the prices from R550 000 to R750 000 at an auction attended by about 350 people.

The prices were regarded as exceptional in view of the strict conditions of sale: you must build within two years of transfer; resale before building is restricted, as is size and height of buildings and vehicular access from the road.

The auction was seen as an indicator of how the council could peg prices when it eventually sells the other plots. But bungalow owners say legal opinion is that the council cannot raise the prices from the 1986 level.

After the auction, the council decided to let its executive committee determine the prices. It is understood that the committee is



tary-general Piet Rudolph is further evidence of dissatisfaction at Terre'Blanche's performance and could lead to a split in the organisation.

Treurnicht's weak leadership, indecision at crucial times in the campaign and public blunders (he sarcastically referred to the SA cricketers in Australia as the "Azanian" team) sealed his fate as leader.

Some MPs also admit that they misread the mood of voters, particularly English-speakers in Natal, which was the area where they believed the party had the best chance of strong growth.

The current debate in the caucus revolves on the nature of a transformed CP. Options discussed so far range from becoming an exclusively white Afrikaner party to turning the CP into a nonracial party, participating in Codesa and fighting for the "self-determination" of CP supporters.

There is also a faction that favours a white homeland on the same scale as that being proposed by Carel Boshoff and a secessionist group which, it seems, wants to team up with someone like KwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and break away from SA.

Though the differences between the caucus factions was described this week as implacable, a possible compromise that could satisfy the majority of caucus members and win the approval of most CP supporters was being drafted.

It centres on the creation of another negotiating forum similar to Codesa. It could comprise all the groups in favour of "self-determination", including the CP and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. The forum could then become a "bridge" between the Codesa parties and the self-determinationists, possibly drawing them into Codesa at a later stage. It is felt that this arrangement would allow the CP to enter the negotiating process without losing too much face and would create an opening for individuals in the party who are currently strongly opposed to Codesa.

Some anti-Codesa caucus members argue that participation is pointless because the main groups, the government, the National Party and the ANC, have already rejected the sort of self-determination being insisted on by the CP. But others say that unless the party gets involved in the process as soon as possible it will be left behind and miss the opportunity at least to put its case and fight for the constitutional protection it believes is necessary for whites.

The chances of Codesa agreeing to this type of arrangement seem remote — though it is accepted by the Codesa parties that it's important to draw the Right into the process to eliminate potential problems further down the road.

It's not clear what future the small group of ultra-hardliners see for the CP. They want nothing to do with Codesa in any circumstances, but keep insisting that they will continue to use any available constitutional means to oppose government. They decline to say what course they will take when this

avenue runs out, possibly after the installation of an interim government expected later this year.

Meanwhile, unity problems also rocked the Democratic Party this week, in spite of it being on the winning side for the first time in its existence. The first post-referendum caucus meeting revealed severe tensions due to what was perceived as the NP's hijacking of the DP.

It is understood that three factions have emerged: a group which wants to join the Nats; a smaller (leftwing) group that wants



Treurnicht



Terre'Blanche

to break away from the DP and sit in parliament as independents; and the liberal rump of the party (believed to be the majority of the caucus) that believes the DP must continue to play its traditional role as a watchdog over whatever government is in power.

There is little doubt that the DP would lose the bulk of its support to the NP in a whites election; but seeing that there will never again be such an occasion, the liberal MPs argue that it's time for the party to re-establish the identity that allowed it (and its predecessors) to develop an image of honesty and integrity during the years of NP rule. ■

## CONSERVATIVE PARTY 304A

After the fall<sup>FM</sup> 27/3/92

The Conservative Party was ready to split this week unless a compromise could be worked out to satisfy both the moderate and hardline factions in the party who are squabbling over whether or not to participate in Codesa.

It has also emerged that Andries Treurnicht is almost certain to resign as leader and possibly retire from politics. He is 71, has been MP for Waterberg in the northern Transvaal for 20 years and has headed the CP since its formation in 1982. The CP would retain the seat in a by-election.

As the FM went to press, the 42-member CP caucus was meeting in Cape Town to continue discussions on the party's future that started after last week's referendum.

Further meetings were scheduled for the rest of the week culminating in a "hoofraad" (head council) indaba in Bloemfontein on Saturday at which a final decision is expected.

The CP and its rightwing allies were so soundly thrashed in the referendum that nearly all its MPs believe there is no point in the party continuing in its present form.

Some caucus members now acknowledge that the party's biggest mistake was to participate in the referendum. "F W de Klerk set a trap. He took a big chance, but we walked right into it. We should have seen what was coming," says one MP.

They also blame the alliance with the AWB which, under Eugene Terre'Blanche's embarrassing leadership, was allowed to dominate the rightwing campaign. They believe the link with the AWB lost the CP thousands of votes.

The resignation this week of AWB secre-

## Education department rejects 70 000

CAPE TOWN — About 70 000 applications to study at black training colleges were turned down this year — even though white teacher training colleges were half empty.

Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said yesterday 70 000 applicants were refused admission to colleges falling under his department.

Earlier this week, Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais said although his department's training colleges had a capacity of 10 150, the number of students

enrolled was 5 471.

This means there are 4 689 empty places at "white" training colleges.

Marais said the number of students at the white training colleges declined from 13 077 in 1986 to 7 934 last year.

De Beer said his department had a maximum number of students who could be enrolled at each college of education, as well as the intake of first-year students.

Political Staff

## Interim govt 'the key to ending violence'

VIOLENCE would not stop unless SA got an interim government with sovereign power to take charge of the security forces and gain access to government covert operations, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said last night.

Speaking at the Wits University arts students' graduation ceremony, Chikane said the peace accord could only deal with open organisations, and that it was only the government of

the day that could deal with covert operations.

"The apartheid system has created a dangerous and disastrous culture of violence and intolerance among whites and blacks ... which threatens the negotiations process," he said.

Democratic principles for whites were only upheld within the framework of apartheid.

"For blacks, the system and laws created a situa-

tion where they had to fight for every single right and demand for justice. And for every articulation of their rights, violence was used against them," he said.

Chikane said universities faced a difficult challenge in redressing inequalities as they were called to start from a situation where only 10% of black students who wrote matric in 1991 gained university exemptions.

Special educational and training programmes were needed to turn the tide.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

## New means of entering legal profession proposed

THE Association of Law Societies has proposed new entry routes into the legal profession.

An association spokesman said until now the only route had been that law graduates with B Proc or LLB degrees had to complete two years' articles at an attorney's firm before being admitted to the profession.

The new routes would alleviate the problems many law graduates experienced in obtaining articles of clerkship.

If the proposals were accepted it would mean the traditional system of articles could be shortened, or replaced, by community service at the offices of public defenders, law clinics or similar organisations.

The community service would be aimed at giving graduates wider representation in criminal cases as well as in civil actions. Should this system be introduced, about 600 more people would be able to represent members of the public in court.

It would operate under a legal aid dispensation and could be funded from the existing legal aid budget and a part of the savings the system would bring about. Advantages of the system would be:

- ☐ Wider representation of accused;
- ☐ Fewer people sentenced to jail;
- ☐ Big savings for the Correctional Services Department;
- ☐ Widespread extension of the legal aid system;
- ☐ Enhanced chances of entering the profession; and
- ☐ More employment for law graduates and attorneys.

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I DO NOT go along with those who claim President F W de Klerk has a double agenda. His agenda is clear. It was once again spelt out in his "bottom lines" in the run-up to the referendum. In general, we can expect his regime to fight tooth and nail to retain the maximum amount of racially accumulated privileges for the white constituency in a new dispensation.

How do they do this in the new era? They know they cannot win a majority in a truly democratic election. Since they cannot win politically they have to look elsewhere.

They use the principle of majoritarianism as a swear word. Everything must be cut and dried before the disenfranchised enter Parliament so that their representatives are constitutionally paralysed from implementing their will.

The main areas targeted to achieve these objectives are: enforced political coalitions; a second chamber with veto powers dominated by minorities; the prevention of affirmative action; and preventing a future Parliament from adopting economic measures in the interests of the overwhelming majority.

Negotiations cannot take place without a degree of give and take. But we, too, have bottom lines.

We stand for a unitary state whose constitution will not permit any form of secession by regional enti-

# We, too, have bottom lines

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JOE SLOVO

ties. Every square metre of SA territory must be fully reincorporated. We reject federalism and any of its variants which would derogate from the ultimate sovereignty of the central legislature. Subject to those qualifications, we support the constitutional entrenchment of defined powers for regional and local entities which should be delimited according to demographic, geographic and economic factors — and not determined by ethnicity. Nor must regional power become the canny flag for minority vetoes.

Apart from the short period of transition, we totally reject the constitutional entrenchment of enforced political coalitions as a permanent feature of the political system. Such a provision would, at best, undermine multiparty democracy by a tendency to suffocate one of its essential ingredients — a political opposition. At worst, enforced coalitions are designed to bring in by stealth the discredited notion of group vetoes. This would paralyse a future executive from acting in accordance with a popular mandate. The system of voluntary coalitions has many precedents and in our di-

vided society a future government might well consider it advisable to include all or some elected political minorities in the executive in voluntary coalitions and under mutually agreed conditions. But there is no single example in the world of a constitution which makes power-sharing compulsory.

In saying all this we do not advocate a system of simple majoritarianism, nor are we inapertious to the need for the protection of the rights of political minorities. But we draw the line at the suspect device of enforced coalitions in the executive.

The rights of political minorities will find protection in a system of proportional representation, a justifiable bill of rights, special majorities for adopting or amending the constitution, and in an entrenched multiparty democracy which will enshrine the right of a political minority to become a majority through a democratic electoral process.

There can be no end to racism unless the future legislature is em-

powered to begin redressing the racial imbalance in every sphere of social and economic life. Without affirmative action this is impossible.

We are told that all we need is the entrenchment of equal opportunities and equality before the law for racism to begin to evaporate. Such provisions are obviously necessary for democracy. But on their own, without affirmative action, they become mere platitudes for the majority.

Of the 2 885 top income positions in the central state departments and provinces, only 14 are black. Without affirmative action the state administration will remain in the same hands for generations to come. There are endless examples.

Our sick society spawns a sick logic. The air is thick with cries of allaying the fears of the privileged minority. We hear few appeals for the dominant race group to recognise their accumulated privileges were obtained at the expense of black deprivation. It is surely they that must allay the fears of blacks that this state of affairs will continue.

The future of the economy is another vital area which the regime does not want to entrust to a future

majority. Again, the reason is clear — 98% of productive property and 85% of personal income are held by the white minority. And they want to maintain this status quo.

They insist the bill of rights should entrench a so-called free market economy, and everything should be left to business with virtually no economic role for the state.

From the early 1920s, massive state intervention in the form of affirmative action made it possible for white Afrikaners to climb the economic ladder. For this purpose they nationalised industries, created parastatals, redistributed land and took many other initiatives. Now that all this has served its purpose they want to prevent an elected Parliament from having democratic control over the country's economy.

We will contest every attempt to undermine the economic neutrality of the constitution. We stand for a mixed economy in a true multiparty democracy. We support the constitutional entrenchment of those economic rights which are universally accepted as part of basic human rights. But the balance between private and public interest is the business of people's representatives, and not just the business of business.

□ This is an edited version of a talk delivered by ANC and SACP leader Slovo on Wednesday at the M L Sultan Technikon in Durban.

