

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

MARCH 1st - 15th

'Brown Nats' to join referendum battle

STILES (Cm) 1/3/92

By NORMAN WEST

THE "brown Nats" are to help the "white Nats" trounce the Conservative Party in the white referendum.

The leader of the NP in the coloured House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, confirmed yesterday that he and his ministers and deputy ministers would help their national leader, President F W de Klerk, win the referendum.

"The referendum is about democracy, equality and human rights for all South Africans in the new South Africa," he said.

"We shall address house meetings, speak to white students on university campuses and call upon the white electorate from public platforms to vote 'yes' to secure a resounding victory for the NP at the March 17 poll," he said.

Suspend

He said other Nat MPs in the House of Representatives would help their white counterparts wherever their services were needed.

Only white South African citizens who are aged 18 years and over and have valid identity documents will be eligible to vote in the referendum, formally proclaimed in the Government Gazette on Friday.

Whites who have "colour-blind" ID documents issued since July 1, 1986, can get certification of their eligibility to vote from Home Affairs offices, which will check the population register, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Eugene Louw said.

Meanwhile, Mr Rabie announced in Parliament on Friday that four coloured Ministerial Representatives (MR) had been suspended from their duties and perks.

The four, whose political status is similar to that of deputy ministers, are: Mr F L Erasmus (Eastern and Western Cape); Mr J J Scholtz (Northern Cape and Free State); Mr J J Smith (Transvaal); and Mr A W Stowman (Natal).

All four are former members of the Labour Party.

The jobs of several coloured MECs appointed at the recommendation of the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, are also in the balance.

However, two of the MECs — Dr Willie Hoods (Transvaal) and Mr Deon Adams (Cape) — have since joined the NP.

Those who are still members of the LP are Mr E C Samuels; Mr C J Pierce and Mr Clarence Henney.

Coup

"They are also political appointees and their positions will also have to be reviewed in due course by Mr De Klerk," Mr Rabie said.

Labour was toppled from power at the beginning of the present session of Parliament in a coup orchestrated by the NP in the House of Assembly.

Hours before the no-confidence vote in Mr Hendrickse and his Ministers' Council, Mr Stowman resigned from the LP to join the NP.

Sasco Maties to vote 'yes'

S. Times CCM 113192
WHITE members of the South African Students Congress (Sasco) in Stellenbosch are to vote "yes" in the referendum.

This is the first time members of Sasco — a merger between the South African National Students Congress and the National Union of Students — will take part in an all-white poll. *(SEP)*

The University of Cape Town branch is to discuss the matter today and the national headquarters are expected to make an announcement early this week. *(3047)*

'English only' call to Codesa

304A

S/Times 1/3/92

Sunday Times Reporter

THE English Academy of South Africa, opposing the views of leading Afrikaners and the ANC, has proposed to Codesa that English be declared the country's only official language.

In terms of the academy's outline issued yesterday, Afrikaans and black languages would have varying degrees of secondary status.

In response, Professor FIJ van Rensburg, special professor in Afrikaans at the Rand Afrikaans University, questioned the basis for the proposal, saying one-million more people in South Africa understood or used Afrikaans than English.

Reflecting the mainstream view of Afrikaner academics, he said he favoured English and Afrikaans as official languages, along with one or two African languages.

Conflict

The ANC's provisional language policy also opposes one official language. It favours the development of all 11 languages used in South Africa.

The English Academy will host a conference at the University of Cape Town in July attended by local experts and language specialists from the US, Canada and Britain to discuss how social conflict can be avoided if English is adopted as the official language.

Conference organiser Professor Doug Young, of UCT's School of Education, said: "We expect fairly heated debate, especially over the question of an official language for South Africa."

Unease in 'no' man's land

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

PENSIONER Johan Hendrik Botha van Heerden supported the National Party until two years ago.

His vote was among the more than 6 195 that sent Rosettenville NP MP Sheila Camerer back to Parliament with a 3 000 majority.

But the former Johannesburg city council traffic department employee will vote NP no longer. On March 17, Mr Van Heerden will vote "no". His support now lies squarely with the CP.

The reason, he says, is self-evident — he feels oppressed. "I don't want to live under blacks."

The fear of black majority rule and domination is a common one among residents of South Hills, a predominantly working-class suburb in the south of Johannesburg. It lies in the Rosettenville constituency where more than three-quarters of residents are English-speaking.

The suburb characterised by small, well-barred houses and yapping dogs, was firmly behind the NP in the 1987 election. Two years later, the CP won the



SUNDAY TIMES readers who took part in last week's Televote voted solidly for President FW de Klerk and the National Party to negotiate the future of whites in the new South Africa. The voting was: FW de Klerk 1463; Andries Treurnicht and the Conservatives 906

suburb's vote by a slight majority.

But things have changed, says Mr Van Heerden. The NP did not fulfil its promises to look after him.

In the good old days, people did not have to live behind bars. People did not go around stealing and murdering, he says.

All Mr Van Heerden wants is to be ruled by a white government and live among his own people in a white group area.

He says he voted for Mrs Camerer in 1989 because she promised him that South Hills would never go grey and whites would have their own schools. But this was no longer the case. Should the ANC come to power, it would not only take his house, but his sav-

ings as well, he believes.

English-speaking Natalian Henry Pelsner, a pensioner and mechanical engineer, shares many of these sentiments.

Mr Pelsner voted United Party for many years and then shifted to the NP.

Outrage

He has no problem with blacks living next door to him, or black children going to white schools — as long as standards are kept up. His attitude is one of "live and let live".

But his vote is with the CP in the referendum. His reason is simple: "FW wants to sell us out to the blacks. But I am not going to let my country and my children be dominated by

blacks".

His second main concern is crime. He is outraged that Mr De Klerk released ANC president Nelson Mandela, political prisoners and criminals.

He has stopped employing a domestic servant because he believes all burglaries come from the "inside".

His Afrikaans-speaking wife, Baby, a former area manager for a cosmetics company, is adamant: "I won't stay under a black government. I would rather sell up and go overseas."

She believes the CP can negotiate a better future for her. It wants Afrikaners together in an Afrikaner homeland, she says. As municipal telephone operator Christiaan Kruger pours himself his second beer of the morning, he laughs apologetically at Mrs Camerer's election opponent, Mr Torrie van Tonder.

"I'm sorry I chased you away that time," he says. Two years ago, Mr Kruger voted NP — he thought the party had a chance to make good.

But now the problem is serious, he says. There is a

black family of 10 living next door and Mrs Camerer and the health department have been unable to do anything about it, he says.

Crime is terrible, schools are integrated and he will no longer go to restaurants, as he refuses to eat with the black man, he says.

Mr Kruger, 46, had always voted for the NP, as had his father and his grandfather. Why? "They were the government, of course."

"I would like to have things the way they were, but it is not possible," he says. While he has no problem with negotiations, he feels matters are being discussed without proper consultation with whites.



Between certainty and chance, a fool wavers

304A
S/Times
11/3/92

THE greatest irony of the referendum, when you come to think of it, is that the English voters, impatient all these many years since 1948, hold the fate of Afrikanerdom in their hands. If they vote "no", or if they simply fail to vote "yes", Dr Treurnicht will lead white Afrikaners to their doom.

There is no need to dwell on the misfortunes that will follow a "no" vote: the Springbok (oops!) tour will be cut short, the IMF funds on which economic recovery depends will be shut off, fledgling export markets will be lost, the police will be doing 16 hours a day in the rebellious townships, bars and cafes will become places of danger, and the holders of dual citizenship will start fleeing the impending holocaust.

Those pitiful creatures whose dearest value is racism will not listen to these predictions, and will not believe them. Their record of folly is unblemished: admiration for the fascists and the Nazis in the 30s; support for the losers in the Second World War; an attempt, while the world was reeling from the horrors of ethnic death camps, to entrench an ethnic oligarchy; the absurdities of "white ambulances" and of learned societies divided into four; the delusions of self-sufficiency like Sasol and Moss gas; the corruption spawned by the "total strategy" that sapped our strength and gave us nothing but arrogant colonels and high taxes.

At every point along the way, the English community, emasculated by tribal voting in which they were destined always to be the minority, uttered Cassandra warnings of disaster ahead and, Cassandra-like, were ignored. This time, for the first time, their votes matter more than their warnings.

Some of them will vote "no". The closet racists, who have sheltered all these years behind the Nationalists, enjoying apartheid but refusing to take responsibility for it, are acting as one might expect: they were always craven, and they are making a craven choice in the belief that, once again, the Afrikaners will defend them against the blacks.

Others know better. Mr Jack Curtis, wartime hero, and an implacable foe of

the Nationalists, sums it up in a letter published elsewhere in this issue: he will vote "no", along with Mr Eugene Terre Blanche and Dr Andries Treurnicht, because he believes with unforgiving certainty that the root of our problem is "Afrikaner nationalist (not Nationalist) domination".

I can understand, if not sympathise. His daughter and baby granddaughter were blown to bits by a letter bomb sent by the criminal brutes that infested the security services; his son was driven into exile; his own life was wholly blighted by apartheid. Everything he fought for as an Allied airman was afterwards perverted and denied in his own country.

I can understand, too, that a man who regards President De Klerk as simply the latest incarnation of a peculiarly South African evil might vote with the devil rather than endorse any Nationalist scheme. He might, I imagine, see merit in bringing white South Africa to a last, cataclysmic conflict against all mankind in which every vestige of the "white" past will be wiped out forever. A quick kill, and a terrible vengeance.

LIKE him, I have no doubt about the consequences of a "no" vote. Towards the end of "good ole Smithy's" war against Britain, I noted the indices of defeat in the now-vanished Salisbury: shops empty even of books, pavement ramps built to accommodate the cripples in wheelchairs, a "chicken run" which had become a rout. In South Africa, I was told this week, people are beginning to inquire at airlines about the formalities of shipping their pets abroad. It is the earliest of the early warning signs.

In the end, Mr Smith surrendered to the British only to escape surrender to Mr Robert Mugabe. South Africa offers no such soft option. Sooner or later, probably sooner, the black people — supported by the entire international community, and by many white South Africans — will overwhelm the dwindling band of right-wingers, and bring them to their knees. Perhaps the United Nations will intercede for them, perhaps not, but their "no" vote will destroy them.

English voters have the power, this time, to set the country on a destructive path. They may, if they are as unforgiving as Jack Curtis, call down the vengeance of heaven by voting "no". They are more likely to do so simply in the craven hope that young Afrikaans boys will hold the ring for a few more years, protecting the suburbs against the swarming youths of the townships, until they can get themselves, or their money, or their children abroad.

THEY may vote "no" because they do not understand that our present sorrows — the unemployment and the crime, the sudden crumbling of a lifestyle — are the price we must pay for ex-President Botha's vain and costly attempt to enclose us in a ring of steel. We are broke because we expended our wealth and our effort in a vain and foolish endeavour.

They may vote "no", or simply abstain, because they are lazy, or confused, or too frightened to think clearly. But most English "no" voters, I have no doubt, will be motivated purely and simply by racism. They will vote "no" because, while they have put up a show of decency or called themselves "Progs", they are also the spiritual descendants of the evil against which Jack Curtis fought in the war.

The rest of us will vote "yes". We shall vote "yes" because we do not seek vengeance for past grievances; we shall vote "yes" because we do not want to condemn our children to a conflict they cannot win; we shall vote "yes" because we know the wrong we have done and wish to make amends, and we will not allow fear to obliterate our vision of a South Africa, equal among nations, where all men and women live in freedom under law.

Most of all, however, we shall vote "yes" because we tend to be sensible and pragmatic folk, who have a knack of seeing clearly. We know that a "yes" vote gives us a chance, and a "no" vote brings certain disaster — and between a certainty and a chance, only a fool hesitates.

KEN OWEN

REFERENDUM '92

Campaign to sway the 1,3m 'doubtfuls'

304A
S/Times 1/2/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

MORE than 1,3-million white South Africans have still not committed themselves to either a "yes" or a "no" vote in the March 17 referendum.

These "doubtfuls" — whose existence has been disclosed by a batch of recent opinion polls — are the main targets of the campaigns by the pro- and anti-reform lobbies, which kick off today.

Both sides admit the key to the campaign is English-speaking South Africans whose votes could swing the outcome. The Conservative Party believes as many as a third of the country's English-speakers are still undecided.

With only two weeks before the most crucial referendum in South Africa's history, polls show almost 42 percent of the 3,3-million white voters don't know, or won't say, how they will vote — or even if they will vote at all.

With these doubtfuls in mind, the National Party and the Democratic Party, backed by big business, today launched a R6-million campaign, the central focus of which is to prove that a return to apartheid will bring certain ruin.

Crime

In return, the CP and its allies plan to spend upwards of R1-million in the next two weeks on a campaign which will argue that the path of reform will result in certain domination by communists and an even higher crime rate.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed this week that his party's referendum campaign was aimed at persuading those who were undecided or unwilling to vote to opt for reform.

The NP plans to spend



NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe confirmed this week that his party's referendum campaign was aimed at persuading those who were undecided or unwilling to vote to opt for reform.

The NP plans to spend upwards of R2-million on its referendum campaign, the central feature of which will be a United States presidential-type tour of the country by President FW de Klerk, in which he will visit more than 30 towns.

Open

The NP and the DP have agreed that the latter should concentrate on those constituencies it won in the 1989 election. DP leader Zach de Beer will speak in Cape Town (twice), Durban, Johannesburg, Benoni and Pretoria.

Opinion polls reinforce the parties' views that the referendum is wide open, with a legion of doubtfuls holding the centre ground.

An opinion poll conducted by Marketing and Media Research confirmed recent polls which indicated a high degree of disenchantment among the white electorate.

Of the 76 percent of voters who said they would vote, 55 percent said they would vote "yes", while 16 percent said they would vote "no". A large number of voters — 29 percent — would not say or did not know how they would vote.

Similar

Together these "don't knows" and "won't says" total 41,8 percent of all white voters — the same percentage of all registered voters who have indicated they will vote "yes".

The findings support similar results by Research Surveys, which found that disillusionment among English-speakers was particularly high: 29 percent said they would not vote as opposed to 17 percent of Afrikaners.

CP chief information spokesman Pieter Mulder said the party believed between 300 000 and 500 000 of the 1,5-million English-speaking voters had not made up their minds, and that the referendum result would depend on how they voted.

● See Pages 2, 10 & 23



9 770039 533008

Blacks fear a revival of hated apartheid era

They want to know what's in the referendum for the black man. Among them are those of opposite sentiment, who label Codesa and the referendum as a white man's strategy to bamboozle the suffering black masses.

Many go to the extent of berating Mr Nelson Mandela and other political leaders for falling into the Codesa and referendum traps. The extremists of the middle opinion look with suspicion on any political move not generated by the blacks.

The low-opinioned include my neighbour and the unfortunates who were deprived of schooling and its benefits. They seek opinion, direction and inspiration from their better-educated colleagues.

But at times they are more blessed with common sense than those betters in the above divisions. Not only do they rely on their children and family for news but they have developed into keen listeners.

MY NEIGHBOUR from Nqutu, between Dundee and Rorke's Drift in Natal, has only had the briefest of encounters with a classroom in his life.

Just after President De Klerk's announcement about the referendum, however, he came back from work with a neatly folded copy of a "white" daily morning newspaper.

He sternly told his children: "One of you read carefully to me about this matter which has disturbed the white people so much. *Stilwies 11/3/92*

"You must also explain to me, in your mother's tongue, if it is the same as Codesa, which has made the black leaders want to tear at each other's throats."

The one sure thing about the word "referendum" is that it has struck humorous and at times unpleasant chords in the memories of many black South Africans.

As a friend, Mafuta Payi, from the East Rand, put it: "It reminds me about reference books and the old times. Does it mean the Afrikaners want Malan or Verwoerd's rule back?"

"This could mean the end of squatter camps like Phola Park, Mandela View and Chris Hani camp," he said.

Since the "old man" has

DOC BIKITSHA polls his neighbours on their views on the referendum (30/4)

been released from the "island" there has been a tremendous political awakening.

There is little complacency and apathy about political issues in any townships.

There are three basic types of opinions on the referendum — high, middle and low. And, as the differences imply, the high opinions are from the educated black gentry, including doctors, lawyers, teachers, politicians and men of the cloth.

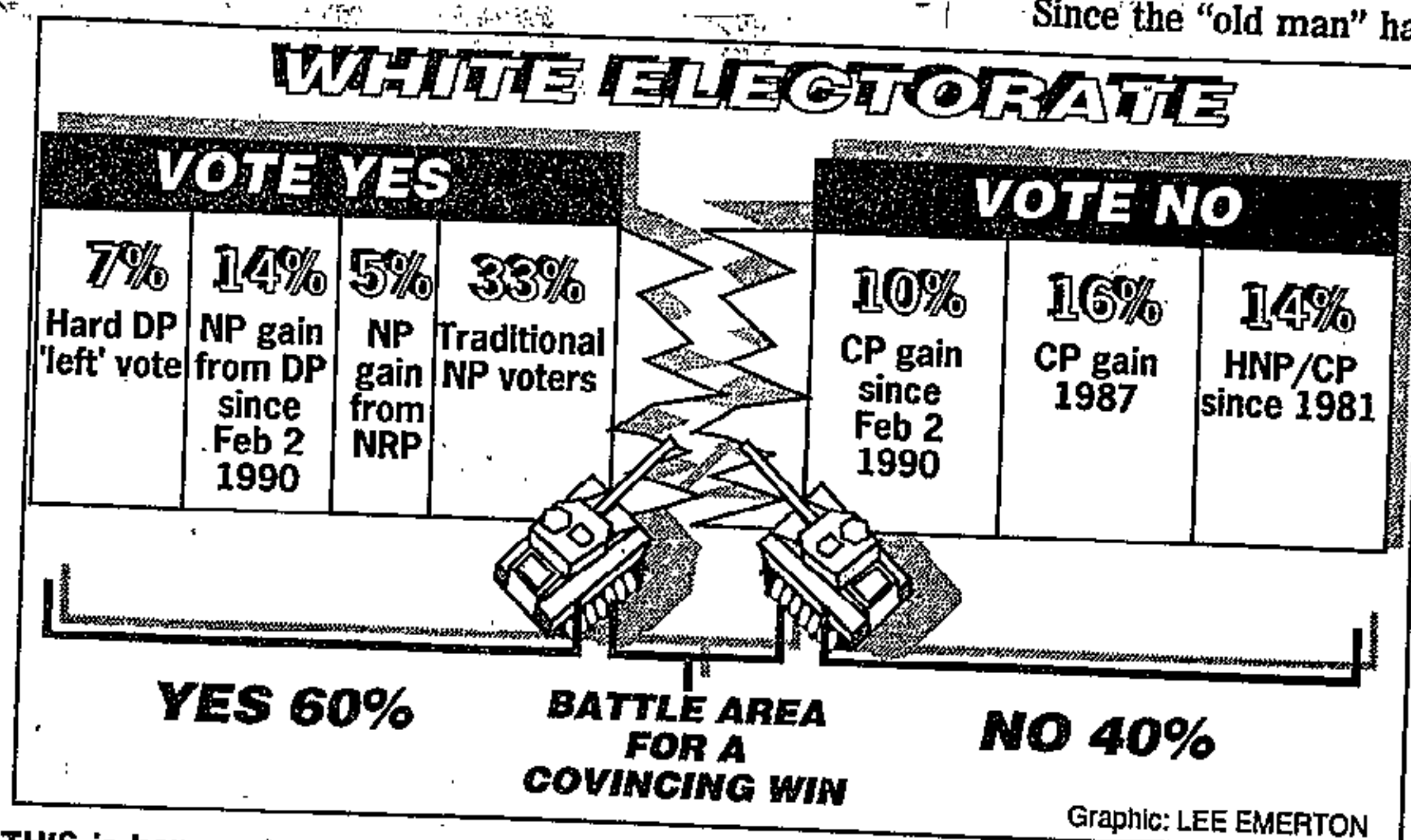
These are the folk with high-falutin' ideals and concepts about the pros and cons.

Their minds are analytic in discussion on the issue. They are the ones who like mentioning words like "perspective" and "final analysis", which none of the people below them understands.

Question

The middle-opinioned people are more of the worker type — factory hands, messengers, builders, clerks and the rest of them. Many are matriculants and look down patronisingly on their brethren with junior certificates.

They are the vociferous comrades who question every piece of legislation from the government and their own political bodies. They are fiercely loyal to their individual causes and many have dismissed the referendum as a ploy by Mr De Klerk.



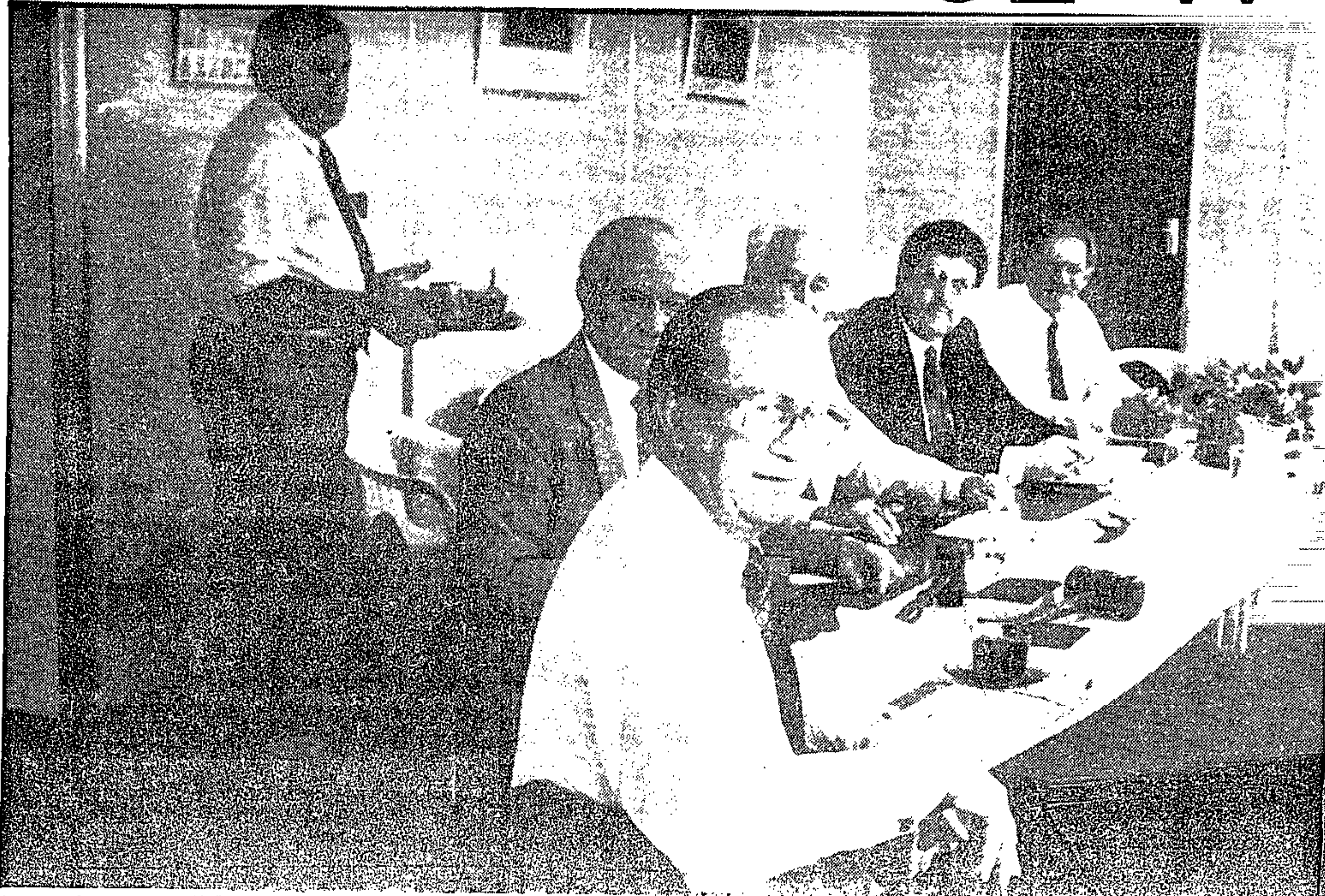
THIS is how party supporters are likely to vote in the March referendum. Analyst Donald Simpson, using a mathematical model by Professor Japie Spoelstra of Potchefstroom University and data from the latest polls, estimates President

FW de Klerk will win on March 17 by three votes to two.

He estimates that the "yes" lobby — comprising DP stalwarts, former DP members crossed to the NP, former New Republic Party supporters and tradi-

tional National Party supporters (about half of the total) — will take 60 percent of the vote. The "no" lobby will register 40 percent of the vote. Most of these will be people who have joined the CP since the 1987 elections.

A council of w



THE RIGHT BUNKERS DOWN: Andries Treurnicht flanked on his right by Eugene Terre Blanche of the AWB and on his left by Ja Beyers (CP), Pieter Mulder (CP), Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP), Louis van der Schyff (HNP) and Willie Marais (HNP)

RIGHT-WING groups yesterday announced plans for a united "no" front against President FW de Klerk in the referendum campaign.

In an unprecedented show of unity, the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, announced they would be campaigning jointly at grassroots level.

The right-wingers also announced a mass rally in Pretoria on Saturday to cement the alliance.

The leaders of the three groups emerged from a strategy session in the CP's Pretoria headquarters yesterday to declare unanimity in their attitude to the referendum.

"President FW de Klerk's reforms will not only lead to a transitional government, but eventually to a black communist government," said Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said the government had done the right-wing a

By CHARLES LEONARD and MIKE ROBERTSON

favour by announcing the referendum. "Mr De Klerk has given us the opportunity to stop him and Nelson Mandela in their tracks on this dangerous road they are leading us down.

"It has also given us the opportunity to consolidate a right-wing front," he said.

AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche said the right-wing unity forged yesterday would last long after the referendum.

Sunday Times 1/3/92
English

Dr Treurnicht said the campaign would concentrate on the English vote, as there was "a growing sympathy from English-speakers".

The front planned to hold meetings in predominantly English centres such as Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Dr Treurnicht's part of the campaign will end on Saturday, March 14, with a meeting in Nylstroom, in his Waterberg constituency.

The right-wing pact comes after tensions, confusion and even revolt within the ranks of the Conservative Party over the referendum.

This week its Dagbestuur, consisting of Dr Treurnicht, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, secretary Andries Beyers, information chief Pieter Mulder and the four provincial leaders, decided to call for a referendum boycott — only to have the decision overturned at the party caucus.

The main sources of unhappiness in the party are:

- Dr Treurnicht's leadership.

- Confusion over constitutional positions.

Dr Hartzenberg envisages a white homeland that includes all South Africa with the exception of the independent homelands and self-governing territories.

Dr Treurnicht, meanwhile, proposes a "smaller" white homeland

operating alongside entities such as Bophuthatswana in a commonwealth of independent states.

And then there is the suggestion from CP MP Koos van der Merwe, made most recently in a television interview, of an Afrikaner region operating in a federal South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht tried to quash this idea, saying: "Koos slipped up; the CP does not support federation."

3041
Strategy

But it is not the first time that either Mr Van der Merwe or CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar has floated this idea.

There are also differences on strategy.

The Hartzenberg faction refuses to have anything to do with Codesa, while Mr Van der Merwe — with support from Mr Pienaar and the two Mulder brothers, among others — favours putting the case for "co-operative self-determination" at the negotiating body.

STIMES/13/92

306A

ar

REFERENDUM

PICTURE POWER

92



Marais of the HNP. Others, from right, are: Corné Mulder (CP), Andries
Exclusive Picture: JUAN KUUS

TREURNICHT PLANS HIS OWN CODESA

S/Time 1/3/92 304A

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

ONE of the first things CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will do if he wins the referendum and a subsequent general election is start his own Codesa.

This new Codesa would require all participants to agree first to the principle of "self-determination of nations".

Seated upright, hands clasped, Dr Treurnicht took time out from preparing for his referendum campaign this week to explain why the CP was calling on white voters to reject the process begun by President FW de Klerk.

Mr De Klerk's negotiations were on the basis of an undivided society which went against the modern trend in political development, he said.

Tough

"What we stand for is really a 'with-it' policy, a 'with-it' view for politics. The trend is not a unitary state under one government, but peoples demanding to govern themselves."

The CP, if victorious in the referendum and poll, would immediately begin talks with Western nations, business leaders and representatives of groups inside the country to explain exactly what the CP stood for, he said.

While Dr Treurnicht did not rule out talking to ANC president Nelson Mandela, he said Mr Mandela would perhaps not be the first leader the CP would talk to.

The CP would not regard a win in the referendum as a blank cheque, he said.

"We have no blank cheque to decide for the Zulu or the Xhosa, or what-

ever people, but we will have a mandate to act on behalf of the white electorate."

And what of the consequences of a CP victory? Dr Treurnicht rejected dire warnings of sanctions and boycotts. Those sanctions, he said, were in any case inconvenient for some of the countries that applied them. Besides, the CP had a moral right to demand from those countries that they give the party a chance.

"We can tell them, quite frankly, the CP won't return to old-style apartheid — that dispensation has passed. But we also have a right to determine what measures may be necessary for the protection of our own community, protection of our own political structures, social structures and education. That is, as we see it, a basic right for every community."

Should the NP win the referendum, Dr Treurnicht said, certain realities would still not have been altered.

"The desire for self-determination of white and black nations, which refused to be part of a non-racial society and wanted self-determination, would still exist."

Warned

Dr Treurnicht warned that should the ANC attempt to force a unitary state on South Africa, it would be met with strong resistance from both black and white.

Should the NP win in the referendum, said Dr Treurnicht, the CP would demand a general election to test any constitutional changes negotiated by Mr De Klerk.

WHAT goes on behind closed doors at Codesa?

This question is being asked on numerous occasions by people who are concerned and anxious about the future of this country.

While most people, including notable politicians like former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, talk about Codesa and why it must be supported, locals know little about its workings.

The media is doing its best to report on what takes place at Codesa, but this coverage is obviously not enough.

Starting this week, I will attempt to give you readers of this column the tidbits within Codesa – not the usual press statements you've been getting.

My insider tells me that sex reared its ugly head at Codesa this week when the gender of an IFP delegate was called into question.

Dr B gained the unfortunate distinction of being the first Codesa delegate to be censured when he tackled the ANC

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

Is Codesa a sexcess?

30/4/84
1/3/92



on its alleged political prisoners still being held in some African countries.

The note of censure in the minutes read as follows: "A number of delegates objected to material distributed by an IFP delegate attacking the ANC, arguing that the procedure of Codesa was abused and disrupted by an individual member distributing the documentation in question without consulting his/her own organisation."

Dr B objected strenuously to the note of censure and particularly to the "her" inclusion.

He had no doubts whatsoever that he was a "his". His manhood was being questioned. He cited as evidence the fact that he generally used male toilets, and he had a wife who regularly used female toilets.

However, Working Group 1 refused to remove the "her" from the note of censure. Dr B suggested that an all-male subcommittee be appointed to deal with this matter, and an in loco inspection could be held to confirm that the "her" be deleted from the note of censure. Female delegates

objected on grounds that this was a sexist approach which violated the rules of Codesa, and some female delegates volunteered to serve on the subcommittee.

Being a reticent man, Dr B declined their kind offer of assistance. There was a deadlock.

The chairperson kindly intervened and he/she suggested a compromise – and it was agreed that on receipt of a sworn affidavit from Mrs B, Dr B's gender would be confirmed.

Dr B sincerely hopes

that he is in fact a man.

A sworn affidavit from Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the ex-ANC Detainees Committee, accompanied the IFP position paper.

Hlongwane claims that the ANC is still holding political prisoners in African countries.

When challenged by the ANC to produce evidence of one ANC-held political prisoner, Dr B referred the ANC to

Katiza Cebekhulu, Winnie Mandela's co-accused, who Dr B said despite his protestations was being held on ANC instructions, by the Zambian government for "his own safety".

Dr B believes that the "delegates (who) objected to material distributed" (and who refused to have their identities minuted), in fact "disrupted" the "procedure of Codesa" by launching a vicious personal attack on him, lasting approximately an hour.

He is, however, pleased that the question of his gender has been clarified.

THE AXES HAVE IT

CHARLENE SMITH reports on the making of a referendum campaign — 1992-style

ONLY hours after State President FW de Klerk astonished the country by calling a referendum, two senior members of a top advertising agency were on the way to Cape Town.

The two had an immediate audience with the President and were soon afterwards in lengthy strategy sessions with the Cabinet.

On Sunday the men returned to Johannesburg. The agency's creative designers were summoned and a 50-man task force was established. Within days the first advertisements were running.

Referendum 1992 heralds South Africa's coming-of-age in techniques of modern electioneering — ad hype, electronics and big-buck budgets.

Mr Hennie Klerck of Klerck and White, the National Party's advertising agency of choice, will not say how much the Nat advertising campaign will cost, but it is already clear that the price of the referendum is rapidly spiralling towards a figure of R16-million.

Unanimity

Not all are so lucky. The Conservative Party admits it is unlikely to be able to raise even R1-million. According to its spokesman, Dr Pieter Mulder, it will focus its strategy on rural areas and local publications.

This week in his Sandton office, Mr Klerck spoke of the snap campaign in which his role is pivotal.

Instead of the "moral" controversies that marked the last referendum — when whites voted Yes on September 3 1983 to support the present constitution that ushered in tricameral politics — whites are falling over their chequebooks to fund their preference.

Mr Klerck says there has been such a swell of "unanimity and support from all quarters that we don't see this as a Nat campaign; it is much wider".

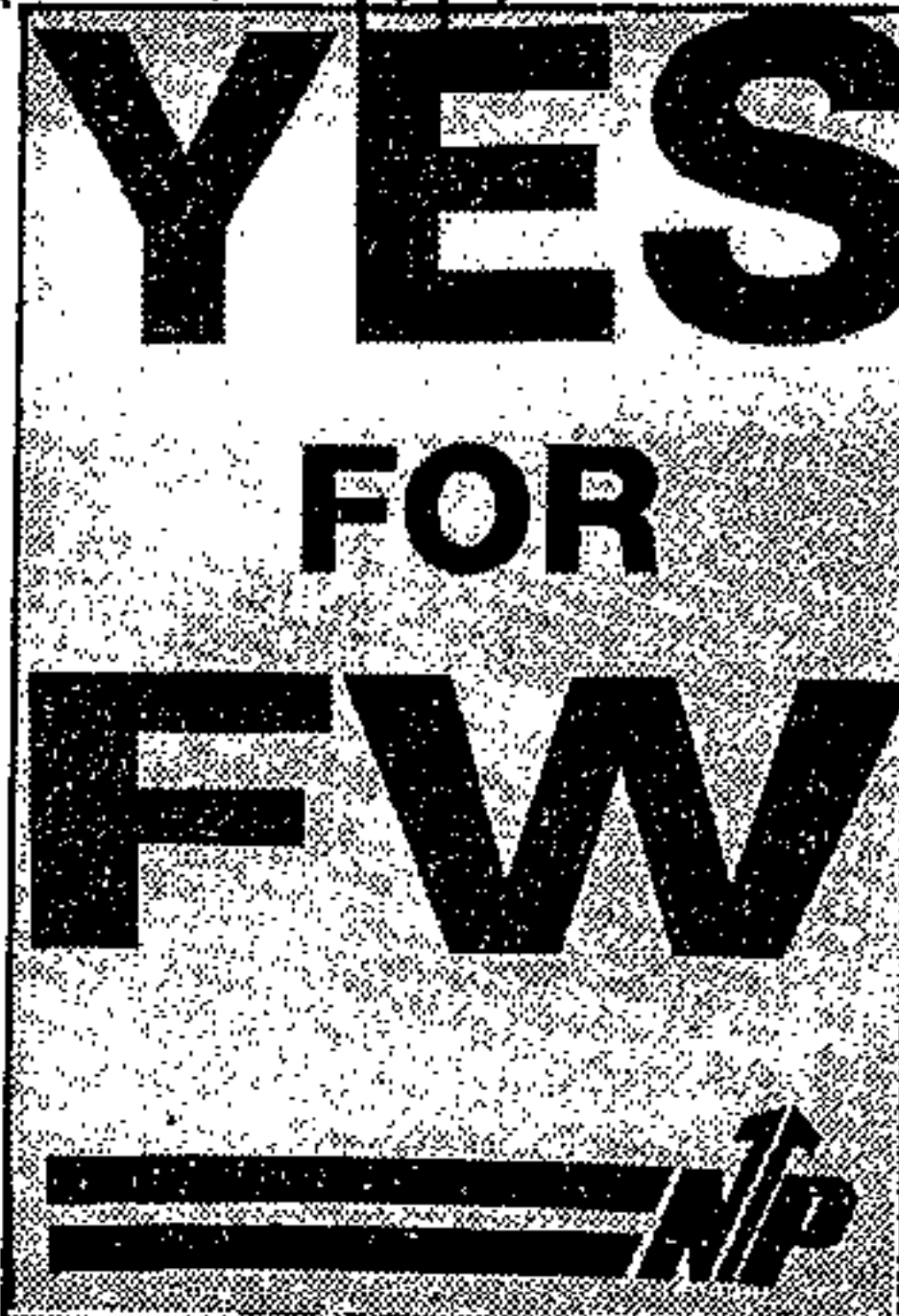
His agency worked on the 1983 referendum, too. "At that stage we had the left and right against the referendum. It was a very treacherous path through the middle. We had to fight fires on the left and right.

"A lot of the major newspaper groups were against it and so were a number of our own staff who had to work on the campaign. This time it is completely different; there is a greater sense of unity and happiness."

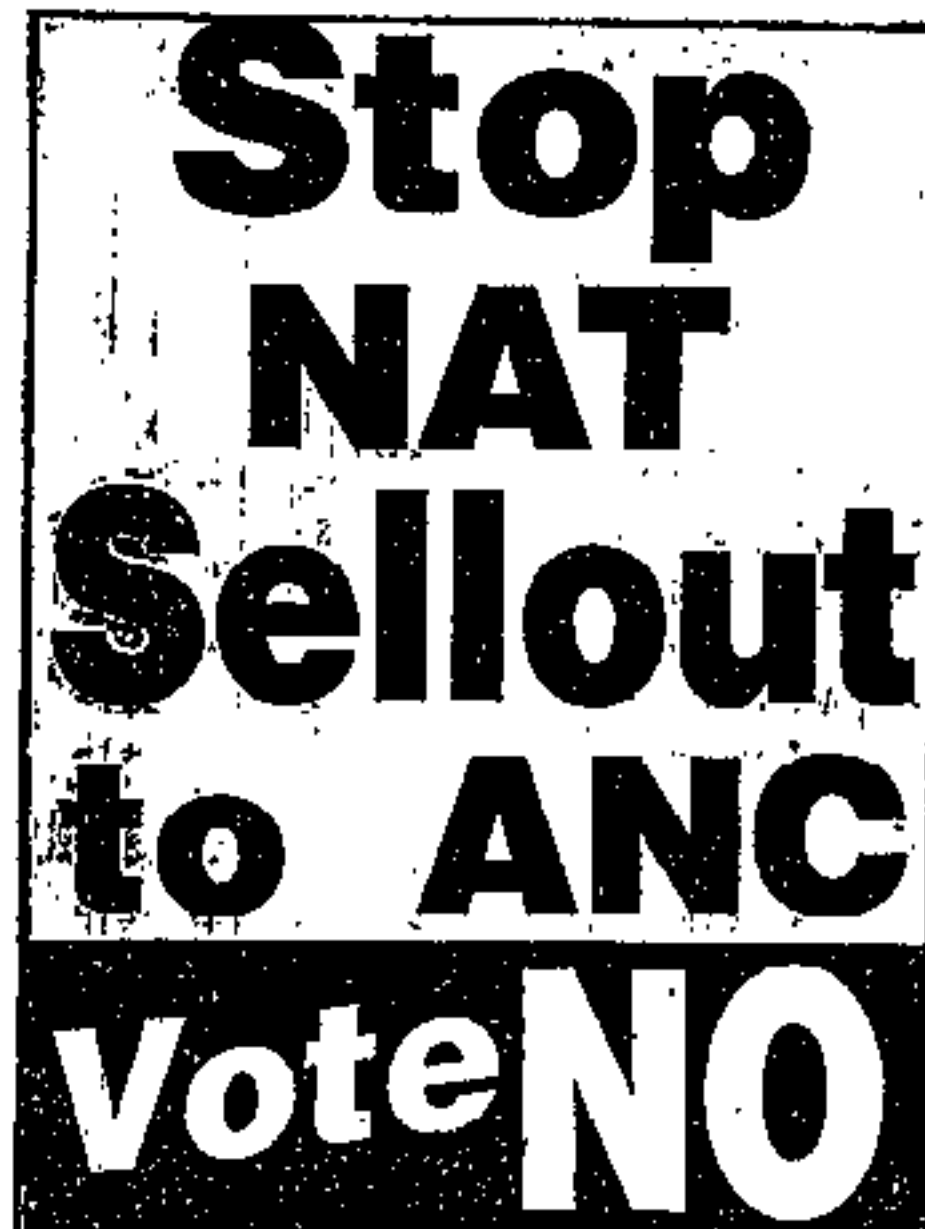
Around 50 of his staff are working 14 to 18-hour days on a campaign he describes as "like trying to fight one of those Kuwaiti oil fires; it generates so much adrenalin".

Mr Klerck says they en-

S/Times 1/3/92



Thumbs up from the NP



Thumbs down from the CP

The big money behind a modern election

visage a "sharp blitz, where no ad will be used 10 times" and constantly adapting to changing conditions.

"If Dr No (Dr Treurnicht) stands up and makes a wild statement we will react. Or if Mr De Klerk says something important we may use it."

The campaign will mainly be fought through the print media (the SABC charter has a clause against political advertising).

Unlike the previous referendum, the Yes campaign is counting the media among its allies — "except for some small, less important conservative media" — and the Nats' long-time opposition, the Democratic Party.

"I personally spoke to Zach de Beer and he has opened lines for us," Mr Klerck said. "I also spoke to Steve Mulholland of the private-sector grouping."

This weekend a caravan of politicians — from cabinet ministers to parliamentary reporters and political party campaigners — will travel to campaign headquarters in

Pretoria or Johannesburg by plane or road, carting along the fax machines, photocopiers and television sets they took down to Parliament a mere six weeks ago.

The campaigning is, meanwhile, likely to confirm a trend which has been apparent in South African politics for some time — less door-to-door canvassing and public meetings, more mail shots, phone calls and advertising.

Not many political parties are risking sending campaigners out to confront Rottweilers and security gates, but some door-to-door canvassing will be undertaken, with the State President possibly making a call to your neighbourhood before mid-March as part of a whistle-stop, nationwide tour to encourage a Yes vote. However, expect calls from phone canvassers as full election machinery gets under way from all parties.

Marietta Muller, media liaison officer in the office of National Party organiser Stoffel van der Merwe, says their days begin at 7am and end near midnight. A full-scale press centre with 24-hour access to information on the referendum will be up and operating in Pretoria from tomorrow.

She says interest in the referendum has been overwhelming. "We are getting calls from people offering support and ideas. They say: 'Why don't you get Naas Botha or the cricketers, as examples, to endorse a Yes vote.'" They are ideas the Nats are following up.

Budgets

"International interest has been very high, too. Dr Van der Merwe spoke to the BBC in London and we thought that would be that, but we then received calls from the BBC in Ireland and Edinburgh. Yesterday alone there were calls from Britain, France, Australia, the US, Denmark and other countries."

Political parties are keeping their budgets close to their chests. The government says the referendum will cost it R12,3-million.

The National Party estimates a minimum of two million rand. Dr De Beer says the Democratic Party will spend a few hundred thousand rands, "unless we get more".

Dr Mulder says the Conservative Party will spend "a hell of a lot of money. Not as much as the Yes campaign has available to it, though. We get our money from 'normal' people; not all are rich".

The CP's biggest concern, meanwhile, is what it sees as the lack of impartiality by the print media.

Dr Mulder says his party will sidestep the mainstream media and go for local publications as well as door-to-door campaigning — "that has always been our strength".

On Thursday some barflies were revelling in the nation's unexpected cricketing glory against Australia and looking forward to thrashing the All Blacks at rugby — but they will still vote "no" in the referendum. "Nothing will change. Teams are lining up to play us," boasted a Uitenhage fisherman.

Cricketer Mark Rushmere went to school at Woodridge College, 2km away on the opposite side of the Van Staden's River gorge.

Down the next valley, that of the Gamtoos, Mrs Embre Gouws, a florist in Hankey, is preparing to campaign for the NP, but she acknowledges the going will be tough.

"The CP is strong in these parts, especially among the farmers. It's the English-speakers, the ex-Rhodesians, who are the worst," she said. Rich citrus and vegetable crops have been hard hit by drought, and she fears the political outcome.

"They're angry with the situation — with blacks, the weather, everything — and they take it out on the politicians. Often husbands vote CP and their wives Nat. Women are capable of reason," she claimed.

Upstream the Nats will rely on the Ferreiras, the CP on the Van der Walts.

In nearby Humansdorp, growing strongly in tandem with the flourishing coastal resorts, successful businessman Kobus Strydom will vote "no", and he believes there will be a 20-percent swing away from the NP.

Shebeens

"It's going to make Potch look silly. Look, I consider myself part of the Boer nation and I have a right to govern myself, and that's what it's all about. I don't care if I have blacks as neighbours, but I do want to vote for my own people and keep my own culture."

A lifelong right-winger, he was nevertheless the first trader in Humansdorp to scrap separate counters for blacks in his shop. Now a bottle-store owner, he supplies shebeens and drinks regularly with blacks on their premises.

"It's nothing to do with colour. I treat all customers with dignity and respect, and that's the way they have always treated me. I don't care what party a man belongs to. If he

The referendum campaign this week cranked into life. The Sunday Times visited three constituencies where the ayes and noes are likely to be evenly matched. Two constituencies are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking and one mostly English-speaking. BILL KRIGE, CHARIS PERKINS and EDYTH BULBRING report on the mood (304A)

comes through my door, ANC or Nat, he is an equal."

Tsitsikamma farmer Riaan van Schoor is equally adamant that a hankering for crude apartheid is not why he supports the CP.

Housing

"I don't want apartheid, but I do want to rule myself," he said. "I have respect for them. When I grew up, if I didn't call farmworkers 'Outa Jan' or 'Aya Annie', I got a hiding."

Right-wing farmers provided better housing for their workers, he said. "They give them housing and clear running water. On Sunday I drive my staff

to church 40km away and wait for them, sometimes from 9am to 1pm."

In affluent Plettenberg Bay, Gail Behr, wife of a prominent businessman, believes the English vote will see the "yes" vote succeed.

"Like many South Africans, I've lived my life with feelings of insecurity — not just about whether the house bond will be paid, but wondering how much longer we've got. I've felt this since I was a little girl."

"It's with a sense of relief that we now have a referendum where we can finally bury our fears. It would be a tragedy if we now lacked the courage to go forward," she said.

THE church-going burghers of the old Pretoria suburb of Villieria are keeping their referendum cards close to their chests.

Few are prepared to say where they will put their crosses on March 17.

In fact, a street poll this week produced a definite "ja-nee" vote — and many would say nothing at all.

"If you want to get along in this suburb, it's better to keep quiet," said a father of three, an administrative officer in the government's Department of Development Aid which will be disbanded by the end of March.

"There are great differences of opinion here, so we've come to a gentlemen's agreement. We don't talk politics. Even my children know to keep their views to themselves."

Villieria falls into the traditionally NP constituency of Innesdal. In the past, its large population of Afrikaans-speaking public servants could be trusted to vote Nat.

The ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr Albert

Ja-nee won't way

By CHARIS PERKINS

Nothnagel, was voted Innesdal's NP Member of Parliament in 1974. In the 1981 election he won the NP trophy for being the candidate in the Transvaal with the highest number of votes. In 1987 he won the seat with a 1 028 majority.

Health Minister Dr Rina Venter took over the seat with a 1 508 majority in 1989, winning on her promise to keep white schools white.

In recent years, however, Villieria's NP loyalties have

STIMES

1/3/92

(304A)

WHY PIET THE PARROT



IS VOTING

1/3/22
5/11/22

Σ 447

IN the pub at the Thornhill Hotel, Piet the parrot swears rudely at white customers and urges them to "stem Kaapee" (vote CP) — advice which many are planning to heed.

The hotel, a toot away from the famed Apple Express narrow-gauge railway, isn't quite in the conservative heartland of the Eastern Cape, but it's on the fringe.

It's in the Humansdorp constituency, which stretches from suburban Port Elizabeth along the Garden Route to Plettenberg Bay, a jumble

By BILL KRIGE

of isolated communities with little in common except fear.

Contrasts are everywhere apparent: upper-crust and WASP-ish St Francis Bay rubs shoulders with Jeffreys Bay, a bustling, nouveau-riche Afrikaner village of blue roofs and face-brick braai alcoves.

And contradictions: progressive farmers in the Gamtoos Valley are likely to vote "no" and their poorer cousins in the Langkloof "yes". National Party support runs deep in the Langkloof, no matter what.

There are ironies, too. Veteran civil rights campaigner Helen Suzman has a cottage at Plet, while John Vorster, the prime minister she vigorously opposed, is buried at Kareedouw.

The constituency is too big for issues to have a uniform impact. At Tsitsikamma, the CP has won control of the Witels Farmers' Association, whose members occupy bitterly contested land once given to the Mfeigu tribe in perpetuity.

Apartheid saw the tribe evicted from the land, and now they want it back. "There will be bloodshed if things go on as they are," says Tsitsikamma farmer and CP stalwart Riaan Van Schoor.

But just over the Kareedouwberge, on safer ground, are farmers who will vote Nat come Hell or Mandela.

Revelling

Humansdorp has been regularly contested by the Democratic Party's predecessors — 2 704 votes to Andrew Savage last time round — but it boasts pockets of conservatism which, like Piet the parrot, are hard-core.

Thornhill Hotel's licensee is Mario Van Eeden, twice a CP parliamentary candidate.

In 1989, he slashed 1 500 votes off the NP's major-



OLGA VAN EEDEN with Piet the CP parrot ... Piet swears a lot and calls on patrons of the hotel bar to 'stem Kaapee' in the referendum — advice which many of them are likely to heed



imfontein, Johannesburg, the provocative slogan of Picture: DAVID SANDISON

e! Burghers say which they'll vote

begun to crumble.

"Dr Venter hasn't kept her promises," said a mother who was worried that white schools were to become Model C and might accept black pupils.

An Atomic Energy Corporation employee said: "I was born an NP supporter, but President De Klerk has given everything away. I will definitely vote 'no', and so will many people around here."

Most of Villieria is represented by a Conservative Party city councillor. CP stalwart Mr Danie Erasmus was elected with a majority

of 85 votes in 1988.

He is confident of a "no" win: "People do not want a black communist government. Most voted Nat in the past, but there has been a big swing to the right."

His arch opponent and chairman of the local NP branch, Mr Louis Fourie, is equally sure of a "yes" vote: "Even CP supporters in Villieria know there will be no future for anyone if President De Klerk loses the referendum."

Though many people questioned refused to say anything, those who agreed to take part in the poll said they would be voting "yes".

"People who vote 'no' need their heads read," said a teacher at the Villieria Nursery School.

President De Klerk has the support of the local bowling club. "Nearly everyone in the club is going to vote 'yes'," said 72-year-old Mr Wynand van Loggerenberg, a retired public servant and bowls coach.

However, where most people are going to put their crosses on March 17 is between them and the poll-counters.

"It's a big mug's game," said 24-year-old Mr Fraser Sinclair, a manager at the local Mr Munchies. "Quite honestly, I don't know which way to vote. If the answer is 'yes', we'll end up with a communist state. If the answer is 'no', the world will isolate us and the economy will collapse."

"But I tell you what — if there is a war, I'll take the white man's side."

HENRI DE VILLIERS BANKER

ON March 17 the white electorate will be asked to vote on whether it supports negotiations aimed at establishing a new constitution for South Africa. The result of the referendum will affect the lives of millions in this country and beyond for years to come.

To reject negotiation, or even to register a substantial minority vote against it, would be to endanger the future of South Africa as a functioning economy, which is the bedrock of our political development. This view is put forward not in any partisan spirit, but out of a lively awareness of the dangers we are facing.

South Africa cannot stand alone. If we are ever to achieve acceptable living standards for our people, we have to rejoin the global political and economic system and create an environment sympathetic to foreign trade and investment. We have already started this process and if we keep the negotiations on track there is no reason why we cannot continue it. But if we again choose a system that gives priority to the interests of one group over those of another we shall bring dire consequences on ourselves.

PATRICK MYNHARDT ACTOR

SINCE February 2 I have supported Mr FW de Klerk and his reforms. A No vote will plunge us back into isolation, make us the polecat of the planet once more, intensify sanctions and bring about greater poverty in our already drought-devastated, economically crippled country. I want to live here in peace, in a fair apartheid-free society. Yes, I do.

ROBERT CHARLTON ACADEMIC

I SHALL vote Yes because that is the moral option. But in any event it is simple common sense that we have to press on, difficult and dangerous though it is proving to be. To try to turn back now

THE Sunday Times asked a cross-section of top South Africans why they intended voting 'Yes' on March 17. Here is how they answered (304)

HARRY OPPENHEIMER BUSINESSMAN

IN 1910, when I was a two-year-old child, the Act of Union was passed and South Africans came together to form a united country. The development of that new nation in peace, prosperity and justice has been the central hope and ideal of my long life. It seems to me that a No vote in the referendum would be a vote to abandon that hope and ideal and to expose South Africa to a course of racial conflict, violence and oppression with no end in sight. It would, as I see it, be a betrayal of all that is best in our past.

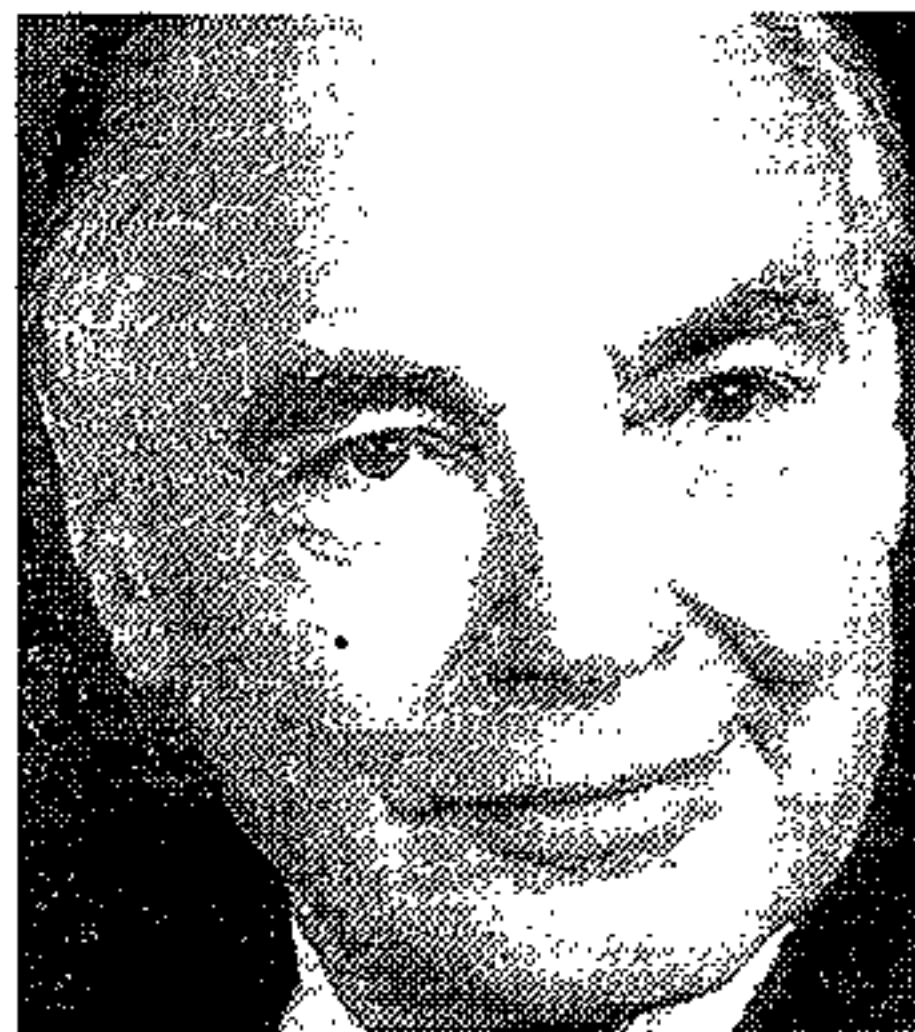
In the modern world no country can enjoy peace and prosperity in isolation from the world outside. A No vote would be a vote to exclude South Africa from the community of nations, to cut us off from essential external sources of capital and "know-how" and to condemn South Africans, black and white alike, to growing poverty and unemployment. It would be a vote to cut our cultural and intellectual links with the civilised world and to deprive us of all the pleasure and pride to be derived from participation in international sport.

A No vote would, in my view, be an act of profound pessimism by people who had lost their faith in South Africa and were trying to build themselves a laager in the vain hope of avoiding the risks and sacrifices which are part of the work of nation-building.

But I feel, as sure as ever I have done, that there is no reason to lose hope for South Africa and I remain the optimist I have always been. And, therefore, on March 17 — together, I believe, with the great majority of South Africans — I shall proclaim my faith in our country by voting Yes.

NADINE GORDIMER WRITER

I DEPLORE another white election, but the vital urgency to continue the negotiating process gives me no choice but to vote in order to prevent a Conservative Party return to apartheid and the danger of a bloody civil war. This is my decision as an individual and as a white member of the ANC.



HARRY OPPENHEIMER
would be catastrophic as well as morally indefensible.

CLEM SUNTER BUSINESSMAN

MARCH 17 is the crossroads. At present the lights are green on two of the conditions for South Africa to take the "high road". Sanctions have been relaxed and the negotiating forum has been established. A Yes vote keeps those two lights green. A No vote turns them red again.

LOUISE TAGER PUBLIC INTEREST LAWYER

THE most critical issue facing South Africa today is unemployment and the poverty that follows in its wake. The opportunity to rebuild our economy is totally dependent on the continuation and successful conclusion of the negotiation process. A Yes vote means a peaceful and prosperous future for every single South African.

CAROL SCOTT
BUSINESSWOMAN
I BELIEVE that the forthcoming referendum is yet another landmark on South Africa's path to a positive future. The time is ripe for South Africans to put aside the inevitable anxiety which accompanies change and make a stand for a negotiated settlement for our country's future.

I urge all my colleagues in the business world, as well as fellow South Africans, to consider the prospect of returning sanctions as against reinvestment, the accompanying job creation and the recovery of our potentially dynamic economy. For me there is only one option: To vote Yes on March 17.

SANDRA PRINSLOO ACTRESS

I WISH to live in a modern society, a harmonious, humane and creative society. I cannot understand a certain death wish which lies in isolation, stubbornness and stagnation. Yes is still the best three letter word around.

NAAS BOTHA SPORTSMAN

THERE'S no doubt in my mind that we will definitely vote Yes in the referendum. As a sportsman, not a politician, I think it would be crazy for us to go backwards. We are on our way back into international sport... look at the cricket team that did so well in Australia, a lot of people got a lot of satisfaction out of that win. Sport can do a lot to unite a country.

International rugby tours have already been planned. Since FW (de Klerk) has been in power it has become a lot easier to travel overseas too.

WARREN CLEWLOW BUSINESSMAN

THIS referendum really affects everyone in the country — a Yes or a No will determine which way the future lies for us all. I can understand that not everyone can personally see the benefits of the reform process yet, but I believe they are there and it is only a matter of time before we all start seeing the benefits of normalisation and reform compared to the difficulties we had facing unnecessary sanctions and boycotts.

Codesa 'must include all'

By SEKOLA SELLO

clip 1/3/92 (304A)

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for the inclusion of the Conservative Party, the AWB, the PAC and Azapo in Codesa, saying failure to do so would retard the negotiation process.

Buthelezi also called for the voice of minorities to be heard and said to ignore this would be fatal.

The Zulu leader said to assume a majority government could come to power in this country and then deal with the minorities could "well prove disastrous".

The Inkatha president was speaking at the first anniversary conference of the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy held in Johannesburg.

Buthelezi said he had previously stated that the representativeness of Codesa was too narrow.

He warned that "arriving at a well-thought-out ... conclusion about what kind of democracy we need by too small a group of political parties will achieve nothing".

In a disguised reference to the ANC and the government - the so-called two main players at Codesa - Buthelezi said Inkatha was opposed to power being placed in the hands of whoever dominates in the interim government.

He warned that Inkatha would "go to the people ... and to the streets if necessary" to oppose any arrangement by political parties to make the constitution-making process their own domain.

Buthelezi said ways had to be found to reincorporate the independent states into SA.

City council lays down conditions for posters

Staff Reporter

As white South Africa gears up for a referendum, the Johannesburg City Council has levelled the playing field by laying down conditions for a display of posters by political parties taking part.

Council spokesman Fouch Fouche said there was no limit to posters to be displayed by political parties in city streets as long as:

- Each poster was first brought to the council for ap-

proval and a deposit of R100 was paid to the council for each type of poster to be displayed.

- Posters mounted on a rigid backing and tied to trees, pavements or telephone poles did not exceed 1 m by 60 cm in size.

- Mounted posters were taken down 10 days after the referendum.

Political parties should bring sample posters and a deposit to: Director of Architecture, 6th Floor, Civic Centre, Braamfontein.

(Report by Brian Sokutu, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

'Codesa has to bear fruit'

CAPE TOWN — South Africans had to decide whether they belonged to a civilised world, German Minister of Economic Affairs Jurgen Mollemann said yesterday afternoon.

Addressing a press conference after a four-day visit during which he, as head of a 30-person delegation of German bankers and businessmen, had, among others, met President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, he said a "no" vote would represent no trust in South Africa's future.

He said a "no" vote would put strong pressure on public opinion in Germany and Europe not to intensify public co-operation with South Africa.

Mr Mollemann said he had headed the biggest German delegation of its kind to have visited South Africa.

It was important that Codesa's reform sentiments bore fruit, he said.

He and Mr de Klerk had agreed on the need to meet again very soon.

He had also invited Minister of Trade and Industry and of Economic Co-ordination Derek Keys and representatives of different interest groups to visit Germany soon to discuss matters of common interest. — Sapa.

(Report by Sapa, Kine Centre, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg).

Big 'yes' for FW in Sowetan poll

Sowetan 2/3/92 304A

OF the 724 people who voted in our "referendum", 630 gave a resounding "yes" to President FW de Klerk's request to continue the reform process he started on February 2 1990.

This was in response to our announcement last week when we asked all those who wanted to register their views to phone in to two numbers; one was for a "yes" vote and the other for "no".

The voting was from Monday night to Friday.

Even some of those who voted "no" appeared to support the referendum for they said it was delaying the peace process.

However, most of the "no" voters said they wanted the CP to win because the struggle would then be intensified and true democracy attained. They said De Klerk's reforms would not give blacks true freedom.

Philemon Thulare from the East Rand said he is against the referendum because apartheid must be "totally eradicated and not reformed".

He also said the reforms were insignificant as they could still be vetoed by whites. He also said

Sowetan Reporter

they were aimed at power sharing instead of the transfer of power to the majority.

Most "yes" votes said they did not want the CP in power. Violence, they said, would escalate while they wanted it stopped.

Mr SJ Mashilo from Pretoria said if the vote was "no" we would go back to the dark ages. "Everybody wants to move forward," he said.

Mr Yusuf Saloojee supported the process of negotiation and said he wanted to stress that whites had no right to any veto because they were in the minority.

One caller said it was due to the reform process that South Africa could play in world sporting events. "If the CP got into power we would go back to the old isolation," he said.

Mr Norman Kgomo said he approved of De Klerk's continuation of the reform process as it had done a lot for blacks.

(Report by Mokgadi Pela, 61 Commando Road, Industria)

●More Sowetan phone services on page 14.

Arrangements made for voters not in country

STAR 2/3/92
Staff Reporter

Businessmen who are attending a trade fair in Germany next week are still trying to find out how to vote in the referendum.

Eight South African companies will be attending the Cebit Electronics Exhibition in Hanover, a computer and telecommunications fair that runs from March 11-18.

Quality Electronic Development project manager Keith Jelley has been discussing the problem with some colleagues who will also be going to Hanover.

"We are all quite keen to

304A
vote, but haven't made any plans yet," Mr. Jelley said.

A Department of Internal Affairs spokesman said people who would be out of the country on March 17 when the referendum is being held could vote at any South African embassy or consulate on March 11 and 12.

People who would not be able to reach a South African mission could cast a vote in South Africa on March 13, 14 and 16.

Those who were leaving the country before the 13th would not be able to vote.

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

Call to put halt to NP 'treason'

304A
STAR 2/3/92

It is unthinkable that English-speakers should give the National Party a blank cheque to do with their future as it wishes, according to President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis.

Mr Derby-Lewis, speaking as convener of 80 Rightwing Organisations, said President F W de Klerk's referendum question was ambiguous and gave no indication what the final constitution would look like.

He said that in the 1983 referendum, white South Africans were asked "to sign a blank cheque", and since then the country had been plunged into chaos.

Election promises made in 1987 and in 1989 had not been kept by the NP, which was now "negotiating the transfer of power to an ANC/SA Communist Party regime".

"We will never accept ANC tyranny masquerading as a government, and a 'no' vote is called for to put a halt to National Party treason," Mr Derby-Lewis said.

Mr Derby-Lewis said the Organisation Committee for Rightwing Co-operation met on Saturday night to make final plans for a Rightwing Leaders Council which would be convened shortly.

Plans were being made for a mass meeting of rightwingers in Pretoria on March 13.

(Report by Sapa, Kine Centre, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Most Sowetan readers say 'yes' to FW - poll

Own Correspondent

Of the 727 people who voted in a telephone poll conducted by The Star's sister newspaper, the Sowetan, last week, 630 gave a resounding "yes" to President de Klerk's request to continue the reform process he started on February 2 1990.

Even some of those who voted "no" appeared to support the referendum. However, most of those saying "no" said they wanted the CP to win because the struggle would then be intensified and true democracy at-

tained. They said Mr de Klerk's reforms would not give blacks true freedom.

Philemon Thulare from the East Rand said he was against the referendum because apartheid must be "totally eradicated and not reformed". He said Mr de Klerk's reforms were insignificant as they could still be vetoed by whites. They were aimed at power-sharing instead of the transfer of power to the majority.

Most "yes" voters said they did not want the CP in power.

Violence, they said, would

escalate while they wanted it stopped. S J Mashilo from Pretoria said if the vote was "no", "we would go back to the Dark Ages. Everybody wants to move forward."

Yusuf Salojee supported the process of negotiation and said he wanted to stress that whites had no right to any veto because they were in the minority.

Norman Kgomo said he approved of Mr de Klerk's continuation of the reform process as it had done a lot for blacks.

(Report by M Pela, 61 Commando Road, Industria)

De Klerk on 'whistle stop' tour of Boland

30411
Aug 28/92

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff
PUBLIC meetings addressed by political leaders and a walkabout tour in the Boland by President De Klerk signal the start today of a short but intensive referendum campaign.

Mr De Klerk is doing on an American-style "whistle stop" tour, starting in Stellenbosch with a short lunchtime meeting. He will walk through the streets of the town and visit four university hostels.

He will have lunch in the cafeteria at the Langenhoven student union building.

This afternoon he will visit Parel Vallei farm at Noorder Paarl before going on to hostels at the Boland Teachers' College and the Huguenot College in Wellington.

At 8pm he addresses a one-hour meeting in the Cape Town City Hall with Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer.

The president will make about

85 stops in 31 country, town and city areas in 10 days of campaigning.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will address a meeting in Worcester tonight.

He is expected to deal with an incident in Pretoria yesterday when he walked out of a Ned Geref Kerk service after the minister referred to the referendum.

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



ANDRIES TREURNICHT



NELSON MANDELA



LUCAS MANGOPE

Demand for federalism

Sowetan 2/3/92

3044

SOUTH Africa may soon see the emergence of an alliance based on the demand for a federal or strong variant of regional government, according to an article in the latest issue of *Barometer* magazine.

"Indications are that such an informal alliance would initially include the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"But latent support for this type of government will swell the alliance's ranks to include eventually the leaders of most of the self-governing and independent states as well as the Democratic Party and the National Party."

The magazine believed the Government itself would initially adopt a neutral attitude towards such an alliance, primarily to

The launch of Codesa has seen the growth of alliances across the political spectrum, and between political parties inside and outside Codesa. This article focuses on the growing demand for a federal-type settlement.

maintain some manoeuvring space with the African National Congress.

In an interview with *Barometer*, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was becoming clear that there were strong political players on the South African scene who sympathised with his party's beliefs about self-determination, and who did not rule out an alliance.

"What is important from his statement is the fact that there appear to be numerous parties with common ground without formally engaging in talks to find mutual agreement, as was the case with the now defunct Patriotic Front," the magazine said.

Barometer had established that strong support for a federal type of government would be forthcoming from Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and OwaQwa.

"These states view Codesa as a forum to promote this aim and at this stage are not prepared to join any alliance, albeit one which is loosely structured."

The magazine said *New Nation* newspaper, which was editorially closely aligned with the ANC, in a recent issue warned that the liberation movement should be careful that the Government and its allies at Codesa

did not put on the table any constitutional issues except a few constitutional principles.

"This can indicate growing concern in ANC circles concerning this issue and may also explain Nelson Mandela's visit to Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana," the magazine said.

"The ANC has in the past viewed the reincorporation of self-governing and independent states into South Africa as a mere formality and this new dynamic in the political process may have caught them off guard.

"This natural upsurge in the broader question of self-determination is an important development which took the Government - who backed off on its initial demands for the protection of group rights - by surprise." - *Sapa*.

English should be chief language in new SA, academy proposes

STIR 21/3/92 (304A)
The English Academy of Southern Africa has proposed that English should be the main language of wider communication in SA "with the other 10 important languages of the country having varying kinds of secondary status".

Explaining the proposal, which was submitted to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, academy president Professor Elwyn Jenkins said in a statement that the only practicable solution was to make one language the language of wider communication.

"The other languages should all have official status at various levels of public life, in various circumstances, and possibly on a geographical basis. It should be laid

down in broad terms in the constitution and spelt out in more detail in corresponding legislation.

"The exact nature of requirements for multilingual use such as parallel use or the provision of translation should also be spelt out," Professor Jenkins said.

Although it was desirable that all 11 languages normally recognised as the main languages spoken in SA should have equal status, this was not practicable.

The only practicable form of English that could be adopted for official usage in SA was standard British English.

"There is no standard South African English at present. The purpose of having a standard is not

to prevent long-term changes in language, which are inevitable. A standard regional variety may well one day emerge."

Professor Jenkins said the academy had requested delegates to Codesa to give attention to language clauses in the constitution.

Detailed research into patterns of language use and people's attitudes to language were necessary and language specialists should be consulted.

"Language rights should be individual rights guaranteed by a bill of rights as proposed by the Law Commission. The Government should be obliged to protect and promote the languages of the country." — Sapa.

Mandela calls for more foreign pressure on Govt

STAR 2/3/92

304A

AMSTERDAM — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, writing in a Dutch daily newspaper on Saturday, has urged foreign sympathisers to exert pressure on the South African Government to establish an interim government.

He said in an article in *De Volkskrant* that President de Klerk was mistaken in allowing the March 17 whites-only referendum.

"By calling for this referendum, (President) de Klerk is showing he does not see himself as leader of the entire South African population, but only as leader of the 15 percent who are white."

He said the right wing was strong, full of self-confidence and growing.

"Since the elections, the right wing has gained a greater percentage vote at each by-election. Before the general election in 1989, the governing National Party held 40 parliamentary seats in the Orange Free State. Now, 30 of these are in the hands of the Conservative Party, which has openly indicated it wants to reinstitute apartheid and have me back in jail," Mr Mandela wrote.

Mr Mandela said the ANC agreed that the trade embargo and financial sanctions should be lifted as soon as a representative interim gov-

ernment was installed.

He said the ANC would hold an economic conference next month to review its nationalisation policy.

"Because we know economic advancement is not possible without the business world, we have asked South African businessmen to design an alternative to nationalisation which also would lead to a correction of economic apartheid.

"I wish to emphasise we are open to all suggestions in this regard. Our ideal is a mixed economy in which government interference would be no greater than that in Italy, France or Germany." — Sapa.

Dice loaded in FW's favour

STAR 2/3/92

304A

PATRICK LAURENCE
analyses the pending referendum in the context of South Africa's 1960 and 1983 referendums.

POLITICIANS, the aphorism has it, never call referendums unless they are sure of winning them. A seasoned politician like President FW de Klerk is no exception.

Two of Mr de Klerk's predecessors, Hendrik Verwoerd and P W Botha, called and won referendums, Dr Verwoerd narrowly and Mr Botha decisively.

Dr Verwoerd won the 1960 referendum, in which white voters gave him a mandate to establish a republic, by the narrowest of margins, winning 52 percent of the votes cast against 47,5 percent for those opposed.

The victory in the 1960 referendum was finely calibrated. The National Party was reported to have employed actuaries to calculate the balance of power between itself and its opponents before committing itself to the referendum.

It needed to do so. If account is taken of 20 uncontested seats, the opposition United Party (UP), formed by General Jan Smuts, almost certainly had a slight edge on the NP.

It had the support of just more than half of the white electorate against just under 50 percent for the NP.

But, as Professor Kenneth Heard records in his definitive study of South African elections between 1943 and 1970: "The flow of opinion was plainly still running strong in favour of the NP."

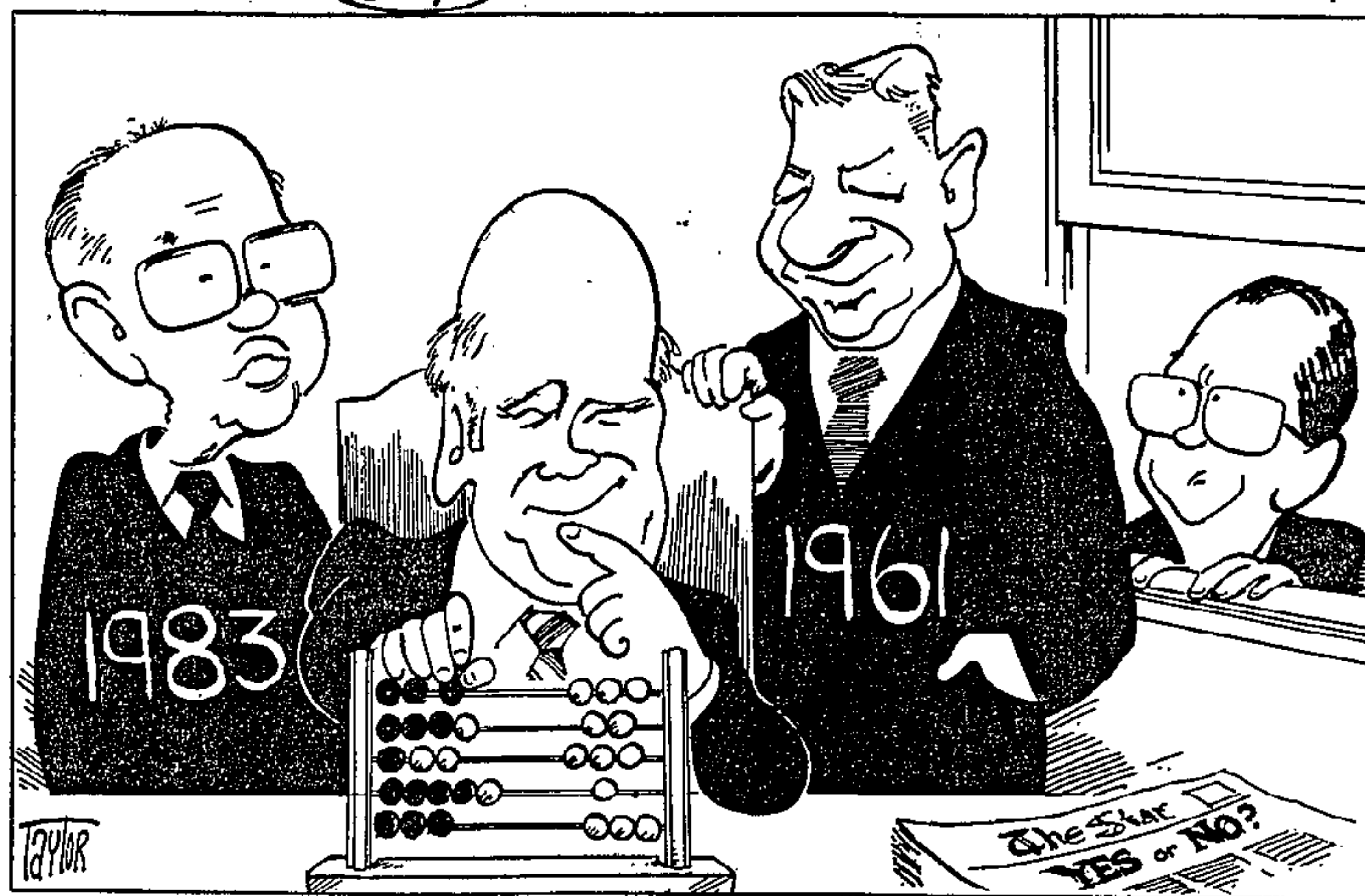
Between 1953 and 1958, Professor Heard adds, the UP majority in votes, but not seats, had narrowed from 10 percent to 1,5 percent.

Dr Verwoerd, however, left little to chance.

He took three steps to ensure victory in the 1960 referendum.

He reduced the qualifying age for the vote from 21 to 18, a move which benefited the NP more than its opponents; he disqualified coloured voters from eligibility to vote in the referendum, thus depriving the opposition of a bloc of votes; and he announced that white voters in South West Africa (Namibia), where the NP was the dominant party, could vote.

Mr Botha faced a much easier task when he asked white voters to approve the present tri-racial constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians in the 1983 referendum.



The NP had recorded smashing election victories in 1977 and again in 1983; it had pulverised the opposition, caused the disintegration of the UP, and won more than two-thirds of the seats in Parliament and a clear majority of the vote.

There were warning signs in 1983: the steady rise of the liberally oriented Progressive Federal Party and, more ominously, the formation in 1982 of the Conservative Party by right-wing dissidents in the NP. At the time, however, they were mere specks on the horizon.

Strong position

Mr Botha won the referendum handsomely. He was able to persuade rank-and-file members of the PFP and, just as importantly, some of its capitalist backers that a new constitution, by providing a niche in Parliament for representatives of the coloured and Indian communities, was "a move in the right direction".

Mr Botha's triumph is reflected in the result: in a 76 percent poll, the "yes" vote was just under 66 percent against a just over 33 percent "no" vote.

Mr de Klerk is in a similarly strong position.

While the CP has grown to a formidable force in the white community, he has won over a major chunk of the traditional liberal constituency from the Democratic Party heir to the old PFP.

More than that, he can rely on the support of the DP per se which, like his NP, is a pro-settlement party, and on the vir-

tually unanimous backing of big business and all the important opinion-forming media.

Mr de Klerk has shrewdly put the CP at a tactical disadvantage by forcing it into a trial of strength on a terrain and at a time of his choosing: the March 17 referendum.

The CP would have preferred to contest President de Klerk's claim to represent the majority of South Africa's whites in a general election for the dominant white chamber in the present tri-racial constitution. Its preference is based on two cogent reasons.

First, it is possible for a party to win a general election — but not a referendum — on less than 50 percent of the total vote. While the CP has made impressive gains since the general election of 1989, it does not yet represent a majority of whites.

Second, general elections are fought on a constituency basis and the CP's organisational machine is built on constituencies. As its string of by-election successes shows, the CP is literally and metaphorically streets ahead of Mr de Klerk's NP.

As Professor Heard records, the NP came to power in 1948 after winning less than 42 percent of the votes cast against more than 51 percent for the UP and its allies.

Today, however, the wheel has turned: it is the CP which stands to gain from the "loading and unloading" of constituencies.

Significantly, to quote the political analyst and psephologist,

Harry Laurie, the CP share of the white vote stands at about 43 percent or a shade more than the share which brought the NP to power in 1948.

In summary, the pertinent electoral figures are these: in the 1989 general election the CP share of the vote was 32 percent (against 48 percent for the NP); in the by-elections since then the average swing to the CP has been about 12 percent (although in three by-elections it was 15 percent or enough to give the CP an outright victory in a general election).

In the pending referendum, however, the dice are loaded against the CP.

Combined forces

The NP and the DP, which won a combined total of 68 percent of the vote in the 1989 general election, will not be divided against one another. Instead they will combine to form one pro-settlement, anti-CP bloc.

The CP, Mr Laurie estimates, is the biggest single party in the white community.

But it is unlikely to be able to triumph against the combined pro-settlement forces.

There is one proviso to that prediction: if the CP persuades whites that the real question is not whether they support Mr de Klerk's quest for a negotiated settlement (to paraphrase the actual referendum question) but whether they want to be governed by Nelson Mandela's ANC and Chris Hani's South African Communist Party, then the result could be very close. □

(Report by Patrick Laurence, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Call for English to be the main language

Sowetan 2/3/92
THE English Academy of Southern Africa has proposed that English should be the main language of wider communication in South Africa "with the other 10 important languages of the country having varying kinds of secondary status". *Sowetan 2/3/92*

Explaining the proposal, which was submitted to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Academy president Professor Elwyn Jenkins said in a statement the only practicable solution was to make one language the language of wider communication.

"The other languages should all have official status at various levels of public life, in various circumstances, and possibly on a geographical basis.

"It should be laid down in broad terms in the constitution and spelled out in more detail in corresponding legislation.

Multi-lingual

"The exact nature of requirements for multi-lingual use such as parallel use or the provision of translation should also be spelled out," Jenkins said.

Although it was desirable that all 11 languages normally recognised as the main languages spoken in South Africa should have equal status, this was not practicable.

He added that the only practicable form of English that could be adopted for official usage in South Africa was standard British English.

"There is no standard South African English at present.

"The purpose of having a standard is not to prevent long-term changes in language, which are inevitable.

"A standard regional variety may well one day emerge."

Constitution

Jenkins said the Academy has requested delegates to Codesa to give attention to language clauses in the constitution.

Detailed research into patterns of language use and people's attitudes to language were necessary and language specialists should be consulted.

"Language rights should be individual rights guaranteed by a Bill of Rights as proposed by the Law Commission.

"The government should be obliged to protect and promote the languages of the country," Jenkins said. -Sapa.

PAC official jailed

Sowetan 2/3/92

A SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress official was jailed for an effective 18 years by a Zimbabwean High Court judge last week for illicit drug dealing.

Ramudi Michael Maphai, the PAC's deputy chief representative in Zimbabwe, and his Indian accomplice, Chjandrakant Jomnadas Ajmera, were found guilty of smuggling drugs into Zimbabwe last year.

Maphai was caught off-loading the drug consignment at a Harare house.

Azapo 'no' to Codesa

Sowetan 2/3/92

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday restated its unwillingness to take part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and its desire for a socialist economy.

Speaking at an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy conference at the University of the Witwatersrand, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe in-

sisted constitutional negotiations should be at a neutral venue under an independent and impartial mediator.

Because the Government controlled the country's security forces, financial resources, television, radio and newspapers, it was both participant and referee at Codesa. It was therefore pointless to take part. - Sapa.

Why De Klerk will win the referendum

Sowetan 2/3/92

304A

POLITICIANS, the aphorism has it, never call referendums unless they are sure of winning them. A seasoned politician like President FW de Klerk is, one assumes, no exception.

Two of De Klerk's predecessors, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd and President PW Botha, called referendums and won them.

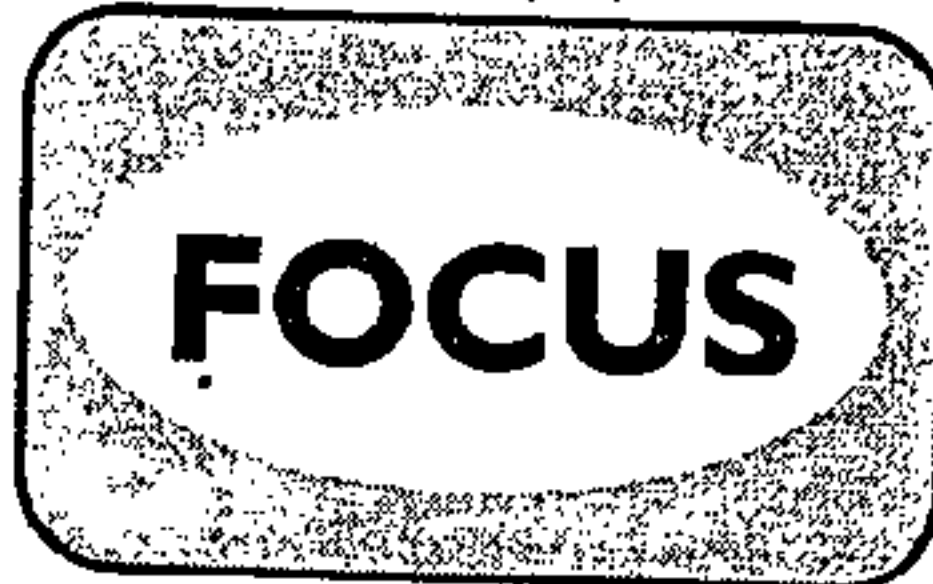
Verwoerd won the 1960 referendum, in which white voters gave him a mandate to establish a republic, by the narrowest of margins. He won 52 percent of the votes cast against 47,5 percent for those opposed to a change to republican status.

The victory in the 1960 referendum was finely calibrated. The ruling National Party was reported to have employed actuaries to calculate the balance of power between itself and its political opponents before committing itself to the referendum.

Verwoerd left little to chance. He took three steps to ensure victory in the 1960 referendum: he reduced the qualifying age for the vote from 21 to 18; he disqualified coloured voters thus depriving the opposition of a bloc of votes; and he announced that white voters in South West Africa, where the NP was the dominant party, could vote.

Botha faced a much easier task when he asked white voters to approve the present triracial constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians in the 1983 referendum.

There were warning signs in 1983: the steady rise of the liberally orientated Progressive Federal Party and, more ominously, the formation in 1982 of the Con-



Sowetan Correspondent
PATRICK LAURENCE
analyses the pending referendum in the context of South Africa's 1960 and 1983 referendums.

servative Party.

Botha won the referendum handsomely. He was able to persuade rank and file members of the PFP and some of its capitalist backers that a new constitution, by providing a niche in Parliament for representatives of the coloured and Indian communities, was "a move in the right direction".

Strong

Botha's triumph is reflected in the result: in a 76 percent poll the "yes" vote was just under 66 percent against barely over 33 percent of the "no" vote.

De Klerk is in a similarly strong position. While the CP has grown to a formidable force in the white community, he has won over a major chunk of the traditional liberal constituency from the Democratic Party.

More than that, he can rely on the support of the DP per se which, like his NP, is a pro-settlement party, on the virtual unanimous backing of big business and all the important opinion-forming media

institutions.

De Klerk has shrewdly put the CP at a tactical disadvantage by forcing it into a trial of strength on a terrain and at a time of his choosing.

The CP would have preferred to contest De Klerk's claim to represent the majority of South Africa's whites in a general election for the dominant white chamber in the present triracial constitution. Its preference is based on two cogent reasons.

First, it is possible for a party to win a general election - but not a referendum - on a less than 50 percent of the total vote. While the CP has made impressive gains since the general election of 1989, it does not yet represent a majority of whites.

Second, general elections are fought on a constituency basis and CP's organisational machine is built on constituencies. As its string of by-election successes shows, the CP is literally and metaphorically streets ahead of the NP.

On the first point it should be noted that South Africa's electoral law contains two core elements: it provides for a theoretical quota of voters per constituency (obtained by dividing the number of seats into the number of registered voters) and it empowers electoral officials to increase or decrease the number of voters per constituency by up to 15 percent of the quota.

In practice rural or semi-rural constituencies have had less than the quota while urban constituencies have had more than the quota.

It is one reason why political parties drawing a major propor-

tion of their supporters from rural areas have been able to win general elections on a minority of votes.

Today, however, the wheel has turned: it is the CP which stands to gain from the "loading and unloading" of constituencies. Significantly, to quote the political analyst and psephologist, Mr Harry Laurie, the CP share of the white vote stands at about 43 percent or a shade more than the share which brought the NP to power in 1948.

In summary, the pertinent electoral figures are these: in the 1989 general election the CP share of the vote was 32 percent (against 48 percent for the NP); in the by-elections since then the average swing to the CP has been about 12 percent (although in three by-elections it was 15 percent or enough to give the CP an outright victory in a general election).

In the pending referendum, however, the dice is loaded against the CP. The NP and the DP, which won a combined total of 68 percent of the vote in the 1989 general election, will not be divided against each other.

The CP, Mr Laurie estimates, is the biggest single party in the white community. But it is unlikely to be able to triumph against the combined pro-settlement forces.

There is one proviso to that prediction: if the CP persuades whites that the real question is not whether they support De Klerk's quest for a negotiated settlement but whether they want to be governed by Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC and Mr Chris Hani's SACP, then the result could be very close.

Big 'yes' for FW in Sowetan poll

Sowetan 2/3/92 **304A**

OF the 727 people who voted in our "referendum", 630 gave a resounding "yes" to President FW de Klerk's request to continue the reform process he started on February 2 1990.

This was in response to our announcement last week when we asked all those who wanted to register their views to phone in to two numbers; one was for a "yes" vote and the other for "no".

The voting was from Monday night to Friday. Even some of those who voted "no" appeared to support the referendum for they said it was delaying the peace process.

However, most of the "no" voters said they wanted the CP to win because the struggle would then be intensified and true democracy attained. They said De Klerk's reforms would not give blacks true freedom.

Philemon Thulare from the East Rand said he is against the referendum because apartheid must be "totally eradicated and not reformed".

He also said the reforms were insignificant as they could still be vetoed by whites. He also said

Sowetan Reporter

they were aimed at power sharing instead of the transfer of power to the majority.

Most "yes" votes said they did not want the CP in power. Violence, they said, would escalate while they wanted it stopped.

Mr SJ Mashilo from Pretoria said if the vote was "no" we would go back to the dark ages. "Everybody wants to move forward," he said.

Mr Yusuf Salojee supported the process of negotiation and said he wanted to stress that whites had no right to any veto because they were in the minority.

One caller said it was due to the reform process that South Africa could play in world sporting events. "If the CP got into power we would go back to the old isolation," he said.

Mr Norman Kgomo said he approved of De Klerk's continuation of the reform process as it had done a lot for blacks.

(Report by Mokgadi Pela, 61 Commando Road, Industria)

●More Sowetan phone services on page 14.

City councils want to be heard at Codesa

304A
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Town and Durban city councils are lobbying for local government structures to be included on Codesa's agenda.

The Cape Town City Council submitted a working document on local government options to Codesa on Friday to stimulate debate, and is pushing for local government representation at the talks.

The council's working document deals with the options available for metropolitan boundaries, the structure of local government, the provision of services, finance and the system of voting.

Cape Town deputy mayor Clive Keegan said at a news conference on Friday that the voice of organised local government should be heard at Codesa.

"It seems to me that you cannot discuss a new constitution at Codesa without discussing a structure for local government," he said. Alternatively, Keegan suggested a parallel working committee of Codesa be established to discuss local government.

Talks between local political and civic bodies about a metropolitan government for greater Cape Town have failed to get off the ground for a number of reasons, one of which has been the demand by the ANC that a constituent assembly decide the issue of local government structures. 16/04/92

Keegan cited other reasons for the failure of local talks taking place as being the difficulty of finding negotiating partners; the great fragmentation of local government in greater Cape Town, which has a total of 74 local government bodies; and the deeply divided extra-parliamentary community which lacked high calibre local leadership and had a desperate lack of negotiating skills and resources. Furthermore, there was a deeply embedded tradition of boycott and non-cooperation in the western Cape.

The council's special task force on metropolitan restructuring has so far prepared two working papers on metropolitan restructuring. The latest report was approved by council last week and over the next month ways of promoting the process of local negotiation will be looked at.

DP to campaign independently (304A)

B. Paddy 2/3/92
BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — While the DP has agreed to co-operate with the NP at various levels, it would also run its own distinctive and independent campaign for a "yes vote", national council chairman David Gant said at the weekend.

The council met on Friday and decided on a plan to mobilise maximum support for an affirmative vote, that will include posters, pamphlets, and a series of public meetings. The DP would concentrate its efforts in constituencies where it won seats in the 1989 election, but party leader Zach de Beer will campaign nationwide.

There was a good case for logistical co-operation with the NP, Gant said. The run-up period was short and door-to-door canvassing would be minimised. In order to use resources to the full, DP regional structures were working with their NP counterparts to ensure voters were not approached twice.

There has been some tension between the NP and the DP over the NP personalising the campaign around President F W de Klerk. De Beer and De Klerk launch the joint campaign tonight in Cape Town when they share a platform at the city hall.

De Klerk will combine informal visits to university hostels, wine farms and old age homes with high profile public speaking engagements. The other major NP draw-card, especially in the Transvaal, is visits by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to tough constituencies to hold public meetings.

● Comment: Page 12

'No' vote an 'economic crisis'

CAPE TOWN — The equity market will probably be pushed to new highs by a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum, Board of Executors senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says in the latest Economic Outlook. (304A) (21)

Significant support for the negotiation process would remove a major source of uncertainty, boost domestic and foreign investor confidence and enhance the probability of a fast and sustained economic upswing over the next three years or more. Growth rates as high as 4-5% a year were possible. Biday 2/3/92

A "no" vote, bringing with it sanctions and a massive flight of capital and skills, would be economically devastating and would result in a dramatic fall in the equity market. A narrow "yes" vote would have confusing implications for the market.

Lee expected a cut in bank rate within the next few weeks, probably after the referendum and the Budget.

He said the short term economic outlook had deteriorated as a result of the drought, the delayed world economic upswing and inflation.

LINDA ENSOR

"Present estimates suggest that the impact of the drought will be to reduce GDP growth by 0.5% or more, increase inflation by 0.5%-1% and reduce the trade surplus by about R2.5bn."

Lee said longer term economic prospects had been strengthened by strong indications that IMF support would be available to SA.

"The remarkable progress being made within the Codesa negotiation process, plus a forthcoming Budget that looks set to cut spending and boost investment are also positive for the longer term outlook," he said.

"This has very positive long-term implications, and makes one more comfortable about the still relatively high fiscal deficit (about 4.5% of GDP) that is likely to eventuate."

Lee expected a generalised world upswing to develop by year-end with equity markets, except the Japanese, being kept bullish for most of the year by falling interest rates and inflation.

We'll take up arms again, says Sisulu

BONN — The ANC will renew its armed struggle if a government of the extreme right takes power in the event the March 17 referendum seeking support for dismantling apartheid fails, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu says.

In an interview with the German magazine Der Spiegel, Sisulu said if President F W de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement, "then we could have a gov-

ernment of the extreme right which would reintroduce apartheid".

In such a case, he said, "we would fight such a regime just as we have fought the government, just as long as it did not commit itself to ... reform".

Sisulu also evoked the possibility of a coup staged by the extreme right.

"We are living in a crazy country and I can't rule out that some madmen might make such an insane at-

tempt," he said.

On the ANC's rejection of the principle of a referendum, Sisulu said it would never accept a veto, and would follow the road to democracy through peaceful negotiations.

He called on "all reasonable whites" to vote "yes" to stop right-wing extremists from making SA go back.

"Every vote for the right is a vote for chaos and ruin," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

Chartwell will be voting 'yes'

810 am 213/42

304A

LEIGH, a Chartwell housewife, snips irritably at the edge of her lawn with a pair of black garden shears. "Well, I suppose I'll be voting 'yes' in the referendum," she says. "If we vote 'no', we'll all be branded racists again."

Leigh is in her mid-thirties, and spends most of her time at home, barricaded behind two rows of spiked iron railings, scattered armed security warning signs and three small but loud dogs.

Leigh says she resents the way the media turned the recent controversy over a group of several thousand squatters, camped on the Zevenfontein farm next to Chartwell, into what she calls a racial issue.

The squatter problem, she says, is an inevitable consequence of the end of apartheid. But when Chartwell residents protested at having squatters "dumped" on their doorsteps, it didn't necessarily mean they were advocating a return to apartheid.

"What happened before was evil, and I would never vote to return to it — even if the CP could reconstruct apartheid, which it can't."

The mood is reflected by other residents in the quiet, sprawling suburb.

Most of the sounds in Chartwell are of dogs barking, but there is life behind the forbidding gates and long front gardens.

Most residents said they agreed with the essence of President F W de Klerk's reforms, but that specific problems during the transition, like the squatter question and associated security problems, needed to be addressed more carefully.

But was it not inconsistent to vote to support the end of apartheid's racial boundaries on the one hand, and to complain about poor black people moving in nearby on the other?

Several residents replied that the majority of Chartwell residents had not campaigned against the Zevenfontein squatters because they were black, but because they were poor

REFERENDUM

The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day will be taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country. We start the series today with a look at Chartwell, near Johannesburg — an affluent, predominantly white area which has been at the centre of a controversy over the nearby Zevenfontein squatter camp. **DARIUS SANAI** reports.

and uneducated — that their arguments against the squatters were supposedly "class-based and not racially motivated".

These people, they said, would be voting "yes". It was the minority of blatant racists who would vote "no".

Lance, a local estate agent, said all Chartwell residents were worried about crime. "Do you think we like living in fortresses with howling dogs?" But, he said a "no" vote would not stop crime.

"A 'no' vote would bring the CP to power, but they won't stop crime. Oh, sure, they'll impose a short-term military solution, but that's not a solution at all, because there'll be a civil war soon afterwards."

Lance says he voted NP in the last general election, and would do so again. He says he agrees with the path De Klerk has taken.

"The only way for SA to get anywhere is through negotiations."

"To stop them now would be to step back goodness knows how many years."

Johan was fiddling with the clutch cable on his Volkswagen Jetta when I accosted him. Unlike Leigh, he opened his gates, restrained his dogs and invited me in to talk.

A researcher with a large mining house, Johan says he voted DP in the last election, and, despite what he calls "a significant shift to the right in my feelings", would definitely vote "yes" in the referendum.

"What the government is doing is a good thing," Johan says. "But there is much accompanying uncertainty, particularly about security."

Johan says his job takes him away for long periods, and he gets very concerned about the safety of his wife and small child when he is away.

Did he not blame government policies for the recent rise in crime rate?

"Oh yes, I'm sure the CP would get security right," he says with a wry smile.

"I have no doubt about that. But what would happen then? The sanctions would mean economic suicide."

"And 25-million blacks have smelled freedom. What does the CP propose to do with them? Shift them to homelands?"

"It would be an impossible situation."

He then articulates an emotion, a reason for his intention to vote "yes", which the other Chartwell residents, all white, reasonably affluent and English speaking, have only hinted at.

"Look, besides everything else, even if we do have to put up security gates and carry guns — isn't it time we gave the black people a chance?"

Farmer's union upset by business stance

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The right-leaning Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) has deplored fund-raising campaigns by business organisations for a "yes" vote.

A TAU spokesman said at the weekend that the TAU was disappointed that some financial institutions were involved in collecting substantial funds to market a certain political direction in the coming referendum. **610 am 213/42**

This "insensitive action" came at a time when organised agriculture was establishing an emergency fund to provide drought-distressed farmers and their workers with basic necessities.

The TAU appealed to all financial institutions, church organisations and sports bodies not to allow themselves to be involved in public and financial support for the furthering of specific political directions. "This shocking action by certain financial institutions ought to be stopped immediately," it said.

Meanwhile, SHARON WOOD reports that SA World Cup cricket viewers will be urged to vote "yes" in the forthcoming referendum when faced with Private Sector Referendum Fund advertising at the matches in Australia and New Zealand.

In what they said was a major coup, the Private Sector Referendum Fund had managed to secure advertising space at three of SA's World Cup cricket matches, fund joint chairman Chris van Wyk said at the weekend. The advertising would appear at the matches between SA and Sri Lanka, West Indies and Zimbabwe.

The fund, launched early last week to promote a "yes" vote, had been inundated with offers of financial support from all sectors of the business world. It had received about R1,8m by Friday, said the fund's joint chairmen Van Wyk and George Thomas.

"The response has been overwhelming. We have had offers of assistance from all kinds of businesses, ranging from communication companies to printing concerns and finance houses," Van Wyk said.

At the weekend the Private Sector Referendum Fund and the National Party advertised extensively on M-Net and took up full page advertisements in the Sunday Press.

AWB 'spells trouble for CP'

B/Dag 2/3/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The alliance between the CP and AWB, formalised on Saturday, posed serious short- and long-term problems for the CP, UCT political scientist Robert Schrire said yesterday.

He noted that in past elections the CP had been at pains to keep the AWB at arm's length, and had publicly rejected the organisation's war talk and methods.

The AWB axis of the alliance was a two-edged sword that might secure the votes of the hard right, but was far more likely to alienate doubtful white voters who would not easily want to associate themselves with the AWB, its image of blatant racism and its willingness to achieve its objectives through violence.

The other immediate problem was the

very strong position taken by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in rejecting participation in the referendum, and then changing his stance.

The referendum question was clever in that President F W de Klerk had ruled out a purely protest vote and the CP had to prove itself as a credible future government in waiting.

"Drawing in the AWB with the image it has works against this, and I believe the CP will take a heavy blow through this close alliance with Terre'Blanche."

Should the CP lose the referendum, it would be under pressure to join the AWB in

□ To Page 2

AWB alliance

B/Dag 2/3/92

(304A)

□ From Page 1

extra-constitutional activities and would not be able to distance itself from the hard right, Schrire said. The alliance with the AWB and the HNP caused further problems for the CP and would assist in driving deeper a wedge between the pro- and anti-negotiation factions within the party.

CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar and maverick Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, who led the caucus in overthrowing the party executive's decision to boycott the referendum, have been going to great lengths the past week to portray the CP as non-racist and reforming.

There was little chance of this picture

being accepted by the "doubtfuls" who could not reconcile it with the obvious hardline racist positions of Terre'Blanche and HNP leader Jaap Marais.

There has been strong speculation in CP ranks, as well as outside the party, that should it lose the referendum convincingly, it was likely to split, with the more liberal faction joining Codesa while the hardliners joined the far right.

Observers said the only other scenario was that, if the party managed to stick together after a heavy loss, it could formally join negotiations, claiming it had misread the mind of its constituency.



Pattern of
Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME

(364A)
CT 2/3/92

Most voters clearly prefer a negotiated SA solution

FOR the first time, white South Africans will vote in a referendum for a process rather than a new State form or constitution.

A process is of course an abstract, even obscure thing. Much more than in 1960 or 1983 voters will have sharply contrasting views about what they are voting for. Let us see if we can disentangle the process somewhat.

The first and the most tangible part of it is the negotiations taking place in Codesa and other forums. People will be asked to pass an opinion on whether negotiations are the most suitable way (rather than, say, violence) of resolving conflict.

Survey

About this issue there is clarity. Several surveys have found that the vast majority of South African whites, like blacks, prefer negotiations to violence as a way of settling our conflict. Particularly significant is a study of white elites in the world of business, politics and the civil service.

It was undertaken by the Centre for SA Politics in late 1989 — even before the ANC was unbanned.

It found that 88% believed the conflict could be solved by way of

negotiations while only 1.8% were sure that violence could bring a solution. A full two-thirds of the Conservative Party/Herstigte Nasionale Party respondents supported negotiations against more than 90% of respondents for the NP and DP. More than 60% of the CP/HNP supporters indicated that they did not consider violence as an acceptable alternative to negotiations.

Law-abiding

Although it must be borne in mind that this study was restricted to elites it confirms impressionistic evidence that a considerable segment of the CP supporters detest the idea of violence and vigilantism. They want to be *ordentlik*, seeing themselves as law-abiding people who would not take action without legal backing. Once violence is ruled out only negotiations remain. I believe the CP will get a thorough thrashing in the referendum simply because it does not propose a credible process as an alternative to that of the NP/DP.

The second element of the process is the establishment of a new central government that could provide a new base for political stability and economic growth.

This part of the process is still blurred despite all the talk of an increasing convergence of NP and ANC positions.

The NP still believes that it can tie any majority party down through a constitution which imposes power-sharing and the unspoken assumption that the military will intervene as soon as the letter or spirit of the constitution is violated. Cynics may criticise the NP's proposal on the grounds that it makes hard-fought elections superfluous for there is very little difference between the spoils of the party winning the election and the one coming second.

Achilles heel

Now this may be what the great majority of Yes voters in the referendum would be happy to assume. However, they need to take into account that the NP's electoral strategy may be the Achilles heel of its game plan. The whole idea of a NP-Inkatha alliance seems considerably less credible than a year ago. On its own the NP does not seem to be able to gather any significant support from Africans.

Indeed the NP's electoral machinery, headed by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, seems totally inadequate as a vote-catching machine. Had the NP been serious about successfully competing in future inclusive elections it would have appointed at least 10 non-Afrikaner secretaries and Africanised Dr Van der Merwe's post.

ANC clout

One possible explanation is that the NP does not really envisage actually fighting the ANC in the future. According to this interpretation the NP and ANC are actually fighting this referendum together



STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE: To compete in elections NP should have Africanised his post.

and will formally do so in the first post-apartheid election.

But this scenario is not very likely unless the ANC act out of considerations which are not apparent at this stage. The ANC is assured of winning at least 60% of the votes in a future election. This will give it enormous clout when the tough bargaining takes place in the constituent assembly.

The potential for conflict will considerably increase if the NP, with the support of only 20% of the voters behind it, makes demands which will be seen as quite disproportionate to its electoral strength. It is on this issue that the NP should be closely questioned in the referendum campaign.

The third element in the process is the potential dismantling of the highly centralised state in favour of a constitutionally-protected regional devolution of power. Here the NP has, according to all accounts, been getting its way and a strong Yes vote will be a resounding endorsement of this process.

Regions

Ultimately regionalisation (if one is to avoid the F-word) may be more important than the elaborate attempts to construct a power-sharing system.

South Africa is in fact comprised of two large regions, a Western, non-African one and an eastern, African one. Seen from a very long perspective the Great Trek may soon come to be seen as an over-extension of the white/Coloured base. From this perspective the only real question is this: how orderly can the retreat to the home base be?

But even if it is messy there can be little doubt that in the next decade to come the two western federal regions will unofficially become the home base of the non-African part of the population. If the power-sharing arrangements in the centre does not work out investment and skills may steadily flow to these southern federal regions.

Nevertheless, despite the doubts, a strong Yes vote is called for. If confronted with a possible disaster and a definite disaster (the consequences of a No vote) the choice must always be the former. And who knows, the forced marriage of the NP and the ANC may still work out much better than one could hope for.

□ Professor Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.

From the black Press

YOUTH had come a long way since it was born in 1987, "but just when we've got here, the granite faces in the Conservative Party want to blast South Africa back into the stone ages", the editor, Guy Berger, wrote in the editorial.

"We still have faith in the promise of a new society. We're celebrating our birthday and refusing to let Dr Botha spoil our pleasure at a new-look South."

"In this edition, we're reaching new readers. And for those who think this was a political propaganda piece, this edition will prove that wrong."

□□□

Inued: "South has been in the government for 12 years. In 1988, we published figures. We were months."

"Now, many of the ideals we've become an accepted African society. Taxi drivers notwithstanding, Mandela is free and a settlement."

□

"Recent years, as we are relaxed, so that original political activity broader audience don't fit in. We're not a nor white,

it directly of the old of what's unities. ends. ts and ill."

□

e,

u

F
v
s
c
r
e
b
t
c
p
r
m
m
m
k
w
g
o
l
n
l
o
b
e
w
l
s
p
l
u
s
w
h
p
o
i
o
n
l
t
o
I
m
e
p
a
r
O
d
e
l
w
e
l

Fro
YOI
trut
cau
mus
toge
TV.
picn
be a
is re
Th
swal
they
W
magi
lem

Re in

From
I AB
Febru
rants.
On
V&A
all ou
ment.
I all
1991, I

Na sca

From
SINCE
lowed
cles co
Peak

As a
me to
appalle
heal th
In Sc
of the N
while n
the imp
of engh
mention
disrupti
tion is
fashion.

Black president in 2 years — Schwarz

WASHINGTON. — South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Mr Harry Schwarz, said he believed his country would have a black president within two or three years — most likely, Mr Nelson Mandela.

(30411)
"I think it will come much sooner than most people believe and I think it will be within a couple of years," he told Cable News Network's "Evans & Novak" programme at the weekend.

Opinion polls showed Mr Mandela to be more popular than Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ET 213192
Therefore, he's the choice," Mr Schwarz said.

CP/AWB link-up 'a blunder'

THE Conservative Party's referendum partnership with the AWB has been seized upon by its political opponents as a serious campaign blunder and political analysts believe it could sway many "doubtfuls" into voting "yes".

But the right-wing party yesterday moved quickly to point out that the National and Democratic parties were also co-operating in their campaign and there was no suggestion of a long-term alliance

with the AWB.

The University of Cape Town's Professor Robert Schrire said yesterday that CP's united front held two immediate dangers for the "no" campaign in the March 17 whites-only poll.

The first was that it would be difficult to woo doubtful voters because of the AWB's image and its previous involvement in violence. He pointed out that AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

was seen as a "wild man" and not credible in many quarters.

The other danger was that the image of CP uncertainty over whether to fight the referendum would be compounded by its link with Mr Terre'Blanche, who initially came out very strongly for a boycott but changed his mind.

Prof Schrire suggested that the CP might have acted too hastily in trying to ensure it harnessed the "hard right" vote.

White protection 'a paradox'

CT 2/3/92

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — While the ANC rejected the notion of an ethnic referendum, it hoped that white South Africans would use this last opportunity to choose wisely and justly, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy conference here, he said there was a sentiment among the white minority that they must be given concrete protection as a group under the constitution, adding that this was a paradox to him.

The ANC was conscious of the need for

nation building and could not embark on the task of reconstruction if a strong minority remained unsettled.

"It is a political duty, virtually a burden of history, to ensure that all our people accept the new constitutional order being created.

"The ANC's approach is an inclusive one which attempts to ensure that far from threatening all that people hold dear — culture, religion and language — the law will not only protect these values but enhance them."

The ANC was the first major political formation to come out in support of proportional representation, a surer way of ensuring minority representation.

● The president of Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said at the conference yesterday that Azapo believed in a "strong, socialist and self-reliant economy" where the ownership of the land, sea and air space were vested in the state. The control of South Africa's wealth could not be left in few hands while the majority lived in poverty. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Battle for crucial Natal English vote

CT 2/3/92 Political Staff (3041A)

THE battle for the crucial Natal referendum vote begins in earnest today as both the Conservative Party and the National Party/Democratic Party partnership launch two weeks of intense campaigning.

Tactics for the fight in the province were thrashed out at a series of meetings over the past few days and the "big push" will start today with door-to-door and telephone canvassing, scores of meetings and a poster blitz.

Ironically, the English vote has been identified by both groups as being crucial to the result of what is essentially a battle for the soul of Afrikanerdom. They point to the fact that the Afrikaans community is already highly polarised and the country's English-speakers hold the key to success in the whites-only poll on March 17.

Natal, with its high concentration of English voters, has been targeted by both the CP and the NP/DP group for special attention.

The CP plans to hold at least 20 public meetings across Natal and anticipates having some 2 000 workers in the field.

The NP and DP will concentrate on many smaller meetings and intense canvassing.

The DP holds 10 of Natal's 20 seats and will therefore play a highly important role.

THE NP's core long-term strategic goal, as again spelt out by President F W de Klerk when announcing the referendum, is a system of power-sharing — but one in which it also holds sufficient influence to ensure that its basic values are preserved. These goals substantially narrow its choices during the country's transition.

Some non-NP figures in the establishment insist that government's task during the transition is to ensure the emergence of a particular sort of society: cementing bargaining relationships with its opponents is, at most, secondary.

This view has surfaced most prominently on economic issues. The Sunday Times has argued that prosperity can be ensured only by tight fiscal discipline and by freeing the economy from limits imposed on it by the NP over the past 43 years.

The NP must, it suggests, implement this new approach regardless of political resistance, in the hope that it may present a new government with a *fait accompli* which might be very hard to undo.

Part of this agenda requires that the NP not compromise on principles of economic management to "buy" co-operation: spending beyond the level of state resources during the transition might ensure poverty after it. "Efficiency" is a far more important priority than the concerns of bargaining partners — so important, it is worth risking conflict.

This approach also implies that the NP should use the transition to establish the institutions, values and principles of the new order. And, since the chief danger of the new order is seen to be the prospect that the new government will seek to wield as much power over citizens' lives as the present one has, the core of this strategy must be an attempt to take key decisions out of the political arena: what power-sharing seeks to subject to political agreement, this strategy seeks to place beyond the politicians and in the hands of the market, the courts or voluntary initiative by the citizenry. Who controls the government is secondary: the limits imposed on it are primary.

NP treads carefully along the tightrope of transition

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

3D4A

BIDM 2/3/92

Some examples of how this might be implemented are handing over control of the security forces to judicial control, in the hope of creating a "tradition" of apolitical security management; or the formulation of clear rules to govern conflicts of interests over issues such as land rights — rules which would submit decisions to clear norms rather than political calculation; or privatising broadcasting.

But, attractive as this option may sound to some outside of government, it is far less appealing to those in it, since the enterprise can be undertaken only at the expense of key aspects of the NP's power-sharing strategy.

Firstly, the NP can seek to limit a future government only by limiting its own power during the transition — and this must inevitably weaken its capacity to secure the power-sharing bargain it seeks.

Two particular issues may illustrate the problem. The NP is committed both to a "leaner civil service" and to devolution of power. The first is seen as a requirement of sound economic management but also implies a reduced role for a majority government in the economy and society. Despite this commitment, the size of the bureaucracy continues to grow, while Cabinet Ministers assure the civil service that the government will guarantee its jobs whatever the outcome of negotiations.

Two issues are at work here. The first is the government's need to retain the confidence of the civil service, not only because this is essential to control during the transition but because it is a significant factor in white electoral politics. The other is that, whatever the aims of NP strategy, centralisation and the role of government may actually increase in a time of transition.

This relates to the second point — devolution. A key NP strategy is to limit majority power by devolving power to local interest groups — it has already sought to give parents control over school admissions and neighbourhoods the power to impose binding standards for their areas. Some NP strategists see devolution as a key guarantor of NP goals in a new order since it will, they hope, allow their constituents to protect their values and lifestyle regardless of who is in power. We should, therefore, expect to see the NP assiduously pursuing devolution during the transition.

On the surface, there has been movement towards this. But the trend is less marked than it seems. In local negotiations, crucial decisions are subject to central government approval; the Transvaal's willingness to transfer some rented township homes to owners, a key ingredi-

ent of a Soweto settlement, was subject to Cabinet approval.

And, in practice, one senior official notes a continued trend towards centralisation of decisions. "It's an instinct rather than a strategy — government believes it is dangerous to let lower levels take their own decisions, since they might mess it up," he says.

Equally importantly, the suggested strategy might imperil the transition itself. Since it demands that the NP unilaterally invent new traditions and then impose them, it would heighten political conflict: it already has — as the VAT conflict demonstrates.

A government which undertook this strategy would have to be strong enough to generate popular support for its initiatives over the heads of the "liberation" movements — and it is not clear why a government that strong would have to elevate power-sharing to its chief objective.

It may come as no surprise, therefore, that NP leaders concede that the strategy is unrealistic. One interviewee who acknowledges a personal preference for fiscal discipline insists that social stability is a more pressing goal: without it, there will be no investment and "turmoil is a far more serious problem than fiscal control". Stability requires negotiation, on economic as on other issues.

A senior economic policy-maker notes, therefore, that a growth strategy will require the consent of orga-

nised labour, which can be gained only through negotiation: to ignore this, he implies, is not only to endanger transition but to make viable economic policy impossible.

Perhaps most importantly of all, an NP MP notes that there is little point in framing clear rules, subject to implementation by a panel of "experts" or judges, unless there is agreement on what the rules are and who the arbiters should be. If decisions are to enjoy respect, he argues, they must be taken by bodies on which a broad range of interests are represented, not by ostensibly "neutral" arbiters: "We are already in a stage where no commission can make credible recommendations unless its composition is negotiated."

The point is crucial: if the NP enjoyed enough legitimacy to impose rules, there would be no need for a negotiated settlement. This holds regardless of the "intrinsic" merits of the rules.

These views suggest that the NP cannot remove decisions from the political arena without endangering the power-sharing settlement it hopes to achieve: it lacks the support and the capacity to restructure a politicised and divided society unilaterally during a period of transition.

But the trade-off works both ways. If the NP ignores substance in favour of process, if it emphasises bargaining at the expense of what is bargained, it may ensure the unworkability of the future; a power-sharing arrangement may be available only on terms making liberty and prosperity unachievable.

That explains why the NP wants both goals — preservation of the future it considers desirable, and power-sharing. It implies also that the NP's goals during the transition must be to pursue both: its concerns cannot be how to pre-empt negotiation but how to secure shared decision-making on the most favourable possible terms.

And that means that the nature of the new society will be shaped as much by the NP's bargaining partners as by the NP itself.

□ This is an edited extract from a paper, *The shapers of the future*, written by the director of the Centre for Policy Studies.

'No' vote an 'economic crisis'

CAPE TOWN — The equity market will probably be pushed to new highs by a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum, Board of Executors senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says in the latest Economic Outlook. (304A) (EP)

Significant support for the negotiation process would remove a major source of uncertainty, boost domestic and foreign investor confidence and enhance the probability of a fast and sustained economic upswing over the next three years or more. Growth rates as high as 4-5% a year were possible. B1000 2/3/92

A "no" vote, bringing with it sanctions and a massive flight of capital and skills, would be economically devastating and would result in a dramatic fall in the equity market. A narrow "yes" vote would have confusing implications for the market.

Lee expected a cut in bank rate within the next few weeks, probably after the referendum and the Budget.

He said the short term economic outlook had deteriorated as a result of the drought, the delayed world economic upswing and inflation.

LINDA ENSOR

"Present estimates suggest that the impact of the drought will be to reduce GDP growth by 0,5% or more, increase inflation by 0,5%-1% and reduce the trade surplus by about R2,5bn."

Lee said longer term economic prospects had been strengthened by strong indications that IMF support would be available to SA.

"The remarkable progress being made within the Codesa negotiation process, plus a forthcoming Budget that looks set to cut spending and boost investment are also positive for the longer term outlook," he said.

"This has very positive long-term implications, and makes one more comfortable about the still relatively high fiscal deficit (about 4,5% of GDP) that is likely to eventuate."

Lee expected a generalised world upswing to develop by year-end with equity markets, except the Japanese, being kept bullish for most of the year by falling interest rates and inflation.

(304H) AUG 23/92

Dutch PM's trip draws criticism from leftwing

THE HAGUE. — The Dutch anti-apartheid movement reacted unfavourably to the government's announcement that Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers would pay an official visit to South Africa on August 10 and 11.

Anti-Apartheid Netherlands (AAN) said it had not yet received confirmation from the African National Congress that it had approved the planned visit.

The AAN also considered the announcement of the visit premature and said the results of the forthcoming referendum should be awaited before a definite decision was made.

Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek, who will accompany Mr Lubbers with Mr Wim Kok, chairman of the Dutch government's coalition partner, said in Brussels yesterday the ANC had been informed and had approved this particular visit.

A planned visit by Mr Lubbers, scheduled for February, had been cancelled after the ANC objected.

Mr van den Broek also said that if President De Klerk lost the whites-only referendum, the visit would be cancelled.

The visit would take place only if the Dutch government could turn it into a public show of support for the democratisation process, he said. — Sapa.

Alarmed whites seek fortification

Staff Reporter 3/3/92

There is a growing feeling of insecurity and pessimism among white South Africans, Markinor research group studies show.

Nearly one in five whites in metropolitan areas built walls, put in burglar alarms, or installed automatic or security gates or spikes last year.

In the Durban and Maritzburg areas, where there have

been sustained periods of heavy unrest, nearly one in three took security measures.

The results of the study released by Markinor were obtained from 1 000 white adults in metropolitan South Africa late last year.

One in 10 people nationwide plan to install security items this year, and over the last two years one-third of the white population has installed, or plans to install, some form of security.

About 29 percent of those in the Durban-Maritzburg region opted for security measures, ahead of the 22 percent of Port Elizabeth and East London, the 18 percent of Cape Town and the 17 percent of the already heavily security-conscious PWV region.

Bloemfontein residents were the least worried about rising crime: only 3 percent installed security precautions in their houses.

Income played a large part, with 29 percent of those earning more than R6 000 a month taking some form of action, probably because they have more assets to protect and the money needed to protect them, said Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson.

The spectre of violence was increasingly dominating the thoughts of white South Africans. While in November 1990, 54 percent of whites felt President F W de Klerk was lead-

ing the country well, only 42 percent still felt this way a year later.

Markinor ascribed the increasing disenchantment with the country's leadership among whites and blacks to the Government's apparent inability to control crime and violence; growing poverty, as well as the Inkatha funding scandal, which undermined the credibility of the Government, particularly among blacks.

There's hope yet for NP-ANC forc

STAR 3/3/92

304

FOR the first time, white South Africans will vote in a referendum for a process rather than a new state form or constitution. A process is of course an abstract, even obscure, thing. Much more than in 1960 or 1983, voters will have sharply contrasting views about what they are voting for.

The first and the most tangible part of it is the negotiations taking place in Codesa and other forums. People will be asked to pass an opinion on whether negotiations are the most suitable way (rather than, say, violence) of resolving conflict.

About this issue there is clarity. Several surveys have found that the majority of South African whites, like blacks, prefer negotiations to violence as a way of settling our conflict.

Particularly significant is a study of white elites in the world of business, politics and the civil service. It was undertaken by the Centre for SA Politics in late 1989,

even before the ANC was unbanned.

It found that 88 percent believed the conflict could be solved by negotiations while only 1,8 percent was sure that violence could succeed.

More than 60 percent of CP/HNP supporters indicated they did not consider violence an acceptable alternative to negotiations.

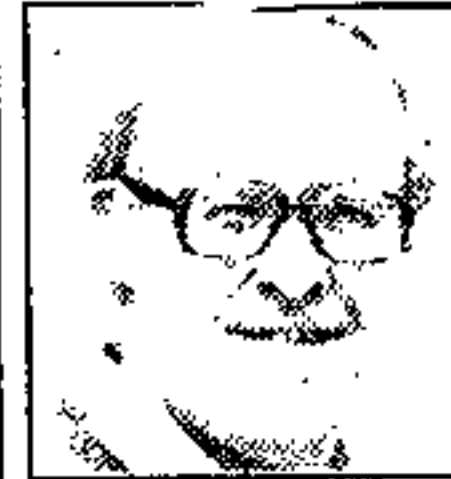
I believe the CP will get a thorough thrashing in the referendum simply because it does not propose a credible process as an alternative to that of the NP/DP.

The second element of the process is the establishment of a new central government that could provide a new base for political stability and economic growth.

The NP still believes that it can tie down any majority party through a constitution which imposes powersharing and the unspoken assumption that the military will intervene as soon as the letter

The Pattern of Politics

HERMANN GILIOMEE



or spirit of the constitution is violated. Cynics may criticise the NP's proposal on the grounds that it makes hard-fought elections superfluous, for there is very little difference between the spoils of the party winning the election and the one coming second.

Now this may be what the great majority of yes voters in the referendum would be happy to assume. However, they need to take into account that the NP's electoral strategy may be the Achilles heel of its game plan. The whole idea of a NP-Inkatha alliance seems considerably less credible than a year ago. On its own the NP does not seem to be able to

gather any significant support from Africans.

Indeed, the NP's electoral machinery headed by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe seems totally inadequate as a vote-catching machine.

One possible explanation is that the NP does not really envisage actually fighting the ANC in the future. According to this interpretation, the NP and ANC are actually fighting this referendum together and will formally do so in the first post-apartheid election.

But this scenario is not very likely unless the ANC acts out of considerations which are not apparent at this stage. The ANC is assured of winning at least 60 percent of the votes in a future election. This will give it enormous clout when the tough bargaining takes place in the constituent assembly.

The potential for conflict will considerably increase if the NP, with the support of only 20 percent of the voters behind it, makes

ed marriage

demands which will be seen as disproportionate to its electoral strengths. It is on this issue that the NP should be closely questioned in the referendum campaign.

The third element in the process is the potential dismantling of the highly centralised state in favour of a constitutionally-protected regional devolution of power. Here the NP has according to all accounts been getting its way and a strong yes vote will be a resounding endorsement of this process.

Ultimately, regionalisation (if one is to avoid the F-word) may be more important than the elaborate attempts to construct a power-sharing system. South Africa is in fact comprised of two large regions, a Western, non-African one and an eastern, African one. Seen from a very long perspective, the Great Trek may soon come to be seen as an over-extension of the

white/coloured base. From this perspective the only real question is this: how orderly can the retreat to the home base be?

But even if it is messy there can be little doubt that in the next decade to come the two Western federal regions will unofficially become the home base of the non-African part of the population. If the power-sharing arrangements in the centre does not work out, investment and skills may steadily flow to these southern federal regions.

Nevertheless, despite the doubts, a strong yes vote is called for. If confronted with a possible disaster and a definite disaster (the consequences of a no vote) the choice must always be the former. And, who knows, the forced marriage of the NP and the ANC may still work out much better than one could hope for. □

● Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.

Flood of ID book applications as Home Affairs

Voter sta

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and Political Staff

AS government officials worked around the clock to process thousands of identity book applications in time for the referendum, the Department of Home Affairs unveiled plans to hasten the counting of votes.

People who have only the new, green identity book — which bears no reference to race — have been urged to report to their nearest Home Affairs office as soon as possible where they will be issued with a certificate to confirm that they are eligible to vote.

The certificate is not obligatory. Voters who do not have it will still be able to vote, but the process of confirming their eligibility on polling day could delay the counting procedure.

The new arrangement was announced as scores of people put in applications for new identity documents.

Spokesman Mr Chris Pretorius said the department was processing up to 9 000 applications a day.

He said scores of immigrants were also applying to be naturalised so that they, too, could vote.

"Our staff has been working over weekends — without being paid overtime — to meet this demand," he said.

Umpteen calls

South Africans who were abroad could vote at South African embassies on March 11 and 12 "so that their votes can reach us early for counting".

The 1820 Settlers Association has had "umpteenth calls" from British permanent residents asking how they could become South African citizens.

National Party and Conservative Party offices have also had calls from immigrants wanting to vote.

"I had a woman who has lived here for 30 years wanting to become naturalised," said NP assistant chief secretary Mr Coetzee Bester.

CP organiser Mr Chris van den Heever said: "Many immigrants — especially from East Bloc countries — have phoned, asking about being naturalised so they can vote against communism."

Mr Gerald Bush of the British Conservatives Abroad said his members were also very interested in the referendum and he sensed most of them would support President De Klerk if they could.

"But they feel their hands are tied in not being able to do so. Nevertheless, there is no sign of British people wanting to become South African citizens. They would rather wait and see what the future looks like," he said.

● Foreign nationals — even if they have identity documents — are not eligible to vote in the March 17 poll. The Department of Home Affairs confirmed that only South African citizens may take part.

● See page 15.

umpteenth

unveils plan to speed up counting

ARC 3/3/92
(3044)

De Klerk gets standing ovation

Southern 3/3/92

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk received a standing ovation at a pre-referendum meeting in the Cape Town City Hall last night.

The leader of the National Party in the Cape, Dr Dawie de Villiers, told the packed meeting that De Klerk was willing to sacrifice "everything" to take his "yes" vote campaign to all four provinces.

"He (De Klerk) believes that South Africa has only one route forward," De Villiers told the meeting.

De Villiers earlier told the gathering that attempts had been made to sabotage last night's meeting.

He said the saboteurs had, however, failed to carry out their intentions.

"And so they will fail to sabotage March 17," he said.

The meeting was also addressed by the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer.

De Villiers introduced De Beer as a great South African and a patriot who always put South Africa first.

"Unreasonable powers"

Referring to stickers on pro-referendum posters claiming that last night's meeting had been cancelled, De Villiers said: "So many people, regardless of efforts of adversaries to derail our efforts, have gathered."

He said the danger of "unreasonable powers" should not be underestimated.

Reason and sound judgement had to be spread for people to be found who believed in voting 'yes'.

Parties agree on clause

CONTROVERSY surrounding a clause in Codesa's Declaration of Intent concerning the interpretation of a unitary South Africa was resolved yesterday, according to a delegate.

At the first plenary session of Codesa in December, Inkatha Freedom Party did not sign the declaration, and voiced several reservations about the wording of the document.

"This will make it easier for IFP now", the delegate said.

He said the wording of the declaration would not be changed.

304A

(304A)

Southern 3/3/92

FW calls for 'electrifying' Yes vote

(3041)
ARG 3/3/92

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has issued a strong appeal to white voters for a "landslide" victory for the Yes vote in the referendum.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer, who addressed an enthusiastic meeting in the Cape Town City Hall with Mr De Klerk, said the March 17 poll was the most important since Union in 1910.

Mr De Klerk said a landslide Yes victory would have an "electric" effect internationally and internally, and would give new impetus to the reform policy and economic development.

It would finally put paid to scepticism about whether the reform moves were irreversible and to suggestions that there were hidden agendas.

Mr De Klerk said: "March 17 is the final point of no return. If we return a No vote it will be the beginning of the end of everything we cherish in this land."

"If a Yes vote is returned our grandchildren will write about March 17 and describe it as the golden moment when the voters of the House of Assembly finally committed themselves to a just constitution able to accommodate the aspirations of all."

Mr De Klerk dismissed Conservative Party propaganda that he was asking the voters to give him a blank cheque.

The cheque he was asking for would have a very clear

content, based on the NP's published constitutional proposals.

Already consensus had been reached on many issues, including multiparty democracy, a two-chamber parliament, separation of State powers, a strong regional basis for a future dispensation and the maintenance of language and cultural rights and community-oriented education for those who wanted it.

Dr De Beer said the choice in the referendum was between survival and the certainty of disaster.

A No vote would mean mass action and large-scale disruption of an already weakened economy, government actions that would lead to conflict on a thus-far unknown scale, diplomatic isolation, the cutting of all sports ties and renewed trade and financial sanctions.

There would soon again be threats along the borders and young white men would again have to be called up for military service.

"On March 17 the racists will vote No, the democrats will vote Yes."

"Mean-minded people will vote No, generous people will vote Yes."

"Panic-stricken people will vote No, confident people will vote Yes."

"Cowards will vote No, people of courage will vote Yes."

"Self-centred people will vote No, South Africans who love their country will vote Yes," Dr De Beer said.

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

ANC 'won't put FW at disadvantage'

(304A)
STAR 3/3/92

The ANC would not do anything that could place President de Klerk at a disadvantage in the coming referendum, ANC President Nelson Mandela said in Welkom last night.

Mr. Mandela told a news briefing the ANC was opposed to an ethnic referendum by a white minority and condemned the decision of the Government to consult whites only.

"We say there is no single group, white or black, which has the right to veto the decision of the majority of the people of this country.

"However, we do not want to put Mr de Klerk at a disadvantage. He faces a powerful party ... and we must not underestimate the conservatives. Therefore, while we reject an ethnic referendum, we are not disinterested in what is happening in white politics."

Mr. Mandela appealed to whites to use their last opportunity to vote by minority wisely and reasonably and not to do anything to interfere with the process of democratisation.

He also said the economic problems facing South Africa could never be rectified without the support of business inside and outside the country.

"We want investment but will never attract investors if they are not sure they will repatriate their capital investments, profits and dividends. For that reason we have ongoing discussions with businessmen and other leaders."

After a war situation many countries such as America, Britain and Japan had resorted to nationalisation but companies were allowed to privatise once the situation had improved.

The ANC's policy for a phased lifting of sanctions remained in place and was linked to the political process.

Mr. Mandela is on the first lap of visits to 14 ANC regions throughout the country.

(Report by Sapa, Kine Centre, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg).

Immigrants want to vote

STAR 3/3/92

2049

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

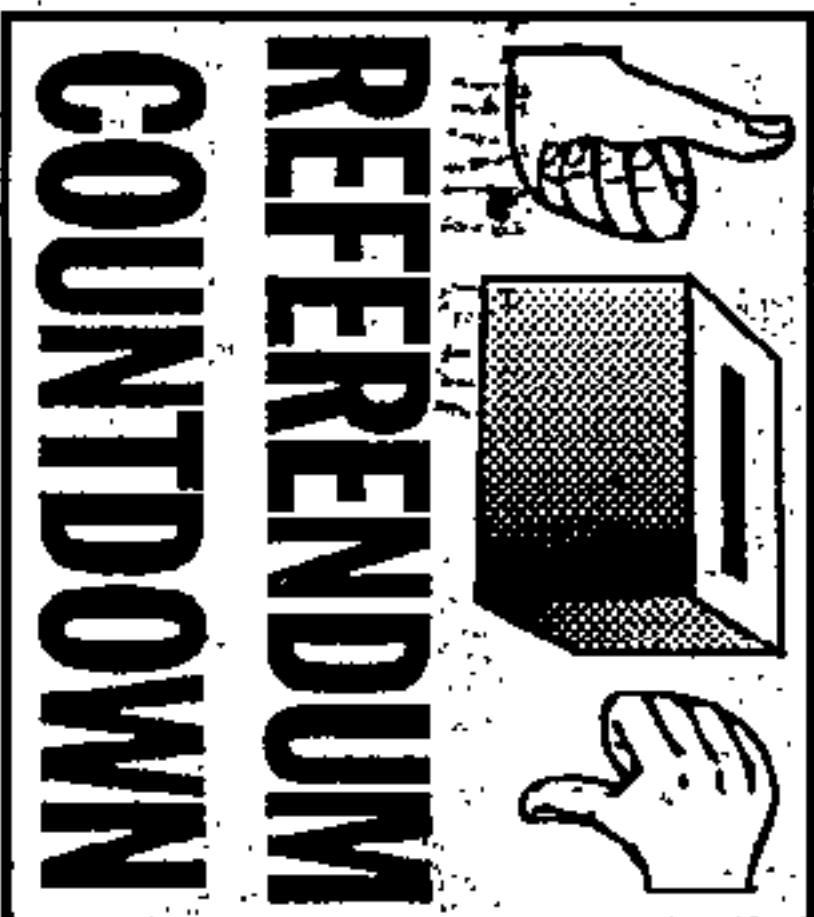
Scores of immigrants who have lived for years in South Africa without becoming citizens now want to be naturalised so that they can vote in the referendum.

The 1820 Settlers Association of South Africa says it has received "umpteenth calls" from British permanent residents in South Africa asking how they can go about becoming South African citizens.

servative Party offices have also fielded calls from immigrants wanting to take part in the referendum.

"I had a woman who has lived here for 30 years wanting to become naturalised," NP assistant chief secretary Coetzee Bester said. "There are a lot of immigrants wanting to ensure a majority 'yes' vote."

CP organiser Chris van den Heever said: "Plenty of immigrants — especially from the East bloc countries — have phoned in asking about being naturalised so that they can vote against communism."



Gerald Bush of British Conservatives Abroad said his members were very interested in the referendum and he sensed most of them would support President de Klerk if they could.

A Portuguese church minister, who wished to remain unnamed, said the Portuguese community was very concerned about the referendum outcome but its members were not making any moves to become South African citizens.

Despite the fact that immigrants with only permanent residence cannot vote, NP and CP politicians are relying on their influence over people who can.

"I believe these people have an important role to play in terms of influence," Mr Bester said.

Speaking at a meeting at the Stellenbosch Town Hall yesterday, President de Klerk said there had been an overwhelming number of requests from people who for various reasons had not become naturalised and who wanted to vote.

He said this was not possible but appealed to them to work for a "yes" vote and to encourage people to go to the polling stations.

(Report by Helen Grange, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

5 APR 3/3/92

Immigrants in tiff ^{304A}

The Afrikaans-Nederlandse Werkgemeenskap (ANW) and the Vlaams-Suid Afrikaanse Kultuurstigting (VSAK) yesterday distanced themselves from a call for a negative referendum vote by the Pan-Dutch Dietse Federasie. ANW/VSAK chairman Professor Jacques van der Elst alleged the Dietse Federasie represented a small right-wing group and could not claim wide representation among immigrants. The ANW/VSAK supported a "yes" vote.

On the Bolai

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff follows President De Klerk on his walkabout in the Boland.

THERE was much handshaking and even baby cuddling on President De Klerk's first referendum "road show" through the Boland.

After a gruelling day he could look back on an enthusiastic reception wherever he went, from being mobbed by students at Stellenbosch to meeting an attentive group of farmers on a Paarl farm and addressing senior citizens in a home in Malmesbury.

Judging by his reception there was no doubt that the Western Cape will give him the "yes" vote he is asking for.

His theme was that he was not only asking for a victory but that he wanted a landslide, so that all doubts about future negotiations could be eliminated.

He wanted his hands strengthened so that he could negotiate a fair deal, one that would also protect minorities and their cultural rights.

He sought to reassure his mainly Afrikaans audiences about the future.

His theme was that there was no going back to the days of a policy which had not worked and which had increasingly isolated the country.

The 4.5 million whites could not say "no" to the 26 million other South Africans.

They could not be told that they could have no rights, no trade unions or the right to own property anywhere. Measures such as group areas could not be brought back.

Youth featured very much on the tour. He told an enthusiastic audience of 1 000 in the Stellenbosch city hall and later students in Wellington that a "no" vote would again mean longer military training for young whites, not one year as at present but three, four or even five years.

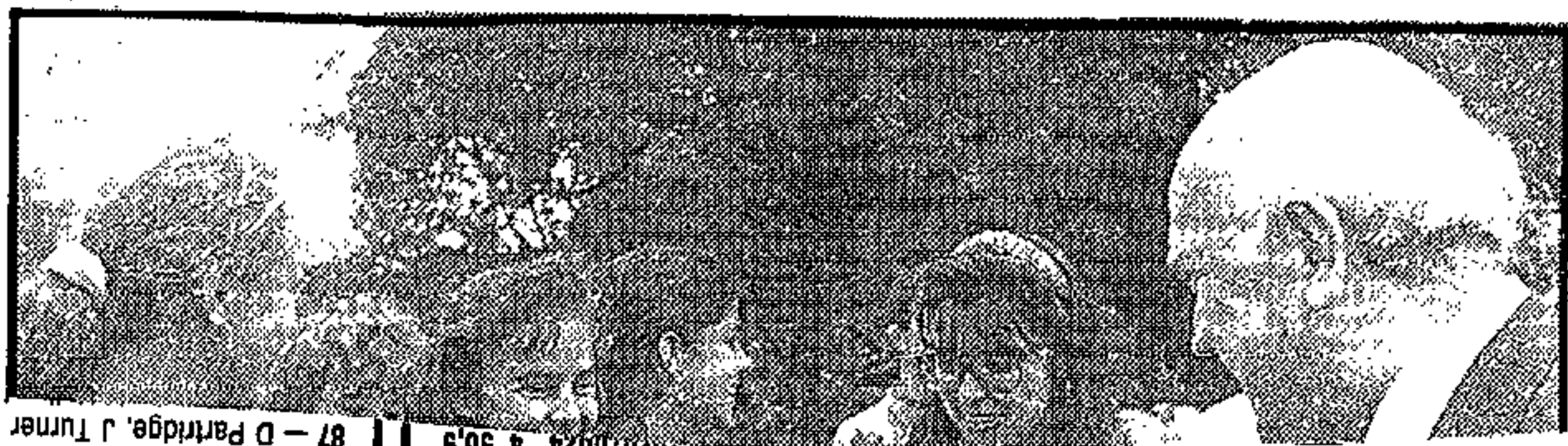
He also hit back at the propaganda of the "no" people which he said was based on a great untruth.

Their allegations that there was an alliance between Mr Nelson Mandela and himself and between the National Party and the ANC was untrue.

It was equally untrue to say that a "yes" vote would



ROADSHOW STARTS: President De Klerk addresses a crowd of mainly students in the Stellenbosch town hall at the start of his first referendum "roadshow".



3049

ARG 313/92

He pointed out to the farmers in Paarl and to the community in Malmesbury that doors which had been opened in the outside world, which had also affected export markets, would be slammed shut if there was a "no" vote.

In Paarl, the cradle of Afrikaans, he told a hurriedly called get-together of 200 people which had not been on his schedule, that the government would fight for the retention of the Afrikaans as an important, key language.

He called on his audience of elderly people in Malmesbury to think also of the future of their children and grandchildren.

He could not "shoot right" the future. There had to be agreements to prevent domination of one group by another.

He warned the aged, some of them in wheelchairs, not to be misled by the gossip stories of the right wing.

Mr De Klerk's bodyguards had to clear a way for him as he left the packed meeting in the Stellenbosch town hall. A large contingent of local and foreign journalists and photographers stayed with him wherever he went.

As he went past the Wilgenhof hostels there were chants of "FW, FW" and shouted promises of a "yes" vote.

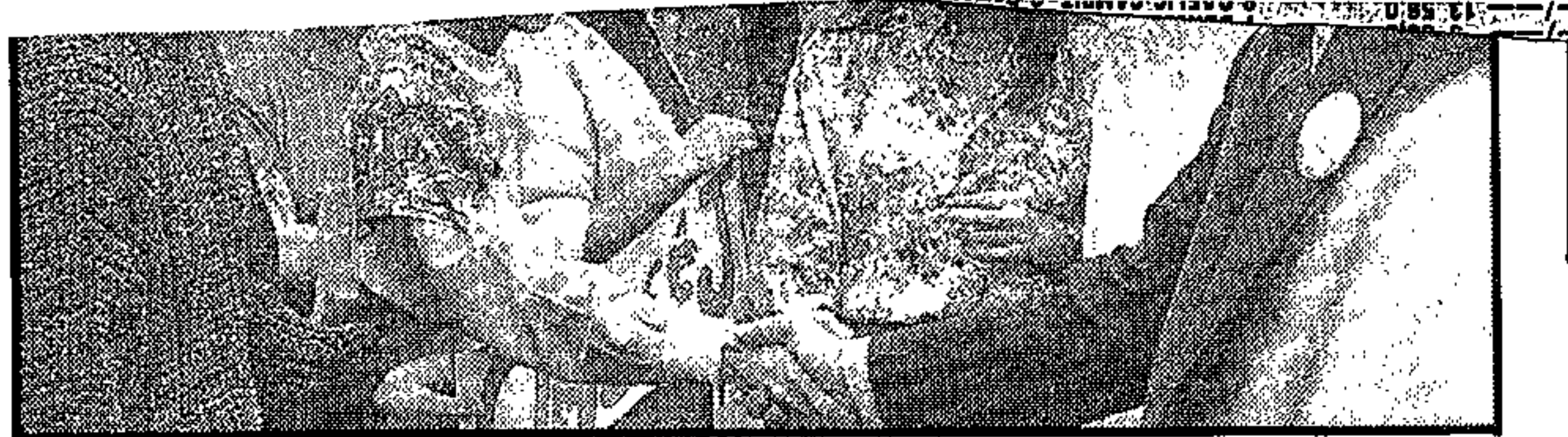
In the street 17-month-old Nicola Fourie was kissed and cuddled by the president.

She was with her father, Mr Charl Fourie, a former official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and she was born in Washington in September 1990 just after Mr De Klerk had been on a visit there.

In Paarl 21-month-old Euonell Grundling also received a presidential cuddle.

At the Neelsie, the student cafeteria a crowd of students cheered him on as he had a "Matie burger" — a toasted egg, meat, tomato and onion sandwich — and orange juice. He removed the onion. He was joined by the rector, Prof Mike de Vries.

A cheerful Mr De Klerk said "I suppose every bite I give will be photographed".



"YES" GIRLS: Students at the Boland teachers college in Wellington with a "We say yes" poster greet President De Klerk.



JOVIAL MOOD: President De Klerk and Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer were in cheerful mood when they addressed a referendum meeting in Cape Town City Hall

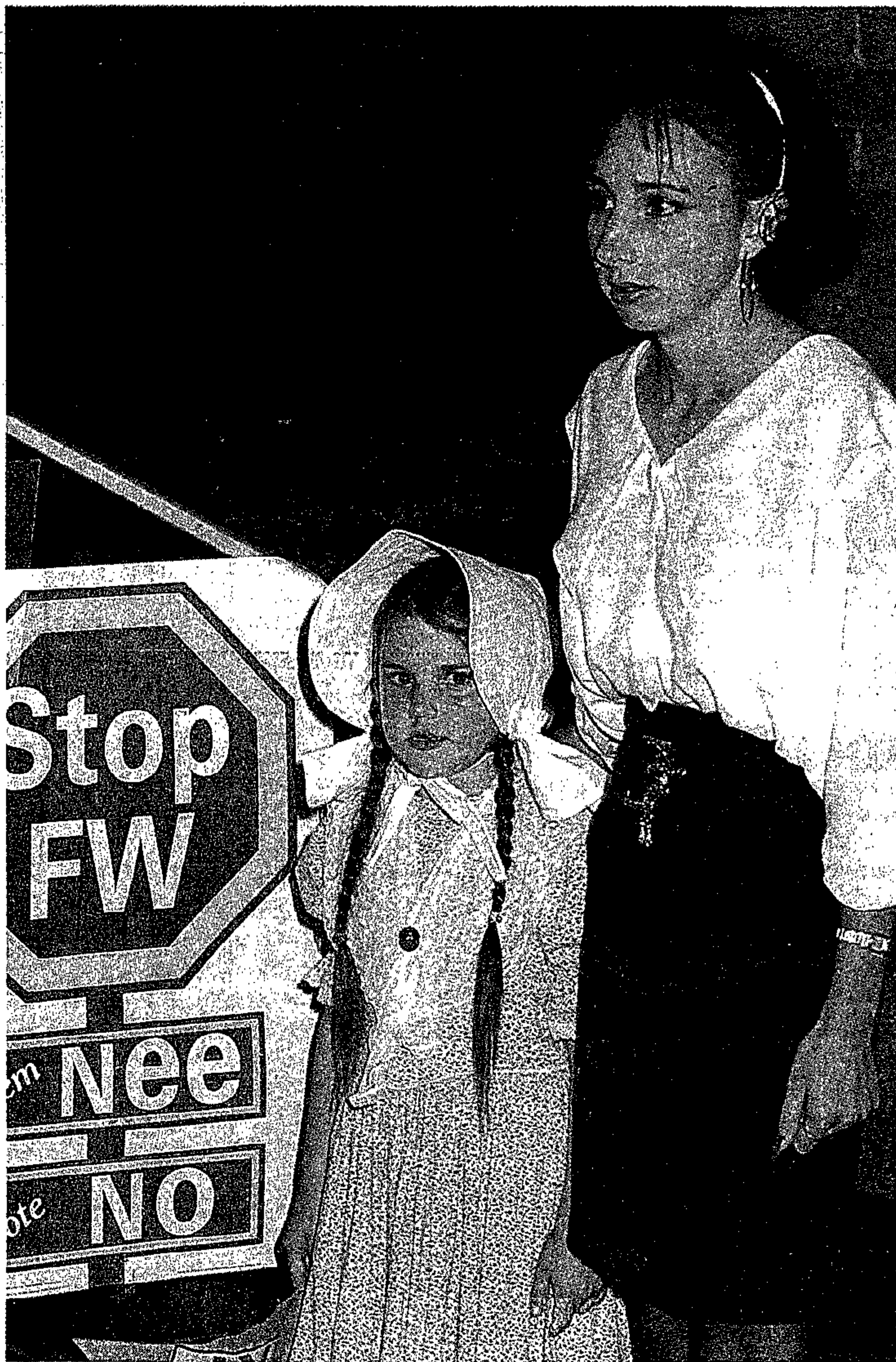


STUDENTS CHEER: A crowd of students at the Boland teacher training college in Wellington cheer President De Klerk at one of his stopovers in a whirlwind tour of the Boland.

nd trail

(304A)

ARCT 3/3/92



No way the CP can win, unless...

30414 3/3/92

POLITICIANS, the aphorism has it, never call referendums unless they are sure of winning them. A seasoned politician like President F W de Klerk is, one assumes, no exception.

Two of Mr de Klerk's predecessors, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, and President P W Botha, called referendums and won them. Dr Verwoerd narrowly and Mr Botha decisively.

Dr Verwoerd won the 1960 referendum, in which white voters gave him a mandate to establish a republic, by the narrowest of margins, winning 52 percent of the votes cast against 47.5 percent for those opposed to a change to republican status.

The victory in the 1960 referendum was finely calibrated. The ruling National Party (NP) was reported to have employed actuaries to calculate the balance of power between itself and its political opponents before committing itself to the referendum.

It needed to do so. If account is taken of 20 uncontested seats, the opposition United Party (UP) almost certainly had a slight edge on the NP. It had the support of just over 50 percent of white electorate against just under 50 percent for the NP.

But, as Professor Kenneth Heard records in his definitive study of South African elections between 1943 and 1970: "The flow of opinion was plainly still running strong in favour of the NP."

Between 1953 and 1958, Professor Heard adds, the UP majority in votes - but not seats - had narrowed from 10 percent to 1.5 percent.

Dr Verwoerd, however, left little to chance. He took three steps to ensure victory in the 1960 referendum:

- He reduced the qualifying age for the vote from 21 to 18, a move which benefited the NP more than its opponents.
- He disqualified coloured voters from eligibility to vote in the referendum, thus depriving the opposition of a bloc of votes.

● He announced that white voters in South West Africa (Namibia), where the NP was the dominant party, could vote.

Mr Botha faced a much easier task when he asked white voters to approve the present tri-racial constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians in the 1983 referendum.

The NP had recorded a smashing election victory in 1977 and again in 1983 it had pulverised the opposition, caused the disintegration of General J C Smuts's old UP, to win more than two-thirds of the seats in parliament and a clear majority of the vote.

PATRICK LAURENCE analyses the pending referendum in the context of South Africa's 1960 and 1983 referendums

There were warning signs in 1983: the steady rise of the liberally-orientated Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and, more ominously, the formation in 1982 of the Conservative Party (CP) by right-wing dissidents in the NP. For the moment, however, they were mere specks on the horizon.

Mr Botha won the referendum handsomely. He was able to persuade rank and file members of the PFP and, as important, some of its capitalist backers, that new constitution, by providing a niche in parliament for representatives of the coloured and Indian communities, was "a move in the right direction."

Mr Botha's triumph is reflected in the result: in a 76 percent poll the "yes" vote was just under 66 percent against barely 33 percent for the "no" vote.

Mr De Klerk is in a similarly strong position. While the CP has grown to a formidable force in the white community, he has won over a major chunk of the traditional liberal constituency from the Democratic Party (DP), heir to the old PFP.

More than that, he can rely on the support of the DP per se which, like his NP, is a pro-settlement party, on the virtual unanimous backing of big business and all the important opinion-forming media institutions.

Mr De Klerk has shrewdly put the CP at a tactical disadvantage by forcing it into a trial of strength on a terrain and at a time of his choosing: the March 17 referendum.

The CP would have preferred to contest President De Klerk's claim to represent the majority of South Africa's whites in a general election for the dominant white chamber in the present tri-racial constitution. Its preference is based on two cogent reasons.

First, it is possible for a party to win a general election - but not a referendum - on a less than 50 percent of the total vote. While the CP has made impressive gains since the general election of 1989, it does not yet represent a majority of whites.

Second, general elections are fought on a constituency basis and CP's organisational machine is built on constituencies. As its string of by-elections successes shows, the CP is

literally and metaphorically streets ahead of Mr De Klerk's NP.

On the first point it should be noted that South Africa's electoral law contains two core elements: it provides for a theoretical quota of voters per constituency (obtained by dividing the number of seats into the number of registered voters) and it empowers electoral officials to increase or decrease the number of voters per constituency by up to 15 percent of the quota.

In practice rural or semi-rural constituencies have had less than the quota while urban constituencies have had more than the quota. The difference is some cases has been the full 30 percent.

It is one reason why political parties drawing a major proportion of their supporters from rural areas have been able to win general elections on a minority of votes.

As Professor Heard records, the NP came to power in 1948 after winning less than 42 percent of the votes cast against more than 51 percent for the UP and its allies.

Today, however, the wheel has turned: it is the CP which stands to gain from the "loading and unloading" of constituencies. Significantly, to quote the political analyst and psephologist, Mr Harry Laurie, the CP share of the white vote stands at about 43 percent or a shade more than the share which brought the NP to power in 1948.

In summary the pertinent electoral figures are these:

- In the 1989 general election the CP share of the vote was 32 percent (against 48 percent for the NP).
- In the by-elections since then the average swing to the CP has been about 12 percent (although in three by-elections it was 15 percent or enough to give the CP an outright victory in a general election).

In the pending referendum, however, the dice is loaded against the CP. The NP and the DP, which won a combined total of 68 percent of the vote in the 1989 general election, will not be divided against one another. Instead they will combine to form one pro-settlement, anti-CP bloc.

The CP, Mr Laurie estimates, is the biggest single party in the white community. But it is unlikely to be able to triumph against the combined pro-settlement forces.

There is one proviso to that prediction: if the CP persuades whites that the real question is not whether they support Mr De Klerk's quest for a negotiated settlement (to paraphrase the actual referendum question) but whether they want to be governed by Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and Mr Chris Han's South African Communist Party, then the result could be very close.

Full-steam

'Wits blitz'

STAR 3/3/92

starts today

By Michael Sparks

364A

On the second full day of campaigning for the forthcoming referendum, National Party Cabinet Ministers will criss-cross the country to argue their case at a barrage of meetings.

President de Klerk arrives on the Witwatersrand today, visiting old-age homes and universities, businessmen and policemen, city councillors, teachers, firefighters and members of the Greek and Portuguese communities in a "Wits blitz" that will take him from Kempton Park on the East Rand to Noordheuwel in the west.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekirk will speak in Parys and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Tzaneen.

Those opposing the path of continued negotiation will be campaigning in the Transvaal platteland. Dr Andries Treurnicht will speak in Thabazimbi in the north-western Transvaal and the Herstigte Nasionale Party will hold meetings in Machadadorp in the eastern Transvaal and Baltimore in the northern Transvaal.

The NP propaganda machine is already in top gear, with hundreds of posters urging the white electorate to register a decisive "yes" vote already spread throughout the Pietersburg, Soutpansberg, Lydenburg, Potgietersrus and Waterberg constituencies.

The Conservative Party seems to be expecting a majority of "no" votes in the region, and has not yet started its publicity effort there.

Yesterday Pietersburg MP Dr Willie Snyman complained about the non-availability of suitable venues. He confirmed that Thursday's AWB meeting in Pietersburg would be supported by all right-wing groups.

(Report by Michael Sparks of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg and Dirk Nel of 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg)



Eye-catching . . . South African cricketer Richard Snell and boundary board in Wellington yesterday.

Picture: AP

SACP's 'Red Pimpernel' to make mark for democracy

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(3044)

STH 3/3/92



Kasrils . . .
for new
constitution.

They called him the "Red Pimpernel" and he spent months evading the security police — but on March 17 Ronnie Kasrils will be out in the open, voting "yes" in the referendum.

Mr Kasrils, with Jeremy Cronin, another white member of the SA Communist Party's central committee, told The Star he would be making his mark for democracy when the time came.

"My vote is not for F W de Klerk," he said. "My vote is for a new democratic constitution."

Mr Kasrils said he was urging all democratic whites to vote "yes" — "so that blacks can vote next time".

Mr Cronin said he would vote "yes" to ensure that "a shameful thing" such as an all-white referendum would not take place again.

He would vote to demonstrate that the white electorate did not only "belong to Treurnicht and others".

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman and central committee member Suzanne Vos said she would vote "yes" because she supported reform.

"We must go forward. We

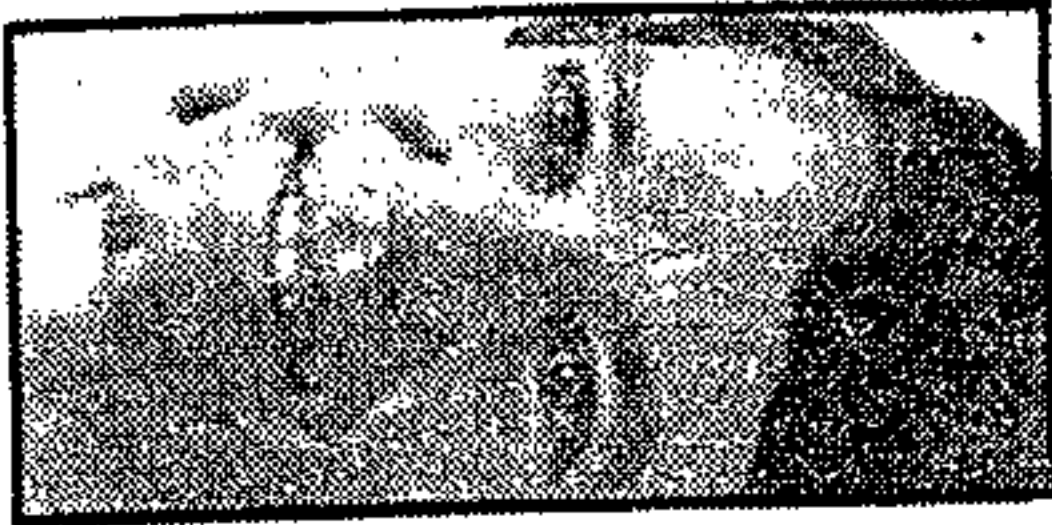
have got to concentrate our minds on what is best for the country.

"A vote for reform is not just in support of negotiations, but a vote for reconciliation and national unity," she said.

She also said her vote was not a vote for Mr de Klerk but "for an inclusive process which would lead to reconciliation and national unity".

Both the ANC — with its SACP and Cosatu allies — and the IFP have advised their white members to vote "yes", despite objections to its "racist" nature.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Cronin . . .
against
Treurnicht.

ANC rejects NP proposal on minorities

By Esther Waugh ^{STAR} 3/3/92
Political Reporter

The African National Congress is opposed to any forced coalition entrenched in a constitution, saying this would result in the government effectively becoming a one-party state.

Such coalitions also undermine active opposition to the government, thereby rendering checks and balances in a constitution dysfunctional, the ANC said at yesterday's meeting of the Codesa working group on constitutional principles.

Thwarted

The ANC rejected the Government's proposal that minority participation should be entrenched in a constitution.

Last week the Government proposed that meaningful minority participation should not be entrenched by a single clause in a constitution, but through various mechanisms.

The ANC said forced coalitions would render the exercise of executive authority ineffective. Checks and balances in a constitution which conferred executive power to minority parties could also lead to friction and confrontation, as the aspirations of the majority would be constantly thwarted.

Individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purpose of politi-

cal representation, the ANC said.

It said the constitution should not compel membership of groups in order to secure rights, as this would result in ethnic conflict overwhelming the political process.

"While the ANC believes that the rich diversity of South African cultures and languages needs to be protected and promoted, it does not follow that constitutional mechanisms allocating special additional political powers to minorities, either political or ethnic, is an effective way of addressing minority concerns," the ANC said.

The participation of political minorities in the democratic process required, it said:

- Freedom of association.
- Proportional representation.
- The promotion of a free civil society that enhances the institutions with which a political minority is associated.

Sought

The ANC noted South African political parties were rapidly departing from racial forms and had sought to expand their bases by founding political groupings on the basis of shared interest.

"It is indeed more than possible that in South Africa, a party which is initially in the minority could end up in the majority," the ANC said.

The organisation proposed strong protection of linguistic, religious and cultural communities by entrenching these rights in a constitution, and by judicial review.

Campaign begins for 'most important watershed in recent times'

Give me landslide victory, pleads FW

By Shaun Johnson and Peter Fabricius

The battle of white South Africa began in earnest yesterday with President de Klerk telling voters he wanted a landslide "yes" vote in the referendum.

An unequivocal majority, he said, would be a "big birthday present" (he turns 56 on March 18, the day the result will be announced).

The campaign for a "yes" vote was formally launched last night with Mr de Klerk and Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer addressing a joint meeting in the Cape Town City Hall attended by about 1 200 people.

Cherish

He and Dr de Beer both stressed that this was the most important watershed in recent history.

Mr de Klerk said March 17 was the final point of no return. "If we return a 'no' vote it will be the beginning of the end of everything we cherish in this land."

"If a 'yes' vote is returned our grandchildren will write about March 17 and describe it as the golden moment when the voters of the House of Assembly finally committed themselves to a job, a situation able to accommodate the aspirations of all."

Already broad consensus had been reached on many issues, including multiparty democracy, "probably" a two-chamber parliament and the maintenance of lan-

guage and cultural rights. The minimum requirements about which consensus still had to be achieved included:

- Prevention of domination and abuse of power.
- Effective protection of minorities.
- Securing of property rights.
- Professional security for all public servants.
- A market-oriented, free enterprise economy.
- Maximum devolution of power to regions.
- Distribution of the powers now concentrated in the office of the State President.

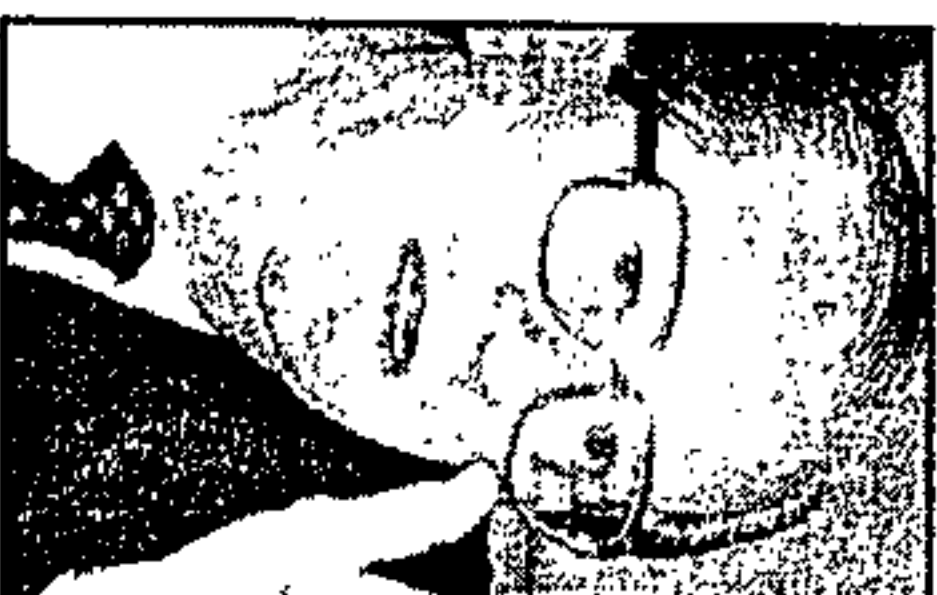
A "yes" vote would be a specific directive to the NP to negotiate for all these things. If it succeeded there would be no point in going back to ask voters for a new mandate.

Mr de Klerk's road show hits the Reef today with a lightning series of meetings from Kempton Park on the East Rand to Noordewel in the west.

He began his extended "walkabout" in the Boland yesterday, shaking hands, kissing babies, signing autographs and tirelessly repeating his message that he needed nothing short of "a landslide yes".

On the wine estate Pearl Valley he assured farmers that their land would not be nationalised.

He strongly denied that the ANC was getting its own way and said it had in fact changed its position on several important issues. (Report by S Johnson and P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Dr Treurnicht... "NP, ANC Siamese twins".

Pass laws would be reinstated, says CP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht rounded off a rousing "vote no" campaign launch in Worcester last night, vowing that a future CP government would reintroduce influx control, white education and white group areas.

In what appeared to be a contradiction of an assurance earlier in his speech to the packed Worcester Town Hall that a triumphant CP would not reintroduce old-style apartheid, Dr Treurnicht said in response to a question on whether the CP would bring back influx control, white education and white group areas: "The answer to that is simple. It is yes."

In a tough, enthusiastically received speech, Dr Treurnicht also broadened the debate by saying the referendum amounted not only to a political choice, but one of faith, between what he called a "Godly future", and one dominated by communist elements.

Referring to an incident in Pretoria on Sunday when he walked out of church before the end of the service, he said he took the strongest exception to the dominie's argument that a "no" vote in the referendum was equivalent to a "no" vote against God.

Dr Treurnicht also rejected the predictions of a split in the CP, saying the decision to contest the referendum was firm and everybody in the party was committed to it.

In contrast he said, the NP and WRC were like Siamese twins. Sometimes they fought like cats and sometimes they loved each other, "but they cannot get away from each other."

He said that the CP was not racist, as many claimed. (Report by M Morris, Press Gallery, Parliament)



Campaign trail begins... President de Klerk signs a "Yes" poster for a Stellenbosch University student during a walkabout on the campus yesterday at the start of the referendum drive. Picture: AP

ARG 3/3/92 (354A)

CP promises separation again

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht vowed a future CP government would reintroduce influx control, white education and white group areas, when he began his campaign in Worcester last night.

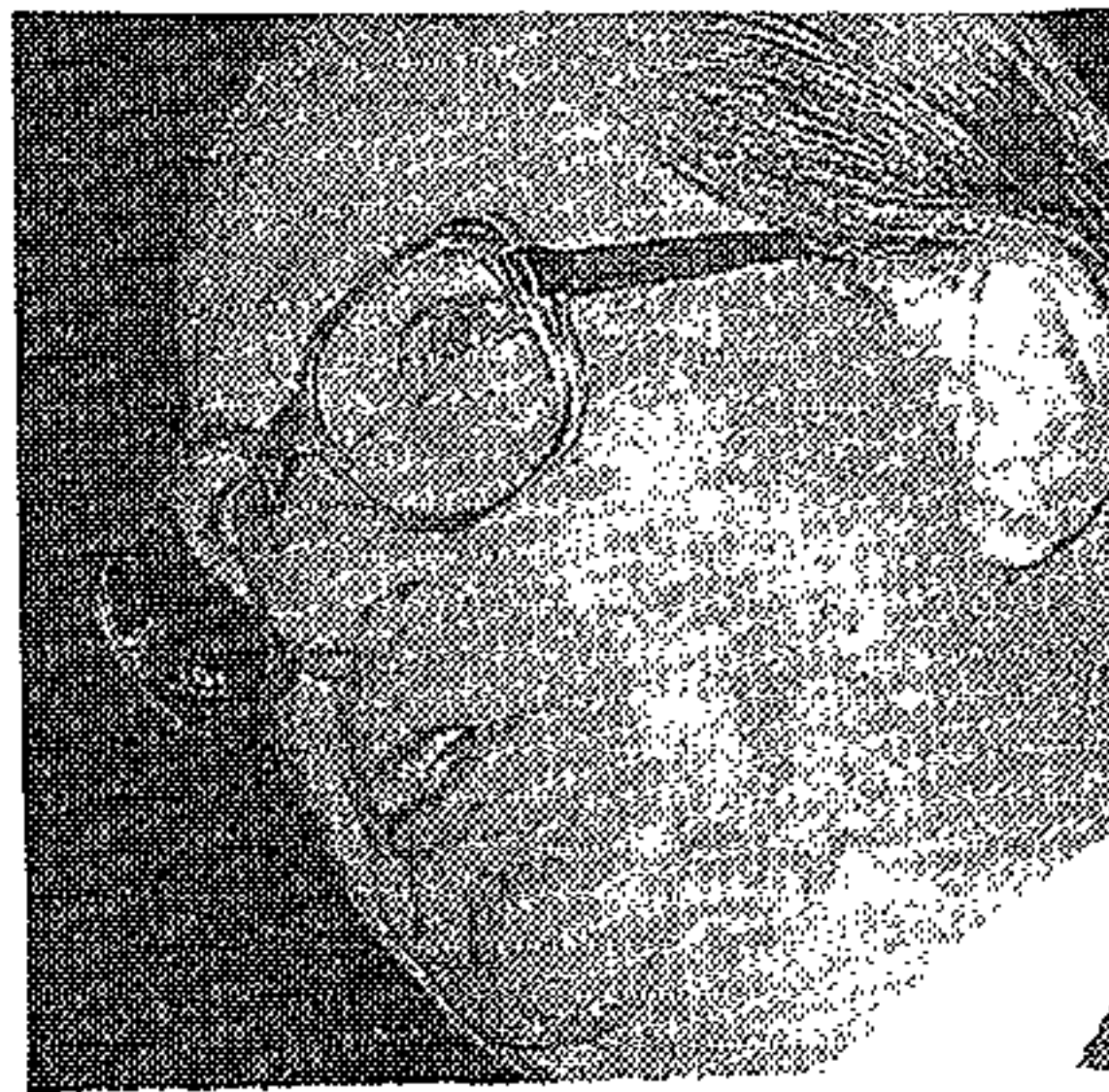
In what appeared to be a contradiction of an assurance given earlier in his speech to the packed Worcester Town Hall that a triumphant CP would not reintroduce old-style apartheid, Dr Treurnicht said when asked if the CP would bring back influx control, white education and white group areas: "The answer to that is simple — it is yes."

In an enthusiastically received speech, Dr Treurnicht also broadened the debate by saying the referendum amounted not only to a political choice, but one of faith... between a Godly future and one dominated by communistically-inclined elements.

He won long applause for mocking references to President De Klerk's appeal for support and trust at a time, he said, when the De Klerk administration was negotiating itself out of power, and was "selling out" the right of whites to govern themselves.

He highlighted rising crime, uncertainty and the economic plight of ordinary people, and asked whether reform had brought relief in any of these areas.

He poked fun at the National Par-



Dr Treurnicht... old laws back.

ty's decision to seek help with their propaganda campaign from the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising company, which had helped former a British Prime Minister to remain in power, saying: "I would be ashamed if I had to asked a foreign company to come and create propaganda for me in my own country."

Dr Treurnicht hammered home the CP's argument that a "No" vote would give voters a second chance, in a general election, to decide whether they actually favoured CP policy, whereas a "Yes" vote would commit them to a path toward an interim government and the loss of control over their own destiny.

"The referendum is an opportunity for white South Africa to decide

whether it wishes to continue as a white community without domination, or to sell its birthright on March 17."

Referring to the incident in Pretoria on Sunday when he walked out of church before the end of the service, he said he took the strongest exception to the dominee's argument that a "No" vote in the referendum was a vote against God.

"This suggestion was totally out of order," he said.

Dr Treurnicht also rejected the predictions of a split in the CP, saying the decision to contest the referendum was firm and everybody in the party was committed to it.

In contrast, he said, the NP and ANC were like Siamese twins: Sometimes they fought like cats and sometimes they loved each other, "but they cannot get away from each other".

He argued that the CP was not "racist" as many claimed, rejecting the notion that a commitment to self-determination could be equated with racism.

"I reject any suggestion that when I stand for whites and the interests of whites, and when I vote 'No' on March 17, that I am a racist," he said.

He said: "There are no plans to bring back old-style apartheid measures, but we will take whatever steps are necessary to protect our community, our way of life and our political say... we will provide protection where protection is necessary."

The Right fires first salvo in 'vote no' campaign

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

STAR
3/3/92
304A

The right wing fired its first furious salvoes in the referendum campaign yesterday, making it clear that highlighting the prospect of an ANC government will be the central tactic in the "no" effort.

Seizing on a statement made by SA Ambassador to Washington Harry Schwarz, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the rug had been pulled from under the National Party's "yes" campaign.

Mr Schwarz was quoted as saying there could be a black president of South Africa within two to three years or sooner, and that ANC President Nelson Mandela was most likely to get the job.

In a statement under the headline "Harry Schwarz has given the game away", Dr Treurnicht said the ambassador was a civil servant representing the NP Government and that his remarks proved "once again how the NP is deceiving the voters when they say (a positive vote in the referendum) is 'Yes for FW'."

Dr Treurnicht added: "It is in fact 'yes' for transitional government leading to an ANC dictatorship ..."

"The bottom line is that the choice facing white voters is a choice between a 'no' vote and the chance of another election where Mr de Klerk will have to put his nuts-and-bolts constitutional proposals to the voters, and an ANC dictatorship.

Meanwhile, right-wing fire-brand Eugene TerreBlanche, speaking in Ventersdorp yesterday, delivered a stinging attack on President de Klerk and served warning that right-wingers would not consider themselves bound by the result of the referendum if they lost.

The AWB leader branded the referendum an unforgivable rape of democracy and said it would result in white revolution.

"The referendum will be a watershed in the history of South Africa, no matter what the result," Mr TerreBlanche said in an interview with an international news agency.

Mr TerreBlanche, who initially said his organisation would boycott the referendum, has since joined the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party in a unified right-wing front to campaign for a "no" vote.

"If the president thinks he's going to create peace, he's making a big mistake. We're heading for conflict and even revolution," he said.

Report by Shaun Johnson, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

Patriotic Front alive in Codesa

Stueken 3/3/92

304A

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN, Political
Correspondent

THE Patriotic Front is alive and well and working perfectly within Codesa, sources said yesterday.

The participants in Codesa who signed the PF declaration assemble for weekly caucus meetings to formulate joint strategies and streamline the approach to negotiations.

Differences, difficulties and dissonances among participants are ironed out in this weekly caucus to speed up the process and consolidate the PF's strategies within Codesa's working groups.

The PAC and Azapo have refused to accept Codesa.

Both formed part of the initiative which saw the launch of the Patriotic Front in Durban last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress and Mr



MANDELA

Dikgang Moseneke, deputy deputy vice-president of the PAC, were present when the Patriotic Front was launched.

A working group source, who is part of the PF caucus, believes that it was inevitable that the Front had to kick into gear. The launch of the PF was not a flash in the pan and will continue to function throughout the negotiation process, he said.

A separate source, also from the PF and who features very prominently in



MOSENEKE

Codesa, suggested that those parties who stayed on within the front and are participating in negotiations were doing the people, who recognised them as leaders, a political service.

The PF participants in Codesa also report growing confidence within the caucus. Former political opponents such as the ANC and Labour Party, for example, are working closer together within the caucus - which naturally flows into the activities of the various working groups.

An SACP source from Codesa's PF caucus yesterday said the Labour Party was playing a solid role in the Front.

"In fact, they and the Transkei are most militant," he said.

Nine political parties within Codesa meet every Sunday night for a Front caucus.

The PF was pronounced dead at Codesa's preparatory meeting on November 29 last year after the PAC walked out of the talks.

The PAC contended that it had expected the ANC to work closer with it in approaching the Government in a kind of two-sided negotiation forum featuring the liberation movements and the State.

An ANC executive yesterday said it was in the nature of democracy that all political parties - including the ones deemed less relevant - voice their opinions and express themselves in any negotiation forum.

Govt unable to spend more on education

Sowetan 3/3/92

SAPA

The Government will not spend more on education until the economy has recovered and the continuing political unrest has abated.

This was said by the National Education Minister Louis Pienaar, who put forward his views on the future of SA education at an annual meeting of the Rustenburg branch of the Transvaal Teachers' Association yesterday.

Responsible

He said responsible education reform would have to happen through a negotiated new constitution and within the bounds of the limiting economic condi-

tions.

The reform would have to give rise to an education system which would be affordable, effectively managed, and which would satisfy the demands of all pupils and communities.

Participation

The new education system would have to allow for participation by all interested parties, while providing for the needs of the country's socio-cultural groups.

Reform would have to take the realities into ac-

count, he said, including a soaring increase in black pupil numbers; acute shortages of educational facilities for blacks with under-used white education facilities; disparities in Government spending; urbanisation and rapidly changing socio-cultural patterns.

He said the Government realised the situation of SA education must be investigated thoroughly as soon as possible for restructuring and adjustment.

Policy

Pienaar stressed that none of the Government released curriculum proposals constituted declared Government policy.

FW in campaign appeal

Sowetan 3/3/92

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday appealed to people who were not naturalised South Africans to throw their weight behind the referendum campaign.

Requests

Speaking at a meeting at the Stellenbosch town hall, De Klerk said there had been an overwhelming number of requests from people who, for various reasons, had not become naturalised South Africans and who wanted to vote.

He said this was not possible but appealed to them to work for a "Yes" vote and to encourage people to go to the polling stations. - Sapa.

Prosecution rejects new Mitchell plea

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Trust Feeds trial accused Capt Brian Mitchell yesterday formally changed his plea in connection with 11 murder charges to one of guilty to culpable homicide.

The plea was not accepted by the prosecution.

Mitchell's amendment to his plea came at the end of his three-day testimony in which he admitted instructing special constables at Trust Feeds to attack or kill UDF members in the area in December 1988, but said he did not expect or intend them to shoot women and children attending a funeral vigil inside a house.

His evidence was challenged yesterday by his co-accused, Kehla Ngubane, the first of four former SA special constables charged in the case to testify.

Ngubane denied Mitchell instructed them to shoot members of the UDF but said he had pointed out the house in question and ordered them to shoot at "terrorists" inside. Ngubane said he fired two shots into the house through a back window. "We couldn't see inside," he told Mr Justice Wilson and two assessors.

He alleged Mitchell had also fired a shot into the house through a window.

Ngubane said when he and the other special policemen were fetched after the shooting, he alleged they were told to conceal their firearms and lie down in the kombi.

He was told by some of the other special constables that they had been instructed not to return to work until further notice.

The hearing continues.

Some CP supporters in Brits will be saying 'yes'

"I VOTED CP in the last election, but I'll be voting 'yes' in the referendum. I don't agree with what De Klerk is doing, but it's impossible to go back now. It's too late."

"I am a CP supporter, and I will vote 'no' in De Klerk's referendum. The referendum stinks to high heaven. If I have to fight in a civil war to protect my land, I will do so."

Thus speak the two voices of Brits: one is conservative but resigned to what is happening in SA; the other is conservative but radically so, paradoxically willing to sacrifice all in a battle to save what remains of a white state.

The first voice belongs to Estelle, who works in a video shop on the town's main thoroughfare, Murray Avenue. Estelle has been a CP supporter, and says she agrees in principle with what the CP demands. "But it is unrealistic to want that now," she says. "We would all like to have what we had before, but it is not possible anymore."

Estelle says many other CP supporters — her family members included — think the same way as her. They don't agree with the reforms, but they will vote "yes". They will vote "yes" because there is no other way, because they say they are frightened about what a reversion to economic and political isolation could do to SA.

If De Klerk had held a referendum on whether to embark on his reforms soon after the last election, would she have voted "yes" then? "No. I think what has happened has been bad for the white people. We aren't ready for these sort of changes. I don't think we ever will be."

Heleen works in a boutique 20m down the road — a pretty, lively young woman who speaks English with a faltering enthusiasm. "I agree with half of what De Klerk has done, but I disagree strongly with the other

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. For the second article in the series, **DARIUS SANAI** spoke to residents of Brits.

half. He mustn't allow the ANC to tell him what to do. He mustn't allow the black people to dictate to us."

Heleen will vote "no" in the referendum. "We need to have the right to live in white areas, to send our children to white schools. They (black people) keep to themselves: we want to keep to ourselves too."

"We're different." She shakes her head. "We're very different."

I ask Heleen if she thinks attitudes like hers could provoke a civil war. "Yes, we will have many problems if there's a 'no' vote. There will be a hell of a fight, but I am prepared to fight. It's not just the blacks who need satisfaction, you know."

Didn't she agree with democracy? "Yes, of course a democratic system is the best. But we have a problem here: there are more blacks than whites. Perhaps," Heleen mused, "why not have a system where 10 black votes equal one white vote? Then it would be even."

Many Brits residents appear convinced of the unbreachable barricade between black and white, of a differ-

ence between races which, if not exactly biological, is entrenched so deeply it can never be overcome. Most interviewed said they would vote "no" more or less because of this conviction: but a significant minority concurred with Estelle.

Some locals will be voting "yes" out of conviction rather than resignation. One, Marie, described herself as a "typical local housewife" as she spoke to me outside a supermarket. "No-one's really happy with the situation at the moment," Marie said, "but unless we give De Klerk a chance the door that has been opened will be closed for good."

Marie has friends who are CP supporters who will be voting "no", but she says: "Treurnicht is not a leader as far as I'm concerned." She voted NP in the last election, and agrees with what De Klerk has done. "There was no other way out for SA. He is a very brave man."

But a significant section of the Brits populace speaks with the voice of defiance. Mainly young, and male, they say they are prepared to fight for the future of what they see as their land. "If the 'no' vote wins, we will fight. If the 'yes' vote wins, we will also fight — in whatever way we have to," one heavy young man said.

Piet, one of the man's friends, said it was his generation, the young, poor white people, who would be voting "no" en masse, and who would be fighting with the greatest militancy. "It's our future, and he's giving it away to the blacks. And we can't buy ourselves into a smart area where there are no blacks — so we're going to fight for our town, and for our land," he said.

But the streets of Brits gave their own answer to the white militants. More black people were buying goods at the shop counters than whites. For every white schoolgirl in a pony tail clutching a bag of sweets or a soft drink, there were three black schoolgirls doing the same.

Govt's school funds 'limited'

RUSTENBURG — Government will be unable to spend more on education until such time as the economy recovers and the political unrest abates. *B/Day 3/3/92*

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Rustenburg branch of the Transvaal Teachers' Association yesterday, National Education Minister Louis Pienaar said responsible education reform would be achieved through a new constitution and within the bounds of economic conditions. *(304A)*

The reform would have to give rise to an affordable, effectively managed education system which would satisfy the demands of all pupils and communities.

The new education system would have to take certain realities into account, including acute shortages of educational facilities for blacks, disparities in government spending and rapidly changing socio-cultural patterns. — Sapa.

Bank chairman Mabuza calls for white 'yes' vote

B/Day 3/3/92

WHITES should vote "yes" in the referendum to bring about a better future for all South Africans, FutureBank chairman Jabu Mabuza said last night.

Addressing the official opening of the bank in Johannesburg, Mabuza, who is also CE of Fabcos Marketing, said although his organisation was against ethnic elections and referendums, the situation the country found itself in demanded that they looked at the implications of a "yes" and a "no" vote for the country.

"Looking at the implications, we cannot but call for South Africans who are eligible to vote 'yes' for our future.

"It is not a matter in which blacks should fold their arms and say it is a white affair. It has implications for all of us.

"The whites must use their vote for all of us," said Mabuza.

□ Sapa reports from Durban that SA Sugar Association executive director Mike Mathews said on Monday the association supported negotiations as the only way ahead.

He said a "no" vote would mean the reimposition of international sanctions, the probable loss of the sugar industry's export markets and an increase in violence and instability.

□ Sapa reports from Somerset West that DP national council chairman David Gant said the deciduous fruit industry in the

(304A)
THEO RAWANA

western Cape would collapse if a "no" vote resulted from the referendum.

Gant was speaking at a DP meeting. □ Sapa reports that the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce has urged South African businessmen to vote "yes to prosperity" in this month's referendum.

In its weekly newsletter the chamber said a vote in support of reform would boost the recovery of the local economy and would mean that international business opportunities could be developed to the full.

□ Sapa reports from Pretoria that the SA Iron Steel and Allied Industries' Union executive committee has advised its more than 40 000 members to vote "no" in the March 17 referendum.

The union, which said it was the largest and most influential white union, cited a range of reasons for its decision.

These included the government's "unsympathetic attitude" towards white workers and their unions, especially with regard to labour legislation changes last year and concessions the government had made to Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola.

The union added that government was negating white culture by opening residential areas and holiday resorts to all races.

Cabinet decides to form neutral commission to regulate broadcasting

3/31/92

304A

THM COHEN

GOVERNMENT is to establish a neutral body to regulate all broadcasting services.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday government had decided to establish, this parliamentary session, a "neutral regulatory commission" for all telecommunications, including radio and TV.

The decision was taken after considering information collected over the past few years, including the Viljoen Task Group report on broadcasting and comments on the report, Louw said.

The body, to be called the Commission for Telecommunication, would license all

broadcast services. It would also regulate and supervise terrestrial as well as space telecommunications.

Details of the legislation would be decided after consulting all interested parties, Louw said in a statement.

Government spokesmen said yesterday broadcasters and interest groups would be canvassed on the nature and powers of the body, but that its establishment had already been decided by Cabinet.

The proposal was presented at Codesa yesterday, and initial reactions were mixed, with most delegates saying they

wanted to study the proposals further.

A government spokesman said the powers of the commission had not yet been decided, but government thinking was more or less in line with the Viljoen report.

How commissioners would be appointed had not yet been decided, nor had it been decided what power the body would have over the makeup of the SABC board. The Viljoen report recommended that commissioners be appointed by the President.

Louw said the proposal would not direct-

ly affect existing SABC management structures, but would introduce negotiated standards, norms and codes. The SABC, like other established independent and neutral broadcasters, would have to comply with these. The standards would also apply to new broadcasters wanting to broadcast at local or community level.

A government document, presented at a Codesa working group concerned with broadcasting services, said the commission would determine licence conditions but would not involve itself with programme content.

The document also called for the establishment of a complaints tribunal, to be chaired by a judge and two assessors.

This body would adjudicate in terms of a negotiated set of programme standards and universal media ethics in all cases not covered by a possibly extended Media Council.

M-Net chairman Ton Vosloo said he had not studied the proposals, but any move towards an independent broadcasting regulatory body would be welcomed.

ANC rejects idea of minority rights

3/0 ay 3/3/92
 THE ANC rejected enforced power-sharing and minority rights at Codesa yesterday, saying these provisions would result in a government effectively becoming a one-party system. Constitutional devices which had the effect of conferring executive power to minority parties posed the danger that the government would become a form

TIM COHEN

of political monopoly, the ANC argued.

"The experience of one-party states, notwithstanding the intentions of the architects, has not served democracy well," the document presented at the constitutional principles working group of Codesa said.

The document lists other dangers of enforced minority vetoes as being:

- The undermining of an active, vibrant opposition;
- The exercise of executive authority becoming ineffective;
- Constant friction and confrontation as the majority would find its aspirations constantly thwarted, which could result in hostility towards minorities; and
- The formation of coalitions not based on mutual interest or arising from the need and circumstances of SA.

However, the ANC was not opposed to all-party committees scrutinising legislation, appointments and the operation of institutions, and opposition party members could serve on governmental and parastatal boards.

On the issue of cultural, religious and linguistic minorities, the ANC proposes strong protection.

But these rights were best protected by protecting individual rights incor-

porated in a bill of fundamental rights.

For example, the right to freedom of association could effectively be protected by an individual enforcing the right, established in terms of the constitution, in the courts.

"We are therefore in agreement with the SA Law Commission, that rights — including those essential to community life — should be formulated and exercised as individual rights."

However, the ANC said that in the framework of a colour-blind constitution, there was scope for developing mechanisms for enhancing community autonomy.

Communities and interest groups could have the right to be heard at the standing committee stage of the legislative process on matters affecting their interests, rights and legitimate expectations.

The document says the ANC takes as its starting point the belief that individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purposes of political representation.

The majority should not have the right to ride roughshod over the constitutional rights of citizens and the minority should not have the power to prevent the government from legislating, the document says.



ANY LIMITED

DECEMBER 1991

Year Ended	Year Ended
1.12.1990 (millions)	30.06.1991 (millions)
541,0	1 202,6
453,4	1 014,0
3,5	19,0
3,5	19,0
56,0	126,4

Comments:

F.W. hits the campaign trail for a 'yes' vote

BILLY PADDOCK (3044)

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk launched the NP's referendum roadshow yesterday and set the tone for his party's campaign — distancing the NP from the ANC and attempting to divide the CP.

He told a packed town hall in Stellenbosch the choice was simple: take a risk and seek a prosperous future through negotiations, or back the certainty of SA's destruction. 8/02/92 3/3/92

Negotiations would provide people and their children with a proud future of justice, opportunity and realism, while a "no" vote would force the country into "escalating conflict because of attempts to turn the clock back 40 years".

"Will it be a future of hope or a dark destiny? One of war and terrorism, with national service being escalated to two, three, four or even five years, with the ensuing economic crisis and sanctions?" De Klerk asked.

"I bind myself to negotiate an end product that will contain all the essential elements of the NP constitutional proposals, and if you give me and the other negotiators a resounding 'yes' vote you will strengthen our hand immeasurably."

A "no" vote meant rejecting 26-million fellow South Africans for the sake of those few whites who wanted a return to archaic failed policies.

A "yes" vote was the only workable option for the development of SA and for it to become the gateway to Africa.

Reacting to CP posters, De Klerk said there was no partnership between him and ANC president Nelson Mandela, nor between the NP and the ANC. Because the NP was negotiating with the ANC did not mean they were allies. It was precisely because they were in opposing camps that it was necessary to negotiate.

To loud applause he asked the meeting to give him a "yes" vote "so that through negotiations I can protect your future". He promised a constitution with no domination, free of failed ideologies.

"Communism has failed throughout the world and I and the NP will ensure it fails here as well. Give me a 'yes' and I will ensure that it fails," he said.

□ To Page 2

Campaign

8/02/92 3/3/92

(3044)

□ From Page 1

De Klerk asked who represented CP policy. Koos van der Merwe, who wanted to negotiate in Codesa, or Ferdi Hartzenberg. "What is their policy? Koos says we don't want to turn back the clock and reintroduce apartheid laws, we want to negotiate a white homeland, but then CP leader Andries Treurnicht, who believes something else, does not repudiate him."

He attacked the CP for refusing to join Codesa. "The CP say they want to negotiate but they refuse to join Codesa. They say they will negotiate as soon as everyone else accepts that their position is correct and only want to negotiate the logistics."

Throughout the day at Paarl, Wellington and Malmesbury, where De Klerk spoke to small groups of farmers, students and townfolk, he repeated his message and said that Afrikaners and Afrikaners would be on centre court in the new SA.

Wherever he went, he was followed by adoring crowds. He kissed babies, and seemed to enjoy himself the whole time — especially when he saw the posters held aloft by some students: "F.W. bows bumpers — Potch was a no ball" and "F.W. bows Dr T's middle stump."

De Klerk's campaign trail takes him to the Witwatersrand today.

In the same way that a backbone makes it possible for you to walk and run, play and work, so the constitution of a country is its backbone - the guarantee of the citizens' freedom and the guarantee that the state cannot take away that freedom.

The purpose of the current negotiating process is to draw up a *new* constitution in which all citizens are guaranteed their freedom and rights.

- * Then every law and every government action is measured against the constitution and must reflect the letter and spirit of that constitution. If the law or action does not measure up, it is declared null and void. Once the constitution has guaranteed your rights and freedoms, no law or government can take them away from you.
- * ***But if the citizens of a country feel that their leaders have not participated in drawing up the constitution, they will not support that constitution and that constitution will be worth less than the paper it is written on.***
- * However, if everybody is satisfied with the constitution, nobody will want to tear it up. And then everyone's rights will be secure
- * That is why it is essential that all important parties should take part in negotiations about a new constitution.
- * Negotiation is the art of talking and settling your differences, until you are sure that the interests of those on behalf of whom you talk are adequately protected. And none of the negotiating parties leaves the negotiating table before they are satisfied.
- * South Africans all have experience of domination: whites of colonial domination and people of colour of white domination. And nobody wants to be dominated by others in the future.
- * That is why a new constitution is being negotiated that will ensure that fear of domination will be unnecessary.

Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the State President began on 2 February 1990 and which is aimed at

**a new constitution
through negotiation?**

B110241
3/3/92
3044A



Your vote makes a difference.

17 MARCH

**Give 10 seconds to
determine your destiny**

NP

YES



CT 3192

Lubbers to visit after all

THE HAGUE. — Netherlands Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers will go ahead in August with the controversial South African visit he postponed earlier this year after ANC objections, the government announced yesterday.

The visit would be the first by a world leader since President F W de Klerk began dismantling apartheid.

Mr Lubbers will begin his two-day visit with Vice-Premier Mr Wim Kok and Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek on Monday, August 10.

According to a Dutch government statement the rescheduling was the result of talks with Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-AP

England in
"But they
er than Eng-
cen caught a

of those who
ew Zealand

ve stroke in
et were his
d pulls but he
e them.

iper will both
e pace on the

ined for semi-

e

to
the
separate
homeland.

JOINT 'YES'... DP leader Dr Zach De Beer and President F W de Klerk shared a platform in a packed Cape Town City Hall last night as the campaign for a "yes" vote in the referendum kicked off in the Western Cape and Boland.

Picture: SERAFY GOOL

**F W tells
packed
City Hall
what poll
holds**

'NO is chaos'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent
SOUTH AFRICA: will reach its "final point of no return" on March 17, President F W de Klerk warned last night.

Addressing more than 2,000 people in a joint NP-DP meeting in the Cape Town City Hall at the climax of a whirlwind referendum tour of the Western Cape, he said the country faced a stark choice — a future of hope or darkness.

If white South Africans returned a "no" vote in two weeks time, this would unleash a period of "almost immediate and total chaos and unresolvable crisis".

He warned: "If we return a no vote then it will be the beginning of the end of everything we have cherished in this country."

A powerful, or landslide, "yes" vote would have an "electric effect", both internally and internationally, and convince even the most sceptical critics of the reform process that SA was irreversibly on a path which offered lasting hope, peace and

security to all citizens, he said to thunderous applause.

Echoing these themes, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the vote on March 17 would be the most important since Union in 1910.

White South Africans were faced literally with the choice between the hope of continued existence and the certainty of total disaster.

He said the fact that life-long political opponents were standing shoulder to shoulder on the same platform emphasised the critical nature of the campaign, which simply had to be won.

The ghastly alternative would see massive disruption of the economy through mass action and strikes, "reckless counter-right-wing demagogues leading to unheard of conflict, immediate sanctions in sport, trade and finance, and a military threat against SA."

Earlier, Mr De Klerk launched the government's "yes" campaign during a lightning tour of the Boland by telling thousands of enthusiastic supporters: "I am not asking for a mandate for a suicide plan but for survival plan."

He repeatedly warned his diverse and



FW PUTS 'YES' SHOW ON ROAD

Report and pictures — PAGE 2

ences on his virtually becke-free tour that the country would be plunged into chaos if whites did not overwhelmingly reject the right-wing call for a "no" vote.

If the "no" brigade won the day, sanctions would be re-imposed and the doors of international trade and co-operation that

buy and Cape Town — to imagine what message the five million whites would be sending their 26 million fellow South Africans if they voted against reform and negotiations.

"We will be telling them that whites want to turn back the clock and return to all that has failed so dismally over the past 40 years."

In his address to more than 1,500 students, schoolchildren and townspeople that packed to the Stellenbosch town hall, Mr De Klerk said: "Any effort to return to what has failed will be signing the death warrant of hope for you, the youth of SA."

In Paarl, Mr De Klerk told a hastily arranged meeting in the town hall that the negotiating parties were close to a breakthrough at Codessa and that the fruits of talking one's opponents was beginning to materialise.

Turning to members of the crowd wearing DP rosettes, he said to applause: "A 'yes' vote is not a vote for the NP but a vote with the NP."

The De Klerk roadshow, which will last for another two weeks, continues in Johannesburg this morning.

Dr No fights to win

The Conservative Party was fighting the referendum to win, Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night at the launch of the party's "no" vote campaign.

He accused the government and the ANC of being like "Siamese twins".

"They fight occasionally like all rats do, but they cannot do without each other," he told about 1,000 supporters in Worcester.

People were economically better off, with less unemployment, fewer bankruptcies, less state debt and less violence at the height of the boycotts than now.

He said sanctions could not force whites to live under a black government, and also appeared to have abandoned the policy of a separate coloured homeland.

NP posters sabotaged (30417)

THE first dirty tricks popped up in the referendum campaign yesterday when NP posters advertising President F W de Klerk and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer's city hall meeting last night were defaced with "cancelled" stickers. The NP was forced to hastily print stickers marked "tonight" in reply.

CT 3/3/92

Dr No walks
(3043) CT 3392
out of service

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
Conservative Party
leader Dr Andries Treur-
nicht walked out of a
church service in Pre-
toria on Sunday after the
minister referred to
South Africa's vital
March 17 referendum in
his sermon.

Dr Treurnicht said the
sermon by NG Church
minister Dr Louis Louw
had amounted to a
speech where a parallel
was drawn between a yes
for God and a rhetorical
question on how one
could say no to God.

He said that matters
concerning the referen-
dum should be left to the
politicians.

Boland wowed by FW tour

304A
CT 3/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk took the Boland by storm and wowed audiences wherever he went during his whirlwind tour of the region yesterday.

During a hectic seven-hour "meet the people" roadshow, he kissed babies, hugged pensioners, shook burly farmers' hands, drank wine and even munched a Matie-burger.

The highly successful American-style whistle-stop tour began in Stellenbosch, where he told more than 1 500 cheering students that the CP had not placed any placards in the town because it apparently fell outside their proposed boerestaat.

During a tour of the campus, students and workers battled to break through a phalanx of security personnel and TV cameramen. One student emerged with a treasured autograph and told her friends: "I will definitely vote 'yes' now."

One of the coloured hostel workers, Mrs Joana Combrink, who managed to greet Mr De Klerk said afterwards: "I just wanted to shake hands with the grootbaas — I hope he wins his referendum."

In the student cafe, where the licence-holder is one J W F Treurnicht, Mr De Klerk downed an orange juice for the cameras and tucked into a Matie-burger.

Excited

As he filed through a throng of curious onlookers, one young woman shrieked: "Daar gaan my hero."

When the De Klerk roadshow reached the Boland Education College at Wellington, student Ms Melanie Olivier confessed that her colleagues had been so excited by the visit that they had forgotten to mark his arrival with a guard of honour of "yes" posters.

At the Aanskemer old-age home in Malmesbury, 84-year-old Mrs Maria Langner said "tongues had not stopped wagging" about the referendum.

Speaking in Paarl, Mr De Klerk told hundreds of residents that Afrikaans should be the language of reconciliation rather than of division and conflict.

It would retain its proud place as an official language in the new SA.

● An exhausted Mr De Klerk, who launches a similar roadshow in Johannesburg today, last night cancelled a visit to Bertie's Landing in Cape Town harbour.

Curing SA's intellectual paralysis

3/3/92 (304A)

KIERIN O'MALLEY

IS THERE a chance that the referendum and the campaign that precedes it will help spark informed, straight-talking intellectual activity and debate, and jolt South Africans — especially a large number of white South Africans — from their lethargic apathy?

An alarming and dangerous tendency to withdraw themselves from the process of political transition and the debates around it is evident among a large and potentially influential segment of SA society.

It is the reason why there is an almost stifling intellectual and political silence about a number of issues crucial to the creation of a better SA.

The extraordinarily high number of respondents — again especially but not exclusively white — who refused to indicate a clear political preference in the latest HSRC survey of political attitudes clearly illustrates this alarming development. Alarming because it means this section of society is minimising its potential input into the creation of a post-apartheid SA. The recent events at Zevenfontein

and Potchefstroom do not fly in the face of this argument. They simply illustrate that there is a limit to the degree to which this process will occur, and that once what are considered existential issues are raised, a line will be drawn.

Members of the elite intellectual class are particularly uncertain as to which way the transition cookie will crumble, and are not willing to run the risk of betting on the wrong horse. The intellectual class is, after all, the class that is dependent on the state for its employment.

There is also a realisation that the process of transition is fragile and that one needs to exercise due caution in not rocking the Codesa boat too violently. The other extreme — glossing over issues fundamental to the resolution of the domestic dilemma — also needs to be avoided.

The country is leaning dangerously over in the direction of the latter. The electoral message from Potchefstroom is only the most recent

evidence thereof. And the central issue that needs to be resolved before the process of transition progresses any further is to what degree SA society is a plural or divided society.

The issue has underlain much academic and intellectual argument in the apartheid era, but has not really culminated in a clear-cut answer one way or another. And one needs a clear-cut answer to the question before Codesa proceeds further. The lack of specific policy content in the referendum question will do little to bring the issue to a head.

The recent publication of Tom Barnard's (RAU's Deon Geldenhuis's) *South Africa 1994-2004*, however, represents a ray of light on the horizon and should be read by all thinking South Africans.

The book provides a chillingly pessimistic — and given the country's current state of economic and political stagnation (even evident in an increasingly fractious Codesa) — a highly likely account of the first decade of the "new" SA.

The significance of the book is, however, far more fundamental than its prognostic aspects. The author has articulated a widespread pessimism — and this may not even have been his intention — about the "new" SA that has to date remained just below the surface, and which lurks in the minds of most of the country's intellectual and business classes.

The author's initial preference for anonymity, while it obviously also has a commercial rationale, is itself indicative of the stultifying silence and unwillingness to state one's position clearly that pervades educated public debate.

Geldenhuis's book will hopefully encourage SA intellectuals, the political elite and members of the wider public to start talking straight and

seriously about the country's future, and in particular the crucial non-racial vs plural society issue.

The book's one major gap is the lack of specific proposals to avoid the pessimistic prediction from coming true. The next step is for Geldenhuis and others to break out of the intellectual paralysis that pervades our society and to produce concrete realistic proposals on how to avoid the scenario sketched in the book.

The referendum is an appropriate place to begin. It is perhaps unfortunate that the referendum question has been formulated in such a way as to open itself to be crudely portrayed as a "yes" vote for the anti-apartheid, pro-negotiations NP and DP and a "no" vote for apartheid and the anti-negotiations CP.

Such a portrayal lacks finesse and will do little to break the logjam and in particular the non-participation of the right in national negotiation. The role of SA intellectuals in the crucial weeks to come must include the deepening of discourse surrounding the last white referendum.

□ O'Malley lectures in political science at Unisa.

'Transitional executive necessary'

Political Reporter

STAR
4/3/92
(304A)

A transitional executive structure should initially be appointed by Codesa.

This is one of the resolutions in a draft document, currently before the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements, which is to be discussed by the principals of the 19 delegations.

In terms of the working document, the group agreed that there was a need for transitional arrangements.

"An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure," the document said.

The discussion document will be used as a point of departure for further discussion.

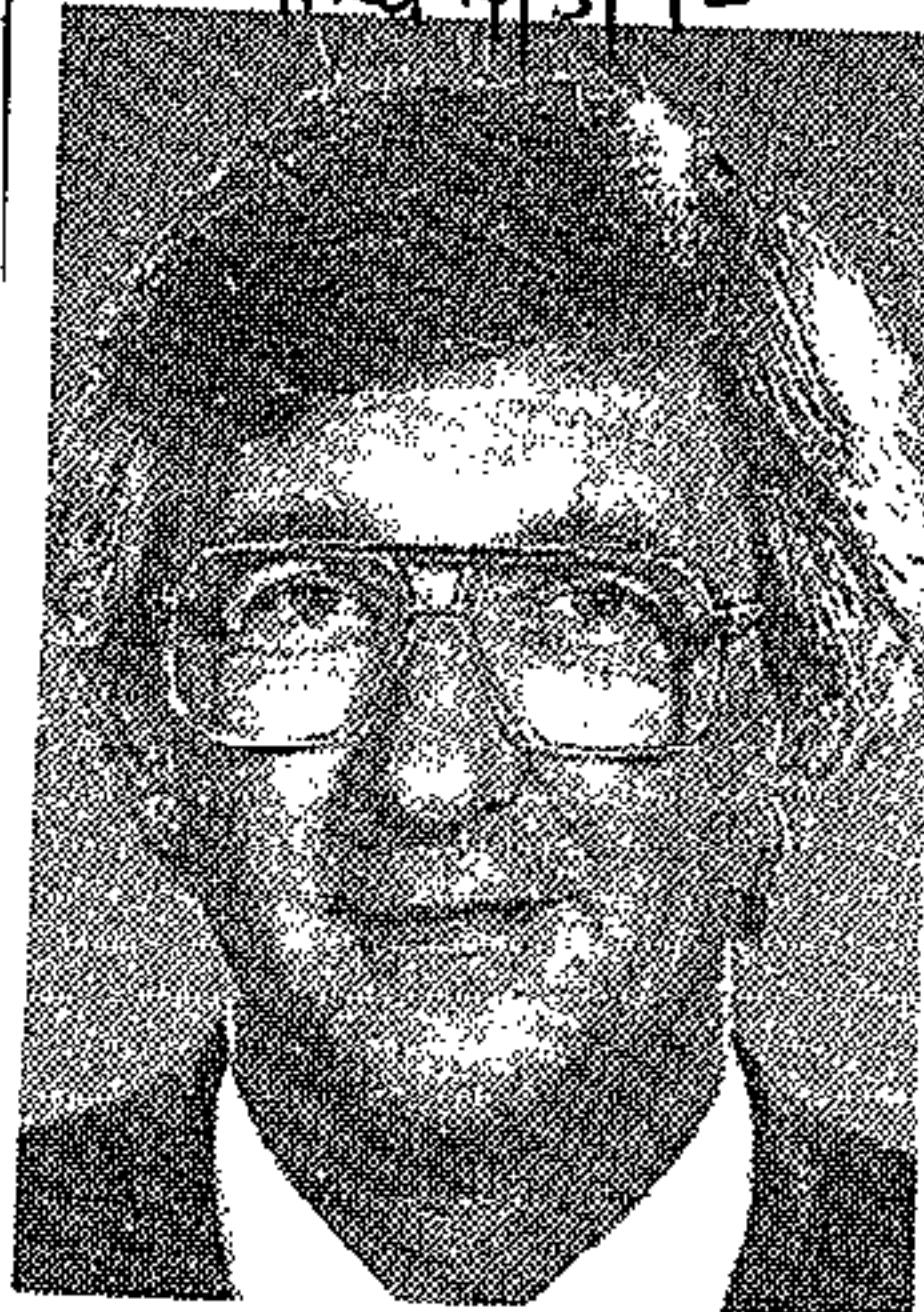
Codesa agreements would have to be legislated by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation.

The document said other aspects of the interim arrangements still needed to be discussed. The committee is to meet again next week.

● 'Sunset clauses' could be a boon — Page 14

REFERENDUM '92

Voting day: March 17
APR 4/3/92



Neal Chapman

(SOLA)
**Businesses
back Yes**

PROMINENT business leaders in the Western Cape have come out in strong support for a Yes vote in the March 17 referendum, and Southern Life chairman Mr Neal Chapman said "a No vote... is just too awful to contemplate."

FW warns against poll complacency

364A

ARG 4/3/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Complacency and not No votes was the main threat to the success of the "Vote Yes" referendum campaign, President De Klerk said as he swept across the Reef on the second day of his roadshow.

He asked members of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer to give him a resounding victory to dispel suspicions about reform and to inspire the lagging confidence of overseas investors.

He made 11 stops across the Reef to speak to an ethnic, social and professional cross-section of the population, including explosives factory workers, firemen, policemen, teachers, students, old age pensioners and welfare workers.

Focusing for the first time on blue collar workers and civil servants, Mr De Klerk assured policemen and firemen that the government would insist on guarantees for the security of their jobs and pensions in a new South Africa.

He told workers at the Modderfontein explosives factory and teachers in the southern suburbs that only continuing reform and a growing economy could guarantee their long-term job security.

Compared to his enthusiastic reception in the Cape on the first day of his roadshow on Monday, Mr De Klerk found the going a bit tougher in the Transvaal yesterday.



MEETING THE PEOPLE: President De Klerk shakes hands with a resident of Alanpark old age home in Kempton Park.

Confronting the harder political realities here, where pointed Conservative Party posters vied for attention with Yes-vote placards, he looked more strained as he continued his US-style campaign pattern of hand-shaking, autograph signing and baby-kissing.

Mr De Klerk thanked businessmen for coming out in favour of a Yes vote in the referendum and said the spontaneous support of the private sector had been an inspiration.

He warned them of the dangers of complacency and said they should not under-estimate the "emotional grip of negativism" that had been demonstrated at Potchefstroom, where the National Party lost to the Conservative Party in a by-election last month.

From the plush offices of the Johannesburg Chamber of

Commerce and Industry, Mr De Klerk went to the poverty of the Jan Hofmeyr recreation centre where "Tant Sannie" Swanepoel runs a soup kitchen.

He had some difficulty in putting across the sophisticated argument that the customers were struggling because of sanctions which only a Yes vote could cure.

Mrs Margaret Souter, a regular at the soup kitchen, complained that Mr De Klerk couldn't answer her questions about the crime wave but said she would probably vote Yes anyway because the Conservative Party had no solutions.

The President was enthusiastically received at Rand Afrikaans University where he said the referendum was about the future of young people, who would have to live with the consequences.

'We are not racist,'

insists
CP leader

Political Staff

THABAZIMBI. — Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht has denied his party's policy is racist.

He described CP policy to a packed hall at the showground here as "the love of a people of itself and not hatred of other people".

He said the CP stood for self-government of whites by whites, but recognised the right of black nations to govern themselves.

He accused the National Party of spreading "scare stories" about what would happen if the CP came to power.

He doubted whether the Zulu people under Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi or the Tswana people under President Lucas Mangope would initiate violence.

Dr Treurnicht cited figures to show that crimes of violence, ranging from the murder of elderly people to the assassination of policemen, had increased sharply since Mr De Klerk had taken office.

News by Patrick Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Right hots up

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The rightwing moves its campaign for a "No" vote in the referendum into high gear today with the leaders of three organisations speaking in the northern Transvaal.

President De Klerk will today devote his attention to affairs of state, including a cabinet meeting. Other ministers will be appearing around the country.

(Report by M Sparks, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

Wild Family
unipets

A 'no' vote in referendum 'means chaos' - De Klerk

Sowetan 4/3/92

(304A)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday said that he would hold another referendum if his "bottom lines" at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa were not met.

De Klerk told gatherings in Cape Town and Johannesburg over the past two days that a "yes" vote in the March 17 referendum would "strengthen his hand" in Codesa.

He said his bottom lines for a new constitution included the right to property, protection for minorities and a free market economy.

De Klerk told the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the Government was not trying to slip

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, Political Correspondent

apartheid back under the table.

He said security could not be built at the cost of justice.

"But the winner-take-all (constitutional) model is absolutely the worst possible model for South Africa. We cannot have a situation where 51 percent of the vote means 100 percent control of the country," he said.

He said a "no" vote would mean "chaos and darkness."

He also dismissed that there was a "bloodbond" between Government and the ANC.

Codesa being hampered - Labour

STAR 4/3/72
Political Reporter

the referendum.

The Labour Party has formally objected to the whites-only referendum "interfering with progress" at Codesa.

The working group on transitional arrangements yesterday decided to meet on Monday but not to meet on March 16 or March 17 — the day of

LP spokesman and representative at the working group, Peter Hendrickse, said that at last week's meeting of the group — the first since the announcement of the referendum — assurances were given by the Government that the referendum would not

304A
have an impact on Codesa's work.

The LP then formally objected to the decision that no meeting would take place on March 16 and March 17, in terms of Codesa's standing rules.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Pending poll and Budget prompts investor caution

ARC 14/3/92 3041P

TOM HOOD
Business Editor

UNIT trust investors should be wary of the currently high level of the JSE, given uncertainty over the pending referendum result and the Budget, says Mr Clive Fox, managing director of Consolidated Fund Managers.

"Industrial share prices are only marginally below their all-time high and could be put under severe pressure should the referendum result not be seen as favourable to long-term growth and stability."

Mr Fox argued that either way the referendum result could lead to violence, depending on how the far left and far right reacted.

Violence would not enhance investor confidence, given the fragile sentiment of the market at present.

Clients at Consolidated Fund Managers, a company that specialises in advising unit trust investors, have been conservatively positioned in response to the risks the market now offers, Mr Fox said.

Turning to the Budget on March 18, Mr Fox stressed government's current income shortfall and the need to raise additional revenues. He believed that, given the weak state of the economy, government might be forced to increase pension fund prescribed asset requirements in preference to other measures. This could have the effect of diverting a greater proportion of institutional cash-flow away from the equity market, thus reducing the impact of the so-called "weight of funds" theory.

Industrial shares were currently discounting a huge economic recovery. If this did not happen owing either to a negative referendum result or poor economic performance shown by South Africa's major trading partners, industrial equities could suffer a substantial correction.

Should industrial dividends grow by 15 percent in 1992, the industrial index would need to fall more than 30 percent to take the dividend yield back to the more realistic 4 percent, as occurred in October, 1987.

Mr Fox said major international equity markets were also showing signs of investor nervousness as economic performance fell short of investor perceptions.

The short-term could see a lot of volatility as the JSE responded and adjusted to the outcome of the referendum, and the Budget.

He advised existing unit holders to explore the options available to them, and suggested new investors move cautiously.

● The annual report of the Association of Unit Trusts shows total sales last year reached a record R2,9 billion, but repurchases rose to a record R1,5 billion, leaving a net inflow of R1,4 billion.

Some of the repurchases were owing to investors needing the cash because of retrenchments. Others were worried about the vulnerability of the current level of prices to a correction.

However, the expanding size of the industry would always be subject to a certain level of repurchases as an ongoing part of its business, said association chairman Mr Clive Turner.

Patrick Laurence reflects on FW, Potchefstroom and the Broederbond

A complex web of theories

STAR 4/3/92

3047

CONSPIRACY theorists — those political observers who are wont to see machinations and legerdemain in most if not all political developments — are having a field day now that the campaign for the March 17 referendum has started in earnest.

For them, President F W de Klerk's decision to call the referendum was a calculated move of Machiavellian cunning made before rather than after the National Party's crushing defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in the Potchefstroom by-election.

Mr de Klerk and his lieutenants, they reason, anticipated the defeat before Potchefstroom and consequently decided to ensure that the NP was not merely defeated but disastrously defeated, in order to establish a pretext to call a referendum.

Mr de Klerk, their reasoning implies, deliberately courted disaster in order to turn it into triumph by calling a referendum where the NP would have a clear advantage over his political foes in the CP.

Their explanation of the NP's devastating defeat at Potchefstroom is unconvincing for a number of reasons.

But to reject their interpretation does not mean that a secret cabal has not influenced Mr de Klerk's actions since he took over the leadership of the NP in February 1989.

Before elucidating on that statement it is necessary to identify the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the conspiratorial explanations of the Potchefstroom result.

The first point is that the NP did not appear to anticipate defeat at Potchefstroom: right to the end the NP candidate, Theuns Kruger, believed the NP would win, albeit narrowly. He comes across as a straightforward man, incapable of the simulation required to proclaim that victory is in sight when defeat is a certainty.

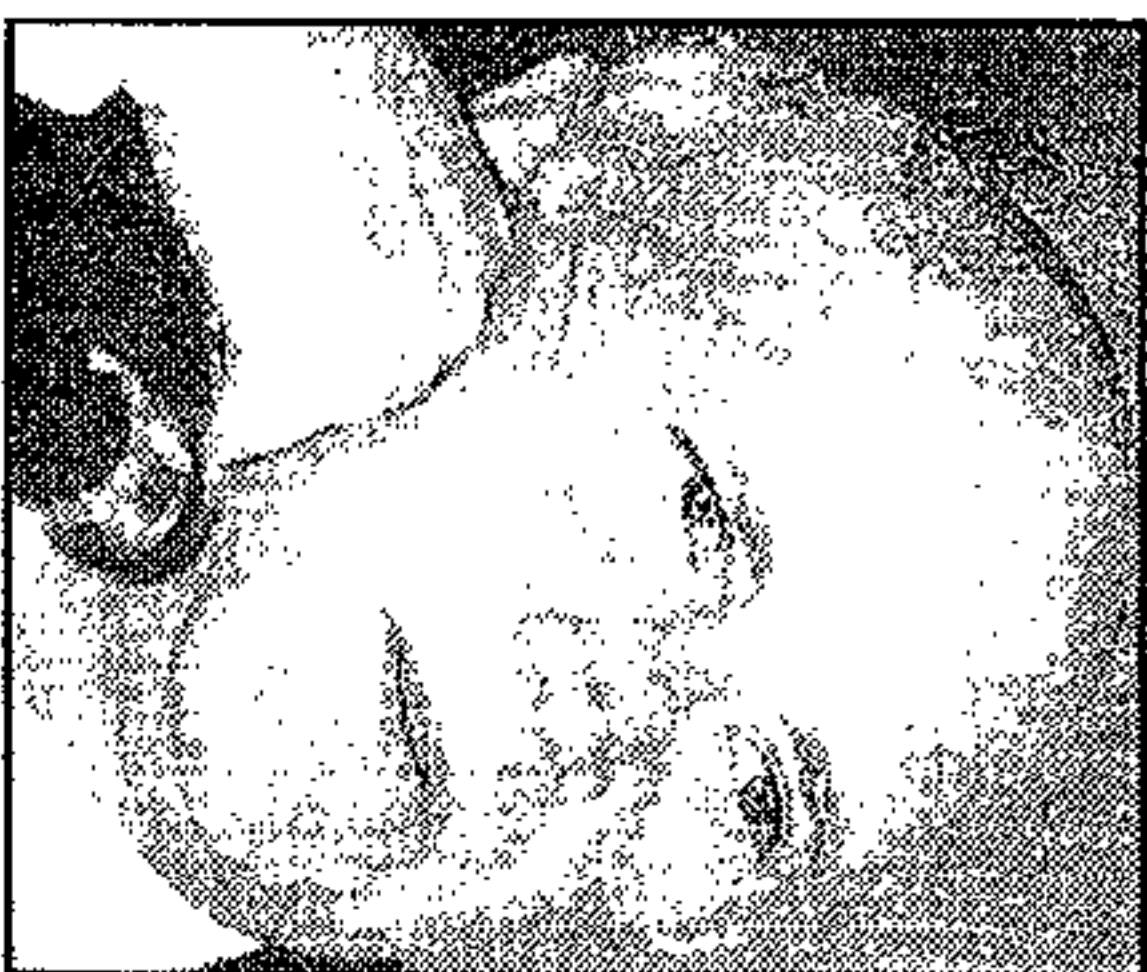
More than that, Mr Kruger seemed genuinely distressed and perplexed by the result, blaming it on the "lie factor", calculated by some political analysts to be in excess of 20 percent.

Mr Kruger, it is submitted, was not the only NP man to be deceived by the lie factor: the NP leadership, too, believed to the last moment that the NP could hold Potchefstroom.

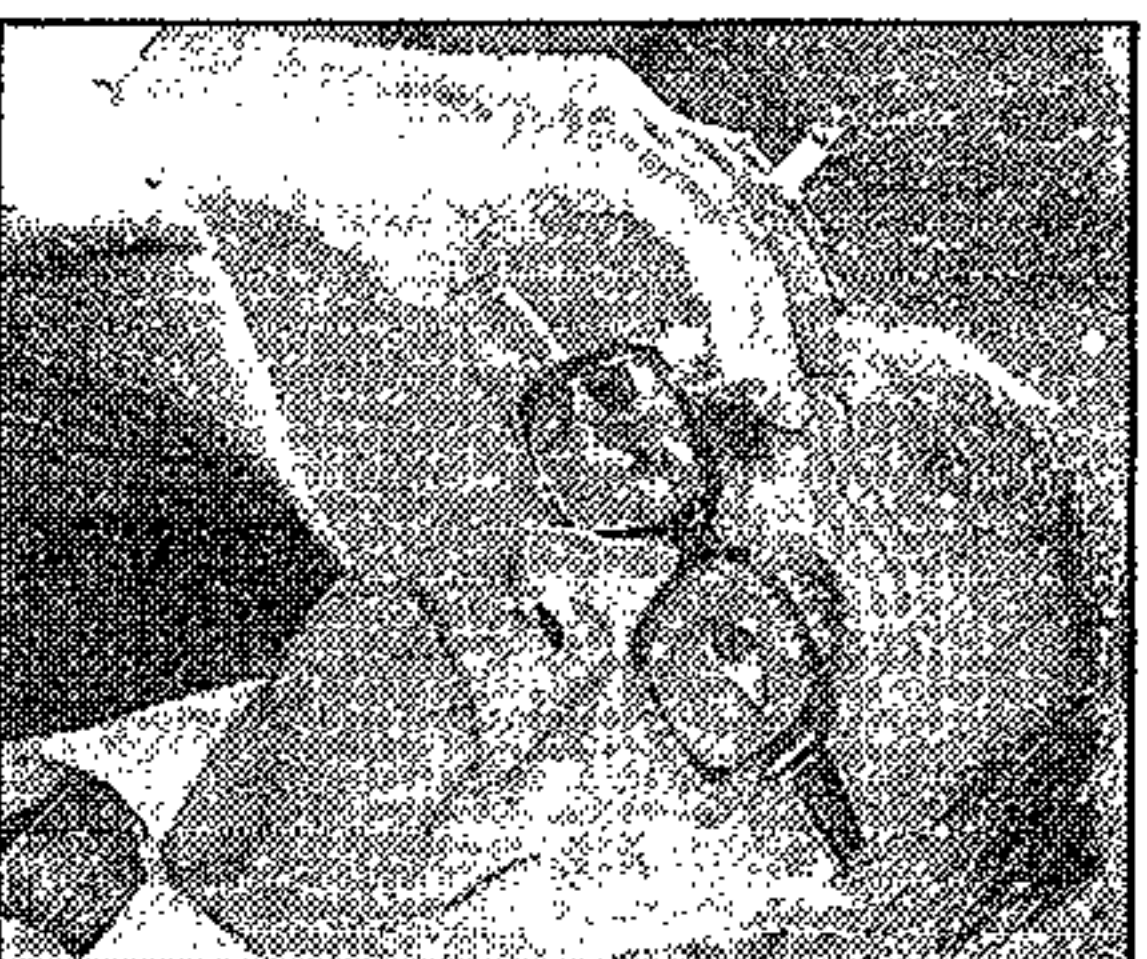
The "lie factor" is a better explanation for Mr de Klerk's statement within a week of the election that Potchefstroom was a good barometer of the mood of whites. His statement was prompted by the mistaken belief that the NP could win.

Another factor which contradicts the conspiracy theory is the strenuous if belated effort made by the NP leadership to win at Potchefstroom. Rushing 10 cabinet ministers to the constituency to win over the important student vote was not the action of a party planning to lose the by-election.

Mr de Klerk is too shrewd a politician to deliberately allow a major opponent to build up support and gain an image of invincibility by allowing it to win a seat which he had twice declared to be a critical test of strength.



Broeders and brothers . . . F W and Willem de Klerk.



It is true, however, that the decision to announce major cuts in state expenditure on education and the retrenchment of 4 000 white teachers two days before the election was politically inept. It does not follow that it was part of a ingenious stratagem.

There are alternative explanations. The NP, fearful of CP sympathisers in the bureaucracy, may have decided to make the announcement itself before it was leaked to the public. There was an important element in the new education policy — handing over control of admissions to white schools to white parents — which could have been used to boost the NP at Potchefstroom.

Mr de Klerk may well have prepared a contingency plan to cope with the possibility of losing Potchefstroom, but the available evidence is that he tried hard to win and believed the NP had a chance of succeeding.

So much for Potchefstroom. What of the clandestine forces which may lie behind Mr de Klerk's metamorphosis from a cautious conservative cabinet minister into a bold reforming President? The explanation may be contained in two words: Afrikaner Broederbond.

Mr de Klerk is a Broeder and has been since 1964, when he was admitted at the young age of 27. The Broederbond, pushed to the wings of the political stage during the Presidency of P W Botha, has since re-emerged as an important, if discreet, force.

In the mid-1980s the Broederbond — which had become a moderating, if elite, force in Afrikanerdom — produced a "working document" which sought to identify the fundamental prerequisites for Afrikaner survival.

The Broederbond document contained three cardinal propositions: a new constitution had to be drawn up in consultation with all groups, including, by implication, the then outlawed ANC, Afrikaner survival was compatible with a black president and a cabinet in which most members were black; white control could not be built into or entrenched in the constitution which should provide for power-sharing.

These statements were revolutionary at the time, when Mr Botha's security forces were battling to contain an ANC-inspired rebellion in the townships. Mr Botha's dressing down of Foreign Minister Pk Botha in 1986 for daring to suggest that a black man could be president under NP policy was a clear indication of that.

The advent of Mr de Klerk as NP leader and President in 1989 changed that. Broederbond policy was no longer too avant garde for the NP. It became NP policy. The similarity between the NP's 1989 Five Year Action Plan and a second "guideline" Broederbond document is too striking to be coincidental.

Broeders, including Mr de Klerk's brother, Willem, and the present chairman of the Broederbond, J P de Lange, set the scene by travelling abroad to hold secret discussions with the ANC.

The hand of the Broederbond is suspected by some observers to have been involved in another important development: the birth of the Democratic Party in 1989.

One of the prime movers was Professor Willem de Klerk, Mr de Klerk's elder brother. Another was Wynand Malan, a Broeder who, disillusioned with Mr Botha's NP, had left to found the National Democratic Movement. Mr Malan later became a co-leader of the DP for a short time.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Malan shared one conviction: that Mr Botha's NP had become too cautious, that it was not verlig enough. One can only speculate on the motives for their involvement in the DP (and those of the Afrikaner mogul, Louis Luyt).

One theory is that they wanted to persuade Mr de Klerk that the DP was a real threat and that he would have to move boldly to the Left — and in the direction prescribed by the Broederbond — to prevent further losses.

If so, they certainly succeeded, as Mr de Klerk's bold reformist moves since he became President in September 1989 show. If the Broederbond is less conspicuous today, it is arguably because Mr de Klerk, ably aided by a former Broederbond chairman, Gerrit Viljoen, is doing what it thinks should be done.

● Footnote: Recent disclosures by former National Intelligence Chief Niel Barnard that he had secretly made contact with the ANC during the Botha era complicate the picture further, and caution against interpreting events too rigidly in terms of any one theory □

Inflexibility of rules annoys voters

STAR 4/3/92

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

304A

Thousands of crucial votes will be lost in the pending referendum because of strict voting rules which do not accommodate people bound to certain travel arrangements.

Frustrated voters have phoned The Star to voice their annoyance at the inflexibility of rules set by the Department of Home Affairs, which has indicated it can do nothing to help.

Both National Party

and Conservative Party offices have also been fielding a stream of calls from people travelling out of South Africa on March 12 — the only day apart from March 11 that citizens outside the country can cast a special vote at SA embassies or consulates.

Although March 13, 14 and 16 have been set aside for special votes, this does not assist South Africans still away over this period.

Complaints have also been received from people who will be far from

embassies and consulates on March 11 and 12.

Said one voter travelling to Hong Kong on March 12: "I really want to vote but there is no way I can. It seems ridiculous that the department can do nothing about accommodating the hundreds of South African citizens who will be on a plane out of the country that day."

Johannesburg businessman Mike Lawrenson and a large group of South African citizens will be in rural Transkei on business during the

referendum and is doubtful that he will find the time to drive hundreds of kilometres to the SA Consulate in Umtata.

A Home Affairs spokesman said the department "simply can't cater for this kind of contingency". There was no way every voter's circumstance could be accommodated.

Staff at the department are working overtime to issue ID documents to eligible voters before the referendum.

(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

'No' vote will close doors

By Dirk Nel (304A)

TZANEEN — The outcome of the referendum would determine whether there would be peace and stability in a future South Africa or a return to a dark period of confrontation and insecurity, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha told an audience of 800 people in Tzaneen last night.

"We have arrived at such a vital point in our history that we need to get on our knees before God and pray for His help, because if things go wrong now, our children will have no education, and there will be a period of isolation and inevitable economic hardship," he said.

Sanctions doors would slam shut again if a "no" vote was registered.

(Report by D Nel, 7 Mimosa Building,
Market Street, Pietersburg)



REFERENDUM COUNTDOWN

The senior vote ... on his "Wits blitz" yesterday, President de Klerk popped in to the Alanpark old age home in Kempton Park to convince South Africa's senior citizens that a "yes" vote was the only sensible vote for the country's future generations.

Pictures:
Etienne Rothbart



'Who would start a bloodbath?'

By Patrick Laurence (304A)

THABAZIMBI — Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht last night denied that CP policy was racist.

Addressing a packed hall at the local showground, Dr Treurnicht described CP policy as "the love of a people of itself and not hatred of other people". He said the CP stood for self-government of whites, by whites, but recognised the right of black nations to govern themselves.

He accused the National Party of spreading "scare stories" about what would happen if the CP came to power, and was particularly scathing about its warnings that a CP triumph would precipitate a bloodbath.

"Who would start the bloodbath," he asked, adding that if the ANC tried to incite people to violence it would meet the strongest resistance.

The CP leader pointedly asked what the NP would do if the ANC tried to initiate a bloodbath. "Will you stand with your ANC allies against your own people?" His question was greeted with cries of "skande".

He warned that transitional government would lead to the replacement of Mr de Klerk's administration by a black communist regime.

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

FW mean by 'landslide'?

orward about the fact that the party was not going to be entirely straightforward.

"We're very reluctant to try to quantify a decisive majority," he said. "We'd be setting a trap for ourselves if we tried to put a specific figure on it."

The important thing was, he said, "that it is essential for South Africa and progress in negotiations that we get a very clear, decisive victory."

"There are many factors involved, like the percentage of the vote."

Would the result in the 1983 referendum, when the "yes" vote was two-thirds, be a fair description of a landslide?

"Yes," said Mr Coetzer, but would be drawn no further.

As the "landslide" debate gets under way, a new projection of the outcome of the March 17 poll has been made, with analysts predicting a win for the "yes" campaigners in the region of 60-40 percent.

Independent political analyst Donald Simpson has collaborated with Professor Japie Spoelstra of Potchefstroom University's department of mathematics to come up with a new forecast.

Mr Simpson concludes the "yes" vote will be 61.69 percent and the "no" vote 38.31 percent.

(Report by Stephen Johnson, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Nat volunteer Tshabalala does his bit

By Helen Grange (304A)
Pretoria Bureau

At a National Party campaign office in Erasmus, west of Pretoria, an NP branch chairman is beaver away to ensure whites vote "yes" in the referendum. He is one of many volunteer workers, but he stands out in this environment.

His name is Joe Tshabalala. The NP's recently acquired multiracial face has taken on a practical form in the heat of the referendum campaign.

Mr Tshabalala, chairman of the NP's Atteridgeville branch, which was established in October, says he is only one of sev-

eral black NP members involved in the white battle.

Since his own community is not the target of his campaign for a "yes" vote, he decided to set himself up in the NP's office in Erasmus.

There, he arranges posters, phones voters, organises lunches and writes letters on behalf of a party for which he can't vote.

The irony is even more striking when Mr Tshabalala begins his sentences with: "We Nats ..." and leaps up bright-eyed to offer his assistance in getting this reporter naturalised in time to vote.

Mr Tshabalala became an NP

member when the party opened its doors to all races last June. Thousands of blacks have since joined, he says.

"The five members of my Atteridgeville branch and other black volunteers are going to be very busy over the next two weeks putting up posters. Our future as blacks also depends on this referendum," he says.

Although this is the first time he has taken part in an NP campaign, he is no stranger to Nat-style politics.

A former mayor of Atteridgeville, he has been involved in campaigns for council by-elections in the township.

(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

What some white politicians believe they're fighting for

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



"Yes" ...
Du Plessis.

What do top white politicians believe they are really fighting for in the "yes-no" referendum campaign? The Star randomly cornered a range of prominent figures on the campaign trail and pressed them to put their views in a nutshell — or at least a sentence or two.

LEON WESSELS, NP Cabinet

minister: "A 'yes' vote is a move away from the apartheid years. A 'no' vote is to pull your head into a tortoise shell."

KOOS VAN DER MERWE, CP MP:

"A 'yes' vote means whites are getting a rotten deal. It is the forcing together of disparate people, which has been a failure in Eastern Europe."

KEN ANDREW, DP MP: "A 'yes' vote means a serious attempt at

finding lasting solutions to the country's problems, and a 'no' vote means trying for a second time to succeed where Dr Verwoerd failed ..."

BAREND DU PLESSIS, NP Cabinet minister:

"A 'yes' vote is saying to all others in SA — yes, we are prepared to negotiate with you. A 'no' vote signifies refusal to continue negotiations, and a return to apartheid."

FERDI HARTZENBERG, CP MP:

"A 'yes' vote means a black government and a black president — Nelson Mandela ... 'No' means one does not have to be ruled by a communist government."

TONY LEON, DP MP:

"A 'yes' means that for the first time, white South Africa will endorse principles it has consistently rejected in the last eight general elections — a democratic con-

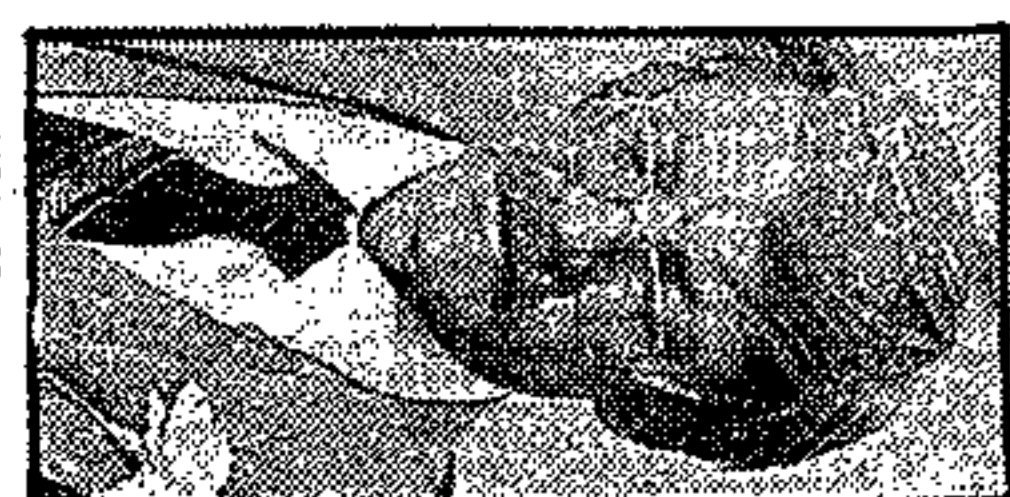
stitution, equal rights and a strong protection of minorities."

ROELF MEYER, NP Cabinet minister:

"A 'yes' is support for finally breaking international isolation and the resolution of constitutional and other conflicts."

PIET COETZER, NP MP: "A 'no' vote tells 26 million people to go to hell ..."

"No" ...
Hartzenberg.



Complicity the danger, FW warns

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Complicity and not the 'no' vote was the main threat to the success of the 'yes' vote referendum campaign, President de Klerk warned Johannesburg businessmen yesterday as he swept across the Reef on the second day of his road-show.

Repeating his appeal for a landslide "yes" vote, he appealed to members of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer to give him a resounding

victory to dispel suspicions about reform and inspire the lagging confidence of overseas investors.

His schedule was more punishing than in the Cape — 11 stops across the Reef to speak to an ethnic, social and professional cross-section of the population, including factory workers, firefighters, policemen, teachers and students.

Focusing for the first time on blue-collar workers and civil servants, he assured policemen and firemen that the Government would insist on negotiating guarantees for the security of their jobs and pensions in a new South Africa. Only continuing reform — and therefore a

growing economy — could guarantee their long-term job security, he added.

Compared with his enthusiastic reception in the Cape on the first day of his road-show on Monday, Mr de Klerk found the going a bit tougher in the Transvaal.

Confronting the harder political realities here — where tough and pointed Conservative Party posters vied for attention with "yes" vote placards — he looked more strained, and sometimes battled to put across his message as he continued the new US-style campaign pattern of hand-shaking, autograph-signing and baby-kissing.

Addressing the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and In-

dustry and the Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr de Klerk said the spontaneous support of the private sector had been an inspiration to him.

He warned of the dangers of complacency and said the "emotional grip of negativism" that had been demonstrated at Potchefstroom should not be underestimated.

Asked what he intended doing about crime before the March 18 Budget, Mr de Klerk promised he would make an announcement that would not necessarily pre-empt the Budget but would demonstrate the Government's determination to deal with crime.

Then Mr de Klerk went directly to the poverty of the Jan

Hofmeyr recreation centre where Johanna "Tant Sannie" Swanepoel runs her well-known soup kitchens.

It was clear that he was having some difficulty putting across to these poor people the sophisticated argument that they were suffering because of sanctions which only a "yes" vote could ultimately cure.

Mr de Klerk was received enthusiastically at Rand Afrikaans University — apart from one student who warned him that "God's curse is on you and the Government" — where he sat down to eat with students in their canteen.

He drove home his recurring campaign theme that the referendum was about the future of

young people who would have to live with the consequences over the next 50 years.

He also met residents the Alanpark old age home in Kempton Park, the mayor and councillors of the Edenvale town council, Johannesburg city councillors, and leaders of the Jewish community and of the Portuguese and Greek communities on the West Rand.

Mr de Klerk dismissed CP "propaganda" that the NP was asking the electorate for a blank cheque. He said one important thing the NP would be filling in on the cheque it was asking for was job security for public servants.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Potch conspiracy ideas full of holes

Soueten 4/3/92

304A

CONSPIRACY theorists - those political observers who like to see plots, schemes and trickery in most if not all political developments - are having a field day now that the campaign for March 17 referendum has started in earnest.

For them, State President FW de Klerk's decision to call the referendum was a calculated move of Machiavellian cunning made before rather than after the National Party's crushing defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in the Potchefstroom by-election.

De Klerk and his lieutenants, they reason, expected the defeat before Potchefstroom and consequently decided to ensure that the NP was not merely defeated but disastrously defeated, in order to establish a pretext to call a referendum.

De Klerk, their reasoning infers, deliberately courted disaster in order to turn it into triumph by calling a referendum where the NP would have a clear advantage over his political foes in the CP.

Their explanation of the NP's devastating defeat at Potchefstroom is unconvincing for a number of reasons. But to reject their interpretation does not mean that a secret cabal has not influenced De Klerk's actions since he took over the leadership of the NP in February 1989.

Before elucidating that statement, it is necessary to identify the weaknesses and logical inconsistencies in the conspiratorial aspect of the Potchefstroom result.

The first point is that the NP did not appear to expect defeat at Potchefstroom. Right to the end the NP candidate, Mr Theuns Kruger, believed the NP would win, albeit narrowly. He comes

FOCUS

PATRICK LAURENCE reflects on FW, Potchefstroom and the Broederbond.

across as a straightforward man, incapable of the dissimulation required to proclaim that victory is in sight when defeat is a certainty.

More than that, Kruger seemed genuinely distressed and perplexed by the result, blaming it on the "lie factor" calculated by some political analysts to be in excess of 20 percent.

Kruger, it is submitted, was not the only NP man to be deceived by the lie factor. The NP leadership was, too, believing to the last moment that the NP could hold Potchefstroom.

Student vote

Another factor which contradicts the conspiracy theory is the strenuous if belated effort made the NP leadership to win at Potchefstroom rushing 10 Cabinet Ministers to the constituency to win over the important student vote was not the action of a party planning to lose the by-election.

De Klerk is too shrewd a politician to deliberately allow a major opponent to build up support and attain the image of invincibility by allowing it to win a seat which he had twice declared to be a critical test of strength between the NP and CP.

It is true, however, that the decision to announce major cuts in State expenditure on education and the retrenchment of 4 000 white teach-

ers two days before the election was politically inept. It does not follow that it was part of an ingenious stratagem.

There was an important element in the new education policy - handing over control of admissions to white schools to white parents - which could have been used to boost the NP at Potchefstroom.

De Klerk may well have prepared a contingency plan in the event of losing Potchefstroom but the available evidence is that he tried hard to win and that he believed the NP had a chance of succeeding.

So much for Potchefstroom.

What of the clandestine forces which may lie behind De Klerk's metamorphosis from a cautious conservative Cabinet Minister into a bold, reforming president?

The explanation may be contained in two words: Afrikaner Broederbond.

De Klerk is a Broeder and has been since 1964, when he was admitted at the young age of 27. The Broederbond, which was pushed to the wings of the political stage during the presidency of Mr PW Botha, has since re-emerged as an important if discreet political force.

In the mid-1980s the Broederbond - which had become a modernising, if elite, force in Afrikanerdom - produced a "working document" which sought to identify the fundamental prerequisites for Afrikaner survival.

The Broederbond document contained three cardinal propositions - a new constitution had to be drawn up in consultation with all groups, including, by implication, the then outlawed African National Congress.

The similarity between the

NP's 1989 Five Year Action Plan and a second "guideline" Broederbond document is too striking to be coincidental.

Broeders, including De Klerk's brother Willem, and the present chairman of the Broederbond, Mr JP de Lange, set the scene by travelling abroad to hold secret discussions with the ANC emissaries.

The hand of the Broederbond is suspected by some observers to have been involved in another important development: the birth of the Democratic Party in 1989.

One of the prime movers was Professor Willem de Klerk, De Klerk's elder brother. Another was Mr Wynand Malan, a Broeder who, disillusioned with Botha's NP, had left to found the National Democratic Movement.

Malan later became a co-leader of the DP for a short time.

De Klerk and Malan shared one conviction - that Botha's NP had become too cautious, that it was not verlig enough.

One can only speculate on the motives for their involvement in the DP (and those of the Afrikaner mogul, Mr Louis Luyt).

One theory is that they wanted to persuade De Klerk that the DP was a real threat on the NP's left flank and that he would have to move boldly to the left - and in the direction prescribed by the Broederbond - to prevent further losses.

If so, they certainly succeeded, as De Klerk's bold reformist moves since he became State President in September 1989 show.

If the Broederbond is less conspicuous today, it is arguably because De Klerk, ably aided by a former Broederbond chairman, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is doing what it thinks should be done.

CP plans to bring home 'no' message

STAR 4/3/92
The Conservative Party will drop a four-page newsletter into every white-owned house in South Africa from the end of this week urging voters to reject reform in the referendum, a top official said yesterday.

Acting CP chief secretary Paul Fouche said the newsletter was being written by Koos van der Merwe, the man credited with persuading CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to take part in the referendum.

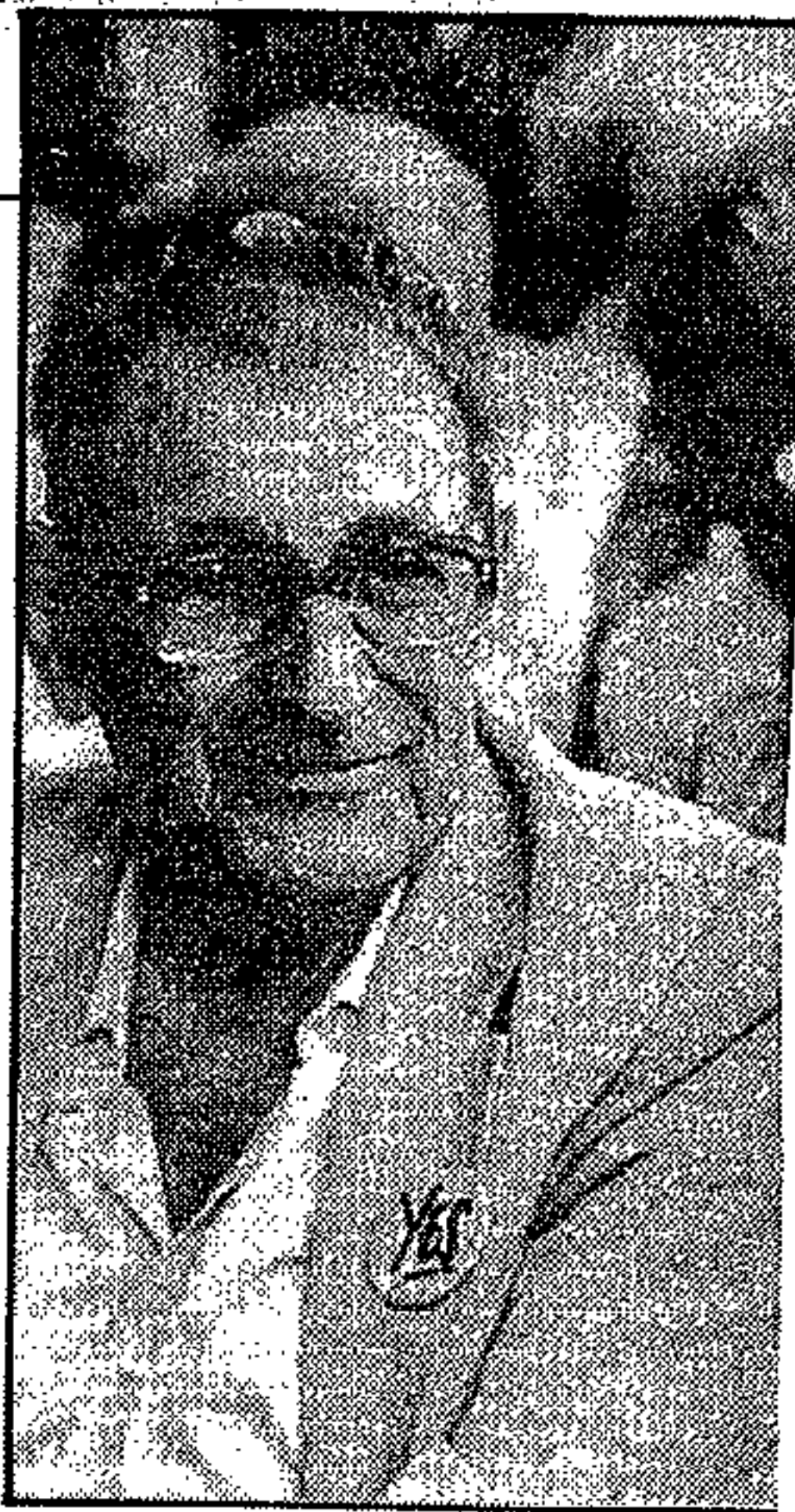
He said the letter would spell out CP fears that a "yes" vote would give the white minority Government a blank cheque to hand over power to the ANC — the message already being promoted on CP posters.

Mr Fouche said the party had not yet decided whether to run newspaper and television advertisements to counter two multimillion-rand media campaigns by the National Party and big business's Private Sector Referendum Fund.

Mr Fouche said he was inclined to accuse President de Klerk of abusing his office in adopting an American "press-the-flesh" campaign style.

Dr Treurnicht is relying on a series of public meetings.

(Report by Sapa, Kine Centre, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg; and AFP, Nixdorf Centre, Stanley Ave, Milpark)



Just what does

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The National Party, according to no less a source than the state president, wants a "landslide" referendum victory.

This has raised a question of great interest to voters at large: when exactly does a win become a landslide?

The reluctance among NP officials was almost audible yesterday when The Star pressed the party to attach a precise figure to the term.

Senior NP spokesman Piet Coetzer, the able and helpful official to whom the unattractive task fell, was at least straight-



KEY PLAYERS: African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk shake hands at the start of constitutional talks in Johannesburg — before exchanging harsh words from behind the microphone.

The Star Wednesday March 4

Vaal town urges 'no'

The Vanderbijlpark Town Council yesterday appealed to white voters to register a "no" vote in the March 17 referendum. "The council believes that the reform process, which aims at creating a unitary state on a one person, one vote basis, should be halted," said a statement.

'Sunset clauses' could be a boon

STA 413/92

(3044)



Allister Sparks

WITH all the drama over the referendum and South Africa's up-down performance in the World Cup cricket, insufficient attention has been given to the ANC's interim government proposals tabled at Codesa last week.

There has been comment on the first two phases, to set up an all-party Interim Government Council and then to elect an Interim Parliament which can also serve as a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. This proposal, as some commentators have noted, narrows the gap between the ANC and the Government on the transitional arrangements.

But the feature that caught my eye was the proposal for a third phase based on so-called "sunset clauses" in the final constitution. Apart from a few misplaced wisecracks about the phrase, this imaginative concept has failed to attract any attention at all.

Perhaps the plan would have been more readily understood if the term "fade-out clauses" had been used — in other words clauses in the constitution that apply for a limited period of time and then fade out automatically.

The ANC's idea is to use such clauses to provide for an additional transition period even after the final constitution comes into effect, so as to cushion the impact of a changeover to majority rule for the whites and other minorities. It is a way of building in gradualism.

As Thabo Mbeki, who presented the plan to Codesa's constitutional working committee, explained it, one example of a "sunset clause" could be an agreement that the winner of the first election under the new constitution will appoint a coalition Cabinet, or a "government of national unity", that includes all the major parties for a given period — say three or five years.

At the end of that time the sun would set on the clause and it would fall away. Unless, of course, the participating parties decided the coalition system was working so well they wanted to renew it.

Other "sunset clauses", the ANC has explained, could build in guarantees that no major changes would take place in the civil service, or that no affirmative action or other economic restructuring programmes would begin for a specified period.

The ANC has stressed that it has not worked out any specific proposals in detail, that it is simply putting the concept on the table and that the specific "sunset clauses" should be the subject of negotiation.

What strikes me is the flexibility of the concept. The Government has indicated that it wants whatever transitional arrangement is agreed upon to remain in place for about 10 years before a final constitution is decided, to give whites time to adjust.

That is clearly unacceptable. To keep South Africa in such a prolonged state of suspense would be to invite mounting instability and turmoil, which would drive away investment, so causing greater unemployment and thus greater instability in an intensifying, vicious circle.

But the ANC's "sunset clause" idea enables one to reach a decision on the constitution and still have a gradual transition without any uncertainty.

Once the principle is agreed the detail is of little consequence. The Government wants a 10-year transition period, the ANC is suggesting three to five years. It's a matter for negotiation and the difference in time is minute in any historical perspective.

Equally important is the introduction of the idea of agreements additional to the basic constitution. Both Mr Mbeki and Ntshenzhe Joel, another member of the constitutional working committee, have pointed out that the "sunset clauses" could be either fade-out clauses in the constitution itself or contained in separate agreements between the political parties.

The latter idea has much to commend it, for it enables agreements to be renewed or left to expire, and even for new agreements to be reached in the light of changing circumstances, without incurring the national trauma of amending the constitution.

This is the real secret of the Swiss political system, which has been misrepresented here for partisan political purposes. The impression has been given that the Swiss constitution provides for a system of compulsory coalition government involving all the major parties — much the same as the National Party is proposing for South Africa.

This is untrue. The Swiss constitution, introduced in 1848, makes no provision for coalition government of any kind — and in fact makes no mention of political parties whatsoever.

The system of coalition that is followed in Switzerland is set out in a political agreement between the major parties that was reached only 33 years ago. It has nothing to do with the constitution and can be changed at any time by the parties themselves — even

by just one of them which can choose to pull out of the deal.

In what is known colloquially as "the magic formula", the major Swiss parties — the Christian Democrats, the Radicals, the Social Democrats and the smaller National People's Party — which jointly control between two-thirds and three-quarters of the seats in the United Federal Assembly, decided in 1959 to apportion the seven Cabinet seats between them on a ratio of two, two, two and one.

They also try, by unwritten agreement, to ensure that the French and Italian minorities are always represented in the seven-person Cabinet. But again, there is no constitutional requirement.

Should the relative strengths of the parties change significantly, if for example a minor party should suddenly emerge larger than one of the big four, then obviously the agreement would be changed.

In any event the Social Democrats have from time to time given serious thought to pulling out of the coalition agreement and setting themselves up as an opposition in parliament. So far they have decided against that, but they can do it at any time. The agreement is no more binding than any other coalition deal — and that is its strength.

It is the compulsory nature of the National Party's constitutional proposals that renders them unworkable. Parties will work together satisfactorily only if they choose to do so. If the constitution requires them to, the system is sure to break down and then there will be a constitutional crisis.

The ANC's idea of agreements outside the constitution provides the formula for a workable compromise. It deserves consideration. □

Poll will affect talks at Codesa

Sowetan 4/3/92

304A

AT LEAST two Codesa working groups will scale down operations in the run up to the March 17 referendum, despite assurances by the Government that negotiations will not be affected by the poll.

Working group three, on transitional arrangements, will meet again on March 9, but will not meet again until March 23.

A delegate on working group one said they would meet on Mondays only until March 23.

The Labour Party delegate in working group three, Mr Peter Hendrickse, said his party and others within the working group voiced their unhappiness.

The move was proposed

by several delegations who would be involved in the referendum campaign.

"After that it was felt it's no use meeting just for the sake of meeting if all parties don't have representatives making meaningful contributions.

"We (LP) placed on record... that despite reassurances, the National Party is being allowed to

interfere with the workings of Codesa."

"It was agreed that all delegations would continue to take part meaningfully in its deliberations in the period leading up to the referendum," Hendrickse said.

He criticised the NP's unwillingness to take part full-strength during the referendum campaign. - Sapa.

NATIONAL SC

Re
Directors: M Mahanyele MBA (London) FIPM
M L Leoka BA Admin (UNIN), Dip PR, Dip BM; Dr M Makeba
Dr N Mzamane BSc (Rhodes) MBBCH (WITS); I
E T van Rensburg B Com (Honi

CP's surprise about-face

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

IN a very significant political somersault the Conservative Party this week spoke on the same forum as the ANC.

The CP has always, as a matter of policy, refused to be associated with the ANC (or any other black liberation movement) but has frequently held discussions with homeland leaders. The surprise move has been interpreted as part of CP strategy to win support inside the country and abroad - by any means possible.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP maverick who leads a "verligte" faction within the organisation, took part in an Australian television programme with an ANC executive, Mr Saki Macozoma.

It is understood that Van der Merwe received the green light to take part in the television programme from the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Treurnicht only last

week said his party would never encourage dialogue with the ANC, and dismissed any suggestions, too, of contact between the two organisations.



CALLING ALL
LADIES & MEN
- MEET YOUR
PERFECT
PARTNER!

NO FORMS, NO FEES,
NO FUSS, 100%
CONFIDENTIAL
PHONE
JOHANNESBURG

725-6606

NOW
HOURS: 9 am - 5 pm
MONDAY TO FRIDAY

S 4718

Codesa 'can't deliver' liberation

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa would not achieve genuine liberation for the oppressed black masses, two political organisations told listeners of the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress, said alternative means had to be sought to liberate blacks.

Making an input under the topic: "What are the peaceful alternatives to Codesa", they stopped short of saying the ANC's participation in Codesa was a wrong move.

Sowetan 4/3/92
SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

PAC's Max Nemadzhivanani said for the talks to be meaningful, they had to take place at a neutral venue where the Government would not have, as it was the case at present, control of the police and armed force and other facilities that might compromise the outcome of such negotiations.

He accused the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, of calling parties in Codesa to dismantle their armies while his forces were still "armed to the teeth against

the African people".

Azapo said conditions were not conducive for black people to enter into negotiations with the Government.

B/10aw
4/3/92

Huddleston launches campaign

AN EMERGENCY campaign to influence the outcome of the referendum is being launched today in London by Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. The campaign aims to ensure the white electorate appreciates that a "no" vote will lead to SA facing unprecedented international isolation. (P) 304A

81 Day
4/3/92

Vanderbijlpark says 'no' ^{304A}

THE Vanderbijlpark Town Council appealed yesterday to white voters to vote "no" in the referendum. It said: "The council believes the reform process, which aims at creating a unitary state on a one-person-one-vote basis, should be halted." ²⁴⁶

NEWS IN BRIEF

Seifsa backs 'yes' vote (304th)

SEIFSA supports a strong "yes" vote in the referendum on March 17, as the effects of a negative vote will be extremely serious on industry and the economy, says executive director Brian Angus.

He said a "no" vote would lead to the swift reimposition of international sanctions which would cut off SA's access to technology and the country's exporters would fall further behind their competitors.

"SA relies on international trade for 60% of its GDP. A substantial proportion of this would be lost."

B/Day 4/3/92

Codesa's referendum slowdown

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa 2 was likely to take place between April 9 and 16, Codesa delegates said yesterday following a management committee meeting where the issue was discussed.

Although the exact date had not yet been finalised, delegates expressed the hope that Codesa 2 would take place between the start of the parliamentary recess on April 6 and the Easter weekend which starts on April 17.

Meanwhile, Codesa working groups have

substantially scaled down their activities during the week of the referendum, despite assurances that Codesa would not be affected by the March 17 poll.

At least two of the five Codesa working groups have cancelled their meetings for March 16 and 17 and others might follow suit, delegates said yesterday.

The decisions of the groups drew stiff opposition from the Labour Party, which said the NP had firmly stated that Codesa would not be affected by the referendum.

ANC management committee member

Mr Mac Maharaj said ANC members had not objected to the delay, pointing out that only one week of Codesa's work would be affected.

Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he felt Codesa was moving at too fast a pace and that any decision to slow it down would be welcome.

Parties were often not able to get the minutes of previous meetings in time to properly discuss the issues raised with their principals in time for the next meetings, he said.

(304A) CT 4/3/92

White 'yes' important — Boesak

CT 4/3/92

(30147)

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak told University of Stellenbosch students yesterday he would encourage whites to vote "yes" in the March 17 referendum.

Dr Boesak, leader of the ANC in the Western Cape, was invited to speak in his personal capacity.

He told about 300 students that "in principle" he rejected the white referendum because it was racist — but said it was important for whites to vote "yes".

He said the NP and President F W de Klerk should not think that this "is a vote for them".

"It will be a vote for a democratic future, and the erasure of 40 years of apartheid," said Dr Boesak.

The Stellenbosch branch of the South African Students Congress (SASCO), who arranged for Dr Boesak to speak at the university yesterday, said they "totally reject" the referendum.

"We regard it as irrelevant and racist," said chairman Mr Arnold van Rooi, adding that the referendum was making a "mockery" of Codesa.

Barry Streek reports that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is

giving very serious consideration to the concept of a confederation of separate states in South Africa, according to Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He did not get the idea from his discussions with different black leaders that they wanted to govern the white man.

"They are looking for opportunities, job opportunities, living space and so on," he said at the launch of the CP's "no" vote campaign in Worcester.

"I found that the concept of self-determination had a serious, responsive accord with these leaders.

"They are only not clear whether they want a federation, which means there is still one state with different regions and regional governments but with one central Parliament, or whether it should be a commonwealth."

Dr Treurnicht said the CP had not had similar discussions with coloured leaders on the same level, but he felt they had a different idea of their position in South Africa.

Instead of a common roll with one House of Parliament for white and coloured people, the House of Representatives "must get greater authority, even parliamentary authority".

Report by B Simons and B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.

**COUNTDOWN
to March 17**



**YES
NO**

'No' where you stand! (304A)

DR NO, otherwise known as Dr Andries Treurnicht, will not only be living up to his nickname during the referendum by leading the "no" vote campaign, but, he pointed out in Worcester on Monday, his nickname could be adapted in other ways: Members of the CP "no" where they stand or nou is die tyd (now is the time)! C-4/2/92

Likely dates for Codesa II mooted

13/04/92 4/3/92 304A

CODESA II was likely to take place between April 9 and 16, Codesa delegates said yesterday following a management committee meeting where the issue was discussed.

Although the exact date had not yet been finalised, delegates expressed the hope that Codesa II would take place between the start of the parliamentary recess on April 6 and the Easter weekend which started on April 17.

Meanwhile, Codesa working groups have substantially scaled down their activities during the week of the referendum, despite assurances that Codesa would not be affected by the March 17 poll.

At least two of the five Codesa working groups have cancelled their meetings for March 16 and 17 and others might follow, delegates said yesterday.

The decisions of the groups drew stiff opposition from the Labour Party, which said the NP had firmly stated that Codesa would not be affected by the referendum.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said despite reassurances, the NP was being allowed to interfere with the workings of Codesa.

Other parties had also voiced their

TIM COHEN

unhappiness at the NP's unwillingness to attend Codesa at full strength during the week of the poll, he said.

After the date of the poll was announced, the transitional arrangements working group agreed that the referendum should not interfere in its work and that all delegations would continue to participate meaningfully in the period leading up to the referendum, he said.

Welcome

ANC management committee member Mac Maharaj said ANC members had not objected to the delay, pointing out that only one week of Codesa's work would be affected.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said he felt Codesa was moving at too fast a pace and that any decision to slow it down would be welcome.

Parties were not often able to get the minutes of previous meetings in time to discuss the issues raised properly with their principals in time for the next meetings.

Mdlalose said there were recommendations before many of the working groups that meetings should take place fortnightly, instead of weekly, as is currently the case.

'No' seems to outweigh 'yes' in the barren North

By Day 4/3/92

(304A)

PIETERSBURG and Tzaneen have been hard hit by the recent drought, and farmers in the area inevitably give a stern "nee" when asked about their voting intentions in the referendum.

Some are so bitter they cannot even speak about what they see as the latest political trick by the "great traitor of the Afrikaner people". Others, like Koos, are keen to articulate their emotions.

Speaking from inside Pietersburg's major "Boerebondighede" shop in the centre of town, Koos Smits says his opposition to the referendum and President F W de Klerk's reforms do not stem from a hatred of blacks.

"Listen, I have blacks working for me, a black woman even brought up my children — at least, she saw them as much as my wife did!" Koos says.

But he says De Klerk's reforms are bound to end in chaos. "He is trying to do something unnatural, to make us all live together. And he will fail, because we will never do that."

Anita Erasmus owns a small bill-tong shop in the centre of Pietersburg. She says she becomes angry even when she thinks of the referendum, but that she will vote in the "only way possible" — "no".

"I agree with nothing De Klerk has done," Anita says. She acknowledges there will be problems if there is a majority "no" vote because reforms have gone so far already. "But there will be problems whichever way the vote goes."

"We can't say 'yes', because this is the last chance for white people in this country." She had started to say "Afrikaners", but changed to "white people": did she think whites were

REFERENDUM The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day will be taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country. Today we venture into the far northern Transvaal, looking at Pietersburg and Tzaneen in particular. **DARIUS SANAI** reports.

now a community?

"Yes, of course we are. We must live under our own government and they must live under theirs."

Erasmus, like most of the women I spoke to in Pietersburg, said she was not the type of person to fight in a civil war, but said she would do whatever she had to to stop what she saw as the inevitability of an ANC government. "I don't hate the blacks. If there's someone I hate it's De Klerk. And we are going to stop him."

The men who live and work in Pietersburg, compared with those on nearby farms, tend to be less conservative. An estate agency owner, a restaurateur and an accountant all told me they would vote "yes". But all

agreed they were easily outnumbered by "no" voters in the town. On the face of it, Tzaneen could be in a different province. Whereas Pietersburg's younger generation is very predominantly in the "no" camp, Tzaneen's young people appear to be more optimistic about the future.

"I haven't really thought about it," giggles young travel agency assistant Janine van Rensburg, "but I guess I'll be voting 'yes' — after all, what kind of a help will a 'no' be? Sanctions will come back, and we will have all kinds of problems."

Bert and Sophie were eating toasted sandwiches at a Tzaneen coffee shop when I overheard them complaining to each other about "the mess this country is in". But they said they were not "no" voters. "We may complain, but we've gone too far now in SA to turn back — but they should get things more organised." Their "yes" votes would be conditional.

Hans Pieterse, who owns a local car dealership, echoed Bert and Sophie's sentiments by complaining about the mess SA was in. But he went on to say he would be voting "no" — and claimed most of his clients, local farmers, would vote "no" too.

His comments were very similar to those of a Pietersburg gun shop owner: "Things have got to change; we can't go back. But the CP knows better what to do for us during the change: De Klerk is just giving everything to the blacks."

The older, less affluent generation seems to be what unites Pietersburg and Tzaneen: the "no" generation that will vote to fight against what they see as a betrayal of the Volk. Report by D Sanai, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



Stockbroker Bill Yeoward in discussion with President F W de Klerk at a meeting for businessmen in Johannesburg yesterday. Also present at the meeting was Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Trust Feed accused sketches attack

By Day 4/3/92

MARITZBURG — Trust Feed trial accused and former SAP special constable Kheila Ngubane denied yesterday that he was a member of Inkatha and said he and the other special constables were trained not to associate themselves with politics.

Ngubane is one of seven policemen and former special policemen charged with 11 murders and eight attempted murders in connection with an incident in Trust Feed where men, women and children were shot dead while attending a funeral vigil during the night of December 2, 1988.

Ngubane alleged that former New Hanover station commander, Capt Brian Mitchell, instructed him and three other special policemen to attack a house with "terrorists" at Trust Feed that night.

Ngubane said he and co-accused Dumisani Ndwalane were woken at about 1.30am

Own Correspondent

Mbongwe's Store and later returned with two other special constables, Thabo Sikho-sana and David Khambutle. They then proceeded to house 83 in Trust Feed. Ngubane said he, Ndwalane and Mitchell went to the back of the house.

Mitchell took Ndwalane's firearm. "I heard a knock... Then I heard a voice enquiring: 'Who is that?' Another voice responded: 'We are the police.' The lamp was then put out. A gunshot went off, then gunshots went off all over, also in front." Ngubane said Mitchell fired a shot through a window into the house, then handed the gun back to Ndwalane and left. "I fired two shots through the back window... Ndwalane also fired at the same window... I don't know how many shots."

A few minutes later, the cartridges

The last boss

South Africans abroad

304A

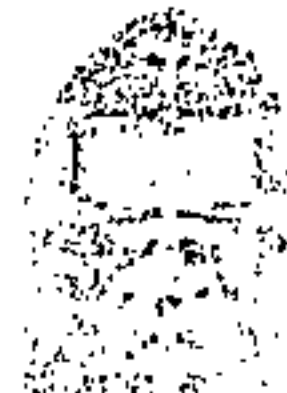
SPECIAL votes cast by South Africans abroad could have a significant technical impact on the referendum result, DP national director James Selfe said yesterday. But he did not believe the result would be so marginal that it could be affected by their numbers. Satour says at any given time there are between 50 000 and 60 000 SA residents abroad.

Voters outside SA can vote at diplomatic missions on March 11 and 12.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporter.

By Day 4/3/92

RECEIVED BY TELETYPE
MARCH 11 1992
11 11 11



RECEIVED BY TELETYPE
MARCH 11 1992
11 11 11

FW de Klerk's Vaalies

CF 4/3/92

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk's referendum roadshow moved north yesterday, targeting Rand communities in a day of street-campaigning.

Addressing young and old, the poor and the pinstriped, Mr De Klerk took his appeal for a landslide "yes" vote to the people of Johannesburg and surrounding areas.

From attentive businessmen at the giant Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he asked for a mandate to "defuse the dynamite".

He told them the government was not trying to slip apartheid back under the table and that security could not be built at the cost of justice.

Safeguard

"But the winner-takes-all (constitutional) model is absolutely the worst possible model for South Africa. We cannot have a situation where 51% of the vote means 100% control of the country."

The envisaged reforms would mean one-man-one-vote, but also a second chamber of parliament which would act as a safeguard against the misuse of power, he emphasised.

In Kempton Park earlier, flanked by former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, the President promised citizens at a retirement complex in the heart of established NP territory that if they voted yes to his reform programme they were not voting yes to communism.

From the JCCI Mr De Klerk visited the poor white area of Vrededorp and then, dropping the old Defence Minister for his new one, Mr Roelf Meyer, he moved on to the Rand Afrikaans University, where he was greeted by scores of students and a lone Conser-



'YES' CAMPAIGN TRAIL. President FW de Klerk shakes hands with a student while on a walk-about at RAU yesterday.

Picture: AP

vative Party supporter who warned: "The wrath of God is upon you and your government".

Accompanied now by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Mr Meyer, he denied there was a "blood bond" between the government and the ANC.

Reform was essential for security and the maintenance of language and culture rights, however.

Yesterday he also addressed city councillors at Johannesburg's Civic Centre, teachers at Goudstad Training College, firemen in Turffontein, police in Booysens and members of the Portuguese and Greek communities at Noordheuwel.

In his address to the JCCI Mr De Klerk said the government favoured an economic forum to negotiate the restructuring of South Africa's economy.

But he said it would be impossible for the government to participate in such a forum as this would amount to it giving away its authority.

Mr De Klerk said the government was not seeking a blank cheque from the electorate but a mandate to work towards a new constitution. The constitution would secure certain fundamental values, he said.

On the increase in crime in the PWV area, he said police ranks had been increased by more than 17 000 in the past year and funds for the police had trebled over the past two budgets.

Mr De Klerk will spend today with the cabinet in Cape Town before heading for Natal and the next leg of his tour. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

● Boesak urges 'yes' vote — Page 2

MA
BE

PI

M

Netherlands is expecting FW to win — Minister

304A THEO RAWANA

THE Netherlands supported the SA government's negotiations initiatives and Codesa, and was confident the referendum would have a positive result, Dutch Foreign Trade Minister Yvonne van Rooy said in Johannesburg yesterday. *By 4/3/92*

Van Rooy, the first Dutch Minister to visit SA since the 1950s, had just arrived for a four-day visit, accompanied by a group of Dutch businessmen and civil servants.

At a short news conference at Jan Smuts Airport Van Rooy was asked what the Dutch government's reaction would be to a "no" vote.

She replied that given the success of the negotiation process so far, only a "yes" vote was possible, and it was the only way for a positive future which would see SA becoming a part of the world community.

"Only a 'yes' vote is possible in the referendum, and it will not be fruitful to talk about the implications of a 'no' result," she said.

Van Rooy said the Netherlands wanted to strengthen economic ties with SA.

Dutch exports to SA increased by more than 50% last year and this signified the great potential for trade relations between the two countries.

SA Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman, who was at the airport to meet the Dutch Minister, said he was delighted the Dutch government was represented in SA.

Van Rooy, who will officially open the Holland Trade Fair at Nasrec today, will also have talks with representatives of government and political and business organisations.

Treurnicht keen on confederation

Political Staff

306A

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was giving very serious consideration to the concept of a confederation of separate states in SA, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday. He did not get the idea from his discussions with different black leaders that they wanted to govern the white man. *B/day*

"They are looking for opportunities — job opportunities, living space and so on," he said at the launch of the CP's "no" vote campaign in Worcester. *4/3/92*

"I found that the concept of self-determination had a serious, responsive accord with these leaders.

"They are only not clear whether they want a federation, which means there is still one state with different regions and regional governments but with one central parliament, or whether it should be a commonwealth."

He said he had told Buthelezi he wanted an association of independent states.

"I think that they are very busy giving serious consideration to that."

The CP wanted to hold discussions with black leaders on the basis of co-operation, not power-sharing, because power-sharing was a loss of authority, he said.

It was unacceptable that there be one government which ruled over his people, Treurnicht said.

Report by B Streek, TML, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town.

Blacks in Cabinet soon ^(30/4) Barend

Political Staff

CODESA negotiators achieved a major breakthrough this week by agreeing in principle that Codesa should appoint a multiparty interim government executive.

And the government has made it clear that it believes this executive should be formed by expanding the present Cabinet to include representatives of the other parties at Codesa.

Explaining the concept of what Codesa is calling a "transitional executive structure", Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said legislation to bring blacks into the executive was "in the offing". ^{ML 5/2/92}

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Tertius Delport described the agreement as a major breakthrough because Codesa had agreed that an interim executive could be implemented only after changes to the present constitution were properly effected by the present parliament.

Codesa 'won't achieve freedom'

By SONTI MASEKO

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa would not achieve genuine liberation for the oppressed black masses, two political organisations told listeners of the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress said alternative means had to be sought to liberate blacks.

Making an input under the topic: "What are the peaceful alternatives to Codesa?", they stopped short of saying the ANC's



participation in Codesa was a wrong move.

The PAC's Mr Max Nemadzhivanani said for the talks to be meaningful, they had to take place at a neutral venue where the Government would not have, as was the case at present, control of the police and armed forces,

transport and other facilities that might compromise the outcome of such negotiations.

He accused the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, of calling parties in Codesa to dismantle their armies while his forces were still "armed to the teeth against the African people".

Azapo said conditions were not conducive for black people to enter into negotiations with the Government.

It called for principled unity of black liberation movements to maximise the liberation efforts.

Let business play big role

ANYONE who expects the new South African Government to be an effective and efficient administrator of social change will be sadly disappointed.

History has shown that even governments which manage the political process well are decidedly poorer in creating and managing broad social upliftment.

If we want to see rapid and effective social change in South Africa, we will have to turn to another group - one that has consistently proved itself capable of generating rapid change in an efficient and cost-effective manner: business.

Actually, we will have to let both the Government and business do what each does best: the Government must set the agenda and business must get the agenda accomplished.

Let's face it: Politicians and entrenched bureaucrats have not distinguished themselves around the world as managers - whether it be budgets, airlines, post offices or refineries.

If rapid social change is so important to South Af-

Businessmen are always accused of chasing profits and not caring for the public. In this article ROBERT ZIEGNHAGEN says this attitude should be used to develop South Africa.

rica, why do we want to leave it to this group?

Wouldn't it be better to rely on the very managers who build skyscrapers and computer networks, manage four-star hotels, find gold mines below the surface of the earth, and keep store shelves filled with outstanding products day in and day out?

They have proved that they can deliver the goods. I know what you're thinking - how can we get businessmen and women to serve the public good when they too often seem to be focused on their personal welfare?

Simple. Business people are the ultimate mercenaries - they are so driven by the profit motive that they will overcome incredible obstacles to achieve their financial goals.

Whatever challenge these managers are given, whatever environment they are thrown into (within reason), they will make a plan,

even if they have to dig a mine halfway to China or build a tropical jungle in the midst of the arid veld.

If businessmen have chased their own self-interest to the detriment of society, it's only because governments have set the rules so loose as to allow them to do so.

If we want business to rapidly rebuild the social health of South Africa, then the Government merely has to change the rules of the game so that companies can maximise profits by doing social good.

Here's how.

First, we lock businessmen and the new South African Government in a conference room and we don't let them out until they create a South African "Sullivan Code": a specific code of socially responsible behaviour that business should follow.

It would detail how much money firms should allocate to social ends (a

certain percentage of profits, payroll, or an amount per employee).

It would detail how many "sweat equity" hours of volunteer employee service must be contributed by a company (again a certain number of hours a month per employee).

It could give objectives for black, coloured and Asian advancement in terms of training, job titles, promotions and so on.

The code would be highly flexible, with many different ways that different types of companies could achieve their quota without losing competitiveness.

Then the Government dangles the carrot: firms that meet the highest standards of performance get meaningful rebates on their tax bill as well as a public relations coup.

Firms doing so-so jobs, get half this level of rebate. Firms that don't do anything get no rebate at all.

What would happen?

First, corporate directors would certainly decide that they have a deep concern for social progress in South Africa.

Then, inevitably, many

of their employees would probably scream bloody murder that they were being forced to do community service.

Pretty quickly, though, thousands of highly paid executives would discover the real truth: that volunteer work can be a lot more fun and rewarding than their regular job.

Then grassroots community groups would find an ample supply of highly skilled accountants, engineers, salesmen, teachers and lawyers to help them manage and train.

Programme effectiveness would soar.

Politicians would find a business community that is much more supportive of the country's social objectives because they have a first-hand understanding of and commitment to what is needed.

Corporations would find that, through their large budgets and their armies of involved employees, they would have enormous power to influence community thinking and priorities.

And lastly, the desperate squatter, the destitute student and the unmarried mother would discover that there actually is hope.

That the system is responsive and it is making a difference in their daily lives.

They would re-elect the Government and respect the business community.

True, what's being proposed would be a revolutionary change in the relationship between business and the community. And it would force many people out of their "comfort zones".

But what is the alternative?

Sure, we can go through the motions of waiting for the Government to solve our social problems, but do we really expect history to be kinder to the new South African Government than it was to the dozens of other states which sought rapid social change?

If and when our own Government should fail, there is a good chance the responsible politician and the concerned businessman will be swept away at the same time.

Breakthrough



On new rule

Consensus reached at Codesa

Southern 5/3/92

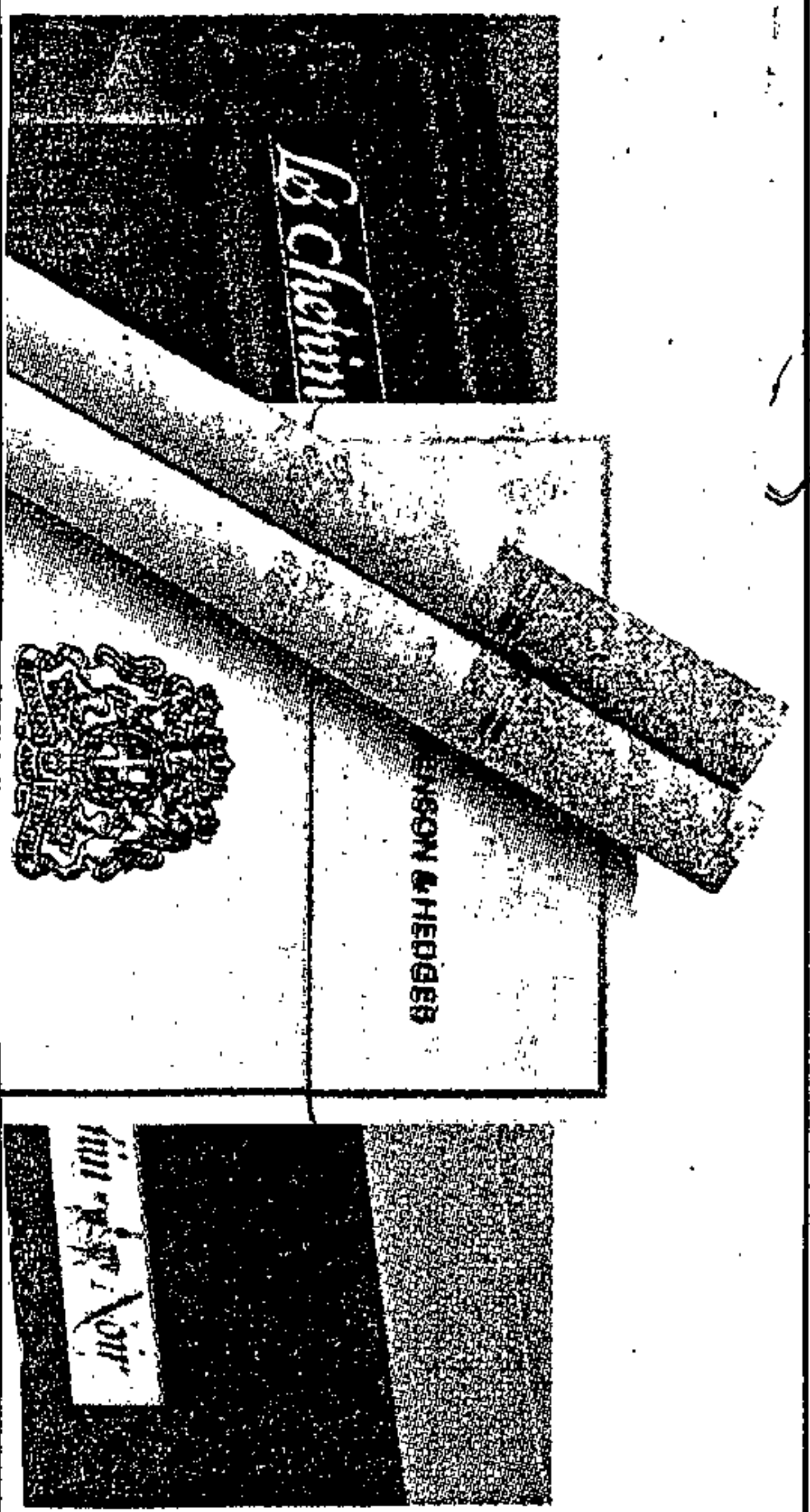
3044

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

CODESA has made a "very, very important breakthrough" which could eventually translate into the appointment of a multiparty Cabinet to oversee the initial phase of an interim or transitional government.

Consensus was reached at Codesa on this delicate issue this week and it was Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit, the Government's spokesman on Codesa, who described it as important and significant.

• To page 2



Major breakthrough

From page 1

Southern 5/3/92

still very much a discussion paper, details the appointment by President F.W. de Klerk of black people to a transitional executive to rule during the first phase of the transition period.

An envisaged second phase would be elections to a legislative assembly or interim parliament, which

would hammer out a new constitution for South Africa. The significance of the agreement at Codesa is that it would determine the procedure and people who would be appointed to the transitional executive and not De Klerk.

Du Plessis said yesterday the structure of the executive would be agreed upon by Codesa and Parliament will legislate decisions. He said the government's delegation to Working Group Three had agreed to the proposals contained in the document, but that it still had to be ratified by the Government itself - and by the other 18 parties in Codesa. The Deputy Constitutional Development Minister said yesterday that in this regard, too, this week's document was a "major breakthrough for constitutionality" - because all parties at Codesa had now agreed that an interim executive could only be appointed after changes to the present constitution properly effected by the present Parliament.

Thursday March 5 1992

DELETED MATERIAL

Codesa does not relate to ordinary men

304A
Sowetan 5/3/92

CODESA has a serious problem.

It has not taken the message of hope and reconciliation to the people.

Many political observers have raised this issue, adding that if Codesa was only a bit more aggressive in marketing itself - as a body which represents the hopes and aspirations of millions of South Africans - the violence and uncertainty which permeates this country could roll back.

The various political parties and individual participants in the convention, more often than not, speak on platforms and defend specific political parties' policies.

Some try justifying their participation in a desperate bid for last-minute glory, before the tricameral Parliament, self-governing states and homelands finally land on history's scrap heap along with the other creations of apartheid.

A case in point is perhaps the Labour Party and Solidarity, another is the homelands' military dictators.

A common fear among whites - especially Afrikaners in the platteland - is that the Government is "giving away too much, too soon" and it is here where Codesa could play a role.

"If Codesa were indeed taking the message of reconciliation to the rural areas and to white people (in places such as Potchefstroom) the entire process might be helped along tremendously," a key National Party negotiator explains.

He believes whites need a change of heart and Codesa should report as a body to those ordinary people.

Another key Government official believes Codesa needs fiercer marketing strategies.

If any political party criticises Codesa - or the process it represents - such parties are very specific, and counterpoint the convention with their own policies.

"Take, for example, the PAC. When the PAC criticises Codesa, it does so as the PAC. But the

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Government or the ANC or the IFP will respond. Not Codesa," he says.

This point is driven home succinctly by the recent attack on the negotiation process and the unfolding democracy in South Africa.

Codesa's duty, one can argue, would now be to take the fight to the far right in an aggressive manner, and speak for itself because the future and the negotiation process is not De Klerk's - it belongs to the people of South Africa.

The far left this past weekend also attacked Codesa.

At a conference on multiparty democracy held at the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend, a senior Azanian People's Organisation leader denounced Codesa.

Specific

He was very specific, and put his party's policies on the table.

In response Codesa administrator Mr Murphy Morobe this week said there were disparate opinions in the convention itself and it was not appropriate for it to speak as one body.

His colleague at Codesa, Mr Mac Maharaj, said it was up to the political parties to respond individually. There were also sensitive areas; for instance, if Morobe were to respond on behalf of Codesa, people would be sceptical.

"They would say, 'aha, he's UDF . . .'" Maharaj said.

The PAC's anti-Codesa campaign looks set to gain momentum, when the movement holds its third annual congress in Umtata between April 3 and 6.

Codesa, as a forum or vehicle for negotiations, will surely come under severe criticism.



MURPHY MOROBE



FW de KLERK



MAC MAHARAJ

Rotating presidency 'an option'

Blacks may be in Cabinet in months'

304H
B/P
S/P
9/2

CAPE TOWN — SA could have its first black Cabinet members within months, a top government source said yesterday.

This follows a breakthrough at Codesa where the 19 participating parties have reached consensus on the need to appoint — rather than elect — a new transitional executive structure to govern SA.

Codesa still has to decide on the details of how central government will be restructured, but according to the government vision, this will include a multiparty cabinet and possibly a shared or rotating executive presidency.

Legislation allowing for blacks to be appointed to the Cabinet — first proposed during the P W Botha era but ditched on the grounds that this would amount to "co-option" — will be reintroduced during the current session of Parliament.

TIM COHEN reports, however, that the ANC yesterday reaffirmed its rejection of its members being co-opted onto the existing Cabinet and of a rotating interim presidency.

ANC national executive committee member Joe Slovo said yesterday the ANC had not deviated from its proposal that an interim government council be established which would oversee, and stand apart from, the existing Cabinet.

The ANC proposed last week that the existing executive, including the President and Cabinet, should continue to exist until

Political Staff

a constituent assembly is elected.

The council would also oversee two independent commissions (an electoral and a media commission) and four multiparty committees (on security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government).

However, Slovo said there was nothing in Codesa's provisional agreement — which is subject to approval by the principals — that contradicted the ANC's proposals for the transitional period.

Government sources said it was not possible to say if any government Ministers might be sidelined as a result of the agreement or what positions newcomers to the executive would be given as this still had to be negotiated.

The agreement, thrashed out over the past month by working group 3 on interim government arrangements, specifies that the interim executive will be appointed in accordance with procedures to be decided by Codesa.

In an important victory for government, the agreement also stipulates that such arrangements will need to be given legal and constitutional effect by Parliament through the necessary amendments to the constitution or legislation.

The government's principal negotiator in working group 3, Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis, told a news briefing yesterday

□ To Page 2

31 Dec
Cabinet 5/3/92

day the draft agreement, which has been leaked to the Press, still had to be referred back to the principals of the negotiating parties for endorsement and possible amendment.

He was hopeful that a final document could form part of a "constructive" progress report to Codesa II.

Government's spokesman on Codesa, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport, described the agreement reached by Codesa as "a very, very important breakthrough".

Du Plessis said: "We talk and talk at Codesa until we reach consensus — we do not vote — and that gives this document, despite its preliminary status, an awful lot of weight."

He said the consensus agreement represented a victory for minorities because even the smallest group represented at Codesa "can rest assured that their views are weighed as heavily as the largest group".

Du Plessis said when it came to interim arrangements, the central government executive — as opposed to Parliament/the legislature or the judiciary — had been identified as the starting point.

It was difficult to set time frames for matters affecting interim government as interim arrangements would have to be worked out in tandem with the need to resolve issues related to checks and balances and a bill of rights, violence and private armies, establishing the correct political climate, and the legislatures of

the central, homeland and provincial governments.

Even the status of the TBVC countries would have to be taken into account, Du Plessis said.

Delport said that particularly significant in government's view was that the Codesa parties had accepted that there should be no suspension of the existing constitution and that the process of reform should proceed along constitutional lines.

"This document contains a major breakthrough, maybe a final breakthrough, for constitutionality," he said.

Du Plessis confirmed that the agreement also implied a possible change to the presidency itself, with the NP ready to put forward its own proposals for a three-man presidency as set out in its constitutional proposals last year.

Details and exact procedures to be followed are still to be thrashed out once final agreement on the principles for a Codesa-appointed executive is reached.

However, Codesa sources said government was anxious that those appointed to the executive would assume full Cabinet responsibility — not only for areas like the control of the security forces and decisions on the Budget.

The President would not appoint the individuals to the executive, but this would instead be done according to participating parties.

Du Plessis said the agreement made it possible for individuals not currently part of the Codesa process to be drafted into the executive.

304H □ From Page 1

Harrismith folk confused, but likely to vote 'yes'

By Day 5/3/92

304A

DRIVING around Harrismith, with its carefully manicured lawns spilling out onto the street, one cannot help thinking of the old, old SA. The white SA of the '60s when there were no walls and alarms and fences and dogs ... and fears.