LETTERS

## Majority rule soon, Pik tells Singapore

(304-A) SINGAPORE — SA's future under majority rule lay in the hands of its black leaders, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

"The end of apartheid was very significant, but more significant will be the role of the black leaders," said Botha, in Singapore on a three-day visit as part of a swing through Asia. B/day 27/3/92

"There are too many differences within the black political parties, and until they resolve their differences nothing can be achieved," Botha said.

He singled out the SACP as a major obstacle to majority rule, claiming that it was bent on "carrying on with its violence".

Botha said although he was very keen to see majority rule introduced as soon as possible, he was not prepared to state any specific period.

"Much will depend on the black leaders. I am hopeful it could be very soon."

Botha predicted the NP would "very soon become a party with whites in the minority".

While in Singapore, Botha briefed Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong on latest political developments and met Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Botha said SA was keen to tap Singapore's expertise in public housing and would be sending officials to study this subject.

Singapore earlier this month lifted a ban on trade with SA and last week appointed a senior retired civil servant as its special representative to the country. Two-way trade between the two countries amounted to \$300m at the end of last year.

Botha is due to return to SA today. — Sapa-AFP.



# CP executive to thrash out position on Codesa after resign

THE CP hootraad, the party's highest executive authority, meets in Pretoria tomorrow to thrash out the party's stand on taking part in Codesa — in the face of growing disillusionment at the referendum result and resignations at local level.

CP officials were divided yesterday on whether a pro-negotiation faction — said to include MPs Koos van der Merwe, Koos Botha and Cehill Pienaar — would use the opportunity to break from the CP to put the case for an Afrikaner homeland to Codesa. However, the rift may be papered over until a national CP congress soon.

On Wednesday, four Germiston CP councillors walked out of the party caucus, citing the unworkability of CP policy as their reason. One of them, attorney Jack Nel who has acted on behalf of mass killer Bar-end Strydom, and other right-wing heroes like Piet Rudolph, said the CP MPs had not yet walked out for "strategic reasons".

But BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that Van der Merwe said yesterday he rejected participation in Codesa. He said in a statement that all claims that he was pro-Codesa were aimed at driving a wedge into the caucus. He "wholehearted-

PATRICK BULGER and ADRIAN HADLAND

ly" supported the party's rejection of participation in Codesa, as "undesirable and unjustifiable".

Acting Transvaal CP secretary Paul Fouché admitted CP representatives in the "cosmopolitan" urban areas were more likely to defect as they had a different outlook on the future of local government.

CP anxiety at its future in local government was reflected two weeks ago when a CP delegation pleaded unsuccessfully with Local Government Minister Leon Wessels

for immediate whites-only local elections.

CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council Jacques Theron said yesterday it was time for the CP to review its strategy; as promised municipal elections would take place only in 1994. "People are unsure of their constituencies and the party's policies," He predicted that the timespan between the last municipal poll in 1988 and scheduled elections in 1994 "puts pressure on councillors from all parties and will cause resignations across the political spectrum".

Party sources said there was a feeling in

the CP

the CP talking to them face a negoti- two set The other negotia intrins cuncta from h support

## CP executive

verligte MPs, wanted the CP to argue for an Afrikaner homeland at Codesa.

"I think there will be a breakaway by some of the MPs and hopefully they won't carry the message of a white homeland to Codesa, otherwise that would be racism which is unacceptable to Codesa," Germiston councillor Nel said. "The split is there already, but for tactical reasons it has not yet come into the open."

He said he had left the CP caucus because he could no longer sincerely promise his constituents a return to apartheid. He urged the CP to adopt a similarly realistic

attitude.

NP leader in Johannesburg Koos Riegers said there was no doubt a nonracial system of local government was in the offing. As a result, the CP will either have to accept it, or just fade away."

Fouché predicted that platteland CP councils would not agree to a one city, one tax base system. While CP sources said the party would not take part in national, regional or local elections decided by Codesa, CP representatives were uncomfortable at remaining in an electoral party that envisaged never taking part in another election.

From Page 1



# 'Codesa must set investment scene'

B1 Day 27/3/92

304A

CAPE TOWN — Parties at Codesa should stop squabbling so that stability could be achieved and urgently required investment could commence, DP leader Zach de Beer told Parliament yesterday.

While many aspects of the weak economy needed to be addressed, such as productivity, training, industrial relations and the need for improvement in control of government expenditure, generating investment was the most important.

"It is investment that must begin to provide jobs; investment that must give us real per capita growth, investment from abroad that can protect our balance of payments while growth goes ahead," De Beer said.

The withholding of investment capital, the outflow of capital and the enforced repayment of loans from 1986 to 1991 accounted for R30bn.

"Had that sum remained in SA, our growth rate during that period could have been 3% or 4% instead of the 1,25% that was actually achieved."

This all happened because people locally and internationally saw SA heading downhill to certain destruction, he said.

Following the landslide referendum victory, all the political parties in SA were now free to negotiate with each other to find a moral, fair and economically effective policy.

De Beer said he was concerned

BILLY PADDOCK

that whereas immense goodwill had existed earlier in Codesa, there was "a spirit of competition for positions of power is now creeping in".

"My call is now on all who are attending Codesa and those who might join, to realise that the speedy attainment of a reasonable agreement is more important than its details."

Recovery and growth had to be the top priorities and political negotiators must be prepared to sacrifice in order to achieve these, he said.

"When we now gather at Codesa, let us do it in the awareness that our children are dying of poverty around us," he said.

□ Exchange control could not be lifted now because this could lead to all SA's foreign reserves being used to pay foreign debt, joint finance committee chairman Francois Jacobsz said yesterday, reports Sapa.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he said the reserves stood at about \$3bn and debts subject to the debt standstill at \$5bn.

Abolition of the financial rand system, a form of exchange control, would mean that all capital transactions could take place at the cost of the reserves. Scrapping exchange control might also mean that the country would not have enough reserves to pay for imports.



**PETER FABRICIUS**  
**Political Correspondent**

MAJOR realignments are looming among white political parties, which have been thrown into turmoil by the referendum.

Splits, new parties, defections and fresh alliances are all on the cards as the National Party, Conservative Party and Democratic Party plunge into a process of re-examining and repositioning themselves in the wider political terrain that has suddenly opened up.

The referendum "closed the book of apartheid" and opened the door on a different and uncertain future of nonracial politics.

The sudden acceleration in political developments has had repercussions throughout white politics, including:

- An NP think-tank is meeting in Cape Town today to consider what form of political alignment is needed to ensure that the NP wins the next election.
- The CP head committee meets in Pretoria today to decide on a new strategy following its crushing referendum defeat — with strong speculation that the party might split.

- The DP is poised for a shake-up, with the strong possibility of some left-leaning MPs defecting to the ANC while MPs on the other side of the party this week proposed the formation of a new centre-right party to counter the ANC.

Summing up the current mood of white politics, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday: "After the referendum, the State President closed the book on apartheid and by the same token opened the new book on the future.

"White politics has been changed irrevocably, so everyone is trying to position himself."

Van der Merwe indicated that the Nat think-tank would be considering whether the NP's future lay in alliances with other parties or in forming an entirely new centrist party or movement.

These options have been under consideration in the party since it opened its membership to all races during 1990 but have now acquired new urgency.

"No decision has been taken. But certainly the NP, like other parties, is looking to position itself," Van der Merwe said.

He said the idea of a new centre-right alliance to oppose the ANC — proposed in Parliament by DP Pietermaritzburg North MP Mike Tarr this week — had been "floating around for some time".

He gave no indication whether the NP was well-disposed to the idea but said it would have to be taken into consideration.

Tarr said a new party was needed as the NP as such had no chance of gaining widespread black support because of its association with apartheid.

But a new centre-right party — which could include the NP, the DP, other smaller parties and even moderates in the ANC — could more effectively balance the ANC.

Tarr's suggestion took his own party by surprise, obliging him to issue a clarifying statement saying he was speaking only for himself.

But many other MPs feel the same — although many doubt whether Tarr chose the right moment to say so.

Meanwhile DP sources have indicated that a defection of left-wing MPs to the ANC could take place over the next few months.

- **THABO LESHLO** reports that the Azanian People's Organisation holds a crucial meeting in Johannesburg today and tomorrow, where it is expected to review its boycott of Codesa as constitutional options for liberation groups outside the convention continue to narrow.

Observers expect that daggers will be drawn between Marxist-Leninist hardliners in the movement — who still advocate a violent overthrow of the Government — and some members urging participation in Codesa.

# White politics at crossroads

Major parties set for shake-up

30th  
5th  
28/3/92

# New line-up looming in SA turmoil

SC411

ARC 28/3/92

**MICHAEL MORRIS and  
PETER FABRICIUS**

Weekend Argus  
Political Staff

**TURMOIL** in white politics in the wake of the referendum is set to launch far-reaching re-alignments among parties jockeying for influence before the first democratic elections.

The acceleration of political developments — and the prospect of elections for a transitional government — has propelled white parties into an uncertain future.

Splits, new parties, defections and fresh alliances are on the cards as the National Party, Conservative Party and Democratic Party hastily re-examine their strategies and re-position themselves in the wider political terrain.

The resounding Yes vote victory in the referendum has, as President De Klerk put it, closed South Africa's apartheid chapter and white politicians acknowledge that, unless they adapt, they will be reduced to minority status in a new order, with little hope of exerting any significant influence on events.

With a sense of urgency, all three major parties have begun weighing the options.

- An NP think-tank meets in Cape Town today to consider what form of political alignment is needed to ensure the NP wins the next election.

- The Conservative Party head committee meets in Pretoria today to decide on a new strategy after its crushing referendum defeat — with strong speculation that the party might split.

- The Democratic Party is poised for a shake-up with the strong possibility of some left-leaning MPs defecting to the African National Congress.

Some MPs already have floated the idea of a new cen-

tre-right party to counter the ANC.

This will be among the items on the agenda at today's Nationalist think-tank.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the gathering would be assessing whether the party's future lay in forming alliances with other parties — or in forming an entirely new centrist party or movement.

The NP is anxious to be able to match the ANC in nonracial elections.

Summing up the mood, Dr Van der Merwe noted: "White politics has changed irrevocably, so everyone is trying to position himself. Whereas before it was a gradual change, the referendum slammed shut the book of apartheid. We are now in the future."

More than merely closing the book on apartheid, he said, the referendum had opened the book of the future.

It was with this in mind that the Democratic Party MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Mike Tarr, raised the idea in parliament this week of a new centre-right alliance to oppose the ANC.

A "ganging up" of white parties would not be desirable, he said, but a new political force was needed to create a credible, and strong, opposition to the ANC.

Mr Tarr said a new party was needed as the NP had no chance of gaining widespread black support because of its apartheid baggage.

However, a new centre-right party — which could include the NP, the DP, other smaller parties and even moderates in the ANC — could more effectively balance the ANC.

"I have spoken privately to some Nationalists and they have not rejected it outright."

Jitters in the DP about Mr Tarr's speech prompted him to issue a clarifying statement

saying he was speaking only for himself.

He said he was merely raising it as a matter for debate.

However, Mr Tarr's proposal comes as speculation intensifies over the probability of the DP losing some leftwing MPs to the ANC over the next few months.

While nobody will confirm this and DP leader Dr Zac de Beer has said there is no evidence to suggest it, it has not been denied by some of the MPs concerned.

Conservatives, facing the toughest challenge to their survival since breaking away from the Nats over power-sharing, today continue the painful process of dissecting the referendum defeat and trying to set a new direction at a meeting of the party's head council, the CP's second highest decision-making body after congress.