Lydia the librarian laughs and says the only people who build walls in Harrismith are those who move up from Pretoria — like Lydia did five years ago — “and they soon realise there is no need for walls and start relaxing”.

Lydia will vote “yes” in the referendum and she thinks many others in Harrismith will vote “yes”, too — even though it is a CP-dominated town.

“We have to be positive about the future. It's the only way.”

Lydia is a member of the DP and says there is an active branch in the town. She said the DP initiated a very successful meeting between the ANC and the NP soon after February 1990, and she seemed proud that the black and white chambers of commerce had merged and that race relations were reasonably harmonious.

Not true, says Thabo, who works in a supermarket. “There is still old-style apartheid in people's attitudes. I can go and have a drink in the hotel if I want — but who wants to if your presence makes the whites feel awkward?”

Thabo says whites should go forward into the future “because it's a new experience”. Everyone knows what apartheid SA is like, he argues, but no one quite knows what the post-

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. **DIRK HARTFORD** spoke to people in the eastern Free State town of Harrismith.

apartheid scenario will be like. He says it is a challenge for everyone, with the worst possibility being reverting to the past.

J P de Witt runs the local gym. J P says people in Harrismith basically want to get on with their own lives.

J P will vote “yes”, but he does not allow black people into his gym. “They will break the place up and whites will not like it.”

J P, echoing many others, said it was impossible to go back. “If you give a child a sweet, you don't just take it away. That child can give you hell.”

There is a lot of confusion among whites in Harrismith, according to J P. He confirmed the CP had considerable support, but said few people were talking of voting “no”.

A local policeman said he could not discuss politics as he would be fired. But then he said it was impossible for people to vote “no”. “What are they going to tell their children? That they tried to go backwards and crashed?”

Warming to the subject, he said deciding which way to vote was as difficult for whites as it was choosing the SA cricket team. But at the end of the day what was necessary was to pick a winning team. “People will vote ‘yes’ just for the how of to win.”

Lydia said whites in Harrismith supported “everything from the ANC to the ‘stormjaers’”, but the town was generally conservative. She told stories about whites questioning the presence of a black woman in their church; about pressure being put on men to keep their jackets on at meetings, and about the SADF confiscating “dangerous weapons” in Qwa Qwa — even axes the people needed to cut wood.

But in spite of all this, she said, the people of Harrismith were more scared of the past than of the future.

Jan, a railway worker, was the only person I spoke to who might vote “no”. He said he was voting to keep his job. “If I vote ‘yes’, they might put a black man in my place, and if I vote ‘no’, they might do that anyway.”

Last year Frame closed down its textile plant in Harrismith, wiping out 2 500 jobs overnight. The spectre of black mass unemployment hangs over the town. Perhaps there is a sense that the problem in the new SA is not really about who gets to vote, but about who gets a job.

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

● Comment: Page 8

Concern in UK over SA poll

LONDON — More than 140 British MPs expressed concern yesterday that SA's whites-only referendum could delay or reverse democratic reform.

In a motion introduced in parliament, they reaffirmed their support for negotiations on reforms "which it hopes will lead to a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, nonracial and democratic SA".

The motion expressed their "grave concern that the all-white referendum on March 17 could lead to a slowing down or reversal of the negotiation process".

"Such an outcome... could lead to the renewed isolation of SA and the reimposition of sanctions," it said. The legislators were apparently referring to a possible victory by the CP.

The motion, proposing a parliamentary debate, drew support from members belonging to all main British political parties. — Sapa-Reuter.

NP focuses on CP's policy of partition

THE NP yesterday focused the referendum spotlight firmly on the CP policy of partition and an Afrikaner homeland.

Deputy Regional Development Minister Andre Fourie challenged CP leader Andries Treurnicht to name one black leader who would be prepared to negotiate with the CP on its homeland plan.

"Not one of the self-governing states supports independence, and there are strong indications that the TBVC states are inclining towards a return to a common SA," Fourie said.

NP MP Johan Steenkamp challenged the CP in Natal to clearly define its partition plan for the province.

Steenkamp said the CP's indecision over dividing Natal appeared to reinforce its concern about the English and Zulu reality.

In another development, the NP yesterday released a newspaper advertisement attacking the CP plan, which it called the CP's Dreamland Alternative.

Based on a leaked secret CP document, the advertisement claims the CP will exclude from white SA an "island" stretching from Secunda to Welkom and including Johannesburg.

Within the "island" squatting would be encouraged and whites living in Johannesburg would have to accept second class citizenship, the NP claimed.

Report by D. Isaacson and S. Thomas, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St., Jhb.

Political comment in this issue by J. Jones. Newsletters by C. Reyriense. Headlines and subediting by D. Armour. All of Times Media Ltd., 11 Diagonal St., Johannesburg.

217705 001-10-1

CT 513/92
**Cosatu, CP,
call for 'yes'**

JOHANNESBURG — Cosatu and the South African Communist Party said yesterday they recognised the threat of the right-wing and called on white democrats to vote in defence of talks on March 17.

However, the two organisations promised widespread protests on March 18 to stop the government using the referendum result to impose reforms at the expense of the poor.

This decision was taken at a meeting between Cosatu and SACP leaders here yesterday.

— Sapa

(304A)

IDs and passports for voting abroad

5/3/92

Political Correspondent

(3049)

SOUTH AFRICAN citizens wanting to vote in the referendum while abroad would have to produce both valid ID documents and their passports, the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday.

According to the department, citizens abroad who wish to vote at a South African mission on March 11 or 12 will be required to produce the following:

- An old blue or new identity document or a temporary identity certificate.
- A South African passport reflecting the country's temporary residence concession and, if available, any document indicating a person's temporary residence status abroad — for example, an employment contract or study permit.

People in South Africa or the TBVC territories who are unable to get to the polls on March 17 may vote on March 13, 14 or 16 at a foreign mission or any polling station in South Africa.

Only South African citizens have the right to vote in the referendum.

FW courts Natal 'doubtfuls'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk's roadshow comes to Natal today amid indications that a substantial number of voters in the province are still undecided on which way to vote in the referendum.

The State President flew into Durban last night and will leave this evening.

Yesterday Natal NP secretary Mr

James Waugh said: "There seems to be quite a big doubtful vote in some of the areas we have been canvassing."

(3044)
In two constituencies this amounted to about 40%, he estimated, but added that it was still "early days".

He said, however, that workers in some other areas were expecting a 70% yes vote. CTS/3/92

(Report by C Whitfield, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

Blacks join in

2041A
CT 5/3/92

cajoines soon

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA could have its first black faces in the cabinet within months, a top government source disclosed yesterday.

This follows a major breakthrough at Codesa, where the 19 participating parties have reached consensus on the need to appoint — rather than elect — a new transitional executive structure to govern the country. Codesa still has to decide on the details of how the central government will be restructured, but this will include a multi-party cabinet and possibly a shared or rotating executive presidency.

Legislation allowing for blacks to be appointed to the cabinet — first proposed during the P W Botha era — but then ditched on the grounds that this would amount to "co-option" — will be reintroduced. Government sources said it was not possible to say if any government ministers would be sidelined.

The agreement, thrashed out over the last month by Working Group 3 on interim government/arrangements, specifies that the interim executive will be appointed in accordance with procedures to be decided by Codesa.

In an important victory for the government, the agreement also stipulates that such arrangements will need to be given legal and constitutional effect by Parliament.

FW courts Natal 'doubtfuls'

— PAGE 4

The government's principal negotiator in Working Group 3, Mr Barrend du Plessis, said yesterday that the draft agreement, which had been leaked to the press, still had to be referred back to the principals of the negotiating parties.

He was hopeful that a final document could form part of a "constructive" progress report to Codesa 2.

Codesa sources said yesterday that the second plenary session could take place on April 24-25, with Durban rather than Johannesburg as a possible venue.

The government's spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpoit, described the agreement reached by Codesa as "a very, very important breakthrough".

Mr Du Plessis said: "We talk and talk at Codesa until we reach consensus — we do not vote — and that gives this document, despite its preliminary status, an awful lot of weight."

He said the consensus agreement represented a victory for minorities because even the smallest group represented at Codesa "can rest assured that their views are weighed as heavily as the largest group".

Mr Du Plessis said the fundamental point of departure contained in the agreement was that when it came to interim arrangements the central government executive — as opposed to Parliament/the legislature or the judiciary — had been identified as the starting point.

However, he emphasised, once the process got underway its implications would immediately encompass the fields of all five working groups at Codesa. It was accordingly difficult to set time frames for matters affecting interim government as these arrangements would have to be worked out in tandem with the need to resolve issues related to checks and balances and a Bill of Fundamental Rights, violence and private armies, establishing the correct political climate, and the legislatures of the central, homeland and provincial governments.

It was obvious that whatever interim/transitional structures were created these could not be hostile to the final constitution for a new South Africa, he said. Mr Delpoit said that particularly significant in the government's view was that the Codesa parties had accepted that there should be no suspension of the existing constitution and that the process of reform should proceed along constitutional lines.

"This document contains a major breakthrough, maybe a final breakthrough, for constitutionality," he said.

Codesa sources said, the government was anxious that those appointed to the executive would assume

To page 4

Anglo refutes attack from CP

B/day B/3/92

MATTHEW CURTIN

IT IS not often that Anglo American has the chance to kill two critics from opposite ends of the political spectrum with one stone.

But latest comments from the CP suggest it is becoming a little pink in the referendum run-up, and not a million miles away from voicing exactly the same fears about monopoly capitalism that the ANC has had for years.

Anglo is used to arguing against ANC plans for nationalisation and claims that SA profits have been siphoned abroad, to the distraction of chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson.

Nationalisation had failed totally in Eastern Europe and "jolly near destroyed Africa north of SA", he said in a interview last year.

However, with the political parties gearing up for March 17, the CP has now entered the fray of economic debate with a stinging attack on Anglo and former chairman Harry Oppenheimer.

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday the call by Oppenheimer and Anglo for a "yes" vote in the referendum smacked of "gross hypocrisy".

Oppenheimer and the corporation had for years drained SA of the profits both had made in SA and invested them abroad, he alleged. "Oppenheimer has disinvested from SA to such an extent that only 4% of his personal empire is still held in SA."

He alleged that Anglo American's offshore arm Minorco — which he suggested was still based in the Bahamas although its head office has been in Luxembourg for some time — and

Swiss-based De Beers Centenary were effectively conduits for exporting profits from SA.

The CP believed this showed what little faith big business had in De Klerk's reforms, and many businessmen would "secretly be voting 'no'".

Derby-Lewis said the CP would, of course, ensure there was a stable investment environment in SA, but would not elaborate on how that would be done.

Anglo's response yesterday was swift and to the point.

"What palpable nonsense!" said spokesman Michael Spicer. "Derby-Lewis betrays his ignorance of basic economics and the salient facts."

Spicer said it would be bizarre if international investment was regarded as unpatriotic, because it was an integral part of building a world-class company which was to the benefit of SA. Anglo was first and foremost an SA company, with R12bn in projects under way or in the pipeline in SA.

Spicer said that invariably Anglo invested abroad by reinvesting its profits or borrowing against the corporation's name, rather than taking out money with Reserve Bank permission through Exchange Control.

He noted that Minorco's fortunes were founded on the nationalisation of the Zambian copper mines. Both Minorco and De Beers Centenary — again a company which was not set up with money disinvested from SA — paid large sums of money back to SA by way of dividends.

Schwarz 'misquoted by CP'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz was not speaking for the Government when he said on American TV that ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be SA's president in two or three years, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said yesterday.

His remarks had been quoted out of context and misrepresented by the CP for propaganda in the referendum.

To say that Mr Schwarz had propagated a black government was wrong, said Mr Botha. "He spoke of a nonracial constitu-

tion, and his questioners were referring to a coalition-type government."

Mr Botha said Mr Schwarz was asked to guess how soon there might be a black president and he had replied that he could only guess, but he thought it would come much sooner than most people believed — within two or three years.

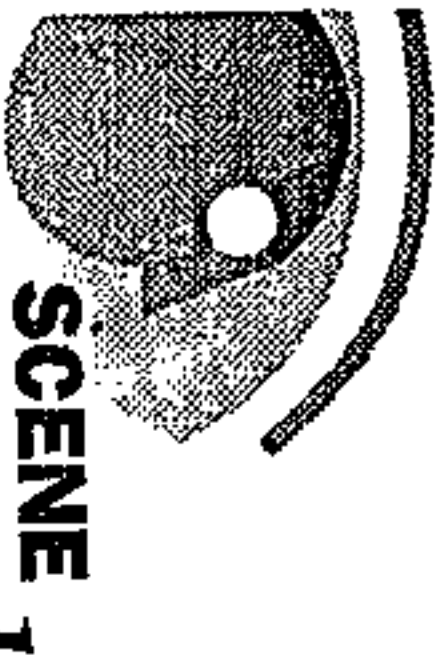
Mr Botha said: "In terms of the National Party's proposal for a revolving chairman of the executive council, it is obviously inevitable that a black person will on a rotational basis serve as president."

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

304A

STAR 6/3/92

A lipstick in her briefcase



SCENE around

A "gypsy" entrepreneur files in; the free flow of ideas receives a boost. **MARIKA SBOROS** reports.



Hard at work . . . Rich Mkhondo makes a few calls from the dinner table.

KK speech baffles audience

STAL 6/3/92

IF friends like former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) has displayed its commitment to the free flow of ideas.

The MPD hosted a conference at the University of the Witwatersrand last weekend on the theme "In Search of Democracies: Majorities and Minorities".

Dr Kaunda, on his first visit to South Africa, was given a standing ovation when he arrived late to deliver the conference's opening address. His topic was "Democracy in Southern Africa. Balancing Majorities and Minorities".

He then proceeded to denigrate most of what the MPD is trying to promote. His audience listened in polite silence (some veteran political activists described themselves as "stunned") as he

attacked multi-party democracy as unworkable in an African context. The free-market system also received short shrift from the former head of state.

At the end of a rather long-winded and rambling speech, the audience once again rose to its feet to give him a standing ovation.

Delegates were drawn from the spectrum of players on South Africa's vibrant political stage, and groups involved in change and negotiation. The Conservative Party was invited, conference organisers say, but declined to attend.

The press contingent was strong . . . and enterprising. Reuters news agency writer Rich Mkhondo came complete with portable telephone from which he made essential calls from his table during dinner.



Table talk . . . former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Oscar Dhlomo, head of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. Pictures: Alf Kurnialo

WHEN Cyndi Kaplan's pharmacist husband abandoned an academic career to study medicine at the grand old age of 38 she was delighted, despite being only 24 at the time, with a six-week-old daughter and a toddler son to support.

The former Capeonian undertook to "fill the bread bin for the next seven years, occupation unknown". Now, 15 years later, she is an established businesswoman, speaker and author in Sydney, Australia.

She had no "brilliant career" planned, she says. The only goal was economic survival.

She did not want to fall back on her training as an art teacher and psychologist, and opted instead to turn her hobbies into a business.

She designed needlepoint, then actively toys which she produced, marketed and sold to South African supermarkets.

Another goal became emigration, so she disregarded the obstacles of sanctions, set up an agency in Australia and exported her products.

"My business grew from a cottage industry to an international commercial venture," she says.

She travelled the world "like a gypsy", enjoying the stimulation of the foreign markets and the diverse cultures she encountered.

She "juggled the roles of wife, mother and breadwinner like an acrobat and survived, sane and solvent".

Women of today (and tomorrow) must dispel the illusion that they will always be looked after or taken care of financially by men or their families, she says.

Women want good careers, good marriage and healthy, happy children, Mrs Kaplan says.

"A tool to this lifestyle is the opportunity of enterprise."

In the past year she has travelled all over Australia, speaking to over 10 000 women in business.

SHE has met hundreds of capable, successful, talented women. No "tall poppy syndrome" there, she says. The women have opened their hearts to applaud and acknowledge the achievements of other women.

Mrs Kaplan is in South Africa to promote her book, "There's A Lipstick in My Briefcase" (Godiva), a guide for the new woman entrepreneur, and to conduct a lecture tour.

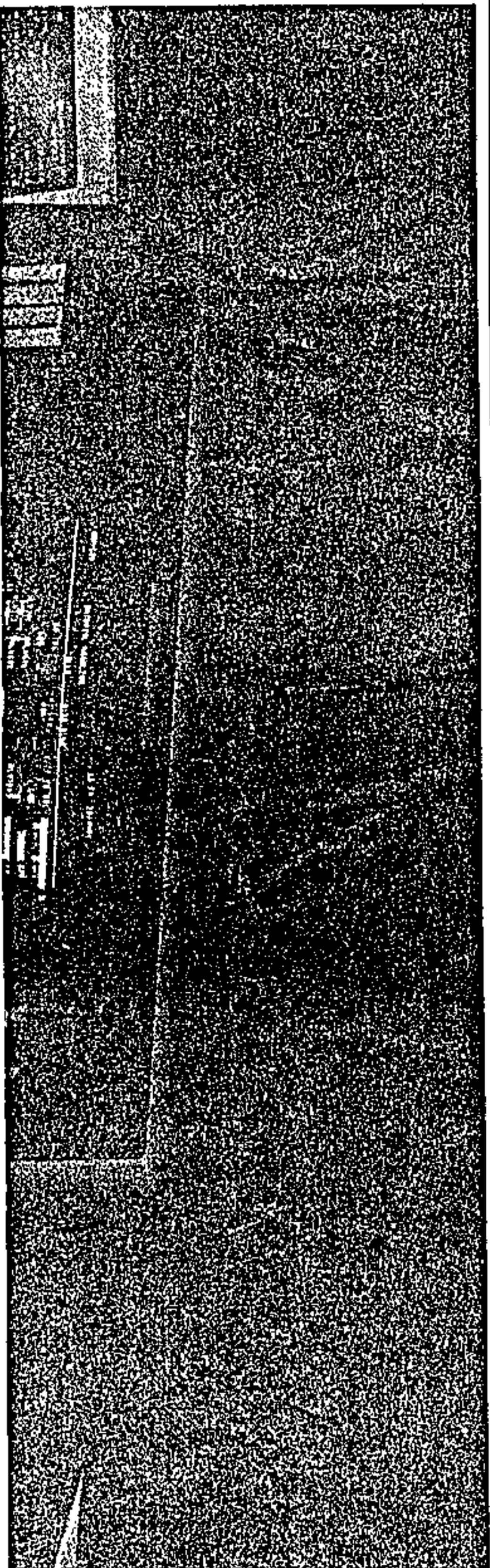
Her book will be published in a South African version, to be distributed by Struik publishers in a few weeks' time.



Gypsy juggler . . . Cyndi Kaplan is wife, mother and brilliant businesswoman. Picture: Andrew Ingram

ON MONDAY

SA firms are trying to help executives retrenched through mergers, takeovers, management changes or as a result of the recession.



ANC rejects Govt plan for cabinet

Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

STAR 6/3/92

the majority of participants in Codesa."

The African National Congress National Working Committee (NWC) has rejected suggestions that the Government will appoint representatives from Codesa to an interim cabinet.

But the NWC yesterday welcomed a "major breakthrough" agreement this week at Codesa that parties at Codesa should be appointed to a "transitional executive structure" to supervise at least the first phase of transition.

The NWC said it fully endorsed the consensus which was reached on this issue by negotiators at Codesa.

Acceptance

It said the agreement signified the acceptance of two basic principles by "virtually all" Codesa participants:

- The need for an interim executive structure; and,
- That in the first phase such a structure will be appointed by Codesa.

The Government has meanwhile stressed another part of the agreement — that the present Parliament should enact the changes to the Constitution to enable the transitional executive structure to be implemented.

The NWC rejected the Government's interpretation of the agreement as meaning that the present cabinet should be expanded to include other Codesa parties.

It was reacting to a statement by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in which he said that the Government envisaged that Codesa would set the guidelines for the appointment of Codesa parties to the cabinet but that the State President would actually do the appointing.

The NWC rejected "any interpretation that the agreement implies that the State President will appoint members of organisations taking part in Codesa to the cabinet".

"Co-option under any guise is not acceptable to the ANC and

Earlier Mr du Plessis had said that the Government proposal could not be regarded as co-option because Codesa — not the Government — would decide who should be appointed to the cabinet.

He said the Government envisaged submitting legislation — similar to the Bill submitted but later withdrawn by the Government under former President P W Botha — which would change the Constitution to allow blacks to be brought into the cabinet.

However SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo rejected any suggestion of the ANC/SACP alliance being brought into the present cabinet in any form. The alliance did not want to be part of a cabinet which had to accept joint responsibility for all the "ills of apartheid" without the power to cure them.

The alliance's position remained unchanged: that a separate transitional executive structure should be created to supervise the existing cabinet and to "level the political playing field" by focusing on specific areas such as the Budget, State-controlled media, the security forces and the elections for a constituent assembly.

The way the transition continued after that had still to be agreed on.

"The Government is giving its own colouring to the document to advance its position in the referendum," Mr Slovo said.

Transition

"We urge them not to do it in a way which creates problems for the Codesa process," Mr Slovo said.

He stressed that the Codesa agreement referred only to what the ANC regarded as the first phase of transition — the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly-cum-interim legislature.

Despite the ANC's reaction, the acceptance by Government negotiators this week that Codesa should appoint an interim executive represents an important shift in its position.

It has so far insisted that an interim government should only come about after new elections.

Federal option best for SA problems – Russian expert

STAR 6/3/92

By Thabo Leshile
Political Staff

304A

A federal option — fundamental to the idea of liberalism — had a greater opportunity of solving the social, political and economic ills bedevilling South Africa than any nationalist or communist experiment, visiting Russian academic Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Tikhomirov, director of studies at the Africa Institute and deputy director of the Centre of Southern African Studies in Moscow, was addressing a lunch hosted by the International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

His new book, "States in Transition: Russia and South Africa", was presented to the media.

Dr Tikhomirov said the Soviet unitary constitutional model had no prospects of bringing democracy to a multinational society, while the separatist approach

(apartheid) would in the long run be incapable of providing solutions to economic problems.

"Developments in South Africa during this century teach one lesson: separate development, along ethnic lines and within the borders of one country, contradicts the needs of the economy and can only be successfully implemented with great losses," he said.

Dr Tikhomirov said the Soviet and South African experiences also demonstrated the irreconcilability of two ideologies present in the two societies — nationalism and communism.

The struggle between the two ideologies formed the framework for developments in both countries which left little opportunity for the stabilising effect of liberalism.

He said similarities between South Africa and the Soviet Union explained the complexity and inconsistency of

their bilateral relations.

On the one hand, both closely co-operated in world markets — striving to generate funds for their costly social experiments at home.

On the other hand, both were seen as ideological mirror-images of each other, with South Africa vigorously fighting the national liberation movements which were backed by the USSR among other countries.

"It now appears that the two states are exchanging places: while the former USSR is reappearing in southern Africa as a major anti-communist force, an increasing number of South African leaders, especially from the black community, are taking socialist arguments seriously."

Dr Tikhomirov has been in the country for six months as a visiting research Fellow at the IFF. He leaves for home next week.

579K
6/13/92

'SA at crossroads'

First National Bank chairman Basil Hersov said on Wednesday he felt it was important to strengthen President de Klerk's hand at the negotiating table with a landslide "yes" vote. He said the referendum was a crucial national issue and South Africa was at the crossroads. 304A

579K
6/13/92

'Nod for ANC govt'

The National Party was willing to hand over government to an ANC-dominated interim government, CP constitutional affairs spokesman Dr Corné Mulder said on Wednesday. 304A

Now FW woos the world

TOKYO — President de Klerk has sent letters to heads of government in 70 nations, including Japan, seeking support for the whites-only referendum on March 17, a South African Government source said in Tokyo yesterday.

In his letter, Mr de Klerk wrote that the changes in South Africa were irreversible and neither the Conservative Party nor other right-wing radicals could stop them.

But they did have the capacity to create fear and uncertainty, he said.

"A victory will allow the Government to proceed with

the all-important business of negotiating a new order in which all South Africans, of all races, colours, and creeds, will share one citizenship in an undivided, democratic nation in which racism will have no place," Mr de Klerk wrote in the letter.

Recipients of the letter included government heads in the US, Canada, the 12 European Community countries, Australia, Israel, Brazil, Norway and Egypt, the source said.

(Report by Sapa, Kine Centre, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb and Reuters, G. enCairn, 73 Market St, Jhb)

1972 6/3/92

306A

Parties using same tactics, expert finds

STAR 6/3/92
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

It may not sound like it, but both the National Party and Conservative Party are using the same propaganda strategies in the referendum campaign.

Unisa communications expert Professor Johan de Wet, who is monitoring the run-up to the March 17 polling, said the plan of action by the two sides was based on the same political principles.

These involved attacking their opponent's policies, defending their own policies, selling their policies and ignoring their own weak points.

Professor de Wet, of the communication department's research team, said a team was studying the use of these tactics by politicians on the 6 pm and 8 pm TV news broadcasts and on the actuality programme "Agenda". The research team was also focusing on articles in major newspapers.

He said at this stage both sides were tending to use well-known propaganda strategies.

The NP's centred around the principle of a democratic South Africa and negotiations, while the CP was stressing the principle of separateness.

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

ID deadline as battle for votes hots up

ARG 6/3/92 (304A)

**MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
and Political Staff**

TODAY is the deadline for identity books for the referendum, but Home Affairs offices throughout the country will continue issuing temporary certificates of eligibility right up to the poll.

Voters without identity documents may use the certificates on March 17.

Thousands of whites have been applying for documents from the Department of Home Affairs since the referendum campaign began, and scores of immigrants have chosen to become naturalised to be able to vote.

While administrative preparations for the referendum are being finalised, the intense battle for votes between the Yes and No campaigns continues with white political leaders criss-crossing the country. Observers have put the Yes campaign firmly ahead.

Big boosts for the Yes vote lead in the last 24 hours were the government's intensification of its war on crime and its tougher attitude on the early release of short-term prisoners. Both address a key law and order concern of white voters.

Other factors bolstering Yes were the South African victory against the West Indies and life-insurers' warning that payouts could be "significantly impaired" by a No result.

Helpful to the No campaign were President Bush's comments and any other offerings from foreign leaders. South Africans generally react badly to ultimatums.

Also boosting the No campaign would have been the news from Codesa confronting white voters with the reality of blacks in the Cabinet soon.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town, and Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Blacks view 'no' majority as disaster

STAR 6/3/92

(304A) (R)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

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.

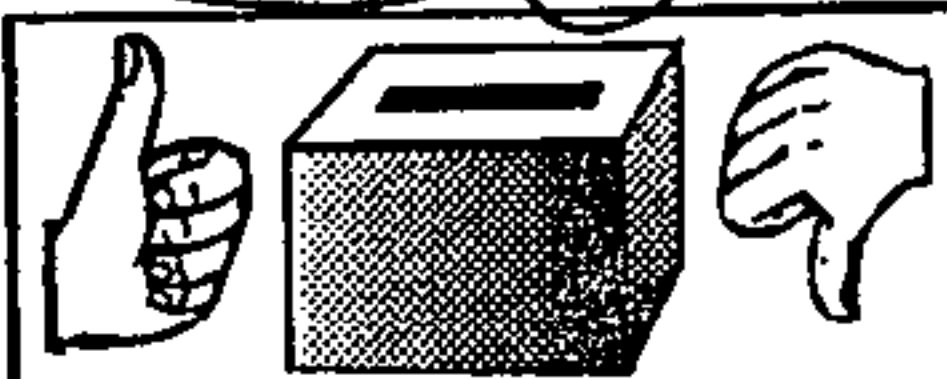
While political organisations like the ANC initially regarded the outcome of the white poll as a foregone conclusion, the apparent effectiveness of the right-wing campaign has shaken this assurance. For many, the words "future" and "yes" have become synonymous.

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 centre city and suburbs — who are also watching the "white fight" keenly.

"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



REFERENDUM COUNTDOWN

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 (CAST), had no hesitation in saying that those with the privilege to vote should exercise a "yes" vote — although CAST regretted that President de Klerk had resorted to a racial poll.

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.

There are also those who have transcended racism in their personal lives — people who have married, had families or adopted children in disregard of the old official colour barriers. They fear a "no" vote — and find themselves in the curious situation whereby only one member of such families has the vote on which the entire household's future depends.

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

Andrew Kenney comments on an almost irresistible temptation

Ignore Fat 3 and say yes anyway

STAR 6/3/92

304A

THE most compelling reason for voting "no" in the referendum is the fact that the ANC, the National Party and Big Business are all ordering you to vote "yes".

This ghastly triumvirate — the Fat Three — are growing ever closer, and becoming ever more arrogant and presumptuous. They might have differences but deep down they are all agreed on one thing: Big Brother knows best.

The ANC and the NP believe the individual is there to serve the state; Big Business believes the individual is there to serve the corporation. They all hate dissent; they all believe in controlling the lives of others; they are all opposed to free enterprise (Big Business believes in corporatism, which is quite different). Codesa is beginning to look disturbingly like a deal between the Fat Three.

And now the Fat Three are using their huge wealth and power to browbeat us into voting "yes"; the NP is using the SABC as a blatant propaganda tool; Big Business is pouring money into expensive advertisements; and white supporters of the ANC, drawn exclusively from the privileged classes, are adding their snobbish voices for "yes".

Big Brother from overseas is wagging his finger at us too. We are told that if we vote "no" we shall make "the civilised world" very angry. This is the same "civilised world" that smiled indulgently on Idi Amin and every other African tyrant who has slaughtered his own black citizens; this is the "civilised world" that helped Saddam Hussein when he invaded Iran and gassed and killed innocent Iranian people; this is the "civilised world" that applauded Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda as they drove their countries back into the Stone Age.

Apart from political parties, the only organisations so far to side with the "no" side are the white trade unions. The split in the white community is stark and clear: on the side of "yes" are the rich and the powerful and the bosses; on the side of "no" are the poor and the weak and the workers. The instinctive urge to vote "no" is almost irresistible.

Nonetheless it must be resisted. But not for the idiotic reasons now given in the scare campaign for the "yes" side.

Voting "yes" will not necessari-

ly prevent a civil war: if Codesa results in an ANC government, there is likely to be a civil war started by Boer nationalists who are, at this very moment, preparing arms for such an outcome.

Voting "yes" will not guarantee foreign investment: if there is an ANC government, we would get none. Nor will a "yes" vote decide the underlying issue of whether South Africa should remain a single country or be partitioned into separate nations (which means separate races).

You cannot, by making a cross on a piece of paper, undo 300 years of history. You cannot extinguish a nation in a ballot box. Nationalism has been the most powerful political force in the modern world and its call is now louder than ever — as the disintegration of the Soviet Union under nationalist forces has demonstrated.

The case for a Boerestaat is serious and strong and, despite the enormous practical difficulties, I believe it is fundamentally a better case than that for a united South Africa.

Unfortunately, though, in this referendum it is being presented with the utmost dishonesty and incompetence by Dr Treurnicht and the Conservative Party.

There are only two white leaders in South Africa today who show any sense of direction, although neither knows his final destination. One is Mr de Klerk; the other is Professor Carel Boshoff. Mr de Klerk is heading for some sort of single, democratic South Africa with protection for minorities. Professor Boshoff is headed for a Boerestaat in the northern Cape. Dr Treurnicht does not know where he is heading. This is the first reason you should vote "yes".

The second reason is simply to buy time. Vote "no" and you will bring on a crisis immediately. Vote "yes" and you will postpone the crisis for a few years. By that time those in favour of partition might have produced a strong leader and a clear policy.

Right now, every rich bully from Big Business, every fatcat politician from the National Party, every sanctimonious white supporter of the ANC and every patronising hypocrite from overseas is urging you to vote "yes".

My advice is to ignore them all and vote "yes" anyway. □

Whites must vote with their heads, not their hearts, says Joe Latakomo

It's time to look into the future

STAR 6/3/92

304A

THE biggest test facing white South Africans is whether they have the political maturity and courage to respond to the referendum campaign with their heads, rather than their hearts.

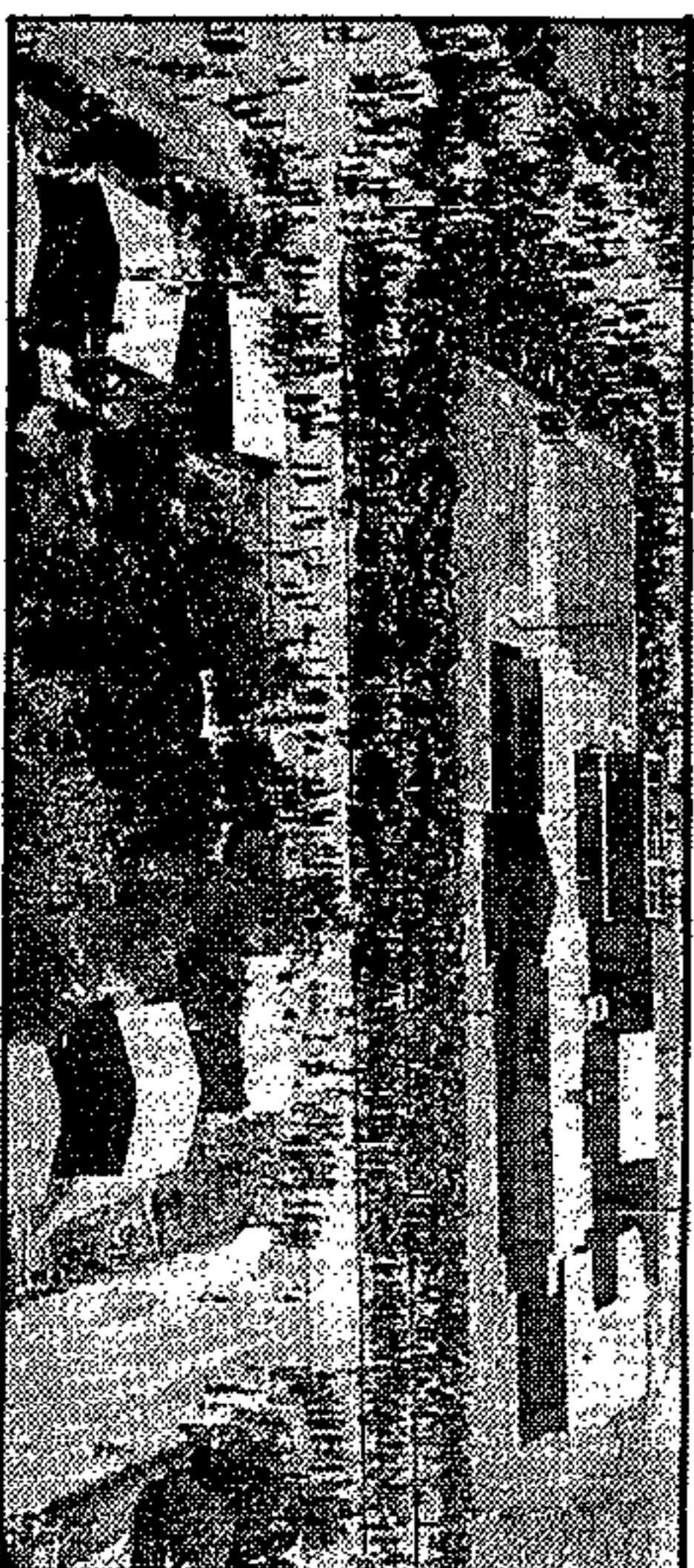
So far the referendum campaign has revived memories of the nasty general elections of 1987 and 1989, both of which centred around relationships between whites and the ANC and its allies. That the NP is now having to defend itself against accusations of being in bed with the ANC is ironic, for in 1987, that was the below-the-belt blow they delivered to the old PFP — a smear which began the liberal slide-away from official opposition to also-rans, and led to the growth of CP bogey that the Government is now trying to fight off.

In May 1987, the CP took 22 seats, with only 26.4 percent of the vote. The base of the party comprised farmers, blue-collar workers who felt threatened by black advancement, the unemployed, and public servants who were bought off with one-off bonuses or

slight increases for what became known as "buy-elections".

The thrust of the NP's campaign then was to drive the fear of God into white voters. Their opponents, they said, were in bed with the "terrorist ANC". That forced the PFP in 1987 and the DP in 1989 on to the defensive throughout — to the extent that by the time the election was over, very few of us knew what the issues really were. We knew what white South Africans had voted against, but not what they had voted for.

Well, that ghost is back to haunt its creators. The first thing Mr de Klerk was obliged to do in launching the NP's campaign for a "yes" vote was to reassure his audiences that anybody who accused him of being in bed with the ANC was a liar. The NP, he said, had clear plans for its reform programme, which had nothing to do with the ANC. But right-wing posters scream at the voters. "Stop De Klerk en/and Mandela. Vote No", declares the HNP poster, perhaps the first time the HNP has published a bilingual bill. "Geen Blanco tjek Vir FW/ANC", and so on.



Sharpeville March 21 1960... the CP would bring back the pass laws — and all the hatred and bitterness of that era.

The message gets across: black workers at a hospital, for instance, were told that transport to the bank at the end of the month would no longer be available, but they could go and ask Mandela for help.

It is not difficult to understand why the NP is worried by the tone of the right-wing campaign. The tactic worked so well for them. Remember Stoffel van der Merwe saying not so long ago: "It is difficult to trust such people (DP members) who undertake safaris to the ANC in Lusaka."

blacks, but he will find no credible blacks willing to speak to him. Which means his plans for partition would have to be drawn up unilaterally, as no sensible black leader will accept them. The CP has also threatened to reintroduce the pass laws, assuming that blacks will happily queue up to accept them. That the pass laws have been the centre of black political opposition for decades, does not worry them. That Sharpeville and its tragic consequences, and Langa and Nyanga, were all because of the hated dampas, passes them by. The truth is that those violent incidents will be like Sunday school picnics in comparison with what they will face if they try to bring back their outdated views. Blacks will simply refuse to obey those laws, and the CP government will have to lock us all up, or shoot us dead.

The 1960s were "golden" years because they were golden in the rest of the world too, whereas now most major industrial nations are going through a recession. The CP argument that times were good then because of apartheid is as fallacious as any of its others. The

There are many more such examples, for the CP has responded with gusto to the opportunity to throw the same mud as the NP used for years. So much so that many blacks question whether whites actually ARE right wing, or harbour right-wing sympathies. Do most whites agree that the way to deal with black trade unions is to ban them? And is mixed sport anathema to Afrikanerdom or indeed the white tribe as a whole?

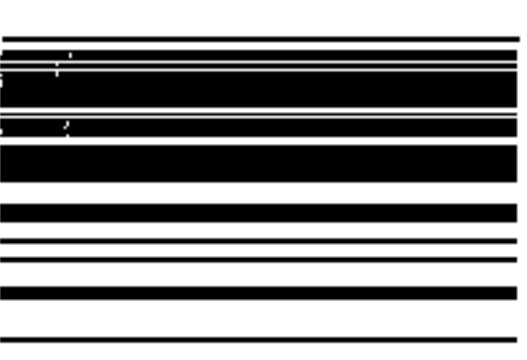
Dr Treurnicht has said that his party would negotiate with

1960s were golden for whites, maybe. But the CP ought to know that we are now paying for the follies of the 1960s. And the bill is still far from settled.

However, to the extent that many see the NP's relationship with the ANC as being excess baggage, there is the spectre of the AWB looming behind the CP. That seems to make it difficult for the CP to win over a significant enough chunk of the English vote.

Another important factor working against the CP is that while many English speakers have voted Conservative in by-elections as a protest, knowing the CP could not take power, they would not now do so, as far more is at stake than just self-interest.

Nobody can seriously believe the country will be better off under the CP. The days of whites-only rule are over and white South Africans must accept that. The crucial issue now is how to find the best possible dispensation, fair and just, which would accommodate the political, economic and social aspirations of the majority of the people. The CP will not help us find it. □



Right wing's drive effective, warn analysts

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

STAR 6/3/92

306A

The right-wing alliance's "no" campaign is a shoe-string operation compared to the nationwide fly-about being undertaken by President de Klerk — but observers warn that its effectiveness should not be underestimated.

While it lacks the glitz and glamour — and, as a direct result, the saturation media coverage — of the "yes" operation, the right-wing effort has the advantage of being earthy and straightforward.

Right-wing activists say privately they believe this approach will secure big turnouts from their supporters.

"Those would be impressed by Mr de Klerk's expensive roadshow are not likely to vote with us anyway," one said. "We're talking to our own people in our own style — which is their style."

Speakers from the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Na-

sionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have opted for traditional constituency-type rallies, where they tirelessly push a simple message of fear and hatred — fear of black domination, and hatred for the National Party Afrikaners who have "sold out" the volk.

Quietly but methodically, the message is being presented in town after town.

In Potgietersrus on Wednesday, the right-wing tactics were on display. AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche repeatedly stressed the twin themes of Mr de Klerk's unworthiness to represent the Afrikaners, and the spectre of the "unelected political thugs of Codesa".

A local CP MP said: "The National Party and the ANC are like two spiders which mated. Now the ANC, the female spider, is devouring the NP."

Another notable feature of the right-wing campaign is the absence thus far of the bully-boy tactics which characterised the Potchefstroom by-election.

Esther Waugh reports that the united white front is holding together effectively, largely because it is a "one-issue alliance". The parties are bound, at base, only by their opposition to a "yes" vote in the referendum.

This has allowed for a degree of unity which was unattainable in the previous general election in 1989, despite repeated efforts by extra-parliamentary right-wing groups to come together. This was because of serious policy differences on key issues.

(Report by S Johnson and E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Poster poser . . . Andrew MacKenzie furious about eye-catching "road sign".
Picture: Stephen Davimes



Wrong move on Right poster

By Esther Waugh

The right wing's referendum campaign to bring things to a halt in South Africa is having a startling effect on Johannesburgers — but not quite in the intended way.

A furious Andrew MacKenzie of Randburg says he came close to having a serious motor accident this week when he braked suddenly for what he thought was a stop sign.

It was in fact a right-wing poster, saying "STOP FW de Klerk".

Mr Mackenzie said he was travelling along Gleneagles

Road in Greenside when he saw the stop sign where there had always been a yield sign.

"You don't decide in that split second that it's a political poster. At the last possible moment your eye catches the stop sign."

He slammed on brakes. "The man behind me mounted the pavement and the man behind him nearly had kittens."

Mr MacKenzie later returned to the intersection and saw another motorist also mistaking the poster for a traffic sign.

He was told by the city council that the poster had been approved.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 47 Sauer St Jhb)

every culture to its own piece of land, but it couldn't work. You can't give 10 percent of the land to 80 percent of the people."

Jan Theron, NP chairman at a student residence in Wellington in the Boland, says the message they are taking to the students is that democracy is the only way for South Africa.

"We want an end to sanctions, equal opportunity for all, a peaceful community life without domination by one group against the other."

He predicts an interim government shortly — and is going door to door to intensively inform the voters of Wellington what the government is proposing.

But when it comes to the details of the accord being worked out at Codesa, at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg, the NP has so far done little to enlighten its white supporters.

Small wonder that some of them have not yet got the complete picture. Seventy-nine-year-old Pieter van Zyl, who has loyally supported the NP since 1922 and who now holds up a "Ja" poster up outside an old-age home in Kempton Park where De Klerk is expected any minute, does not believe there will ever be a black president.

"De Klerk is negotiating to secure a future for the white population," he says.

Another elderly woman is adamant that the only way to vote is yes.

Why? Because, she says, "black and white can never live together in South Africa." How old are you? a journalist asks.

"Sixty nine," she replies.

"Don't lie, Mildred," says a friend.

"You're 80."

(Report by Philip van Niekerk, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)



Old foes turn into uneasy partners

Handwritten: 12/3/92

Handwritten: 3644

It's outrageous! It takes a while for DP veterans to come round to working with the Nats.

By BARBARA LUDMAN

It looked like an ordinary cake sale on Sunday morning, with Democratic Party workers manning a couple of rickety tables in front of the Yeoville Checkers and DP politicians hanging around in case any voters stopped long enough to chat.

The DP schedules these fund-raising events four times a year; it was a happy coincidence that one had been booked for the day the "Vote Yes" campaign got off the ground, and rather lucky that the posters were ready. People were smiling and relaxed, as they always are at these events.

Then the National Party arrived — and the scene changed dramatically.

The rising of DP hackles was almost visible as President's Council member Issy Pinshaw and his wife Sylvia — both wearing large NP rosettes — took up a position on the pavement a step or two away from the DP table.

"I don't want them here, I don't want them at our table and I'm not happy being associated with the NP," said one volunteer. "At least they could take their badges off."

"It's outrageous," said another. "It's infuriating."

The Pinshaws didn't deter buyers, anyway: in fact, they helped. When three black children — new residents of the district — gazed longingly at the chocolate cake going for R1 a square, it was the Pinshaws who rushed in with R3.

"It certainly is a new experience to be working with people who two-and-a-half years ago were your bitter opponents," Pinshaw said cheerfully a few days later. "But past divisions between the NP and DP have been swept aside for the referendum and, indeed, in the overall thrust of the whole negotiation process."

At a certain level, that's true. President FW de Klerk and DP leader Zach de Beer

will be sharing platforms. Further down the line, there is an arrangement that where the DP holds the seats, they will run the "Vote Yes" campaign, and where the NP holds seats, it will be NP workers in charge. On referendum day, there is likely to be some sharing of tables. Democratic MPs and city councillors are acceding to that policy with some grace.

But among ordinary party workers, it's rather harder.

June Coetzee has run campaign headquarters for the PFP/DP in extremely difficult

areas — Modderfontein, for example, during the 1983 referendum. The day after the 1987 general election, when Bezuidenhout went to the NP, she moved into the Bezuidenhout office to begin organising for the 1989 campaign — which the DP won. She's still there.

This week she had a steady stream of people stuffing envelopes and picking their way around stacks of posters reading "Yes for peace and prosperity".

The local NP city councillor had contacted the office, she said. "We told him we didn't like his posters" — presumably those that say "Yes for FW". "We're not here to vote for FW. We're here to vote for the country. FW might be doing a good job but old Progs die hard — this old one does, anyway."

"I come from an Irish family."

Reconciliation, even temporarily, is going to be tougher than fighting, especially if it means standing side by side with men wearing NP rosettes.

"I don't like it one little bit. We're doing it under duress, you could say. We all feel very strongly about this but I did promise my MPs I'd tone down on this. I realise we've got to do it for the country."

Corinne Evans has been the organiser of special votes in Houghton for a quarter of a century.

"I can't say I jump for joy at working with the government, but there's too much at stake to let personal feelings come into it," she says. "We've just got to do it. And maybe the government's more enlightened these days, thanks to us."

That is, more or less, the line: that negotiations are, after all, what the DP has been working for all these years; that these days the NP is merely carrying out DP policy.

"I will campaign," says another volunteer, "very bitterly and reluctantly."

What angers me is that the Nats have put us in this terribly awkward position in which we're forced to support them. Of course, ultimately, the Big White Decision does not apply anymore. But if there's the remotest possibility of a CP victory, we have to fight."

(Report by Barbara Ludman, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)



Wend 6/3-12/3/92 (304A)

Africa (Codesa) and pragmatists — notably CP trio Koos van der Merwe, and the Mulder brothers — who favour joining the forum in order to press for a Volkstaat.

A referendum defeat would also exacerbate the leadership tussle between Treurnicht and Terre'Blanche and heighten tensions between far-right "constitutionalists" and those, specifically in the AWPB, favouring extra-parliamentary struggle.

Simpson also believes the CP will split in the wake of the March 17 poll, with a consequent realignment of forces on the right.

He predicts that the Van der Merwe faction will go into Codesa as independent conservatives, while the "hard right" will join forces with the AWPB and other fringe groups to constitute a "Hersigte Konserwatiewe Party".

(Report by Drew Forrest, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)

Wend 6/3-12/3/92
vindicating if De Klerk is to secure his mandate. (304A)

Gert van Wyk, a young student at RAU, whose parents come from Potgietersrus deep in CP country, says that in the *platteland* people are extremely scared of change.

"I speak to my friends. Their hearts say no but their brains say yes. They know it can't work anymore as it is, but they're scared."

Van Wyk's parents are lifelong Nationalists. "They voted in 1948 for apartheid. At that time of anti-apartheid (anti-apartheid) press the it appears

Fingers are crossed in the townships

THE referendum may be a whites-only affair, but it has a majority of township people holding their breaths and keeping their fingers crossed for President FW de Klerk.

A snap survey among ordinary black people revealed that a majority of respondents wanted to see De Klerk finish what he started two years ago.

None of the so-called "black anger" at a whites-only referendum came through in the snap poll. Perhaps the African National Congress' call for a yes vote has helped to suppress negative perceptions.

People waiting at taxi ranks showed which way the voters should go.

"White voters have to stand by him (De Klerk) to show that they regret the hardships apartheid brought upon us," said taxi driver Glen Kubheka, from Naledi.

Equally optimistic was young Diepkloof taxi owner Ezra Mkhonza, who believes a civil war will be averted if De Klerk pulls this one off. "A Conservative Party victory will force people to arms, others to exile and we

Blacks are accustomed to have whites vote about their destinies.

By RAY NXUMALO

may see the reimposition of sanctions," he said.

His worst fear was that "the police under a CP government would be a nightmare".

While he was speaking, 74-year-old Peter Ndzunu added his view to the poll. "We are not yet satisfied with what De Klerk has done so far. He still has a lot to do and as such he must be supported for the bravery he has shown," said the old-timer sternly.

A teacher at Phiri Primary School, who said her name was Puleng, shouted as the packed taxi whisked her away that she could only wish De Klerk luck.

In another taxi sat Mirri of Protea North, who "generally does not follow politics". She said she did not know what the referendum was about, but

that she thought life under CP rule was "unthinkable".

Alongside her, Eunice from Moletsane was crocheting a peach-coloured baby's jersey. She shrugged her shoulders indifferently when the question was put to her.

Sixteen-year-old Moletsane High pupil Tshepo Poe, who "has no interest in politics", hoped the outcome of the referendum brings peace to the country: "When you switch on radios and televisions, you see violence and death. It must stop now."

"With the CP in power, there is no way there will be peace. They dislike us, don't they?"

Poe said though he doesn't trust whites much, De Klerk seemed to be headed in the right direction.

Forty-eight-year-old Amos Baloyi of Alexandra has lived most of his life under National Party rule and had no faith or praise for its leaders.

"I was around in 1960 when they held the referendum (on becoming a republic), and that one brought apartheid. Now they tell us this one is

to reform it. But will apartheid really end?" he asked with resignation as the queue marshal packed him into a minibus taxi.

Lindi Mntsi said she had heard a lot about the referendum recently, but did not know what it means to her. "It's difficult to express an opinion in a whites-only matter," she said.

Kelina Mntsi and Vera Mkhwanazi said there were too many things going on which they don't understand. They mentioned the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) as an example.

"It's so confusing with all these things happening at the same time. We'll just have to wait and see what comes out of this latest thing."

Although he had reservations about De Klerk, unemployed Jacob Phokwane said: "De Klerk must do all in his power to make sure he wins this round."

(Report by Ray Nxumalo, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)



Party machine... DP organiser June Coetzee (left), Yeoville MP Douglas Gibson and volunteers
Photo: GUY ADAMS

ly and my old man used to say to me: "If you believe in something you fight for it, and if you get knocked down six times, pick yourself up seven times." In areas like this we've had to fight for every

A best an irrelevancy, at worst a referendum disaster for the Conservative Party — this is how analysts see the far-right coalition announced with much fanfare last week.

And the dominant perception is that the *toemadering* of the CP, Heistigse Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is unlikely to survive a referendum defeat.

As it has largely succeeded in doing on the left of the political spectrum, the stark choice posed by the March 17 poll has forced long-standing ideological and leadership squabbles on the far right into the background.

After last week's strategy meeting at the CP's Pretoria headquarters, at which the three groupings opted for a joint no campaign, AWB chief Eugene TerreBlanche predicted that the newfound unity on the right would "last long after the referendum".

Pollsters and political analysts contacted this week are unanimous that the CP's decision to climb into bed with other rightist groupings — a reversal of a 10-year-long policy — will not boost, and may damage its cause.

The few published polls thus far have predicted a clear win for De Klerk, but a large lie factor and the unpredictability of how conservative English speakers will vote, could yield a result far short of De Klerk's hoped-for landslide.

Taking the Conservative Party's 30 percent in the 1989 general election as the minimum "no", then the swing in the Afrikaners rural and blue collar vote — as seen in Virginia and Potchefstroom — raises the rightwing share of the vote to between 34 and 38 percent.

The even bigger swing to the right in the urban English vote, as seen in Umlazi and Maitland, could take the noes up to between 40 and 44 percent.

A marriage without love on the right

Eugene TerreBlanche seems confident that the right's new unity will last.

Others are less sure.

By DREW FORREST

Backing for the AWB and HNP is numerically insignificant: risk analyst Dr Wim Booysse believes the HNP has no more than 64 000 supporters, while another commentator, Donald Simpson, puts its vote in the 1989 election at 5 500. The AWB, which is a registered political party, polled no votes at all.

But Booysse makes the obvious point that with or without the coalition, these whites could be depended on to register a no vote in the referendum.

The one positive thing the HNP may bring to its CP ally is the personality of its leader, Jaap Marais. Pollster Dr Janne Hofmeyr, of Research Surveys

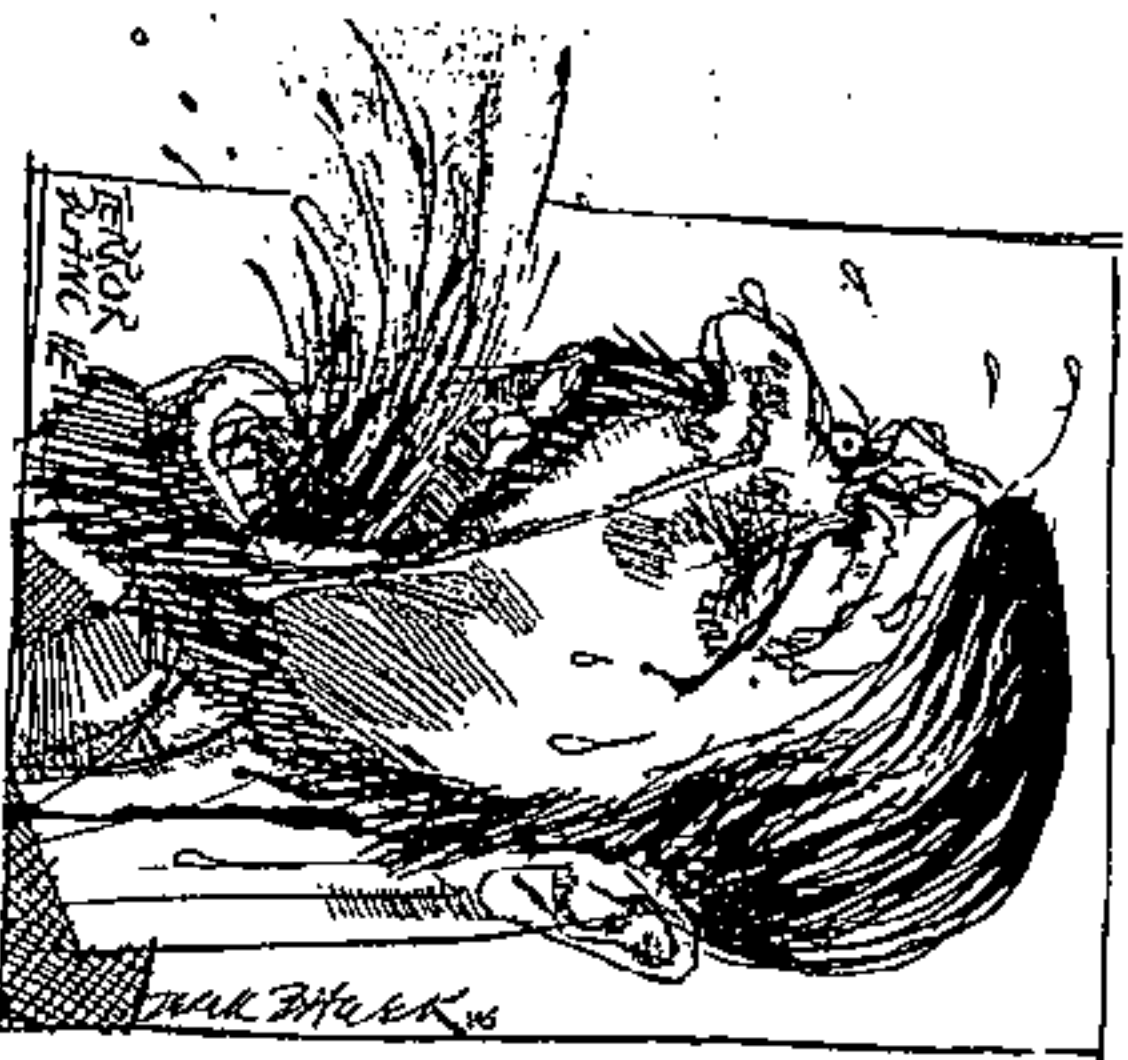
in Cape Town, says Marais enjoys the "classical charisma" lacking in his CP counterpart, Andries Treurnicht, and is highly respected among Afrikaners for his perceived forthrightness and honesty.

The analysts differ on the nature of the marginal vote and its likely reaction to the rightwing unity move — but none of them believes it will strengthen the CP's referendum campaign.

Simpson holds that this "borderline bloc" is largely Afrikaners and historically supportive of the National Party, adding that there is no evidence to support CP claims of a huge English-speaking floating vote.

"The only way the CP could win over the borderline group would be by moving to the centre," he says. "This might lose it a few neo-Nazis, but win the support of thousands on the NP's vulnerable wing."

"Making common cause with the HNP and the AWB, and promising a



return to apartheid, is a huge tactical blunder."

Hofmeyr believes that significant numbers of Anglophone South Africans — up to 30 percent — are disillusioned with the reform process, dismissing it as "a mess" or doubting President FW de Klerk's ability to protect white interests.

The CP's marriage of convenience with the extra-parliamentary right,

symbolised by the AWB, might scare off some English-speaking conservatives. But in the main, it was unlikely to have much impact either way.

"The far right is simply not an option for most English-speakers, not because it has the wrong policies, but because it's perceived as an Afrikaners affair," he commented.

"English-speakers have been disempowered for so long, many see politics as irrelevant. If they don't vote for FW, they probably won't vote at all."

How durable will the newfound unity of the right prove to be, particularly in the aftermath of a referendum defeat?

"I believe FW will win, but the impact on the right will depend on the size of his victory," Hofmeyr comments. "If they are well beaten, they'll find it hard to hold things together."

Hofmeyr sees three lines of potential cleavage, the key one between hard-liners who oppose the Convention for a Democratic South

— continue

scared, but I think they will vote yes."

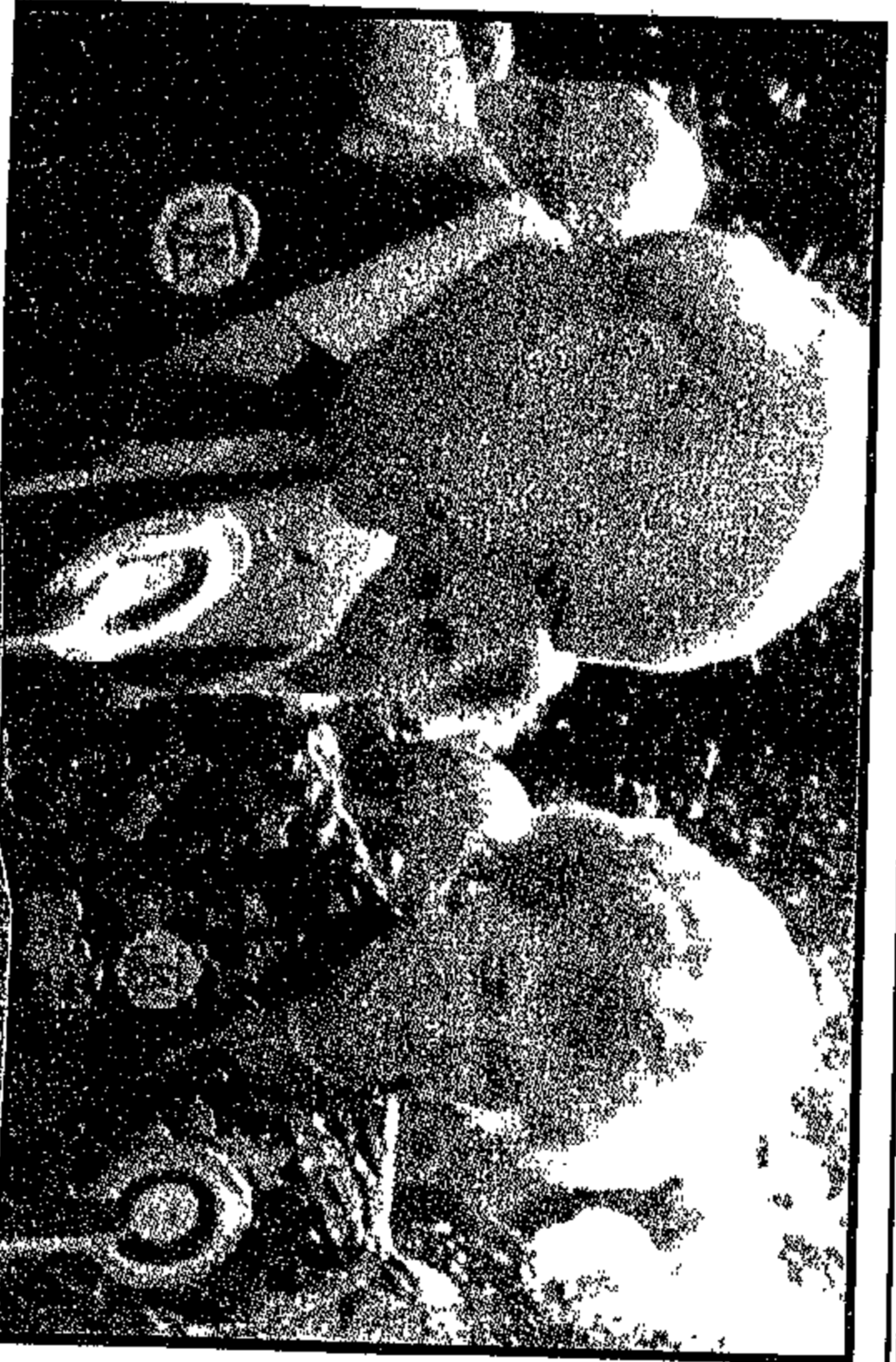
Indeed, the export fruit farmers of the western Cape have a lot more to vote yes for than the debt-strapped, drought-ridden *meulieboere* of the Free State. But everywhere there is the fear, the uncertainty.

There are risks involved in the current reforms, De Klerk acknowledges: "But if we don't take the risks, it will be a matter of signing the death warrant of hope."

At Stellenbosch University De Klerk was greeted with adulation, a chrome-dome Kennedy who had rescued a vision for South Africa out of the disgrace of apartheid.

Probably the most liberal and the most mixed of the Afrikaners camps-

Along the trail with a witblitz FW



Rightwing support from traditional opposition constituencies which it has never contested such as the crime-infested northern suburbs of Johannesburg could add vital percentage points and put the right within spitting distance of De Klerk.

Even though the task of overhauling the combined National Party-Democratic Party vote is almost impossible, the rightwing can still win enough to deprive De Klerk of a clearcut mandate.

Euphoria at this point is thus misplaced. It is more important to keep in mind that white South Africa, a reactionary electorate, is voting for a policy that is to the left of anything that has gone before it.

De Klerk's message is that a yes vote is a vote for negotiation, for a new constitution and a Bill of Rights based on an accord between all South Africans that will prevent domination of one group against the other.

"A no vote will lead this country into chaos," he told young Afrikaans students at the Stellenbosch town hall on Monday. "It will send a message of rejection to our 26-million fellow South Africans."

Framed by balloons in the blue, white and orange colours of the South African flag, De Klerk has gone walking about to meet the "common man", shaking hands, kissing babies and grinning like a Father Christmas come to distribute presents rather than a politician asking white voters to end white minority rule.

He speaks of doors opening in the outside world, of the end of sanctions and of international sports tours. And he speaks in grim tones of the alternative: of total isolation and of conflict on an unprecedented scale.

His message is carefully tailored for

● From PAGE 1

each audience. And for each audience he has a little joke. He saves that certain familiar sly glance of his for when he is in a huddle with cabinet colleagues such as Pik Botha and Roelf Meyer.

He has been enthusiastically received wherever he has gone. Moments of dissidence are few and far between. At the Cape Town City Hall, De Klerk put down a lone heckler, saying he hoped the yeses would triumph on March 17 in the same proportion that they were represented in the hall. But the heckler continued until his

cries became audible on the stage: "*Moord ben-de*". Death squads. Harms Commission. David Webster. It was a subject that nobody wanted to be reminded of: the NP government's involvement in death squads.

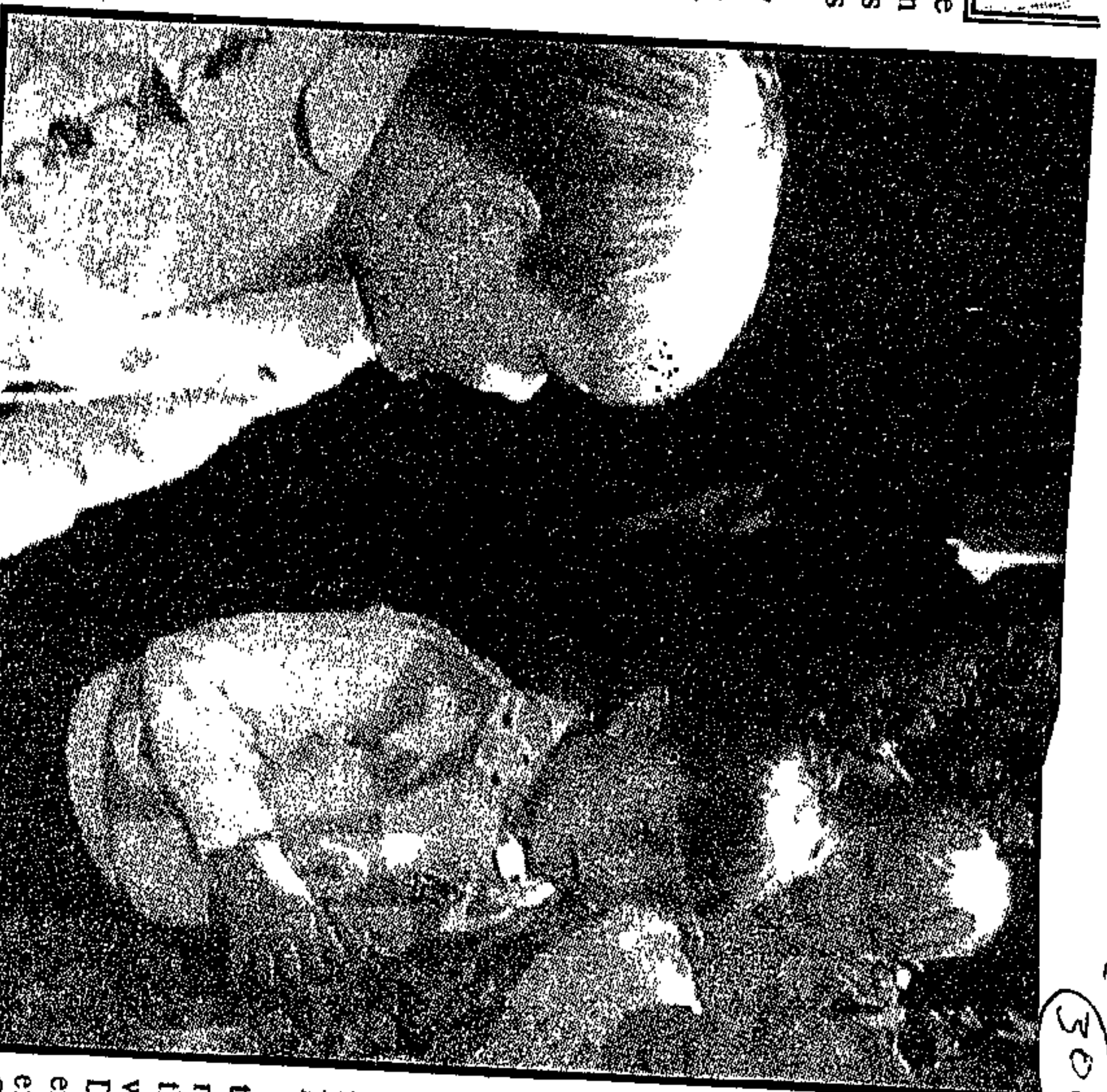
At RAU a young student walked up to De Klerk and ominously pointed a finger: "Let the curse of God be upon you and your government," he said, before disappearing without further explanation. De Klerk laughed nervously, shrugged and continued his walkabout without turning into a frog.

But most of De Klerk's visits have been carefully staged and incident free. The territory he has traversed so far — the western Cape and west Johannesburg — is safe for the yes vote. More dicey is conservative English-speaking Natal.

And he has yet to carry the real battle to the Transvaal countryside and the Free State.

As De Klerk stumped his way through the town of Paarl in the Boland north of Cape Town on Monday, black leaders in the nearby township of

● Let the curse of God be upon you, said the student. FW laughed nervously



On the campaign trail ... FW woos the children

Photo: AP

Mbekweni said that while they viewed yet another white election with distaste, they supported a yes.

African National Congress civic leader Jeffrey Xhaso said the movement had held meetings and convinced three-quarters of the residents of his poverty-stricken township overcrowded with tin shanties to support a yes in the referendum.

"Some guys feel: away with De Klerk," he said. "But our main worry is that the Conservative Party will take everything back to zero."

Another Mbekweni resident sees the referendum as being for another principle — the right of each and every man to marry a white woman.

De Klerk has surprisingly strong

backing in the small coloured hamlets among the picturesque winelands and fruit farms of the Boland.

Nigel Williams, a builder in Pniel at the top of the stunning Hellschoogte Pass, says that if there is a no vote, "*dan kom daar burgeroorlog*" ("there will be a civil war").

He and other men on the building site say they are all for De Klerk. "This man has done a wonderful job. Even when we all have the vote we will vote for De Klerk to prevent domination by an ANC government." Pniel was once a Labour Party stronghold.

Henry Lackay, a butcher at Pniel says: "If I could vote, I would vote yes. I talk a lot with the white farmers around here and they are extremely

es, the ~~former~~ time speaker on the following day was to be ANC western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak. Yet it was at Stellenbosch where the Progressive Federal Party's Di Bishop lost her deposit in 1982 because she described Swapo as freedom fighters, and where in 1987 former president PW Botha sparked a rebellion among *verligte* academics by telling them to get lost, and the Nats still won with an overwhelming majority.

But these are battles past and Stellenbosch on Monday was De Klerk territory, reform territory.

"I see the Conservative Party has not yet reached Stellenbosch to put up their posters," he told the mirthful audience, "because they're not going to put the Peninsula in their new Boerestaat."

More battles past were laid to rest in the Cape Town city hall on Monday night as DP leader Zach de Beer shared the platform with De Klerk. On stage was a curious alliance of the Democrats and ex-Pros of the southern suburbs and the Nats of the northern suburbs — a virtual lock on the Cape Peninsula.

"I have spoken here many times during the past 40 years," said the veteran De Beer whose wry smile at the ironies of history appears to have set permanently on his face, "but tonight is unique for two reasons: firstly, it is the National Party that invited me. Secondly, I accepted."

De Beer's speech sounded a clearly different note to De Klerk's. He accused the far right leaders of being demagogues on the line of Hitler, Lenin, Mussolini, Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein.

Rank and file DP supporters are uncomfortable with the manner that the campaign has been turned into a personal endorsement of De Klerk's presidency, but there is no fear that they will not vote yes.

It is the mainstream of conservative white opinion that is in need of con-

L/MALC 6/13-12/3/92

304A

Quietly Codesa gets it together

A DECEPTIVELY quiet week at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has yielded one of the most significant agreements yet for the negotiation process.

A document leaked from working group three, which deals with transitional arrangements, has revealed that delegates have agreed that Codesa should appoint an interim cabinet.

This confirms claims last week that the African National Congress' proposed two stage transitional plan had brought the ANC and government

into virtual agreement on the transitional process.

The four point document proposes the transitional executive be appointed through procedures to be agreed on by Codesa. The structure will be given legal power by parliament passing amendments to the constitution.

The agreement that the interim cabinet be appointed after the necessary legislation had been passed by parliament addresses the government's insistence that transitional arrangements be constitutional.

Legislation allowing blacks to be

While all eyes are focused on the referendum, major decisions are being made by Codesa.

PAUL STÖBER reports

appointed to the cabinet, rejected during the PW Botha era as "co-option", will be reintroduced during the current session of parliament.

The document reflects further compromises by both the government and

the ANC.

This week ANC national executive member, Joe Slovo, rejected the idea of its members being co-opted into the cabinet and said the organisation stood by its proposal that an interim government council be established to oversee the existing cabinet and government structures. He added that there was nothing in the provisional agreement which contradicted the ANC's proposal for the transitional period.

At a press conference on Wednesday, Finance Minister Barend du

Plessis, who was clearly upset that the document had been leaked, said the most important aspect of the document was an agreement by Codesa to work on the basis of consensus. He explained that consensus made the question of who was in the majority at Codesa irrelevant. "We will talk and talk until we all agree," he said.

More than talk may be required to bring Bophuthatswana into the transitional arrangements.

According to a source in Codesa, the Bophuthatswana government has dug in its heels and is refusing to be re-incorporated. The ANC is determined that there must be agreement that the homelands be re-incorporated before there are elections for a constituent assembly.

The document must still be taken back to their parties for discussion and possible changes. Delegates will then return to the working group for another round of talks before finalising an agreement and submitting it to Codesa two for discussion and acceptance.

The other working groups at Codesa also made progress with their discussions, although it seems consensus will be harder to reach.

This week the ANC rejected a government proposal that minority rights be entrenched in the constitution. In a document submitted to working group two, which deals with constitutional principles, the ANC said, "checks and balances which would have the effect of conferring executive powers to minority parties poses dangers to the operation of a democratic constitution".

The document listed these dangers as: government effectively becoming a one-party system, the exercising of executive authority becoming ineffective, the undermining of the principle of an active opposition and the formation of coalitions which are not based on mutual interests or the needs of South Africa and therefore inappropriate for the country. The document also warns of the creation of antagonisms towards minorities if the majority finds its aspirations constantly thwarted.

According to the ANC proposal, full participation of minorities in the political process requires freedom of association, a system of proportional representation and a civil society.

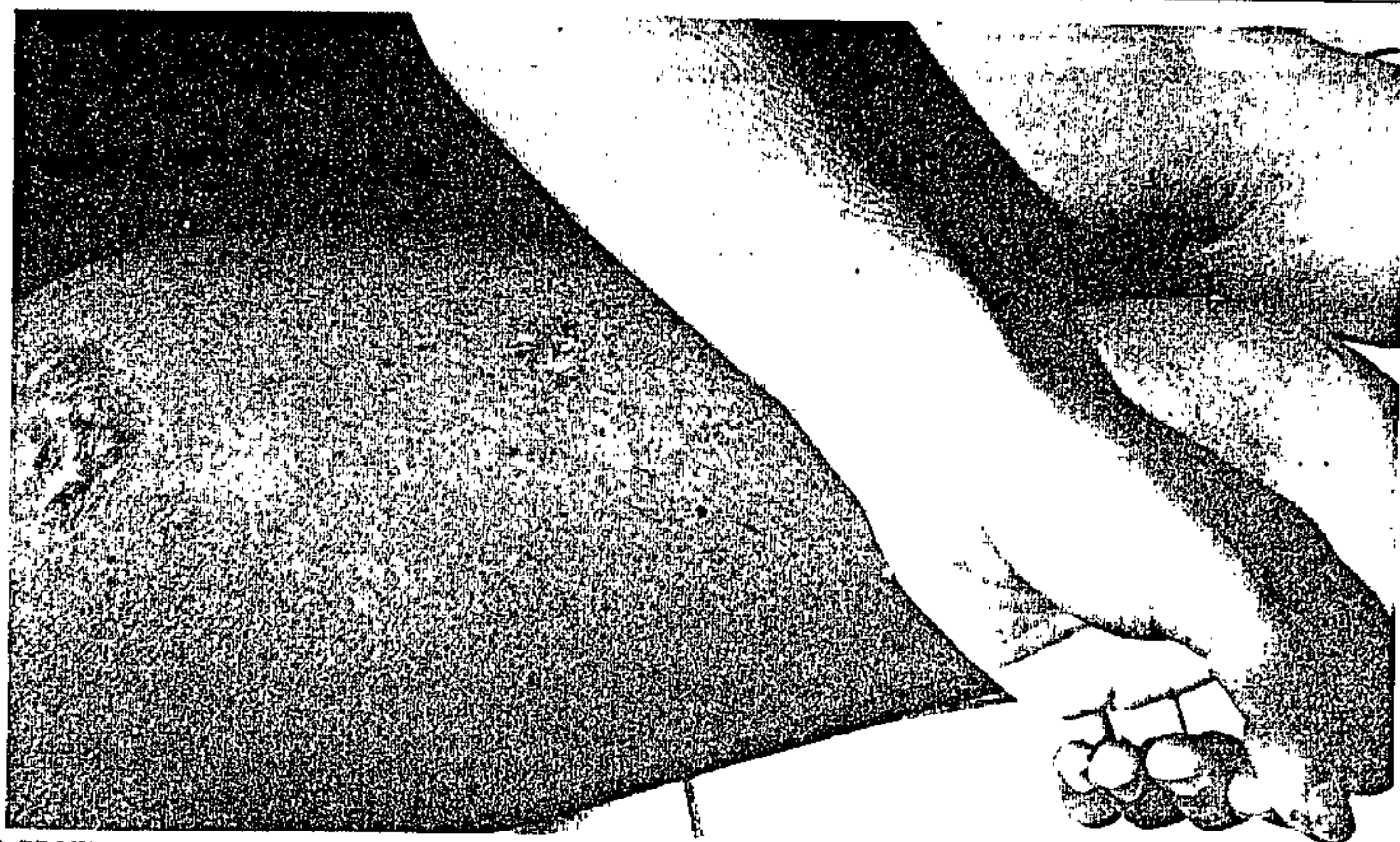
Strong protection of linguistic, religious and cultural communities through constitutional protection of these rights are also included in the proposal. "The individual rights incorporated into a Bill of fundamental rights are vitally important to communities seeking to advance their collective needs," said the document.

In a move to nip in the bud a growing row about control of the SABC, the government announced the establishment of a neutral regulatory commission for all telecommunications. According to a statement by the Minister of Home Affairs Gene Louw, the function of the commission would be the "exploitation, regulation and supervision of terrestrial as well as space telecommunication technology".

The statement said the proposal will not directly affect the existing management of the SABC but will introduce negotiated standards, norms and codes with which the SABC will have to comply. These codes will also apply to new broadcasters.

The establishment of the commission has already been decided by the cabinet and the government plans to introduce the necessary legislation during the current session of parliament, "after due consultation with all interested parties".

A delegate in the working group described the proposals as being vague. The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will table their submissions on broadcasting in two weeks.



A GROWING number of women are only able to cope with severe stress and repressed anger by deliberately injuring themselves. Most are between 16 and 25 years old, successful, intelligent and single.

Self-mutilative behaviour has long been shrouded in mystery because it is such a socially unacceptable coping mechanism, particularly among people who are least expected to practise it. But scratch-like scars from old incisions running alongside more faded, overlapping cigarette burns on hidden sections of forearms confirm that Deliberate Self Harm Syndrome (DSHS) does exist throughout the world.

University of South Africa social work student Sharon Rosen spent two years of her practical study working at the drug rehabilitation centre Phoenix House, where she picked up similar symptoms in drug addicts. Her recently completed honours thesis dealing with DSHS is the first exploratory study of its kind.

Seven subjects in her study described similar behaviour patterns. Gradually, she says, "their stories started sounding very similar and confirmed what had only been hypothesised up to now, never really studied".

"They showed strong aversion to any authoritative figures and institutions but also experienced very severe periods of depression and low self-esteem."

Sufferers weave a tale of compulsive release from anger, society and very often themselves which reaches right back to childhood.

The common thread is a broken home and unstable family relationships and settings where overt expression of emotions, especially anger, was severely repressed.

This description is from one of the victims interviewed in an exclu-

Women who hurt themselves to cope

They feel no pain — but they use pain to achieve control and release.

BEATHUR BAKER reports on the rising number of self-mutilators

sive British magazine: "It's like a sudden, irresistible impulse to harm oneself physically, an uncontrollable situation from which one cannot escape." This is followed by "a rapid, temporary feeling of relief". Like several people interviewed, she described the wound as "painless".

"Mildred" — interviewed by Rosen and, this week, by *The Weekly Mail* — is 29 and friendly. She looks more like a grade-school teacher than someone who performed self-mutilation up to eight times a day for five years. Her story is characterised by intense battles of control over her emotions and the demands of her parents.

"I started in 1982 when I was about 20. At the time I was already involved in prescription drugs, tranquilisers mostly. I was addicted to them for three years."

"Things were unbearable at home, so I was admitted to a well-known local drug rehabilitation centre — my family couldn't handle it. While suffering really bad withdrawal symptoms I one day held a burning cigarette to my wrist and kept it there. The flesh seared, but there was no pain. Almost

immediately I felt relieved, in control and less lonely."

For three months she was hospitalised on and off in three rehabilitation centres, where her hands had to be bandaged by "disgusted" hospital staff.

"They didn't understand or even ask why. Nobody did. It is so enraging not to be listened to. Once home, the stress overwhelmed me, my burning increased and became my own special secret so I could be seen to be coping."

"As a little girl I was taught to feel anger is wrong and therefore I did not know how to show it. Everyone would pretend anger did not exist."

One day, when arguing on the telephone with an uncle, Mildred proceeded from burning to cutting. "In a calm and conscious frame of mind I took a razor blade and, locked in my room, I calmly made a deep incision into the flesh on my leg. A feeling of numbness overcame me, as well as a sense of achievement, release and escape — it was like I had turned my anger inwards."

"I could isolate myself from a situation or bring myself back by cutting — to ensure I did not withdraw to the other side: madness. But afterward I felt so dirty, disgusted with myself, partly because I knew friends and family's reaction to what I did and because I was hurting my mother by going against her wishes."

Many self-mutilators have a history of violence in the family — for example, child abuse. The study shows that these experiences leave

sufferers with low self-esteem and a distorted body image.

Rosen believes the socialisation of girls is one of the main causes: "Little girls have virtually no say in what happens to them."

DSHS, she says, has the potential to help people regain control over important areas in their lives, such as the family. However, several cases reveal that DSHS serves either to distance the person from the family or to reinforce its closeness.

Other features of the syndrome include chemical substance abuse and depression. Several people in the case study admitted having taken drugs during or before DSHS.

All the interviewees said they could not stop an act once they had started; it needed to "run its course".

Sufferers find there is no pain involved when performing self-mutilation. Methods of inflicting harm to the body ranged from head banging, dropping heavy objects on to the body, slamming fingers in doors and self-kicking to laceration, carving, making small slits or scratches. It goes all the way to severe forms, like rubbing cut glass on to body areas, interfering with wounds, amputating fingers. There are also "normal" forms of self-mutilation: clipping nails, trimming hair and having a tattoo.

Rosen's study recommends that staff at existing counselling services like People Opposing Women Abuse (Powa) could, with additional training, incorporate advising victims of DSHS into their service.

Institutions such as hospitals need to be educated about the syndrome, says Rosen, and social workers could assist sufferers in a positive way by encouraging self-expression and building trust. She is hoping to establish a self-help group.

The damage of a 'no' vote

304A
Sowetan
6/3/92

TWENTY-EIGHT million South Africans would rise up in anger if the white electorate voted "no" in the whites-only referendum on March 17, State President Mr FW de Klerk said in Maritzburg yesterday.

De Klerk told a packed city hall that a resounding "yes" vote would send a message to the world and to many South Africans that there need be no longer any doubt concerning the sincerity and commitment to real reform and negotiations for a new constitution.

If there was a "no" vote, whites would be accused of breaking their word, having twice mandated the

Government to embark on its reform programme.

In Queenstown, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha last night said that a "no" vote would cause South irreparable damage.

He said such an outcome would cause South Africa to be totally isolated.

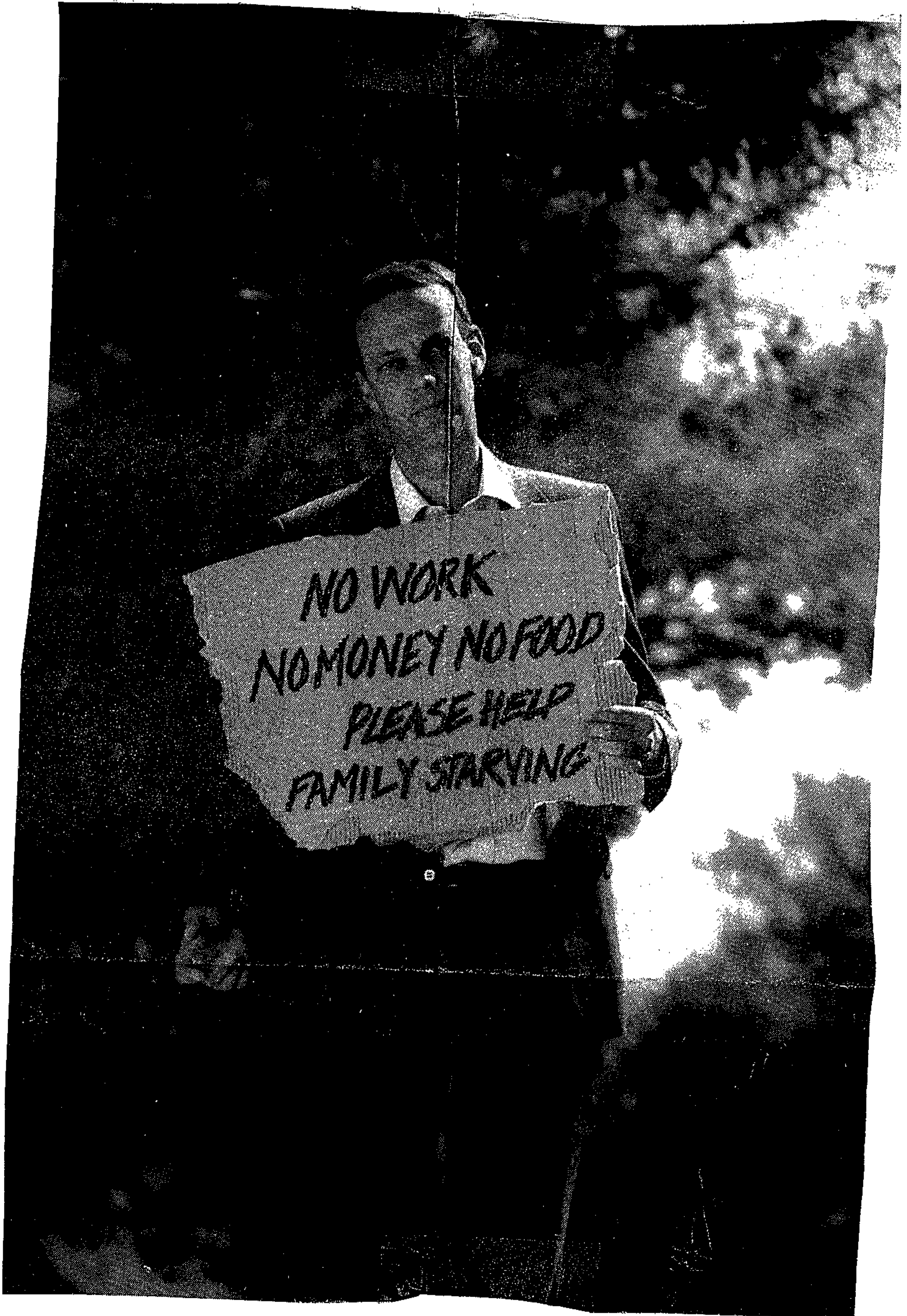
The Government and the National Party had made good progress in the negotiation process and the African National Congress had accepted a number of concessions.

"We have made terrific progress," he said. -Sapa and Sowetan Correspondent.

STAR

6/3/92

304A



**Or you can
vote "Yes" for a solution
that will work.**

**You can vote yourself
out of a job.**

STAR

6/3/92

(304A)

Vote yes, says Div

Graaff ^{South}

CT 6/3/92

Political Correspondent

SIR De Villiers Graaff yesterday urged all the supporters of the former United Party and former New Republic Party to join him in voting "yes" in the March 17 referendum.

In a rare public statement, Sir De Villiers, the former Leader of the Opposition and UP leader, said the choice between "yes" and "no" was that between evolution and revolution.

He also said it "seemed clear" that in the negotiation process the government was seeking safeguards — for instance, the protection of minority groups, equality before the law, language, cultural and religious freedom — for which the old UP and its successor, the NRP, had fought for so long.

"I believe that such a vote is in the best interest of South Africa," he said.

Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town

FW spells out future

CT 6/3/92 (364A)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — A clear "Yes" vote would lead to a new constitution "quite some time" before the next scheduled general election in 1994, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The President also said that it would mean there would be no need for another referendum.

"I think we must set our targets of making sufficient progress to start implementing agreements reached through negotiation before the present set date for a general election," he told 500 businessmen here.

"So it is possible that we can get the first phase of a new constitution in place quite some time before the next fixed date for an election," he added.

The next general election is scheduled for September 1994 or sometime during the following six months.

The President said if he could not deliver on the National Party's constitutional fundamentals in negotiations he would return to the electorate.

He also clarified his position on what he regarded as a mandate to continue with his reform process.

An ordinary "Yes" majority would mean "I will continue with energy and gusto," Mr De Klerk said.

But "a good win will be better than just a win and a landslide win would be marvellous for South Africa," he said.

A significant majority would send out a positive message, add impetus to the negotiation process and create confidence.

He said the challenge facing voters in the March 17 referendum was to make a "final commitment" to the reform and negotiation process which had changed the face of the country.

If a "No" majority was returned then "not only doors that have been opened will slam shut again, but also doors that have never been shut". He warned that it would also plunge the country into conflict and would lead to "mass action like we have never seen before".

Mr De Klerk again dismissed allegations that he was asking for a "blank cheque" from white voters.

Report by C Whitfield, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville.

The people of Parow lean towards 'yes' vote

(304A) 6/3/92

SOME staunch CP supporters in the lower income town of Parow will be giving a thumbs up vote in the referendum. This is not because they have had a sudden change of heart, but simply that they take seriously the threats of chaos, civil war and sanctions should the "no" vote win.

Confusion, uncertainty and fear formed the subtext of conversations about SA's future.

One elderly resident, in a poignant admission of inner conflict, said: "My heart is CP, but my understanding says I must vote 'yes' because that is what is best for the country. There will be chaos if the 'no' votes win."

To confuse matters further, traditional NP supporters approached in a random street survey indicated they were wavering on the borderline, unsure whether their interests were being betrayed by their leader, President F W de Klerk.

For Johan, a Parow restaurant owner, it was a no-win situation. A "yes" vote would be a vote for Mandela, a "no" vote would bring sanctions and boycotts.

But if there was fear, there was also reason in some replies.

A barefoot railway conductor with a tanned and wrinkled face said, while making his way to a local cafe: "I am a CP supporter, but I will not vote 'no' in the referendum."

"We cannot go back to the old confusion. We cannot go back to apartheid with boycotts and sanctions."

"I cannot say what will happen in future. It makes no difference that there is the worry about jobs and security." Many of his colleagues employed on the railways were CP members, but they would be voting 'yes' because of their overriding love for sport.

A woman attendant at a local takeaway outlet said she was undecided

REFERENDUM The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial poll, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country. **LINDA ENSOR** visited Parow to find out how residents of the western Cape town were likely to vote on March 17.

how to vote. "I think the CP is right, but I won't vote for it because of sanctions and boycotts. It seems you cannot vote for whom you want to. It's a threat, almost. It's not possible to get what you want with all the threats and everything."

"The CP has the answer. I think each group must have their own place, like in the old days — their own schools and things."

"De Klerk is doing more for other people than he is doing for us. He is selling us out. If you support the NP, there will be another government and I am scared of that."

However, almost acknowledging that hankering after the past was wishful thinking, she said the country had gone too far down the road of negotiation and reform. "If the CP gets in, there will be a bloodbath, a war."

But Piet, a senior tradesman on the railways, clad in a khaki shirt and shorts, made no bones about where his support lay. He would be giving a

firm "no" vote to prevent a black government taking power — a government he felt would "stamp down on us".

"We will have no work, no houses, no rights. We will go down the drain," he said.

"De Klerk promised us everything when Mandela was released. He said we would be living in paradise, but look what has happened. There is chaos and murder everywhere. Things cannot get worse, they can only get better."

Cape Technikon engineering student Jaco agreed. De Klerk, he said, was making too many compromises. Whenever pressure was applied on him, he gave way and was not prepared to take a stand.

"I don't think De Klerk has the power to look after the interests of the whites," Jaco said.

Young housewife and mother Hanneline Snyman was indignant that government was making whites pay for their education "while they (blacks) get theirs for free".

She scoffed at suggestions that the CP would usher in chaos and civil war by saying there was already chaos in SA. South Africans had learnt to live with sanctions, so such threats left Hanneline unperturbed.

Lukas, a 55-year old conductor on the railways and a die-hard NP member, said outside his modest Parow home that he would be voting "yes" for a better SA, financially, internationally and sportswise. "Each will have their own rightful place. My family will also have to vote 'yes' or else they will get it from me," Lukas added jokingly.

He was supported by a SABC monitoring operator who said it was time to get the country sorted out, and live and let live. He felt disaster was sure to follow a "no" victory.

Report by L. Ensor, TML, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

High noon at last

304A

The sight of DP leader Zach de Beer and President F W de Klerk sitting together at the first major Nat meeting of the referendum campaign in Cape Town this week spoke volumes about what is happening.

Arrayed behind them on the city hall stage were Cabinet Ministers alongside DP MPs. Nat and DP posters hung side by side.

The 1 000-plus audience included a significant number of young adults whose presence at white political meetings in recent years has been lacking. There was also a scattering of blacks even though they are excluded from the March 17 poll.

The meeting showed how far the NP has moved. The DP, while not accepting everything the NP still stands for, feels comfortable enough with De Klerk's direction to support him at a public meeting organised by the NP. Perhaps the biggest problem for De Klerk is explaining to conservative Nats why he has moved so far — because the DP has not budged from its principles.

Long-term implications for the DP are difficult to assess. Some MPs are not happy that De Beer is appearing on Nat platforms but there's no choice: the "yes" campaign has to overshadow party differences for the time being. De Beer described Monday's meeting as a unique occasion for two reasons: not only had the NP invited him to attend, but he'd accepted.

It also crystalised the gravity of the situation. March 17 won't simply be another contest between white political parties. In De Klerk's words, it is "a final point of no return ... if there is a 'no' vote it will be the beginning of the end of everything we cherish in this country."

On the other hand, a landslide "yes" vote would "resound around the world" and could resolve many problems. People still suspicious about government's motives — including many blacks — would be able to see that white voters are serious about change and irrevocably committed to a new constitution.

De Klerk used much of his speech to counter CP allegations that he is in partnership with the ANC and asking for a blank cheque to sell whites down the river. He said the CP was in fact asking for a blank cheque because it was unable to articulate a policy.

De Beer said his attendance symbolised and dramatised the "vital nature" of the referendum campaign. "If it were not so I would not be here."

The choice on March 17 was between hope for survival and the certainty of disaster. Borrowing from former Prime Minister John Vorster's utterances, De Beer said the alternative to a "yes" majority was "too ghastly to contemplate."

He sketched the likely scenario: mass ac-



De Klerk



De Beer

tion, large-scale disruption of an already weakened economy through strikes and other industrial action, reckless countermeasures by government leading to conflict on an unprecedented scale, immediate diplomatic isolation and the cutting of all sports ties, full-blooded sanctions on every economic and financial level, the re-emergence of a military threat on the country's borders which will mean the biggest possible call-up of young white men. "All this and even more."

The chairman, Cape Nat leader Dawie de Villiers, said the referendum was a test of reason against emotion, but warned against under-estimating the power of unreasonable emotion.

The meeting was the culmination of the first day of a two-week De Klerk roadshow that will tour SA in a style unprecedented in the generally staid white political life.

For seven hours on Monday the President took the Boland by storm by stopping at 10 functions and speaking to students, farmers, businessmen and pensioners; hugging babies, drinking wine, eating fruit and, at Stellenbosch University, munching a hamburger.

It was an exhausting day and to keep it up until March 16 will demand massive physical and mental effort, particularly when he hits CP strongholds in the Free State and northern and eastern Transvaal next week.

But the rewards could be considerable judging by the media coverage of the first day's jaunt and the reported public response to the unusual approach. ■

NO OTHER CHOICE

Response to the Private Sector Referendum Fund, promoting a "yes" vote in the watershed March 17 poll, has been most encouraging. Since its launch last week, the campaign has been inundated with offers of support from all sectors of the business world. (304A)

In the first two days more than R1m was raised. That figure has now doubled, according to fund joint chairmen Chris van Wyk and George Thomas.

"The response has been overwhelming. We have had offers of assistance from all kinds of businesses, ranging from communication companies to printing concerns and finance houses," says Van Wyk. FM 6/3/92

Advertisements calling for a "yes" vote have been placed at some of the World Cup cricket matches in New Zealand and Australia. Extensive advertising is due to appear this weekend in the print and electronic media in SA.

Businesses interested in supporting the fund can deliver cheques to the Private Sector Referendum Fund, 10th Floor, First National House, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg. Or post them to PO Box 260022, Excom 2023.

Direct cash transfers can be made into account 000683345 at the Standard Bank Library Gardens, branch code 00100500. This should be confirmed by fax to the fund on (011) 836-4665.

Racial tactics advised by CP

Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party canvassers are being advised to use an imaginary racial incident — about an elderly woman being knocked off a pavement by a black person — to recruit voters.

The alleged incident has been recommended to canvassers as "a sounder" to find out the views of voters.

One of the sounders is: "Excuse me if I sound a bit abrupt, Sir . . . But a black pushed an old 'tannie' off the pavement this afternoon and my blood is still boiling."

The object of the sounders, MP for Overvaal Mr Koos van der Merwe wrote in a CP pamphlet, was to provoke a reaction from voters.

"From his answer, you can make a deduction about what policy he believes in," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The pamphlet, which is being used in the Free State during the referendum campaign, was clearly drawn up some time ago, as it refers to the Progressive Federal Party, which dissolved and merged into the Democratic Party in 1989.

Mr Van der Merwe suggests various sounders such as: "Our people are really suffering these days, aren't they sir?" and "the blacks are pushing us out completely these days, aren't they?"

News by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town

ANC welcomes executive plan

(304A) CT 6/3/92
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE trail-blazing Codesa agreement on the need for a transitional executive structure to run the country received a major boost yesterday when the ANC formally welcomed the development as "an important breakthrough".

With remarkable swiftness, the ANC's national working committee said it had already considered the five-point draft agree-

ment reached by Codesa's Working Group 3 and said it agreed to the formulations contained in the document.

There has been no formal response from the principals representing the other 18 organisations and parties at Codesa although government spokesmen also described the agreement as "a breakthrough" earlier this week.

The government was hopeful that the Codesa parties would be

able to reach final accord on the draft agreement in time for the Codesa 2 plenary session, now expected by the end of April.

Speculation was rife in political circles on the precise form and content of the new-look central government.

Predictions ranged from an expansion of the existing cabinet and its various cabinet committees to an interim government council or super-cabinet which would oversee and stand apart from the existing cabinet.

Student-anger over grants

New Nation Learning Network 6/3-12/3/92

304

(22)

The South African Council of Churches' (SACC) Inter-church Education Programme is facing a student backlash because of the "dictatorial" manner in which it runs the project. The project was founded by the SACC 15 years ago to help black students who were not allowed to attend schools under the Department of Education and Training (DET).

But the SACC's education officer, Thembi Motloatsi, said the council withdrew from running the school five years ago.

Last year's matriculants claimed that the management failed to address problems raised by students. These were related to incompetent teachers, lack of parental involvement in the governing of the project as well as discrepancies in the allocation of funds to help needy students register with tertiary institutions.

Project director Sandra Prosalendis dismissed the allegations and instead blamed the problems on the Student Representative Council's (SRC) failure to co-operate.

She said the inclusion of parents was still under discussion because some people in the project felt that since only students above the age of 18 attended the school, they could be responsible for themselves.

The management committee allocated sums of between R1 000 and R1 500 to needy students who were proceeding to tertiary institutions. Certain criteria to allocate the funds were used, but this did not satisfy the students since only six out of 22 qualified.

One of the students, Zola Manake, said he failed to understand why he did not qualify for the grant because the project's social worker knew that he was in need of help. Furthermore, the management failed to let all students

know about the availability of the money. This has prompted claims that the management had selected non-SRC members for the "hand-outs" since the council members had been challenging the committee on its activities.

The project uses Wits University third-year students as teachers. Students have blamed this arrangement for the high failure rate. Only 22 out of 80 students passed matric last year.

But Prosalendis said the failure rate was due to the fact that students came from DET schools with a poor background and wrote a joint Matriculation Board (JMB) exam. The students said the fact that they wrote a JMB exam was precisely the reason why highly qualified teachers should be employed.

The students also claimed that they were aware of plans to phase out black teachers and replace them with white students.

MINORITIES

Active resistance

Soon after the announcement of the white referendum, a row broke out in one of Codesa's working groups. The joint delegation of the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses (TIC and NIC) led a broadside against the government for daring to hold a "racist" poll. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, responding, pointed out that TIC and NIC are the only participants at Codesa who still have an ethnic tag.

The Indian congress movement, proud of its resistance to apartheid, was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1896.

Du Plessis' jibe, however, highlights an unresolved dilemma. Is there still a need for the Indian congress? The ANC's political programmes are almost identical to those of the congresses; the ANC's leadership of "the struggle" is accepted; many Indian leaders are also ANC members.

The question was again raised at the biennial general meeting of the TIC in Johannesburg last Sunday. Taking its cue from opening remarks by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, the matter was left in strategic abeyance. The ANC view was that it would be more useful for the TIC to consolidate existing structures and concentrate on "looming elections to a constituent assembly.

"Your major responsibility is to deliver the whole South African Indian community into the democratic camp," the ailing Tambo told the small gathering of about 200. (The many activists who used to fill such meetings before February 1990 appear to have decided on TIC's relevance.)

But what about the silent majority of Indians, many of whom could well vote for the new, nonracial National Party? Re-elected TIC president Cassim Saloojee admitted that the Indian community, long committed to the political direction of the ANC, "was not finding a comfortable organisational home in the ANC." And ANC concern about its failure to recruit large numbers of Indian and coloured members has been publicly voiced by Nelson Mandela.

Seeking to allay fears, Saloojee said that the ANC "has shown particular sensitivity to the general position of minorities, to the insecurities of those who fear that their language may be lost, their religion trampled underfoot or their cultural practices demeaned." The new order, he asserted, will accommodate minorities and diversity.

Because apartheid had made a "fetish" of cultural distinctness, there was a tendency in the liberation movement to deny the reality and vibrancy of cultural diversity. The prospect of a new, democratic order had made congressites more frank about the reality of minorities, observed Saloojee. ■

NEWS IN BRIEF

FW sends out 70 letters (304A)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has sent letters to 70 heads of government seeking foreign support for the March 17 referendum and domestic reforms, an SA government source said in Tokyo yesterday.

The letter said: "I am confident that the government will win this referendum because I do not doubt that it enjoys majority support among its current electorate. I trust that I can also count on your support as I am sure that, like me, you know that we must succeed."

CP slams 'foreign intimidation'

INTERFERENCE by US President George Bush and other foreign politicians in SA's internal affairs was uncalled for and utterly unacceptable, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday. (304A)

He said the intimidation of white voters by foreign politicians in an attempt to promote a "yes" vote.

"I am convinced that all right-minded South Africans, and I include even the blacks, are disappointed and even shocked by such interference and extortion, or attempt at extortion, regarding the 'no' voters."

B1 day 6/3/92

CP pamphlet tells canvassers to relate a few racial incidents

CAPE TOWN — CP canvassers are being advised to use an imaginary racial incident as "a sounder" to find out voters' views and recruit them.

One of the sounders is: "Excuse me if I sound a bit abrupt, sir ... but a black pushed an old 'tannie' off the pavement this afternoon and my blood is still boiling."

The object of the sounders is to make a challenging point so the voter reacts, CP MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe writes in a CP pamphlet.

"From his answer, you can make a deduction about what policy he believes in."

The pamphlet, which is being used in the Free State during the referendum campaign, was clearly drawn up some time ago as it refers to the PFP, which dissolved in 1989.

The pamphlet has a section with guidelines for telephone canvassing where Van der Merwe suggests sounders such as:

- ☐ "Our people are really suffering these days, aren't they sir?"
- ☐ "The unemployment is really bad

these days, isn't it?"

- ☐ "The blacks are pushing us out completely these days, aren't they?" and
- ☐ "I hear there are more dark people in Mayfair as white. What is going to happen to us?"

The pamphlet says the sounder will lure the voter out and prompt a positive or negative reaction.

If a voter responds: "Yes, sir, the whites are getting poorer by the day and the blacks are getting everything", he is "positive".

If he says: "No, I think government is doing its best", he is "negative".

If a voter is going to vote for the NP, or is doubtful, or will not disclose his vote, the canvasser should ask if he is in favour of a black president.

If the voter says yes, a cross should be marked next to the NP. But if he says no, the canvasser should wrestle with him and show that the NP has changed, the pamphlet recommends.

Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.

De Villiers Graaff backs 'yes' vote

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Sir De Villiers Graaff yesterday urged all the supporters of the former United Party and former New Republic Party to join him in voting "yes" in the March 17 referendum.

In a rare public statement from the former leader of the Opposition, Graaff said the choice between "yes" and "no" was that between evolution and revolution.

The statement read: "The old political dispensation for which South Africa has sacrificed so much is disappearing rapidly and we are embarking on a new road to a new dispensation from which there is no possibility of turning back."

"The question before us in the referendum is whether we hope to achieve a dispensation acceptable to most South Africans by negotiations or by resorting to force."

Graaff said it "seemed clear" that in the negotiation process government was seeking certain safeguards such as the protection of minority groups.

Report by A Johnson, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town.

Clear mandate would hasten new constitution — FW

2/10/92 6/13/92 (3044)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A clear mandate in the referendum would result in a new constitution being in place "quite some time" before the next scheduled general election in 1994. President F W de Klerk predicted in Durban yesterday.

He said there would be no need for another referendum if the March 17 poll — a decisive moment in SA's history — resulted in a "yes" majority and he could "deliver" in negotiations on the NP's constitutional fundamentals.

"I really think we must set our targets of making sufficient progress to start implementing agreements reached through negotiation before the present set date for a

general election," he told 500 businessmen at the Royal Hotel during the Durban stop-over of his referendum roadshow.

The President added, however, that if he could not deliver on the NP's constitutional fundamentals in negotiations, he would have to go back to the electorate.

De Klerk again dismissed allegations that he was asking for a blank cheque from white voters. "We have put our plans on the table. So have others. We know what the parameters are."

The NP was negotiating for the type of

constitution that would offer security to investors. It would be based on "the simple cornerstones of free enterprise" and would ensure stability. The right to private property ownership and protection from arbitrary action by government was guaranteed in the NP plan.

He also hit out at CP claims that the NP was in an alliance with the ANC, saying the ANC would have to moderate its stance on a number of issues before it and the NP could become co-signatories to any agreement. These included its refusal to abandon the armed struggle, its economic policy and its position on "accommodating

(SA's) divergence"

He mocked CP leader Andries Treurnicht's claim that the CP did not plan to reintroduce apartheid, saying the CP leader had said publicly Group Areas and influx control would be reintroduced.

If a "no" majority was recorded in the referendum, then "not only doors that have been opened will slam shut again, but also doors that have never been shut."

He again stressed that the NP was not asking DP supporters to vote for the NP, but to vote with it.

Report by C. Whitfield, 18 Osborn St, Greyville.

● See Page 5

● Comment Page 16

B/paw
6/3/92

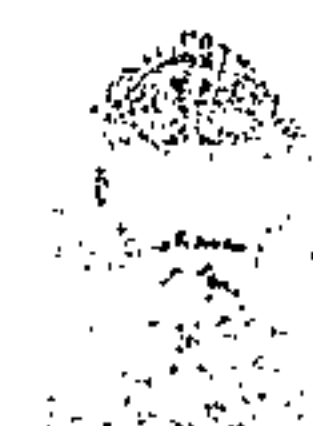
A simple choice, says Hersov

SOUTH Africans were faced with a simple choice between the promise of hope and the certainty of disaster, FNB chairman Basil Hersov said this week.

In order to strengthen De Klerk's hand at the negotiating table, Hersov felt it was important that the "yes" vote be of landslide proportions. (304A)

He called on leading companies to explain the issues to their staff and encourage them to vote "yes".

RECEIVED BY THE
RECEIVED BY THE
RECEIVED BY THE



RECEIVED BY THE
RECEIVED BY THE
RECEIVED BY THE

RIGHTWING POLICY

FM 6/3/92

(304A)

Pass laws and populism

The CP is being less than frank on what it plans to do if it wins on March 17

If it were not for the massive support it commands among white voters, the CP's plans to drag SA back to the Verwoerdian era would be dismissed as ridiculous and unworthy of serious attention. But with hundreds of thousands of voters likely to back the party in the referendum on March 17, it's important to know just what it proposes for the country — and the implications if it finds itself in a position to implement policy.

Unfortunately, nobody really knows. Conservative MPs, caught off-guard by the referendum announcement, have rushed back to their constituencies to organise or are avoiding what they perceive as a universally hostile press. Their reluctance to discuss policy is not surprising. The CP, renowned for evading issues of detail, has gone to ground apparently because of serious differences within the parliamentary caucus. These emerged in the lengthy period it took to make up its mind whether or not to participate in the referendum.

There is clearly a major debate over what the party will or will not do if it wins the referendum and a subsequent general elec-

tion. The second would be a logical consequence of the first.

The pragmatists — believed to number about 20 in the 45-member caucus and headed by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe and Free State leader Cehill Pienaar — realise that the vast majority of South Africans and the entire international community would simply not accept the reintroduction of apartheid. Both have tried in recent days to soften the impact of CP policy by acknowledging that there can't be a return to the past.

The moderate line was taken up this week by party leader Andries Treurnicht who told a referendum meeting in Worcester that a CP government would not reintroduce "apartheid measures." He didn't elaborate — but later, in reply to a question, he confirmed that the CP would reintroduce influx control, white educa-

tion and white group areas. These of course are "apartheid measures."

Meanwhile, Van der Merwe went so far as to tell the US TV talk show *Nightline* that the party favoured federalism — but was almost immediately repudiated by Treurnicht.

And Pienaar told listeners to a black radio talk show last week that the CP was willing to

talk to the ANC as long as the organisation undertook not to "threaten" the Afrikaner "volk." His statement was way off official CP policy — which is to talk only to black ethnic leaders.

The contradictions make it impossible to assess accurately CP intentions. It seems the party either doesn't actually know what it will do if it gets into power — like the car-chasing dog that one day catches the car — or it is deliberately fudging issues to placate hard-



HNP's Marais

Continue

liners on the one hand and woo over wavering voters on the other.

But based on statements by mainstream MPs and published policy documents, it must be accepted that the party wants to have another crack at implementing Verwoerd's failed policies.

In essence, according to a 1991 policy document and recent statements by MPs, the CP envisages a white State which will comprise the current SA excluding the TBVC countries — the independent homelands — and self-governing homelands. It would negotiate with each black government for the transfer of additional land to the black areas. All homelands would eventually become politically and economically autonomous. There would also be areas — not identified — in which coloureds and Indians would have political autonomy.

There will be no black SA citizens. They will have temporary permits to work in SA and will have to live in racially separate residential areas which will be administered by white authorities. Influx control will be strictly applied.

All community, sports, residential, health and educational facilities in SA will be strictly segregated. Black workers will not have trade union rights in SA. A white labour preference policy will apply in SA. Facilities for workers at factories and businesses in SA will be segregated. Blacks will not be allowed to hold positions that put them in authority over whites.

Population registration will be reintroduced, improved and strictly applied. The Defence Force will be segregated.

This is obviously familiar territory. It's precisely what the Nats tried, and failed to achieve, for 40 years after winning power in 1948. It's a policy that ripped the country apart, precipitated a low-key civil war, wasted countless billions, turned the world against SA — and ruined the economy. It is incomprehensible that the CP believes the plan can work. But apparently it does, and so do its supporters. At least, they would like to believe it.

It is also true that many people who vote "no" will do so on emotional grounds — citing such horrid incidents as the death of a white teacher at the hands of black "students" — rather than policy ones.

Speaking in parliament earlier this year, Treurnicht said the CP believed it was essential — "and our responsibility" — to maintain "Christian norms and values of civilisation." Also in parliament, deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said the CP was not opposed to negotiating, "but not through Codesa. We talk to other people and when we get into power we will negotiate with the

true representatives of other nations (*volke*). Our policy is to reform, but not to reform SA into a unitary state with a communist government. Our policy is to reform to a point where every nation governs itself and is free in its own state."

It's clearly a case of "talk on our terms about implementing our plan, or don't talk at all."

But talks with the ANC are out, according to Parys MP Piet Gous — or are they?

He told journalists at a media briefing in January that the party was not prepared to negotiate with the ANC "at present," but when quizzed on the same issue a little later he said it would be "presumptuous" to predict what would happen in future. "I think it is obvious that we are going to have to evaluate changes from year to year ... and base our decisions on the factual situation."

And this week Van der Merwe was reportedly given the go-ahead by Treurnicht to appear on an Australian TV talkshow with ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma. Van der Merwe has previously attended Idasa-sponsored conferences with ANC delegates, but has refused to share public platforms.

The change of tack again raises the issue of whether the ANC, SA Communist Party and PAC would be banned and Nelson Mandela put back in jail by a CP government. Gous earlier this year was evasive and wouldn't commit himself.

He was equally vague about what apartheid measures would be reintroduced. In similar vein to Treurnicht's statement in Worcester this week he said the days of "high-handedness" (that is, old-style apartheid) were over and that SA's future would

have to be negotiated. But then came the contradiction: the precondition was that white self-determination would be the "main item of discussion."

CP finance spokesman Casper Uys acknowledged in a recent interview that the international community may "initially" not approve of the CP's approach. "But we cannot allow the *volke* to be blackmailed from abroad. We are convinced that we can come to a settlement with the black *volke* that will significantly change foreign attitudes towards white SA."

Gous was equally dismissive of possible foreign inter-



AWB's Terre'blanche ... direct appeal to discontented

vention and economic collapse if the CP takes over. "We must make a choice between the survival of the Afrikaner *volk* and the people associating with us, and economic prosperity (such as) two nice cars in the garage and a nice easy style of living. I think you people should understand that if sacrifices are asked of us we will be willing to bring those sacrifices."

It is probable, however, that the real pressures on the Right come from its referendum partners the HNP and the AWB — both of which are vying for the title of true saviour of the *volk*. While HNP leader Jaap Marais and the AWB's Eugene Terre'blanche cannot command the vote of sufficient people to give them a place in parliament, their hard-line approach to white domination might have a franker and more influential persuasiveness in the referendum than Treurnicht's posturings.

Masada syndrome

For some it is all a replay of the Masada complex that refuses to reason about any other option. Power-sharing is treachery. For others it appears to be simply a total misreading of current politics. Treurnicht, for example, does not believe wide-ranging sanctions will be reintroduced if the CP wins power. At a press conference in Cape Town just after the referendum date was announced he said many countries in the world could not do without SA. He mentioned Britain in particular.

It's an extremely naive and dangerous attitude. The consequences of a CP government would be catastrophic both domestically and internationally. If Treurnicht doesn't know this, he shouldn't be in politics. If he does, he has to rank as the most irresponsible politician this country has ever had to suffer — and many have vied for the title.

The tragedy, of course, is that so many CP supporters are unable to grasp the reality of CP policy — or simply don't care. They believe they can stand up to the world and the majority of their countrymen and win. The challenge to the "yes" campaigners is to prove that they can't. ■



CP's Treurnicht

304A

THE REFERENDUM FM 6/3/92

Taken at the flood

If the referendum on March 17 produces a majority which rejects President F W de Klerk's reforms, the country will be broken both politically and economically. It is as simple as that. On the other hand, a solid win for De Klerk will have an enormously positive impact, the eventual outcome of which would be to give impetus to the confluence of constitutional ideas emerging at Codesa and propel business activity out of its current inertia.

It would be putting it too strongly to suggest that a "yes" vote would wrench us out of recession. But it would certainly add an element of buoyancy to the national mood which will, in its own way, prove a stimulus. An affirmative vote would mean, for example, that business would feel more secure in planning for something other than immediate survival. Needless to say, survival would be *all* that would be on people's minds if the vote is "no."

The ideal mandate would be a two-thirds share of the votes cast, which was the proportion achieved in 1983 by P W Botha. On the face of it, it is reasonable to think that De Klerk can do as well as Botha. This time, the liberal opposition, in the shape of the Democratic Party, is wholeheartedly behind a "yes" result. Even white communists are swallowing their historical hatred of the Nats and are prepared to support De Klerk on this issue.

In 1983, both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party called for a "no" vote — for very different reasons. In the event, it was estimated that only about 10% of PFP supporters heeded their leader's call to vote "no." The rest, along with many English-language newspapers, felt compelled to support Botha on the grounds that his proposed new constitution was "a step in the right direction" — even though it was flawed by taking no account of the black majority.

This time there is no such confusion or need for qualification. The DP and the NP are sharing platforms in a way that uncannily recalls the formation of the United Party before World War 2. That solidarity is encouraging. But there is no cause for complacency.

Until 1948 it was unthinkable that the great party founded by Smuts and Hertzog could ever be toppled by a splinter group of Afrikaner extremists. Yet that is precisely what happened. The outcome has been progressive economic despoliation and rising violence, both civil and military; and with that, the disastrous tactics of siege and boycott.

The history of Afrikaner nationalism is largely one of uncompromising groups which broke away in order to renew a conservative defence against perceived threats from imperialists, liberals, capitalists, communists and blacks. In the case of Hertzog and Malan, the dissidents eventually came to power. The fear of history repeating itself was one reason for the paralysis of the Vorster and Botha years.

The Conservative Party (now far more than a splinter group) and its far Right allies see themselves as the heirs of this reactionary tradition and they believe the next turn in the historical cycle is long overdue. For them, De Klerk is the new Smuts, Treurnicht the "inspired" Verwoerd, though Treurnicht has few original ideas.

The CP offers a spurious destiny, along with a vain hope of a return to supposedly more peaceful and stable times, when the gold price was high, the SABC was a microphone for the *volk* and the black man was in his place — preferably out of sight. This vision is a dangerously emotive mirage; supporters of the reform process cannot take it for granted that the emptiness of the CP's promises will be self-evident to a majority of whites.

The question posed in the referendum does not necessarily force voters to consider the CP's policy, or lack of it. The question merely asks whether the voter supports the reform process initiated by De Klerk and aimed at negotiating a new constitution. It is possible to say "no" to this question without supporting CP policy — and all too attractive to say "no" when faced with the proposition that De Klerk's reforms will eventually result in a government shared or dominated by the ANC and the communists.

That De Klerk's is the only way out does not necessarily make it appealing — especially when emotions run high. The recent death of a white teacher after being doused with petrol by radical black thugs can swing thousands of votes away from De Klerk, even though the ANC condemned the incident. And remember that Hendrik Verwoerd won his 1961 poll only by about 60 000 votes.

The political sophistication of the white electorate must not be overestimated. A victory for De Klerk cannot be taken for granted; it will have to be achieved both by the weight of argument and the need to overcome complacency.

The businessman who opts out of making a public choice, who misses a chance to impress upon his white employees what is at stake, who pretends that he can keep politics out of business — such a businessman does not deserve to be in business and, if the worst should happen, certainly won't be.

The public service with its large numbers of teachers and academics whose careers depend on bureaucratic preferment will take some convincing. They, like the police, are at the cutting edge of reform. The depoliticisation of the police and defence establishments will also be put to a critical test.

The fact is, however, that reform here has reduced violence and obviated the revolutions which have occurred in other socialist hegemonies. That is the message that has to be communicated as effectively as possible.

De Klerk's task over the next few weeks is formidable. If he wins, the benefits will be incalculable. If he loses, the outcome will be terrible. ■



THE BANTUSTANS: The areas which are designated by the apartheid regime as the 'homelands' of the African population of South Africa consist of many small and scattered fragments.

As we said, De Klerk argues that the Transitional Government will draw up the constitution. What this raises is the question of how the Transitional Government will be constituted and who it will be accountable to. According to De Klerk the Transitional Government will be elected by all South Africans on the basis of proportional representation. This means that the present parliament will be changed to include Africans. The newly elected Transitional Parliament will have two tasks. The first task will be to administer the country and pass laws that will govern the country. The second task will be to draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

De Klerk has said that this Transitional Parliament cannot be of a short duration. According to De Klerk no time limit must be put on how long the Transitional Parliament will take to draw up a new constitution, or for how long it will govern the country. The De Klerk government has even suggested that the Transitional Parliament will rule for at least ten years.

The structure of the Transitional Government

The De Klerk view that the Transitional Government will also be responsible for drawing up the new constitution raises a number of important questions. How will the government be structured? How will its decisions be taken? How will it relate to the present state?

According to De Klerk the Transitional Government will be based on the principle of ensuring that no one party can control the government as

the National Party does at present. What De Klerk said was that although a party can gain an overwhelming majority of seats in the elections to the Transitional Government, it will have the same powers as other parties which have little support among the people. In his opening speech to parliament this year De Klerk said that the proposals of the National Party for a new constitution were based on "power sharing". He said that a Transitional Government will be based on the same idea.

The proposals being put forward by De Klerk on the Transitional Government ensure that the National Party will have the power to block any constitution that does not protect the privileges of the white minority and those of the capitalist class. By basing the

Transitional Government on the principle of "power sharing", the National Party is ensuring that it does not lose the power to determine the future of South Africa even if it has no support among the majority of the population.

The role of the TBVC states

One of the issues which have been raised in the debates and struggles over how the constitution will be drawn up is that of the role of the TBVC states. Transkei, Bophutswana, Venda and Ciskei were given "independence" by the Nationalist Party governments in the 1960s and 1970s. According to De Klerk these states are independent and so their citizens cannot be part of drawing up a new constitution. Therefore the elections

elected, it will reflect the support that various parties have. On the other hand, many of the parties at Codesa have never actually had their support tested. For the De Klerk government it is an advantage if Codesa decisions are binding on the Transitional Parliament because many of the parties at Codesa support the Nationalist Party.

The Democratic Party and Inkatha

Although the Democratic Party differs with the NP on how the constitution should be drawn up, its proposals are based on similar principles to that of the NP. According to the DP the constitution should be drawn up by a Constitutional Conference elected on the basis of one person one vote and also based on proportional representation. But the DP also says that a new constitution will only be approved if it is agreed to by the National Party. This means that even if the National Party get very little support in the elections to the Constitutional Conference, it can still block the adoption of a new constitution. On the other hand, Inkatha does not support the idea of an elected body to draw up a constitution. It wants Codesa to draw up a complete constitution.

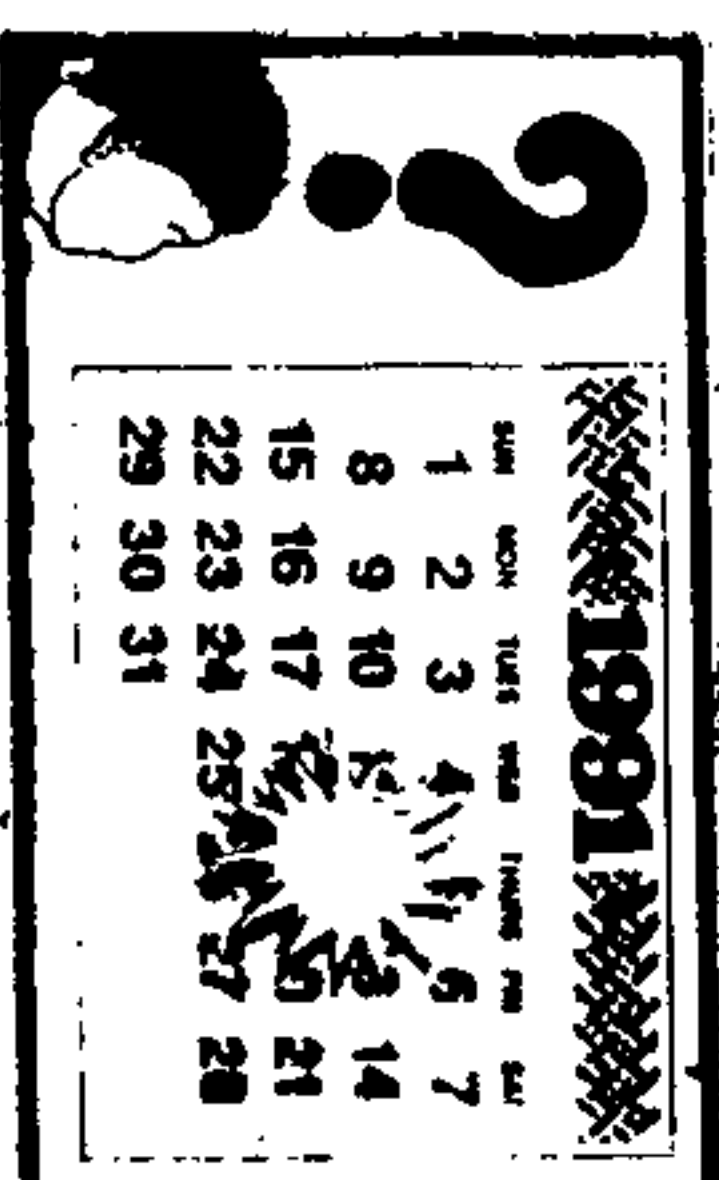
In next weeks article we will look at the views within the democratic movement on how a new constitution must be drawn up.

4305

26/5/21 - 5/9

1011400 1000000000

CURRENT ISSUES



The Call for a Constituent Assembly

New Nation Learning

Nation

6/3 - 12/3/92

30417

The past few weeks have seen major developments in the negotiations process. One of the most important was that at the opening of the Tricameral Parliament, the De Klerk regime went a step further in revealing its views on the Interim Government and on how it sees the new constitution being drawn up. The first important feature of De Klerk's proposals is that he has formulated his proposals in such a way that the Interim Government or Transitional government will also be responsible for drawing up the constitution. What De Klerk has also done is that he has said that the Interim Government will be based on the model that De Klerk proposes for the new South Africa. Let's look at the first point in De Klerk's views.

The Transitional Government as a forum for drawing up a

During the last couple of weeks we have looked at how the Convocation of Codesa has made the struggle for an Interim Government an urgent one. The beginning of real negotiations have also put the question of who will draw up the constitution for a new South Africa on the agenda. This is the first of two articles in which we look at the different positions on how the constitution will be drawn up. In this article we will focus on the position of the government and some of its allies like Inkatha and the Democratic Party.



to De Klerk's Transitional Government will exclude people in these states. According to the Nationalists these "states" are not part of South Africa and so they cannot be part of a government that will govern South Africa. We can see that De Klerk's proposals will exclude millions of South Africans from the process of drawing up a constitution.

Relationship with Codesa

The debate around how the constitution will be drawn up has also raised the issue of the relationship between decisions made at Codesa and the work of the body that will draw up a new constitution. Will the body responsible for drawing up the constitution be bound by decisions made at Codesa? This question has become important because if the body

Fm 673192

304A

1/11

alternative views; exposing errors, corruption and misrule by government; ensuring that the checks and balances in the constitution are used; and presenting an alternative government to voters.

Constitutional roles for minority parties could, says the ANC, include representation on all-party committees examining legislation, appointments, the operation of institutions and serving on governmental and parastatal boards and commissions.

By giving collegial, executive power to minority parties, says the ANC, the principle of an active and vibrant opposition would be damaged and effectively allow government to become "a form of political monopoly."

The exercise of executive authority would become ineffective and there would be constant friction and confrontation as the majority found its aspirations thwarted.

The ANC agrees with the SA Law Commission which last year proposed that rights, including those essential to community life, be formulated and exercised as individual rights.

A proposal by Solidarity's Ismail Omar calls for a form of power-sharing which should be given constitutional form. The rationale for adopting such power-sharing measures was to institute "factual equality" between members of minority groups and other individuals, it says.

The National Party is expected to respond formally to the ANC's proposals at the next meeting of Codesa's constitutional working group.

CODESA

Fm 673192

304A

1/11

Majority rules, OK?

Formal breakthrough looked close at Codesa this week on three issues:

- ☐ Regional government powers;
- ☐ Acceptance of the need for a multiparty interim government; and
- ☐ Inkatha's endorsement of the Declaration of Intent.

The predictable sticking point, however, is the fundamental question of whether the new constitution will be based on a majoritarian or power-sharing form of democracy.

Government and its allies are pressing for the latter, which they want constitutionally enshrined, against the ANC's stance that individual rights is the way to go and the will of the majority should not be frustrated.

The ANC is prepared to go a long way — of its own volition and during the transition, especially — to give significant other parties a piece of the action, so to speak, if the ANC gets a majority at the polls. But the ANC is resisting entrenchment of the principle of minority "meaningful participation" via laid-down structures and mechanisms, as called for by the National Party.

The ANC's proposals on the issue, tabled at Codesa last Monday, reject the idea of constitutionally allocating individuals into groups so as to legitimise minority interests.

"We believe that the equality of individual rights should not be upset by the creation of group political statuses. The constitution should not compel membership of groups in order to secure rights," says the ANC.

Such an outcome would see the political process overwhelmed by ethnic conflict. Rights, including those essential to community life, should be formulated and exercised as individual rights.

"While the ANC believes that the rich diversity of SA cultures and languages needs to be protected and promoted, it does not follow that constitutional mechanisms allocating special additional political powers to minorities, either political or ethnic, is an effective way of addressing minority concerns."

Trying to protect minority interests in this way would fundamentally and dangerously infringe the principles democracy ought to be based on.

"We take as our starting point the belief that individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purposes of political representation."

Cultural, language and religious minorities — rather than interests based on colour — should be protected in the constitution and by judicial review, says the ANC.

"Effective government is not possible without an acceptance of the principle that the elected representatives of the majority should have the right to make decisions affecting the political life of the nation."

The political minority or opposition should be involved in presenting and articulating

Serving in the new SA

FM 6/3/92

304A

FM 6/3/92



Marius Rezelman runs the Management Support Division at the Secretariat of the Economic Community of Southern Africa. He has helped various public sector bodies to plan for change

Control over the new SA will be determined in the civil service and not necessarily at political level, according to a leader in the field, Prof Donovan Marais. Unless the civil service changes concurrently with the political/constitutional reform process, SA runs the risk of a new political dispensation inheriting a civil service that will be structured and staffed according to outdated policies.

ANC civil service spokesman Patrick Fitzgerald says this could be fatal. The civil service is the implementing arm of government. As such, its power effectively to block political reform initiatives is vast.

The FM of August 30 reported that the CP was planning to use disaffected public servants to block reform. If one takes into account that in the 1988 Pretoria municipal by-elections the CP won nearly all of the city's northern and western constituencies, at least a portion of the present civil service's ability to veto reform becomes clear. This possibility is reinforced by the present swing among whites to the Right, as illustrated in Potchefstroom.

A look at the division of senior employment in the public sector by race and income (1989) illustrates the pre-eminence of whites (see table).

Finansies & Tegniek (April 24) reported that the ANC wished to see the top 1 500 jobs in the public sector reflect the composition of the population as a whole. If achieved, this means a shift from 80,5% white to 80,5% black.

According to Fitzgerald, the ANC has no directly formulated recipe for the organisation and reorganisation of the civil service for the new SA. He contends that the civil ser-

vice needs to be a clear and precise item on the negotiating agenda. These sentiments are echoed by Piet van der Merwe, chairman of the Commission for Administration, and Hans Olivier, president of the Public Servants' Association.

How is this to occur? Codesa is now dominated, and rightly so, by constitutional and political issues. The participants at Codesa are also predominantly politicians. Where then can the civil service debate find its rightful place? (see diagram)

The make-up of the new SA can already be visualised. It will be a nonracial democracy with certain powers, entrenched by the constitution, devolved to regional authorities. Regional boundaries will be drawn on geographic and economic lines and not ethnically, as is now the case. Great emphasis will be placed on redressing social and economic imbalances and government will have a more pronounced role in development.

Within this situation, the functions and make-up of a new public sector become apparent. It needs, progressively, to become representative of the whole population, accepted by the community and capable of implementing development-orientated policies.

But the civil service restructuring process needs to start now. It needs to be led by officials, working on the lead provided by politicians at Codesa. Even the process of restaffing and training of the new civil service (including the retraining and resociali-

sation of officials) needs to be negotiated and planned by personnel experts, not politicians.

The forum to ensure this debate must be separate from Codesa. It involves different people and different issues. It should consist of various different functional working groups addressing each level of governmental services provided, or still to be provided, in a new SA. Participants should include present civil servants in SA as well as the homelands, and representatives of other poli-



tical/liberation organisations.

The system needs to be co-ordinated by a neutral facilitating agent, not only capable of understanding the functioning of the present system, but also having the ability to comprehend the political sensitivities of a new order. One such agent co-ordinating all such functional areas will prevent the formation of various Codesas, each plugging its own cause. At this stage, forums for health and the economy have already been mooted.

There is a need also to deal simultaneously with black aspirations as well as white fears regarding their roles in a new SA. Blacks, for example, aspire to equal education opportunities, yet at the same time, whites fear decreasing education standards.

Although it is doubtful that SA will have an integrated civil service in the interim phase of the next three years or so, it is likely in the medium and longer term to take on a strong social welfare orientated approach.

These issues cannot wait for a new constitution. They require urgent attention.

SENIOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Race and income category: 1989

R	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	% White
165 001+	29	0	0	0	100,0
120 000-165 000	3	0	1	0	75,0
110 001-120 000	91	1	0	0	98,9
87 001-100 000	720	5	5	2	98,4
74 001-87 000	1 945	17	55	12	95,9
49 001-74 000	13 596	1 509	1 055	397	82,1
38 001-49 000	21 809	2 147	1 952	814	81,0
29 001-38 000	42 048	4 974	3 389	3 119	78,6
Total	80 241	8 653	6 457	4 344	80,5

Source: Hansard, March 12 1990

World help sought in FW letter

TOKYO — President F.W. de Klerk had sent letters to heads of government in 70 nations, including Japan, seeking support for the referendum, a South African government source said yesterday.

A copy of the letter said: "I am confident the government will win this referendum because I do not doubt it enjoys majority support among its current electorate."

FW 204A
SPELLS
OUT
FUTURE

— PAGE 5

"I trust I can also count on your support as I am sure you know we must succeed."

Mr De Klerk wrote that the changes were irreversible and neither the Conservative Party nor other right-wing radicals could stop them.

Government sources said last night a letter had been drafted, but Mr De Klerk's director general, Dr Jannie Roux, said he "knew nothing of such a letter's being sent to Japan" — Sapa Reuter and Staff Reporter

CP's post-referendum plan is as clear as mud

B/Dary 6/3/92 3044

NOBODY really knows what policies the CP plans to implement if it emerges victorious from the referendum and a subsequent election. This is either because party leaders are being devious or, more likely, because there is no single policy that unites them.

There are severe tensions within the party over issues such as joining negotiations, calling for a much reduced white homeland, and whether the party could turn back the clock and reintroduce apartheid measures. If you speak to three senior MPs you get three different answers to the same question. While it has tried to close ranks to fight the referendum, these differences could rend the party asunder within months.

Scouring Hansard, a 1991 policy document and statements by MPs, it appeared the CP envisaged a white SA excluding the homelands. There would also be areas allocated to coloureds and Indians. All homelands would eventually become autonomous. There would be mainly economic co-operation between the states. All amenities would be segregated and a white preference labour policy would apply in white SA.

But is this the true position of the party? The "new right" led by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe and Free State leader Cehill Pienaar



□ TREURNICHT

shies away from suggestions that grand apartheid would be reintroduced. Both MPs, trying to soften the CP's image, say apartheid measures cannot be reintroduced — there cannot be a reversion to influx control, the Mixed Marriages Act, separate amenities and forced removals.

Speaking on Agenda on Wednesday night, Van der Merwe argued that, while the international community wanted to see reform, this

BILLY PADDOCK

did not necessarily refer to President F W de Klerk's reforms.

Deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg says that when the CP gets into power, "we will negotiate with the true representatives of other nations. Our policy is to reform, but not to reform SA into a unitary state with a communist government."

On Monday night party leader Andries Treurnicht, the man in the middle of the pragmatists and hardliners, told a Worcester audience a CP government would not reintroduce "apartheid measures".

But within minutes, in reply to a question, he confirmed the CP would reintroduce influx control, white Christian National Education and residential group areas. This would require the reintroduction of the population register, race classification and forced removals.

Yesterday Pienaar said again the CP would not reintroduce apartheid measures "but we will have to introduce citizenship measures like in Britain where everybody who comes into our territory has to first be vetted before being allowed to settle or work there".

The CP was looking at a smaller

white haven for whites within a confederation of states, he said.

"Although it is not yet CP policy there is a possibility that in the future, through negotiations with black leaders, a co-operative, self-determining but loosely knit federation could result," Pienaar said.

Pienaar said there would be a population register of citizens of countries but this would be determined by association rather than race classification. Theoretically, a black person who identified with Afrikaner ideals could be part of white SA if he was acceptable to the white community.

He said there was no question of forced removals. "We cannot do that again. We will negotiate with our partner states and get their co-operation and assistance to have people move out of certain areas which were predominantly white."

He said there was a very coherent map of a white homeland that had been scientifically worked out whereby the different pockets of white territory spread out around the country could form a cohesive white homeland. There would be a pocket of white homeland in the Free State that would join with a pocket in the Transvaal, like Pretoria, and others in other areas.

"They will not be joined by narrow little 5km corridors — there is a co-

hesive area that takes this all in but we would have to negotiate borders." He could not explain exactly what this area would look like.

CP MPs have repeatedly stated in Parliament that they would not negotiate with the ANC alliance, although they would with the other 16 Codesa participants. Some MPs have now begun to waver on the issue. Parys MP Piet Gouw says the CP is not prepared to negotiate with the ANC at present but "it is obvious that we are going to have to evaluate changes from year to year". But Treurnicht and Hartzenberg have remained firm.

The party's intentions are as clear as mud. Perhaps senior MP Corne Mulder is most honest when he says the CP is faced with a Masada option — rather than submit to negotiations and reform "we will deny our enemy victory in the battle". But he stops short of accepting the final act of Masada — group suicide.

There are no guarantees this will not happen. Or is the old guard merely just spoiling, while the younger politicians are becoming more pragmatic? The real battle is still to come, and should the CP lose the referendum convincingly it will happen sooner rather than later.

Co-option into Cabinet rejected

ANC support for appointed interim power

304A

B/day 6/3/92

TIM COHEN and
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC says it supports Codesa's proposal for an appointed transitional executive structure to be established as the most powerful executive body in the country.

The proposal, agreed to in the Codesa working group dealing with interim arrangements, was recently referred back to participants' principals. The ANC's national working committee approved the plan on Wednesday. Government and the NP have also indicated they are likely to endorse it.

The transitional executive structure would be the supreme authority over Parliament, the Cabinet, the TBVC states and the self-governing homelands, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

However, at a media briefing he rejected government members' interpretation of the working group agreement as meaning that Codesa participants would be co-opted into the existing Cabinet.

On Wednesday Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpoit hailed the agreement as a significant breakthrough and agreed there was a need for an interim executive to be appointed rather than elected.

Ramaphosa, who regarded the agreement as significant, said the ANC envisaged the body being appointed by Codesa and not by President F W de Klerk.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Joel Netshitenzhe said the ANC envisaged this body being established three months after Codesa finally ratified the agreement — hopefully, early next month. After another three months, the

ANC envisaged this body would be replaced following elections for an elected interim government.

Netshitenzhe said the ANC wanted the interim executive to have veto powers over legislation introduced in Parliament, as well the power to initiate legislation.

Another NEC member Mac Maharaj said that although the breakthrough was significant, it was contingent on the finer details being negotiated and agreed.

Codesa has also resolved most differences on principles to be enshrined in a new constitution. ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said proposals on regionalism had been agreed and talks on minority rights were progressing well.

It appears the agreement reached on the transitional executive structure remains vague on several important points, including who will appoint the body. The agreement states that, at least initially, the executive structure would be appointed in accordance with procedures agreed upon by Codesa without defining what these are.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not yet decided whether all remaining sanctions should be lifted when the appointed executive came into being or when an interim government was elected. It would be up to the "interim authority" to decide.

Asked whether the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) would be disbanded once an interim government was established, Ramaphosa said the two issues were unrelated.

Foreign trade 'is economy's oxygen'

31024 6/3/92
ABERDEEN — International trade was the oxygen of the economy and if that was cut off, the economy would suffocate, Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

SA's policy of apartheid and racism had resulted in the country being internationally rejected and isolated, he said at a public meeting in this central Karoo town.

"The noose was getting tighter and had a visible effect on the economy. No country in the modern world can live in isolation."

De Villiers, leader of the NP's Codesa negotiating team, said it was becoming obvious that the moderates in all parties in SA were winning.

The NP was not an ally of the ANC or SACP.

"We talk to them and try to convince them that our viewpoints are better for SA. And there has been

progress. We are not going to throw our principles overboard, that is why we are negotiating.

"Even with a 'yes' vote, it is still going to be tough, but we must not give up. There are still big challenges waiting for us. We want to lift values and norms above racism."

There were about 10 right-wingers in the audience of about 70.

Two of them, one explicitly, commented that since De Villiers had left the ministry, he also appeared to have abandoned the truth.

"I take the strongest exception to that. Before we accept and believe rumours, we must establish the truth.

"My faith, not only when I was in the ministry, tells me not to judge people on the basis of colour. That is what I find in the Bible."

De Villiers' next stop in his two-day whistle-stop tour of the Karoo

was Beaufort West.

There he told town councillors and members of the Central Karoo Regional Services Council the building of the new SA was not yet finalised but certain of the foundation stones had already become clear.

"What is becoming clear is that there should be strong autonomous local and regional government structures."

He said local and regional government had an important role as it brought government as close as possible to the people.

The functions of the two types of government would have to be identified and ensconced in the new constitution which would result in a good balance of power in the country. — Sapa.

Report by L. Braid, Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town.

No and Yes supporters clash on forecasts

304A

ARG 7/3/92

MARC HASENFUSS
Business Staff

A VICTORY for No voters in the upcoming referendum on March 17 would pose a serious threat to South Africa's already shaky economy, warned a senior investment adviser from a leading Cape Town stockbroking firm.

Mr Haydn Jones said a No vote would register overnight as a 10 to 15 percent drop in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange's (JSE) overall index.

As the effects of a No vote penetrated every echelon of South African society, a further 20 to 25 percent could be lopped off the JSE's overall index, he said.

This could accelerate as unit trust holders sold their units.

"Following through from this, retirement annuities and other equity-linked funds would be correspondingly affected," he said.

He said a rightwing victory in the referendum could leave those reliant on retirement funds with-

out proper financial security as the funds fell. In addition bonus accruals insurance policies would also be adversely affected.

A statement released by the Life Offices Association (LOA) confirms this view:

"A No vote outcome could have such a seriously negative impact on the investment markets, which influence the underlying values of policies, that the benefits arising from those policies or pension funds could be significantly impaired."

Mr Jones also said that any reversal in the political reform process could cause a fall in property values as house owners became uncertain about the future.

This would be exacerbated by an increase in emigration, effectively knocking the bottom out of the property market.

"In this scenario people who borrowed against the security of their houses could find that the subsequent reduced values might

not exceed the bond commitments.

Stockbroker Mr Jacques Theron, a partner at JP Theron, is voting No in the referendum and firmly believes this will benefit the economy and financial markets in the long run.

He admitted that a rejection of reform realistically meant a short-term negative impact on the JSE, but claimed that the political stability under a new rightwing government would create a healthy investment climate.

He said the weakening financial rand was becoming increasingly attractive to overseas investors and this would ultimately outweigh political considerations.

Reacting to this, Mr Jones argued that Mr Theron had missed the point: "The weakening financial rand would be as a result of South Africa's increasingly unattractive prospects to overseas investors, and would hardly make investments in the country increasingly attractive," he said.

'Petty rules' could block crucial votes

STAR 7/13/92

304A

WASHINGTON — About 150 000 white South Africans who are temporarily abroad and eligible to vote in the March 17 referendum are faced by an obstacle course of official rules and regulations which could rob them of their right to cast a ballot — including a ban on advertising the fact that they can vote.

Angry prospective voters in the US, where more than 25 000 are eligible, and another 11 000 in Canada, say the rules are petty and appear to be aimed at stifling a decisive "yes" vote.

However, Home Affairs spokesman Attie Tredoux said last night that the department was powerless to change the rules of the referendum.

HUGH ROBERTON

"The State President in the proclamation announcing the referendum specified that the Book of Life was the document that defined a person's eligibility to vote — and that is that. The department has no power to change the rules."

Mr Tredoux denied any knowledge of the department banning advertising designed to inform South Africans abroad of their right to vote.

The same rules that are stifling potential voters in the US and Canada will apply to eligible voters in Britain, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere.

The most astounding

● TO PAGE 2.

'Petty

FROM PAGE 1.

rule, apparently dictated by the Department of Home Affairs, is that South African embassies have been prohibited from even advertising the fact that citizens abroad will be entitled to vote. Absolutely no details can be conveyed.

When asked why no public announcement had been made to advise South Africans in the US of their rights, SA ambassador Harry Schwarz said: "We have not been authorised to do so."

Eligible South African voters abroad can vote at SA missions between 7 am and 9 pm on March 11 and 12.

But voters have been

304A told that the only valid form of identification will be the identity document — the strictest possible interpretation of the Electoral Act, which normally allows an electoral officer to waive this requirement if an affidavit can be provided establishing a voter's identity.

The Saturday Star's office in Washington has been inundated with calls from outraged South Africans who say that few travellers take their ID books with them.

They have passports with the same ID number, photograph, signature and personal details that appear in their ID books. Both documents are issued by the Department of Home Affairs.

Temporary IDs for poll

Fears mount of growing support for 'No' vote

F W defeat 'may spark blockade'

STAR 7/3/92

304A

Saturday Star March 7 1992

SHAUN JOHNSON and ALAN DUNN

Blockade

● FROM PAGE 1.

press by big companies urging "yes".

Dr de Beer warned that international action against South Africa would take on a completely different form from what had been experienced in recent years. It would be more comparable to the reaction against Saddam Hussein.

"The outside world will act with speed if there is a 'no' vote. Even before an election, there will be mandatory, very serious sanctions. These sorts of sanctions require blockades to be effective."

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, speaking at a packed referendum meeting in East London this week, scoffed at apocalyptic warnings of international action.

He said: "Countries are dependent on trade with South Africa. They can shout sanctions, but in the meantime they are drinking South African wines and eating our products."

He roundly condemned US President George Bush for "interfering" in the run-up to the referendum.

The two new CP tactics, which emerged clearly on the campaign trail this week, are:

● To argue that the

right wing is not proposing a return to Grand Apartheid, or an end to negotiations, but rather to suggest that the CP would be a more reliable negotiator on behalf of whites.

● To tell whites that a "no" in the referendum would not commit them finally to the right wing — rather, it would send a warning to Mr de Klerk, and whites would have another chance in a later election to decide where their loyalties lay.

In East London, Dr Treurnicht pressed home both these points.

Sources in the "yes" campaign dismiss both claims as unworkable or untruthful — but admit that the tactics might be having an effect on wavering voters.

Although confident that a "yes" majority would be achieved, Dr de Beer said "the fact is you just can't know what will happen".

He warned that complacency — especially among English-speakers — was a great danger.

A diplomatic source yesterday said Mr Bush would be angered by a "no" vote.

"There would be decisive action, and a meeting of the UN Security Council, which would almost certainly adopt more severe sanctions."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

A STARTLING picture of the world's reaction to a "no" vote in the white referendum has been sketched by Dr Zach de Beer, who said he would expect to see "battleships off the Cape" as an outraged international community implemented a naval blockade of South Africa.

The Democratic Party leader, who is campaigning for a "yes" vote in alliance

● See Pages 2, 5 and 6

with President de Klerk, told Saturday Star yesterday that he believed unprecedented international action would follow a negative referendum result "even before an election was held".

"This is a matter of serious conviction to me," he said.

Dr de Beer's dramatic statement came amid growing fears that despite the scale of the "yes" campaign, the "no" vote might be solidifying around the country.

Observers said the use of two new Conservative Party tactics appeared to be bearing fruit among the many uncommitted voters who were still considering voting "no".

Meanwhile, those campaigning for a "no" vote have again threatened big business with a consumer boycott if it does not shut up about the "yes" vote it favours.

Thousands of "no" voters were stock exchange investors, pension fund contributors and businessmen who could easily move their money, said CP national secretary Andries Beyers.

Pressure

They could invest in banks, building societies and investment houses prudent enough to refrain from political statements, he said. The CP was alarmed at what he described as pressure by firms on their employees to ensure "yes" votes.

"The CP has received numerous complaints about these threats which have upset voters and caused much distress," he said in a statement issued late yesterday. The party had also noted advertisements being placed in the

● TO PAGE 2.



READY TO ROLL: Proud Reg Day parade through



CP dragging religion into politics — De Klerk

PORT ELIZABETH — President de Klerk sternly reprimanded Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night for dragging religion into politics.

Mr de Klerk said that as former editor of the NG Kerk's Die Kerkbode, Dr Treurnicht had "dragged many a controversy into his church. He mustn't drag them into politics now".

Mr de Klerk deviated from his standard referendum speech to address an issue which he said had already been raised in the Potchefstroom by-election campaign.

"I am speaking of attempts and strategies to drag religion into politics.

"In Potchefstroom there were already some noises about the way in which Codesa was opened and that we (the NP Government) believed in many gods, and this has be-

come a central theme of the CP attack on us."

Dr Treurnicht had also walked out of a church last Sunday.

Now there gossip was circulating "for instance that we pray only to almighty God because we no longer believe in the Trinity".

The CP was clearly trying to make a case that those Christians in the NP, or who supported it, were not true Christians.

Controversy

"I say, and all Christians say with me, that we take exception to these tactics. Dr Treurnicht took many a controversy into his church when he was the editor of Die Kerkbode. He mustn't now drag these into politics."

Mr de Klerk said he was an ordinary member of a Protestant church and believed in all

the basic confessions.

"Even though I am a cracked vessel, my colleagues and I try our best to present everything that we do to the revealing light of God.

"Dr Treurnicht has dragged this matter in by the hair.

"I want to say tonight that when it was decided how Codesa was to be opened, we and others with us were a little uncomfortable and felt a little strange.

"As there was some polemic about it, we should perhaps do it differently in future. But that is no reason to vote 'no'.

"Come let us as Christians at least find unity around our Christianity, but don't allow politics to put pressure on that unity."

This remark was met with loud applause and calls of "Amen!" from the audience of 1 000. — Sapa.

(Report by Pierre Claassen, Press Gallery, Parliament.)

referendum meeting in Tzaneen this week.

Mr. Botha had arrived in Tzaneen on Tuesday night, his first stop in an 11-town speaking tour, with reason to expect some right-wing heat. After all, Pietersburg, where Botha was driven from the stage by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in 1986, is less than an hour's drive away.

The "New South Africa" sticker stuck on a dustbin at the air-strip where Botha flew in was hardly an auspicious start. But the posters on the main street were pretty evenly split between "yes" and "no". And as Botha arrived, organisers put out extra chairs in Tzaneen's Showground Hall.

"You mustn't forget what I went through in Pietersburg," Botha said. "I must say I thought there was none. I have never ever addressed such an attentive meeting before," he said.

"There was intense interest, a feeling that people really want to know. I think there is a deep sense of the decisiveness of the moment."

"There has never been anything like this, where the whites have to decide finally over their future. It is a final moment and people perceive it. I saw it on their faces."

"I did not want to just go out and attack the Conservative Party," Botha said — despite the fact that one of his aides was carrying a slim volume called "Political Insults".

SIMC
7/5/92

"This is not like an election. You have to give them a vision of hope, something to vote for and not just something to vote against. And when you give them that vision, there is a feeling of relief. I tried to show that the only way to go into negotiations is from a position of strength."

"That is something the CP can never, ever offer."

Even so, Botha did try to spell out the consequences of a "no" vote as vividly as possible.

"All these disasters like drought and floods can be repaired, although with a lot of pain. But the consequences of voting 'no' will be irreparable," he said.

Negotiated new deal

The old order had to make way for a negotiated new deal, both because it no longer worked and because it was unjust. "He who cleans your shoes will also want shoes some day," he said.

Botha repeatedly stressed the fact that sanctions had been eased — and could easily be put back in place. "This is now the rainy season internationally," he said. "But foreign countries have implied that you could pay the price of permanent drought. Why don't the CP tell you that they won't be able



TALKING TO THE PEOPLE: President de Klerk and Foreign Minister P. W. Botha

to import the maize South Africa needs?"

The questions ranged widely. Why does the African National Congress get so much more publicity than Inkatha? Aren't the Nats a little outnumbered at Code-sa? Won't affirmative action be at the expense of merit? Can we provide enough schools and houses without enforced birth control?

Local Nats who gathered at a party for Botha afterwards were delighted with the way the meeting went.

One town councillor said he believed their daily canvassing by telephone was starting to reveal quite a few doubting Conservatives. But another said he found he was having to "convince the NP voters all over again. That's why this meeting helped — even Nats have doubts that need to be allayed."

By way of a parting shot to this smaller gathering, Botha said: "My greatest fear is complacency. We mustn't just get a 50-plus-one margin."

Vic Borchers, a local nominated MP who narrowly lost the South-Panberg seat to Tom Langley in 1989, needed little reminding.

"I am still very jumpy," he said. "I still come across people who just want to fight now, and they are not an insignificant group at all."

The fact that the CP has decided, for reasons of its own image, not to take Botha and other Nats head-on at public meetings makes it difficult to gauge just how strong that group is.

Even more difficult

It was even more difficult earlier in the day when the Foreign Minister was accompanying President de Klerk on his Reef walkabout.

"The support at places like RAU was as expected," Botha said. Stops on his speaking tour next week include towns like Newcastle, Piet Retief, Fauresmith and Ermelo.

"It would be fatal for us to retreat back into the urban areas, for negotiations to be conducted by four cities in the country. The people in places like Tzaneen and Kuruman must be satisfied too."

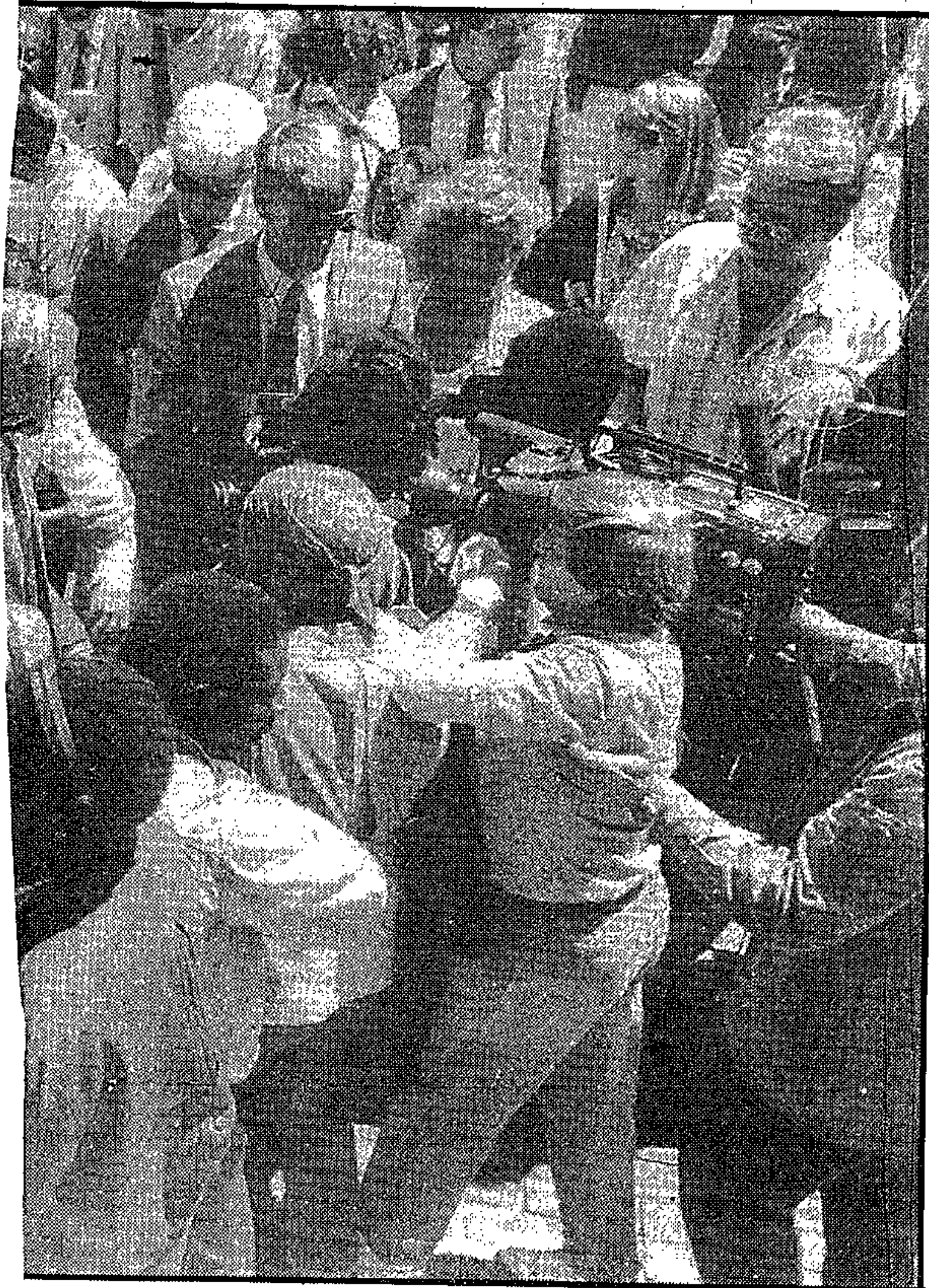
(Report by J. Perlman, 47 Sauer Street, Jhb)

STAR

7/3/92

304A

vote for



on walkabout this week in search of a resounding "yes" from white voters.

STAR 7/3/92




(364A)

Something people can

PIK BOTHA had just left the warm embrace of a National Party party in Tzaneen and his mind was drifting towards his next speaking engagement less than 24 hours away — an evening trying to sell the "yes" vote in Kuruman, a heat-and-dust town smack in the middle of "absolutely no" country. A little nervous, Minister?

Botha is a veteran diplomat — in Foreign Affairs since 1953, Minister since 1977 — but the belly laugh was genuine.

"Listen, I have addressed the Security Council at the United Nations nine times. Each time, to get to the podium, I had to physically wade through the African



**REFERENDUM
COUNTDOWN**

'There has never been anything like this, where the whites have to decide finally over their future. It is a final moment and people perceive it.'

would be about 100 people, but before we even got here I could sense there were more."

But when the last question had been asked and the last hand shaken, Mr Botha seemed pleased about more than just the fact that the crowd had been closer to 600.

It had not been a rousing affair — just one "hoor hoor" and not a grumble, never mind a heckle, from the rightwingers who, according to local Nats, were definitely present in numbers. One man who raised his hand only did so to ask if the Minister wouldn't mind his leaving early. "So long as you vote 'yes'," Botha replied.

Before the meeting, Botha's aides had said they hoped for at least some dissent, which would bring out the fighting best in their man. But Botha — whose address was calm and measured throughout — delivered without notes —



...to the

US family plants roots in Orania

STAR 713192
YANKEE Doodle has arrived in South Africa and is alive and well living in Orania.

The all-white town, which describes itself as the kernel of the Afrikaner *volkstaat*, a few weeks ago welcomed their first non-Afrikaner family — all the way from the United States.

Tim Vaughan and his wife Brenda immigrated to South Africa with their three children 18 months ago, and another baby has arrived since then.

Mr Vaughan, who has a degree in fruit technology, plans to start a fruit nursery in Orania, which he believes would be ideally suited to the conditions.

"The climate is perfect, the land is inexpensive and for R50 a month you can get all the water you can use," he says, talking in a strange mixture of an American accent, with a strong, guttural rolling of the r's which he has picked up through speaking Afrikaans.

"We are very happy with the school system, and most people are Calvinists like we are or have been affected by the Calvinist ethic," he says.

Mrs Vaughan adds that the people are very friendly and helpful and no one has laughed at their pronunciation of the Afrikaans words they know.

One reason for leaving the United States was that they found life there depressing. "Even homosexuals living together are allowed to adopt kids," Mr Vaughan says.

Danie van Rensburg, a shareholder in the Orania management service, admitted it would be hard for the American family to adapt to life in an Afrikaner *volkstaat*.

"I really can't see them becoming Afrikaners in the true sense of the word, but that is not important. As long as they see how the Afrikaner lives and study it, and see what an Afrikaner is, and then just go for it. If they adopt the Afrikaner view of or approach to life, then it should be okay."

A few false notes in the CP's party tunes

STAR 7/3/92

304A

THERE is a school of thought that says you don't judge a political party by what its leaders say on platforms, you judge it by the music played over the phone while you wait to get through to its head office.

There was certainly plenty of time to listen to the Conservative Party's "please hold" music this week — the lines to men such as Koos van der Merwe and CP information chief Pieter Mulder have been jammed all week.

And if the theory holds true, CP policy direction is as difficult to discern

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

as the Nationalists and others claim.

The CP "music while you wait" is a collection of one-liners — just an opening bar of about two dozen different songs that sounds like Pacman playing the harpsichord.

The party faithful will have no problem with all-time favourites like "Darling Clementine", "The Blue Danube" and "Jingle Bells". They'll probably love "March of the Toreadors" from the opera "Carmen" and "Deutschland uber

Alles".

But what about Beethoven's "Ode to Joy", which the CP so roundly criticised when it was chosen as the "anthem" for our team at the Barcelona Olympics? And what's with all the American stuff like "Yankee Doodle" and the "Star Spangled Banner"?

But there's no ambiguity about the "La Marseillaise", the song of the French Revolution. And as for "God Save the Queen" ... well, no wonder Robert van Tonder and the rest of the Boerestaat Party keep their independence ... just in case.

Pik in the land of 'Absolutely No'

304A
ARC 7/3/92

JOHN PERLMAN

Weekend Argus Reporter

PIK BOTHA had just left the warm embrace of a National Party meeting in Tzaneen and his mind was drifting towards his next speaking engagement less than 24 hours away.

It was to be an evening trying to sell the Yes vote in Kuruman, a heat-and-dust town smack in the middle of "Absolutely No" country. A little nervous, minister?

Mr Botha is a veteran diplomat — in Foreign Affairs since 1953, minister since 1977 — but the belly laugh was genuine.

"I have addressed the Security Council at the United Nations nine times. Each time, to get to the podium, I had to physically force my way through the African country representatives," he said. "There would be about 50 of them sitting there. I don't think the CP in Kuruman can be worse than that."

Mr Botha arrived in Tzaneen on Tuesday night, his first stop in an 11-town speaking tour, with reason to expect some right-wing heat. After all, Pietersburg, where he was driven from the stage by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in 1986, is less than an hour's drive away.

But when the last question had been asked and the last hand shaken at the Tzaneen Showground hall, Mr Botha seemed pleased about more than the fact that the crowd had been close to 600.

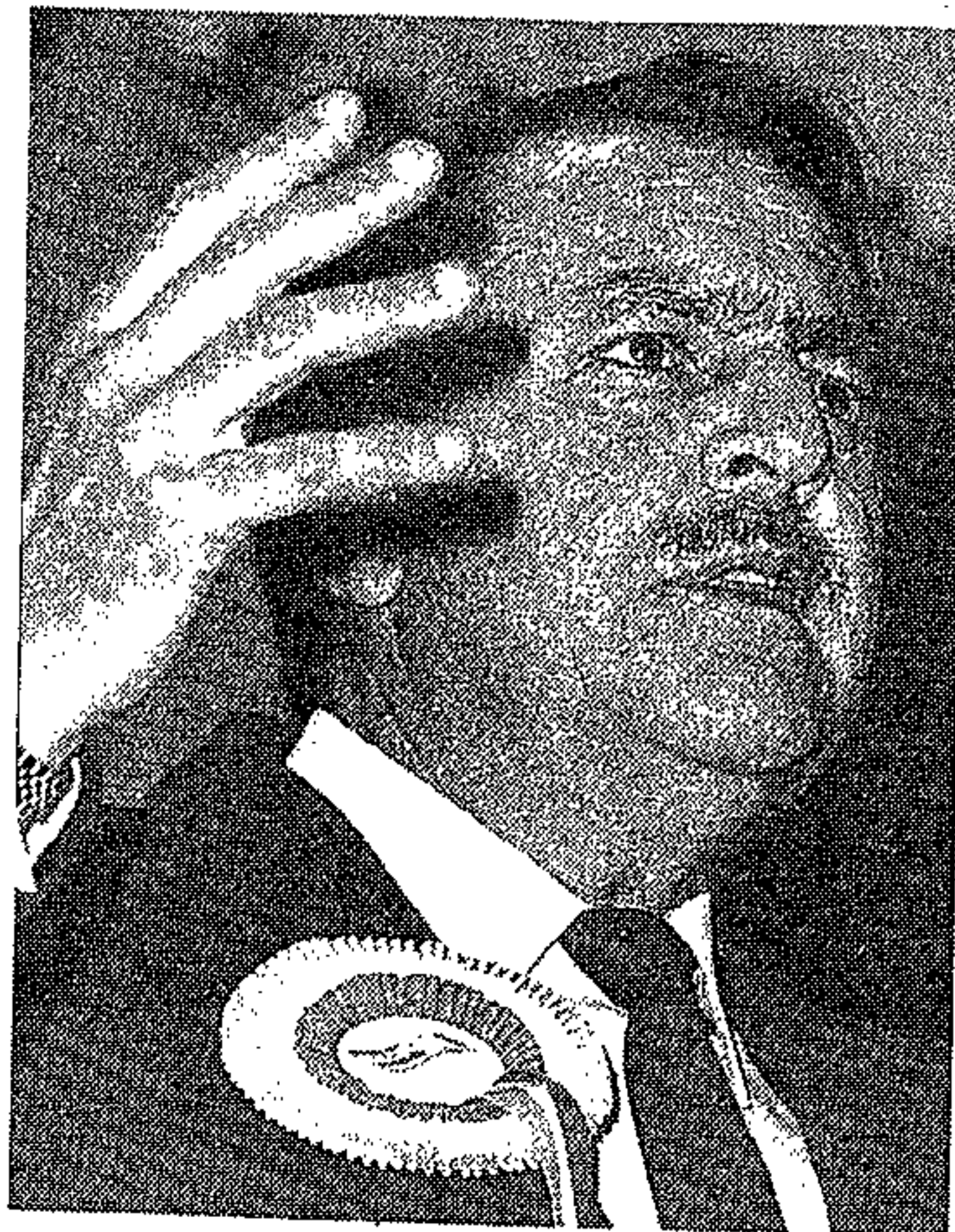
It had not been a rousing affair — just one "hoor hoor" and not a grumble never mind a heckle from the rightwingers who, according to local Nats, were definitely present in numbers. One man who raised his hand only did so to ask if the minister wouldn't mind him leaving early. "So long as you vote Yes," Mr Botha said.

Before the meeting, Mr Botha's aides had said they hoped for at a least some dissent, which would bring out the fighting best in their man. But Mr Botha — whose address was calm and measured throughout, and delivered entirely without notes — was pleased there was none.

"I have never addressed such an attentive meeting before," he said. "There was intense interest, a feeling that people really wanted to know. I think there is a deep sense of the decisiveness of the moment. There has never been anything like this, where the whites have to decide finally over their future. It is a final moment and people perceive it. I saw it on their faces."

"I didn't want to just go out and attack the Conservative Party," Mr Botha said — despite the fact that one of his aides was carrying a slim volume called *Political Insults*.

"This is not like an election. You have to give them a vision of hope, something to vote for; not just something to vote against. And when you give them that vision there is a feeling of relief. I tried to show that the only way to go into negotiations is from a position of strength. That is something the CP can never, never offer."



□ **PIK BOTHA:** from the UN to Kuruman.

Even so, Mr Botha did try to spell out the consequences of a No vote as vividly as possible.

"All these disasters like drought and floods can be repaired, although with a lot of pain. But the consequences of voting No will be irreparable," he said. The old order had to make way for a negotiated new deal, because it no longer worked and because it was unjust.

"He who cleans your shoes will also want shoes some day," he said. "He who washes your car would also some day like a car of his own."

Mr Botha repeatedly emphasised the fact that sanctions had been eased — and could easily be put back in place.

To Nationalists gathered afterwards at a party for Mr Botha he said: "My greatest fear is complacency. We mustn't just get a 50-plus-one margin."

Mr Vic Borchers, a nominated MP who narrowly lost the Soutpansberg seat to Mr Tom Langley in 1989, needed little reminding.

"I am still very jumpy," he said. "I still come across people who just want to fight and they are not an insignificant group."

The fact that the CP has decided, for reasons of its own image, not to take Mr Botha and other Nats head on at public meetings makes it difficult to gauge how strong that group is.

Stops on his speaking tour next week include towns like Newcastle, Piet-Refief, Fauresmith and Ermelo.

"We must appeal to people in those towns," he said. "It would be fatal for us to retreat back into the urban areas, for negotiations to be conducted by four cities in the country. The people in places like Tzaneen and Kuruman must be satisfied."

FW moved to tears in George

CT 7/3/92

304A

GEORGE. — Many a pop star would give his right arm for the kind of reception President F W de Klerk received from George residents on his whistle-stop visit to this Garden Route town yesterday morning.

Mr De Klerk was visibly moved during his 90-minute stay and was twice seen to wipe at his eye.

"George loves FW" proclaimed a banner across the entrance road to George, as did stickers on tractors.

Mr De Klerk was met at the Civic Centre by about 2 500 people holding "Yes/Ja for SA" balloons and wearing T-shirts with the same slogan.

Shortly after he mounted the podium, about a dozen toddlers from a local crèche were brought forward. Mr

De Klerk knelt to greet them as they sang: "FW and me, we all agree most definitely, you're the key to the future for me and my family."

Sung to the jingle of a television commercial for a popular German car, the song was repeated twice as the State President wiped at his eye.

More than 2 000 coloured balloons were then released.

Mr De Klerk said what he was doing was for "the little ones' future. We can and will make South Africa a stable and peaceful country".

Mr De Klerk then moved into the Civic Centre where, after a presentation by two young children, he again wiped at his eye. — Sapa

● Songs of praise greet FW
— Page 2

Harrowing huisbeseok drives canvassers up the wall

STAR 11/3/92

Increasing crime and lawlessness has forced the more affluent South Africans to retreat behind heavy security, Rotwelters and razor wire. Of course, says the CP, and for that reason many will be voting 'no'. JOHN PERLMAN reports.

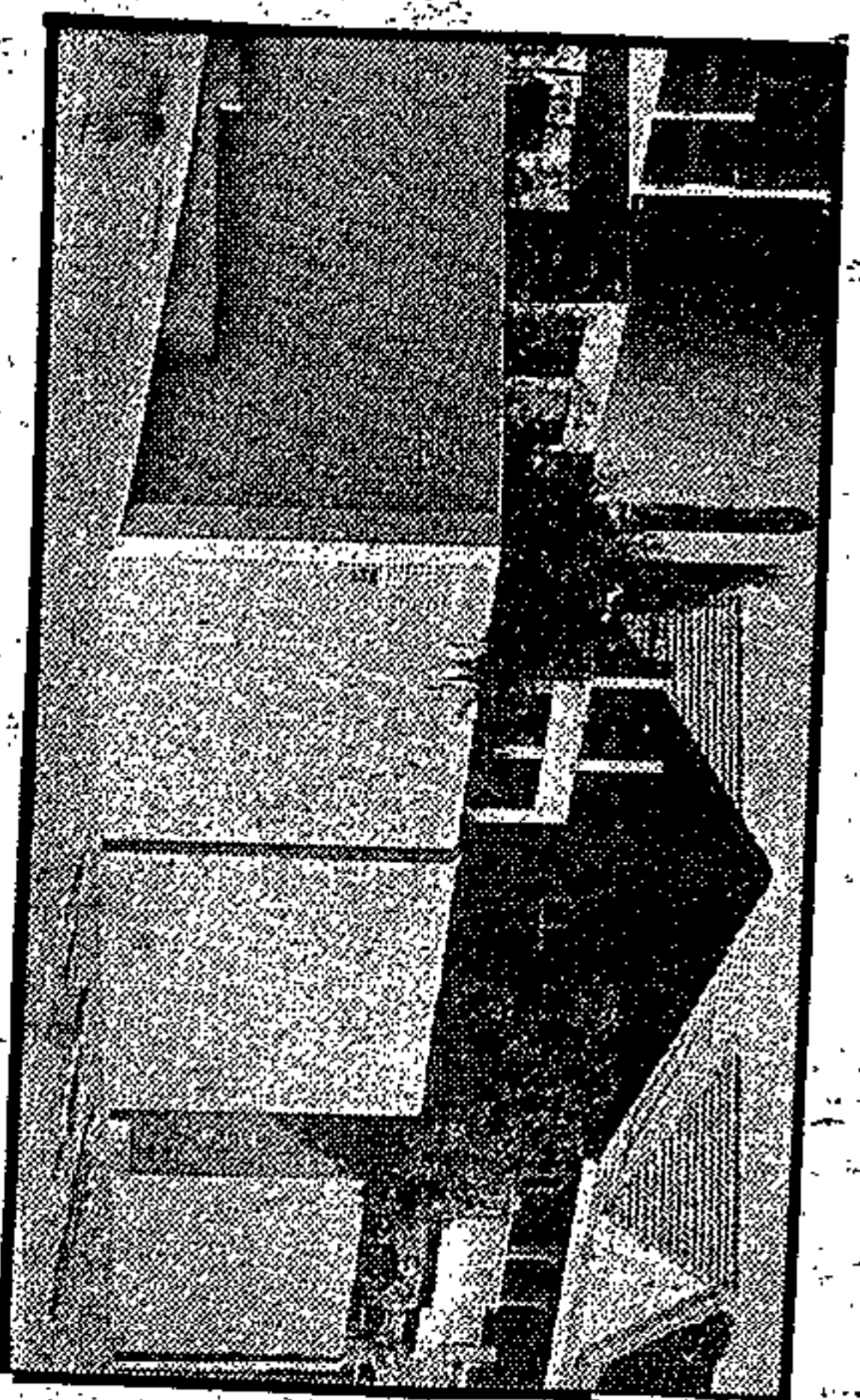
THE time-honoured canvassing of political votes house-to-house has become extremely awkward in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

"The days of campaigning door-to-door are over," says Democratic Party regional chairman Peter Soal. "With all these security systems and vicious dogs, it has become very difficult."

The snigger of laughter you hear is probably coming from the Right. The Conser-

NO ACCESS: Referendum campaigners are having a tough time canvassing house-to-house.

vative Party and others have been arguing that increasing lawlessness has forced voters in the more affluent suburbs to rely increasingly on their Rotwelters and razor wire, and for that reason a good number will be voting "no". Nobody is buying that ar-



gument in the small, three-roomed office above the Parkhurst post office in Johannesburg, where a band of volunteers are stuffing envelopes and poring over voters rolls — invariably with the telephone jammed between ear and hunched shoulder.

Their goal is to secure a resounding "yes" from the constituencies of Parktown and Johannesburg North — a voting potential of some 40 000 people.

"Of course people are worried about crime, the situation in the schools and the fu-

ture," says Judith Briggs, a DP city councillor. "But that doesn't mean they want to go back to the Dark Ages. If you listen to Treurnicht, that is exactly what would happen."

"If people were to shift, it would be during an election, but this is different. Do you want negotiations to continue or not? I think people do. There is a feeling that this goes far beyond party politics."

In the 1989 election, the DP polled a total of 18 375 votes in winning the two constituencies, nearly 2 000 more than in 1987.

"Judging by our telephone canvassing, our support is very solid," says campaign worker Pat Scott. "We don't believe the CP's claim that

they are making inroads here. We know we have to guard against complacency, but I have never before come across such enthusiasm for voting."

The DP's alliance with the National Party requires each party to push the "yes" vote in constituencies they hold. Every voter in Johannesburg North and Parktown is being sent a personal letter from his or member of Parliament, which includes details of assistance for people with transport or documentation difficulties.

"I think our main role is to ensure that the people who will vote 'yes' get to the polls," says office worker Audrey Soal. "We are not trying to change people's minds. It's too late for that."

The Referendum Road



SEASONED CAMPAIGNER: Wonderboom constituency, where P. W. Botha lives, gave him his first seat in Parliament in 1970, with a majority of nearly 7 000.

THERE is one house in the Pretoria constituency of Wonderboom that the small army of "stem nee" campaigners probably won't bother to visit.

"Yes, P. W. Botha is one of my constituents," says Koos Botha, Conservative Party parliamentarian for the area. "Mind you, the word out there is that he is starting to shift."

Koos Botha believes he can easily do without his namesake's vote on March 17. Wonderboom voted Nationalist in the 1970 general election, and stayed that way for another 17 years. There was a minor deviation in 1988 when the United Party sneaked in by nine votes.

"Everybody in this room was at one time a Nationalist," says Botha. "We were all stupid," quips an elderly man flipping through a voters' list.

In 1989 the CP, having slashed the Nat majority by

more than 3 000 in 1987, captured the seat with a margin of just more than 900 votes.

"If this was an election on March 17, we would take this seat by more than 2 000, maybe even 3 000," Botha says.

Campaign manager and constituency chairman Willie Horn says: "People are turning by the minute. The fact that (United States President) George Bush and others are saying 'vote yes' is working in our favour. The Afrikaners don't like this foreign interference."

Horn says 205 volunteers arrived to help soon after the CP decided to take part in the referendum. Some help in the office, checking records, folding pamphlets, making tea — "Can

A cup of 'nee tee' in Wonderboom

STAR 7/3/92 (304A)

Wonderboom voted Nationalist in the general election in 1920, and stayed that way for 17 years — until 1938, when the United Party sneaked in by nine votes. In 1989 the CP captured the seat with a margin of just more than 900 votes. Chief reporter JOHN PERLMAN finds out which way the people will be voting in the referendum.

we offer you some Boere tea," Botha asks, "a little 'nee tee'?"

Another group hits the streets. "We are planning to visit every single house in Wonderboom, which has about 32 000 voters," says Botha. "I would say we have covered about 60 percent already."

Says Horn: "They are also trying to raise money for the campaign. This is not a prosperous constituency. We depend on the Afrikaner's spare R5."

Canvassers invariably return with stories of how the tide is flowing strongly to the right. One woman says that of 24

voters she saw, only two were going to be voting yes.

Willie van Staden tramped the same streets 22 years ago to secure the election of P. W. Botha, who won his first seat in parliament in 1970 with a majority of nearly 7 000.

"I worked very well with P. W. Botha," says Van Staden. "He was a very pleasant person."

However, the political differences were marked. "I lost faith in the Nationalists when they agreed to the inclusion of Maoris in the All Black team."

Van Staden also has his tales of Nats on the turn. "One man I saw yesterday wouldn't even let me into his house during the last election. Last night he gave me R50 for the 'no' campaign."

Wonderboom is part of a chain of CP seats stretching across the part of Pretoria which lies north of the Magaliesberg. Botha believes that come 9 pm on March 17, the city will have delivered a "no" vote — in spite of the possible consequences for its other grand obsession, rugby.

Botha says: "I don't necessarily believe that a 'no' vote will mean isolation from world sport. We are not an ex-wagon party, you know. But if it is a choice between rugby and the continued existence of the white man, we will choose the continued existence of the white man."

Says Horn: "When my grandchildren ask me why the black man took over I don't want to have to tell them 'sorry, but oupa was busy playing rugby'." (Report by J Perlman, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

A history lesson for the 'yes'

campaign — from Jannie Smuts

STAR

7/3/92

3044

THEY created the strong impression that the Government could not control the situation. And they had in fact prepared the ground far better. In place of the Government's cumbersome campaign, they used a lower-profile, directed approach.

The Government was warned by its candid friends that it could actually lose, but the lesson was not appreciated sufficiently — even by the leader himself.

The opposition had also entered into an electoral pact, despite the fact there was still tension within Afrikanerdom. Although the Government had succeeded internationally, on the domestic front it was resented. More seriously, its radical policies aroused anger. The opposition set out to convince the electorate that the Government either consisted with or was not tough enough with the communists. They won the propaganda battle even though the Government had a call on the loyalties of newspapers with far greater circulations.

They won the battle, in the second place, because they stripped their policy of its prickly attributes, and wooed English-speakers. Their strength lay in the simplicity of their message, its appeal to the voters' desire for security in a world which seemed to be moving too fast in a liberal direction.

The nation was dumbfounded when the votes were counted. The Government had lost after all.

What you have just read is a piece of history, 44 years later. It is a summarised version of Professor Rodney Davenport's authoritative account of the shock defeat of General Smuts's government in the 1948 election.

"They" — the opposition — in the account above are of course the National Party, under Dr Malan. Now I invite you to read it again, imagining that "they" are the Conservative

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN

Johnson



THE biggest weapon the 'no' supporters have is complacency in the ranks of those who believe 'yes' is the only way to go.

Party and its allies.

Is that not a chilling scenario for those of us who consider a "yes" vote in the reform referendum to be the dividing line between hope and Hades?

Of course the situation then was vastly different, despite the startling surface similarities. Of course it is not true that history necessarily repeats itself. But history is a teacher.

As Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr remarked: "When I want to understand what is happening today or try to decide what will happen tomorrow, I look back."

I do not believe, and have said so repeatedly in this column, that the majority of whites will choose to vote "no" when the polling booths open on March 17. I think there is even an outside chance that the "yes" vote could constitute a "landslide" — whatever President de Klerk means by that term. But I offer the account of the Smuts sensation as a caution against the assumption clearly developing in white middle-class circles (and, interestingly, in the ANC) that there is simply no way that the "yes" campaign can lose. It can.

Dr Zach de Beer of the Democratic Party is alive to this danger (he has proved repeatedly to

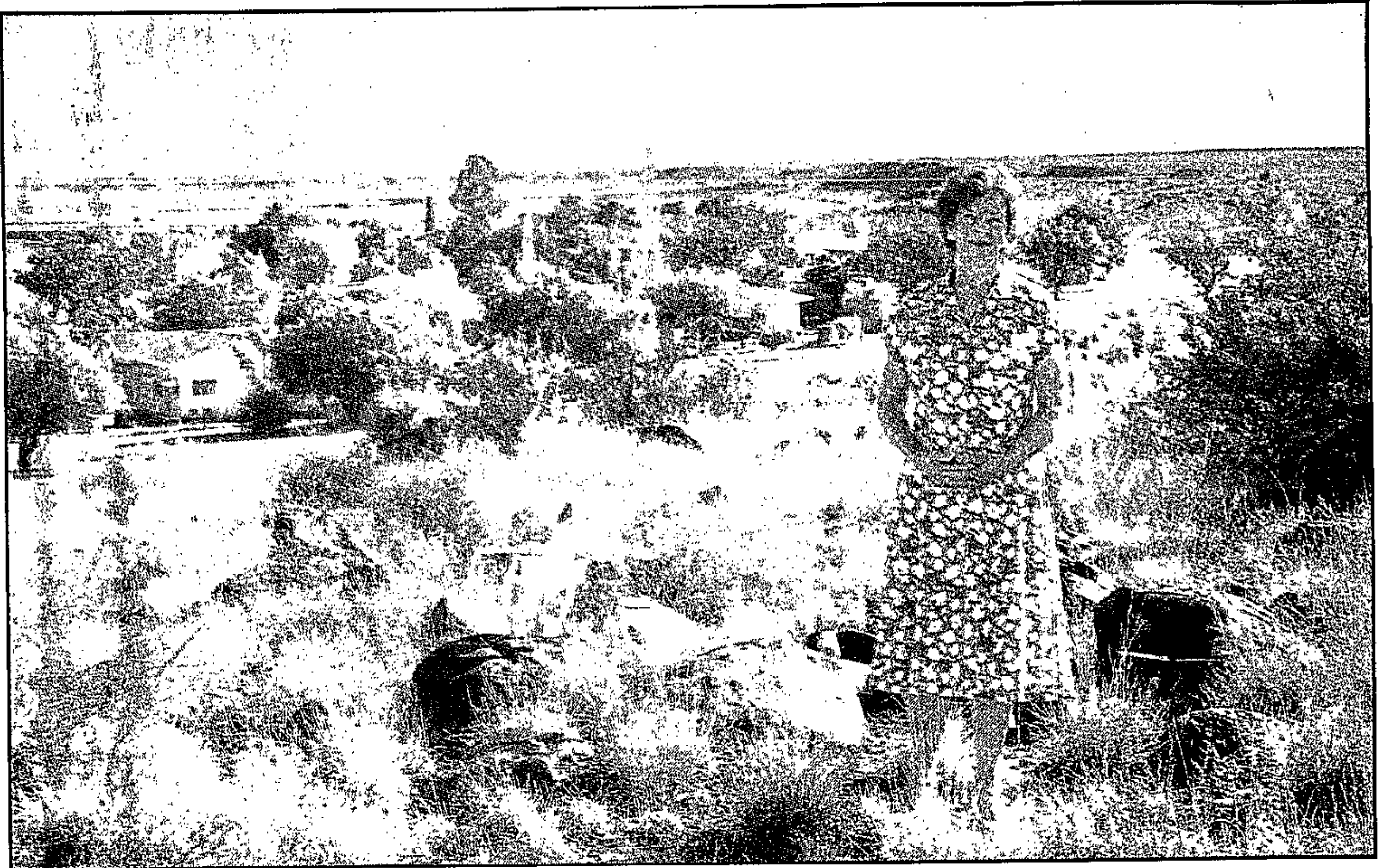
be one of the country's most prescient politicians) and is doing something about it. In Durban this week, he warned that English-speaking DP supporters, in particular, might be so complacent that they would not make the effort to vote later this month. This would be a fatal mistake, he argued, because in a referendum one vote counts as much as another, whether you're living in Sandhurst or Naboomspruit. There is no constituency weighting: the difference between a 70 and a 90 percent turnout in a "liberal" area is enough to cancel out the right-wing votes of an entire town elsewhere.

Another shibboleth doing the rounds in places like Johannesburg's northern suburbs is that the right-wing vote is restricted to khaki-clad zealots and, as a colleague put it, blue-collar workers with tattoos.

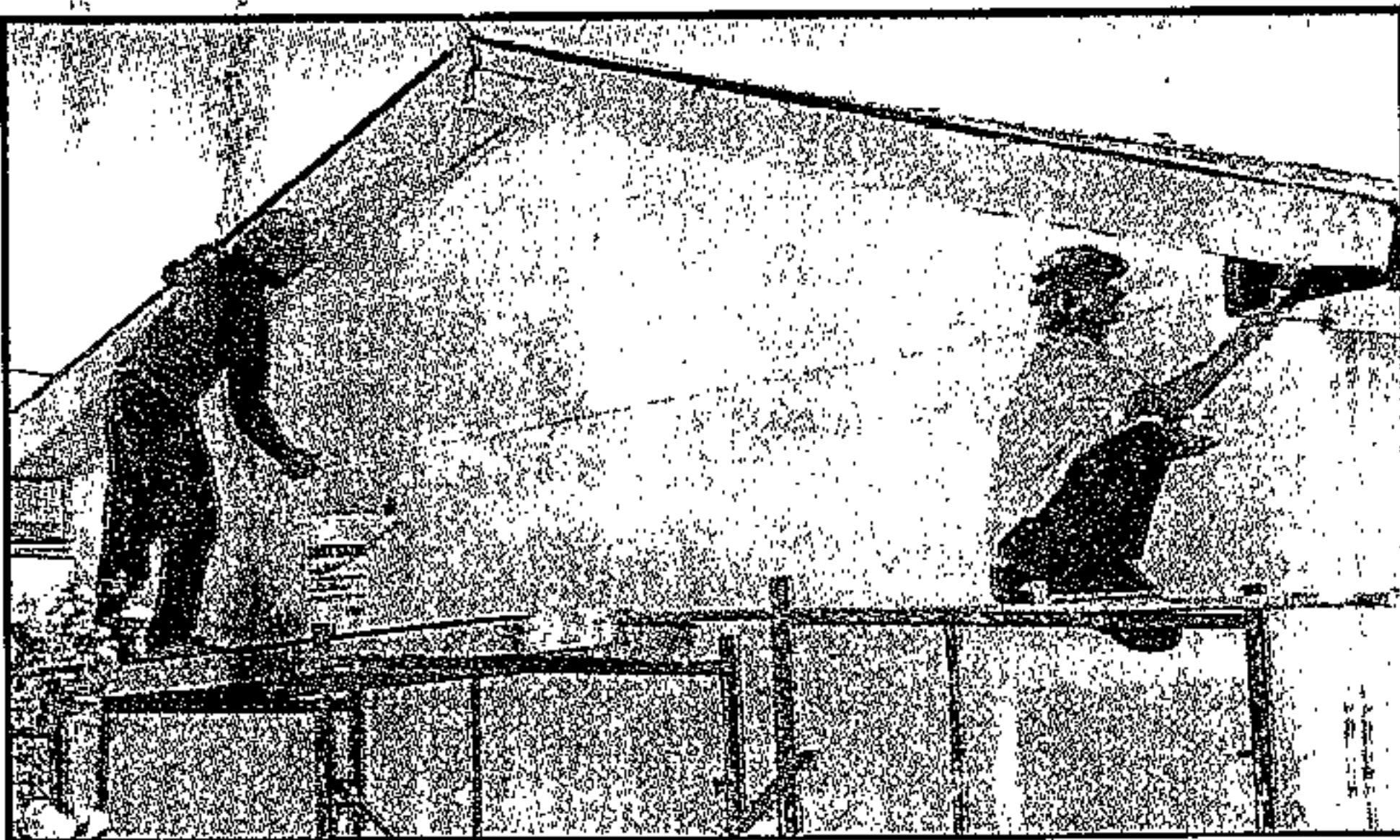
Nothing could be further from the truth. Just read the letters pages in the press; listen to phone-in talk shows on the radio. Insane as it may seem to those who understand the consequences of a "no" vote, there are many ordinary enough people who profess not to care. White pensioners in particular — a sizeable group in our society — tend to place questions of immediate security above long-term future prospects. Many of these have always voted to the Left of the Nats, and are now going to vote to the Right.