So far, the party has had two heated caucus meetings to try to resolve differences between pro and anti-negotiation factions and, although the pro-negotiation camp of Overvaal MP Mr Koos van der Merwe and Free State leader Mr Cehill Pienaar seems to be pulling ahead, no clear direction has emerged.

This could happen today, with the danger of a break-away by the faction which fails to set its stamp on the party.

However, some party sources believe today's meeting will not be decisive and the CP will take several more weeks to set a new direction.



## Mandela compliments De Klerk

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has complimented President De Klerk for making it possible for political parties to embark on negotiations. (304) ARC 28/3/92

"I congratulate De Klerk. He is a courageous man, being a white Afrikaner, to abandon apartheid and embrace democratic values," Mr Mandela said at the ANC offices in Port Elizabeth.

He said Mr De Klerk was finding it difficult to change his white supporters after 40 years of apartheid. "We have the same problem in the ANC and face serious criticism for changing our policy directions."

It was difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they had been "told to make the country ungovernable". — Sapa.

# General warns against Transkei's ostracism

STAR 28/3/92

3048

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CAPE TOWN — Transkeian military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa warned the ANC yesterday not to allow to go unchallenged attempts to exclude Transkei from an interim government in South Africa.

He was speaking at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town at a conference on future structures of government.

"There are moves afoot to have Transkeians brushed aside during the proposed two phases of in-

terim government.

"If the organisations fighting for liberation such as the ANC allow this to go unchallenged they will have, thereby, signed their death warrant," he said.

"Transkeians have, and are still, contributing immensely to the struggle for liberation.

"If Transkei is excluded from the process or is forced to relinquish its sovereignty at an inopportune stage, the whole political scene will change markedly and there will only be one winner in that scenario, namely the National Party Government," he said.

"The SA Government released its proposals on in-



**GENERAL HOLOMISA:**  
Only Nats will benefit.

terim arrangements at Codesa earlier this week.

"With the experience gained from administering a country and a government, we have a lot to contribute," Holomisa added.

"I trust that Transkei will be allowed to contribute to the process of transition and change after Codesa has been wound up.

"I therefore urge all those who are fighting for justice, freedom and democracy in our country to examine the latest proposals by the SA Government carefully, and to ask themselves the question: 'Who is going to benefit from the ostracism of Transkei?'"

● Jayendra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two, the secretariat said yesterday.

"The National Peace Secretariat visited East London this week and agreement was reached that two members of the secretariat, advocate Gert Myburgh and Jayendra Naidoo, will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei regarding the differences being experienced."

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is currently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman.

Earlier this month, news reports revealed plans by the ANC to launch a destabilitation campaign in the homeland. Ciskei then demanded that negotiations at Codesa be suspended until the ANC renounced its intentions. — Sapa.



# Everyone or else, warns Inkatha

*South 28/3-2/4/92*  
ECONOMIC PROSPECTS are still being held hostage by politics, it emerged powerfully from last week's Old Mutual-Nebank economic forum.

"Mark my words," said Inkatha's Mr Musa Myeni, in an ominous warning during a panel discussion.

"An interim government must be accepted by the majority of the people. If this is not so, there will be absolute resistance against that transitional government.

"Rather than creating any climate for a new constitution, it will be preoccupied by managing the crisis."

Less than a week after signing a pact with the AWB, Inkatha's controversial head of international relations was sounding off to Cape Town's business community.

Myeni, who last year warned of thousands of armed Zulus being mobilised, declared: "There is a need for all those parties to ensure that violence comes to an end."

He said: "The 'yes' vote hasn't changed anything except to give the government the assurance that it still has majority support among whites. This will be undermined by continued violence, and it will also undermine international interest and investment.

"Codesa is very flawed," proclaimed Myeni. "Rushing the process is going to be counterproductive. We need now to pause at Codesa and take stock. We must produce mechanisms that will bring in other groups not currently participating in Codesa."

ANC representative Mr Tito Mboweni proved more conciliatory.

He said that the result of the referendum had removed from the political scene any excuse on the part of the government for lack of progress.

But he cautioned: "If Mr De Klerk goes to Codesa brandishing kragdadigheid, it will destroy the results of the referendum."

Codesa now had to move ahead in April to set up a joint executive committee and an interim government.

The 'yes' vote would give impetus to the negotiation process, "but the international community is not naive. It is aware that the issues are not the referendum, but democracy in South Africa," Mboweni said.

# Could Mamatoria/Pretolodi Signal our new South Africa?

STATE 28/3/92

UNDERCURRENT  
AFFAIRS

SHAUN  
JOHNSON



**I**T IS the new South Africa, circa 1995. State President Nelson Mandela is at D F Malan airport, awaiting the arrival of an important foreign dignitary. Mandela, together with members of his coalition Cabinet, is planning to take the visitor on a sightseeing tour of the country.

On the itinerary are stopovers at the J G Strijdom airport, the Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, John Vorster Square and P W Botha airport. Of course the trip will take in the Kruger National Park, and there will be time for a visit to the Voortrekker Monument.

Does this tourism scenario strike you as somewhat odd? It should, because it would be so incongruous — despite the fact that it is regarded as perfectly normal right now, in 1992.

One might well add that the VIP visiting the all-new non-racial SA will travel the Ben Schoeman highway, pass the Andries Treurnicht Park in Vanderbijlpark, stop off the Willem Cruywagen Hospital in Germiston...

But now let's approach the matter from the opposite direction. Let's say our hypothetical VIP is met in 1995 by President Mandela at John L Dube Airport, stops over at the J T Jabavu and Yusuf Dadoo Airports, visits the Albert Luthuli Dam, Moses Kotane Square, spots game in the Sobukwe National Park and pays his respects at the Mayibuye Monument...

In my view, come 1995, neither of these descriptions will fit the reality. There can be no question that the national nomenclature has to change, and is going to change. As regards scenario No 1 above, the sooner whites accept and prepare themselves for this, the better. But the more interesting question that arises is exactly how this change

**City, street, airport names and monuments are expressions of power but changes made here could be relatively painless — thanks to an ANC initiative**

is going to take place — in a punitive or amicable fashion.

Post-colonial history is brimful of examples of the former (statues being torn down, road signs vandalised); after-liberation-satisfaction was as often as not expressed by replacing the names of the vanquished with those of the victors. In our case, I think there is reason to believe we can do it differently.

The ANC's Saki Macozoma correctly describes place names as expressions of power. It is truly as simple as that: those in power have the power to name things after themselves, or their heroes, and those who aren't in power, don't. South African place names overwhelmingly reflect the overwhelming power the National Party has enjoyed. The ANC has established a committee,

quaintly named the "Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry". This committee is looking into the national iconography. I think this is an extraordinary initiative.

A way is being sought, pre-emptively, in which wrongs can be righted, but with reflection and sensitivity. I believe plans are being hatched now — and negotiated compromises will follow — whereby excluded black culture can be given its rightful symbols, and white culture can retain that which is most important and dear to it. This means that we are unlikely to see mobs pulling down Paul Kruger's statue the night after the first elections.

It was reported last month that the ANC had decided, should it find itself in a position to make such a choice, that Pretoria would remain the capital — except that, a la Salisbury/Harare, it would become known as Mametodi. Well, very senior ANC sources tell me this is nonsense — that no such decision has been taken — but they do concede that the current dual-capital arrangement between Pretoria and Cape Town is very unlikely to survive.

My considered prediction, therefore (and it pains me, as a passionate devotee of Cape Town's charms, to say so) is that the Mother City had better start making plans to fill the gap left by Parliament. The new Government is not going to shell out the enormous sums required to move Parliament seasonally, and Cape Town will be regarded as too far out of the way for the rest of the country.

I believe Pretoria will remain the capital. I've no idea what it will be called (Pretolodi? Mametoria?) — or indeed if there will be a name change at all. But Capeonians ... heed this early warning from Undercurrent Affairs.



# AWB-Dutch right wing alliance?

South 28/3-2/4/92  
By Thoraya Pandey

THE Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), in alliance with fellow right-wingers in The Netherlands, will fight hand-in-glove in a "Third Boer War" to ensure the establishment of a "boerestaat".

A recently-struck alliance between the AWB and Dutch right wingers has embarked on a recruitment drive in The Netherlands to induct "fellow fatherland-loving Dutch men and sons" to help fight off black domination and the "godless communists in the ANC".

A pamphlet sent out to various organisations and newspapers in Amsterdam declares that Afrikaners will never live under a black-controlled government.

The alliance, known as the Herstigte Nederlandse Suidafrikaanse Werkgemeenskap (HNSW), was allegedly set up by rightwing organisations based in The Netherlands and the AWB.

In a letter bearing an AWB logo, the newly-formed right-wing alliance said there were whites from all over who supported their struggle for freedom.

Spokesperson for the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Fulco van Aurich, said the movement was investigating the matter.

"If it turns out to be serious, we will ask the relevant authorities here

to investigate if they can be prosecuted on two charges, namely, recruiting people for foreign military service and promoting racist ideologies," said Van Aurich.

AWB head Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche dismissed the pamphlet campaign "as another disinformation campaign against us".

## PAC, govt 'to meet' (30/4/79)

JOHANNESBURG —

The first bilateral meeting between the government and the PAC will be announced within days, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke confirmed yesterday, before leaving for an emergency summit of heads of frontline heads in Harare. **CR 28/3/92**

Mr Moseneke, who will address the one-day summit today, said the agenda "will principally be an evaluation of the situation post-referendum, sanctions and negotiations" in South Africa.

He said the PAC did not think Codesa would be able to deliver a constituent assembly as demanded by the organisation. — Sapa



# DP calls crisis meeting as rift widens

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party will hold a special caucus meeting next week in a bid to defuse the growing crisis in the party, which is showing signs of losing members to both the ANC and the National Party.

The party was in ferment yesterday following the surprise proposal by one MP, Mr Mike Tarr, that the time was ripe for the creation of a new "centrist" party — apparently including the DP and NP — to outmanoeuvre the ANC.

30417  
ET 28/3/92

Some irate MPs said they might quit the party next week unless the hotly-debated issue of the party's future profile and role were satisfactorily resolved.

As talk of political realignment filled the corridors of Parliament yesterday, some DP MPs tried to pour oil on troubled waters by playing down Mr Tarr's call for a strong new party to serve as a counter the ANC.

Mr Tarr, in an apparent bid to allay suspicions in his own caucus about the underlying motive for his call, said he "certainly was not

speaking on behalf of any other party or group, but in my own personal capacity".

The MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Ed- die Trent, said in a statement that "given the fact that South Africa is currently in a state of political flux, it is obvious that all political parties, of necessity, must constantly reassess their strategies."

He pointed out that in Port Elizabeth the DP had entered into an arrangement with the ANC and the SACP "to promote and encour-

age a process which would lead to the formation of one non-racial city".

However, some MPs were still seething last night about what they saw as an attempt by Mr Tarr to serve as an agent of the NP by floating a trial balloon about the desirability of the DP severing its growing contacts with the ANC and throwing in its lot with a revamped NP.

Some MPs voiced suspicions that the government had used the referendum as a platform to woo traditional DP supporters into the De Klerk camp.

## CP may split today over Codesa issue

CT 28/3/92

Political Staff

(304ft)

THE Conservative Party's "hoofraad" meets in Pretoria today amid growing signs that the issue of participation at Codesa will split the party.

The divisions within the party were thrown into sharp relief last week when one senior member told the Eastern Province Herald categorically he would "walk" unless the CP reversed its stand on Codesa.

It is understood those keen to change the course of the party want to try to win control — and they will attempt to do so today.