Then there are those who feel dirtied by the prospect of voting with the party that invented apartheid, and are considering abstaining. I am one of those who feels ashamed that our history forces us into another exercise in racist, discriminatory democracy. I do not like the fact that the referendum question, as posed, implies that President de Klerk is solely responsible for the overdue changes under way.

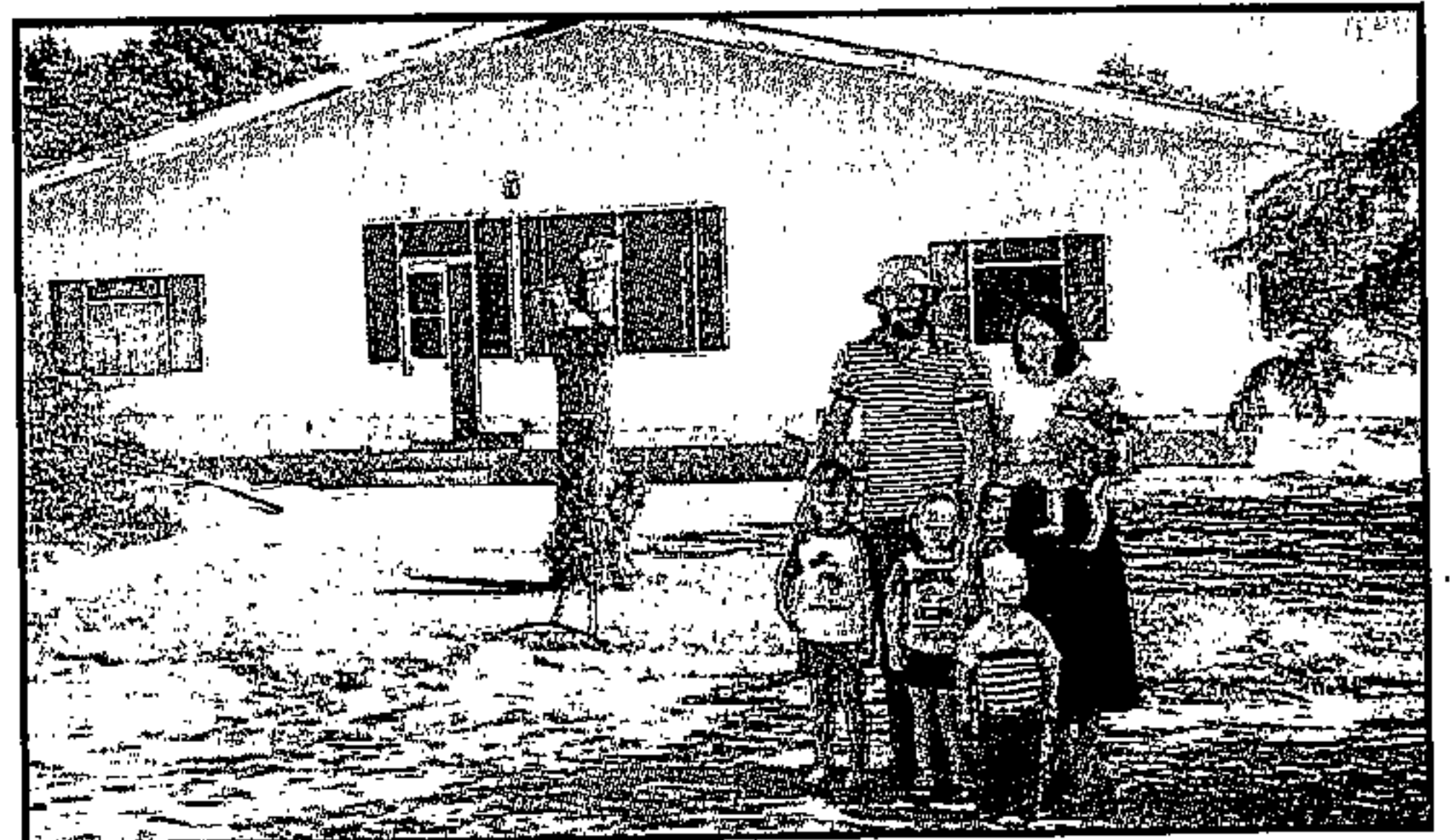
But I am going to make sure that whatever else I have to do on that fateful Tuesday, I will get myself to a polling station and vote "yes". Let us benefit from the lesson of 1948.



DESIREE ADENDORFF: Likes the peace and quiet of Orania after the noise and crime of Hillbrow. ● Photographs: MICHAEL SPARKS



WORKERS: Johan Brits (left) and Tienie Smit came to Orania because they did not like living next to blacks.



IMMIGRANTS: Tim and Brenda Vaughan came to Orania from America with their young family three weeks ago.

Looking forward to a bright white future

THE architects of the white future in Orania see themselves as too busy renovating the beginnings of the Afrikaner *volkstaat* to involve themselves with politics.

While few residents wanted to discuss the forthcoming referendum in detail, those who

said they would vote were unanimous in their support for the right-wing "no" vote. However, their assessment of the effects of the referendum differed.

Danie van Rensburg, a prominent resident, said that while the residents were still on the voters roll, they did not sup-

port the reform being discussed, since there was no provision for secession, and they wanted no part of a unitary state. "We are already where we want to be," he said.

Town doctor Steph Nel said one advantage of a "yes" vote would be that more people

would want to move to Orania, and the *volkstaat* would grow faster. (30417)

Town manager Renus Steyn said: "People in Orania must be conservative with their money and their approach to life. So they will be conservative in their politics too."

Treurnicht is far from finished!

304A

ALGT 7/3/92

PATRICK LAURENCE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Andries Treurnicht is a superb orator who knows his Afrikaners well. President De Klerk and his supporters underestimate him at their peril.

Dr Treurnicht may not impress Afrikaner yuppies or the residents of affluent suburbia generally. He knows, however, how to play on the fears, resentments and hopes of rural Afrikaners and their wage-earning and even salaried compatriots in the towns and cities.

The CP leader appears to have developed a set speech for the referendum campaign. He may vary it to adjust to the challenges and issues of the day.

But the core of the speech will remain and, judging by Dr Treurnicht's performance in Thabazimbi on Tuesday, it is devastatingly effective. Its nucleus can be broken down into several inter-related and mutually reinforcing parts.

Perhaps the most important component is his projection of Mr De Klerk as an appeaser who, in his eagerness to please the world and to gratify the ANC and SA Communist Party, has turned his back on his own people.

Mr De Klerk's government is one that gives way, *"een wat toegee"*, Dr Treurnicht says scathingly. Thus, he tells his audience, Mr De Klerk's position on the key issue of transitional government has changed: less than six months ago he was opposed to transitional government. Now he is in favour of it.

During the run-up to the 1989 election, Dr Treurnicht says, the National Party was opposed to majority rule. Since then, he adds, Mr De Klerk has said he accepts majority rule and is prepared to serve under Nelson Mandela.

Linked to his portrayal of Mr De Klerk as an appeaser is a subtle theme of xenophobia: using sarcasm with a fine touch, Dr Treurnicht criticises foreigners for interfering in South Africa's affairs as much as Mr De Klerk for heeding their counsel.

Dr Treurnicht recalls that "Frikkie and Pikkie" — Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha — went to see Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia before Mr De Klerk took over as president.

The implication is that "Frikkie and Pikkie" were influenced by Dr Kaunda. Now, Dr Treurnicht remarks, Dr Kaunda is urging South Africans to vote Yes.

The next element in his speech is to downplay the dangers of voting against Mr De Klerk. The essential tactic is to accuse the NP and its allies of exaggerating the consequences of a CP triumph.



□ Dr No: Underestimate him at your peril.

"They are", he tells his audience, "indulging in scare stories or what he labels 'Gogga maak baba bang' tales. The message is clear: adults should not be frightened by the bogymen. He lists and dismisses the various scare stories."

Dealing with the threat of a bloodbath, Dr Treurnicht wants to know who will start it.

The ANC? If so, he demands to know, will Mr De Klerk side with his ANC ally against his own people? The question brings howls of protest.

If the ANC tries to initiate a bloodbath it will meet with the strongest resistance, Dr Treurnicht says to roars of approval.

Then comes his next oratorical theme. He cites statistics for crimes of violence, specifically mentioning the murder of elderly whites and the assassination of policemen, to show that South Africa has become a much more violent society since Mr De Klerk took over.

The same logic is applied to the threat of sanctions and economic impoverishment. He asks his audience whether they were worse off when the sanctions campaign was at its height or now that President De Klerk is in control.

He offers the reassurance that the CP's policy of a commonwealth of (politically independent but economically interdependent) states is an idea whose time has come.

Nothing will stop it from triumphing, not even defeat at the polls on March 17, he says, quoting Paul Kruger's remark after the defeat of the Boer republics: "The future is ours ..."

HUGH ROBERTON

Weekend Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — About 150 000 white South Africans travelling abroad, who are eligible to vote in the referendum, face an obstacle course of regulations which could rob them of their right to cast a ballot.

Angry prospective voters in the United States, where more than 25 000 are eligible, and in Canada, where a further 11 000 are temporarily located, say the rules are petty, ridiculous and appear to be aimed at stifling what could be a decisive "Yes" vote.

However, a spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Attie Tredoux, said last night the department was powerless to change the rules.

In the proclamation announcing the referendum, Mr De Klerk specified that the Book of Life was the document needed to vote "and that is that".

Mr Tredoux denied any knowledge of a department ban on advertising designed to inform South Africans abroad of their rights to vote.

The same rules applied to voters in Britain, Australia, New Zealand and other countries where large numbers of tourists, contract workers, students, businessmen and researchers were known to be.

The no-advertising rule, apparently dictated by the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, is that absolutely no details — dates and places of balloting and qualifications needed to vote — can be conveyed to citizens by South African embassies.

Ambassador to the US Mr Harry Schwarz said his mission had not been authorised to tell voters of their right to vote or how to exercise it. He declined further comment.

Even if voters are aware that they are entitled to cast their vote at South African missions between 7am and 9pm on March 11 and 12, the obstacle course becomes tougher.

To vote overseas, one must have a valid Book of Life.

This is the strictest interpretation of the Electoral Act, which normally allows an electoral officer to waive this requirement if there is proof of the voter's identity.

The Argus office in Washington has been inundated by calls from outraged South Africans who said that few travellers brought their Book of Life and few anticipated a snap referendum after leaving South Africa.

Their passports contained the same details that appeared in their Book of Life and both documents were issued by Home Affairs.

Another rule is that voters must go to a South African mission to vote. Other Western countries send electoral officers — usually senior diplomats — to set up temporary polling stations in main centres where there is no mission.

In the US, many South Africans will have to undertake expensive and lengthy journeys to get to the embassy in Washington, or to the consulates in New York, Chicago, Beverly Hills and Houston.

There are large concentrations of South Africans in Boston, Philadelphia, San Diego, San Francisco, Miami, Dallas and New Orleans.

Weekend Argus in Washington has received calls from the northern tip of Alaska, Hawaii and from ships at sea.

Voters left out in the cold

Red tape foul-up means 150 000 can't vote on referendum day

Arg 7/12/92
(3044)

Cabinet issue could be acid test for Codesa

7/2/92
AKC (304A)
**MICHAEL MORRIS and
FRANS ESTERHUYSE**
Weekend Argus Political Staff

DELICATE negotiations are under way to turn Codesa's trail-blazing provisional agreement on an interim multiparty cabinet into a workable, acceptable and successful reality.

Political stability in the critical period of transition, confidence in the economy, the lifting of remaining sanctions and the opening of doors to wider foreign investment and aid depend on it.

It will also prove a key test of the government's credibility and could even have a direct bearing on the success or failure of South Africa's constitutional process.

Developments this week indicate that the provisional agreement in Codesa's Working Group 3 — it still has to be ratified by the principals — makes it possible that a new multiparty cabinet could be in place before the end of this year.

It would be the first cabinet in the country's history to include representatives of the black majority.

The new move on an appointed interim government executive — formally welcomed by the ANC as "an important breakthrough" — represents a significant shift in the approach of government negotiators.

Until now, the government has insisted the present executive should remain in place up to elections for an interim legislature and that the new legislature should choose a new cabinet. This would have drawn out the process considerably.

The precise form of a new cabinet is not yet clear. It could be an expansion of the existing executive and its various committees, an interim government council or a super-cabinet which would oversee, but be distinct from, the present cabinet.

Political analysts, who emphasise that any moves towards joint government must be negotiated to the point of securing the consent of all major political groupings, warn that unilateral action — especially by the government — would create problems and delays in negotiations.

Negotiations on the five-point draft agreement on a multiparty interim executive are under way in Codesa's Working Group 3 and, sources predict, could be finalised at Codesa's next plenary session — Codesa 2 — next month.

Already, speculation is focusing on the likely composition of a multiparty cabinet — and the possible inclusion of trusted political figures outside Codesa who could play a unifying role in an interim administration.

Initial pointers suggest that the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are virtual certainties for inclusion.

Other top ANC figures likely to be considered for executive posts could be the "Mr Fixit" of sport, Mr Steve Tshwete, the popular and widely trusted Mr Thabo Mbeki, top-ranking negotiator and former unionist, general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa.

Inkatha might field its top negotiator Mr Frank Mdlalose.

Experienced administrators from homeland governments could also end up on the short-list, as could Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Attention could turn to talent from outside Codesa. Here possible compromise choices might include Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa director, recognised facilitator and former

motor industries, were affect- been eased, it takes four weeks. German expert.

Cabinet issue acid test for Codesa

From Page 1

(6041A)
leader of the progressive Opposition, and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, head of the more recently formed Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, former Kwazulu Minister.

Theirs could be a unifying role.

Constitutional lawyer Professor Gretchen Carpenter told Weekend Argus the appointment of blacks in the cabinet would require an amendment to the present constitution and such legislation would have to be passed by all three houses of parliament.

Professor Carpenter, acting head of the department of con-

ARCT 713192
stitutional law at the University of South Africa, hailed this week's agreement in principle on the appointment of a multi-party interim government executive as "a step forward".

But she warned of some pitfalls to be avoided.

One potential pitfall was the perception that government was being broadened by the co-option of black representatives and other outsiders.

Such a perception could harm the government's credibility. Black leaders might not be prepared to serve in a cabinet if they were to be seen as "white stooges".

Professor Carpenter suggested that only high-profile black leaders — people such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Thabo Mbeki — should be considered for inclusion in an interim cabinet.

"It will be no good having token blacks."

Mr Steven Friedman, an analyst of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, says an additional challenge facing the government is to win significant black voter support.

The government believes that only then will it be able to achieve maximum influence in a joint government.

SA govt 'ignores' (304A) polling protests

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of complaints about referendum voting provisions by South African citizens living in America have been ignored by the South African government, it was claimed last night.

South African citizens living abroad are entitled to vote in the March 17 referendum.

However, former Cape Times journalist and managing director of Exclusive Books, Mr Jeremy Gordin, said from San Francisco last night it was not possible for voters to place their votes at consulates on March 17 because of distances. CT 1/3/92

He said the closest voting venue from San Francisco was Los Angeles, 600km away, and the "the most important South African referendum in history" fell during the middle of the week.

Mr Gordin, a South African citizen, said the consulate had told him they had had hundreds of complaints about voting arrangements from SA citizens.

Referendum chemical 'Confidential' ^{CT 7/3/92} ^{3041A}

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE formula of the ultraviolet-sensitive chemical substance to be used on voters in the referendum — alleged to be a devil formula because of a triple six component — could not be confirmed yesterday.

"The formula is confidential — we can't say anything," a spokesman for the Depart-

ment of Home Affairs, Mr Thomas Dreyer, said. "In fact, that is the best I have heard for a long time," he added.

He was reacting to reports that people in the Cape Town area had been telephoned and told that the chemical formula contained a triple six in it and was therefore evil.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, has said

that the chemical solution has been used successfully in elections all over the world, including Namibia's independence poll in 1990.

He said the formula was being applied to voters' left hands because people greeted with their right hands.

If treated people shook hands with a prospective voter before the liquid had

dried there was an outside chance that it would rub off and the contaminated person would be disqualified from casting a ballot.

The ultraviolet-sensitive substance is being used to ensure that eligible voters do not vote more than once.

However, in the 1980 election in Zimbabwe it was discovered that the chemical

used on that occasion could in some cases be removed by Coca-cola.

However, Mr Dreyer said he could not say anything about the formula being used.

Mr Louw has stressed that people who objected to the use of the chemical substance on religious grounds could swear under oath that they had not voted before.

10 March 1992

Waterfront 'Yes' party (30419)

SOME of the foremost entertainers in Cape Town are to stage a "Yes" party at the Waterfront on Wednesday, Mr Hennie Bester, Green Point's DP MP, said yesterday. Artists would include Evita Bezuidenhout, Misty Blue, Aviva Pelham and Trix Pienaar.

CT 7/3/92

'No transitional govt till MK issue resolved'

CT 7/23/92 (3049)

Political Correspondent

THE government has sent a strong warning to the ANC that agreements reached in negotiations might not be implemented unless settlement is reached on the thorny issue of uMkhonto weSizwe.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday a transitional government could not be installed until the "absurdity" of the existence of private armies had been cleared up.

The ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said at the University of Fort Hare this week that the ANC envisaged an interim government being installed by June, a constituent assembly by late this year and

the birth of a democratic South Africa early next year.

However, Mr Meyer said political parties or organisations in a democratic state did not have the right to maintain private armies or military wings.

He also said that "no specific" negotiations had yet taken place about the control of the Defence Force during the period of political transition and claims that had been made in this regard were "completely groundless".

The control of the Defence Force would only be exercised in accordance with the constitution, he said.

Any changes to constitutional powers could only be passed by Parliament, he added.

Songs of praise greet FW

(304A)

CT 7/3/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — President F W de Klerk's blitz on East London yesterday moved some people to song and others to tears as he presented his case for a "yes" vote to the people of this city.

In a hectic schedule he and his entourage leapt from the airport, to the City Hall, to Vincent Park shopping centre, to Beacon Bay, to Gonubie, to the beachfront and then off to Port Elizabeth late yesterday.

At every stop crowds greeted him with enthusiasm usually reserved for a film star. At Gonubie the crowd burst into "For he's a jolly good fellow".

One woman wept as he spoke of the necessity for a "yes" vote, for a new constitution and the benefits it would bring to the country.

At the City Hall here a crowd estimated at 1 000 — mostly black people — rushed towards him as he took the stand. A banner read: "Go for it. Viva FW!"

Speaking in the open air, Mr De Klerk said a "yes" vote would allow a

future of economic certainty and of growth which would address the uncertain future of this city.

A number of people said afterwards his speech had been encouraging.

But others disagreed. Two men held a banner reading: "Veraaiër (traitor). A vote 'yes' will be your last vote." A mostly black crowd gathered around the two throwing burning matches and shouting: "De Klerk is our hero."

In George earlier, Mr De Klerk said complacency was the greatest danger to a win in the March 17 referendum.

"People are so enthusiastic at the moment that they create the impression we are going to walk it," he told about 200 of George's top businessmen.

"The tendency then is not to vote, for people to go shopping or fishing or whatever on voting day, feeling that their vote isn't necessary."

A convincing win would send out a powerful and positive message to the 26 million people who were not voting and who "think that we might still have a hidden agenda and that we are clinging to power".

Report by Andrew Trench, 33 Caxton St, East London and L Braid, Sapa Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town

Economy needs a 'yes' vote

STIwé 8/3/92



3048

Seven of the country's top economists, members of the Economic Policy Study Group, warn of the economic fall-out in the event of a "no" vote

THE referendum on March 17 will be crucial for South Africa and its economy. The economy is highly dependent on its international trade and investment links, and it cannot grow rapidly without foreign confidence and participation as well as domestic stability.

A "yes" majority would allow a consolidation of the gains made as a result of the lifting of trade and other sanctions; a "no" vote would lead to the re-imposition and strengthening of those sanctions, as well as heightened domestic instability.

Policies

What South Africa most requires is an inflow of capital and technology if it is to remain internationally competitive and grow internally. Modern industry is high-tech driven or it ceases to exist. But for these inflows to occur, South Africa must offer investors high rates of returns and realistic, balancing commercial risk.

Investor confidence and riskiness depend on economic policies and the perception of political and social stability in a country. There is no doubt that a "no" vote would quickly lead to large-scale unrest and violence which not even severe repressive action by the state would be able to contain.

Foreign confidence in South Africa would eva-

porate, and the country would quickly return to isolation — only this time much more so than in the 80s as the rest of the world would have no truck with a reactionary regime. Those who advocate a "no" vote have no answer to the economic problems which would result.

How, for instance, would they face the country's foreign banking creditors? What would they do about the third interim agreement on debt repayment or about the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act? How would they handle the re-imposition of trade sanctions?

A "yes" vote, in contrast, would encourage foreign governments to lift whatever sanctions remain against South Africa, and it would also create that domestic goodwill which is so important in the Codesa deliberations. It would allow — although it would not guarantee — the country an opportunity to realise its economic potential — and this is substantial.

A demonstration of the inherent strength of the South African economy is that it has succeeded in generating a consistent surplus on the cur-

rent account since 1985 — during the height of sanctions and disinvestment.

Out of this surplus it has financed capital outflows (mainly debt repayment) amounting to over R30 000-million even though gold and other metal and mineral prices were severely depressed. But real GDP grew only slightly during this period, and a re-opening of trade and investment links is critical to buoyant real economic growth.

In the 80s only 500 000 new jobs were created in the formal sector as against an increase of over three million in the economically active population. Large-scale unemployment has become an inescapable problem, but a "no" vote will do nothing to tackle the problems of economic stagnation and demographic change.

To talk vaguely about a South African commonwealth of states in Yeltsinian terms (as though 40 years of Bantustan failure had not happened), as those advocating a "no" vote are doing, is to divert attention from reality. The economy is so advanced down the path of racial integration and inter-

dependence that no reversal is possible without destroying its ability to sustain even present recessionary levels of production.

All South Africans have to come to terms with a troubling but inescapable Catch-22 situation, and that applies especially to the white right-wing. There will be no economic performance here without fundamental political change. But, equally, no such political change is sustainable unless there is economic performance.

Market

Fundamental political change means opening up South African society for the full participation of all its people. A modernising, Western-type industrial country cannot grow on a skills base of less than 15 percent of its population.

A rapidly growing domestic market cannot be brought into being if 85 percent of the population is shut out by discriminatory restrictions. These are the realities that are denied by a "no" vote. All voters owe it to themselves and the country as a whole to vote "yes".

□ The authors are Ronnie Bethlehem, Jim Buys, Aubrey Dickman, Rudolf Gouws, Gavin Maasdorp, Colin McCarthy and Peet Strudom. The views expressed are their own.

Big business appeals to workers to vote Yes

S/Times (BUSS) 8/3/92

By CURT VON KEYSERLINGK

BIG companies have dropped the tradition of keeping out of politics by appealing directly to their employees to vote Yes in the referendum.

This action is over and above the financial contributions many have made to the Private Sector Referendum Fund and the campaigns conducted by the National and Democratic parties.

Their reasons are summed up by an executive chairman who says: "Never before in our 100 years of existence have we been involved in party politics. But this referendum is a watershed. It is a crucial question at a crucial time."

First National Bank is asking employees to vote Yes.

Toyota managing director Bert Wessels says: "We have been told in no uncertain terms by Japan that a No vote and a reversion to the past will lead to reimposition of the trade restrictions. In spite of our good relations with Toyota Japan, the restrictions would be more stringent than they were."

"We are telling this to our staff by way of individual and

group communications. At a meeting with our dealers we left them under no illusions about what the situation would be."

BMW says its staff will be told of the implications of a Yes and No vote.

A spokesman says: "Having just returned from Europe, I am in no doubt that even if the Right wing gave cast-iron assurances that apartheid will not be reintroduced, the perception abroad is that a No vote would lead to economic ruin for SA."

Critical

Southern Life says many business leaders believe the importance of every Yes vote should be made known to employees.

BP is spelling out the implications of a Yes and No vote to staff. It is explaining its support for the Yes vote, which is "critical to the future of the country."

BP will also ensure that employees are able to vote.

Several companies while apparently hoping for a Yes victory are more circumspect in their approach to staff.

Sasol's attitude is typical of such companies. It says: "We believe it our duty to our employees to give them an objective view of the possible economic implications of the return of sanctions."

"We will convey the opinions of an outside consultant through our internal video newsletter on the possible effects on the SA economy and on Sasol in particular."

Executives at Premier Group have been briefed to visit the group's 500 branches to discuss the matter and to explain what can happen "if the reform process continues and what can be expected in the unlikely event of a No vote".

Barlow Rand chairman and the chairmen of the group's main divisions have written to senior managers summarising the likely economic implications of the referendum result. Its man-

agers have been asked to "do everything possible to encourage employees to vote, irrespective of their persuasion".

Murray & Roberts top management has addressed 500 managers.

Other companies approached by Business Times which support the Yes vote in varying degrees are Anglo American, Standard Bank, Caltex and Shell.

Gencor says it leaves decisions on political issues to its employees.

Wife

Several companies say they find questions about political matters embarrassing. One admits to contributing to the Private Sector Referendum Fund, but asks that this not be made public.

Another says it cannot afford to be seen to be supporting either side because its employees and customers "cover the entire political spectrum".

"Its like being asked if you have stopped beating your wife," says one managing director. "Whatever answer you give you are damned."

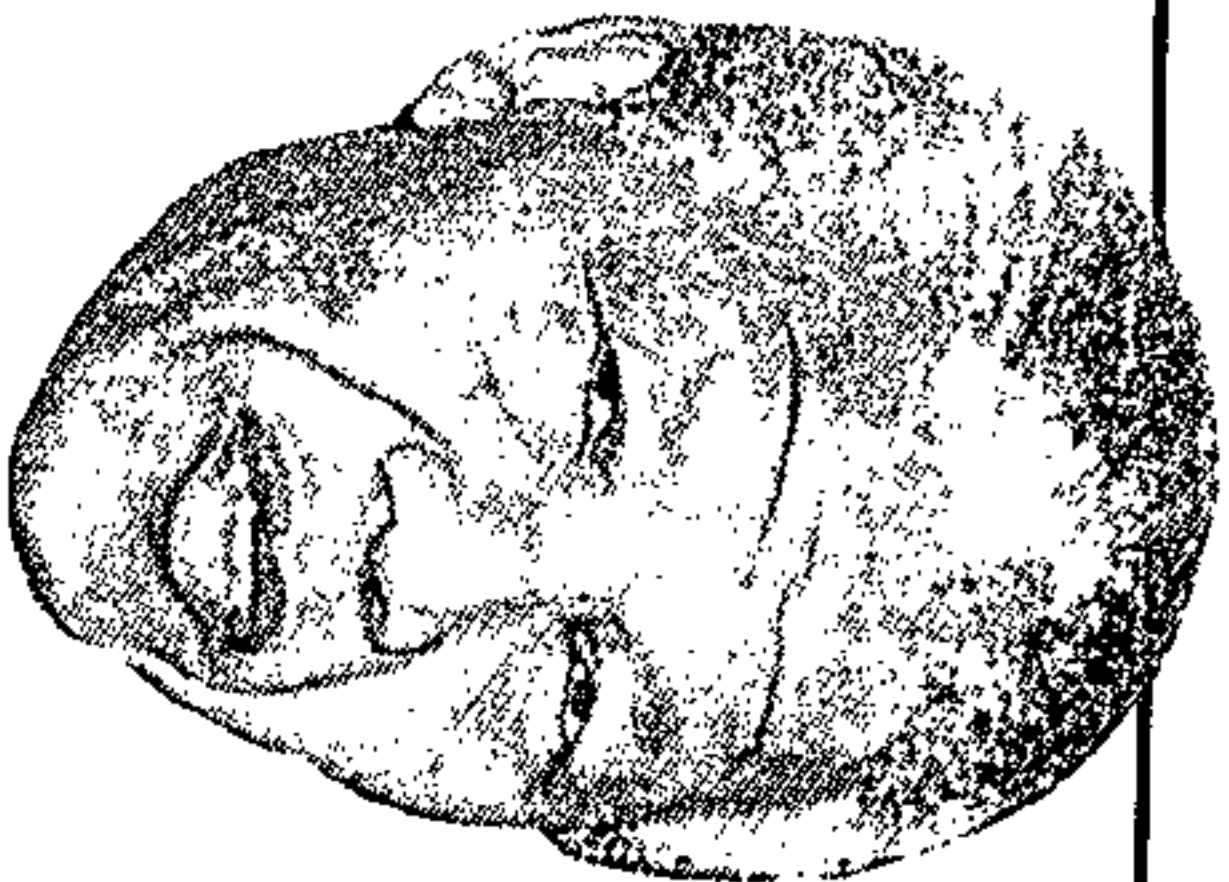
THE battle for the soul of white South Africans is on. Their choice is simple — a continuation of doomed baaskap or a swift and steady negotiation to democracy.

It is painful and abhorrent to us that once again a decision on the destiny of our country is being taken by a minority of 15 percent of the population. We condemn any form of racial referendum and cannot give any legitimacy to the present one.

Those of our members who happen to be white are faced with an awesome dilemma. They have joined the ANC because of their belief in non-racialism, yet they are being asked to identify themselves as whites and not as South Africans. We understand their difficulty and do not pretend the answer is easy.

In our view, however, they should not step back from the opportunity to make a direct contribution towards ending white domination in this country. We want white South Africans to declare themselves unequivocally in favour of democracy and against racism.

This is not a contest between FW and anyone else.



We are not witnessing a presidential campaign, no matter how many babies are kissed or posters put up. There is one issue and one only, namely, whether the movement towards democracy, as represented by the negotiations at Codesa, will be halted.

Notions

A "yes" vote means we will sit round a table as South Africans and work out the best method of installing a democratic system in which all the country's inhabitants feel secure. A "no" vote will be a declaration of war against the majority in this country.

Accept with pride your new destiny

NELSON MANDELA writes a stirring appeal to white voters

3044 Stines 8/3/92

We have to move away

from notions of domination and subordination and accept the principle of equal rights for all. There are no magic solutions. We need hard, honest, face-to-face bargaining to ensure that, within the context of democracy, the cultural, religious and linguistic diversity of the country is acknowledged.

We have to find ways and means of stimulating the economy and at the same time ensuring wealth reaches the whole population. We need a government that is accountable to all South Africans and not just a section. We want good government, and that means government that functions with a high standard of competence and in a fair

manner.

We look forward to good relations with neighbouring countries and with the whole world — no more living in exile for some and sneaking in through the back door for others.

It is unthinkable that we will return to the era of banning orders, imprisonment, torture and death sentences. There can be no going back to the days when soldiers and police were sent into the townships with guns, sjamboks and teargas to disperse schoolchildren.

The age of lies, disinformation and CCB assassination squads has to be put behind us forever. There can be no revival of the hated pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the

obnoxious signs on buses, in parks and at swimming pools. If the hopes of the majority of South Africans for a decent and dignified life are once more thwarted, the stress and upheavals of the past will be like a game of marbles. There can be no going back to baaskap.

We have already made extensive progress in clearing the way towards a negotiated means of achieving democracy. Old antagonists are sitting down together and working out how we can all live together as equals in this country. The path has been stony and many rocks still lie in our way, yet we have to move forward. There is no other way.

We are all South Africans.

Our destinies are intertwined. There is no cloud-cuckoo-land into which people can escape from this reality. At the same time, there is no issue we cannot discuss, provided we do so as equals and in the framework of democracy.

Boldly

Our white compatriots have a chance to show they repudiate, once and for all, the cruel policies that have brought so much shame to our country and caused so much pain to its inhabitants. We want our compatriots to walk boldly and with heads high into the new South Africa.

We wish them to accept their new destiny with pride, leaving behind only the arrogance, insensitivity and inhumanity with which they were associated. This country is rich enough and spacious enough to provide a dignified life for all its inhabitants. We urge all those who have the privilege to vote to use it. These are the last whites-only elections.

Let this be the moment in which whites voluntarily and freely indicate their willingness to be part of a new South African nation.

(30119)

Enough to shake the 'yes' voters

8/13/92
PRESIDENT FW de

Klerk faced one of the greatest challenges of his referendum campaign when he visited the University of Stellenbosch's student cafeteria this week - a "Matieburger" with enough raw onion to make even the most committed "yes" voter waver.

He was offered the burger during a lunch stop in his referendum roadshow.

He hesitated when he saw what it contained.

Watched by a packed crowd of students, university staff and journalists, he opened the burger and defused it by taking out all the onion.

He wiped his fingers thoroughly with a napkin, then took a large bite of the sanitised hamburger - and was applauded by the students.

"This is the nicest hamburger I've ever had," he said, to more cheers.

De Klerk then went on to onion-free baby kissing.

- Sapa

R12m spent to win referendum votes

THE Conservative Party is set to be vastly outspent in a referendum campaign which could cost lobby groups more than R12-million. *STimes 8/3/92*

Although the National Party will not disclose figures, its expenditure is expected to exceed R5-million. *[Buss]*

The Private Sector Referendum Fund (PSRF) has raised more than R3,4-million for its campaign, but the Democratic Party will spend far less than this.

CP acting secretary for the Transvaal Paul Fouche estimates that more than R2-million could be spent on his party's campaign. But the CP is said to have only about R1-million.

The lion's share of spending on advertising is going to print.

A reason for this is that the SABC has not decided whether to accept political advertising. M-Net's commercial air time for the referendum run-up is almost sold out.

The NP is urging whites to vote Yes in cinema advertisements — and stickers distributed at bicycle races. It is considering using banners attached to small aircraft.

Stark

Most homes around the country should get the CP's plea for a No vote in their postboxes.

A fierce poster war is being waged and Mr Fouche says: "Trees around SA will never have been so well decorated."

The CP poster reading

By ZILLA EFRAT

"Stop FW!" and resembling a stop-street sign has almost caused car accidents in Johannesburg. *(304A)*

The PSRF is the only group flying TV advertisements on M-Net. They warn of a "stark future" if the No vote wins.

It has also placed billboards at World Cup cricket games, a move that has apparently confused Australians and New Zealanders and attracted a lot of attention from the foreign media.

Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barret chairman Hennie Klerck says more than 95% of the NP's campaign is in print. No advertisement will appear more than twice.

Crucial

In what could be the biggest single block booking for cinemas in SA history, the NP has started running 35-second advertisements. They feature President De Klerk and other celebrities.

NP chief director of information Piet Coetzer says the party has made a video to show at house meetings. An 087 referendum information line was launched on Thursday.

The NP campaign aims to raise crucial issues and respond quickly to statements by the Right wing, says Mr Klerck.

Because the DP's campaign is focused in the areas it represents, it is using

mainly pamphlets and posters. Some print advertising will be used towards the end of its campaign.

DP national director of communications James Selfe says the party's full-page adverts will start in community newspapers around SA from Tuesday.

The only advertising the CP will pay for is that announcing public meetings, says Mr Fouche.

The CP's propaganda newspaper outlines "what the NP is trying to prevail on the electorate". It was printed on Thursday.

The DP has assembled a creative team of experienced volunteers and the CP's campaign is being co-ordinated by Pieter Mulder, a former Potchefstroom professor in communications.

Nats count on DP support

HUMANSDORP: The NP's secretary for Border and East Cape, Mr Johann Müller, is confident that massive support from DP supporters in areas such as Plettenberg Bay and St Francis Bay will reinforce solid NP backing in predominantly Afrikaans villages such as Jeffrey's Bay.

However, warning lights are flashing in the sprawling coastal constituency's eastern wing, in the blue collar Port Elizabeth suburb of Rowallan Park.

Workers for the CP claim that the recession and the scaling down of work on the almost completed Moss-gas project has made it likely they will win a majority of the almost

Sunday Times 8/3/92
The Sunday Times last week visited three key constituencies to feel the referendum pulse. **BILL KRIGE**, **CHARIS PERKINS** and **EDYTH BULBRING** revisited them this week

3 000 votes there.

INNESDAL: A battle for hearts and votes in the old Pretoria suburb of Villieria took off with a vengeance this week.

From Monday, teams of NP campaigners manning 12 telephone lines 12 hours a day called every voter with a telephone number. A shortage of telephone lines left the CP with only five, and 10 volunteers led by CP councillor Danie Erasmus foot-

slogged around the suburb each evening gathering statistics for and against.

NP campaign co-ordinator Louis Fourie said he was confident that the campaign was going well and predicted an 85 percent "yes" vote. The CP was equally confident of a "no" win.

ROSETTENVILLE: White voters in the largely English-speaking middle-class suburb of The Hill, overwhelmingly supported the "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

This week a snap poll of voters showed the "yes" vote was standing up well.

R3,5m RAISED FOR AD BLITZ

By ZILLA EFRAT

BIG business has so far raised more than R3,5-million to pay for its global 17-day advertising blitz for a "yes" vote. *(SOLA)*

And money is continuing to pour into the Private Sector Referendum Fund.

The fund was started by business leaders on February 24, the day the referendum question was announced. By the next afternoon ad agency Initiative had formed an eight-man task force to produce a string of TV, radio and newspaper adverts.

This week-end the fund's team of volunteer media executives is working around the clock on adverts for the Monday editions of newspapers in cities like Toronto, Perth, Sydney, Tel Aviv and London.

The fund also aims to run ads in local papers tomorrow, urging South Africans to persuade family and friends abroad to vote "yes". *5/11 Times 8/3/92*

Cricket fans in Australia are being provided with "yes" T-shirts and placards.

Times Media's general manager, marketing, Mr Peter McKenzie, who is running the campaign, believes it has achieved saturation coverage, reaching almost 100 percent of South Africa's white population.

● Swiss-born hotel boss Hans Enderle has launched a one-man campaign to secure votes from thousands of white immigrants in South Africa.

Mr Enderle, founder of the City Lodge hotel group, has forked out R100 000 out of his own pocket for a series of newspaper advertisements encouraging immigrants to take out citizenship and vote.

FW faces fed-up

5 Times 8/3/92

304A

AFTER four days of frenetic campaigning President FW de Klerk believes all that stands between him and a resounding victory in the March 17 referendum is apathy on the part of voters.

He is only partly right.

Apathy, particularly among English voters, and specifically those in the greater Witwatersrand area, is prevalent.

But there is also a great deal of disillusionment and discontent.

Mr De Klerk and his referendum allies in the Democratic Party may get a surprise on March 18 if they fail to distinguish between the two.

What they are dealing with is not a voter so confident of a "yes" victory that he will prefer to spend the day on the beach, as Mr De Klerk put it to more than 1 000 people who came to hear him at the Maritzburg city hall on Thursday.

Rather, he is a voter battered by crime, recession, inflation, uncertainty and a sense of deprivation. He is a voter fed on platitudes while U-turns in policy were made without anyone bothering to explain why they were necessary.

Put bluntly, a person so fed up with being treated as voting fodder that he is prepared to forgo what could be the most important political decision he will ever have to make or, even worse, give vent to his anger by voting "no".

Discontent

What is most disturbing for Mr De Klerk is that the concentration of such voters appears to be greatest in the Witwatersrand, where he is banking on a big "yes" win.

He was not aware of it, but several of the pensioners who displayed National Party rosettes when he visited a soup kitchen in Vrededorp on his tour this week candidly admitted they were there for the spread that had been laid on but would vote "no".

They were poverty-stricken, so their political inclinations were not, perhaps, surprising, but on the same day in the south of Johannesburg, English-speaking teachers, who were neither conservative nor destitute, voiced real discontent at the failure of the government to address concerns about their future.



THE YES CAMPAIGNER: FW the supplicant — and the man making his point in full voice during his meet-the-people tour round the country this week
Pictures: JUHAN KUUS

MIKE ROBERTSON stumped the country with President De Klerk on his referendum tour. Here is his assessment

In Natal, another area where Mr De Klerk is counting on a big "yes", disillusionment is also rife.

Outside the Uvongo town hall on the "Old Coast", where Mr De Klerk addressed an enthusiastic but invited gathering of about 400, an elderly gentleman, on being told the president was to address a meeting, said: "I'm not interested in this referendum."

A Durban National Party MP said initial canvassing revealed a large undecided vote among English-speakers. Quoting DP sources, he said a number of young voters on the Berea had indicated they would vote "no". Berea has been a Progressive Federal Party, now DP, seat for more than a decade.

In most cases, the voters are neither natural Conservative Party supporters nor apathetic. Dealt with in a reasoned and honest manner many, if not most, could be

persuaded to vote "yes".

One of the NP members trying his hardest to get that "yes" vote is Foreign Minister Pik Botha, hustings warhorse of the party for more than a decade.

Kuruman, the seat of CP strongman Jan Hoon, was witness to a remarkable Pik Botha performance this week.

Ovation

A crowd of more than 500 sat silent as, sounding not dissimilar to an anti-apartheid activist of yore, Mr Botha told them SA was paying the price in terms of crime and economic impoverishment for his party's attempt to implement apartheid.

Acknowledging the effectiveness of the international isolation that resulted from apartheid, he said: "We were bleeding to death."

At the end, he received a prolonged standing ovation. Significantly, although there

were several CP supporters present, not one heckled.

Mr Botha, reportedly, received the same reaction to a similar speech in Tzaneen the night before.

The president's standard speech — he has been averaging about eight a day — is more complex, but starts with a similar message: "Had I not reformed we would have been swept away by mass action like the governments of Eastern Europe."

The "speech" has essentially three components — the consequences of a "no" vote, a rebuttal of CP allegations and a visionary element.

The first part deals, naturally, with the slamming shut of newly opened doors, the loss of support of hitherto anti-sanctions allies such as Britain and, topically, a return to international sporting isolation.

His best line, however, is to ask voters to imagine the consequences of whites

factor

rejecting their 26-million fellow South Africans — inevitably, an uncomfortable shuffling accompanies his own answer to the question: "Chaos, mass action like we have never seen before."

The CP allegations he chooses to respond to are that: he is in alliance with the ANC; he is a lackey of the communists; and he is asking for a blank cheque.

The standard answer to the first is that he is negotiating with the ANC. Negotiations, he adds, are only necessary with people with whom you disagree.

Outline

To the second, he replies that communism is dying worldwide. It was a threat when it was the philosophy of a superpower, but now that the Soviet Union has collapsed there is no longer any reason to be afraid of it. Even SACP members, he adds, appear to be ashamed of communism.

A punchline which inevitably draws a laugh from the audience is that: "These days, even Joe Slovo sounds more right-wing than Neil Kinnock (the British Labour Party leader)." The blank cheque allegation and Mr. De Klerk's response to it have become the dominant metaphor of the campaign.

He uses the line "my cheque is filled in" to outline his bottom line in negotiations.

Already, he said in Maritzburg, Codesa negotiations had produced agreement on many of these issues. They were: a multi-party democracy; a two-chamber parliament; a comprehensive bill of rights; an independent judiciary; elections by proportional representation; strong regional powers; the maintenance of language and cultural rights; and community-oriented education.

Others still to be negotiated included: the safeguarding of a free market economic system; preventing the majority from abusing power; and effective protec-

tion of ownership of private property. Continuing the metaphor, he asks: "Who will sign the CP cheque... Koos van der Merwe, Ferdie Hartzenberg or Eugene Terre Blanche with his swastika?"

Warming to the theme, he adds: "Which bank will cash the cheque... the First Partition Bank, the Secession Bank or the Boerestaat Bank?"

Created

The president's visionary message centres on a massive "yes" vote unlocking the potential of South Africa to fulfil its potential as a regional superpower.

In Durban, in front of 500 of the city's top businessmen, it was this message that created the most enthusiasm.

They were an audience, like businessmen overseas, whose concerns he deals with well.

He has a week to go. There is no reason to believe that with more honesty, more straight talking and a clear enunciation of his bottom line in negotiations the wider voting public could not also be convinced to give him the big "yes" mandate he so desperately desires and needs.

STONES

8/3/92

80408

REFERENDUM

LETTERS

92

Angry to be supporting villains of yesterday

S/Times 8/3/92

304A

I AM angry because I no longer have a choice. I find myself praying for a Nationalist victory — something I have never identified with in the past.

How different it could have been if these "new verligters" had only had the commonsense to listen to the sound advice offered for decades by people with the vision to realise that the very scenario we now face was inevitable.

The villains have become the heroes. I watch *Agenda*, listen to fresh-faced Nationalists earnestly trying to pull a scared white electorate from the laager of their own creation and convince them South Africa has no alternative but to change into a better, fairer and kinder society.

I am angry when I remember Biko, Agett, Webster and the dozens who died in detention for simply trying to get this message across to arrogant, insensitive rulers who coldly branded them communists.

I am angry because we have been so indoctrinated with lies, deceptions and cover-ups that we no longer have the ability to evaluate the truth.

The ANC, once the scourge of the world, are now welcome allies in a fight against both Left and Right. Had this happened years ago the radicals would in all probability not exist.

I am angry to hear the auditor-general state that billions of rands have been wasted or simply "lost" by non-caring, corrupt bureaucrats who have exercised little or no control over the expenditure of these mega-bucks.

I am particularly angry that FW de Klerk has somehow managed to become my hero — the saviour of the nation.

Where was he when the Nationalist government, of which he was a prominent member, rode roughshod over the lives of the innocent, whose only fault was that they were born black? Where were the words of compassion and concern for the "rights of others" and "a place in the sun for all South Africans"?

Hidden behind that disarming smile are the words of apology that the abused still wait to hear, that final, essential act of contrition that somehow sticks in his throat.

So, I am left angry that I will find myself rooting on the sidelines on March 17 for a man tainted by his political past and who has, with all things considered, done little to make amends other than voice the correct political platitudes, given the circumstances.

I need to come to terms with the fact that the same Nats who manipulated my life for the past 50 years are doing it again, with my consent. How did it all come to pass? — LV GORDON, Pretoria.



Face up to it: this will be the parting of the ways

304A

S/Times
8/3/92

THE single question to be settled by the referendum is this: should we commit ourselves to creating a non-racial democracy by negotiation, or should we try to carve a white warrior-state from a hostile black continent, and defend it forever?

The choice is clear: either we expend our strength, and sacrifice sons and treasure, in one last, superhuman effort to tear ourselves out of the African embrace, or we settle down to negotiate and try to create a democracy, a land so free and secure that its diversity of peoples and cultures will be its glory, not its cross.

Either way, we face uncertainty. It takes no great imagination to perceive that democracy may well fail, as it has failed so often in so many places; it takes even less imagination to perceive that a "white" mini-state could not stand for long against the whole world, and would be overwhelmed, overrun.

Unhappily, the campaign has not so far clarified the choice, nor even defined it. Instead of answering the questions of the voters, the politicians indulge in an orgy of doom-saying, and they try to frighten people out of their wits.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, having refused to join Codesa, talks of negotiating with black people for a separate homeland for whites. He is talking expedient nonsense, and he knows it. From Verwoerd to Botha, Nationalist leaders have tried to engage blacks in such negotiations, and failed.

Neither police nor army, nor passes, nor electric fences, nor fierce laws, nor brutality, nor murder in the police cells, nor nuclear technology, nor G-5s, nor Sasol, nor anything else has succeeded in keeping any corner of the land "white". As the latest census reminds us, the only way to escape the presence of black people is to emigrate.

It is no accident that immigrant right-wingers are playing such a prominent part in the campaign. They, with second passports tucked safely into hip pockets, urge us on to war against our black countrymen, but if it ends in defeat they will leave quickly

enough, as they left the Rhodesia they once professed to adore.

The rest of us, who will stay behind to pick up the pieces, must think more carefully. We can negotiate now from strength; later we shall be weaker. The white population is dwindling, its schools running empty for lack of pupils, its policemen and soldiers stretched to patrol either the borders or the suburbs.

The old South Africa is dead. The white racial oligarchy is collapsing under the weight of its own follies, its corruption, its lies. The social problems which afflict us today — inflation, economic stagnation, squatting, crime, insecurity — are the result of so many years of wasting our strength and our wealth in the vain attempt to sustain an unsustainable "way of life".

Dr Treurnicht and his men deal with none of these questions. With the exception of the preposterous Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who clings to the failed Verwoerdian formula, they will not even tell us where the new "white" state will lie, nor how it will function, nor who will defend it. They are anti-intellectual, and they play on the ignorance of their followers who, they hope, are ready to be blindly led.

PRESIDENT DE KLERK does better. He has begun to lay down his "bottom lines", and he asks us to trust his judgment in preserving them. He says, for example, that he will insist on free enterprise, but he does not say exactly how that would be achieved. He talks of protecting private property, but does not really explain whether it will be achieved by the bill of rights, or tell us when and how the state might expropriate land.

He says the constitution will protect minority representation, and he puts forward such curious mechanisms as a revolving presidency, which is unlikely to last, but he does not explain to the voters the more important concept of proportional representation (which not one in a hundred South Africans understands).

The result is pervasive uncertainty about the future. Nobody wants war under Dr Treurnicht, but nobody is quite sure what awaits us under a government fashioned by Codesa. The doubts linger, the distrust festers, and the Conservatives make the most of it.

Assailed by threats from both sides, many voters — especially English voters — have lapsed into apathetic paralysis. Unable to commit themselves, either to democracy or to war, they sit helplessly on the fence. They may, unless Mr De Klerk and his supporters manage to reassure them, abstain.

THAT'S not an admirable thing to do. The newspaper editor who urged an abstention in the last referendum — prompting his staff to put up a mocking notice, "The editor's indecision is final" — has found a place in history, but not a happy one. Indecision in moments of great moral choice earns the fate that the Bible prescribes for those who are neither hot nor cold: they are spewed out.

The missing ingredient in this campaign is an appeal to South African idealism and to South African courage. Many years ago I listened disdainfully to John Vorster, whom I loathed, deliver a funeral oration for two young people beheaded during a Poqo attack on Paarl. I was properly humbled when the mother of one of the victims, moved by his words, announced that she had decided to become a missionary.

Vorster is not a man whom I would normally hold up as a role model, but something of his spirit on that occasion — an appeal to duty, to fortitude, to forgiveness, and to magnanimity — is missing from this campaign. The wavering voters, even the draadsitters, await a leader who will call them to live up to their hopes. They await the man who can tell them where we are going, and how we can make it work when we get there.

KEN OWEN

Either way, it's a dead-end street

SI Times 8/3/92

304A

I AM one of the people who will not be voting in the forthcoming referendum.

It is yet another political ploy — one which has made my vote ineffective since I refuse to be forced to select one apple from a basket of bad apples.

Consider. The referendum has been forced on gullible voters who have been given little or no time to consider the true factors involved.

It is purely and simply to choose between the Nationalist reform movement and the CP laager as if there were no other acceptable alternatives.

The Nationalist reform movement has only one thing in its favour — it does recognise the need for a reform of its inhuman apartheid policy.

Other than that, it is

apparently directed at giving the ANC/PAC terrorists a share in the running of this country, and includes the release of numerous cowardly murderers who should have been exterminated and the continued freedom of other convicted ANC criminals.

The CP, on the other hand, appears to have no platform other than to be against everything the Nationalists do. Not a policy which recommends itself to anyone with the interests of the country at heart.

I cannot accept either alternative since I do not believe either will provide the people of this country — of all ethnic groups — any freedom of development or acceptable status.

— JOHN CASTLE, Valerand, Cape.

Milnerton says 'yes' on referendum vote

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Milnerton municipality has followed the lead of Cape Town City Council and called on all eligible white voters among its 56 000 inhabitants to vote "yes" on referendum day next Tuesday, March 17.

The decision followed lively discussion on a "motion of exigency" introduced and motivated at Thursday's council meeting by a former mayor of Milnerton, Mr Willem van Staden.

Mr Van Staden is presently councillor for Ward Three, which includes Table View, where heart surgeon Prof Chris Barnard owns a property.

The burly ex-school principal became a controversial figure during the last months of his mayoral term — he was mayor from 1989 to September last year — when he advocated a more tolerant attitude towards squatters and pleaded for a place for them "to settle orderly" rather than be driven out of Milnerton, as some of his colleagues believe.

In seeking his council's approval to motivate his motion, Mr Van Staden said the coming referendum was not a "party-political" affair but an issue of immense importance on which it was essen-



WILLEM VAN STADEN
Ex-mayor of Milnerton

tial for the Milnerton municipality to "stand up and be counted".

But when the final "counting" took place after Thursday evening's debate, two councillors had walked out of the chamber, two voted against the motion, one was absent with apologies (Mr George Mellet) and five, including the present mayor, Mr Danie Krynauw, and his deputy, Mr Rod Hulley, voted in favour of Mr Van Staden's motion.

The motion was seconded by councillor Mrs Ursula Dobbie and also had the support of councillor Mrs Claudette Lee.

The two councillors who voted against the motion were Mrs Isobel Hutchison and Mr Russel Gee.

The two who walked out of the chamber before a vote

was taken — and so abstained — were Mr Tony Fraquet and Mr D Stoffberg.

This gave the motion a five out of nine majority. After some dispute on whether five out of nine constituted the required two-thirds majority for the motion to be carried, it was accepted.

Last week the Cape Town City Council, in a motion adopted at its monthly meeting, called on all "qualified citizens" (whites over the age of 18) to vote "yes" and so record the unqualified support of Cape Town for the reform process.

The motion was tabled by executive committee chairman, Mr Richard Friedlander.

One councillor, Mr Nic Basson, councillor for Brooklyn, Maitland and Ysterplaat and former NP organiser in the Maitland constituency — whose present party political affiliation is not known — abstained from voting by also walking out of the council chamber.

All 31 other councillors present when the vote was called voted unanimously in favour of a "yes".

Mr Van Staden said yesterday he was "excited and happy" about the Milnerton council decision.

"I believe Milnerton, apart from the mother city, is the only semi-urban municipality to have the guts to stand up for what is in the interest of all the citizens of South Africa."

Referendum pledge on the 16 essentials for a new SA

FW: THIS IS MY BOTTOM LINE

STWes 8/3/92

304A

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has spelt out 16 key principles that constitute his bottom line for the new South Africa.

He told the Sunday Times he wanted no one to be in any doubt as to what they would be voting for in the referendum.

The National Party, he stressed while campaigning across the country, would demand that the principles either be incorporated or addressed in a new constitution.

Unless that was done the NP would not give its approval.

Principles he wants incorporated, but which are still being negotiated at Codesa are:

- The maintenance of standards;
- A free market economic system;
- Prevention of domination and the abuse of power;
- Effective protection of the ownership of private property against any arbitrary action by a future government;
- Job and pension security for civil servants;
- Impartial security forces that could never be at the beck and call of any political party;
- Maximum devolution of power;
- Limitation of the



- Effective protection of the ownership of private property against any arbitrary action by a future government;

- Job and pension security for civil servants;

- Impartial security forces that could never be at the beck and call of any political party;

- Maximum devolution of power;

- Limitation of the powers of the State President.

During his whirlwind tour of the country, Mr De Klerk repeatedly stated that these principles represented his party's minimum requirements.

Powers

He also made it clear that on March 17 white voters would be voting for a new constitution that would definitely provide for:

- Multi-party democracy;

- A two-chamber Parliament;

- A bill of rights;

- Separation of powers;

- An independent judiciary;

- Proportional representation elections;

- Strong regional government;

- The maintenance of language and cultural rights, as well as community-oriented education for those who wanted it.

Consensus had already been reached by the parties participating at Codesa that the above principles should be incorporated into a new constitution, Mr De Klerk said at a meeting in Maritzburg this week.

Doubt

He told the Sunday Times that although he had spelt out what he calls the essentials of a new constitution during his 47 campaign stops, he was working towards "a concise and very simply worded summing up" of the NP's position.

His party would publish a list of these essentials this week so no voters would be left in any doubt as to what they were voting for or against.

"By the time we reach the referendum, everybody will know exactly where we stand on the most relevant issues directly related to constitutional development," he said.

Mr De Klerk said repeatedly this week that if the NP was able to deliver its minimum requirements, there would be no need to seek a further endorsement from white voters.

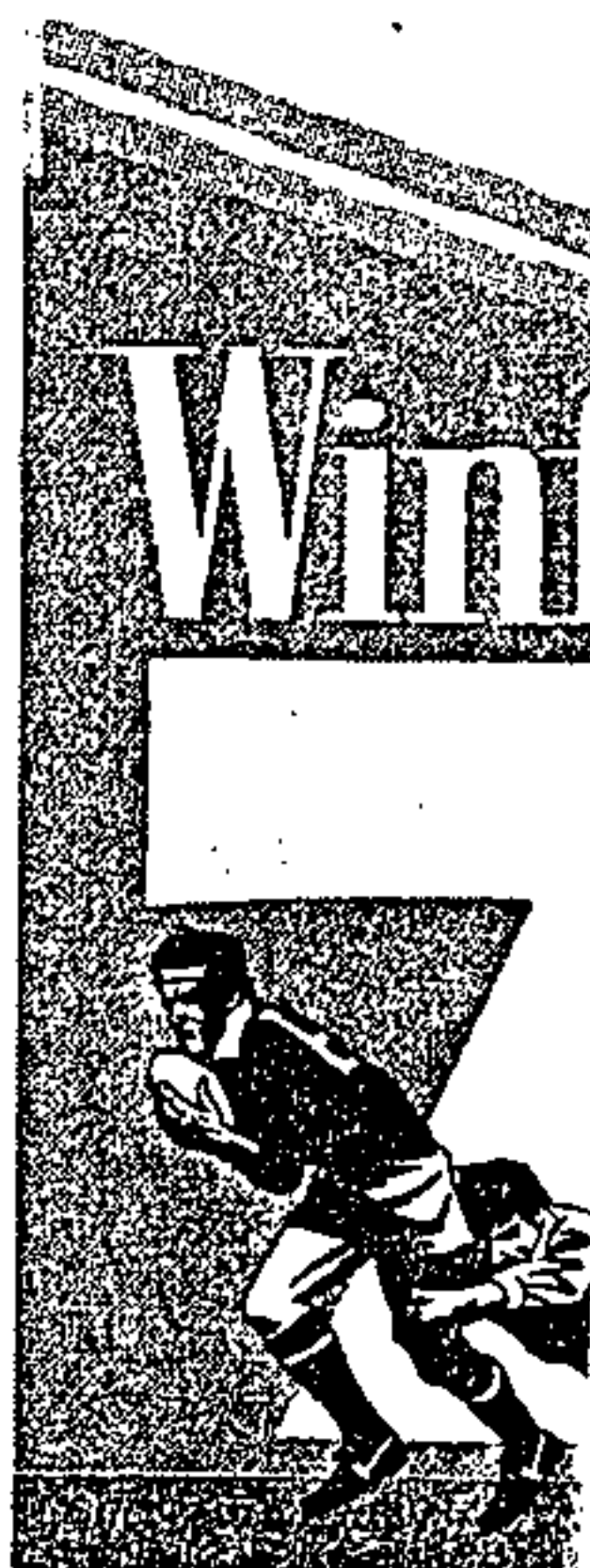
(Report: M Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



NONCHALANT... the stress of the referendum run-up seems far away as President FW de Klerk strikes a relaxed pose at a National Party golf tournament in Cape Town yesterday. The R1 000-a-head event culminated in a luncheon where the president returned to his campaign for a "yes" vote

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

S.A.'s National Seven-a-Si



On the field...off the fi

Winfield's Seven Rugby

Danie Craven Sta
Thursday, 1

Tickets avai



VOICE FROM WILDERNESS: PW
Botha at his home yesterday

FW lashes out at 'no' vote call from PW

By DE WET POTGIETER

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his predecessor, Mr PW Botha, clashed bitterly last night over the former president's announcement that he would vote "no" in the referendum.

Mr Botha said he believed Mr De Klerk's political direction was suicidal and leading the country into an abyss. Codesa, he said, was negotiating a "disaster".

Mr De Klerk hit back by accusing Mr Botha of being wrong and motivated by personal resentment. Dr Dawie de Villiers, National Party leader in the Cape, said it had been apparent for some time that Mr Botha was embittered against Mr De Klerk and had waited for an opportunity to vent his anger.

"His statement is rife with the typical one-sided statements and emotional propaganda which the CP uses so monotonously," he said.

The exchange brings to a head the tensions between Mr De Klerk and his predecessor which have been simmering since Mr Botha was ousted from power in 1989.

On Friday, Mr Botha declined to have breakfast with Mr De Klerk while he was in nearby George campaigning for a "yes" vote.

In an interview at his Wilderness retirement home, Die Anker, Mr Botha told the Sunday Times: "I cannot vote for a direction that leads to an ANC/SACP-

□ To Page 2

2 SUNDAY TIMES, March 8 1992

FW's fury

S/Times 8/3/92
□ From Page 1

dominated government in South Africa, and be part of something that will lead us into an abyss."

He said it was clear to him that about 75 percent of the people in the working groups were members of the SA Communist Party.

"There is no doubt in my mind that this expensive and artificial Tower of Babel is dominated by the SACP, and I have no confidence in what they are doing."

Mr Botha acknowledged that he had initiated the process of reform in South Africa, but said he was nauseated by threats from the international community to take a hard line against the country if a "no" vote was recorded in the referendum.

"This intimidation is designed to undermine our self-respect. Throughout history my people have stood for, and fought for, the right to self-determination."

"That is a principle we also respect in the affairs of other peoples."

"Since 1972 I have stated publicly at various times — even after I became prime minister — that I believe in reform that brings about change and allows all people to share in the good of the future."

"But I also believe in reform that takes into account the good of the past. I believe in orderly reform, and I am at a loss to understand the haste of

the present consultations and negotiations.

"I cannot support a spirit of gradual abdication."

He added: "If I want to remain true to the things I fought for and worked for during a lifetime of public service, I cannot support a reform process that will lead to the suicide of my people."

In response, Mr De Klerk said his predecessor's decision to vote "no" was based on incorrect assumptions.

"It is not true that a 'yes' vote is a suicidal move which will lead to SACP/ANC domination. Exactly the opposite is true."

Mr De Klerk said he and his party wanted a mandate for the negotiation of a constitution which would prevent domination. In every speech he had emphasised the government was opposed to the "winner-takes-all" principle — and to communism.

Logical

He said it was a tragedy that Mr Botha had retreated from what he had begun. It was under his leadership that the party had accepted power-sharing with other racial groups, the concept of an undivided South Africa and negotiations with the ANC.

"What we are doing is the logical consequence of what Mr Botha began. I cannot but believe that he is motivated to a great extent by personal resentment."

Census reveals upheaval

304A By BRIAN POTTINGER

SOUTH Africa is a nation in turmoil, a people in the midst of a historic upheaval. Blacks in hundreds of thousands, in millions perhaps, migrate from farm to city; whites flee from city to suburb, from Natal and the Transvaal to the Cape. Everything is in flux, nothing certain.

This is the picture drawn by the first, raw results of the 1991 census, released last night.

8/31/92
These first figures show that the principal reality of South African life is change: change in numbers, in lifestyles, in housing, in educational standards, and in the basic impulses of love and marriage.

The embattled white population has shrunk, and aged. In 1991 there were

50 000 fewer whites than five years earlier, living longer but having fewer children. The black population was up by 1.5 million — not counting the so-called independent states — and 40 percent of them are under the age of 20, but maybe the pace of their growth is slowing.

The population of South Africa was 26 288 390, again not counting the four independent homelands, but that was probably an undercount. The figures have still to be refined and adjusted.

Meanwhile, however, even the raw data show a country in the throes of upheaval, caught up in an industrial, political and demographic revolution that will leave nothing the same as it was.

● See Flight to the Cities: Page 10

REFERENDUM 92 LETTERS

Vote 'yes' for pro

STimes 8/3/92 (304A)
ON March 17 I will be voting "yes". By so doing I will be voting for both my hopes and my fears. Indeed, I will be voting to convert my fears into hopes. Here are four of my reasons for my decision:

First, I will be voting to break with racism; to break the link — hopefully once and for all — between skin colour and political and economic privilege. In so doing I will also be liberating myself from racial guilt. I shall be laying my claim as a citizen of my country — no more no less. In future I shall only feel good about the colour God chose for me.

Second, I will be voting for a new kind of politics — for an end to tribal politics. I want a future where politics concerns the public good — not Afrikaners versus the English or whites versus blacks. This means no blank cheque for FW. Indeed, I'm voting more for the DP than anyone else. But in the future it too will have to compete for my vote, not on racial policy, but on its policies for a future economy and society.

Third, I will be voting for liberty. Not that this vote will establish it; I know full well that this is only the beginning of that struggle. There are all too many indications of aspirant new occupants for "Big Brother's mansion".

But, by accepting the rights of others, I strengthen my case for fighting for my own rights. I want a free media — not just new censors. More judicial freedom, not less. Less government bullying, not more. I am convinced that millions of South Africans, from all races and language groups, join me in that desire.

Finally, I will be voting "yes" for prosperity. Again, I know full well that this is only the beginning of that

struggle. In attempting to make some citizens rich (at the cost of keeping others poor), previous governments have impoverished us all.

Governments don't create wealth, they consume it. Wealth comes from individual hard work and effort. What the government has to do — in the main — is get out of the way. Again, though many politicians, commentators and experts promise otherwise, millions of ordinary South Africans know this to be the

case. A "yes" vote will not bring paradise. As Winston Churchill said of the battle of Britain: "It is not the end, nor even the beginning of the end. It is however, the end of the beginning."

What it is, is the beginning of the possibility of real politics where people of common views and common values combine to bring about their vision of the future. That's something worth working for.
— BOBBY GODSELL, Johannesburg.

CROSSING MY OWN RUBICON

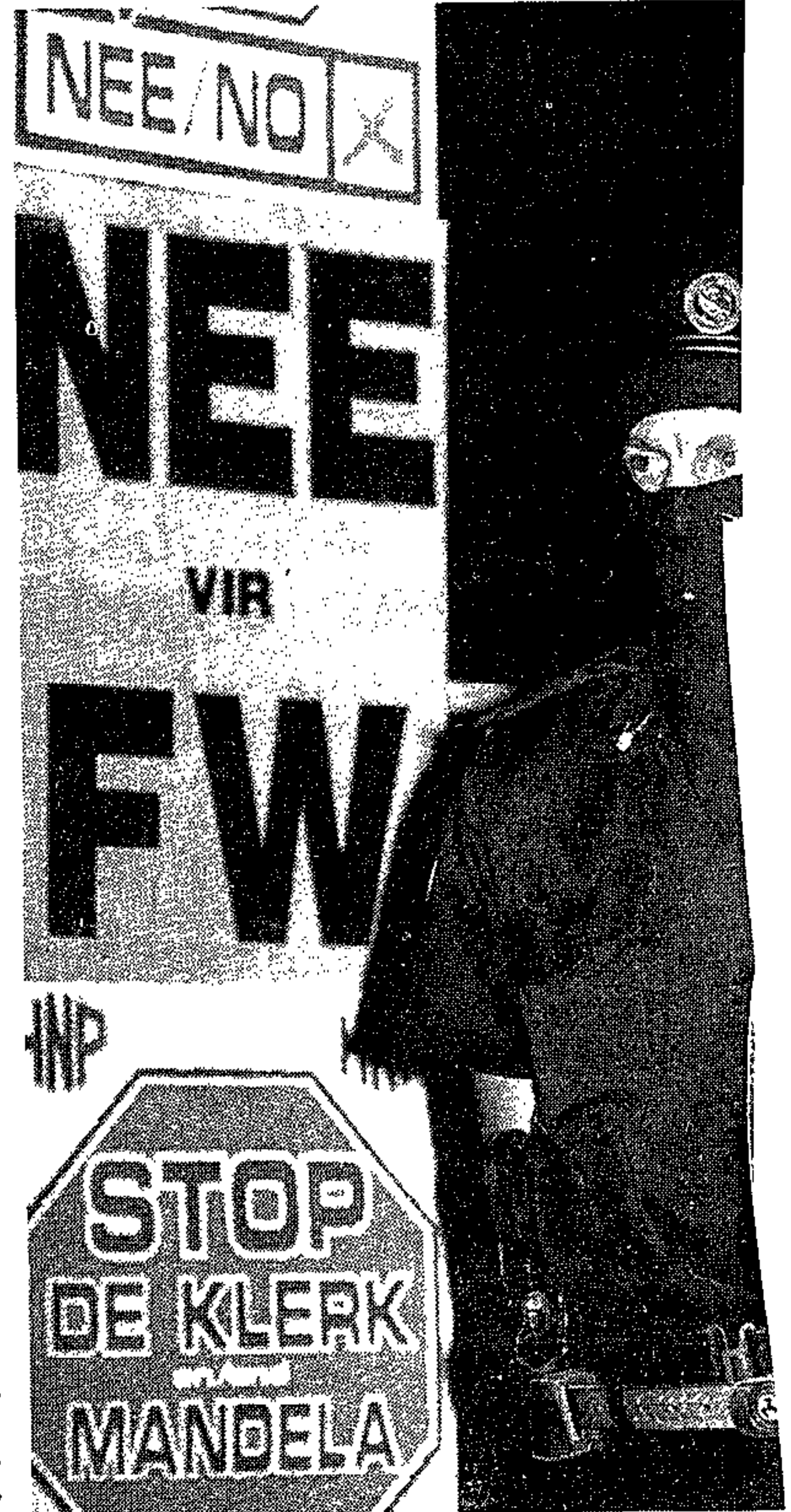
STimes 8/3/92 (304A)
I INTEND to vote "yes" for myself. The referendum gives me a chance to participate in my own future. I intend to cross my own Rubicon, with trepidation but without wavering.

Second, I intend to vote "yes" for my disenfranchised fellow-citizens. Of course the barriers, the doors keeping blacks from power, are going to disappear at some stage. The question is: Do we sit sullenly and fearfully inside, listening to the sound of splintering wood as they are broken down, or do we stand up and open them ourselves? Voting "yes" is my way of saying — "come in, you're welcome".

Third, I shall vote "yes" with an eye to the outside world. Not in fear of sanc-

tions, repudiation, and recrimination, but to cock a snook at all the pundits who said the white ruling group never could, never would, vote to share power with blacks. Just watch us make history on March 17!

Do these intentions matter? Yes. For after March 17 comes March 18. And the spirit in which the referendum is won will substantially shape post-referendum politics. What I would like to feel, when the "yes" votes are tallied is the elation that accompanied the election of seven Progs to parliament in 1974. I would like to feel that all those millions of voters participated, willingly, in a triumph of generosity over mean-spiritedness, of hope over fear. — GILLIAN GODSELL, Johannesburg.



STORMTROOPER: A member of the AWB's Iron Guard meeting in Potgietersrus this week. Picture

Backing De Klerk is not support

STimes 8/3/92 (304A)
NOT long ago, President FW de Klerk forecast that his party would cease to govern. I cannot understand how anybody concerned with South Africa's future can think of voting "no" in the referendum.

Having said that, I am

concerned about the sentiments expressed by some voters who wish to thank God for Mr De Klerk and the National Party. These people should be informed that supporting Mr De Klerk in the referendum does not include support

for his party.

The NP was unable to learn from the erstwhile colonial powers who did some good in the upliftment of some of their subjects while they were cursed with a bureaucracy not clever enough to realise its

subjects were not going to tolerate the insults to which they were often subjected.

The NP made the terrible mistake in 1948 of putting its "philosophy" in the statute book and it still has a lot to answer for. So, to

304A sperity



Now you
ask us to
hand over
a blank
cheque

KEN OWEN dwells on the consequences of a CP victory (March 1). However, will a "yes" vote ensure the following?:

- Full employment, better health services, cheaper medicines, lower taxes, lower inflation and lower interest rates?
- No more lies and deceit like the Info Scandal, CCB and jobs for pals.
- No more money being wasted on "independent" homelands and projects like Moss gas.
- A leaner civil service without "millionaire" gratuity payments and pensions. (304A)
- Abolition of all government boards.
- Real privatisation of all government institutions like radio, TV, rail, post — not just in name only. I doubt it. Mr Owen, what you are asking the electorate is for a blank cheque for this government. (304A)

To date, this country has been hopelessly mismanaged. Nothing — I repeat — nothing will change that.

What I, as a voter, am now expected to do is vote for a "Heads I win, tails you lose" situation. We are expected to give a blank cheque to a government that does not give a damn for its total population — black or white — and, since it came into power, has succeeded in enriching only itself, its pals, families and its voter core. — DJ STRAUSS, Pretoria.

IN HIS impassioned plea for a "yes" vote in his column "Between certainty and chance a fool wavers" (Sunday Times, March 1), Ken Owen has kindly called me a "wartime hero".

If by "wartime hero" he means someone — in times like the present — who is prepared to sacrifice material gain and suffer personal injury rather than surrender the Christian principles by which he was raised and by which he lives, then I accept the designation.

Regrettably, and presumably inadvertently, he did me a grave injury by stating as facts things which are totally untrue and which were in no way to be deduced from my letter, "FW holds SA hostage", to which he referred.

The calumnies, and my rebuttals, are as follows:

● "He believes with unforgiving certainty that the root of our problem is 'Afrikaner nationalist (not Nationalist) domination'."

By his inserting "(not Nationalist)" in my text, Owen implies that I am prejudiced against Afrikaners. It is not Afrikaners as such whom I hold responsible for our problem, but the sustained oppression of South Africans over the past 44 years, in their own selfish interests by the "Afrikaner nationalist regime".

Lest it should be thought that there is an element of racism in this, let me say that, on my mother's side I can claim seven generations of Afrikaner antecedents. While "Afrikaner nationalist domination" may not have been the root

All-white poll purely tribal squabbling

of apartheid, it has, during the last 44 years, been the trunk and branches of the tree whose loathsome fruits we are still harvesting.

To explain the "certainty", I would refer Ken Owen to news items in his paper over this time.

● "He will vote 'no' along with Mr Eugene Terre Blanche and Dr Andries Treurnicht".

Nothing in my letter gave grounds for this statement, and I resent the implied association with the gentlemen as much as they, doubtless, do with me.

● "They may, if they are as unforgiving as Jack Curtis, call down the vengeance of heaven by voting 'no'."

The New Testament is clear on the subjects of "forgiving" and "vengeance". "Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him and if he repent, forgive him" (Luke 17:3). I have neither seen, read, nor heard any evidence of repentance by Mr FW de Klerk, and but little by any of his followers.

It is not for me to "call down the vengeance of heaven" on anybody; "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord" (Romans 12:19).

My reasons for deciding not to vote are simple:

● The holding of an all-white referendum is totally opposed to the spirit of commitment to, and the process of, reform.

● I believe that Mr De Klerk wants a vote of confidence, not to expedite reform, but as a club to bludgeon the ANC into submitting to continued white domination.

● Mr De Klerk's promise of a referendum or election made to his erstwhile Nationalist partners is purely tribal squabbling and no concern of mine.

In any "all-white" referendum or election I shall not vote. — JACK CURTIS, Johannesburg.

● Ken Owen responds: I intended no calumny. Mr Curtis neither indicated that he would vote, nor that he would abstain, but I was misled by his vehemence into thinking he would vote "no". For that, I apologise, though it makes no difference to my argument. If the "no's" were to win, those who abstained would bear no less moral responsibility for the outcome than those who voted "no" — however noble their motives.

heard at a referendum
= COBUS BODENSTEIN

ing NP

thank God for the NP is so much nonsense. How can one morally defend those people who crossed over to the NP to bolster apartheid? Now that there is talk of reform, do they still maintain their position in the National Party?

Among some of these people are those who have had the temerity to accuse the PFP/DP of hypocrisy. — DC BAZELEY, Rosebank.

Why I don't trust president

YOUR report of February 23 refers to Mr FW de Klerk's agreement with the ANC after secret negotiations and says this is likely to encourage many people to vote "yes" in the referendum.

I beg to differ. Codesa is supposed to be the negotiating forum. The fact that Mr De Klerk partakes in secret negotiations, outside Codesa, not involving all interested parties, indicates quite clearly that he cannot be trusted.

Recently Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that Mr De Klerk was having secret talks with the ANC, intending to use Codesa merely to rubber-stamp the

agreements reached. This was emphatically denied by Mr De Klerk. That is being less than honest. When the CP accused Mr De Klerk of having secret talks with the ANC, he again denied it; again being less than honest.

A state president who establishes this pattern, in or out of Parliament, clearly cannot be trusted. Mr De Klerk has now proved beyond doubt that he is interested in negotiating only with the ANC, paying no heed to the needs of South Africans represented by any other party. Voters should show their disapproval at the referendum. — RASCAL, Port Elizabeth.

MORE REFERENDUM LETTERS: PAGE 20

304A 26/5/8 8/13/92

EUGENE HEMSLEY, 37, works for a large publishing company as a paste-up artist. He was born and educated in Durban. He and his wife, Karen, have three children: Nicole, a student at Cape Town University, Simon and Luke, who are at still at school.

I never thought I would see the day when I cast a vote for the National Party. What the party did to our country and the way it treated the majority of the population filled me with shame. But after a lot of soul-searching about the referendum, I concluded that I didn't live in a normal society and that these are not normal times.

I realised that the present anomaly is the culmination of 40 years of tyrannical rule and, now that things are changing, it has to be made a lasting reality. At last there is real movement towards justice.

The way I see it, South African society is at the cross-roads, and there is only one rational way to go.

Going forward with a "yes" vote will see the continuation and quickening of negotiation. We will see more of the international investment and goodwill we are already getting a taste of.

But what I think is most important is that a "yes" vote will not only bring the prospect of peace, stability and democracy, it will provide that sense of well-being that comes from knowing you have done the right thing.

(Report: R Rudden, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)



EUGENE HEMSLEY
'Not normal times'

CP publicist's dream

ALTHEA FORDYCE could have been dreamed up by the Conservative Party's propaganda machine: a fifth-generation, English-speaking South African whose lifestyle has been threatened by squatters and who is undecided on the big question.

The issue is a tough one for Mrs Fordyce of Bloubastrand: "Blacks aren't ready to run the country," she said, "but you can't not have progress, can you?"

"There's no way I want to land up in a country run by blacks — you only have to look at the state of Zimbabwe or the homelands. But blacks aren't animals. They also need facilities and equal opportunities," she said.

The 32-year-old saddlery store manager recently weathered the squatter crisis in Bloubastrand and saw the value of her home drop by R100 000.

"It's not a racial issue — I would object to whites of the same calibre moving in next door," she said.

Mrs Fordyce has supported the National or Democratic parties and past loyalties may eventually send her vote FW's way.

"I will probably end up voting 'yes' because I oppose the AWB and some of what the Conservative Party says."

(Report: CA Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



ALTHEA FORDYCE
No to black rule

'Open the door for all'

HILDE SLINGER, 59, born in Piet Retief of English-speaking South African parents of English-Norwegian extraction, firmly believes a "yes" vote will open the door to education and employment for all young people in South Africa.

"My conviction," she said, "is borne out of my recent experience in developing a non-racial school. Despite initial anxiety in the hearts of many parents and teachers who feared the outcome of change, the final product was a model school which evolved through racial co-operation. We saw fear change into triumph."

"I feel that by having the opportunity of voting 'yes' in this referendum I am enabled to assume some personal responsibility for the ultimate survival of the country I love."

"I know that a majority 'yes' vote will lead to a building-up of the morale of all South Africans through practical upliftment."

Mrs Slinger, nee Bamford, attended schools in all provinces, qualified as a speech and drama teacher, and taught and lectured part-time while her children were young. She has two daughters and a son, Janet, Gréta and Jonathan — all University of Natal graduates — and two grandchildren.

(Report: R Rudden, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)



Mrs HILDE SLINGER
'Open door to education'

Voting 'yes' with a
view to the future
S/Times 8/3/92
304A
THE National Party
and the Conservative
Party have targeted
English-speakers as the key to victory in the referendum.
ROY RUDDEN in Natal and CLAIRE ROBERTSON in the
Transvaal went to speak to a few of those targets
REFERENDUM
92

AM going against my word in last week's column when I

promised to give you the tidbits from behind the scenes at Codesa.

The events of the week have simply relegated Codesa to the background.

The referendum is what people are now talking about. Even startling revelations coming from the Goldstone Commission don't raise any eyebrows.

The euphoria and public attention has shifted to the CP and President FW de Klerk.

Many black people have called this referendum a farce, a nonsense and an all-white affair which has no relevancy to their lives.

I differ. This referendum is as important to us as it is to those who will be casting their votes.

A "yes" vote for the NP would restore confidence in De Klerk. And that means the man would be able to determine the course of events at his own pace.

He would tell the ANC where to get off, knowing that he has the backing of the majority of whites.

We would definitely see a different De Klerk from the one who was

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

Referendum is vital to all



berated and belittled by

Nelson Mandela at Codesa.

If the ANC or any party in Codesa did not toe his line, De Klerk would confidently threaten to return to the Nat's old-style rule.

A "no" vote would mean starting the liberation struggle all over again.

So, whichever way we look at it, the outcome of the referendum will affect us dramatically.

It is unfortunate, however, that while the focus is on the referendum, progress towards a better South Africa has suddenly ground to a halt.

In his latest report on "The shape of things to come," Steve Friedman says South Africa hangs

uneasily between the old and the new, between apartheid and an unsure future.

"A negotiated end to white rule is not inevitable, but appears likely," he said. "Even if a settlement is reached, the nature of our transition and its outcome is still uncertain."

This week on the box, I listened with interest to a debate between Cehill Pienaar of the CP slugging it out with Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. What was expected to be

a lively debate, turned out to be a pooh-pooh. Du Plessis wanted to appear as a fighter for the oppressed masses, while Pienaar tried to justify Afrikaner supremacy.

What interested me most, was Du Plessis' public admission - perhaps for the first time in his eight years as Finance Minister - that economic sanctions have worked in this country.

It forced the NP to the negotiations table; it made them abandon a long-held and cherished principle of apartheid rule and, in short, it brought them to their knees.

For eight years, Du Plessis and the NP lied to the people of SA about the effects sanctions had on our lives.

The NP and its constituency would prefer to remain the same, or better still, share power - but on their terms.

Listening to most politicians as they campaign, it is becoming clearer that minority rights are still fundamental values among white leaders.

The CP talks of self-determination and forming their own Boerstaat. They see De Klerk as a sell-out and traitor. A win for the CP in the referendum would mean a whites-only general election.

The NP, on the other hand, talks about power-sharing as the only means by which democracy, growth and stability could be assured once white rule goes. But are some of their leaders and followers really prepared to share this power?

For as long as we - the majority of the people in this country - are sitting on the sidelines, watching an all-white referendum and a possible all-white general election, stability and peace cannot be guaranteed.

De Klerk gets warm reception

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk this week hit the campaign trail for a "yes" vote like an American presidential candidate in a high profile tour which included most South African cities.

He smiled at babies, shook hands and had a word with hundreds of ordinary people, and delivered speeches.

In Port Elizabeth on Friday night De Klerk sternly reprimanded the CP leader Andries Treurnicht for dragging religion into politics.

Treurnicht, as former editor of the NG Kerk's *Die Kerkbode*, had dragged many a controversy into his church. He must not drag them into politics now.

He attacked the CP for saying the NP believed in many gods because of the way Codesa was opened.

De Klerk and his entourage of Cabinet Ministers received an enthusiastic reception from Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

The State President told the students his government's policy had been pelted out, but the CP had refused to put a plan on the table.

During addresses to teachers, members of the fire brigade, and the SAP in the Witwatersrand, he said the government would not do anything to jeopardise the careers of state employees.

From attentive businessmen at the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he asked for a mandate to defuse the dynamite.

At the end of a grueling day a visibly exhausted De Klerk addressed members of the Portuguese and Greek communities in Krugersdorp.

"We must not settle for just a win, we must go for a big win because it will have an electrifying effect on the country and its international position."

He said the greatest enemy was complacency.

He warned against a "no" vote, saying it would certainly result in chaos and disorder.

De Klerk jetted into Natal on Thursday morning and crammed a programme of public addresses and meetings in the province.

At another venue he rejected CP claims that he was an ally of the ANC-SACP alliance.

"I am vehemently anti-communist and the difference between me and Dr Treurnicht is that I am not afraid of communists anymore while he apparently is."

The ANC, however, was a reality with wide support and there were fundamental differences between the government and the ANC. Negotiation was about working towards a solution, and he could use examples where the ANC had dropped radical points of view in favour of convergence towards the centre.

He was confident that an accord would be secured which would assure long-term peace and stability for South Africa.
(Report by Pierre Claassen and C Doonan, Press Gallery, Parliament, and Adrienne Carlisle and Guy Rogers, Sapa, 141 Commissioner Street, Jhb)

'Ensure yes vote'

THE Government had no contingency plans against an international backlash in the event of a "no" vote in the March 17 referendum, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said this week.

Speaking at the South African Chamber of Business regional congress in Midrand, he urged businessmen to vote "yes" to ensure this did not happen.

Asked about a possible "no" vote from businessmen in protest against the spiralling crime rate, he said doubling the police force was no assurance that they would be able to cope with the situation.

"The basis of the crime situation is unemployment and the political factor. With a 'no' vote crime will escalate even further."

The economic future of the country was non-negotiable and would be based on private enterprise with a social conscience.

Speaking on the same platform, CP MP for Schweizer-Reinecke Pieter Mulder said it was irresponsible of the government to promise investment would flood South Africa if there was a "yes" vote. International communities had not rushed to invest in previously colonial African countries when power had been handed over. — Sapa

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

'Don't push us'

IF the ANC wanted to impose its will on the country it would be responsible for civil war, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Friday night.

Citing reports that the ANC's director of foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki, had said the ANC would pursue the creation of an interim government in the event of a "no" vote, Treurnicht said it would be unacceptable that blacks governed whites.

Treurnicht said the ANC had raised the spectre of a "bloodbath" in the event of a "no" vote, but whites would not let themselves be intimidated by terrorists.

"We may be a small nation, but don't push us too far with threats of a bloodbath," he said at a CP referendum meeting in Bethlehem in the Orange Free State. — Sapa

(Report by N Patterson, Kine Centre, Commissioner St, Johannesburg.)

FW de Klerk is there now

over

Civics join poll battle

CIVIC leaders have urged whites to vote "yes" in the referendum. ~~242~~ 304A

"Civics are worried about the referendum because it is coming at a time when our country is preparing for democracy," Sithembiso Radebe, of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, said in Port Elizabeth this week. *C/ren 8/3/92*

"We warn that we will go back to our strategies that forced this government to negotiations," he said.

He was speaking following a conference of the National Interim Civics Committee.

"If the government is not sure of support, let them relinquish power and the interim government take the reins."

The civics conference supported Codesa.

"We feel Codesa is the only vehicle to negotiate the establishment of the interim government and Constituent Assembly," Radebe said.

(Report by Mzwakhe Hlangani, Baakens St, PE.)

Eugene's fall from grace

8/3/92 (304A)

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche fell off his horse as he galloped up to a Pretoria rally yesterday to summon the spirit of Boer War resistance against power-sharing.

Police said organisers had warned them to expect 50 000 people at the rally. But, fewer than 5 000 turned up.

Fellow right-wing alliance leaders Andries Treurnicht of the CP and Jaap Marais of the HNP waited for Terre'Blanche on the platform as he galloped up at the head of a band of horsemen.

But he fell off his horse as he wheeled into the square. Bodyguards closed in around Terre'Blanche. He regained his feet and remounted, flushed. — Sapa-Reuter

Groot Krokodil to vote 'no'

8/3/92

By PIERRE CLAASSEN of Sapa

FORMER State President PW Botha yesterday announced he and his wife, Elise, would vote "no" in the March 17 referendum.

He said from his home in Wilderness, in the southern Cape, he was not prepared to be untrue to himself and participate in the suicide of his own people.

He described the Codesa negotiations as "an expensive and artificial political Tower of Babel".

In his reaction to the move yesterday State President FW De Klerk said it was tragic that Botha was backing away from that which he had begun himself.

"I cannot but believe that his (Botha's) current conduct is motivated to a



PW... 'I must be true to things I fought for'.

large extent by personal resentment," De Klerk said, adding that it had been Botha's initiative which had led to the release from prison of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. "Similarly, it was he who took the initiative which led to the release of Govan Mbeki and others, knowing full well that some of them were Com-

304A

munists". De Klerk said Botha has based his proposed "no" vote on a "wrong assumption".

"It is not true that a 'yes' vote is a suicide plan which would lead to domination by the ANC/SACP. Precisely the opposite is true," he added, saying the NP's reforms would save SA from disaster.

Botha had said in his earlier announcement that he believed in the self-determination of peoples like his "honoured predecessors" since former Prime Minister Gen JBM Hertzog.

"I don't believe in a man-made new world order," Botha said, adding he believed in orderly reform.

Botha then underlined: "I do not support a spirit

of gradual abdication."

He said he had often stated he wanted change to be an improvement.

"Let me emphasise, I believed in orderly reform and I think I established it."

"But, I think Codesa is a wrong way of doing things. It is an expensive, artificial political Tower of Babel."

"Marxist-Communism is a godless danger which rejects the capital creator of peoples."

"My wife and I seriously considered what we should do in this referendum which was so suddenly called. We are not members of any political party or movement, but we have decided to vote 'no' on March 17, 1992."

"I cannot participate in what I perceive as a direction of suicide for my own

people. I cannot vote for a direction which will create an ANC/SACP-dominated government in South Africa and which will send us over the precipice.

"I am not a racist. But I find it repulsive that influences from outside South Africa try to intimidate us with their propaganda and threats," Botha said, adding he had been visited by MPs from the CP, NP and DP who had given him first-hand knowledge of what was happening at Codesa.

"It is clear from the information that I have obtained that the SACP is dominating Codesa, in particular in working groups 1, 2, 3 and 5."

(Report by P Claassen and Enrico Kemp, Sapa Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town.)

Our readers

Inkatha accuses twaan

Fear stalks the Portuguese

Sowetan 9/3/92
MR HORACIO Goncalves awaits South Africa's future with foreboding, remembering a morning 17 years ago when he fled Maputo in a hail of gunfire.

Like many Portuguese in South Africa, he escaped war in Mozambique to seek a calmer life next door - and now worries that his hard-earned security could vanish again.

The Portuguese, South Africa's largest white immigrant group, fear chaos if President FW de Klerk loses his all-white referendum on democratic reforms on March 17.

Civil war

"My biggest fear is that a 'No' vote would lead to civil war," said Goncalves (48), who built up a furniture business here after arriving with just two suitcases in his car.

"I don't want to go through that trauma again. But I may leave the country if he loses."

A third of the 600 000 people of Portuguese descent in South Africa are naturalised. Community leaders are urging those who can vote to register a resounding "Yes" for the negotiations under way to share power with blacks.

They are scared that if the pro-apartheid Conservative Party wins a "No" vote, international sanctions will return, the economy will collapse and already alarming political violence will spin out of control.

"People came here looking for a better life. They found it. Now they don't want to lose it," said Mr Manuel Contente, leader of one of Johannesburg's Portuguese associations.

The Portuguese are prominent among South Africa's small businessmen whose shops have become targets in the

wave of violent crime sweeping the country.

They are anxious to see stability in South Africa to protect the modest material gains they have worked hard for.

Many of them came to Africa from the impoverished Atlantic island of Madeira in the first half of the century, seeking work in fishing and mines.

In the mid-1970s, 75 000 Portuguese streamed in from Mozambique and Angola after Portugal abandoned its African colonies following bloody guerilla struggles.

They stick closely together in suburbs around Johannesburg where cafes with names like "Belem" and "Silva" serve strong black coffee and shops are stocked with cod, sardines and vinho verde wine.

They maintain strong links with Portugal. Postcards of Funchal adorn the walls, talk is of holidays in the villages back home and no big party would be complete without fado, the mournful music of the Portuguese mainland.

Crime

De Klerk campaigned among the Portuguese and Greek-speaking communities this week, striving to address their concerns over crime. The 100 000-strong Greek community also runs small shops and restaurants.

The president told a meeting with the two communities in Krugersdorp there would be a greater chance of economic and political stability if his National Party won the referendum.

He received a standing ovation.

"I wish I could be naturalised in time so I could vote 'Yes'," said a restaurant owner who moved to South Africa three decades ago. "A 'No' vote will send this

My biggest fear is that a 'No' vote would lead to civil war. I don't want to go through that trauma again. But I may leave the country if he (FW) loses.

country backwards 50 years."

Loyalty among the two communities towards De Klerk does not generally translate into enthusiasm for a future black majority government. But many accept it is quite possible and they will have to live with it.

Several months ago a group of Portuguese businessmen from Cape Town dined with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss what would happen if he came to power.

Mr Antonio Gouveia, the organiser, said the businessmen left reassured.

"I think everyone was very impressed with him. He doesn't want South Africa to go the same way as some of Portugal's former colonies," said Gouveia. - *Sapa-Reuter*

ADULT EDUCATION

Join a 10-week Saturday course on POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT. Why does Africa remain underdeveloped? What are alternative strategies?

Starting date: March 14
 PHONE MARY ON 716-5501
 FOR DETAILS

5 4771

Cheers for 'No' march

By Guy Jepson *STAR* 9/3/92

AWB supporters yesterday chased blacks away before Eugene TerreBlanche led a march through a number of central Johannesburg suburbs, urging residents to vote "no" in the referendum, residents claimed. (304A)

The AWB leader put his case to the people of Vrededorp, Jan Hofmeyer and Vredepark, leading the procession of supporters on a tour which also took them through parts of Cottesloe, Auckland Park and Brixton. (244)

AWB members and followers — many openly carrying firearms — travelled on horseback, in vehicles and on foot, entreating local residents to join them.

Black people wisely stayed off the streets during the march. Before the march began, Pageview residents complained of khaki-clad AWB members chasing blacks going to the gathering point.

"They're chasing people, shouting 'We don't want no kaffirs in the streets from 2 pm'," claimed a shopkeeper.

Another resident claimed people returning from church services were threatened.

The Star did not witness any racially motivated occurrences.

Residents applauded loudly in Vrededorp when Mr TerreBlanche told them they had a right to South Africa. He also made it clear he was there because of local outrage at President de Klerk's visit last week in search of "yes" votes.

Women and children gathered to watch as Mr TerreBlanche, flanked by members of the Wenkommando, led the procession towards the SABC.

Noticeable in the crowd were a handful of elite Ystergarde.

Traffic officers occasionally ordered supporters not to pull down "yes" vote posters.

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

CP expected to exploit No move by P W

304A

ARC 9/13/92

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

NATIONALIST politicians are dismissing the impact former president Mr P W Botha's No announcement will have on the referendum campaign, but the Conservative Party is set to exploit it to the limit.

Nationalist politicians maintain Mr Botha is an embittered old man with no personal following, while the rightwing hopes his announcement will attract some older voters.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, provincial leader of the National Party, said there was no substance in Mr Botha's arguments in favour of a No vote.

All these arguments had already been raised by the CP and answered by the National Party. Reasonable people could not accept his arguments.

It was clear Mr Botha was embittered against Mr De Klerk and the National Party government.

De Villiers said he doubted whether his statement would have much impact.

Mr Hennie Smit, MP for George, said indications were that it would have little, if any, impact.

Mr Frank le Roux MP, chief whip of the Conservative Party, said Mr Botha's statement would give impetus to the campaign for a No vote.

There were some older voters who still had a high regard for Mr Botha.

(Report by Tos Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

It's a question of wounded nationalism, argues Colin Legum

Beware the fearful Afrikaner

STAR 9/3/92

3044

BARRING the unforeseen, President de Klerk will win a comfortable, if not decisive, majority of white voters in favour of continuing his policy of negotiating a democratic non-racial constitution.

If there is a 70 percent turnout in the referendum, his majority could be at least 56 percent, but the lower the turn-out, the lower his majority is likely to be.

Yet, even at the most optimistic, a 60 percent favourable vote would still mean that 40 percent of white South Africans are unwilling to come to terms with the irreversible reality that the only hope of securing peace and security for the country lies in supporting the President's policy.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, asked what the Conservative Party would do in the event of their losing the referendum, was chillingly frank: "We would", he said, "have lost a battle but not the war for the liberation of the Afrikaner nation". In other words, the political civil war being waged within the white community will continue

during the final phase of the negotiations being conducted by Codesa and it will continue even after a new non-racial government has been elected.

Just how far the Right will be willing to go in fighting for an independent Afrikaner state cannot be predicted at this stage.

One reason for caution is that it is still not certain whether the Conservative Party will begin to fragment once the new constitution is unveiled and shows, as it is likely to do, that the white community will not be marginalised in a democratic political system, and that Afrikaners' rights to retain their cultural identity within a non-racial society will be effectively safeguarded.

The core of the problem is the resistance of wounded nationalism — a problem that has lasted for decades, even centuries, in Europe and elsewhere.

Afrikaner nationalism, after centuries of struggle against English hegemony and black resistance, reached its acme during the era of apartheid. The abandon-

ment of apartheid spelt the death of this triumphant nationalism.

The Right is now engaged in a rearguard action to retain as much of the country as it can for the Boerevolk.

The loss of Afrikaner hegemony has inflicted a deep wound in the Afrikaner psyche — a wound compounded by fears about what awaits them in a country where blacks will have a major, if not decisive, say.

It is a serious error to dismiss as unimportant the potential of a wounded nationalism to destabilise a democratic state.

The wounded nationalism of the Irish and of the Basques, to mention just two, are reminders of what might possibly lie in store for South Africa unless, somehow, the essential interests of Afrikaners can be accommodated.

It is not enough, therefore, for Mr de Klerk to win the referendum. He must wring terms from the ANC and its allies that will help to reassure Afrikaners about their place in the new democratic society.

Mr de Klerk has shown, as he has repeatedly done since his epoch-making speech of February 1990, that he is both an astute and courageous politician.

On several occasions now he has engaged in initiatives that have both kept up the momentum for change and wrong-footed his opponents, not just right-wing whites but also the ANC. He did so again last February in his speech to Parliament, which was widely misinterpreted at the time, but which in fact took him a step ahead of the ANC in maintaining the momentum for change by proposing a new method for speeding up the introduction of a multi-party transitional government.

This placed the ANC in a position where it had to react to Mr de Klerk's initiative: this it did by pragmatically shifting its own position closer to his.

Ironically, on the very day that Mr de Klerk announced his decision to seek a new mandate from the white electorate, the national executive of the ANC had adopted a programme that considerably

narrowed the gap between themselves and the Government.

The dynamics of the negotiating process are fascinating and, on the whole, encouraging.

It is only natural that the ANC and the other predominantly black parties should have condemned the decision to hold an all-white referendum as racist — as indeed it is.

But — and here is another reality — South Africa is still a racist society. The dream of a non-racial society belongs to the future, once a democratic non-racial constitution is in place.

Even then, it will take time, perhaps decades, for non-racial politics to become a way of life. For instance, the factor of the wounded nationalism of the Afrikaners will persist, and the rightful claims of Africans to retribution for their centuries of injustice will remain a feature of a post-apartheid political system.

The political strand of Black Consciousness will not be weakened simply because of the achievement of majority rule.

So, even though the ANC and its allies publicly condemn the referendum as racist, privately its leaders understand that it is necessary for Mr de Klerk to prove that he remains a credible negotiating partner. This he can do only by slogging it out with his white opponents.

This understanding was shown by the unanimous statement of the 17 parties engaged in Codesa, calling on voters to demonstrate their support for continuing the negotiating process.

With so much blatantly wrong in South Africa — violence, crime, a lethargic economy, seven million black unemployed and a similar number eking out an existence in squatter settlements — what is remarkable and encouraging is the goodwill that continues to be shown in the privacy of the Codesa negotiations.

All this leads to the conclusion that the short-term future looks reasonably promising. It is the long-term outlook, after apartheid has been laid to rest, that gives the greatest cause for concern. □

AWB show of strength

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Residents claimed AWB supporters chased blacks before leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche led a march through a number of central Johannesburg suburbs urging a No vote in the referendum.

The fiery leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging put his case to the people of Vrededorp, Jan Hofmeyer and Vrededorp yesterday, leading a procession of supporters on a punishing 5km tour which also took them through parts of Cottesloe, Auckland Park and Brixton.

In the sweltering heat, members and followers of the AWB — many openly carrying firearms — travelled on horseback, on trucks and bakkies, in cars and on foot, entreating residents to join them.

Many did, even before the procession — numbering between 300 and 400 people — eventually got going.

Black people wisely stayed off the streets during the hour-long march. **ART 913192**

A shopkeeper said AWB supporters chased blacks on foot and in cars, shouting: "We don't want no kaffirs in the streets from 2pm". **(3047)**

Codesa give-and-take bears fruit

STAR 9/3/92

3044

SOUTH AFRICA could be forgiven for being confused about what is happening at Codesa on the crucial question of interim government.

Last week's apparently contradictory statements about a new multiparty interim Cabinet did not help, suggesting that the negotiators were back to square one.

Not so. There has been much convergence between the ANC and the NP since Codesa began less than three months ago. Nor is it true — as the CP is shrieking in the referendum campaign — that the NP has done all the back-peddalling.

It has won important concessions from the ANC, most notably in securing its basic demand for constitutional continuity during the transition.

quite distinct and simple. The ANC was in favour of interim government and the Government was against.

The ANC's said the present constitution — including the present Parliament and Cabinet — should simply be suspended in favour of an interim government consisting of at least the ANC, the NP and other significant players.

It would be the supreme authority in the country, concentrating on supervising elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution.

New democratic elections would be held on this new constitution, a new government would be formed and the interim government would hand over power to it.

The Government was totally opposed to this sequence of events, arguing that the suspension of the constitution would create a dangerous "constitutional vacuum".

Behind the confusion and the political smoke-screening by the Government and ANC on negotiations for an interim government, there has been substantial progress at Codesa, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

It said instead that the present Government should remain in power until a final new constitution had been negotiated.

It was only prepared to contemplate "transitional arrangements" which would give blacks advisory input during the transition.

The Government dramatically shifted its position at the first Codesa meeting on December 20 when President de Klerk accepted the idea of a new "transitional" government brought about constitutionally and legitimised through elections.

Codesa would agree on an interim constitution and the pres-

ent Parliament would enact it. Elections would be held on the interim constitution to form a new interim legislature which would appoint an interim executive or Cabinet — and also draft a new final constitution.

The present Government and Parliament would remain in power until the interim government was put in place.

In one stroke, Mr de Klerk thus effectively met the essence of the demand by the ANC and others for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

The ANC last month responded to this important policy shift by publishing a new two-phase

plan for the transition that incorporated important elements of the NP plan.

The ANC accepted that in a second phase, the constituent assembly could also function as an interim legislature which would form an interim executive.

However, the ANC dismissed the NP's idea that the present Government should remain in power to supervise the elections for the interim legislature as this would make the Government both player and referee.

To ensure free and fair elections, there should be a first phase of transition supervised

by an impartial, multiparty interim government council appointed by Codesa.

This council would concentrate on crucial aspects of government such as the security forces, the State media, the Budget and supervising the elections.

After elections for a constituent assembly-cum-interim legislature, it would hand over control to an elected interim government.

But even in this first phase, the ANC conceded the NP's insistence on constitutional continuity.

It accepted that the present

constitution would have to be changed by the existing tricameral Parliament to give legal force to the interim government council.

And the present Cabinet and tricameral Parliament could remain in place even after that — although the interim government council would "supervise" them in some way not clearly defined.

Last week the Government's negotiators in Codesa's Working Group Three responded in turn to this proposal by accepting that the interim or transitional period should start with an executive body — now termed a "transitional executive structure" — appointed by Codesa rather than elected. The agreement in Working Group Three went no further than that — although it was logical to assume a tacit agreement on the basic premises of the ANC's second phase.

At that point, referendum politics intruded, and the Government said it was envisaging a restructured Cabinet with new appointments from other parties at Codesa.

This would be effected via legislation — similar to a Bill submitted to Parliament by former president P W Botha but later withdrawn — to allow blacks to be appointed to the Cabinet.

The idea was to reassure white voters that the latest Codesa agreement was not essentially different from NP policy in the old P W Botha days.

The ANC's national working committee had to react by rejecting any suggestion of being "co-opted" into the present Cabinet.

But when this party-political smokescreening has been removed, the Working Group Three agreement will remain as another big step forward to an interim government, probably later this year. □

Now thousands more can vote

3041A

AKG 9/3/92

Permanent residence

Applicants must also provide copies of their permanent residence permits.

While there is no impediment in law to dual citizenship, the Department of Home Affairs says South African citizens are expected to use their South African passports when they travel.

But permission might be given to use foreign passports.

There is another category in which immigrants are automatically naturalised without losing their original citizenship.

In terms of an amendment to the South African Citizenship Act in 1978, "immigrants who are not younger than 15 years and six months, but not older than 25 years after five years' permanent residence in the country, automatically acquire South African citizenship".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that political organisers have until Wednesday to apply for either more or fewer polling stations in their regions for next week's referendum.

The Director-General of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Colyn, said most of the representatives for the expected 1 400 polling stations had already been appointed, and that the balance would be this week after the number of polling stations had been finalised.

Other arrangements for the referendum were going ahead, and applications for new identity documents received by Friday had already been processed and the ID books mailed. Anybody losing their ID book before the referendum could apply for a temporary certificate.

Special votes could be cast on Friday and Saturday this week and on Monday next week at any office of the Department of Home Affairs, or at a magistrate's office.

Arrangements had also been made for special votes to be cast at hospitals and at homes for senior citizens.

A total of 4 million ballot papers had been printed for the country's 15 regions.

Dual citizenship for foreigners

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

HUNDREDS of thousands of foreign nationals who have lived in South Africa for five or more years may apply for South African citizenship — and be eligible to vote in the referendum next week — without giving up their foreign citizenship.

This emerges from the regulations governing naturalisation.

Their votes could have a major impact on the outcome of next week's critical test of white political sentiment.

There is no impediment in South African legislation to dual nationality, though the Department of Home Affairs advises foreign applicants to clarify the implications with the authorities in the countries of their birth.

The requirements for naturalisation are that the applicant must:

- Have lived in South Africa for five years (four years if he or she can speak English and Afrikaans);
- Intend to remain in South Africa;
- Be able to speak English or Afrikaans satisfactorily;
- Be of good character;
- Have an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of a South African citizen; and,
- Be prepared to take the oath of allegiance.

Applications can be made to the nearest regional or district representative of the Department of Home Affairs. A certificate showing the applicant's proficiency in English or Afrikaans must be provided or the applicant must undergo a language test.

Warning from Mbeki

South Africa would move straight to an interim government should the NP be forced to resign by a majority "no" vote, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said at Alice Ciskei, last week. Speaking to University of Fort Hare staff, he said it was absurd to contemplate another election for a white government this year. Consensus at Codesa earlier last week over the concept of a transitional executive structure to govern the country supported his view, he said. (304A)

STAR 9/3/92

(204A)

NP information blitz

The NP is expected to launch an information blitz today to clarify its bottom line on negotiations in a major effort to counter CP claims that President de Klerk is asking white voters for a "blank cheque". Senior NP spokesman Pieter Coetzer said the campaign literature would spell out in "concise terms" the bottom line position elaborated by President de Klerk during the first week of his referendum road show.

CP 'hasn't switched'

English-speaking conservatives have lashed back at President de Klerk for his charge that the CP had suddenly switched away from being an Afrikaner party in a transparent bid to catch English-speaking votes. "Thousands of English speakers reject with contempt the State President's allegation that the CP needs the English speaking support as voting fodder," said Clive Derby-Lewis, CP member of the President's Council.

De Klerk in 'battle' with officers

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — President de Klerk is engaged in a behind-the-scenes battle with army and police officers who refuse to accept the days are over when South Africa can be ruled by sheer power.

But, he is unable to purge the forces until he has a mandate to proceed with reform.

This is the basis for a report from John Carlin in Britain's Independent on Sunday, which poses the question of South Africa's army and police: are they out of control?

Carlin recounts the development under ex-President P W Botha

of "the most powerful and dangerous executors of State strategy" operating within military intelligence and the security police, singling out their involvement with Inkatha as their most dangerously relevant project to date.

During the Botha years, "Inkatha provided the South African State ... with an unmissable opportunity to turn black against black and to get someone else to do the dirtiest of the counter-insurgency work", he recalls. The action cost 4 000 lives and effectively neutralised ANC support among Zulus.

The report stresses that Mr de Klerk has not

simply taken over the "clandestine machine"

"When Mr De Klerk took over, he was in many ways leading a silent civilian counter-coup," Carlin writes.

He says Mr de Klerk has been unable to deal with the threat from within because many of those responsible now occupy powerful positions, but a purge is "clearly necessary".

After the referendum and if white support offers him the chance of swinging the power balance away from the armed forces, Carlin predicts, "he will then be in a stronger position to cut the necessary heads".

'Urgent talks' on arms

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A
The Government would not enter into agreements in the negotiations process unless the ANC ended the armed struggle, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said last night.

Two further preconditions were that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ceased its activities and that arms caches were "properly handled", he said during a TV debate with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Urgent talks were taking place about these issues, Mr Kriel said. *STAR 9/3/92*

Mr Marais said he condemned right-wing violence, but the Afrikaner people would turn to "extra-parliamentary means" if their rights were removed. This would happen when a transitional government was established and it included

communists, he said.

Communism and the SA Communist Party are emerging as a central theme in referendum speeches by right-wing leaders.

Mr Kriel warned Mr Marais not to scare voters with communism as its days were over.

He added that the Government would not prescribe to the ANC about the inclusion of communists in a transitional government, just as the ANC could not prescribe to the Government who should represent it on such a body.

Mr Marais said the SACP and ANC wanted to seize power and make the country ungovernable. He added that the SACP controlled the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Kriel said the Government would not allow the ANC or SACP to seize power.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

De Klerk reveals his 'bottom lines'

304A
Sowetan
9/3/92

STATE President FW de Klerk has announced his "bottom lines" for a new South Africa before Codesa is halfway to concluding its work.

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

Senior African National Congress negotiators at Codesa raised their eyebrows yesterday at points De Klerk demanded be included in a new constitution for the country.

One ANC negotiator said De Klerk was "pre-empting" the negotiation process, adding that the president was ignoring the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

"That is what is wrong with this referendum. It is ultimately a racist whites-only referendum that ignores the fact that black people were also interested in the outcome of negotiations," he said.

Mr Tony Leon of the Democratic Party, who is his party's constitutional adviser at Codesa, said yes-

terday that De Klerk's spelling out of his "bottom lines" were no great cause for concern.

"He (De Klerk) is under a lot of pressure to spell out his mandate and what he will do with it when he achieves it," Leon said.

But he said "although De Klerk sounded emphatic, there is a lot of room for manoeuvre" in the points the President listed.

De Klerk said the "bottom lines" were what he asked people to vote for in next week's referendum and what the National Party would insist be included in any new constitution.

Contingent upon the negotiation process at Codesa, De Klerk's principles for a new constitution for South Africa are:

- The maintenance of standards;
- Effective protection of the ownership of private property against any arbitrary action by any future

government;

- A free market economy in a multiparty democracy;

- Prevention of domination and the abuse of power by any particular group or political party;

- A bill of rights;

- An independent judiciary;

- Job and pensions security for State employees;

- Impartial security forces;

- Maximum devolution of power, strong regional government and a separation of powers;

- Limiting the powers of the State President;

- A two-chamber parliament;

- Elections on the basis of proportional representations; and

- The maintenance of language and cultural rights, as well as community-oriented education for people who preferred it.

'No is threat to rights'

(304A)

STAR 9/3/92

The future of universally accepted human rights in South Africa would be at stake in the March 17 referendum, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Addressing the Centre for Human Rights at the University of Pretoria today, Dr de Beer said a yes vote would cause these rights to be established, upheld and entrenched, but a no vote would subject human rights to the will of a political party.

"In the end, there will not be much in the way of human rights if the vote goes no."

Codesa was committed to the protection of human rights and to the idea that every South African should enjoy equal rights. — Sapa.

(Report by C Molusi, Sapa, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Analysts play down PW's 'no' appeal

STAR 9/13/92

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Former state president P W Botha's decision to vote "no" on March 17 would do only limited damage to the campaign for a "yes" vote, political commentators said yesterday.

DP MP Colin Eglin told The Star that the effect of Mr Botha's announcement would be "marginal". He said the former head of state was no longer a factor in Afrikaner, English, NP or CP politics.

Mr Botha remained a subject of interest to South Africans, said Mr Eglin, but added that there was an important difference between being a public figure and being influential.

This view was endorsed by Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town.

It was obvious that Mr Botha's announcement was not a good development for the "yes" vote campaign, he said.

Professor Giliomee said the latest development in the run-up to the snap referendum would cost the NP some votes, but "not especially many".

By contrast to former prime minister John Vorster, Mr Botha did not really have a personal following. His influence stemmed from his control of NP machinery and not from personal charisma, he said.

Professor Giliomee thought Mr Botha's announcement would have limited influence because he was now unpopular in political circles that had previously held him in high regard. His popularity had been sustained only in CP circles.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer said the move would cause very little damage and might even be counter-productive, adding:

"I think most voters will see it for what it is — the result of a personal grudge — especially when you consider he was the one who set off the present process which caused the CP to break away from the NP. Now

he is essentially suggesting South Africans should vote for that same party whose policies he rejected 10 years ago."

Other NP sources said the CP was "really scraping the bottom of the barrel".

When Mr Botha announced at the weekend he would be voting "no", he added that he had a workable alternative to the Codesa negotiations process, and would reveal it to any leader who came to ask him about it.

Mr Botha denied that his decision to vote "no" could be construed as support for the CP.

"Mr de Klerk has asked a specific question to which he wants a 'yes' or 'no' answer," he said, "and this does not come down to support for any particular party." Mr Botha said his "no" vote simply recorded a rejection of the Codesa process.

Motivating his decision to vote "no", Mr Botha said Mr de Klerk and his Cabinet were "killing the (National) Party".

He questioned the referendum timing against the backdrop of the drought and poor economic climate.

"One chooses a suitable time. One calls a referendum like this when people's minds are clear and they can concentrate on the question before them."

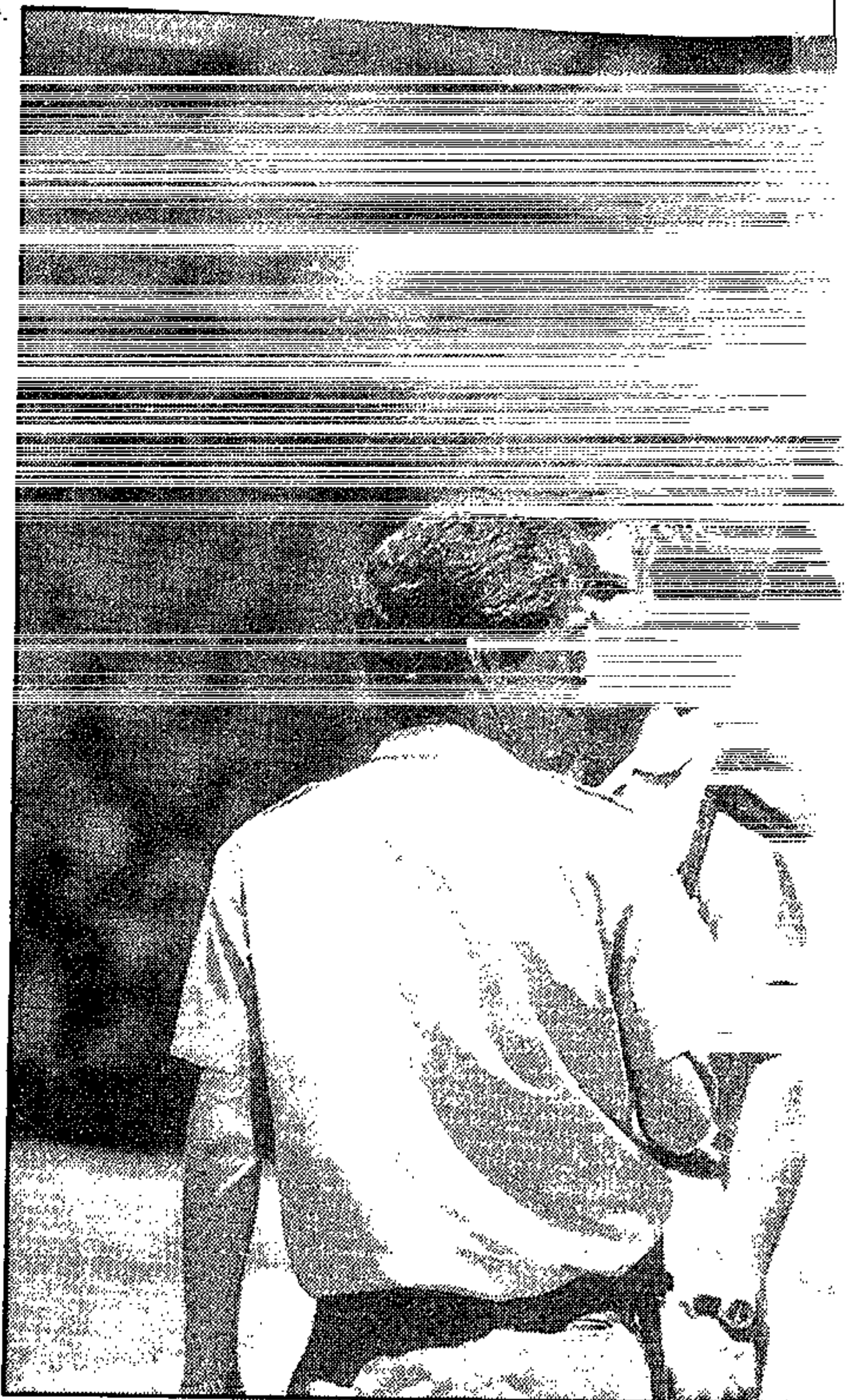
"There is so much haste in this matter that people don't even know where they will be able to go and cast their vote."

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has thanked Mr Botha for announcing his intention to vote "no" in the referendum.

Dr Treurnicht told Sapa he had telephoned Mr Botha after the announcement. "I expressed great appreciation for his viewpoint. I also told him I believed it would contribute greatly to people voting correctly in the referendum."

He had also told Mr Botha that his motivation for a "no" vote was absolutely correct: that it was the self-determination of whites which was at stake and that the Codesa negotiations were being dominated by the SA Communist Party.

(Report by P Fabricius and E Waugh, both of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Smother tactics . . . AWB members cover-up a Nation

STAR

9/3/92

304A



! Party referendum campaign poster in Auckland Park yesterday.

Picture: Joao Silva

FW wards off bitter Botha bite

304A

Sowetan 9/3/92

STATE President FW de Klerk this weekend defended his reforms after a tirade of insults by his predecessor, Mr PW Botha, who said he would vote "no" in next week's referendum.

Botha and his wife Elize were interviewed at their home in George on Saturday and said that after careful consideration they had decided to vote against De Klerk on March 17.

The former State President said he refused to vote for a scenario that would include a government involving the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Botha, who was ousted from office by De Klerk in 1989 in a move that was described at the time as a palace coup, said Codesa's working groups were loaded with communists.

"There is no doubt in my mind that this expensive and artificial Tower of Babel is

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

dominated by the SACP and I have no confidence in what they are doing," Botha said.

He said De Klerk's reform initiatives and Codesa were leading the country "into an abyss" and were "disastrous".

But De Klerk defended his reforms and the negotiation process, saying Botha was misinformed about the process and Codesa.

"It is not true that a 'yes' vote is a suicidal move which will lead to SACP/ANC domination. Exactly the opposite is true.

"What we are doing is the logical consequence of what Botha began. I cannot but believe that he is motivated to a great extent by personal resentment," De Klerk said.

The mood in Hillbrow is as varied as the residents

REFERENDUM

The voters' mood

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

KATHRYN STRACHAN spoke to residents of the suburb of Hillbrow in Johannesburg.

"YES ... but ..." says John in response to a query about his inclination in the referendum.

For John, and many of his fellow Hillbrow residents questioned, there is little choice. Voting "no" means a return to sanctions and isolation and could lead to bloodshed. But at the same time there are many fears about what reform has in store, not least a fear about nationalisation under an ANC government.

(President) F W de Klerk unleashed a tiger on February 2 1990 and we have no choice but to ride that tiger — we can't go back now. Just the cricket has made all the reforms worth it, and possibly the economy will improve with reforms," says John, who runs an electronics business in Hillbrow.

Residents' fears centre on soaring crime in their area. Most say De Klerk has been too soft on crime. Many believe the "new" SA has existed in Hillbrow for years — and they are not too sure if they like it.

John believes CP leader Andries Treurnicht would be tougher on crime — specifically on the scourge of Hillbrow: prostitution. "And the CP would stop all these mixed marriages," his friend Hendrick adds.

Says John: "We have to have reforms, but they must have controls. A quick transformation will damage SA. At times we are going to fast — and that will destroy trust and confidence, as well as the infrastructure."

Sue, who runs a second-hand furniture shop, is far more optimistic, reflecting the view of the many Hillbrow residents who welcome change because it is right rather than inevitable. "I like what De Klerk is doing," she says. "It's terrifying to think of what would happen if the CP came to

power. It would be straight back to anarchy and civil war."

Izak, who has lived in Hillbrow for 18 years, says: "Voting 'yes' is the only possible chance for peace in this country. Sure, I would have preferred it if things had stayed like they used to be and there were less blacks in Hillbrow, but there are no alternatives. Times have changed and you have to go with the times."

Hairdresser Pam believes forward is the only way to go. "It has to be a 'yes' — I've got money saved for a one-way ticket if it's not."

Middle-aged Esther, who has lived in Hillbrow most of her life, believes the "new SA" has been on her doorstep for a while. She is not sure which way she will vote as "the CP could bring out World War Three. There would be more sanctions and no

work. But if we vote for the NP then that jailbird (ANC president Nelson) Mandela will take over."

To Esther, who has been mugged twice, change is reflected in the decay around her, and reform would only exacerbate the problem.

Her friend, Honey, is buying a pair of Zulu earrings to prepare herself for the new SA. She says: "I have to vote 'yes' because I'm Jewish. If I voted 'no' I'd be voting for Nazis. Look how the AWB burn our flag and put pigs' heads outside our synagogues."

Either way, there is no hope, she says. "It's going to be disaster. No one can rule this country."

Music shop manager Tony, who has lived in Hillbrow for 15 years, is firm on a "no" vote.

"Last time, we voted for the NP but it didn't do what it said it would do. It has sold us out. The CP also can't rule the country but at least they're harder on crime and they can clean up the criminal element."

"So what if there are sanctions — let it be. And no one has noticed it, but we've got a civil war already. Mandela and De Klerk are slaughtering innocent blacks in the township every day." He says he hates both leaders as he hates "Dutchmen and commies". His first choice for president would be Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He feels democracy would be stronger under Treurnicht than De Klerk as "De Klerk just lets Mandela walk all over him. There must be a settlement, but without a just settlement it doesn't work. I don't agree with all the CP's policies but at least Treurnicht will be a stronger leader and settle on better terms than De Klerk will," he says.

Report by K Strachan, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Chiavelli renews interest

De Beer warns against voter complacency

BILLY PADDOCK

DP LEADER Zach de Beer warned yesterday of growing fears that complacency, uncertainty and apathy among white voters could result in a low "yes" majority in the March 17 referendum, or even the possibility of President F W de Klerk losing the poll.

The CP's emphasis on issues such as the recession, crime and a future black government was swaying people but the CP had no chance of delivering a better dispensation and was deceiving voters, De Beer said.

It was obvious that blacks would form the majority in any future government resulting from negotiations, he said. However, the CP could not prevent that.

"Investment is the word that should be written across the golden gate to prosperity, economic growth and development."

De Beer said it was a universally acknowledged fact that only economic growth could get SA out of the recession which had led to high unemployment and an increase in crime.

"To get growth we have to have investment and foreign investment, which will only come when there is political stability," he said.

The only real option of achieving political stability was through Codesa and participants had to get Codesa moving fast.

He said it was vital that people who supported the "yes" vote should turn up at the polls.

"Every single vote counts and unlike in an election where the votes are restricted to the constituency, in a referendum 'yes' votes in Houghton will wipe out 'no' votes in Soutpansberg and Parys."

Meanwhile, SA Rugby Football Union president Danie Craven, President F W de Klerk and De Beer joined forces and rounded on former President P W Botha's support for a "no" vote.

De Beer said Botha was making an "absolute fool" of himself.

"It was he who said we must adapt or die and said that we needed a healthy power sharing which then led to the CP breaking away from the NP and forming a party

□ To Page 2

De Beer

B/day 9/3/92

304A

□ From Page 1

based on the old NP principles," he said.

In spite of CP leader Andries Treurnicht's joy at Botha's stance, it would have only a marginal effect in getting people to vote "no", he said.

It was clear Botha was bitter and angry when he was forced to resign as president and this was a personal vendetta.

Craven said any sportsmen voting "no" on March 17 would be "raping his or her own conscience".

Botha should ask himself what the position of sport in SA was when he was in power, he said, adding De Klerk had made tremendous strides since he took over.

De Klerk said Botha was motivated by his grievances when calling for a "no" vote: "It was he who took the initiative which led to Mr (Nelson) Mandela's release."

"It was also he who took the initiative which led to the release of Govan Mbeki and others, knowing full well that some of them were communists."

Political analyst Lawrence Schlemmer said it would be disconcerting and perplexing if a narrow majority of between 51 and 53% "yes" votes was attained in the referendum.

"This result will deepen and intensify the crisis of confidence which made the referendum necessary in the first place," he wrote in the Sunday newspaper.

A narrow endorsement of the reform and negotiation process would probably imply rejection by most Afrikaners and could set the stage for fragmentation which would erode the negotiation process.

Schlemmer said the possibility of a "no" vote majority was unlikely, especially if one looked at four recent opinion polls.

He said a "yes" majority could be whittled down by the size of the abstention rate; the number of people who felt too uncertain, worried and confused.

Report by B Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● Comment: Page 16

CT9/3/92

Cosatu 'mass action' threat

3048

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu threatened the government yesterday with mass action on an "unprecedented scale", including a possible general strike, if an interim government was not put in place by the end of June.

Its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said Cosatu also wanted an interim government by the end of the year and a democratic constitution in place by next year.

Apparently unconcerned about the effect the threat would have on the outcome of the referendum, Cosatu described the poll as irrelevant.

Mr Naidoo spoke at a Johannesburg news conference called to announce a four-month programme of action centred on a variety of demands.

'People's referendum'

These include suspension of unilateral restructuring of the economy and the establishment of a national economic negotiating forum.

Its programme of action includes a "people's referendum" on March 18 — budget day — when Cosatu plans nationwide marches and pickets as well as a march on Parliament.

Mr Naidoo said:

"We want to warn the present government and the CP that any attempt on their side to delay the democratisation process is going to be met with mass resistance on an unprecedented scale."

The political process had to move beyond Codesa to an interim government underpinned by negotiations.

The Defence Minister and negotiator at Codesa Working Group 3, Mr Roelf Meyer, said it was unnecessary for Cosatu to make statements like this. They were obviously out of touch with what was happening at Codesa.

A spokesman for a group of influential business leaders said: "Business will not respond positively with a pistol at its head."

PW's revenge likely to flop

3044

CT9/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

FORMER president Mr P W Botha's carefully timed bid to take revenge on his successor by sabotaging the "yes" campaign in the referendum was likely to flop, political experts agreed yesterday.

But the decision by the embittered ex-president to back the CP-INP-AWB alliance at such a crucial stage of the campaign could have a significant impact on wavering white voters and rob Mr F W de Klerk of a landslide victory, political scientists said.

Mr Botha's opening bid to spike the guns of the reformist alliance by likening a "yes" vote to "suicide" for whites was clearly targeted at the mass circulation weekend news-

papers.

When the Cape Times spoke to Mr Botha last week he steadfastly declined to take a stand on the referendum.

University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Robert Schrire said yesterday that there was no doubt that Mr Botha's action would have an impact in boosting the "no" vote campaign, particularly among undecided voters.

But he added: "I don't think it will be a major factor."

Professor Schrire predicted the "yes" vote would receive 56% to 58% of ballots cast next Tuesday, with the "no" vote achieving 42% to 44% of white support.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellen-

bosch University said that although Mr Botha had become a largely discredited political force his "shrewd" timing could produce a swing of between 2% and 3% in favour of the "no" camp by winning over undecided voters.

He said the ex-president's decision to invoke the communist bogey and denigrate the Codesa negotiation process as a "disaster" would undoubtedly create some suspicion, confusion and uncertainty among undecided whites.

The head of the Political Science Depart-

ment at the University of Natal in Durban, Professor Mervyn Frost, did not believe Mr Botha's attempt to take revenge on his former

Nationalist colleagues would have a strong impact on the white electorate.

"Mr P W Botha has not been a political player for some while, nor has he been actively nurturing a political power base."

"So this comes out of nowhere — literally a voice from the wilderness."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "I believe Mr Botha's statement will make a major contribution to the people who are uncertain over whether to vote for self-determination or for the new reforms."

President F W de Klerk said he believed his predecessor's statement was in large measure motivated by his personal sense of grievance.

By ALLISTER SPARKS

WITH all the drama over the referendum and South Africa's up-down performance in the World Cup cricket, insufficient attention has been given to the ANC's interim government proposals tabled at Codesa.

There has been comment on the first two phases, to set up an all-party Interim Government Council and then to elect an Interim Parliament which can also serve as a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. This proposal, as some commentators have noted, narrows the gap between the ANC and the Government on the transitional arrangements.

But the feature that caught my eye was the proposal for a third phase based on so-called "sunset clauses" in the final constitution. Apart from a few misplaced wisecracks about the phrase, this imaginative concept has failed to attract any attention.

Perhaps the plan would have been more readily understood if the term "fade-out clauses" had been used — in other words clauses in the constitution that apply for a limited period and then fade out automatically.

The ANC's idea is to use such clauses to provide for an additional transition period even after the final constitution comes into effect, so as to cushion the impact of a changeover to majority rule for the whites and other minorities. It is a way of building in gradualism.

Guarantees

As Thabo Mbeki, who presented the plan to Codesa's constitutional working committee, explained it, one example of a "sunset clause" could be an agreement that the winner of the first election under the new constitution will appoint a coalition cabinet, or a "government of national unity", that includes all the major parties for a given period — say three or five years.

At the end of that time the sun would set on the clause and it would fall away. Unless, of course, the participating parties decided the coalition system was working so well they wanted to renew it.

Other "sunset clauses", the ANC has explained,

'Sunset clause' useful for gradual growth



THABO MBEKI: In a "sunset clause" the winner of the first election under the new constitution could appoint a coalition cabinet, or government of national unity.

could build in guarantees that no major changes would take place in the civil service, or that no affirmative action or other economic restructuring programmes would begin for a specified period.

The ANC has stressed that it has not worked out any specific proposals in detail, but is simply putting the concept on the table and specific "sunset clauses" should be the subject of negotiation. What strikes me is the flexibility of the concept. The Government has indicated that it wants what-

ever transitional arrangement is agreed upon to remain in place for about 10 years before a final constitution is decided, to give whites time to adjust.

That is clearly unacceptable. To keep South Africa in such a prolonged state of suspense would be to invite mounting instability and turmoil, which would drive away investment, so causing greater unemployment and thus greater instability in an intensifying vicious circle.

But the ANC's "sunset clause" idea enables one to reach a decision on the constitution and still have a gradual transition without any uncertainty. Once the principle is agreed the detail is of little consequence. The Government wants a 10-year transition period, the ANC is suggesting three to five years. It's a matter for negotiation and the difference in time is minute in any historical perspective.

Fade-out

Equally important is the introduction of the idea of agreements additional to the basic constitution. Both Mbeki and Netshitenzhe Joel, another member of the constitutional working committee, have pointed out that the "sunset clauses" could be either fade-out clauses in the constitution itself or contained in separate agreements between the political parties.

The latter idea has much to commend it, for it enables agreements to be renewed or left to expire, and even for new agreements to be reached in the light of changing circumstances, without incurring the national trauma of amending the constitution.

This is the real secret of the Swiss political system, which has been misrepresented here for partisan political purposes. The impression has been given that the Swiss constitution provides for a system of compulsory coalition government involving all the major parties.

This is untrue. The Swiss constitution, introduced in 1848, makes no provision for coalition government of any kind — and in fact makes no mention of political parties whatsoever.

The system of coalition that is followed in Switzerland is set out in a political agreement between the major parties that was reached only 33 years ago. It has nothing to do with the constitution and can be changed at any time by the parties themselves — even by just one of them which can choose to pull out of the deal.

Not binding

In what is known colloquially as "the magic formula", the major Swiss parties — the Christian Democrats, the Radicals, the Social Democrats and the smaller National People's Party — which jointly control between two-thirds and three-quarters of the seats in the United Federal Assembly, decided in 1959 to apportion the seven Cabinet seats between them on a ratio of two, two, two and one.

They also try, by unwritten agreement, to ensure that the French and Italian minorities are always represented in the seven-person Cabinet. But again, there is no constitutional requirement.

Should the relative strengths of the parties change significantly, if for example a minor party should suddenly emerge larger than one of the big four, then obviously the agreement would be changed. It is no more binding than any other coalition deal — and that is its strength.

It is the compulsory nature of the National Party's constitutional proposals that renders them unworkable. Parties will work together satisfactorily only if they choose to do so. If the constitution requires them to, the system is sure to break down and then there will be a constitutional crisis.

The ANC's idea of agreements outside the constitution provides the formula for a workable compromise. It deserves consideration.

Danger in the 'yes' vote hype

Blair 9/3/92

2044

TONY LEON

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk has called for a landslide victory in next week's referendum. This makes some political sense, since affirmation by, say, more than 60% of the white electorate will clearly strengthen his hand in negotiations. It will also be a ringing endorsement of the process initiated at Codesa.

Electoral, however, such a call could prove dangerous. It reinforces the air of triumphalism which abounds in certain circles of the "yes" referendum campaign. It suggests a smug complacency about the inevitability of success, which the facts on the ground could contradict.

Of course, I hope that an overwhelming majority of whites fundamentally discard the political habits of a lifetime and embrace the cause of a non-racial democratic future, offered by a "yes" victory. It is very possible, if preliminary opinion polls are to be believed, that they will do so in huge numbers. But that is a prospect — not a probability.

The 1948 general election is a case study of misreading electoral signals and results. That election outcome was, of course, distorted by the difference between votes cast (which the United Party government won by a margin of 9%) and the seats gained, with the National Party/Afrikaner Party Alliance achieving

an overall majority of just five MPs.

However, as Heard notes in his definitive study, General Elections in SA 1943-1970, "while the background to the 1948 election implies a certain inevitability in the Nationalist victory this was far from evident at the time. The signs were undoubtedly there, but few read them dispassionately and clearly."

Reading accounts of that campaign confirms that the prevailing mood of UP supporters was indeed one which simply assumed victory, while speculation confined itself to the extent of the government majority. This attitude is typically captured by a leading article which appeared in the UP-supporting Natal Daily News in 1948. It is eerily evocative of much of the media hype surrounding the current "yes" campaign. It read: "It is notorious that the Nationalists are at sixes and sevens about leadership, between the provinces, and about slogans and policies. Political strategists have advanced (the thought) that (NP) victory would embarrass them more than defeat... All these things added together: the inevitability of victory

for General Smuts."

Today the Nationalist Press, primarily, seize on every utterance of Koos van der Merwe to prove the fundamental division in CP ranks.

Equally, F W de Klerk's every appearance is rapturously chronicled. Most importantly, the white establishment, from big business to the big city councils, has endorsed (and funded) the "yes" campaign. So the odds are stacked against the CP and the rejectionist rag-tag alliance it has cobbled together.

But none of these elements will prove sufficient. Each white South African must, first, be persuaded of the importance of voting. There are no "safe seats" in this referendum. Every Houghton, Parktown and Bryanston vote will be required to trump the "no" votes from Prieska, Potchefstroom, and Pretoria.

Once the electorate, particularly in the urban areas, is suitably aroused — from apathy or disinter-

about the future — they would surely win. But they probably lack the resources — and certainly the credibility — to do so.

Assuming the government achieves a significant victory, in many cases the votes awarded to it will be grudgingly given. There is a constituency who will vote "yes" and instead mean "yes, but..."

Ordinary South Africans are tired of swingeing tax rates and increased crime. They are fed up with declining standards and soaring shopping bills. They fear the future — but are probably more distrustful of the return to a discredited past offered by the "No" camp. In the end, some will vote "yes" because Eugene Terre-Blanche terrifies them more than Chris Hani. Thus, even a decisive win has to be correctly, and soberly, interpreted.

Since this is the last occasion on which the white vote will matter decisively, F W de Klerk should use the remaining days of campaigning to explain to his electorate precisely how he will use his mandate, landslide or not. The DP is doing this in its 33 constituencies.

Only a "yes" victory can transform our current malaise and lead to the triumph of hope over fear, and replace anxiety with certainty.

□ Leon is DP MP for Houghton.

DP/UC

Cosatu vows to strike over interim govt

COSATU yesterday threatened government with mass action on an "unprecedented scale", including a possible general strike if an interim government was not put in place by the end of June.

Its general secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu wanted an interim government by the end of June, elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year and a democratic constitution in place by next year.

Apparently unconcerned about the effect the threat would have on the outcome of the March 17 referendum, Cosatu described the poll as irrelevant.

Naidoo also warned that Cosatu's central executive committee had resolved to start a programme of refusing PAYE deductions if certain demands were not met.

Naidoo was speaking at a Johannesburg news conference called to announce a four-month programme of action centred around a variety of political and economic demands identified by the central executive committee.

The demands include an immediate suspension of unilateral restructuring of the economy and the establishment of a National Economic Negotiating Forum.

Cosatu also wants the National Manpower Commission restructured — something which government has committed itself to prioritising.

Its programme of action includes a "people's referendum" on March 18 — Budget day — when Cosatu plans nationwide marches and pickets as well as a march on Parliament.

Cosatu will also hold an economic policy

SUSAN RUSSELL
and BILLY PADDOCK

conference on March 27 to 29, May Day rallies and an alliance summit with the ANC and SACP in mid-April to assess the progress of Codesa working groups and to decide on forms of action if demands are not met by Codesa 2.

The programme will conclude with a workers' summit with other labour groups, including Nactu, at the end of May at which a decision will be taken on national mass action if demands have not been met.

Naidoo said the referendum was irrelevant to the negotiation process.

"We want to warn the present government and the CP that any attempt on their side to delay the democratisation process is going to be met with mass resistance on an unprecedented scale."

Naidoo said there was no difference between President FW de Klerk and CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

"The negotiation process does not depend on the outcome of the referendum. Negotiations were mobilised by mass action on the ground."

"We are warning De Klerk and Treurnicht that our programme towards achieving democracy in this country won't be stopped by either of them."

Naidoo said the political process had to move beyond Codesa to an interim government underpinned by negotiations.

"We are not prepared to wait beyond June," Naidoo said.

Defence Minister and negotiator at Codesa working group 3, Roelf Meyer, said it was unnecessary for Cosatu to make state-

□ To Page 2

Cosatu

ments like this. He said they were obviously out of touch with what was happening at Codesa at present.

Meyer added that Cosatu's statements yesterday were probably a way of making the point that it was not part of Codesa.

It was clear, he said, that sufficient progress was being made at Codesa. Agreement was reached in working group 3 over proposals for a transitional body which would be the most powerful executive structure in the country.

The ANC's national working committee has already endorsed the plan and government and the NP are expected to do so too.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached yesterday for comment.

A spokesman for a group of influential business leaders said all the demands set by Cosatu were already being addressed through Codesa or the Minister concerned. Some would also be addressed by the economic forum which was being set up.

"Business is very surprised at the fact that these demands are being made and at the unilateral way in which Cosatu has acted," the spokesman said.

"Business will not respond positively with a pistol against its head," he added.

● Picture: Page 3

De Beer warns against 'yes' apathy

CT 9/3/72 Political Staff (304A)

THE leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, warned yesterday of growing fears that complacency, uncertainty and apathy among white voters supporting a "yes" vote could result in a low "yes" majority in the referendum.

There was even a possibility that President F W de Klerk could lose the poll.

The Conservative Party's campaigning on non-referendum issues such as the recession, crime and a future black government were swaying people. How-



**WILDERNESS
CALL IS
'LIKELY
TO FAIL'**

See PAGE 2

ever, the CP had no chance of delivering a better dispensation and were deceiving voters, Dr De Beer said.

It was "obvious" that blacks would form the majority in any future government resulting from negotiations, he said.

However, the CP could not prevent this and any government that would result through revolution if a CP government came to power would have very little if any checks and balances preventing abuse of power.

"Investment is the word that should be written across the golden gate to prosperity, economic growth and development," he said.

Dr De Beer said it was a universally acknowledged fact that only economic growth could get South Africa out of the recession.

"To get growth we have to have investment and foreign investment,

To page 2

Book on Di-

Right wing stops president speaking on OFS campus

STAR 10/3/92

Students teargas FW

BLOEMFONTEIN
President de Klerk and his wife, Marike, had to be rushed to safety by bodyguards after a teargas "bomb" was thrown into the Free State University cafeteria where he was preparing to address students last night.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was slightly injured in the attack.

Mrs de Klerk was clearly shocked by the incident, but Mr de Klerk, who received encouraging calls from students as he was escorted to his car, gave a "thumbs-up".

Mr de Klerk was to have addressed the UOFS students at the last stop of his referendum tour of the Free State, but was persistently shouted down by rightwingers.

He had, however, been enthusiastically received elsewhere in the Free State.

One of the organisers said he believed the teargas had been thrown by a right-wing student to force Mr de Klerk to leave.

The cafeteria was packed with students. Several hundred stood outside on the lawns.

Mr de Klerk arrived at about 9.10 pm and was greeted by cheers and boos as he entered the cafeteria.

A large body to the right of the makeshift dais began to yell: "Ka-Pee, Ka-Pee".

They then broke into song with "Bobbejaan klim die berg".

As the master of ceremonies started to welcome Mr de Klerk and assure him of a welcome on the Kopsie campus, the rightwingers shouted: "Nee, nee, nee", and lifted "Nee" signs.

There were a few "Yes, yes, yes" shouts, but the "no" mob out-yelled them, with "Huistoe, huistoe, veraater, veraater" (go home traitor).

This was followed by singing of "Die lied van Jong Suid-Afrika".

Bodyguards

About 20 minutes after the presidential couple had arrived, the teargas was thrown and they had to be rushed out of the cafeteria by bodyguards.

They were escorted to a nearby lounge, where they spent a few minutes before being taken to their car and leaving.

Earlier in the evening, Mr de Klerk addressed 1200 supporters in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

He said the Conservative Party should take a stand against the fascists and Nazis in its ally the AWB.

Mr de Klerk said the National Party was sick of being accused of espousing communism while negotiating a constitution that was its very antithesis.

"I say let us fight communism, but let us also fight fascism and Nazism — and I challenge the CP to take a firm stand on this."

The NP did not believe that the South African Communist Party had a future.

"But there are other ideologies which have been just as devastating, namely fas-



Cowabunga dudes . . . mutant red-nosed Johannesburg City Council employee Wynand du Preez enjoys some comic Saturday's Red Nose Day when organisers hope to raise millions of laughs and rands for Child Welfare. Picture: F

Fairland watchmaker stabbed to death

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Staff

A watchmaker in Fairland, Johannesburg, was stabbed to death at his shop yesterday when he innocently opened the door of his shop to two "customers".

Louis Fourie opened the security gate to his shop, in a townhouse complex in 11th Avenue soon after 8.30 am, but his "customers" overpowered him and stabbed him several times.

Police, with the help of local shopworkers, arrested two men shortly after the attack. One of the arrested men told police he was an SAP assistant constable, but police could not confirm this.

Johan Eloff, who works at a hardware shop across the road from the townhouse complex, said he heard a terrible scream coming from the townhouses.

"As I got to the corner of the building, I saw a man lying on his side on the bricks next to the wall. An-



"It was crazy" . . . Johan Eloff points out where the murder occurred. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

the stabbing looked up at me," he said. "I realised that I was completely unarmed and for a moment I was really scared."

Mr Eloff said he chased the pair for a little way, but a group of workers took over the chase while he tended to the victim.

When they arrived, ambu-

when his employees chased the man down Davidson Street, he pulled out a knife and threatened them with it.

"But one of my men picked up a stone and threw it. It hit the suspect on the forehead and he dropped the knife, so my men grabbed him," Mr Eloff said.

The police, stationed only

THE FIRST
CHRISTOPHER
(DISCOVER)
SE
PR
Port



Palladium

to yell: "Ka-Pee, Ka-Pee".
They then broke into song
with "Bobbejaan klim die
berg".

As the master of ceremon-
ies started to welcome Mr
de Klerk and assure him of
a welcome on the Kopsie
campus, the rightwingers
shouted: "Nee, nee, nee", and
lifted "Nee" signs.

There were a few "Yes,
yes, yes" shouts, but the "no"
mob out-yelled them, with
"Huistoe, huistoe, veraaier,
veraaier" (go home traitor).

This was followed by sing-
ing of "Die lied van Jong
Suid-Afrika".

Bodyguards

About 20 minutes after the
presidential couple had ar-
rived, the teargas was
thrown and they had to be
rushed out of the cafeteria
by bodyguards.

They were escorted to a
nearby lounge, where they
spent a few minutes before
being taken to their car and
leaving.

Earlier in the evening, Mr
de Klerk addressed 1 200
supporters in the Bloemfon-
tein City Hall.

He said the Conservative
Party should take a stand
against the fascists and
Nazis in its ally the AWB.

Mr de Klerk said the Na-
tional Party was sick of
being accused of espousing
communism while negotiat-
ing a constitution that was
its very antithesis.

"I say let us fight commu-
nism, but let us also fight fa-
scism and Nazism — and I
challenge the CP to take a
firm stand on this."

The NP did not believe
that the South African Com-
munist Party had a future.

"But there are other ideo-
logies which have been just
as devastating, namely fas-
cism and Nazism. They are
just as bad and dangerous.
These two ideologies are
also doing the rounds in
South Africa and are
strongly represented in the
AWB.

"You only need to read its
constitution and look at its
insignia. The difference is
that the AWB is in an official
alliance with the CP."

Earlier in the day, at
Kroonstad, Mr de Klerk said
the "winner take all" consti-
tutions of Zimbabwe and Na-
mibia were recipes to be
avoided.

He said the constitutions
negotiated in those countries
did not have the checks and
balances he had spelt out for
a future South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's campaign
moves to Kimberley today.—
Sapa.

(Report by Enid Rhodes, 404 Old Mutual
Building, 53 Maitland St, Bloemfontein).

● More reports —
Pages 2, 18 and 19

Co
Sa

F

By
Cri

A
Joh
to
da
op
to

se
to
A
bu
pe
hi

lo
tv
ta
m
S
p

a
re
ca
ri
ti

o
l
b
o
o
d
M
C
t
t
f

'Don't be blinded by the light'

STAR 10/3/92

SOUTH AFRICANS must not be blinded the light emitted by the referendum campaign, says ANC president Nelson Mandela — the March 17 poll is about short-term prospects, while the future is really being decided at Codesa.

Although accepting that a "no" vote could be fatal to the negotiations process — and urging whites to vote "yes" for that reason — Mr Mandela insists that the referendum should not be allowed to divert attention away from Codesa, and in particular the recent breakthroughs made there.

In an interview in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader said the agreement reached last week by all 19 parties on the principle of a transitional executive structure "augured very well" for quick progress on constitutional negotiations.

While there were still considerable conceptual differences between the ANC and the Government, interim structures could be in place by the end of this year.

"We have made significant progress. Even from the Government delegation we got the impression there was no fundamental opposition to the scenario we presented."

In this context, he said the referendum should be seen as "an incident which involves whites. The peace process itself is in place, and that is what we want the position to be. That is the crucial issue for the country, not this vote."

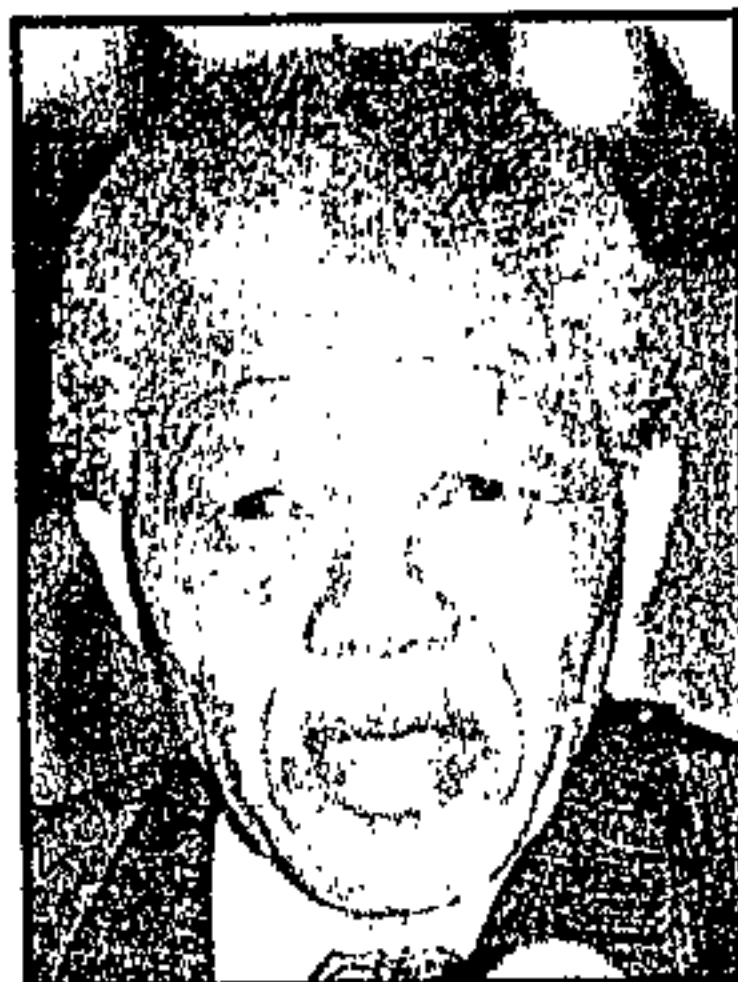
Mr Mandela said only Codesa — and not an ethnic referendum — could allay the genuine fears of both whites and blacks.

He expressed confidence that "the supporters of the National Party to me appear to be committed to the peace process". He said liberals loyal to the Democratic Party were also enthusiastic about change. It had not been sufficiently noticed, he said, that reconciliation could be seen in action at Codesa.

"Take a man like Dr Zach de Beer. He has done so well that in the first steering committee of Codesa, we elected him chairman. Now that is quite significant if you take into account the general hostility between black and white."

More surprisingly perhaps, Mr Mandela said he sensed that even in some right-wing quarters the realisation was dawn-

While the referendum is giving rise to hatred, Codesa remains the beacon of hope for all in South Africa, says ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He spoke to Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** about his continuing faith in a peaceful solution.



Mandela... only Codesa could allay the genuine fears of both whites and blacks.

ing that negotiations were the only route forward.

He said: "I've just returned from the Free State — Welkom, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein. (I came into contact with) members of the right wing, and I think they are looking at the matter quite objectively."

"I got the impression — although it is dangerous to generalise — that they understand the importance of exchanging opinions between various national groups. One felt that the peace process in the country has made a formidable impression on everybody."

"I also made it a point in all these places to see the police commanding officers and to discuss relations between the police and our people. I found the situation rather interesting in all these areas, the way one was received, the seriousness and the elaborate steps which were taken by the police officials to welcome me in all those areas."

"And the response to our complaints and representations... even the briefings from our

own people, who are overwhelmingly young and normally against the police, suggested that the relations between the police and our people in Bloemfontein and elsewhere are very good."

"I think there still is a well of goodwill among whites. Clearly, a substantial number welcomes the peace process. I see it all the time..."

Mr Mandela dismissed speculation from some quarters that President de Klerk might be using the referendum — and fears of a "no" vote — to strengthen his eventual negotiating hand at Codesa. Some commentators have argued that this could have been Mr de Klerk's primary motivation in calling the referendum.

"When you're negotiating with someone, you must trust him or you can't make any progress," Mr Mandela said. "I don't see how Mr de Klerk could strengthen his negotiating position by winning a 'yes' vote in an ethnic referendum."

"He might come to us and say 'look at the difficulties we are having (with the right wing), you must make more compromises' — but we don't accept that whites have any right to veto what has been agreed to by the majority at Codesa."

"We are all under pressure — pressure from people who feel that the peace process should move at a faster rate, and also pressure from the people who oppose Codesa. In spite of this I believe the political parties at Codesa are strong enough to weather all storms."

He said a "no" vote on March 17 would be dangerous if the right wing then "tried to stop the (Codesa) process. Then there would be a fight. If they wanted to restructure the process, then there would be resistance on the part of the majority of South Africans."

"What we would insist the CP should do is to join Codesa and make their suggestions there. We would consider them on merit... (But) if they take a line which in our view would threaten the work we have done over the last two years then, of course, we would consider taking action."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted "every shade of political opinion to be represented at Codesa. It would be good for the process for the CP to be involved."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Job)

Call for Codesa suspension over ANC drive in Ciskei

By Esther Waugh ^{STAR}
Political Reporter 10/3/92

Four Codesa participants have called for its proceedings to be suspended until the ANC has given an undertaking that it would withdraw its campaign in Ciskei.

But the Ciskei government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Ximoko Progressive Party (XPP) of Gazankulu and the Dikwankwetla Party of Qwa-Qwa yesterday stressed they would not walk out of Codesa.

However, in a surprise move, the XPP yesterday afternoon distanced itself from the call.

XPP national chairman E P P Mhinga said support for the Ciskei government's call was given on the strict understanding that this matter would be dealt with by the management committee "behind closed doors in the spirit of Codesa".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that talks between the SA and Ciskei governments and the ANC would be held today. The meeting, he said, would be "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in Ciskei".

Codesa's management committee has come out in support of today's meeting. Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the trilateral meeting could make a substantial contribution to the resolution of the dispute.

He said the committee did not want to become involved in the dispute at this stage and felt the issue would be best resolved by the parties themselves.

The groups who called for the suspension of proceedings said the ANC campaign was contrary to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and

contemptuous of Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

"We, accordingly, call upon the management committee to suspend the proceedings at Codesa until such time as it has obtained an unconditional undertaking from (secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa on behalf of the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn," the groups said.

Asked if this was the start of a loose alliance, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said this was not necessarily so, but "if it happened, there would be nothing wrong".

Dr Henk Kayser of Ciskei said his government wanted Codesa to succeed and sought to safeguard Codesa's principles.

The ANC said it regretted the Ciskei move to bring a regional dispute to Codesa. "We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it,"

said Mr Ramaphosa.

The Ciskei government's move was "unhelpful" as the Codesa management committee was in the process of discussing the matter when Ciskei was going public with the dispute.

"All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and are contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion," Mr Ramaphosa said.

From the moment the issue arose, the ANC headquarters had been involved with discussions with its Border region, the Ciskei administration and the SA Government in order to find an effective solution, he said.

"Our commitment to the negotiations process is unchallengeable," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The issue was not the alleged destabilisation of Ciskei but the fact that there was no political freedom in the homeland.

CP slates 'broken promises'

Political Staff

(304A)
PRESIDENT De Klerk had over the past two years broken all the National Party's solemn promises to the whites, a Conservative Party MP told a referendum campaign meeting in the Stellenbosch town hall.

Some of the estimated 200 audience walked out of the meeting last night.

Mr Jurg Prinsloo, MP for Roodepoort, said whites were now approaching their crisis hour. Setbacks in by-elections had panicked Mr De Klerk into calling the referendum at such short notice.

Mr Prinsloo dismissed a suggestion from the audience that South Africa's readmittance to international sport had been an important result of Mr De Klerk's reform moves.

He said fewer than a 1 000 South Africans were international sportsmen and women. What was now happening in sport was not good enough to justify the price being demanded from the whites.

He said it had always been possible to circumvent sanctions, and South Africa also had rare minerals the world needed.

The CP was not racist and did not want to suppress the blacks. It stood for self-determination. The party was having talks with black leaders and some good relations had developed.

Mr Prinsloo appreciated Mr P.W. Botha favouring of a No vote.

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

AKG 10/3/92

PW is vengeful but harmless

By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

Sowetan 10/3/92

304A

FORMER State President Mr PW Botha's call for a "no" vote was "nonsensical" and "a vengeful utterance of a bitter, senile political has-been", callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro said last night.

Pat of Hillbrow, said both State President Mr FW de Klerk and Botha were offering "nothing" to black people.

"What we need is to create awareness among African people that revolution is the way for change," he said.

Erina of Port Elizabeth, said she was not surprised by Botha's intentions because he was the one who introduced the state of emergency and death



She called for a non-racial mass campaign to fight for proper negotiations.

Mark of Hillbrow warned Botha to get off De Klerk's back because he had his chance as a ruler.

Maelo said people must ignore Botha's delaying tactics. He (PW) should have quit the Nats when Dr No left to form the Conservative Party.

Nazeem of Hillbrow, said the former leader was no capable of thinking normally because of his age.

He was supported by Cuzi of Cape Town, who said Botha's statement showed he was senile.

He said: "We must accept we are all humans with the same needs and we must start thinking differently for any meaningful change."

Olifant of Soweto, said the 'Crocodile' must learn that change could not be stopped and if was not prepared for it he should dig his own grave.

William Kubheka of Daveyton, said whites should vote "no" so that the liberation struggle could start in the earnest.

He was supported by Gail of Cape Town, who said Codesa was nothing but a place where people "sit and drink tea and eat sandwiches while people are dying of poverty."

Interim rule confirmed

Sowetan 10/3/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

304A

CODESA will appoint a new Cabinet to run the country during the transitional period.

This executive will undoubtedly include senior leaders of the liberation movement.

Codesa's management committee chairperson Mr Previn Gordhan said yesterday Codesa would lay down the procedure for the appointment of a "transitional executive structure".

The announcement follows a breakthrough in negotiations last week. Agreement was reached in Working Group 3 yesterday after the discussion paper had been taken to the various political leaderships for their approval or amendment, Gordhan said.

Working Group 3 deals with the question of transitional arrangements on five general principles. These agreements are:

- The need for interim arrangement in order to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution;
- The creation of a transitional executive structure;
- The transitional structure shall initially be appointed in accordance with procedures agreed on by Codesa;
- Agreements reached at Codesa will have to be given effect by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation.

Agreement is still to be reached on the detailed objectives of the interim government; the actual structure and functions of the transitional executive; the position of the homelands and self-governing territories, and time frames.

Gordhan also announced last night that Codesa Two would be held at the World Trade Centre at the end of April and not at the end of March as previously envisaged.

NP pamphlet seeks to allay fears

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

STAR
10/3/92

304A

The National Party has spelt out its bottom line in negotiations in a pamphlet to be published today in which it reassures white voters about the future.

Communism will not be able to get a foothold in South Africa because the NP will insist that the new constitution builds in frequent multiparty elections, free enterprise and a market-oriented economy with strong security forces to uphold the constitution, the pamphlet says.

The question-and-answer pamphlet entitled "Why you can vote yes" — has been brought out to counter charges by the CP that President de Klerk is asking white voters for a "blank cheque" in negotiations.

It sets out some tough bottom-line NP positions in negotiations, mainly in the area of protecting minority interests, and states outright that power

in the new constitution will be shared among groups.

The pamphlet promises that the NP will not leave the negotiating table or conclude an agreement with anyone until the interests of all groups are entrenched in the constitution.

To one question: "But won't there be a black president who will turn into a dictator?", the answer is more constraints will be placed on the president's powers than now and they will be distributed among members of different parties.

A rotating presidency is envisaged and it will not be possible to take one-sided decisions.

To the fear "I don't want to be dominated by a radical black majority" the pamphlet answers that there are many people of colour who feel the same way as whites about this so the NP will not be a small minority party in a new constitution.

It will receive a lot of support from other groups. The constitution will be drafted so that

even small parties are represented through proportional representation and there will be a second house of parliament constituted to prevent minorities being adversely affected.

To the question: "Will I have a say in the things which concern my community" the answer is that the government will not govern the country from one central point. Regional and local governments will have real autonomous power.

Provision will be made for smaller management units in the form of neighbourhood councils.

Answering the concern that "nobody must be able to just take away my property" the pamphlet says that the right to life, freedom and ownership of property will be properly protected and not even the government will be able to take away your car, house, business, pension savings etcetera.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Artists to join forces

STAR 10/3/92
A large number of theatre artists, opera singers, ballet and contemporary dancers, film producers, stage managers, technicians and others in the entertainment field will jointly call for a "yes" vote when they meet at a Johannesburg hotel later this week. (25) 304A

(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, Johannesburg.

Campaign 'too soft'

(304A)
The "yes" referendum campaign has been criticised by former Johannesburg mayor David Neppe, who claims the "peace and prosperity" slogans are too soft to inspire support. Urging the organisers to toughen up their message, he said it was essential that the message should stress that a positive response to the referendum was a matter of sheer survival.

STAR 10/3/92

Gays say 'yes' to FW

STAR 10/3/92
Pretoria's gay community is to throw a "razzmatazz yes vote party" in one of the city's gay bars tomorrow night. Eugene Saayman, a spokesman for the homosexual community in Pretoria, said drag queens acting as pom-pom girls, drum majorettes and gay send-ups would all be part of the vote "yes" bash.

304A

Overseas poll booths

(304A)
The locations of more than 250 polling stations for special voters were published yesterday in a Government Gazette. The notice said polling booths would be established on March 11 and 12 for those living outside the country and on March 14 and 16 for those living inside the country. Among the countries where polling booths are to be established include the US, Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Japan, Italy, Greece, the UK and Turkey.

S-7472-10/3/92

Lack of progress holds up next plenary session

STAR 10/3/92

By Esther Waugh (304A)

The next plenary session of Codesa has been postponed, "most likely until the end of April", because of a lack of progress in the five working groups.

It was decided at Codesa 1 in December that the next plenary session was to be held before the end of this month.

"Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the working groups' progress did not allow Codesa to keep to schedule.

"The groups would be encouraged to deal with "substantive" matters within the new suggested time-frames.

In an important breakthrough all Codesa participants have agreed that a "transitional executive structure" be agreed and appointed by Codesa.

Agreement was reached after a draft document was approved by the respective principals.

In terms of the document, all Codesa participants agreed:

- On the need for transitional arrangements to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution.

- That an important aspect of these arrangements would be the creation of a transitional executive structure.

- That Codesa agreements would be given constitutional

and legal form through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation.

No agreement has yet been reached by the working group dealing with transitional arrangements on how members to the "transitional executive structure" would be appointed.

The limited agreement provided a useful basis for constructive discussions on further aspects of the transitional arrangements, said Mr Gordhan.

These aspects included: the objective of such arrangements; the structure and functions of the transitional executive and transitional legislative; the position of the homelands and

self-governing states; and time-frames for the implementation of Codesa decisions.

The working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity yesterday reached a common understanding on the need for co-operation between the National Peace Secretariat and Codesa after it was briefed by National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

Mr Gordhan, replying to a query, said he was not aware of any discussions yesterday on the Government's insistence that private armies should be disbanded before it would enter into agreements.

Treurnicht's East European analogy is fallacious, argues Sara Pienaar

SA a different kettle of fish

Star 10/3/92

3041

OVER the past eighteen months and with increasing frequency during the referendum campaign, the Conservative Party has pointed to the collapse of communism and the eruption of nationalism in the USSR (now the CIS, or Commonwealth of Independent States) and Eastern Europe to support its vision for South Africa. For Dr Treurnicht and his followers, the bloodbaths of Croatia and Nagorno-Karabakh illustrate the evils of communism and the tragic consequences of ignoring nationalist aspirations.

The angry and indomitable Afrikaner, the ferocious Zulu and perhaps others as well, would take to the warpath in search of independence.

Dr Treurnicht's analysis of events in the former USSR and Eastern Europe is simplistic, though not entirely incorrect, but the conclusions he draws from it are dangerously wrong. Far from preventing racial conflict, his proposals would guarantee that it came to pass.

The parallels between developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe and those in South Africa are often drawn. Put very simply, they go like this: In both parts of the world, mixed populations were forced to live under totalitarian governments and subjected to rigid ideologies (communism there, apartheid here) which showed little respect for human rights. The Soviet government's federal structures did permit some of the USSR's 150-odd nations a degree of control over their own affairs and after World War 2, Tito created a federal Yugoslavia with republics for each of the country's six main nations. Because communist governments prohibited any manifestations of

nationalism other than those of which they approved, their collapse has provoked an explosion of competing nationalisms which the tottering central authorities cannot contain.

In South Africa, we had the ban-tustans, which were supposed to satisfy black aspirations while leaving virtually the whole country in white hands. The breakdown of the nationalist government's authority has led to much the same kind of chaos here as in the CIS and Yugoslavia. These parallels are all very well but, for three reasons, the conclusions to be drawn from them are very different from Dr Treurnicht's.

First, although most Soviet and Yugoslav republics have opted for independence, virtually all of them are plagued by the demands of dissatisfied national minorities within their borders. When authoritarian central governments were in control, there was little that these minorities could do, but today they are responsible for much of the chaos which has so impressed the CP.

The giant Russian republic may, for example, carry within itself the seeds of its own destruc-

tion. Of its 150 million people, at least 27 million are non-Russian and most of them are now demanding independence. Azerbaijan's seven million inhabitants include 180 000 Armenians in the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In Yugoslavia, it was not so much Croatia's declaration of independence from Serbian Belgrade which led to the recent war, but the fact that Serbs make up 11 percent of its population. In neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, the population mix is even more complicated. By contrast, Belgrade has reluctantly accepted that the ethnically-homogenous state of Slovenia will go its own way.

The second point is that the borders of the future states of the CIS and of whatever emerges from the ashes of Yugoslavia will inevitably be a lethal bone of contention, having been drawn long ago and with scant regard for population distribution. Although the CIS wisely agreed last December that however illogical their borders might be, they would not try to change them by force, there are ominous signs that the agreement will not hold. Russia's demands

that Ukraine return the Crimea to her are only a foretaste of what may be to come as smaller national units go for independence.

The war in Croatia was not only about the fate of Serbian minorities, but also about the republic's frontiers and territory.

Thirdly, decades of economic interdependence in the CIS and Yugoslavia make complete independence a dangerous mirage and will provide the richer states with the wherewithal to hold the weaker to ransom. There may also be endless and bitter quarrels over valuable resources.

Treurnicht sees the creation of racially-based territorial units as the answer to national self-respect and survival. The truth, however, is that in a country whose complex and linked peoples have all too little cause to love each other, it is a sure recipe for civil war and poverty.

Such states could not be established in South Africa without creating substantial and hostile minorities unless we resorted to forced mass removals, or made the units so tiny as to be totally unviable. Their frontiers would be an endless source of conflict and

they could not survive without close economic co-operation, which their hatred of each other would render most unlikely.

For English speakers, as it was for Russians in the former USSR, it is all too easy to ignore the sensitivities of small nations, fearful for the future of their own languages and religions, and cultures. But to create a white homeland anywhere, even in the wastes of the north-western Cape (where whites are in any case still a minority) would be a calamitous mistake.

As with Eastern Europe, and the former USSR, South Africa's main task is to build a stable democracy. If Dr Treurnicht and his party truly have Afrikaner interests at heart, let them come to Co-deesa to help build a new constitution and to discuss how best minorities can be protected within a democratic civil society. To point to Yugoslavia and the USSR as arguments for partition is at best, misconceived and at worst downright misleading. □

● Sara Pienaar is Research Associate at the South African Institute of International Affairs.

The accusation that the Mother City is making little effort to move towards transition is false, writes Helen Zille

Cape Town is so far ahead it seems to lag behind

STAR 10/3/92

304A

203

THE time has come to go on record to address a growing perception that in Cape Town, compared with other cities, "precious little" is being done to tackle the challenge of transition to a post-apartheid local order.

This perception, expressed by Professor Hermann Giliomee in a recent column, took root when the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber was established last year, and gained momentum as various local authorities in the Peninsula launched their own "negotiation initiatives".

The predictable result has been that just about everyone, from World Bank emissaries to local businessmen and political commentators, is asking: "Why not in Cape Town?"

The assumption is that if only the Cape Town City Council would stir itself to take the lead (as befits South Africa's most liberal city) it could "become the vehicle for the nonracial liberation of the

Cape Town metropolitan area," as Professor Giliomee ringingly phrased it.

This is a serious contention, which warrants closer examination. Before responding it is necessary to say up front that I am, among other things, a consultant to the Cape Town City Council. My purpose, however, is not to defend the council, but to attempt an honest analysis from the inside track.

I shall suggest that an evaluation of the evidence leads to precisely the opposite of Professor Giliomee's conclusion: no city in the country can match the Cape Town City Council's record for initiating local negotiations, across virtually every facet of urban transition. This process has been unfolding over more than three years, often in close consultation with community-based groups in the city.

It must be conceded that Cape Town has not made rapid progress in constitutional negotiations, which are but one facet of local transition. To most political commentators, however, constitutional negotiations are not just the Real, but the Only McCoy. It is important to note that were it up to the city council alone Cape Town would have had a constitutional negotiating forum as far back as 1985/86. At that time, when the city was in political turmoil, the council retained Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who now chairs the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber, to canvas the possibility of initiating local negotiations towards a democratic local government system.

After extensive consultations, Dr Slabbert concluded that this was unachievable, primarily because the "extra-parliamentary organisations" rejected any form of "local option" in the absence of a national political settlement. Since Slabbert's survey, the city council has repeatedly renewed its offer of constitutional negotia-

tions, most recently after the promulgation of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act. Each time, the response from important sectors of the Cape Town community has remained the same.

The Cape Town City Council could have followed the path chosen by some neighbouring white local authorities and negotiated with willing partners, such as management committees. Instead, the council has recognised that local constitutional negotiations must, from the outset, include representatives from both sides of the system/struggle chasm. Waiting has become even more difficult at a time when other councils are being publicly lauded for taking the bold initiative of negotiating with management committees.

It is hoped, however, that the logjam of local constitutional negotiations will be broken with a national interim government installed. This should happen within months of a positive referendum outcome.

Until then, constitutional transition in the Western Cape will make slow progress. But that does not imply inaction. A great deal of preparation remains to be done by all actors, and the council has not been idle. A year ago it appointed a high-powered task force of senior officials to research options, across a range of issues, for metropolitan transition. The task force's report was recently published and is to be circulated to all parties, with the primary aim of stimulating informed debate on local transition.

The city's Corporate Management Team is currently also researching various options for managing the process of transition, which will also be widely canvassed.

But it would be a major mistake to concentrate solely on the constitutional aspects of transition. Transition proceeds sector by sector, as most serious scholars of the process understand. And, interesting to establish whether any city in the country has done as much to initiate negotiations as the Cape Town City Council.

In almost every area of local government jurisdiction — planning, housing, transport, sport and recreation, economic development, inner city redevelopment — extensive efforts are being made to give community representatives a direct role in shaping policy during the transition period. In some of these areas significant progress has been made.

The notion that negotiations can simply be initiated and directed by official bodies was never valid. In a period of transition it is absurd. The Johannesburg City Council did not initiate the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber. Community organisations, with strong technical back-up were the driving force behind it. □

● Helen Zille is a Cape Town-based consultant.

Right prefers death to black rule

Inside the white

Afrikaner laager

Sowetan 10/3/92

(304A)

THE "No" placards line the highway north towards black Africa like an old Voortrekker wagon train.

As it was 140 years ago when it was founded, Potgietersrus is again on the frontier for Afrikaners, descendants of 17th century Dutch settlers, in what they see as a fundamental struggle against darkness and the devil.

The mining and market centre, and widely scattered settlements in endless thorn bush and farmlands around, is the angry, throbbing heart of the Conservative Party, fighting President FW de Klerk's campaign for a white "yes" to black power sharing.

Local experts say at least 80 percent of voters in this region, devoutly Christian and immersed in a tradition of white supremacy, will vote no and demand a return to grand apartheid - separate states for white and black.

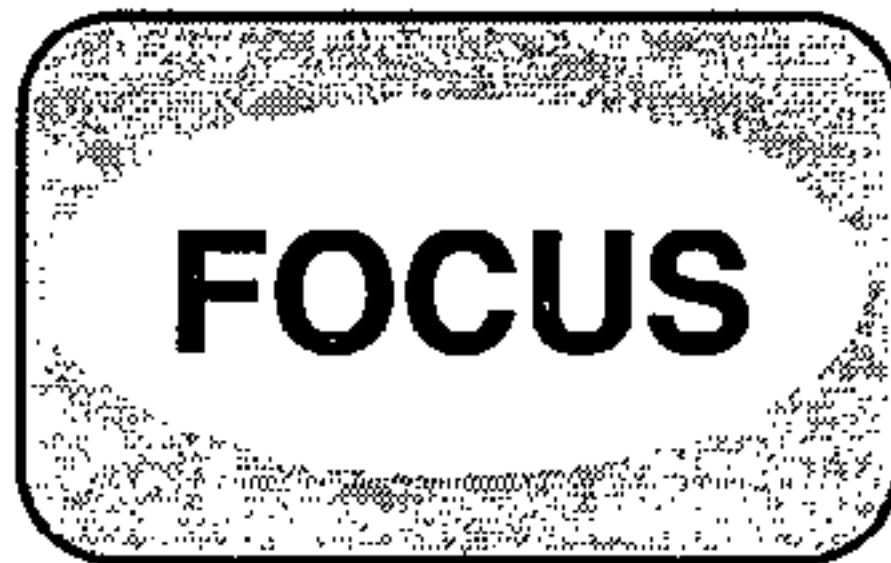
These proud and God-fearing people, who pray at every political gathering and pack their churches on Sunday, call De Klerk a traitor to his "volk" for wanting to give the vote to blacks, who outnumber whites by five to one.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the most notable black leader, is a communist, the anti-Christ.

They inhabit a remote world of harsh sun, parched earth and towering mesas, far from the multiracial, teeming cities where De Klerk will gain most votes, probably a majority, for change.

But political analysts say the Afrikaner right cannot be brushed aside.

Its adherents form a substantial part of the country's white popula-



tion of 5 million and include a steely core that has vowed to fight on even if defeated in the March 17 poll.

"We are not colonists like whites in the rest of Africa. We have nowhere to run. We will fight till we die against the communist, the anti-Christ. We will fight to the bitter end," said architect Mr Lafras Meyer.

Although many appear as dyed-in-the-wool backwoodsmen - men with teak legs rising into khaki shorts, women in country-fair frocks - others are scientists, engineers or computer specialists at home in the high-tech world.

All are unhappy and angry, con-

fused at the about turn by De Klerk and his National Party, the party that invented apartheid to secure the white tribe's place in a hostile black continent.

In interviews at a rugby field alongside the great north highway, where 3 000 from the town's white community of 10 000 cheered rightwing leaders, people spoke not just of fighting for a referendum win but for the religious and family values they have cherished amid considerable adversity for 300 years.

The first trekkers who circled their wagons here in 1852 were forced to retreat by malaria and hostile blacks, but within 10 years they were back.

"Anyone who touches their religion, their children's schools and their language gets their back up," said local journalist Wilma Botha. "They are voting no because they believe, rightly or wrongly, they are going to lose all."

People arrived at the town meeting as families and friends. They laid blankets out for the children as darkness fell. Women unpacked hampers and men shook out picnic chairs.

They stressed their Christian values of honesty and hard work and spoke scornfully of blacks as deceitful and lazy.

Over and again, men swore to die rather than yield to what they called the terminal sickness of black rule and communism as represented by Mandela's African National Congress.

One poster read "Say no to De Klerk and Cancer".

Three friends, an architect, an engineer and a computer programmer, said De Klerk had reneged on pledges to keep schools white and never hand his office to a black president. His reforms had brought black unrest and rising crime and life for the whites had never been worse.

Echoing the original Voortrekkers, who took on an unknown continent rather than succumb to British rule and foreign "enlightenment", they expressed utter contempt for sanctions and threats of renewed isolation if they vote no.

"We know sanctions and they didn't work. Look at the rest of Africa, which has all the world as a friend. They come here for food and work," said country store owner Mr Piet Kleynhans.

"The Nats are doing everything to satisfy President George Bush, but we are worse off than we have ever been," said Mr Bertus Moller, the computer expert. "Sanctions? Black rule would be the end of us."

- Sapa-Reuter.



FW de Klerk

Foreign nationals eligible to vote

Political Staff

STAR
10/3/92

Hundreds of thousands of foreign nationals who have lived in South Africa for five years or more may apply for South African citizenship — and be eligible to vote in the referendum next week — without giving up their foreign citizenship.

This emerges from the regulations governing naturalisation.

Their votes could have a major impact on the outcome of this critical test of white political sentiment.

There is no impediment in South African legislation to

(3041)
dual nationality, although the Department of Home Affairs advises foreign applicants to clarify the implications with the authorities in the countries of their birth.

The requirements for naturalisation are that the applicant must:

- Have lived in South Africa for five years (four years if he or she can speak both English and Afrikaans).

- Intend to remain in South Africa.

- Be able to speak English or Afrikaans satisfactorily.

- Be of good character.

(236)
● Have an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of a South African citizen.

- Be prepared to take the oath of allegiance.

Applications can be made to the nearest regional or district representative of the Department of Home Affairs.

A certificate showing the applicant's proficiency in English or Afrikaans must be provided ... or the applicant must undergo a language test.

Applicants must also provide a copy of their permanent residence permit.

(Report by M Morris, Press Gallery, Parliament)

Don't play with fire, De Klerk told

By Patrick Laurence

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht last night warned President de Klerk and the Ministry of Law and Order that they were "playing with fire" by opening the police force to ANC members.

Addressing about 1 500 enthusiastic supporters in the Johannesburg City Hall, Dr Treurnicht wanted to know how many of the 15 000 planned new recruits would be white and how many would be ANC members.

He warned of infiltration by former ANC guerrillas into the police force and of the danger of a take-over of the police by the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Earlier, new CP recruit and Johannesburg City councillor Cecil Long told the crowd that nearly all the 15 000 planned reinforcements would be poorly-trained black "special constables".

After accusing President de

Klerk of "emasculating" the SAP and the SADF and of allowing the situation to deteriorate to "anarchy verging on civil war", Dr Treurnicht told his supporters not to attach much importance to the anticipated formal dissolution of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its place would be taken by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), he said, adding: "Seven African countries are already training thousands of Apla men."

Dr Treurnicht did not tell his audience that Apla is under the control of the Pan-Africanist Congress, not the ANC.

The CP leader focused on the imminent confiscation of land from white farmers in Zimbabwe and demanded to know from President de Klerk: "How will you protect (white) land if you negotiate yourself out of power?"

Dr Treurnicht was loudly cheered when he praised former president P W Botha for

his decision to vote "no" in the referendum next week and for his condemnation of the "spirit of gradual abdication" which he detected in Mr de Klerk.

Both Dr Treurnicht and Clive Derby-Lewis, who chaired the meeting, attacked Mr de Klerk for declaring that the CP regarded English-speaking whites as "voting fodder".

English-speakers were founder-members of the CP, they said.

The CP's constitution had been available in English and Afrikaans from the moment of its inception, Mr Derby-Lewis said. "It took the National Party 31 years to translate its constitution into English," he added.

More than half of Dr Treurnicht's speech was delivered in English. Part of it was devoted to a denial that the CP is anti-Jewish. The meeting was opened by an English-speaking clergyman, Fred Shaw.

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Mandela allays 'real' white fears

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

304A

ANC president Nelson Mandela believes whites will vote "yes" in the referendum next week — but has warned that if there is a "no" vote and Codesa collapses, the ANC will "return to the struggle of the old days, with much regret".

Mr Mandela told The Star yesterday that he was optimistic that a majority of whites would vote for reform, and he moved to reassure those who believed the Conservative Party when it said a "yes" vote was tantamount to "white suicide".

"We are against an ethnic referendum, but it is important to ensure that the peace process proceeds.

"For this reason we would like whites to vote 'yes'.

"I think the forces of peace and progress are too strong to be defeated by the forces of darkness."

In a major interview, as the referendum campaign enters its last week, the ANC leader:

- Reassured whites who were being panicked by Conservative Party claims about the evils of a democratic future government which included the ANC.

- Said President Mugabe's plans to nationalise farm land in Zimbabwe had no bearing on the situation in South Africa.



- Dismissed former President P W Botha's call on whites to vote "no".

Mr Mandela said he would deeply regret it if whites voted against reform.

"If there is a 'no' vote, then we will have to fight again, as we fought for the past 40 years.

"The NP was once in exactly the same position as the CP is today — we fought and turned them around, and we will do so again."

False perceptions

Addressing white fears of nonracial government, the ANC leader said these were genuine and understandable. There were false perceptions which he would like to correct, however.

For example, whites feared falling standards and many in the public service and security forces thought they would lose their jobs.

"This is totally false," he said. "We have no such intention.

"I don't think a new govern-

ment would last very long if it just dismissed people.

"Everybody will be secure under a democratic government.

"A process of democratisation would begin from the top — we would be failing in our duty if we did not democratise the services — but if some officials were to be retired, it would be on the most favourable and secure terms. They wouldn't lose their benefits.

"Nobody should fear that they will lose out."

Reacting to fears that Mr Mugabe's intention to nationalise white farms would cause whites in South Africa to vote "no", Mr Mandela said: "We will be influenced by our own conditions, not those of Zimbabwe. For example, Zimbabwe believes in a one-party state. We believe in a multiparty state."

He said the whole policy of nationalisation was under review, and a major ANC conference on the subject was scheduled for May.

Mr Mandela said that while the views of a former state president should not be underestimated, P W Botha's intervention in the referendum would have only limited influence. "Some who still respect him will follow his lead," he said. "But I do not think this is going to swing the result. I was not disappointed or surprised (by his statement)."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)



On the offensive . . . Dr Treurnicht makes a point during last night's meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall which was attended by about 1 500 CP supporters. Picture: Joao Silva

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL TODAY . . .

De Klerk to blitz STAR 10/3/92 northern Cape

By Michael Sparks (304A)

President de Klerk's schedule on the campaign trail has been worked out with split-second precision as he musters support today in the northern Cape.

He will be spending the late afternoon in Kimberley, including a meeting at 5.10 pm with businessmen in a Kimberley hotel. At 5.28 pm he is due to move from his suite to the reception area. Then at 5.30 pm he will be led into the reception area where he will deliver a short speech, before going on to the town hall.

A host of other National Party Cabinet Ministers will also be speaking around the country. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha will be talking in the Newcastle Farmer's Hall in Natal. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel will talk in Parow, while Mineral and Energy Minister George Bartlett will be in the Natal Midlands.

In the Free State, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis will appear in Bloemfontein and Trade and Industry and Economic co-ordination Minister Derek Keys will talk in Heuwel-sig. Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach will talk in Bainsvlei.

Deputy Agricultural Minister Tobie Meyer will be speaking in Colesberg.

Asking voters to support his "no" campaign, Dr Andries Treurnicht will be speaking at the Germiston City Hall while other CP speakers appear in Vryheid, Empangeni and Underberg.

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

'No vote will place ET at head of SADF'

By Peter Davies ^{STAR} 10/3/92

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Tuynhuys, HNP leader Jaap Marais as Speaker of the House and the AWB's Eugene TerreBlanche as the Minister of Defence would be the result of a "no" vote in Tuesday's referendum.

This was spelt out in Democratic Party leaflets distributed at three rallies in Johannesburg last night.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, who spoke at all three venues, urged voters to back negotiations and future investment and warned of the effects of a "no" vote.

He said the referendum would be the "most important vote in the country's history".

Dr de Beer said people were not voting for or against the National Party, the Government or President de Klerk.



Dr Zach de Beer . . . "a no vote will mean a return to Verwoerdian policies".

The real issue people would be voting for on March 17 was for negotiation and dialogue.

He said a "no" vote would mean a return to classic Ver-

woerdian apartheid policies.

Referring to the Conservative Party's policy of self-determination, he said: "They are offering 1958's burst tyres as a re-treaded 1992 model."

Houghton MP Tony Leon said he was glad that former State President P W Botha had joined the "no" faction.

"Botha comes to the referendum campaign stained by failure and reeking of bile. A 'yes' vote would mean the closing of the chapter of P W Botha and his predecessors and a turning of our backs on the fatal attraction of apartheid."

Mr Leon added that a "no" vote would see "the rag-tag-riff-raff who comprise the 'no' camp raising their inverted swastikas over the Union Buildings, presaging the 1 000 years of darkness into which South Africa will be plunged".

(Report by P Davies, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

304A
STAR 10/3/92
**PW hits out at
treatment by NP**

Former president P W Botha allegedly told a Democratic Party MP recently that the ANC "treated Oliver Tambo better than the NP treated me".

This reference by Mr Botha to the ways that he and the former ANC president were treated when they suffered strokes, was reported by Houghton MP Tony Leon in a referendum speech in Rosebank last night.

He said that Mr Botha's public endorsement of the "no" vote at the weekend "personified the politics of resentment."

Mr Botha's approach was typified by the remark he made about the treatment of himself and Mr Tambo to a DP MP who visited him at his home.

"That nasty, snide and personal prejudice which so characterised his public life is now resurrected for the purpose of this referendum."

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Jurist Idasa guest

Sowetan
10/3/92

THE secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists, Mr Adama Dieng, will be a guest of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa from next Monday.

A statement said Geneva-based Dieng, of Senegal, would be visiting the universities of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Durban-Westville and Natal as part of a regular programme of visits to South Africa by African leaders organised by Idasa.

He would speak about the struggle for human rights in South Africa and procedures for establishing a culture of human rights. - Sapa.

Ciskei brings Codesa into its row with ANC

Sowetan 10/3/92

THE Ciskei government yesterday asked Codesa's management committee to suspend all proceedings of the convention until the ANC had called off its campaign to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that the South African and Ciskeian governments and the ANC would meet today in "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in the Ciskei".

Codesa's management committee, however, has decided not to be drawn into the dispute.

Earlier at Codesa, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa and Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu had allied themselves with the Ciskei call, agreeing that proceedings be discontinued until the ANC committed itself to a "ceasefire".

Mr N Nogcantsi, chairman of Ciskei's council of ministers, said yesterday: "We believe that

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the parties cannot in good faith continue with the negotiating process while this threat remains in existence and the ANC acts unilaterally in contravention of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent."

According to a document of the ANC Border region - verified by NEC leaders yesterday - the ANC planned, among other things, to:

- Weaken Ciskeian leader Oupa Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- Isolate Gqozo politically;
- Expose Pretoria's agenda in the homeland;
- Bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

● To page 2

Row in Codesa

● From page 1

The Border region also said the Ciskei government did not have the support of the people in the region and it, therefore, had to resign.

However, the ANC said yesterday it regretted the fact that the Ciskei government had dragged a "regional dispute" into Codesa.

The ANC said the move was "calculated to sensationalise" the dispute while discussions around the issue were under way at Codesa's management committee.

The ANC Border region on February 13 requested a meeting with the Ciskei Cabinet to resolve the differences between the two parties in the region.

But in a letter from the Ciskei government, signed by Gqozo, the ANC request for talks was dismissed.

"The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting," Gqozo said in his reply dated February 17.

Codesa's management committee chairman Mr Previn Gordhan last night said that the convention had decided not to get involved in the dispute between the Ciskei and the ANC.

"The view of the management committee is that the dispute is best solved on a bi-lateral basis between the ANC and Ciskei," he said.

Take a stand against Nazism - FW tells CP

Sowetan 10/3/92 304A
 THE Conservative Party should take a stand against the fascists and Nazis in its ally the AWB, the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, said yesterday.

He told an enthusiastic audience of 1 200 in the Bloemfontein City Hall that the National Party was sick of being accused of espousing communism while negotiating a constitution that was its very antithesis.

"I say let us fight communism, but let us also fight fascism and Nazism and I challenge the CP to take a firm stand on this."

The NP did not believe that the South African Communist Party had a future.

"But there are other ideologies which have been just as devastating, namely fascism and Nazism.

"They are just as bad and dangerous. These two ideologies are also doing the rounds in South Africa and are strongly represented in the AWB.

"You only need to read their constitution and look at their insignia. The difference is that the AWB is in an official alliance with the CP."

The threesome of Dr Andries Treurnicht, Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, the leaders of the CP, HNP and AWB, was as close as they could possibly get.

So close, in fact, that Terre Blanche could do a complete turnaround within hours on whether his organisation would take part in the referendum because his CP comrades had finally decided to go in, De Klerk said.

He challenged the CP: "Do they think that Nazism and fascism with whom they are in alliance is less dangerous than the communists whom we oppose just as strongly as they do?"

Just yesterday, he said, a TV antenna had been blown up near Port Elizabeth and it was common knowledge that internal military intelligence was used to break into government arms stores.

"There are also other rightwing groupings toying with dangerous ideologies."

(Report by Pierre Claassen of Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament.)

PROponents of a "yes" vote in next week's referendum seem, at this remove at any rate, to be offering voters a choice between a leap into uncertainty and a rapid descent into hell. Since uncertainty is not the most appealing of political platforms, they have tended to lavish their rhetoric on the hell aspect. A "no" vote, they warn, is a vote for massive unrest, capital flight, renewed sanctions, even, according to Zach de Beer, a naval blockade.

Maybe so, although military intervention is scarcely likely. Why should the rest of the world squander resources on doing to SA what it will already be doing to itself at no expense to foreign taxpayers? Truth be told, policymakers out here have not really applied their minds to what they might do if "yes" loses.

A CP victory is such an appalling contingency that most people have avoided planning for it in any detail. The unthinkable, by definition, is something not thought about. Besides, responsible leaders have taken the view that making explicit threats would only complicate things for President F W de Klerk by fuelling the charge that he is more interested in gaining foreign kudos than in securing the future of his tribe.

Remember, too, that even when it seems to be on the edge of national auto-da-fé, SA is off the geopolitical radar screen these days. It can pull its neighbours down with it, but, in the larger scheme of things, what are we really talking about? Not Iraq and the Middle East. Only Africa.

Herein, perhaps, lies the really bad news. If "no" wins, there is not even the consolation that the outside world will unite to put SA out of its misery quickly. There will be no deus ex machina to set things in order once and for all. South Africans will have to put the pieces back together pretty much by themselves. That will be an inordinately more sanguine and difficult task than it is at present.

In any event, dwelling on the consequences of "no" is not the best way

Ronald Reagan could help FW pull off his landslide

6/Day 10/3/92 **SIMON BARBER in Washington** (3044)

to elicit a strong "yes" vote in a political environment where the irrational reigns. If voters are already gatol of the present and terrified about the future, merely adding to their terror is of marginal utility. Indeed, it may serve only to disconnect them further from reality.

You do not give a man at the end of his tether a handgrenade and then start yanking the tether by telling him that if he pulls the pin things can only get worse. By doing so, you encourage him to pull the pin. If you must give him the grenade — which is in effect what De Klerk has done by calling the referendum — it is then incumbent on you to cheer the fellow up and get him excited about the possibilities of living.

It is probably superfluous to say that almost anyone would be better suited for the task of cheering up white voters than the NP. It is like asking the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to lead a revival meeting of former gulag inmates. There is a credibility gap. Unfortunately, in SA's case, there is no one but the Nats to do it.

God knows what Saatchi and Saatchi has been telling De Klerk that a politician of his widely touted calibre should not have been able to figure out for himself. That he even felt he needed such sultans of spin is



President F W de Klerk needs to emulate Ronald Reagan's upbeat campaigning style.

not an encouraging sign, betraying, as it does, a certain lack of self-confidence at the very moment when radiating confidence should have been his first priority.