# Brakes on Codesa 2

*STIMES 29/3/92 (3044) (115)*  
CODESA TWO is likely to be delayed by at least a month as the government digs in its heels against ANC demands for the speedy installation of an interim government.  
The second plenary session of Codesa was scheduled to take place at the end of April.  
But following the government's unveiling of its proposals for an interim government this week, negotiators on all sides said this was high-

A top government negotiator said that for Codesa 2 to have any meaning, agreement would have to be reached on the first phase of transitional rule — the appointment of an interim executive structure.

And although initial hostile reaction from opposition parties to the government's proposals for this phase has dissipated to some extent, a lot of tough bargaining lies ahead before agreement can be reached.

This week Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, warned that the government would not be allowed to dictate the pace of Codesa.

"They cannot ride roughshod over Codesa," he said.

His warning coincides with indications that the ANC will consider "mass action" to bolster its position at the negotiating table.

The first signs that government was adopting a tougher line in negotiations came last week when Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the Sunday Times that without agreement on the ending of the armed struggle and disbanding of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), he doubted agreement could be reached on transitional structures.

## Powers

He, and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, also warned that Codesa 2 could not take place without the issue of the participation of the Zulu king being resolved.

On Monday the government created an uproar among its Codesa negotiating partners when it outlined plans for a first phase of transition.

It proposed the setting up of a number of transitional councils to look at regional government, local government, finance and elections.

The opposition parties were incensed because they believed the government was suggesting these councils have only advisory powers and not executive powers as had earlier been agreed at Codesa.

By EDYTH BULBRING  
and MIKE ROBERTSON

They were less angry, but in no way satisfied, when the government's negotiators explained that they did intend that these bodies have statutory powers.

Although strong differences remain, negotiators on all sides believe a compromise will be possible but it is highly unlikely agreement will be reached in April.

The linked issues of the government's demand that MK be disbanded and ANC fears over the role played

by the security forces continues to be the most tricky issue.

In its proposals for the transition, the government linked the appointment of a Transitional Defence Council to achieving progress in ending the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

Although there were reports this week quoting ANC sources as saying agreement was in sight on the MK/security forces issue, a senior government spokesman said he did not believe the problem could be fully resolved before Codesa 2.

Although the government does not appear to regard MK as a security threat, it does regard the issue as being politically important because of the public row between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the matter at Codesa 1.

# De Klerk fires Labour Reps

(304A) By NORMAN WEST (280)  
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has fired two Labour Party Ministerial Representatives and a Cape MEC and replaced them with National Party members. *ST Times (CA)*

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, confirmed yesterday that the three politicians have been fired at the request of his Ministers Council. 29/3/92

Mr F L Erasmus, MR for Eastern and Western Cape and Mr J J Scholtz, MR for Transvaal, will be replaced by Mr Billy Ross and Mr Lesley Jenneke, respectively.

Mr J J A Smith, MR for Transvaal and Mr Alby Stowman, MR for Natal, who joined the NP after the party seized control of the House at the beginning of this session of Parliament, will retain their positions.

Labour Party secretary-general, Mr E C Samuels, will be replaced as Cape MEC in charge of Works, Traffic Control and Horse Racing by Mr Peter Marais who, since 1984, unsuccessfully contested seats for the House of Representatives.

Mr Rabie said Mr De Klerk would inform Mr Erasmus, Mr Scholtz and Mr Samuels this weekend of his decision to fire them.

Other MR's and MEC's are at no risk as they have all joined the NP, said Mr Rabie.





# After the Right, now a new set of dangers

S/ Times 29/3/92

304A

**T**HE purpose of reform, as sanctioned by the referendum, is to transfer power to an elected government which will be subject to constitutional safeguards; the aim of the ANC is to achieve the transfer of power *before* safeguards are in place.

This ploy has been lurking in the shrubbery of Codesa for some time but it has been brought into sharp relief by the dispute with the Inkatha Freedom Party over regional rights. The IFP refuses to proceed with the transfer of power until certain constitutional questions are cleared up.

The IFP, like the Democratic Party, is wedded to a federal system which, by reserving powers to regional governments, may act as a shield against the unfettered power of the central government. This is standard constitutional thinking for divided societies where the central government may be captured by one group, tribe, or clique, which then uses its power to oppress the others.

The ANC, like the SACP, is bitterly hostile to federalism. Mr Joe Slovo says rejection of federalism is part of the ANC's "bottom line", a non-negotiable matter. For the IFP to permit power to pass to the ANC before the question of federalism is settled would, therefore, be suicidal folly.

Consider what might well happen if the ANC got its way: we would have, within months, an interim government council which would oversee Parliament, the cabinet, and all the homeland governments. It would also share control, with all other participants at Codesa, of the security forces, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

The main purpose of this council, however, would be to prepare for elections to a constituent assembly. Those elections, we may assume, will be by universal franchise, and by proportional representation, which would eliminate all parties that get less than, say, five percent of the total vote.

This would eliminate all the weaker members of Codesa, including the DP, the SACP, and possibly the IFP. The constituent assembly would, most likely, consist of an overwhelming majority of ANC representatives, and a

minority of Nationalists, with a few irrelevant odds and ends.

This ANC-dominated assembly would have two functions. Its main task would be to draw up a constitution, complete with bill of rights, democratic safeguards, regional structures, and so forth. However, the content of this constitution is bound to be hotly disputed, and it may take many months before it is completed. Among the disputes will surely be property rights, regional powers, and the powers of the courts to review the actions of the executive.

The ANC wants decisions on the constitution to be carried by a two-thirds majority, which the ANC may conceivably achieve in the elections for the constituent assembly. In that case, the ANC would be in a position simply to impose its constitutional ideas on the Nationalist minority, on the IFP, and on all minorities, like the DP, that fail to gain a foothold.

We would end up with a high-sounding constitution, utterly useless, like the Soviet Union's.

**A**SSUME, however, that this view is alarmist, and that the constituent assembly deadlocks. Negotiations to break the deadlock might last indefinitely, like the work of the continental congress that drew up the American constitution.

What would happen in the meantime? Well, the constituent assembly would appoint an interim government which would strive to govern by consensus, and the assembly would act as a legislature, also by consensus. Technically, this arrangement would proceed under the present constitution, as amended by Parliament, until the new constitution was agreed.

In practice, however, disputes over the content of the new constitution would be carried into the constituent assembly, into all law-making and tax matters, into the cabinet, and into the streets. We have already seen that the ANC, when it does not get its way, reverts to mass action, as it is planning to do over VAT. What is worse, this turmoil would proceed under a constitution which all parties consider imperfect because it lacks a bill of rights, federal structures and other constitutional safeguards.

To predict how the struggle would proceed is impossible — it requires flights of imagination. But it is not inconceivable that, for example, the constituent assembly may fail to achieve consensus to fund the government of Kwazulu which may then collapse for want of money to pay salaries. That would put an end to the IFP's pretensions in the most brutal manner.

**T**HE question is whether the other parties in Codesa can be trusted to prevent this sort of thing from happening. The first line of defence is the National Party which, unhappily, shares with the ANC a desire to elect a constituent assembly to govern *before* the new constitution has been perfected.

The National Party — oddly, considering its own treatment of the Senate — puts its faith in a multi-party upper house and a multi-party cabinet to check any excesses that might be attempted by the national assembly.

Even if that device succeeded — and it might well be undermined, as the Union Senate was undermined by the Nationalists, in ways that cannot now be foreseen — the result would nevertheless be deadlock, and the consequence of deadlock would be power struggle in the streets. The National Party, having evaded the challenge when it was in full control, would find itself struggling to meet the same challenge when it must share control with the ANC.

Two dangers arise. The first is that the National Party may, in circumstances we cannot now predict, lose the struggle and be forced to accept a defective constitution. The second is that the party's elected and appointed officials may seek to secure their own interests by striking a deal with the ANC, so that NP and ANC could govern together, one hand washing the other.

We have, in voting "yes", dealt with the totalitarianism of the Right; now we must deal with the totalitarianism of the Left. That task is not made easier by the instinct of any ruling elite to perpetuate itself.

**KEN OWEN**

# Meeting averts CP split

By CHARLES LEONARD

AN EXPECTED split in the beleaguered Conservative Party was averted at the party's Hoofraad meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

The executive council, the highest decision-making body in the CP apart from its congress, was convened after the referendum to decide on the party's road ahead.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said after yesterday's five-hour meeting that his party was still strongly opposed to taking part in Codesa.

This was seen as a slap in the face of the reformist wing of the CP.

A delegate, who did not want to be named, said afterwards: "A couple of people were reprimanded, more severely than I had expected, but all in all it was a non-event."

In the past two weeks, tension has been mounting in party ranks, with clear cracks showing between the reformists and the hard-liners.

Despite the apparent unity after the meeting, dissident members who support negotiations said this week it was inevitable that the party would split soon.

"With people calling someone like Koos van der Merwe a National Party spy, things have to fall apart very soon," a senior party source said.



## Mandela pats FW on the back

ANC president Nelson Mandela complimented President FW de Klerk this week for making it possible for political parties to negotiations.

"I congratulate De Klerk. He is a courageous man, being a white Afrikaner, to abandon apartheid and embrace democratic values," he said.

"We have the same problem in the ANC and face serious criticism for changing our policy directions," he said. (304) (12)

It was difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they had been "produced by the organisation and told to make the country ungovernable", he said.

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# 'MK stays until democracy'

ARC 30/3/92

PORT ELIZABETH — The ANC will not disband Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), until there is a democratic government, says ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

At the end of a two-day tour he told more than 50 000 people at the Dan Qeque stadium in Zwede that the South African government knew the ANC would not disband MK until a democratic government was in place.

Then MK and the South African Defence Force would combine with a new code of conduct aimed at defending democracy.

Mr Mandela criticised the government for not taking action against Inkatha members who marched through Johannesburg last week openly displaying weapons.

"Our enemies are allowed to carry their weapons which have been the cause of many innocent deaths on trains and the townships."

— Ecna.



# Proposed councils to be part of executive

CAPE TOWN — The National Party's proposed transitional councils, first-phase preparatory bodies for an elected interim government, would have the status and powers of a Cabinet committee, the NP's chief Codesa negotiator, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

"They will be fully part of the executive," he said.

He was approached to clarify his party's proposals tabled at Codesa's working group 3 which triggered a storm of protest as being old-style apartheid consultative or advisory "toy telephones".

The councils — one to plan elections under a transitional constitution, one to plan new municipalities, one to determine regional boundaries and one to plan the control of finances — fall short of the ANC's demand for executive control over key aspects of the legislature and the administration, the running of elections and the public media.

The NP proposals essentially left the Government and the tricameral Parliament in charge in the run-up to the first open elections, so failing to "level the playing fields".

Dr de Villiers yesterday denied this.

"These councils will be given the powers needed to carry out their assignments. They will be fully part of the executive but they will not have any legislative powers of their own."

No executive had legislative powers besides those of Parliament, he said.

"These councils can be equated to Cabinet committees. They will have the same powers, just as provincial executives are part of Cabinet committees and are given specific commissions."

Dr de Villiers said he was confident the misunderstandings and uncertainties which had produced incorrect interpretations of the proposals would be removed when next the working group met. —Sapa.

# Africa now ripe for the picking

STAR 30/3/92 (304A)

The referendum was the second of two watershed events that have changed the course of South Africa's relations with Africa, and major new developments are likely to flow from it, says Derek Aurret, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, in an interview with GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star's Africa Service.

**THE DIPLOMATIC** fruits of the big "yes" vote in the referendum are likely to start dropping into South Africa's lap quite quickly now, according to Derek Aurret, who is responsible for South Africa's interests in the rest of Africa.

One of those fruits — the decision by Mauritius to upgrade formal links with South Africa from trade mission to consulate status — has already dropped. But much bigger ones are expected to follow soon.

Mr Aurret said a number of African governments had already applauded the outcome of the referendum in private communications to Pretoria.

"It was what they had been waiting for," he said in an interview, "and a number of countries will now feel free to move forward to more open relations with South Africa."

Mr Aurret sees the referendum outcome as the second major development to have reshaped African attitudes to South Africa. The first was the speech by President de Klerk on February 2 1990, committing South Africa to reform through negotiation.

"That speech, making a total break from the past, was a watershed in our relations with Africa," he said. "One has the distinct feeling — given the approaches we have had from all sides after that speech and the ones which followed in 1991 and again this year — that Africa had been waiting for some kind of sign that indeed South Africa felt itself part of the continent, that it was worthy of representation within the continent, and that the political intentions which Mr de Klerk announced actually gave substance to the desire of the Government to, among other things, normalise its relations with its neighbours."

"There's a real feeling among African states, particularly in southern Africa, that South Africa is part of the family and, because of what has happened domestically, is now able to again be a mem-

ber in good standing."

According to Mr Aurret, Pretoria has found much encouragement in a recent statement by Nigeria's foreign minister during a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, that the time had come for his country to take a new look at South Africa.

Future relations between Pretoria and other African countries would depend largely on how they saw their own interests being affected by South Africa's return to the fold, Mr Aurret said.

"The primary focus of our African policy is on southern Africa, aimed at peaceful co-existence with our neighbours and at developing economic structures and policies which will benefit the subcontinent as a whole."

In following this route, South Africa faced a problem, however, in that other countries had enormous expectations of SA which could not be met from its present resources, especially during the current economic recession. Urgent domestic needs had to take priority.

"Finance of the kind African states need is simply not available. What we do have and are willing to share is expertise, technology and knowledge which are geared to African conditions. We have identified projects — which are not especially costly — which would be of benefit to the broad mass of people."

"We are not in the business of going for prestige projects. We simply do not believe that they would benefit the people to whom aid should in the first instance be directed: the people in the street."

Mr Aurret said his department shared the view that the future lay in economic groupings and recalled that government leaders had identified Kenya, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa as the potential nuclei of economic blocs in Africa. Pretoria already had a mission in Nairobi and hoped that Egypt and Nigeria would follow soon.



Derek Aurret... a number of African governments have already applauded the outcome of the referendum in private communications to Pretoria.

Mr Aurret discounted any suggestion that these blocs could end up in an adversarial relationship.

"The key is co-operation, not confrontation."

Mr Aurret was asked how he rated the chances of the African trade blocs achieving significant results, given the poor state of the member states' economies.

"The success of any economic bloc will obviously depend on the ability of its component parts to create economic structures which would be in harmony with those of the others. There are going to be certain rules of the game in international economic interaction and we are not going to be able to interact if we find ourselves outside the rules."

"We will have to have a

common approach on the policies which such economic units will adopt. We will have to come up with something which will work, because the operative part is that it must provide benefits. It has to be to the advantage of a country to go into a relationship, otherwise we are not going to secure its co-operation."

Mr Aurret said South Africa was well aware of the fear among its neighbours of being dominated by SA and would have to take full account of this in any planning for the future.

"We do not want to dominate the region economically. South Africa is not an economic hegemonist. What we are looking for is to develop economic partnerships with all the countries of the region in

order to put something together which can work and which can interact with other blocs."

In the creation of an economic bloc, existing structures such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the Preferential Trade Agreement, the Customs Union and the Rand Monetary Area would have to be considered, he said.

Whatever structure was created should be "the product of discussions between all states in the subcontinent". The approach should not be prescriptive.

"I believe the ultimate structure will have to grow organically out of very close consultation within the region. It is not something which can be imposed by one side or the other."

Mr Aurret was asked whether South Africa's growing acceptance internationally had not made obsolete the view frequently expressed by government leaders in the past that SA's road to acceptance lay through Africa.

"That concept was meant more in the political sense and related far more to political acceptability than to economic matters," he said.

South Africa was becoming politically acceptable again in the rest of the world as well as in Africa. In the economic field, it had been trading with African countries for many years, he said.

"The incentives to deal with the emerging economic blocs in the world are now becoming more compelling. People will see that association with South Africa in that context will have as its prime objective the maximising of benefits to the individual countries concerned."

Mr Aurret agreed that whatever South Africa did internationally, it would have to do as an African country.

"We are an African country, we will always be one and there's nothing wrong with that."

"Our role, because of what we have been able to achieve, is to try and use those achievements also to the benefit of others who may have been less successful than we have been. But certainly our place is in Africa and that is where our primary responsibility, our primary objectives, should be." □



# Establish alternative to Codesa, Azapo proposes

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

304A

STAR 30/3/92

The Convention for a Democratic SA had failed to bring about true democracy in South Africa. Therefore, an alternative forum should be established to negotiate the transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolov-

hodwe said yesterday.

Mr Nefolovhodwe was speaking at a press conference after the organisation's two-day consultative meeting held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

He said Azapo was currently consulting with the Pan Africanist Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and other groups outside Codesa to set up the "alternative Codesa".

Firmly quashing speculation

about the existence of a pro-negotiations group within the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), he said the conference had unanimously resolved to reiterate Azapo's opposition to Codesa.

Mr Nefolovhodwe appealed to the ANC not to accede to the Government's demand that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded.

MK should, instead, discuss ways of defending black people with the Azanian National Liberation Army of the BCM and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He added that Azapo's legal unit would investigate ways to help victims of train violence and their families to take legal action against the South African Railway Commuter Corporation and the Government.

# CP postpones vital decisions on future

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

304A

The Conservative Party has postponed critical and potentially divisive decisions about the correct strategy it should adopt in the post-referendum political world.

The CP's head committee — which is the party's second-highest decision-making body — met in Pretoria at the weekend to discuss the implications of its decisive referendum defeat, but did not decide what to do about it.

Instead it confirmed that seven committees of its parliamentary caucus would examine the important decisions of policy and strategy which now confront it.

It is now expected that the recommendations of these committees will be submitted to a national congress during the next few months.

The congress — the party's highest decision-making body — will decide where the CP goes from here.

Caucus sources said yesterday that the head committee

meeting had not been a victory for any faction in the party, as some reports suggest.

Although the head committee reaffirmed last week's caucus statement rejecting CP participation in Codesa, members of the "New Right" camp are not seeing this as a defeat.

They say there is no one in the caucus who favours joining Codesa as it is now constituted.

The caucus statement — endorsed by the head committee — set out four conditions for participation in Codesa.

If these were met, all caucus members would be in favour of Codesa, they said.

The head committee had not addressed real issues of difference such as the size of territory which whites or Afrikaners should strive for.

CP sources have become suspicious of what they see as rather frantic efforts by the National Party and the Democratic Party to persuade them to come to Codesa.

"It looks as though the non-communists at Codesa are having a hard time and want us to come to rescue them," one MP said yesterday.



# Non-racial vote on way

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Backed by its strong referendum mandate, the National Party machinery is gearing up across the country for South Africa's first totally non-racial general election — and the transitional government which will make it possible.

Speaking in Pinetown at a Codesa report-back meeting for the Umhlathuzana constituency on Saturday night, Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, an executive member of Codesa, said the

(304A) CT 30/6/92  
NP was prepared to "risk" using the mandate to create a new constitution acceptable to most South Africans.

Stability was crucial to a peaceful transitional stage and the SADF was needed to support the SAP, not only to maintain law and order but to prevent the "unnecessary influx" of illegal aliens into the country.

He said some 47 000 Mozambican refugees fleeing the war in their homeland had had to be repatriated last year alone.

# 'No CP MP call to join Codesa'

304A  
CT 30/6/92

PRETORIA — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said none of his MPs had insisted at a CP head council meeting at the weekend that the party join Codesa.

He told a news conference after the meeting in Pretoria that there had been "complete agreement" that the CP should enter into negotiations with the leaders of other nations. But no one had insisted these negotiations be conducted at Codesa, he said.

The CP head council met amid persistent speculation of a rift between pro-Codesa MPs and hard-liners.

A group of MPs — among them Mr Koos van der Merwe — emerged from the Transvaal Agricultural Union head office, where the meeting was held, before the main body of MPs left.

But none of the early leavers would speak to the press.

Dr Treurnicht said the meeting had not been a crisis meeting but routine. The CP had not changed its policies since the March 17 referendum.

"Basically, we fight for the survival of our people and freedom in our country."

The CP would go back to its voters and reorganise itself to be ready for any eventuality — be it an election or more long-term objectives. — Sapa



# Gloves

# off at

## Matrimonial knot



# Codesa

Sowetan 30/3/92

**THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa reaches a critical point this week as the battle for absolute power during transitional rule begins in earnest.**

This is the message from both Government and the ANC - the two most senior negotiators at the convention.

At the same time negotiators from most parties have signalled that Codesa 2 - which has been postponed to the end of April - could now be postponed for yet another month.

Senior cabinet ministers last week laid the blame for the continued violence in the country on differences among black political parties.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

They said no progress on interim rule should be expected unless there was measureable progress towards peace in the country.

The government also said that no real progress could be made on interim rule as long as the ANC still retained the armed struggle as a means of attaining power.

It said Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing, should be disbanded.

Commenting on last week's ultimatums from the Government, a senior ANC negotiator told Sowetan

## Power battle starts

From page 1

that the referendum result gave the NP a "new arrogance" which was reflected in its proposals for interim rule and the ultimatum on violence handed down by the cabinet ministers.

"We cannot allow the Government to steamroll us at Codesa, and it looks like that is what they're trying to do," he said.

Government's proposals for interim rule will also come under Codesa's glare this week, as the ANC and most of the significant players at the convention have either tacitly or otherwise outrightly rejected them.

The National Party last week tabled its proposals which in real terms did not grant any significant power to black people.

The ANC said that the proposals were no more than granting black political leadership executive powers through "toy telephones".

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81 Day 30/3/92  
**Bannings do not make the index**

**RACE RELATIONS SURVEY 1991-92.** (SA Institute of Race Relations, R82,49)

THERE is no need to overenthuse about the institute's survey of SA 1991. As in previous years and editions, the survey offers a year of SA at a glance — albeit a long glance.

In changed times, the institute itself has undergone a change in tone and thrust, pursuing if anything a more actively critical role.

Its executive director, John Kane-Berman, has expressed views — on the church and violence, and on mass action — that have earned him the suspicion of the left.

Kane-Berman himself says the institute's critical capacity must be brought to bear as much on what came before as on what is replacing it. The objective is a liberal society.

As for the survey, one might argue whether the comrades who stopped Stompie Seipei's mother from speaking to the Press performed the most significant act of media censorship in 1991.

This said, the survey does its job.

There is scarcely a significant fact missing on the day-to-day proclamations, protests, petitions, killings, sentencings and negotiations that make up the SA of the public domain. (285) (304)

This is the Fodors of political SA.

For those who have come to know the surveys throughout the years, the 1991 edition marks a sea change from the era dominated by chapters on detentions and deaths in police custody.

This year, bannings don't even make the index.

**PATRICK BULGER**



The latest deadlock at Codesa came as a surprise, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

# Government overplays its hand

STAR 31/3/92

304A

**A**BOUT one thing at least most Codesa delegates agree: something very strange happened in the Government's negotiating camp last week.

As Codesa negotiations got under way again yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, proceedings in the vital working group dealing with transitional arrangements were on hold — delegates were consulting their principals in an effort to find their way out of an uncomfortable impasse.

It is accepted by all concerned that without agreement in Working Group 3, all other negotiations are proscribed, and it would be very difficult to get Codesa 2 under way. So what is going on?

This is where the Government's curious behaviour comes in. Still aglow with the triumph of the referendum, the Government team went to Codesa last week with a detailed proposal for "transitional councils" to advise the Cabinet in the first phase of interim rule in South Africa. The problem was that

almost without exception, the other parties at Codesa rejected this, claiming the Government was reneging on an earlier agreement which envisaged a "transitional executive structure" (TES) for the interim.

Their understanding was that by agreeing to the TES, the Government had already accepted the principle of an "interim Cabinet" of sorts — a structure with executive teeth, not merely advisory powers.

In the intervening period the Government has rowed back on its initial hard-line proposal — playing down the "advisory" elements and emphasising that "details still have to be negotiated" — but the deadlock persists.

The Government's extra-Parliamentary opponents are comparing the situation to that of 1946, when the advisory Native Representative Council suspended its sittings claiming the Government was treating it as a "toy telephone". According to one Codesa source, angry delegates believe the Gov-

ernment is behaving like then-Prime Minister Jan Smuts, who infuriated black councillors by promising them "a bone to chew at".

It is clear the Government has been taken aback by the vehemence of the opposition it has run into, and is preparing to take a new strategic tack. But Pretoria's behaviour is concentrating the minds of its opponents, who are still trying to work out why it happened in the first place.

A highly-placed source in the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance, whose view can be taken as largely representative of the latest thinking in the alliance, believes an overconfident Government overplayed its hand last week, and is now trying to repair the damage.

The source expresses surprise that the Government miscalculated so badly. "We can't understand it, because the original agreement left a lot of space for fine-tuning," The Government, he implied, could have pressed for compromises within terms of the original agree-

ment, rather than exposing itself by seeming to renege on it.

"The understanding (in Working Group 3) was that once the referendum was over, the Government would table its substantial proposals. We assumed that after the landslide, they would come in riding the momentum and pushing us to compromise.

"But they overbid completely. They messed it up. Whereas we could have been put on the defensive, they are now in trouble."

The source says Government strategists decided — unaccountably — to change tack last Monday. The original tactical priority had been to get the ANC into an interim arrangement whereby it shared some power and a great deal of responsibility. Government negotiators had told the ANC they wouldn't allow it to "pick cherries" — in other words, if the organisation wanted co-responsibility for, say, the security forces and broad-casting, it must also share the load for education and housing. The Government was well aware that

there were tensions within the ANC/SACP alliance on this question.

"But they abandoned that on Monday, and went in the opposite direction. They said: 'All right, you will have no executive power in the first phase.'" This led to the Government "being hit from all sides".

The source believes the Government became "overconfident, too cynical, too clever by half". The developments also indicate that there are differences of opinion within the Government camp.

It seems clear that an opportunity was lost, from the Government's strategic perspective, to pressurise the ANC into accepting more co-responsibility for the transition than it would like to. The organisation could have been placed in a difficult situation, whereby it was offered a real share of the power — at the price of accepting co-responsibility for unpopular areas as well. "It would have been difficult for us to slide out of that one," according to the source. The dilemma the ANC faces — of wanting effective power but baulking at

wide-ranging co-responsibility — would have been considerably heightened.

The effect of the latest rarefied chapter in the Codesa epic has been to give the ANC a strategic edge on the question of transitional structures. It can now sit and wait for the Government to come up with a compromise.

Intense bilateral talks are under way among many participants, but the Government/ANC discussions are the key forum in which the impasse will be confronted. The Working Group reconvenes next week, and the ANC/SACP source believes it is possible that the Government will arrive with a completely new set of proposals — "they have pocketfuls of scenarios" — which could speed up the process again.

There is general confidence that the current deadlock will be overcome, and that interim government this year is still a probability, rather than a possibility. "But," says the source, "I think we will see some more cautious poker-playing from the Government." □



# 'Relations good and getting better ...'

ARG 31/3/92

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff interviews Tokyo's man in South Africa.

**S**OUTH Africa and Japan recently re-established full diplomatic relations. Since World War 2 these relations were limited to consular level but trade between the two countries has flourished for a long time.

Now the Japanese ambassador, Mr Masatoshi Ohta, says that relations are "very good and still improving. There can also be big improvements in trade relations".

He was echoing the optimism of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on his recent visit to Japan.

Mr Ohta is no stranger to South or Southern Africa. He is in fact an old "Africa hand" of the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs.

He was his country's consul-general in South Africa for two years before he became ambassador and from 1984 to 1987 he was ambassador in Zambia from where he also covered Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

In an interview he explained how relations between the two countries had improved in stages since early last year. This was when it had become clear that the reform process in South Africa had become irreversible.

In January of last year an unofficial ceiling on trade which had been imposed in about 1987 was lifted. In terms of this ceiling Japanese undertakings were not supposed to increase trade with South Africa.

In June visa restrictions were eased. This was when it was decided to drop sanctions on "people to people" contact and on tourism.

At the end of October all economic sanctions were lifted except those on computers for military and police use and arms exports.

In January it was decided to have full diplomatic relations.

In the trade between the two countries there is a surplus in South Africa's favour. South Africa imports goods, mainly high technology and home electronics, goods and car parts and machinery, to the value of about R4,6 billion from Japan. And Japan imports goods worth R5,2 billion, mainly non-ferrous, rare minerals, iron ore and coal.

As Mr Ohta explains, Japan — in the case of the car industry — mainly exports only parts to South Africa, not wholly manufactured cars because of high import duties. Toyota (South Africa) and Nissan are fully backed by South African capital.

Mr Ohta believes wine South African could be exported to Japan. Tourism also had poten-



Japanese ambassador  
Mr Masatoshi Ohta

tial but it was important that direct air links should be established. He hoped that this could be done soon.

"I think this country has a big potential and can be the nucleus of development in the Southern African region.

"This southern part of Africa is potentially rich and with money and technology from South Africa it could become a great economic region.

"If foreign business people see stability and feel that the future outlook is good they will invest, otherwise they will not.

"The result of the referendum was encouraging but they will still wait for further confirmation that it will be safe to invest.

"While there is violence and signs of instability and threats of nationalisation, potential investors will remain cautious."

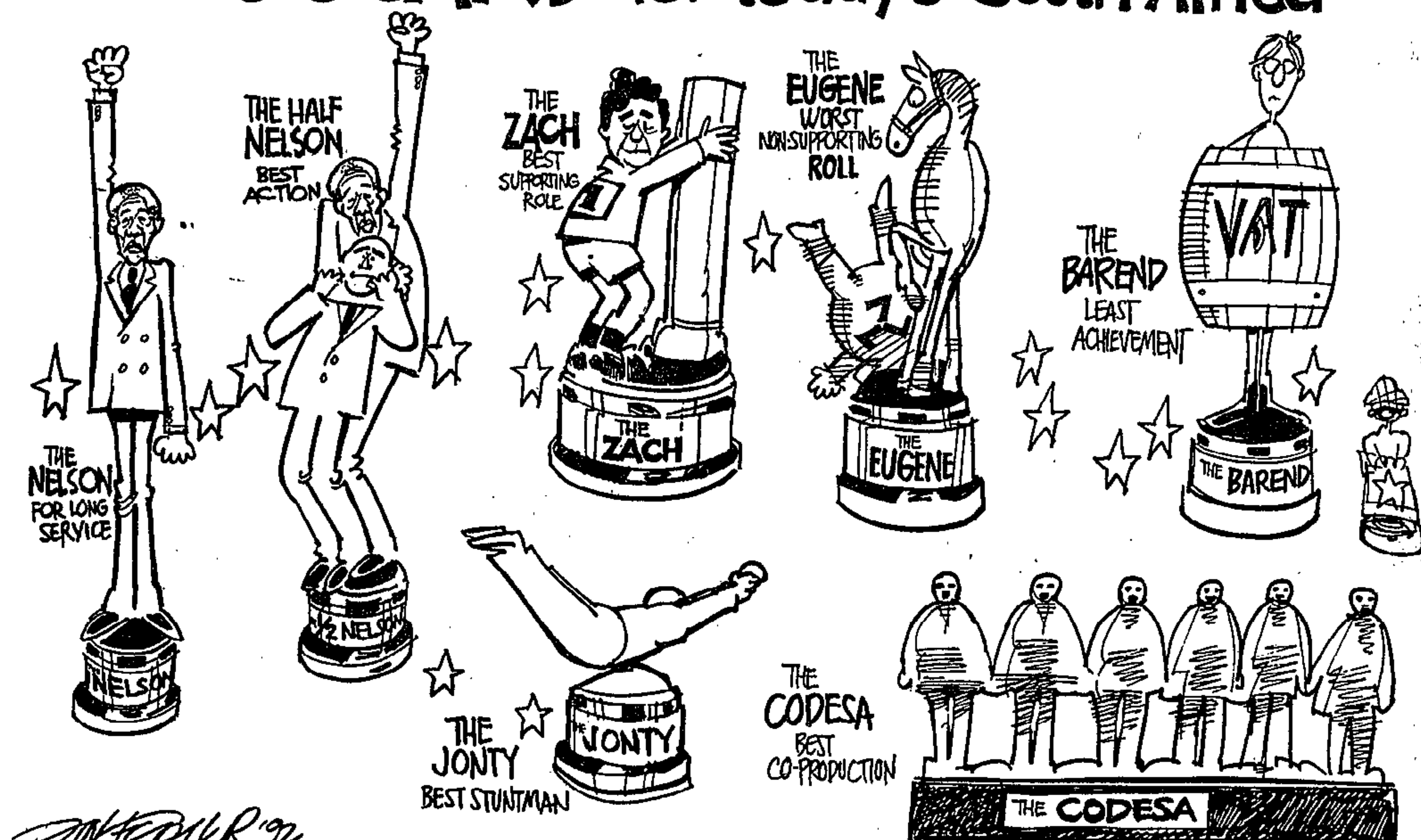
Mr Ohta said Japan was interested in doing more to uplift the standards of people of colour. Japan had already made contributions in this area but he had recommended to government agencies in Tokyo and private industry that more should be done.

Japan had also helped the Urban Foundation and the Getahead Foundation with projects and was giving aid through the Kagiso Trust, especially for education.

● President De Klerk is to visit Japan in June.



# "OSCARS" for today's South Africa



Nats now occupy the middle ground, write Kierin O'Malley and Pieter Labuschagne

## DP might not survive transition

STAR 31/3/92

**T**HE process of political transition in South Africa, which is currently embodied in Codesa, has not only had a major effect on the major political players, but also on smaller political players — ranging from the far Left to far Right of the political spectrum — who have felt the forces unleashed by the abandonment of what David Welsh and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert termed the politics of siege.

Of South Africa's smaller political parties, the Democratic Party — largely because of its broad centrist/liberal orientation — has probably experienced the new politics of convergence in as acute a form as any.

In fact, because of its centrist location and the convergence of the major political players — especially the National Party — towards the middle ground, the Democratic Party's chances of surviving the process of transition

as an independent political party are small.

The crucial facilitative role fulfilled by the party at Codesa — especially during the early stages — would appear to have initially unfortunately undermined its ability to function as a fully independent and vibrant policy-actor.

President de Klerk's March 17 referendum — which effectively gave the DP no choice but to vote "yes" — will effectively terminate any illusions to and/or real independence which the DP enjoyed vis-a-vis the NP.

A further development — itself an interesting by-product of the politics of negotiations — must also place a serious question mark behind the continued independent viability of the DP.

For the process of transition initiated by Mr de Klerk has had the effect of marginalising the Left or "slideaway" wing of the DP.

The marginalisation of the ANC-leaning, "slideaway" faction of the DP — including MPs such as Cronje, Van Eck, Dalling and Momberg — is evident in a wide range of developments. The DP's contingent at Codesa, for example, consists almost exclusively of right and centrist MPs.

This marginalisation of the "slideaway liberals" within the DP is primarily attributable to the fact that Codesa, in largely terminating the system/struggle divide within our politics, effectively robbed left-wing "liberals" of their exaggerated claim of being the system/struggle "link".

The marginalisation of the left-wing within the DP is not in itself a bad thing. In fact the totally disproportionate and pernicious influence of the "slideaways" within both the PFP and later the DP contributed greatly to the current weakness of a middleground in our politics.

It is in fact not far fetched to suggest that a number of the left-wing ANC-leaning MPs within the party will resign and join the ANC now that the referendum is behind us.

The positive spinoffs of such a development would include the inclusion — albeit not at grassroots levels — of some much needed white blood in the decidedly superficially "non-racial" ANC.

The potentially greater negative spinoffs, however, include the absorption of the remainder of the DP into the NP. Such a development would not only diminish the number of players articulating an accommodative liberal-pluralist perspective at Codesa, but would also deprive this perspective of an adherent and articulator who is not tainted by an illiberal-pluralist past.

● Both writers lecture in the Department of Political Sciences at Unisa. □

# Rumour of CP split is denied

TALKS of an imminent split are "utter rubbish", according to two Conservative Party MPs reportedly heading a "leftwing faction" in the party.

Rumours of some CP

MPs wanting to join Codesa were fuelled at the weekend after a reportedly stormy executive council meeting during which five members left 15 minutes before the end.

The group comprised Mr Koos van der Merwe, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr Koos Botha, Mr Carel Schoeman, and Mr Gustaf Claasens.

But two of the five CP

members today said it was much ado about nothing.

Pienaar was quick to quash rumours of a break-away group, favouring talks at Codesa.

"It's a lot of rubbish. I

had to catch a plane to Cape Town and the others simply accompanied me."

Van der Merwe was not available for comment. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

304A

Sowetan  
31/3/92



304A

## Further chinks in apartheid armour

Political Correspondent

THE Government will today announce the phasing out of the Department of Development Aid and the South African Development Trust.

President FW de Klerk was expected to sign 12 proclamations yesterday which would come into effect today and which would in a sense abolish the means for the creation and administration of homelands and self-governing territories. Sowetan 31/3/92

Under the proclamation, townships and areas such as Botshabelo in the Free State would now be placed under the control of the respective provincial administrations.

# Codesa 2 set for May

STAN 31/3/92

304A

● From Page 1

tion from the course towards democracy on which we thought we were embarked."

The statement said: "Nowhere in the world that we are aware of has a bicameral body been set up to draft a constitution. Far from encouraging consensus, such a device ensures that the two Houses will inevitably be set on a collision course."

"The upper House will be seen as a House of losers. It is in fact replacing simple majoritarianism with simple minoritarianism. It will be far better to bring everybody together, sitting in the same chamber, trying to find common solutions as South Africans rather than institutionalising in a rigid way the idea of majorities and minorities."

The ANC said a constituent assembly would be more practical and democratic.

"An assembly elected by proportional representation with a threshold that is not too high will ensure the widest represen-

tation. A two-thirds majority will see to it that no single party dominates proceedings."

Delegates in the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles said the Government was proposing a "loser takes all system" and "simple minoritarianism".

Dr Viljoen said at a press conference that the acceptance of an elected body to draft the constitution had closed the gap with some of the parties.

The Government rejected a constituent assembly elected on "a one man, one vote majoritarian" basis, he said.

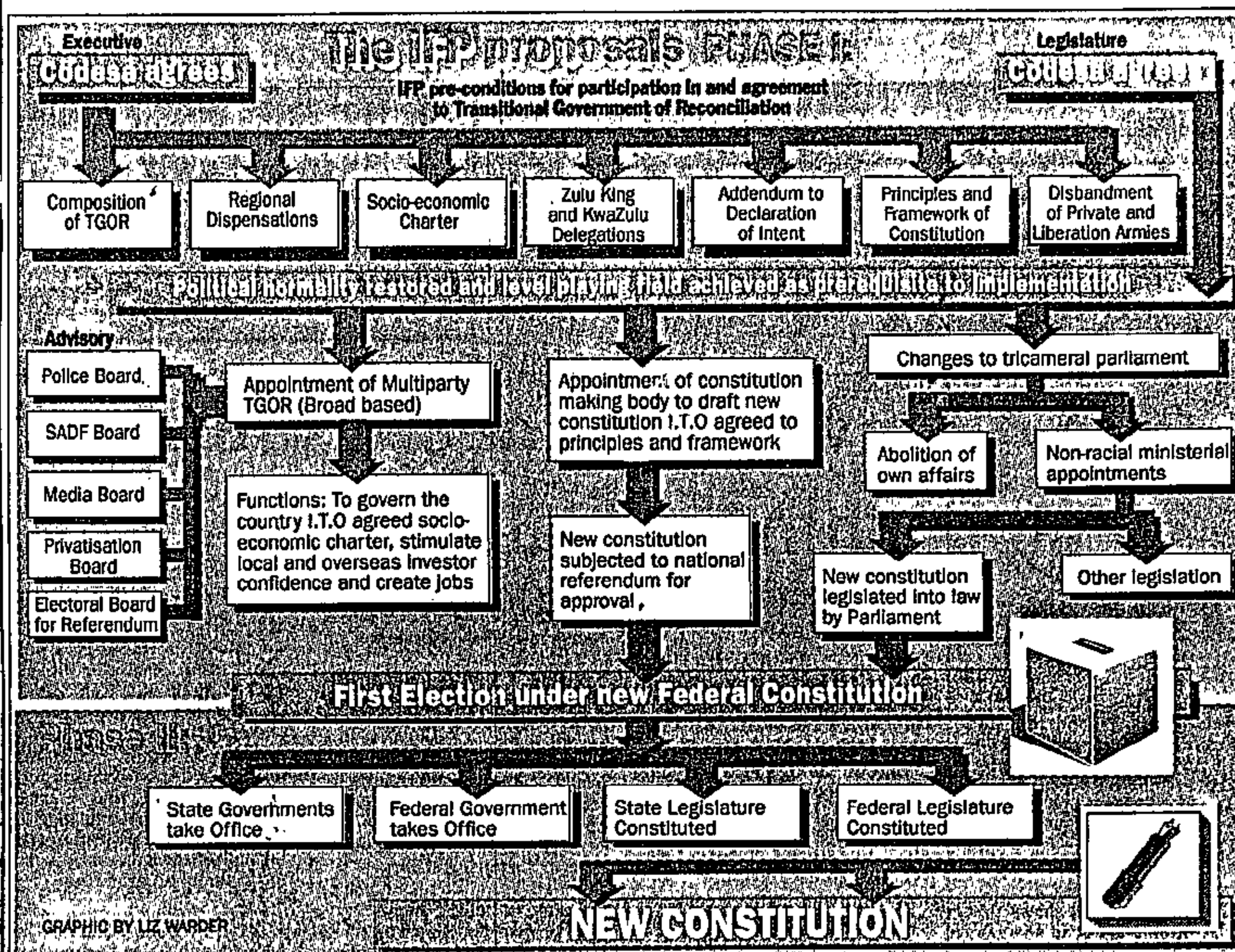
Such elections would "put the cart before the horse" and would predetermine the outcome of the negotiation process.

Dr Viljoen said: "The elected majority will swamp the constitution-making process and ... negotiation will end."

The implementation of a transitional government was a question of "a matter of months".

● More reports —  
Pages 22 and 23





# IFP gives its vision of future

STAR 31/3/92

306A

**T**HE INKATHA Freedom Party's proposals are now on the table, ready to be compared and contrasted with those of the ANC and the NP. There are differences in emphasis and principle between the IFP plan and the others, but structurally there are marked similarities.

The publication of the proposals for a "transitional government of reconciliation" (TGOR) confirms that three major parties to Codesa are now in full agreement on the need for a two-phase transition. The beginning of that transition — consensus at Codesa — and the end — a new constitution — are also agreed upon.

The IFP foresees an executive structure comprising a multiparty Cabinet, under the chairmanship of the incumbent State President. This structure would be responsible to the tricameral legislature, reconstituted as a single body.

The Cabinet's composition, still to be negotiated, would be inclusive of both major and minor participants at Codesa.

Included in the key functions of the executive would be the implementation of a socio-economic charter; supervision of a constitution-making forum; the broadening of representation in the civil service; creation and

Following the ANC and Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party has released its detailed proposals for transitional rule before a constitution is drawn up. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON summarises the key points of the plan.

strengthening of regional structures; and assumption of all functions of the ministers' councils in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

In effect, the TGOR would for a limited period exercise executive, but not legislative, power. This, according to the IFP, would ensure unbroken continuity of government and the constitution until agreement on a new constitution is reached.

The IFP foresees a possible role for advisory boards regarding areas such as the police, the SADF, public media, privatisation, and regional and local government.

Legislative functions would be fulfilled by a unicameral body drawn from the current tricameral structure. This would involve the only envisaged change to the present constitution, but an interim bill of rights could be enacted as an addition.

The IFP envisages only one election, taking place once the

negotiation process is complete and a new federal constitution is in place. At this election, representatives at "State and federal" level would be chosen.

The status of the "independent" and self-governing homelands would undergo no change in terms of the IFP plan, save for that which is specifically agreed to by themselves.

The IFP does not want the interim structure to become a constitution-making body, preferring "(that body) to be strongly composed of specialists ... Their task would be to flesh out in detailed form the principles and framework already agreed upon by the negotiating parties at Codesa.

"There is therefore no need for an elected constitution-making body."

The IFP does not rule out the possibility of Codesa becoming the constitution-making body, but insists that the negotiating forum would first have to become more inclusive — this is a clear reference to the contro-

versy over the exclusion of delegations for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

According to the proposals, the role — if any — of the international community in South Africa's transition should be heavily circumscribed; essentially, advice based on experience is what is envisaged.

The IFP opposes any supervisory function for the international community: "South Africans should have the maturity to do so without the mediation or intervention of foreigners."

As is clear from the accompanying diagram, the IFP proposals are predicated on a set of apparently non-negotiable conditions — without the fulfilment of which the IFP will not support the installation of interim structures. Because of the sensitivity of some of these, IFP strategists do not think the interim structure could feasibly be in place before the end of the first quarter of 1993.

Working group 3, which deals with the key matter of a "transitional package", is adjourned while delegates consult their principals. When delegates reassemble next week, their task will be to extract from the three plans on the table those points that are reconcilable — and find ways of negotiating around those that are not. □



# CP rejects reports of division

ET 3/13/92  
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday dismissed reports on divisions at its executive council meeting at the weekend, but party sources indicated they had simply not yet come to a head.

CP chief whip Mr. Frank Le Roux said yesterday newspaper reports on proceedings at the meeting were "devoid of all truth".

He added that all decisions taken at the meeting had been adopted unanimously and those who left early did so for "travel reasons".

However, one CP source indicated that the leadership had handled the matter in such a way that those who favoured participation in negotiations hardly had a chance to speak.

One CP source said: "It is almost as if the referendum had not taken place. They are not going to analyse it."



# Government rejects one-man, one-vote

THE Government yesterday rejected demands for a one-man one-vote constituent assembly, saying such a structure would not represent the people of South Africa.

It also warned that a transitional government would not be in place in the foreseeable future unless violence and intimidation had abated or stopped.

This move has quashed hopes that an interim government would be in place

By IKE MOTSAPI

by the end of June this year.

In making a submission to Codesa Working Group Two on constitutional principles, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said all parties should be included in the drafting of a new constitution.

Viljoen said the Government preferred a transitional bicameral parliament which would be able

to draw up a new constitution and also protect minority rights. (304A)

"A one-man one-vote election would put the cart before the horse by starting off with a simple majoritarian system which is actually the desired outcome that some parties seek to achieve," he said.

Viljoen said the future South Africa needed to be built on a basis constructed by negotiations in a spirit of give and take.

# Plan to exclude TBVC states during transition

*Sowetan 31/3/92* (304A)

THE Government dropped the bombshell last week at Codesa by suggesting that the four independent homelands be excluded from the transitional government that would be entrusted with drafting a constitution.

A source within Codesa said this declaration was made to the steering committee of Working Group Three and Four.

The source said the Government would only be prepared to agree that the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei be included in the transitional government once they had renounced their independence.

The source said only Transkei, Venda and Ciskei had agreed to renounce their independence, but did not know which procedures to follow.

ANC official Mr Matthew Phosa said the Government's moves were totally unacceptable because they would automatically exclude more than 10 million people from being party to the drafting of a new constitution.

He said what the Government actually wanted was

By IKE MOTSAPI

tantamount to saying to inhabitants of these homelands: "We will draw a constitution for you and later ask you to join us once it is ready."

Phosa said the Government seemed to be bent on introducing the old apartheid in a new form, because "we will still be having bantustans who will be excluded from the transitional government once it is installed".

The ANC found it disturbing that the Government should order the TBVC states to scale down their activities at Codesa.

"Although the ANC welcomed that homelands who are not independent would take part in the transitional government, we are going to fight hard to have the TBVC states to be part of such a structure," Phosa said.

He said the ANC's concern was that most of their members were in some of these independent states. Another *Sowetan* source said the Government's moves had apparently stalled progress at Working Group Four.

## Case against Alexander and 10 others postponed

*Sowetan 31/3/92*

THE public violence case against Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and 10 others has been postponed to May.

They appeared briefly in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The group was arrested in Ennerdale, Johannesburg, on January 27 after clashes erupted between residents and the

police during a meeting at a local stadium to discuss rent and tariff issues.

Alexander and the other 10 men were released on bail of R50 each later the same day. They are facing charges of public violence.

None of them has been asked to plead and no evidence has been led. The case was postponed to May 11.



304A

## Further chinks in apartheid armour

Political Correspondent

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President FW de Klerk was expected to sign 12 proclamations yesterday which would come into effect today and which would in a sense abolish the means for the creation and administration of homelands and self-governing territories. *Sowetan 31/3/92*

Under the proclamation, townships and areas such as Botshabelo in the Free State would now be placed under the control of the respective provincial administrations.

STAR 3/13/92  
**All must talk, say  
Canada, Tanzania**

OTTAWA — Canada and Tanzania yesterday urged all South African political parties to join negotiations to keep up the momentum for democratic change.

Foreign Ministers Barbara McDougall of Canada and Ahmed Hassan Diria of Tanzania met to discuss the eventual lifting of Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa.

"We agreed on the need to encourage all parties, especially those not in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), that their participation is essential," Mrs McDougall told a news conference. (204A) (S)

Mr Hassan Diria said South Africa's democratic process was irreversible following the March 17 referendum. (S) (S)

Mrs McDougall, who will visit South Africa next week, said Canada wanted to give South Africa a positive signal to maintain the pace of change.

She will meet Government and opposition leaders from April 6 to 8. — Sapa-Reuter.

● EC poised to loosen crucial sanctions — Page 5



# Moderate govt likely, says Stoffel

STEPHANE BOTHA

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday expressed "great optimism" about prospects for negotiations leading to a moderate government.

Van der Merwe told an SA-Britain Trade Association meeting SA could have a general election for a transitional government within 18 months. But, he added, this depended on the success of negotiations and the speedy resolution of discussions on the disbandment of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

However, the position of Umkhonto had to be regularised and the climate of intimidation and violence would have to subside.

"We will be pushing the issue of Umkhonto very hard. We cannot enter into a transitional process without the issue being resolved," he said, adding that leaving one of the negotiating parties with an active military wing would mean an imbalance of power in negotiations.

"If we succeed it will be only between 15 and 18 months before elections for some type of transitional government will be held, but it depends on negotiations," he said.

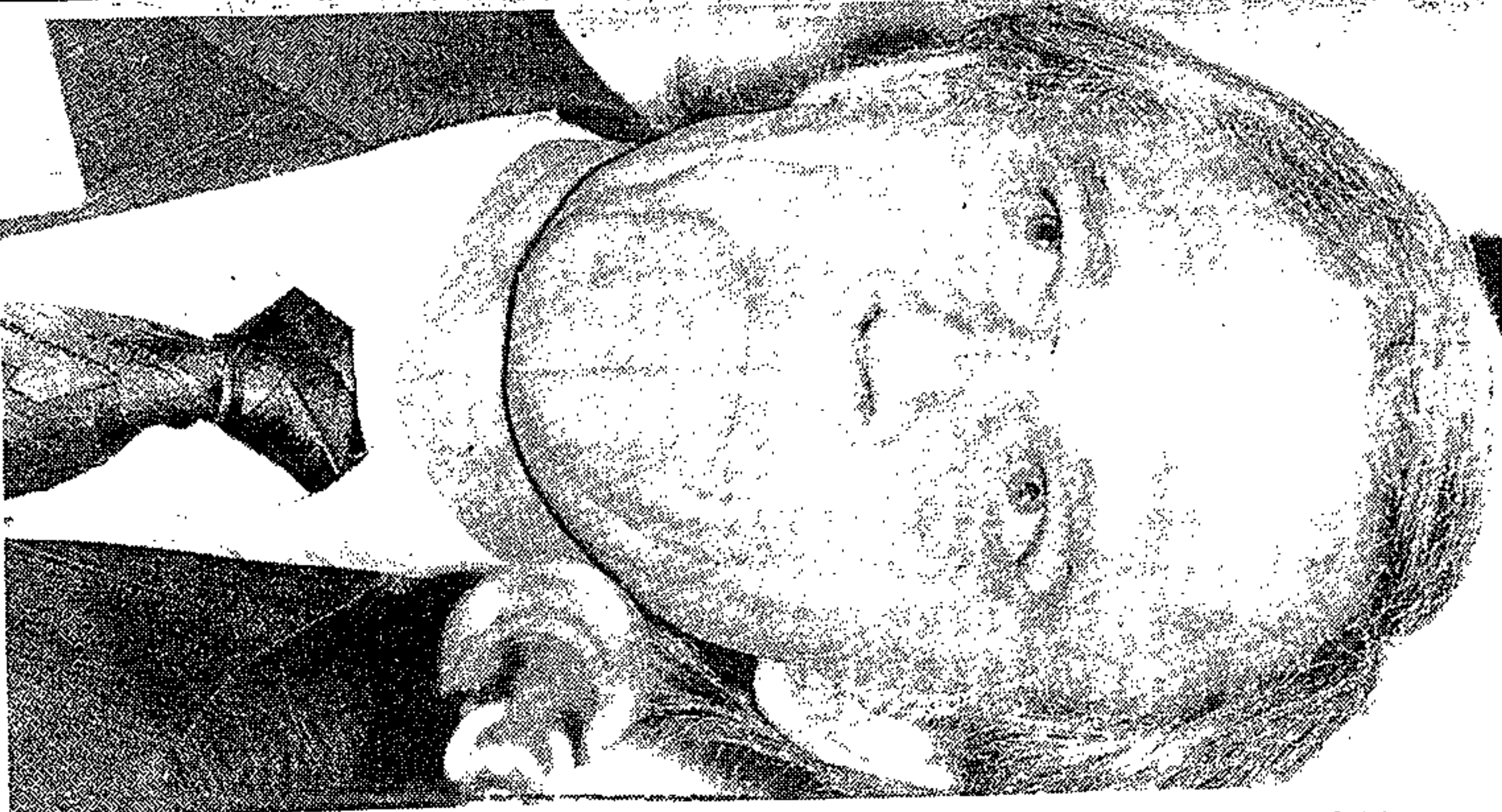
Van der Merwe said the referendum result proved that white South Africans had a deep-seated common

sense when it came to politics, and he firmly believed that the same commonsense existed among black South Africans.

The government was currently trying to achieve something which had failed everywhere in the world — a democracy among a wide variety of different peoples.

For the immediate future, the country could still expect a difficult time until stability could be re-established.

It would take a considerable time to achieve this, particularly in view of the fact that the ANC had for years had a policy of rendering the country ungovernable



NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe tells an SA-Britain Trade Association meeting yesterday he believes SA could have elections for a transitional government within months.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## **NEWS IN BRIEF**

### **Broadcasting proposal**

GOVERNMENT yesterday submitted to Codesa expanded proposals for a neutral broadcasting body. (304A) (240)

Government suggested a five-man independent commission be appointed by the State President. "To assist in the protection of their neutrality and independence, they should be appointed for terms of up to five years at a time."

The ANC wants the body to be appointed by Codesa.

B/pen 31/3/92



# May date set for

## Codesa agreement

# on interim rule and elections

Codesa

31/3/92

(304A)

From Page 1

CODESA II will convene on May 15 and 16 to bind parties to substantive agreements on an interim government and elections for a constitution-making body.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said last night the ANC was participating in the second plenary session on the understanding that agreements would be entered into on interim government, joint arrangements of the TBVC states, joint incorporation of the security forces and independent control of the state media.

Valli Moosa said he was confident the agreements could be reached in time for the second session and a management committee would put pressure on the parties to reach agreements.

Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told a news conference at Codesa yesterday that interim government was only "months away". He said it was "clear that in accepting the principle that an elected body should be the constitution-making body, we (government) are closing the gap with other parties."

He said a transitional constitution should be agreed upon by Codesa and legislated by the existing Parliament.

Government yesterday tabled proposals at Codesa working group 2 on a constitution-making transitional parliament acting under the transitional constitution would be responsible for framing the new constitution and legislating interim measures.

He stressed the need for "broad multi-party involvement". He said Codesa lacked the political legitimacy to superimpose a government on the present structures charged with the responsibility to prepare the way for an elected transitional government by consensus.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the government and ANC views on a constitution-making body seemed to be converging. However, the ANC remained opposed to government's proposal last week that advisory transitional councils oversee vital aspects of government.

Valli Moosa said he was confident government's first phase transitional proposal was "an opening shot" and that it would move towards the view that a two-chamber move towards interim power was the way for a sovereign interim government.

The ANC yesterday strongly criticised government's proposal that a lower House of Representatives be based on one man, one vote proportional representation and a senate based on one man, one vote proportional representation.

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ADRIAN ADLAND and PATRICK BULGER