The message De Klerk must get across is very simple. SA's future is bright, brighter than it has been for generations. A "yes" vote is not a vote for the lesser of two evils, but for higher living standards, safe streets, good schools and secure property. Codesa and what follows from it leads not to more uncertainty but, in Churchill's phrase, "a sunlit upland".

Fine, so when the sober calculations are done, this is an optimistic reading of the situation. But it is not an impossible one. And, rather more importantly, the more people begin to believe it is not impossible, the more realisable it becomes. For one thing, the economic growth essential to any attractive scenario for SA's future depends on investors and savers being convinced in advance that the future will be better than the present.

To use an American analogy, De Klerk needs to act more like Ronald Reagan and less like George Bush. There may not have been a great deal of substance to a lot of what Reagan said and did, but as a campaigner he was unbeatable because he made his audiences feel good about themselves and about their country. The phrase "Morning in America", the theme of his 1984 re-election campaign, defies cold analy-

sis but, by God, whatever it meant, Reagan made people believe it and the country prospered.

Bush, by contrast, finds it extremely difficult to be inspirational. Indeed, his patrician background seems to militate against the "vision thing", as he calls it. In 1988, he ran as Reagan's heir and owed much of his success to trashing a pitifully weak opponent who was voted against as much as Bush was voted for. This year he is adopting much the same strategy, telling voters, in effect, I am the president, I have done as decent a job as the Democratic Congress would let me, sorry I had to break my no-new-taxes pledge, my Democratic opponent will not be able to do any better, so re-elect me.

Now Bush may still win, but if he does, it will probably be narrowly and because he has portrayed himself — with some help from the Democrats — as the less undesirable of the two choices. He will also have used the power of the presidency to buy off a few key constituencies, including the hard core conservative supporters of the rebellious Patrick Buchanan. The one thing he will not have done, if current trends hold, is explain what he wants to do in the next four years or why America will be a better place when he is finished.

This is not a style De Klerk should emulate with his country's future in the balance. He and his party should be proselytising the glories of multi-racial government rather than beating up on ambassador Harry Schwarz for merely daring to mention that if Codesa proceeds on its present course, there will be one quite shortly.

Such behaviour suggests the Nats are just as scared of the future as the CP and would rather con their way through by practising denial. The net effect, from this distance anyway, is merely to confirm the electorate in its present state of funk — very much as all the presidential candidates are doing over here.

Better, surely, to try and stir a little enthusiasm for the product. Otherwise it may only be mourning in SA.

Report by S Barber, TML, Vermont Ave, Washington DC.

PW, Gorbachev similar

ALTHOUGH former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev was often compared with fellow reformist President F W de Klerk, Gorbachev was actually more similar to De Klerk's predecessor, P W Botha, a visiting Russian academic has concluded.

Vladimir Tikhomirov, who has spent the last six months writing a book which compares the transition process in SA to that in the former Soviet Union, has concluded.

Both Botha and Gorbachev initiated the reform processes in their respective countries with the intention of securing the dominance of their parties, Tikhomirov says.

Speaking at a media

Russian

last week, Tikhomirov said both leaders' reforms were intended to restructure ailing economies, to a great extent leaving aside the political implications of their actions.

Because he initiated the reform process, Botha was a great SA leader, even though his reforms were limited, Tikhomirov said.

But Gorbachev and Botha both became paralysed when the reform process they initiated required the restructuring of political power relations, something neither of them could see through to its ultimate conclusion.

Tikhomirov also made the controversial assertion that a new SA parliament should make provision for an ethnically elected chamber to limit the possibility of ethnic conflicts.

Such a chamber should not have veto rights over legislation, he said, but should provide ethnic groups with a means of protecting their rights.

Tikhomirov's book will be published soon by the International Freedom Foundation under the title: States in Transition: Russia and SA.

Companies slated over pollution of SA rivers

DARIUS SANAI

COMMERCIAL and industrial pollution is turning SA rivers into "cesspools", and industries, notably in Durban, must rectify the situation immediately or be threatened with consumer boycotts and factory pickets, says a leading scientist.

Michael Schleyer, assistant director of the Oceanographic Research Institute in Durban, said in a statement yesterday that many firms were clandestinely pouring their waste into the nearest stream or stormwater drain instead of paying for professional waste disposal services.

Waste being dumped ranged from old engine oil to highly toxic heavy metal waste, Schleyer said.

The problem was particularly bad in the Durban area, which suffered from inadequate sewage facilities. The recession had worsened matters by making firms more willing to cut corners to trim expenses.

Three rivers and the city's storm drainage system all flowed into Durban's bay area, he said.

"Unless the harbour pollution problem is urgently addressed, it will affect Durban's status as SA's premier tourist resort," Schleyer said. "It's only a matter of time before our beaches become littered with junk heaps of waste."

He said the Oceanographic Research Institute could play a pivotal role in monitoring pollution, but needed the private sector to provide funds necessary to establish a

monitoring unit. Some businesses had realised the extent of the problem and had started to police themselves, Schleyer said.

Authorities were "virtually powerless" to redress the situation. The Durban municipality had more pressing problems on its hands, including the provision of housing for an estimated 2-million squatters on the city's doorstep.

The Water Affairs Department was hampered by a shortage of personnel and ponderous legislation which had resulted in only a handful of successful prosecutions over the past decade.

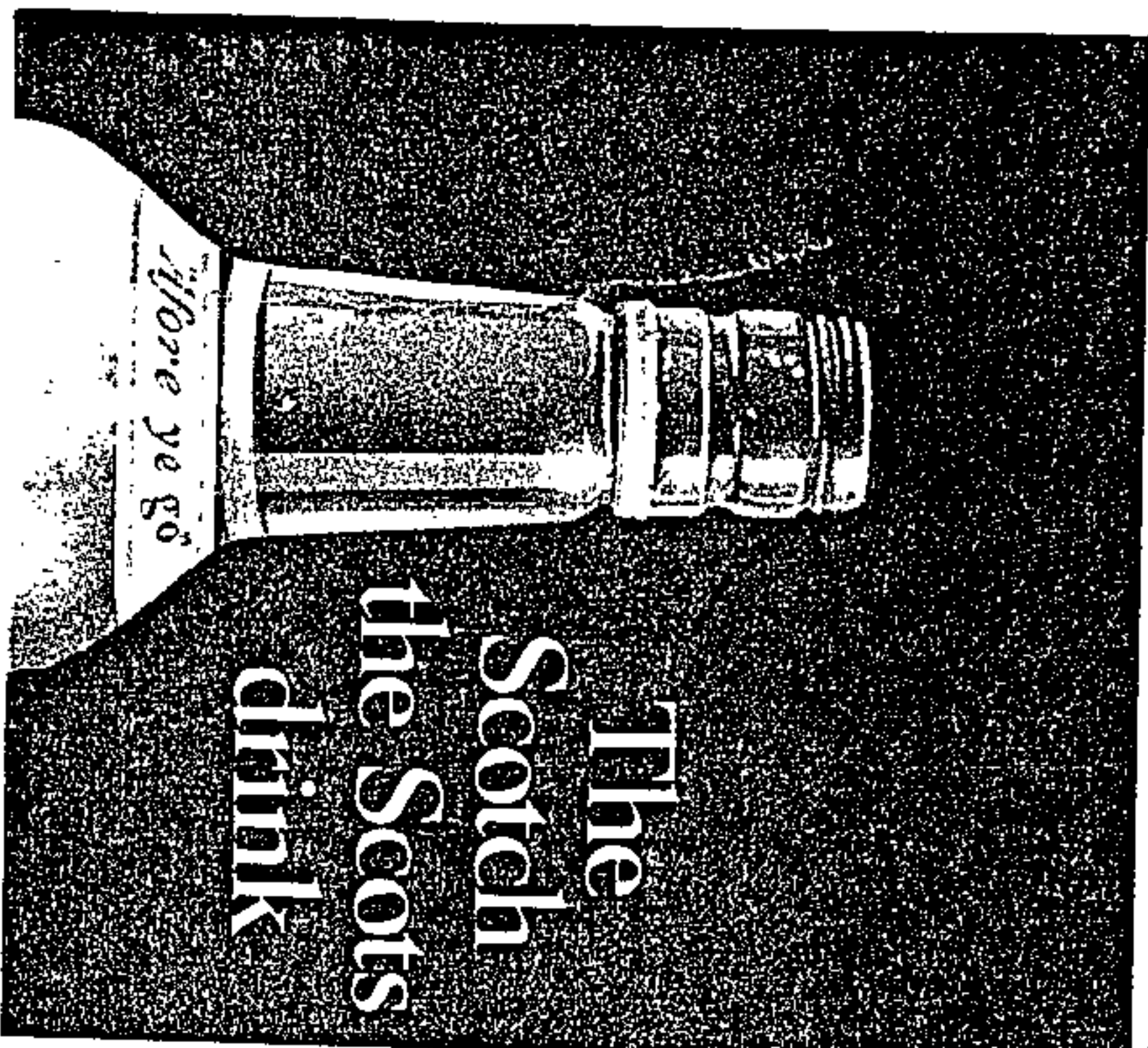
Portnet, which controls the badly polluted harbour area, could only react to the pollution flowing into areas under its jurisdiction.

Two pilot projects had been set up by businesses wanting to police themselves.

The first, the Maydon Wharf Conservancy, was started last year, and Schleyer said it had been a success. Industries policed their neighbours and kept a lookout for illicit dumping.

"Retribution of offenders is limited to a stern chat and, if need be, ostracism at the local club — but it's having the desired effect," Schleyer said.

But the schemes were not enough, and the problem had to be addressed with far more urgency.



ot dnoitaw uou uag noy uatd eouanuj eavinsicxe s' Bavaria's Auto 441741 +110

SABC explains voting abroad

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Home Affairs Department and the SABC joined forces last week to run international TV and radio broadcasts to explain voting procedures to citizens abroad.

A Home Affairs spokesman said yesterday the department had received numerous requests from foreign missions for greater information and as a result the SABC arranged satellite link-ups with various ambassadors and a Home Affairs official to explain the procedures for voting abroad on March 11 and 12.

The spokesman said the department could not allow citizens temporarily abroad, estimated at about 150 000, who were eligible to vote in the March 17 referendum, to cast their votes if they did not comply with the conditions set down in the Referendums Act.

The spokesman said the Act laid down that only ID documents or temporary ID documents accompanied by a passport and temporary residence permits or study/work permits would be acceptable. *B1 Day 10/3/92*

Temporary ID documents were only issued within the republic.

There were complaints that consuls and embassies where people could vote were too far-flung.

The spokesman said it was impractical to expect government to set up offices internationally.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

DP opens new front in appeal to voters

B1 Day 10/3/92

BILLY PADDOCK

DP PARLIAMENTARIANS last night opened a new front in the referendum campaign by focusing voters' attention on the fundamental nature of the question and urging them to put the P W Botha era behind them once and for all.

Speakers at a variety of venues across the Reef last night said the vital need for a "yes" majority was to ensure that negotiations continued for a new constitution, giving all people equal rights and dignity.

Houghton MP Tony Leon said whites had, since the Union of 1910, been the judge and jury on the political choices facing SA.

Former President P W Botha had now joined the "no" campaign, bringing a graphic reminder that voting "no" meant a return to emergency rule; to his regime which was not too fussy about detaining 50 000 South Africans without trial and of extinguishing fundamental freedoms.

"A 'yes' victory next Tuesday means we can commence the construction of a constitution where individual choice and personal responsibility will be the bricks and mortar of the new SA," Leon said.

Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal said by backing the "no" vote Botha had put himself on the same side "as that demagogue Eugene TerreBlanche — the man who has difficulty staying on his horse".

The referendum and the question both relate to reform and negotiation. Both were brought about because the NP was being undermined by losses in by-elections and President F W de Klerk had to seek a new mandate to continue with Codesa.

He said the best team to negotiate on behalf of whites was the DP/NP team pitted against the CP/HNP/AWB. Voters had to decide whose side they wanted to be on.

A positive result would not provide immediate improvements, but would signal to other people in SA and to the outside world that whites had finally shed apartheid.

Bezuidenhout MP Geoff Engel said the apartheid years had been tough, and that as a nation South Africans had become poorer by an average of 15% over the last 10 years.

Only a "yes" majority could uplift the country from the gloomy downward spiral.

Berea MP Dennis Worrall said the NP government's record was not an issue in the referendum. "The 'yes' is not for the NP, but for the reform negotiation process. Secondly, the hope is that with a strong 'yes' vote, we can move on to a new government which includes a greater range of talent from the total population."

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

THERE are political slogans spray-painted on the back of almost every road sign on the highway between Nelspruit and Phalaborwa. Most of them simply say "Stop F W!". One, however, screams "De Klerk — veraniërl (traitor)".

It has been punctured by six bullets, fairly accurately reflecting the mood of most whites in the north-eastern Transvaal.

Phalaborwa recently joined the growing number of small towns to earn notoriety for the archaic political views of their inhabitants.

In this instance, local farmers with AWB loyalties threatened a showdown with black taxi drivers in January when the drivers complained about their taxi rank being moved. The police were called in when AWB men and black protesters were scheduled to clash: the blacks were turned away from the town.

The town centre is quiet, still suffering the effects of a lingering black consumer boycott. It is easy to form a misguided impression of the mood of white inhabitants by talking to local shopowners: more than half say they will be voting "yes" in the referendum. But many of these people are scared to openly air their views.

Phalaborwa vilifies FW

By 10/3/92

3044

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 north-eastern Transvaal town of Phalaborwa.

A cafe owner was serving chips to customers, one black and one white; he professed hostility towards the referendum in public, but when his white customer had gone, he took me into his greasy office and said in a conspiratorial half whisper: "I'm totally in favour of a 'yes' vote." He said a "yes" was vital for all businessman and sportsmen, and that he feared the "nightmare" of isolation returning.

Most of Phalaborwa's small businessmen will be voting "yes" because they fear the effects of isolation on the economy, and because they have seen

what mass black action can do, in the form of the local consumer boycott.

But like "yes" voters in the other small eastern and northern Transvaal towns, and unlike some of their counterparts in Johannesburg, they see no moral obligation to affirm their faith in a changing SA: instead they stand as proof of the effectiveness of economic, cultural and sporting sanctions. Not one Phalaborwa "yes" voter said he would be voting that way to help the black people of SA.

In the light of this, it was hardly surprising to find that those with a less direct interest in the economy than the shopowners — farmers and factory workers — were firmly negative in their opinions.

But even a khaki outfit, a silvery beard and blazing blue eyes do not serve as a uniform in this latest civil war for the man stepping out of his bakkie at a parking lot, a clone of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, said he would vote "yes". Appearances are deceptive: the man was a shopowner on a day off, not a farmer.

One farmer told me: "I think the

REFERENDUM The voters' mood

referendum is a good idea, because we can show (President F W) De Klerk what we think of him, and that he is not representative of the white people."

Antonie, a process controller in a local factory, said that all 75 white employees in his workplace would be voting "no".

"I am willing to take up arms if the ANC comes to power," he said.

He moved from Tzaneen to Phalaborwa three years ago because he wanted to get away from blacks, he said. "And now I've got blacks living next door, and the value of my house has fallen. I want to send the bill to FW."

Did he want things to go back to the way they were 20 years ago?

"I'm not saying that, it wasn't perfect then, not for us and not for the

blacks," said Antonie. "But we want our home, and they can have theirs. I'm not prepared to give my country to (ANC president Nelson) Mandela, as De Klerk wants me to."

Confronted by the prospect of SA re-entering its recently shed international isolation under a CP government, most of the "no" voters professed to be ambivalent: "We survived before, and we can survive again." However, they agreed there would be problems if the CP had its way, and admitted they would be happier if a white homeland — which was what they were fighting to establish — was not isolated.

They said they did not understand why foreign governments should be so interested in what happened in SA. "There's racism in America, but we don't tell them what to do", was a comment repeated more than once. Another common argument was one of the oldest in the apartheid book: the reeling off of a list of names of African countries which were in a political and economic mess as an illustration that black people could not rule.

Ultimately, the right-wingers of Phalaborwa were united by two things: a venomous hatred of the "veraniërl" De Klerk, and a grim determination to fight for a volkstaat.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Mark of the Beast alternative

PEOPLE with religious objections to having their hands marked for the referendum will be able to fill in an affidavit and will not have to be daubed with liquid, a Home Affairs spokesman said. Some fundamentalist Christians believe the hand marking is the "Mark of the Beast" referred to in the Book of Revelations.

NGK mum on referendum

NGK theologian Prof Willie Jonker — who 18 months ago made a dramatic confession of guilt on behalf of the NGK for having supported apartheid — remained tight-lipped on the referendum this week. He said the NGK had opted not to use its influence to promote a specific political decision. *By 10/3/92*

1400 poll monitors appointed

POLITICAL organisers have until tomorrow to apply for more or fewer polling stations in their regions for next week's referendum.

Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn said most of the representatives for the expected 1 400 polling stations had already been appointed.

Special votes may be cast on Friday and Saturday this week and on Monday next week at any office of the Home Affairs Department or at a magistrate's office. Arrangements have also been made for special votes to be cast at hospitals and at homes for senior citizens. Four million ballot papers have been printed for the 15 regions.

Poster vandals: DP reward

THE DP's Cape Town head office yesterday offered a R50 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone tearing down or destroying referendum posters. The offer follows the outbreak of a poster war as the referendum campaign heats up.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Sapa

De Beer urges 'yes' vote to ensure SA's prosperity

By 10/3/92

3044

BILLY PADDOCK

DP LEADER Zach de Beer last night begged white voters to vote "yes" on March 17 to ensure peace, stability and protected equal rights.

Crime, poverty and unemployment would get worse, not better if people voted "no", De Beer said.

"For these economic ills are actually just the bitter fruit of the apartheid tree," he said at a referendum meeting at Athlone Girls' High School.

If voters said "no" they would place SA in the hands of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche and HNP leader Jaap Marais who were "the fanatics of apartheid".

Speaking during a gruelling schedule of three public meetings last night, De Beer said Codesa was negotiating for a new constitution which would provide equal and protected rights, and thus peace and prosperity.

"You are being asked to vote 'yes' so that Codesa can go on doing so. I beg you to do that," he said.

He said as long as there was racial discrimination there would not be peace. People could live together in peace only if they respected each other and recognised each person's equal dignity.

Equal dignity presupposed equal

rights and SA's constitution did not recognise that, so a new one was being negotiated. Codesa was the instrument that had been chosen to do this and a "yes" majority would ensure that the process continued with the moral and material support of government.

The case for prosperity was equally simple: In order for there to be enough food, clothing and shelter to go around, economic growth was essential. That meant a growing number of jobs and growing production of goods and services which could only happen if there was investment — mainly domestic, but also foreign — which would only happen if there was stability.

"Now, plainly, stability is possible only in a country where people generally believe they are getting a fair deal: so stability requires equal rights and their constitutional protection," he said.

De Beer said the CP and other right-wing groups were circulating numerous falsehoods in the referendum campaign.

Treurnicht's superficially persuasive propaganda about Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union was one of the primary lies.

Using the different republics in the

former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, he was justifying partition as the correct policy for SA but refrained from pointing out the differences between those two situations and SA.

Treurnicht was proposing to separate the nations (races) of SA into separate geographical blocks. In SA these nations "live all mixed-up" and for him to get the whites, Xhosa and Zulus to live in separate blocks he would have to move millions of people from their homes to other parts of the country, De Beer said.

That was not happening in Europe where nobody was being moved around the map.

"Separate geographical regions which formerly were members of a federation, have simply decided to become politically as well as geographically separate, and that is all. The parallel is entirely false, and the argument quite dishonest," he said.

The other falsehood was that a "no" vote was a protest vote against the government from white voters who were fed up with economic hardship and crime.

This referendum had nothing directly to do with the economic situation of the country.

"If you vote 'no' you are voting to stop negotiations, 'finished and klaar'. No more, no less," he said.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Referendum ads in Britain 'calling all South Africans'

LONDON — A full-page advertisement urging South Africans in Britain to vote "yes" in the referendum appeared in London's Daily Telegraph yesterday.

Headlined "Calling all South Africans!" and sponsored by the Private Sector Referendum Fund, the advert urged voters to "vote 'yes' on March 11/12 and make sure you have a place you can be proud to come home to".

Up to 70 000 South Africans are in Britain. The SA embassy in London, which is running a separate, neutral publicity campaign, last week fielded 5 000 telephone calls from information-hungry white voters. Embassy staff handled 250 "referendum calls" within the first two hours of work yesterday morning.

Embassy official Richard Carter said all South African or SA-linked companies in Britain and people who voluntarily registered at the embassy and SA clubs had been sent letters.

He and ambassador Kent Durr had "mounted quite a campaign — we've been on umpteen radio and television programmes".

CHRIS BATEMAN

Some callers who wanted advice on which way to vote were referred to speeches by CP leader Andries Treurnicht and President F W de Klerk, other political parties or newspaper articles.

Other callers were "more robust and told us in no uncertain terms what they were going to vote", Carter said.

He declined to say which of this category had formed the majority, "as we have to remain strictly neutral".

Scores of South Africans would be bused in from the Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester areas for early voting.

White voters (verified by the number coding in their identity documents) had to produce an ID book and a valid SA passport at the embassy in London or the Consulate-General in Glasgow to vote.

They would be required to fill in special applications to vote and sign affidavits saying they were temporarily in the UK.

"We are certainly expecting a few thousand people — and the odd demonstrator," Carter said.

Report by C Bateman, TML, 23 Hatton Gardens, London.

Azapo calls for boycott of referendum

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) called on whites yesterday to boycott next Tuesday's referendum, saying neither President F W de Klerk nor CP leader Andries Treurnicht could offer South Africans a brighter future.

The call on whites to boycott was made by Azapo's deputy president Nchaube Mokoape at a news conference in Durban, after a central committee meeting at the weekend.

"If white people in this country truly desire peace, prosperity, democracy and a productive future, they should boycott the coming racist referendum," said Mokoape.

He explained that SA's problems needed a lasting solution and not a "quick-fix" plan such as the referendum. Security for all would be guaranteed by the establishment of a truly democratic country through a constituent assembly.

Whites in SA were again being hoodwinked into choosing between two parties who both stood for apartheid, he said.

He accused De Klerk of tricking the CP into the referendum by calling for it so soon, claiming the CP would win easily if a referendum were held in 18 months' time.

— Sapa.

Prospect of a black uprising more dire than sanctions, SA

3044

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE reimposition of international sanctions in the event of a "no" vote in the March 17 referendum would be inconsequential compared to the prospect of a widespread black uprising, President F W de Klerk told white mineworkers in Welkom yesterday.

"I don't want to frighten people into voting 'yes', but forget about international sanctions," De Klerk said. "Do you think that 26-million people of colour in SA are going to sit by and say 'ja meneer, dankie meneer'? I don't."

His whirlwind pre-referendum road show swept through the Free State yesterday with visits to Sasolburg, Kroonstad, Welkom, Ficksburg and Bloemfontein.

Responding to former President P W Botha's announcement that he would vote "no" in the referendum, De Klerk said the NP had recognised the need for reform as far back as 1970. "There was a realisation while (then Prime Minister) B J Vorster was still leading the NP in 1970 that the policy of apartheid was out."

"Great leaders gave their lives, all their energy and talents, to make it work but the streaming of people to the cities, looking for jobs, made it impossible," he said.

Botha's tricameral Parliament was one

step on the road to reform and a new constitution, he said. A "yes" vote would not be a vote for the ANC — as CP posters in Welkom claimed. Nor would it be for the NP or "part of a plan for national suicide". It would be a vote for SA's survival.

A lone trumpeter played Die Stem as De Klerk and his wife Marike canvassed voters in a shopping centre in Welkom yesterday. Several members of the A WB's Weekend kommando hung around the fringes of the crowd of excited shoppers but little heckling occurred.

De Klerk told about 300 white

mineworkers at the Welkom Club that he did not want a recurrence of what was happening in Zimbabwe. Strong safeguards, including an independent judiciary, would be put in place through the new constitution, which would prevent arbitrary action by a future government.

Sapa reports that at a morning tea in Kroonstad, De Klerk stressed the "winner-take-all" constitutions of Zimbabwe and Namibia should be avoided.

He said the constitutions negotiated in those countries did not have all the checks and balances that he had spelled out for a future SA constitution. This was a power-sharing model with built-in factors to pre-

vent it

In a there Klerk had se tries. move move

Wel accom the sh though vote in Report by Sept. 404

growing nu
notoriety
views of th
In this
A WB loyal
with black
when the
their taxi r
were calle
black prot
clash: the
from the t
The tow
ing the ef
consumer
misguided
white inna
shopowner
will be vot
But many

Call for suspension of Codesa

(3041) (185) C1 10/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa was rocked yesterday by a call by four participants for a suspension of proceedings until the ANC called off its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

Delegates were concerned at the move by the Ciskei government, Inkatha, QwaQwa's Dikwankwella Party and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party (which later said it did not intend jeopardising Codesa). The call was supported by Bophuthatswana and Solidarity.

Discussions on the call for the suspension until there was "an unconditional undertaking from the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn" dominated the management committee meeting.

The ANC told a news conference that discussions brokered by the government would be held in Pretoria today in an attempt to resolve the issue.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Thabo Mbeki refused to spell out whether the ANC would go ahead with the Ciskei campaign. But he did not rule out the possibility of similar campaigns against other homeland and TBVC governments, specifically Bophuthatswana.

Mr Mbeki said the Ciskei campaign was aimed at ensuring free political activity in Ciskei for all parties.

ANC delegates confirmed that a document, which calls for the resignation of Ciskei mili-

tary leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and for an interim government, was produced by the ANC's Border region. "Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei, even during the transition," the document says.

The ANC said it had made several attempts to discuss the "crisis" with Ciskei leaders. All had been rejected.

Codesa management committee member Mr Praveen Gourdhian said the ANC had informed the committee it would postpone the launch date of the campaign until talks between the parties had been held.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the conflict was an "unfortunate, non-vital sideshow" and did not yet warrant the suspension of Codesa.

SABC 'robs' CP talkers

THE Conservative Party yesterday complained that the SABC was robbing them of the opportunity to attack government spokesmen on television. CP media chief Dr Pieter Mulder said the SABC had informed the party that it would in future only be granted interviews instead of debates.

(304A) CT 10/3/92

Dr No is 'a century too late'

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's ideals of a homeland for each ethnic group could theoretically have worked — but only in the late 19th or early 20th century, according to visiting Russian academic Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov.

In an interview yesterday Dr Tikhomirov also said that neither President FW de Klerk nor his Russian counterpart, Mr Boris Yeltsin, would last much longer as leaders of their respective states.

On partition the studies director at the Institute for African Studies in

Moscow said that for quite some time in South Africa it had been impossible to designate territories for the country's various ethnic groups.

If discussions concerning the borders of the ethnic states were held now, he said, they would probably lead to civil war.

He said he had been fascinated by the similarities between the USSR and South Africa — both multi-ethnic societies.

Both had failed while going to extremes in solving this problem. — Sapa

(304A)
CT 10/3/92

No 'winner takes all' FW tells Free State

304A CT 10/3/92

KROONSTAD. — President F W de Klerk's referendum roadshow reached the Free State yesterday where he visited several towns.

At Kroonstad he was met by former cabinet minister Mr Alwyn Schlebusch. He also visited Bloemfontein, Ficksburg and Welkom.

Mr De Klerk told about 300 people in Kroonstad that South Africa would not have a winner-takes-all constitution like Zimbabwe's or Namibia's, which did not have all the checks and balances that he had spelt out for a future constitution.

He said South Africa could avoid domination because it had seen the mistakes made in those countries. "Now is the golden op-

portunity to move forward and act decisively to remove the underlying confrontation in South Africa," he said.

In Welkom, Mr De Klerk said reimposition of sanctions in the event of a "no" vote would be inconsequential compared to the prospect of a widespread black uprising.

Addressing mine officials, he said: "I don't want to frighten people into voting 'yes' but forget about international sanctions. Do you think that 26 million people of colour in South Africa are going to sit by and say 'ja meneer, dankie meneer'? I don't."

Responding to former president Mr P W Botha's announcement that he would vote "no", Mr De Klerk said the NP had recognised the need for reform as far

back as 1970. "There was a realisation while B J Vorster was still leading the NP that the policy of apartheid was out."

A lone trumpeter played Die Stem as Mr De Klerk and his wife Marike canvassed voters in a shopping centre in Welkom yesterday. Several members of the AWB's Wenkommando hung around the fringes of the crowd but little heckling occurred.

Mr De Klerk told about 300 white mineworkers in Welkom that he did not want a recurrence of what was happening in Zimbabwe. Strong safeguards, including an independent judiciary, would be put in place through the new constitution, which would prevent arbitrary action by a future government.

Monuments 'must stay'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Department of Arts and Culture of the ANC's southern Natal region, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, has made a plea for the retention of the Voortrekker monument "as a symbol of the white Afrikaner's socio-economic culture" in a reconstructed South Africa.

Speaking at a consultative conference here, Mr Ramgobin appealed for the conservation of all cultural works, spaces and symbols in a new political dispensation.

"Perhaps a cultural Codesa is the way forward," he said.

Poll: Goebbels would blush — CP

CT 10/3/92
304A

Staff Reporter

FREE STATE CP leader Mr Cehill Pienaar last night accused Cape-tonians of being "victims of a propaganda machine which would make Goeb-bels blush".

The reference to nazi Germany's propaganda mastermind Joseph Goebbels came during a live debate on the refer-endum on the city's inde-pendent CTFM radio last night.

The panel, answering phone-in questions, con-sisted of DP MP Mr Jannie Momberg, President's Council member Mr Wil-lem Steenkamp and Mr Pienaar.

The majority of phone calls targeted CP policy and were concerned with the return of South Africa to the years of isolation and sanctions.

Mr Pienaar said the callers were being "fooled" by the press, the SABC and NP and warned a "yes" vote would result in isolation as foreign investors would not spend money in a

Radio gets unofficial nod

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's only independent radio station CTFM went off the air at midnight last night — for what could be only a short time.

The station, which was granted temporary broadcasting rights by the government for the duration of the Cape Festival, was given an unoffi-cial nod of approval by all three House of Assem-bly parties last night.

Representatives of the NP, the DP and the CP were brought together for a debate on the refer-endum and agreed to encourage the establish-ment of local radio stations.

country "tinged with Marxism".

Mr Momberg said the CP constantly played on fears about communism and asked "what is worse, a Marxist ta-keover or Eugene Terre'Blanche fall-ing off his horse?"

He said should a majority "no" vote be posted and Dr Andries Treurnicht and the CP win a subsequent white election, "Soweto would overrun Jo-hannesburg" the week after Dr Treur-nicht took up residence in Tuynhuys.

white fears 'must be allayed'

Jobs are safe, Mandela tells public service

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday went out of his way to reassure white public servants that their futures under a nonracial government were safe.

Many whites in the public service and the security forces feared they would lose their jobs, "but this is a totally false perception that has helped to fuel the violence", he said in an interview.

Public servants should feel secure in their positions as they would not lose out. There would be a process of democratisation of the public service but this would be done in a humane manner.

"We would start the process of democratisation from the top and retire officials," Mandela said. But none of the officials would lose out financially.

"If an official is, say, 50 years old and he normally retires at age 60, we would pay him out all his benefits and pension as if he had worked till retirement age," he said.

The costs of the exercise had not been calculated nor the extent of the "retirement process".

Mandela said whites had feared that the change to a democratic, nonracial government would signal a radical falling of standards, and all those in the bureaucracy believed they would be replaced by blacks. White fears were genuine and understand-

BILLY PADDOCK

able but he wanted to allay these and tell whites the ANC had no such intentions. "I don't think a new government would last very long if it just dismissed people but the process of democratisation will have to happen — we would be failing in our duty if we did not democratise the services."

Mandela, hailing the Codesa working group agreement on a transitional executive structure as the first step towards an interim government, said he believed Cosatu's threat of mass action and a general strike would become redundant.

Cosatu was an independent organisation that was entitled to take its own position. He believed Codesa was progressing well, but the Cosatu statement indicated the impatience of people.

Mandela said he did not think he and some key ANC leaders should be included in the cabinet of the transitional executive structure and he would advise against it.

He said the strength of the ANC was more important and key leaders should concentrate on putting the organisation in a position to win an election for a constituent assembly.

Rejecting the ethnicity of the referendum, Mandela said he was optimistic that

□ To Page 2

Mandela

the majority of whites would vote "yes" but warned that should this fail to happen, the ANC would be forced — with regret — to return to the struggle. But it was premature to say the ANC would reactivate the armed struggle.

"If there is a 'no' vote then we will have to fight as we fought for the past 40 years."

He dismissed former President P W Botha's call on whites to vote "no" and said that while his views should not be underestimated, he did not think Botha had much public influence.

Addressing white farmers' fears that their farms would be nationalised along Zimbabwe lines, Mandela said the condi-

tions were entirely different. "We will be influenced by our own conditions, not those of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe believes in a one-party state but we believe in a multiparty state."

He said the ANC's policy on nationalisation was under discussion and review. It was being debated with business and other opinion-makers to find a solution.

A special policy conference had been called for May.

Mandela said the OAU decision in Addis Ababa last week to endorse Codesa was very important and would put pressure on the PAC to join the process.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

□ From Page 1

FW is the one man who can lead SA down the road to democracy, says The

De Klerk: the great black

STAR 11/3/92

304A

hope

IS HE Gorbachev or De Gaulle? The parallels between F W de Klerk and those two great reformers-who-came-unstuck seem horribly close. Those who want a peaceful and democratic future for South Africa must hope that appearances deceive, and that Mr de Klerk will turn out to be neither.

It was the collapse of communism in 1989 that persuaded Mr de Klerk to send his country hurtling down the road to reform. The erstwhile rightwinger of one of the world's most right-wing parties became the man who is now doing his best to turn the land of apartheid into a nonracial democracy.

But, while the world applauds, his own people, the whites — like Mikhail Gorbachev's Communists when his reforms gathered pace — are apprehensive; some are aghast. After his party's loss of the Potchefstroom by-election, it seems possible that Mr de Klerk, like Mr Gorbachev, will lose control of the beast he has unleashed,

plunging South Africa into chaos. In an effort to see off his opponents and regain control, he has now called a referendum — which conjures up memories of Charles de Gaulle. It was De Gaulle's attempt to reassert his leadership in 1969 by holding a yes-or-no vote on his constitutional reforms that led to the blowing of a big *fram-boise* and his resignation.

If South Africa's whites follow the example of France's voters in 1969, Mr de Klerk has said he too will resign. That would be bad news for South Africa. It is possible that Mr de Klerk would come back and lead his party to victory in the ensuing general election. It is possible that he would be replaced by another reformer. Still, the likelihood is that, if Mr de Klerk loses the referendum, white politics in South Africa will fall into the hands of mediocrities trying to turn back the clock, while black politics will become much rougher. More blood will flow.

South Africa has problems in

abundance, but in its two most prominent politicians it is fortunate. Nelson Mandela's 27 years in prison have helped make him the undisputed leader of the ANC without embittering him; under his leadership, the ANC will be a tough but not an intransigent negotiator. Mr de Klerk has already shown his political courage; the unanswered question concerns his political skill.

The chances are that this will not be found wanting. For, by calling a referendum, and calling it soon, Mr de Klerk is doing what Mr Gorbachev could never bring himself to do: submit his actions to the vote. Admittedly, an all-white referendum in which 86 per cent of the adult population will not cast a ballot will hardly confer full democratic legitimacy on Mr de Klerk. But, as he points out, that is to miss the point. Nobody doubts that the bulk of the non-white majority supports his reforms. Opinion polls have suggested that more than 80 per cent of

urban blacks are satisfied with Mr de Klerk's leadership; some have even shown him to be more popular among blacks than Mr Mandela, by a margin of up to 20 per cent.

But will Mr de Klerk have his come-uppance from the white Right and thus suffer the fate of De Gaulle? This is certainly the risk. Many whites are frightened. Violence is rife. Some 2 600 people died in political disputes last year, and about half as many again were murdered by ordinary criminals. Meanwhile the economy, after contracting for two years, is set to grow only slowly. The course on which Mr de Klerk has set the country will lead to the ending of many white privileges, fewer subsidies for whites, and probably a fall in their living standards. No wonder they are nervous.

They will be nervous, however, whatever course they take. One merit of Mr de Klerk's decision to hold the referendum early is that

it obliges his white opponents, notably the Conservative Party led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, to explain the alternative to reform. At present they are split. They have said they want self-determination for whites, meaning an Afrikaner homeland. But even extreme Conservatives admit there can be no going back to grand apartheid, and that there will have to be negotiations with the black majority.

The choice therefore becomes one of negotiations carried out by Dr Treurnicht. One is an adroit politician who can manifestly do business with the black majority and thus bring South Africa back into the world, ensuring an end to sanctions and the return of foreign diplomats, entertainers and sportsmen. The other is a wooden reactionary who can offer only constitutional fantasies, the certainty of greater violence and the continuation of South Africa's painful isolation.

It is the starkness of this choice

that will, with luck, save Mr de Klerk from the fate of De Gaulle. De Gaulle was rejected because the French reckoned they could manage without him. Only the wilfully obtuse could believe the same of Mr de Klerk. The wilfully obtuse are not an extinct breed in South Africa, but nor are they the majority, even among whites.

Tiresome as it seems, the white Right is not all bad for Mr de Klerk; since the loss of Potchefstroom the ANC has rapidly given ground in Codesa. Plenty of obstacles still lie ahead, including the question of regional autonomy. This will not die with the referendum, because right-wing Afrikaners are not the only group interested in going it alone; some blacks want to as well.

In any event, Mr Mandela and his colleagues know that Mr de Klerk is the one man who can lead South Africa peacefully down the road to majority rule. He is the best white hope. He is also the best black hope. □

ANC's 'white paper' on referendum

STAR 11/3/92

THE ANC's decision to urge whites to vote "yes" in the referendum — made even though the organisation's leaders condemned the ethnic poll — came after much soul-searching and strategic thinking, it emerges from a document in the possession of The Star.

In a discussion paper entitled "Should white democrats vote in the referendum?", produced by the ANC department of political education, the dilemma presented by the snap vote on reform is confronted in detail.

The document urges ANC members to distinguish between overall strategic objectives, and short-term tactics demanded by unusual situations.

Noting that the ANC has white members and a large white constituency "that looks to us for leadership", the discussion paper says that an exclusive focus on the strategic objective — the democratic transfer of power in South Africa — shackles an organisation and closes off tactical options.

Equally, if immediate condi-

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON on how the ANC finally decided it had to call on whites to vote "yes" with the National Party. (304A)

tions are considered in isolation, there is a danger that the overall objective might be lost.

In terms of the ANC's core objectives, therefore, members are urged to remember that the chief opponent in South Africa remains President de Klerk's Government, because it still has its hands on the levers of power. Both ANC and National Party are agreed on the need for negotiations, "but we talk with different objectives in mind".

The right wing, of course, is also an enemy, but the thrust of the document is to insist that in reacting to it, ANC members do not forget the primacy of the NP as an opponent.

"How do we characterise the right wing? It is easy to fall into the trap of seeing them as the main enemy and therefore concluding that since we 'must' negotiate with Mr de Klerk, our job is to save him.

"The correct characteristic ... is that the NP remains the main enemy, holding State power. At the same time the right wing is the most serious, immediate danger, in that they threaten the entire process leading to the negotiated transfer of power."

The discussion paper argues that Mr de Klerk called the referendum for three reasons:

- To cut the right wing down to size after Potchefstroom.
- To free himself from his commitment to a white veto.
- To create a sense of insecurity which will panic Mr de Klerk's critics into believing that they must save him because the entire process depends on his survival.

The paper reiterates the organisation's principled objections to the referendum — including the question, which implicitly credits Mr de Klerk with sole re-

sponsibility for launching the negotiations process — but notes that "we cannot content ourselves with condemning a racist referendum."

"The future of this country must be decided by all who should have the right to vote."

"But we face a very concrete question ... A white referendum has been called and it is not impossible, though unlikely, that the white right will win and the process of negotiations will be destroyed."

This reasoning leads to the unequivocal conclusion that "we cannot stand by as spectators". Whites must be urged to vote yes "even if it is painful ..."

"We cannot allow ourselves the luxury and self-indulgence of sitting and carping on the sidelines. If the correct thing is to act in a way that is personally unpleasant — if it is politically necessary, we must do it!"

The document concludes that the referendum has "highlighted the need to move quicker to a test of the opinion of all who live in South Africa ..."

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

As big business gets the jitters in final countdown to referendum '92...

(304#) AUG 11/3/92

Voting begins

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent and Peter Robinson in Melbourne

VOTES are being cast in the referendum on every continent today, with three of South Africa's World Cup cricket squad joining scores of South Africans abroad in one of the country's most critical tests of political opinion.

But, as the referendum countdown began, there were growing signs of deep apprehension within the business community at the prospect of a No vote.

cises of international voting in South African history, diplomats, businessmen and tourists from Russia to Brazil and Australia to Norway are casting votes at embassies and missions.

Special votes abroad, which may be cast today and tomorrow, will be flown to South Africa for counting with the main body of votes next week.

The voting spotlight fell early today on three of South Africa's World Cup cricket squad who had an important appointment in Canberra this morning before catching their flight to Melbourne.

Vice captain Adrian Kuiper, fast bowler Meyrick Pringle and team manager Alan Jordaan, all stopped at the South African embassy en route to the airport to cast their referendum votes.

The three were the only members of the party to have brought their books of life on tour with them.

Although the team has made no public statement of its views on the referendum, it is an open secret that it is anxiously hoping for a Yes vote.

While it is unlikely the South Africans would be denied a semi-final place if a No vote is returned, as was suggested by an Australian columnist this week, clearly South African cricket's international future could be jeopardised.

Farmers warned

As could the Wallaby and All Black rugby tours planned later this year. The Australian and New Zealand rugby unions would both come under heavy pressure to reappraise their commitments to South African rugby in the light of a No vote.

At home, wine and fruit farmers in the Western Cape have been warned to expect widespread sanctions and a drastic fall in exports if the referendum returns a No vote.

KWV, the Paarl-based wine giant, has told 5 000 wine farmers 20 percent of wine sales are made overseas and the wine industry could not handle sanctions with ease.

Western Cape fruit farmers have also expressed concern that a No vote could seriously hamper growth, internationally and domestically, of the R1,5 billion industry.

And the Wooltru group warned that its trading companies, Woolworths, Truworths, Makro and Topics, depended on stability in the marketplace and conciliation among its 12 000 employees... and that a No vote would eliminate this.

In a further development, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw brought a last-minute amendment to the referendum regulations to allow voters leaving Cape Town for overseas tomorrow to cast a special referendum vote at a booth at D F Malan Airport.

Codesa must 'go ahead'

By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa should not suspend its activities as suggested by homeland leaders in the light of a squabble between the ANC and Ciskei.

This was said by callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

A representative of the Border region of the ANC, Mrs Priscilla Mxongo, said her organisation had not planned a coup in the Ciskei.

"We only wanted to protest against the re-introduc-

tion of the headman system and the resurrection of the African Democratic Movement by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo," she said.

A caller from Vosloorus said mass action was the right of all citizens.

He said the ANC campaign was justified.

Jabu of Soweto said Gqozo must sort out his

problems with the ANC without halting Codesa proceedings.

However, Mzwakhe of Cape Town said Codesa should be suspended as it was a "circus".

He said the ANC had no business to be part of.

Tshepo of Berea said the issue was a "storm in a tea cup".

"There have been a number of mass campaigns since Codesa started but at no time was suggestions made for a halt on the proceedings," he said.

"Why should the Ciskei issue affect Codesa?" she asked.



FW won't get more security

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

SECURITY measures around President De Klerk will not be stepped up following the teargas attack in Bloemfontein on Monday and Mr De Klerk is to continue his referendum campaign as planned.

He is spending today and tomorrow in Cape Town. Today he chairs a Cabinet meeting.

On Friday he will campaign in Pretoria and on Saturday he will visit strong Conservative Party territory in Pietersburg and Nylstroom.

Although a Tuynhuys spokesman would not comment on security measures it is understood no additional steps will be taken following the Bloemfontein incident. On his referendum trips Mr De Klerk has been accompanied by the usual group of security men.

He said yesterday he and Mr Kobie Coetsee, Free State leader of the National Party, had been quite safe at the Bloemfontein students meeting until the tear canister was thrown. He and his wife escaped uninjured but Mr Coetsee was injured. He will be discharged from hospital today.

Mr Coetsee said today Con-

servative Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters who were responsible for the "mean trick" must have been prepared.

The teargas incident followed when the rightwing supporters could not shout down the other enthusiastic students.

The CP has condemned the attack.

White extremists have warned that Mr De Klerk should expect a repeat of the teargas attack if he continued likening their movement to the nazis.

(News by Tos Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

S
S
a
d
M
P
F
H
P
Y
t
d
P
t
e
f
p
a
w
P
S
f
b

Willie (3044)
Hofmeyr
goes for
a Yes

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

TWO leading members of the ANC's regional executive committee and two prominent academics are to vote Yes in the whites-only referendum.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr, ANC assistant secretary, and his executive committee colleague, Mr Basil Davidson, said they would vote for negotiations to continue.

Their stand is in line with that of the ANC.

Spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the movement believed a Yes was an endorsement of the peace process.

University of Cape Town vice-chancellor Dr Staurt Saunders and University of the Western Cape vice-rector Professor Jaap Durandt also said they would vote Yes to continue the peace process.

Mr Hofmeyr said: "I will probably vote under great protest. For many years we've fought against racial elections. But this time the future of the peace process is under threat. For that reason I would consider voting."

(Report by Dennis Cruywagen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Com

'We need an effective slogan'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The "yes" vote campaign has to come up with an effective slogan to counter the "no" vote campaign's slogan that a "no" vote gives you a second chance.

This warning was sounded yesterday by veteran political scientist Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who expressed misgivings that the question on which the referendum question was supposed to be based — whether voters were for or against the present negotiations — was being forgotten as the referendum campaign unfolded.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said that when he was leader of the Progressive Federal Party fighting for the "no" vote in the 1983 referendum campaign on the tricameral Parliament, the jingle that had defeated the "no" campaign was "a 'yes' vote is a step in the right direction."

The jingle that was taking hold in this referendum was: "a 'no' vote gives you a second chance."

This appeared to give "no" voters an alternative to the Conservative Party's policies and was attractive to the many voters who had grievances.

The simple question in the referendum was being "contaminated" by a whole lot of factors unrelated to it that might affect the outcome in ways which pollsters and forecasters had not anticipated, he warned.

The referendum was taking place under circumstances of recession, violence, an upsurge in crime and drought and this might bring out a lot of people to voice their objections to those conditions and to use the referendum to do so.

"This makes it absolutely essential for those who want a 'yes' vote to put the critical question of the referendum to the voter as clearly and unambiguously as possible."

"The 'yes' vote has to find an alternative jingle to the one being used by the no campaign ..."

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Jhb.)

ON THE
CAMPAIGN
TRAIL TODAY...

**Show rolls
on while FW
steers State**

STAR 11/3/92
While President de Klerk will be attending to affairs of state in Cape Town today members of his Cabinet will be drumming up support for a "yes" vote around the country. (304A)

Public Enterprise Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers will be speaking in Springbok in the northern Cape.

Foreign Minister P. W. Botha will be in Bethlehem in the Free State, while Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will be in Frankfort.


Education and Training Minister Piet Marais will talk in Grahamstown, and Deputy Agricultural Minister Tobie Marais will talk in Aliwal North.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer will be mustering support for the "yes" vote in Pretoria.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will talk at the Exhibition Centre in Durban.

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

stem **NEE**

NEE 

**VIR
MANDELA
EN SY
KLERK**



Furious . . . Boksburg resident Hennie Niemand points to the poster which has angered NP supporters.

Picture: Anna Louw

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

STAR 11/3/92

A right-wing referendum poster in Boksburg — which shows President de Klerk kneeling at ANC leader Nelson Mandela's feet — has drawn a furious response from local National Party politicians.

The poster bears the slogan: "Sê nee vir Mandela en sy Klerk" (Say no to Mandela and his clerk.)

Boksburg NP MP Sakkie Blanche said yesterday the posters were an insult to Mr de Klerk and to "no" vote supporters who would be associated with "such bad taste".

Mr Blanche said the Boks-

NP fury at right-wing 'no' poster

304A

burg council had approved the posters, so there was nothing anybody could do.

Brentwood NP MP Dr Boy Geldenhuys said the posters were aimed at creating an impression that Mr de Klerk was being manipulated by the ANC and Mr Mandela.

"The NP is, in fact, negotiating from a position of strength and not one of weakness which

the CP will be in if it gets a 'no' vote."

Dr Geldenhuys said it was not a question of Mr de Klerk being manipulated by Mr Mandela — "Codesa's track record has shown that the ANC has, in fact, moved eight years towards the centre."

He noted that CP MP Koos van der Merwe would negotiate with the ANC should it win the referendum, "but this time the CP would be on its knees."

The posters were spotted for the first time in Germiston at midday yesterday.

Germiston District NP MP Brigadier Kobus Bosman said: "It is below my dignity and that of my party to react."

(Report by A Louw, 47 Sauer Street, Jhb)

PW Botha: I do not support CP

304A

STAR 11/3/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Former State President P W Botha does not support the Conservative Party or the Herstigte Nasionale Party, he said.

He said yesterday when interviewed on Radio 702 he would have betrayed himself if he voted "yes" in the referendum.

And he would have been a "coward" if he abstained from voting. Mr Botha decided to vote "no" because of his statements years ago that he would not negotiate with organisations which had communist links or with organisations which have not ended the armed struggle.

Mr Botha said he was "dissatisfied with the whole situation". He believed in reform which brought about change but it should be based on what was "good and beautiful" in the past.

He disclosed that he had met a member of the HNP shortly before the announcement of the referendum but would not identify him. He last saw CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht more than a year ago and then Mr Botha disagreed with him on the manner in which he split from the National Party.

He said he stood on the side of "my own people" and respected other people and their right to self-determination.

Asked about the possibility of civil war in the country, Mr Botha said if the Marxists started the war, it would have to be dealt with.

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

Extremists warn of more attacks

STAR 11/3/92

Amid fears that the referendum campaign could take an ugly turn after the tear-gassing incident involving President de Klerk on Monday, white extremists have warned of further violence.

The campaign has been surprisingly peaceful so far, according to observers, but there is concern that this might not last as it moves into the right-wing heartland of the Transvaal later this week.

AWB spokesman Piet Rudolph said yesterday there would be further teargas attacks on Mr de Klerk if he persisted in comparing the organisation to Hitler's Nazis.

Mr de Klerk's officials are putting a brave face on the incident in Bloemfontein, saying they were aware from the beginning that they were involved in a "high-risk" campaign.

No arrests have been made yet in connection with the incident. A spokesman for the Free State police said last night investigations were continuing.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said further measures to protect Mr de Klerk would be taken only if the President requested such a move.

Mr de Klerk has blamed CP propaganda for creating the climate which led to the teargas attack on him and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee at the University of the Free State.

"It does not help the CP to try to distance itself with nice-sounding words from incidents such as this," Mr de Klerk said.

Mr Coetsee was admitted to a Bloemfontein hospital after the incident. His wife, Ena, was also slightly injured.

The CP yesterday condemned the attack and wished Mr and Mrs Coetsee a speedy recovery.

The CP's approach — the first time it has been put on the defensive since its shaky



start to the campaign — reinforced the view of observers that it is becoming increasingly nervous that its alliance with the AWB could backfire.

The "yes" camp is stepping up propaganda linking the CP to the extremism of the other organisations on the Right.

Mr de Klerk's high-profile campaigning in an extremely tense political climate made him an obvious target, political analysts said yesterday.

"The threat to him is increasing by the day," said political risk consultant Wim Booysse.

"I'm concerned because there is a high level of intolerance and there are some strange individuals in the right wing."

Security specialist Andre Horne said Mr de Klerk was normally accompanied by highly trained bodyguards when he appeared in public and some mixed with the crowd to identify potential troublemakers.

● Speaking on Radio 702 yesterday, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said more than 50 percent of white voters now supported a "yes" vote.

He said he was confident of a victory margin of between 55 and 60 percent, but this would increase as the NP stepped up its campaign for a "yes" vote.

— Political Staff, Sapa.
(Report by Peter Fabricius and E. Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg, and Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg.)

● More reports —
Pages 18 and 19.

Buthelezi turns on FW over Zulu king row

(3041) (11/3/92)
Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday used the Codesa dispute over the Zulu king's participation to cast a big question mark over his stand on the referendum.

He turned on President de Klerk, saying he no longer felt "comfortable" with him.

And, in what is in danger of being interpreted as support for a "no" vote in the referendum,

he said: "I will go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and will campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiations is recognised."

Speaking at the opening of KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly, he asked who was stopping Mr de Klerk from admitting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his delegation to Codesa.

"Who is in charge?" he asked. "Is it Mr de Klerk or the ANC? This will confuse a lot of white

voters in the referendum."

Attempts to contact Chief Buthelezi to clarify his statements were unsuccessful.

He enjoys considerable white support, particularly in Natal, and his comments — similar to CP accusations levelled at Mr de Klerk — are bound to sway some referendum voters.

The chief also said he would keep his constitutional options open and, in what may have been an indication that a future

alliance with the CP was not out of the question, said: "I will keep options open as to who I will ally myself with, and I will keep options open about whom I will mobilise and how I shall mobilise them."

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to failure."

(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne St, Greyville)

'Dirty tricks', says CP

Sowetan 11/3/92
By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

THE Government has started its "dirty tricks" to win next week's referendum, the Conservative Party has alleged.

According to CP leaders, the National Party has put pressure on the SABC to stop public live debates between the two.

Another allegation is that President FW de Klerk was using false threats to manipulate a "yes" vote.

Mr Corne Mulder of the CP said the SABC had undertaken it would allow equal television time daily for both parties but the scheduled times were honoured for "a few days only".

He said that, when the CP went back to the SABC on Monday, staff at the corporation said the arrangement had been cancelled.

Mulder said it would appear that the NP had "pulled some strings".

In another separate interview, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said De Klerk's threat of renewed sanctions and chaos in the event of a "no" victory in next week's referendum were crude and manipulative.

What Schwarz^{STAR} said on US TV^{11/3/92}

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

3041

WASHINGTON — The actual words used on American television last week by South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwarz, about the possibility of a black president coming to power, provide a very different version from the one which Conservative Party spokesmen are presenting.

This is a transcript of the interview:

Interviewer: The big question for ambassador Schwarz: Sir, will there be, in this century, a black president of South Africa?

Mr Schwarz: I have very little doubt there will be, yes.

Mr Novak: ... When will that be do you think?

Mr Schwarz: ... I think it'll come much sooner than most people believe, and I think it'll be within a couple of years.

Mr Evans: Would you say ...

Mr Schwarz: Two to three years.

Mr Novak: Won't that terrify whites ...

Mr Schwarz: Let me



Harry Schwarz ...
asked to guess.

tell you that I'm not concerned about the colour of the president. I'm concerned about his political philosophy, whether he's got the right ideas.

Mr Novak: Aren't there many white South Africans who will be concerned about that? (A black president).

Mr Schwarz: There will be some who will be concerned, but I think that ... President de Klerk will accept it ...

Mr Evans: Mr ambassador, would it be by nature Nelson Mandela?

Mr Schwarz: If we look at the opinion polls at the moment, obviously the choice would probably be Mr Mandela.

(Report by H Robertson, 3426 Reservoir Rd NW, Washington DC)

Don't be

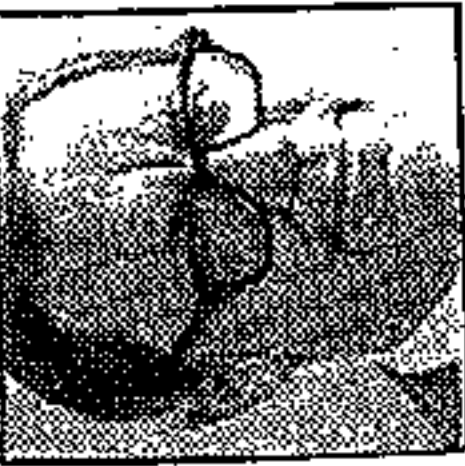
THIS referendum is supposed to be our moment of truth, yet seldom have I heard a campaign so filled with untruth, sophistry and evasion.

The Conservative Party says its policy is not to return to apartheid. Yet obviously it is. It talks of negotiating the establishment of a "commonwealth of nations", which means going back to Verwoerd who was the first to articulate this notion of a confederacy of ethnic units — "white" South Africa and the Bantustans — as apartheid's ultimate objective.

The CP says it will not end negotiations, merely negotiate on a different basis. That means it will disband Codesa and go back to trying to negotiate the Bantustan commonwealth. But with whom? Not the ANC, PAC or Azapo, because it refuses to talk to them — and they would certainly not negotiate any such thing.

The only people who would are the same old tribal hacks Verwoerd and Daan de Wet Nel conjured up in the '60s. They had no credibility then, and would have less now. That is not negotiating, it is quackery.

Dr Treurnicht says in one



Allister Sparks

304ft

breath there will be no return to apartheid, and in the next that he will bring back influx control and the pass laws — leaving his spin controllers to explain that this is no different from America's or Britain's immigration laws.

What humbug, pretending there is no difference between controlling the entry of foreigners and prohibiting citizens from moving freely about their own country.

Worst of all are the CP's attempts to delude people into believing there would be no great internal or international reaction to a "No" vote. They laugh off the warnings, saying the world needs us too much to get really tough.

This is irresponsible. Vote "No" by all means if you want to fight a glorious last-ditch war and die like the Zealots on Mount Masada, but don't be deluded that a negative result in the referendum would mean anything less than

deluded by this fantasy parading as policy

that, that it would merely be a warning to President de Klerk that you are fed up with crime and the state of the economy.

Commonsense must tell you it would ignite a response like the mass reaction to last year's attempted Soviet coup against reformism. The black population, having had its expectations raised, would explode into mass revolt.

The international community, its own hopes dashed that this nagging moral issue was at last being resolved, can likewise be expected to react with exasperated toughness. Massive sanctions against Iraq's Saddam Hussein are the least we could expect. A naval blockade under a UN flag is not out of the question.

Not least of the considerations is that George Bush is a president in deep trouble in an election year, for whom a spectacular overseas operation on a popular issue could have strong appeal.

I have felt a measure of sympathy for the rightwingers, for the genuine dilemma of people who feel a strong sense of ethno-nationalism but are so outnumbered by others in the land they regard

as their own that they can give no territorial expression to their sense of nationhood, and who as a consequence feel their cultural survival threatened.

I can sympathise, too, when such people have been indoctrinated for generations in a particular ideology of survival and then have their leaders suddenly turn around and renounce it. I can understand their confusion and anger, their sense of betrayal.

But such sympathy rests on the honesty of the sentiments. Strip it of that and it becomes just another shabby attempt to exploit voters' fears and prejudices for political gain.

Given its own dishonest campaigning, the CP's complaints about Mr de Klerk now amount to the pot besmirching the kettle. If, God forbid, it were to win the referendum and come to power, it would have to do exactly what it accuses Mr de Klerk of doing and betray everything it is now saying because it is promising a mirage.

Where is the separate Afrikaner state to be? That is the touchstone of practicability and honesty of purpose, for if there can be none then the policy is a sham.

Ferdi Hartzenberg says whites are entitled to all the land they own. Since the 1912 Land Act prohibited blacks from owning land anywhere outside tribal reserves, that means the whole of South Africa, except the Bantustans.

I called last week on Koos van der Merwe, a man with a reputation for being forthright and who told me he has "discovered clean, morally justifiable and internationally acceptable Afrikaner nationalism".

He talked about there being 14 magisterial districts where whites are in a majority and about 44 percent of the country having Afrikaans as its dominant language. These factors, he said, held "exciting possibilities for negotiating an area for the Afrikaner people." But it's casuistry again. The magisterial districts exclude many black townships (Johannesburg's excludes both Soweto and Alexandra) and they are not contiguous.

As for Afrikaans usage, more than half those people are coloured — and the rightwingers are not prepared to accept them as fellow Afrikaners. Coloured people speak the language, belong to

the Dutch Reformed Church and share the same cultural heritage, but in any future Boerestaat hundreds of thousands of them would be forcibly removed. So much for the argument that the policy is rooted in culture, not racism.

And what of the English in those magisterial districts? Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, excludes them from the Afrikaner state. So does Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag. "These people," writes Mr van Tonder in a newly published book called 'Boerestaat', "are predominantly monolingually English and they can be ignored in our calculations for the future. They still cling to their English heritage and are of no use to us in our fault (sic) development".

And what of the thousands of Afrikaners who don't want to be ghettoised, who are sick of the chauvinism and the enmity and odium it brings upon them and their language and culture? Are they part of Mr van der Merwe's statistical fantasising? For that is what it is, a fantasy not a policy. A fantasy devoid of truth and realism. □

STAR 11/3/92 (304A)

No say for Chinese

About 50 000 Chinese South Africans will not be able to vote in the referendum even though they were recently given "honorary white" status. DP MP Jannie Momberg said yesterday that this had been confirmed by chief legal officer Attie Tredoux of the Home Affairs Department. Under the Referendums Act, Chinese were not considered white despite their honorary white status under recently-scrapped apartheid legislation. The DP greatly regretted the exclusion of the Chinese.

Expats ready to vote

CP MP for Losberg, Fanie Jacobs, left for London last night to monitor voting by South Africans living in London. Expatriate South Africans may vote today and tomorrow at 250 South African embassies, consulates and diplomatic missions. Spokesmen for the NP and DP said they did not intend sending representatives abroad. Special polling stations have been set up at Jan Smuts, D F Malan and Louis Botha airports today and tomorrow to enable airline personnel and passengers in transit to cast votes.

Sanctions warning

Johannesburg Consolidated Investment chairman Pat Retief has issued a message to white employees warning them of the economic consequences of a "no" vote — renewed sanctions, a weaker rand and even higher levels of unemployment. A "yes" vote could not provide a guarantee against the recession and unrest, but it provided a chance of an acceptable and workable new constitution.

304A

STAR 11/3/92

Frontline to meet on SA reform

Sowetan 11/3/92 *304A*

BLACK Africa's frontline states will hold a one-day summit in Lusaka tomorrow to discuss the situation in South Africa ahead of next week's referendum on political reforms.

The frontline leaders will also select a new chairman to replace Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba, who inherited the post from former President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said in a telephone interview from Lusaka.

"The purpose of the meeting is... to discuss the situation in Southern Africa in general, with particular emphasis on developments in South Africa, and also to get briefings from the governments of Angola and Mozambique on the situation in their respective countries as far as

the peace process is concerned," he said.

The Foreign Minister said the ANC and the PAC would attend the summit.

The frontline states comprise Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Botswana, with Nigeria a co-opted member.

Mwaanga said Zambia had been closely following the debate in South Africa leading up to next Tuesday's whites-only referendum on political reform.

He said a "no" vote "would be an absolute tragedy, not only for South Africa but for the region as a whole".

"It would turn the clock many years back.

"A 'no' vote would certainly be a vote for armed conflict, and we think that in 1992 armed conflict is the last thing we would like

to see in this region," he said.

Mwaanga said the meeting would agree on a new frontline chairman as Chiluba felt he was not really competent to head the group since he only took power with Kaunda's electoral defeat at the end of last October.

The minister said consultations on a new chairman had been underway since November and he expected a quick decision at the summit - although he declined to speculate on who would be named.

The frontline summit was due to have taken place last month but was postponed for various reasons, including a trip by Chiluba to Britain and the United States to gain backing for Zambia's economic reforms. - SA Press Association-Reuters

FW: expect other teargas attacks - *304A* Piet Skiet

Savetan 11/3/92

WHITE extremists said yesterday President FW de Klerk should expect a repeat of a teargas attack on him by rightwingers if he carried on likening their movement to Hitler's Nazis.

"De Klerk must expect this reaction. He is reaping the whirlwind he has been sowing," said Mr Piet Rudolph, spokesman for the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

He denied the AWB was responsible for the attack on Monday night but added: "He cannot refer to the AWB as Nazis and fascists without expecting some revenge."

A teargas canister went off in a canteen of the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein where De Klerk was campaigning for the referendum, forcing him to leave.

The incident was the most violent of De Klerk's campaign so far.

Organisers said they believed the canister was thrown into the canteen by AWB sympathisers who yelled "Baboon, go back to the mountains" and "Traitor, go home" as De Klerk entered the room to meet students.

Security men hustled De Klerk, his shocked-looking wife, Marike, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee out of the crowded canteen as teargas fumes began to fill the air.

Coetsee was taken to hospital briefly for unspecified treatment.

Earlier De Klerk had told 1 000 supporters in Bloemfontein City Hall that the Conservative Party should repudiate the many neo-Nazis who belong to the allied AWB.

"I say let us fight communism, but let us also fight fascism and Nazism and I challenge the CP to take a firm stand on this," he said.

Rudolph, indicating the AWB was still furious about the killing of three rightists by police at an anti-De Klerk rally last year, said the president "cannot expect to shoot his own people like dogs in the street without some reaction".

Asked if De Klerk could expect further teargas attacks if he continued to liken the AWB to Nazis, Rudolph said: "Yes, De Klerk will become one of the most hated persons."

"It is obvious he is following his old habit of painting his enemies pitch black. He is trying to cover up his alliance with the Communist Party."

De Klerk campaign organiser Sheila Camerer called the teargas incident appalling and said a local official of the National Party had identified the perpetrators as AWB members.

Camerer, an MP, said: "It's significant that they have been identified as AWB. It means the CP may begin to find the AWB harmful to their cause."

A CP spokesman declined to comment on the teargas incident. - Sapa-Reuter.

Reminder

'Noes' are fighting for Afrikaner values Dr No's mountain of iron people are not racist they say

THE large white woman with the friendly face hitched up her blouse to display a revolver stuffed into the waistband of her skirt.

Tapping the gun, she said: "You can't trust blacks. They are forcing us to do this, because they're all armed. But I'm not scared. I can use it."

Mrs Leona Posthumus smiles often as she busies herself for the Conservative Party in Thabazimbi, drumming up "no" votes for South Africa's referendum on democratic reform, but she has a desperate view of the country's future if her side loses.

"We know the kaffirs, unlike those people in Parliament," she says.

"They only see the ones wearing a suit and tie. They don't see the ones who spend the day drinking beer and not doing any work."

Her friend, Mrs Meisie du Mond, pokes a reporter in the ribs. "You know, they don't use the toilet. They go behind that tree."

This remote north-western mining town, called "Mountain of Iron" after the hill of rich ore that towers above it, is at the heart of "Doctor No" country - the constituency of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Local experts say some 80 per cent of its 6 000 white inhabitants and surrounding farmers will vote on March 17 for grand apartheid,

Sowffan 11/3/92

FOCUS

and against what they fear is President FW de Klerk's fast track to black rule.

But the "noes" insist they are not racist. They say they are fighting for traditional Afrikaner values of home and family in the last God-fearing Christian civilisation in Africa.

Under a cruel sun below the Tropic of Capricorn, where the worst drought in 60 years has turned grass to dust, people look back longingly to the secure apartheid world of the 1960s and 1970s when "whites were in charge and blacks knew their place."

Economy

The economy now is reeling, crime is soaring, blacks are fighting each other. People here say the rot set in when the Government lifted apartheid's clamp, setting South Africa on course for black rule of the type they believe has destroyed the rest of Africa.

Good times will return only when South Africa has a strong government prepared to buck the trend, says Mrs Lulu Steenkamp, who campaigns for a "no" up and down highways where the stop

signs are all daubed "FW".

"We are not racist. We don't hate blacks. We want to see them develop at their own pace and in their own way in their own environment," she says.

She and her friends quote the Bible liberally and say truth and honesty have deserted a government which once promised them exclusive homes and schools and built special homelands in the bush to take care of the "natives".

Now they are required to integrate with, even accept as rulers, the people they were taught for 300 years were inferior.

"People at the top live behind their desks and see Utopia. We live down here among the blacks," Steenkamp says.

When Treurnicht held a referendum meeting, the hall at the agricultural showground was packed. The dusty yard was filled with dented pick-ups and scratched Toyotas.

Treurnicht (71) sparkled in front of this hometown audience, slashing at De Klerk, jeering at foreign powers who threaten sanctions.

The audience warmed to his vision of a South Africa in which all peoples - Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas, Xhosas and more - would have their own freedoms in their own lands in a confederation of states.

Townfolk like Mayor Philip Potgieter are unshaken by De

Klerk's assertion that this was tried before and failed.

They say it was not properly pursued, that their rulers weakened and gave up under foreign pressure.

"Bloody fairy tale. It was working. It just needed time and money," Potgieter said.

The mayor says the white town and its neighbouring black township, Regorogile, enjoy excellent relations that could be a model for a racially partitioned South Africa.

His black counterpart, Mr Jacob Shai, largely agrees.

"It's difficult for us to mix with you people," he told a white reporter. "I don't know how the Americans do it."

Faction fighting

Shai says his township of Tswana people has escaped the faction fighting tearing apart black communities elsewhere.

His people would vote 100 per cent "yes", if they had a vote, because they feared the CP would return to repression and not because they wanted all of South Africa's diverse peoples to become one.

Sounding a bit like a CP politician, he said: "One nation? That won't work. Only Tswanas must live with Tswanas, Zulu with Zulu. - SA Press Association-
Reuter.

JCI warns about 'no' vote (304A)

JOHANNESBURG Consolidated Investment chairman Pat Retief has warned the group's white employees of the economic consequences of a "no" vote in the referendum. He said March 17 would be a "make or break day" not only for SA, but also for the company.

The serious consequences of a "no" vote would result in renewed sanctions, a weaker rand and even higher levels of unemployment, he said. (280)

Retief said a "yes" vote could not provide a guarantee against recession and unrest, but would provide SA with a chance to come through with an acceptable and workable new constitution. B/ncw 11/3/92

Foreigners flood govt offices

CAPE TOWN — Foreigners are flooding government offices to apply for SA citizenship so they can vote in next week's referendum.

"It has come as a surprise to us," Home Affairs Department official Reinette Bosman said yesterday. The Cape Town office was filled with applicants filling in forms, having their fingerprints taken and pledging allegiance to SA.

More than 70 people a day had been applying for citizenship, compared with 35 to 40 a month, Bosman said. *B/Day 11/3/92*

The rush began last week after government reminded foreigners who had lived in SA for five years or

more they could apply for dual citizenship. *(304A)*

The law is not new, but government had not actively advertised it in the past.

Publicising this is aimed at increasing voter turnout for the March 17 referendum, which asks voters whether they support President F W de Klerk's dismantling of apartheid.

Opinion polls have indicated that many people are undecided on how to vote.

About 400 000 foreigners are eligible to take out SA citizenship under the five-year residency law. — Sapa-AP.

Report by S Venter, AP, c/o Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

PRESIDENT F W. de Klerk last night spelt out the NP's constitutional principles which include entrenching key elements of a free enterprise system in a bill of rights as well as in the constitution. (304A)

He told a referendum meeting in Kimberley that the NP aimed for a "full-blooded, sustainable democracy in which all will participate" and which would prevent abuse of power. B/day 11/3/92

A simply worded summary issued by the NP with a view to the referendum says if all groups negotiate a constitution, "no one will want to tear it up. Then everyone's rights will be secure and there will be enough room for everyone to live fully and decently as proud South Africans".

De Klerk spells out NP reform policy

The summary emphasises devolution of power, the protection of minority interests and limiting the powers of government.

The NP will also seek to have more than one party represented in the executive as well as in a presidential college, and to protect public servants' jobs.

It will negotiate "sufficient freedom for encouraging and developing our various cultures, including control over schools for those cultural groups which require this".

The summary adds Codesa has already reached agreement in principle on many of the NP requirements.

Report by P Delmar, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

'Jail for FW' if No wins

CT 11/3/82 Political Correspondent

3044

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and "a few of his allies" could find themselves in Pretoria Central Prison with Russian spy Dieter Gerhardt if the "no" alliance wins today's referendum.

This is the prediction of Lawyers for Human Rights executive director Mr Brian Currin. A CP-AWB government would "surely mean the end of the judiciary in South Africa", he said.

"We will look back with nostalgia at (former President) P W Botha's golden years when only 40 000 people were detained," he said.

NP loss is CP and DP gain (306A)

THE NP lost 9% of support among white voters over the past year while CP support increased by 3%, according to market researcher Jannie Hofmeyer of Research Surveys. *61 Day 11/3/92*

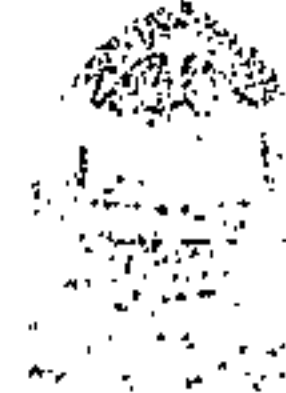
Addressing an Idasa forum in Durban, he said the NP had 38% of white support, while the CP had 28%.

The DP's support had risen 1% over the past year to 5%. Hofmeyer said 23% of voters did not support any party, reflecting disillusionment with party politics.

Both President F W de Klerk and CP leader Andries Treunicht had identified this sector as crucial, he said.

REPORTS: Sapa-Reuter.

RECEIVED BY THE
LIBRARY OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN
PARLIAMENT



RECEIVED BY THE
LIBRARY OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN
PARLIAMENT

Special vote criteria spelt out

6/10am 11/3/92 304A
DETAILS of eligibility and criteria for special votes in the forthcoming referendum were announced yesterday by chief referendum officer Piet Colyn.

An amendment to the voting regulations by Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw enables those who are leaving SA by air to vote at special polling stations to be set up from tomorrow at Jan Smuts, D F Malan and Louis Botha airports.

Voters will have to submit their identity documents, passports and flight tickets to the presiding officer at booths in airports' international departure halls.

Special votes may be cast on Friday, Saturday and Monday during

ADRIAN HADLAND

normal office hours.

Hours may be extended if there is enough demand.

Those who are eligible for special votes include people who are ill, disabled, pregnant or of advanced age and who cannot make the polling stations on March 17.

People on trains or other vessels will be entitled to a special vote.

Voters who will be outside SA on polling day also qualify for a special vote. A statement said inhabitants of old age homes will be regarded as special vote casters.

This does not preclude them, how-

ever, from visiting a polling station on March 17 should they so wish.

Those wanting to cast special votes must obtain an application form from the Home Affairs Department.

The declaration will be attested by means of a sworn or affirmed affidavit by the presiding officer.

Special voters will be tested by the non-toxic ultra-violet lamp to confirm they have not voted previously.

The special voter's ID document will be stamped and a ballot paper provided for a secret vote.

People under the age of 18 who are able to produce a valid ID document are eligible to vote whether their names appear on a voters' roll or not.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

DP enters the battle for Natal's English-speakers

304A
B/day 11/3/92
BILLY PADDOCK

DP LEADER Zach de Beer yesterday entered the frontline of the battle for the critical votes of Natal's English speakers — earmarked by the CP and political analysts as crucial to the referendum outcome.

DP campaign monitor and analyst James Selfe said yesterday that Natal was a crucial area. The party realised that a lot of work had to be put into the province to deliver a "yes" majority.

He said the province's proximity to violence and the many immigrants from independent African countries, particularly Zimbabwe, made persuading voters there to vote "yes" particularly difficult.

Speaking at the Exhibition Hall in Durban last night, De Beer said there was a selfish but understandable fear of social change because whites had always enjoyed privileges which they valued highly.

There was also an understanding of the "fear of Africa". "You have all read hundreds of accounts of what has gone wrong in other African countries once the vote was extended to everybody," he said.

While people knew that SA was not Tanzania, it was understandable that they could not help fearing that something similar would happen in SA.

He said that he as one of

the most ardent "yes" supporters also had doubts, but believed steps could be taken through Codesa to avert the dangers and allay fears.

"I beg you to listen to me when I ask: if you are not going to share SA with your fellow citizens, what are you going to do instead?"

Codesa wanted to bring about an undivided SA, with one nation sharing patriotism and loyalty, pursuing freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination, he said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his referendum allies Eugene Terre-Blanche and Jaap Marais were asking people to vote against all this, throttle Codesa and reintroduce partition.

"Precisely the policy which failed so abjectly when it was tried under far more auspicious circumstances by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd 30 years ago. My friends, can't you see that this is sheer bluff? There are no cards in Dr Treurnicht's hands," De Beer said. No self-respecting black leader would lend himself to a fraudulent Treurnicht-style process of negotiation.

Of rumours that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would negotiate

with Treurnicht, he said: "I don't believe that the Chief Minister, who has been an opponent of apartheid for as long as I have, is going to negotiate about partition with the CP."

He said Buthelezi and Inkatha supported a "yes" vote in the referendum, as did Harry Oppenheimer, former leader of the opposition Sir De Villiers Graaff and ANC president Nelson Mandela. "So has President De Klerk and so have I. If you actually prefer the judgment of Eugene Terre-Blanche to all those — go ahead, but I simply don't believe you do."

"The CP/AWB/HNP coalition has publicly declared that its strategy is to concentrate on the English vote. That includes most of you. I beg you, do not be tricked into playing Little Red Riding Hood to the Big Bad Wolf of Dr Treurnicht; or is it Mr Terre-Blanche or Mr Marais?" he said.

Selfe said the DP campaign in most other areas was going well, especially in the western Cape and Johannesburg.

Certain groups, such as the elderly and those newly on the job market, were apprehensive about the future, and were indicating a reluctance to opt for the "yes" vote.

Most others who had backed the DP or its tradition were firmly behind the "yes" vote. They had been

carefully educated by the DP and its forerunners over the years to realise that a negotiated future with black groups was the only way forward to peace and prosperity.

He said the campaign was growing stronger every day and would culminate in a concerted drive at the weekend and on Monday to get "yes" supporters to go to the polls.

He said there were no big concerns or warning bells ringing in his head, "and after 15 years in the business I am fairly fine-tuned to pick this up".

All indicators pointed to the DP delivering strong victories in the constituencies it won in the 1989 election.

Johannesburg North DP MP Peter Soal said the response to the DP's campaign in his area and surrounding DP constituencies was "phenomenal". The "hard core of our supporters are secure and solidly behind a 'yes' vote."

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

YOUR editorial of March 4 certainly needs repudiation — especially because of the title Treurnicht's Big Lie and the loaded phrases within.

Let me state at the outset that never in the history of this country has a so-called free Press been so obsessed with blanketing SA's voters with its point of view. The orchestrated "yes" campaign from the media, big business and overseas "experts" is unprecedented, and my experience is that it is creating a serious backlash among the voters, a reaction which will manifest itself on March 17.

Voters are asking: why the frenzy? What's in it for them? Why are they all saying the same things? And why don't overseas governments mind their own business?

Frankly, the CP is a little tired of repudiating the accusations that it is racist and retrogressive. The hysteria which creeps between the lines of certain editorials and "impartial" reporting about the CP is indicative of the ill-concealed desperation of the liberals who see their "yes" landslide disappearing as more and more

Nothing Worse than ANC

B/Den/11/3/92

304A

voters recoil from a future under a Mandela regime.

Furthermore, your relentless advocacy of ANC rule puts a question mark over your credibility with many heretofore liberal voters who are simply not prepared to live in a Third World country, and wonder why you are obsessed with promoting it.

It would, I believe, be an exercise in futility for me to refute, paragraph by paragraph, your diatribe against me and the CP. We are used to phrases like "dire consequences", "blatantly racist" and "Treurnicht and his henchmen".

I would, however, like to rebut your assertion that this country's "real" black leaders are not prepared to talk to the CP.

If you define Nelson Mandela as a "real" black leader, that is of course your prerogative, although I do not

ANDRIES TREURNICHT

know how you can prove this because he has not proved it himself.

The CP has had discussions with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with President Lucas Mangope, with Bishop Abel Mokoena (whose church has more than 4-million members) and other black leaders, none of whom are prepared to accept an ANC dictatorship over their people.

And after all is said and done, the March 17 referendum is about this: ANC rule and all its awesome ramifications.

Despite the one-sided barrage of "yes" vote propaganda and advertising, despite the not so thinly veiled threats from Zach de Beer about "blockades" (while Sir Geoffrey Howe said in 1988 that a blockade of

SA would never work), despite some big companies' intimidation of employees to vote "yes"; despite all this, the bottom line is whether white SA is prepared to live under an ANC dictatorship.

This is the decision which white voters will have to make on March 17, no matter what guarantees are given about minority rights, independent judiciaries and, best of all, a "nonracial" new SA.

For ourselves, we in the CP have no intention of becoming victims of F W de Klerk's sellout to an ANC government because, frankly, nothing could be worse.

A "no" vote is a vote for an election, a chance to examine the policies of the participating political parties. A "yes" vote gives De Klerk carte blanche to proceed towards his goal of an ANC government in this country.



□ TREURNICHT

ground combat. Although the US eco-

Four killed in explosion

POLICE should know by today whether foul play was involved in the blast which killed four people at a spice works near Alberton yesterday afternoon.

However, SAP spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel said it was suspected that it might have been a chemical explosion.

She said three of the five people who had been seriously injured had been transferred to Garden City Clinic from Natalspruit Hospital.

Eight people in total were injured.

Fire department spokesman Lucas van Zyl said: "There was no fire. It was only a blast. I don't know what caused the blast; that is for the forensic experts to determine." — Sapa.

ADVERTISEMENT

AFRICA SINESSES...

PARTNER will be a series of important intensive one day seminars throughout South Africa in May this year involving ant European speakers intimate knowledge of the grant giving process. They will how the grant giving process works. They will identify and interact with

Referendum spurs rush for SA identity

HUNDREDS of people queued for more than two hours at the Home Affairs Department office in Harrison Street, Johannesburg, yesterday hoping to get identity documents in time to vote in the referendum next week.

A department spokesman said temporary identity certificates could still be obtained on the spot, though a long wait might be inevitable. The spokesman said that only applications for identity books received before Friday last week could expect success before March 17.

One elderly woman standing in line at the office yesterday complained that she and others in the queue felt like cattle being rounded up. She said she had mislaid her identity book.

After letting on that she was not impressed by the NP's behaviour, she said: "The hardest word in the world to say is 'no' to an errant child."

A Greek insurance broker who has lived in SA for more than 25 years said he and his friends and family would vote "yes" next Tuesday.

He was at the department to apply for naturalisation. "I don't want trouble in this country," he said.

Billy, seeking a new identity book, said he knew of many people who were still undecided on the referendum question. "There is not enough real information about what the options are," he said.

Many of those in line at Home Affairs, mostly British, Greek and Zimbabwean citizens, had been intending to take out SA citizenship for some time but had been spurred into action by the referendum.

Home Affairs officials were unable to confirm rumours that there had been a

REFERENDUM

The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial poll, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters across the country. ADRIAN HADLAND spoke to people in the queues at the Home Affairs office in Johannesburg.

flood of applications for citizenship from embarrassed Zimbabweans after SA's cricket team trounced theirs in Canberra yesterday.

Penny Quinlan, a British citizen who has lived in SA for 30 years, said she expected a "yes" ballot, but was concerned about the numbers of "ignorant people" who might vote against negotiations.

The Home Affairs Department said yesterday that people who applied for identity documents before March 6 should not attempt to apply for temporary certificates as their documents should be ready from today.

"It is hoped that all such identity documents will be issued by March 11 and will therefore reach voters before referendum day," it said in a statement.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

ANC call for women's
voice in negotiations

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Women's League has submitted a representation to Codesa that examines mechanisms to ensure the increased participation of women in the negotiation process. (30/1/92)

"We represent the majority of people in South Africa, we are not an interest group," ANC adviser to Codesa Mrs Frene Ginwala said yesterday at a news conference here.

"Although delegates to Codesa say they are committed to the equal participation of women, there are very few women among their delegations," she said.

The absence of women at Codesa was raised at its first plenary session in December last year and it was agreed this would be rectified. — Sapa

WITH less than a week to go in South Africa's briefest and busiest referendum contest party strategists — particularly those in the Nationalist camp — must be having plenty of second thoughts about the way they have run their campaigns.

While Mr F W de Klerk's American-style road show across the country has proved to be an eye-catching innovation, too much of the Nats' campaign effort has been allowed to degenerate into exchanging scare stories with the Conservative Party.

By concentrating too much on the negative, particularly in newspaper advertisements and TV debates, the Nats have allowed the real purpose of the referendum — whether the major political players should proceed with negotiations aimed at achieving the country's first democratic constitution — to become obscured.

The decision to make the major thrust of the campaign terrifying to already nervous and confused white voters has played neatly into the CP hands, since this party has more than 40 years of tried-and-trusted techniques to draw on in this department.

White gripes

Indeed, during the referendum campaign many speakers in the CP-HNP-AWB alliance have resorted to invoking the very same scare stories about the ANC and the SA Communist Party to rubbish the NP as NP speakers used to denigrate the Democratic Party and its policies in the 1989 General Election.

The CP also appears to have had some success, with a degree of support from other parties, in side-tracking the campaign into a series of white gripes completely unrelated to the central issue which the referendum is designed to test.

As such, the referendum has lost all prospect of a narrow focus and has become much like a general election, with voters increasingly likely to base their vote on issues as varied as the squatter problem and the cost of living.

The 'yes' camp has in recent days also voiced concerns that whites will vote largely accord-

Referendum: Real purpose has been lost in the wash

ET 11/3/92

3048



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

ing to emotional rather than rational considerations on March 17, making the outcome less predictable.

Common sense would have dictated that, in a poll as vital as this referendum, the NP would have bent over backwards to accommodate and co-operate with its alliance partners in the 'yes' camp.

Assisted

Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. Not only has the NP insisted on a referendum question which refers directly to the State President but many of its campaigners appear intent on turning the referendum into a beauty contest for Mr De Klerk and the National Party.

This is rather short-sighted when many DP members are committed to voting 'yes' for negotiations and reform but would

still baulk at backing the National Party.

Some DP supporters who fear that the present campaign is being used as a warm-up for the first non-racial poll believe the NP is trying to kill two birds — the CP and the DP — with one stone. Whether this is the case or not, it would have assisted the cause of the 'yes' campaign if there had been closer consultation between reformist groups.

The last thing the pro-negotiations bloc needs is for potential 'yes' voters to stay away from the polls on Tuesday because of perceived or real tensions in this camp.

Indeed, the NP and the DP should do everything possible to ensure that all their supporters get to the polls next week because there is no doubt that the right wing will have little difficulty in mobilising the vast majority of their backers to vote.

Ciskei, ANC in peace pact

3047
CT 11/3/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa was saved from possible suspension yesterday after the government, the ANC and Ciskei leaders resolved to allow free political expression in Ciskei, while the ANC undertook to tone down its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

The crisis was sparked after the Ciskei government called for Codesa's suspension until the ANC called off its campaign.

Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who was supported at Codesa by several other groups, claimed the campaign was aimed at overturning his government, although this was subsequently denied by ANC leaders.

In a statement after the meeting in Pretoria, the parties agreed to abide by their undertakings in terms of the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent.

The parties, led by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Brig Gqozo, agreed that meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei

government to discuss a range of issues.

Mr Ramaphosa described the outcome of the discussions as a "victory for all".

The issues to be discussed will include co-operation within the Border region to promote peace, freedom of political expression and the headman system.

Security Act

The Ciskei government undertook to review Section 43 of its National Security Act, which restricts political gatherings, to bring it into line with Section 46 of the SA Internal Security Act and provisions of the peace accord.

This would allow all parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches in the region.

For its part the ANC agreed to review its campaign, while the government identified itself with the conclusions of the meeting.

ANC NEC member Mr Thabo Mbeki said it had not yet been decided exactly which aspects of the ANC's Ciskei campaign would be reviewed, as this required discussions with members of the ANC's Border region.

Meanwhile, Codesa management committee member Mr Praveen Gordhan said yesterday discussions on suggested amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent had made "very encouraging progress" and were all but completed.

His comment confirms the views of Codesa delegates that discussions had resulted in a resolution to attach an explanatory statement to the declaration of intent. The statement would make changes to the declaration unnecessary, but would clarify the meaning of phrases, some of which were fiercely resisted by Inkatha.

In particular, the declaration's statement that SA should be a unitary state would be clarified so it was clear this did not militate against the principle of regional government.

The agreement deals with all but one of Inkatha's objections to signing the declaration: The non-participation of the Zulu king.

● The ANC had a R142 550 budget for a programme aimed at destabilising the Ciskei, according to the agenda of the Border regional general council meeting on February 22.

Farmers fear fruits of 'no' vote

MILLIONS of rands worth of canned goods are being held in storage until the results of the referendum are released, and no canned fruit has been exported for the past two weeks.

Foreign buyers have threatened to reimpose sanctions if the right-wing triumphs on March 17.

This was revealed by fruit farmers and canners in the wake of a CP referendum meeting in Robertson on Monday night.

At the meeting, fruit farmers from Robertson, Ashton and Bonnievale expressed grave concern about the effects of a "no" vote on the multi-million fruit farming industry in South Africa.

Anxious Ashton farmer Mr Johan Bruwer said yesterday he had asked the speaker, Dr Willie Snyman, Pietersberg's CP MP, how fruit farmers would survive if overseas sanctions were reimposed.

"He was unable to give a satisfactory

answer," he said.

Dr Snyman said it appeared that Mr Bruwer and the fruit farmers who attended the meeting supported a government under Mr Nelson Mandela. The local fruit farmers were in the minority and most whites supported the CP, he said.

Mr Bruwer said that overseas buyers worldwide had warned they would cancel existing contracts if South Africans failed to support President F W De Klerk's re-

form initiatives.

"We are very concerned about the results of the referendum. About 95% of the fruit farmers in the Boland will support the State President by voting 'yes' on March 17," Mr Bruwer said.

Mr Ray Brown, managing director of Langeberg Foods Ltd — a leading food processing company in Paarl which exports canned fruit — said a 'no' vote would be a massive blow to both the farmers and the

exporters.

Exports of canned fruit are worth about R300 million a year.

Mr Louis Kriel, managing director of Uruco — an international marketing group for the deciduous fruit industry — said yesterday he was concerned that a 'no' vote could have major repercussions for the R1 500 million fresh fruit industry.

He said foreign buyers were "very nervous" about the referendum outcome.

CT 11/3/92
(314)

'Expect tough budget'

From BARRY STREEK

KIMBERLEY. — Next week's budget would be tough and "very difficult", President F W de Klerk warned last night.

He also predicted there would be "a huge majority" for the "yes" vote on Tuesday.

He told the more than 800 people who gave him a rousing welcome in the packed city hall that he was not prepared to support a budget irresponsibly, merely to be popular.

"You must accept that it will be a tough and difficult budget," he said.

There was little room to manoeuvre in. The government could spend only what it got in. It could incur debt, but it had to make provision to pay its debts from its income.

The only way the government

FW: 'Yes' vital to the economy

could increase its income was through taxes.

Every budget was a balancing act on what should be spent, as there were many good causes.

SA was facing that problem because the economy was not growing and its tax base was too narrow.

The tax rate on individuals was higher than in the average country in Europe and companies were taxed 40% in Europe but 47% in SA.

"We are therefore overtaxed already," Mr De Klerk said.

To increase taxes would improve the inflation rate, but

there was no growth and no new investment. Although restrictions and sanctions had largely been removed, investors lacked confidence.

"That is why we need a good win. We must be committed to a new direction, and investment will be the consequence, and this will bring greater income for the state," he said.

Mr De Klerk said that everywhere he had been in SA, he had found enthusiasm and important belief in the cause of those who supported the "yes" vote. *CT 1113192*

"We are going to achieve a

huge victory on March 17."

Despite what the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki had been reported as saying, the only way the constitution could be changed or an interim government installed was constitutionally. As long as he was in power, this was the only way.

Earlier, Mr De Klerk told Northern Cape businessmen at a cocktail party that SA was near to a breakthrough on the constitution and urged people to vote for a success plan.

SA was not going to accept a second prize. It would only accept the strongest democratic constitution possible.

The new constitution had to have enough strength to handle the tension and conflict in SA and protect everyone's investments.

A "yes" would send a message of hope internally and internationally.

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

ednesday, March 11 1992

Doubts on Buthelezi referendum stand

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday used the Codesa dispute over the Zulu king's participation to cast a big question mark over his stand on the referendum.

He turned on President F W de Klerk, saying he no longer felt "comfortable" with him.

And, in what may be interpreted as support for a "no" vote, he said: "I will go to the very heart of Afrikanerdom and I will campaign until KwaZulu's right to participate in negotiations is recognised."

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he asked who was stopping the State President from admitting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and his delegation to Codesa.

"Who is in charge?" he asked. "Is it Mr De Klerk or the ANC? This will confuse a lot of white voters in the referendum."

Attempts to contact Chief Buthelezi last night to clarify his statements were unsuccessful.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister

ANC will talk on

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC was prepared to negotiate with "whoever wins the referendum", Eastern Cape ANC leader Mr Mike Xhego told UPE students yesterday.

He said he did not expect violence if there was a "no" vote.

"I think there won't be a violent reaction to a 'no' vote", but there will be anger, and "how it boomerangs only God will tell".

Speaking at a lunchtime meeting, Mr Xhego said if there was a "no" vote, the ANC would "automatically go back to the drawing board" to consider its strategy. Mr Xhego said that the referendum was about the process of negotiation rather than for or against President F W de Klerk.

(Report by Patrick Cull, 19 Bakers Street, Port Elizabeth)

enjoys considerable white support, particularly in Natal, and his comments — similar to Conservative Party accusations levelled at Mr De Klerk — are bound to sway some referendum voters.

He also warned that he would keep his constitutional options open, and, in what may have been an indication that a future alliance with the CP was not out of the question, said: "I

will keep options open as to who I will ally myself with, and I will keep options open about whom I will mobilise and how I shall mobilise them.

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of his majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to failure."

He would not leave Codesa but would look at regional op-

tions available, picking up where the Buthelezi commissions and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba left off.

"We will pursue these options outside Codesa, if we are not tolerated inside Codesa, to weave harmoniously these options into other options being tabled," the KwaZulu leader warned.

He repeated earlier warnings that KwaZulu would not honour any agreement reached in Codesa "which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of deliberations which led to the agreements".

He also revealed that he had met CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Ulundi last Saturday. The two leaders also met on January 6 this year.

• At a lunch after the official opening, King Goodwill said he hoped government representative Mr Jacob de Villiers would take a clear message back to the State President that he and the KwaZulu government had to be admitted to Codesa.

Mr De Villiers conceded that Codesa belonged to the whole of South Africa and not one particular group.

Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville

NP lost 9% of white support 3047

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The National Party lost nine percent of its white support since last year, while the Conservative Party picked up three percent in the same period.

This is according to Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, senior researcher at the Research Surveys, one of the leading South African market research organisations.

He said the NP's share of white support dropped from 47% last year to 38% this year, while the CP's share rose from 25% to 28%. The number of non-aligned whites shot up by 13%, from 10% percent last year to 23% this year.

Dr Hofmeyr said nearly one quarter of the people disillusioned with party politics were English-speaking, and were the most critical factor in deciding any future political party support among whites.

Speaking at the Institute for a Democratic Alternative South Africa (Idasa), he said the Democratic Party had gained only one percent. He said black South Africans who were disillusioned with party politics constituted 27% of the black population which was 19% bigger than the combined PAC, DP and NP support among black South Africans.

Dr Hofmeyr said the NP's support among

blacks had dropped sharply, from 11% in 1991 to only two percent this year. He said the PAC enjoyed about five percent of the black population, a one percent improvement from last year.

He said if there was a general election in South Africa now, the likely outcome was that the ANC would get 55%, NP 25% and CP seven percent of the vote.

Dr Hofmeyr also said all research work conducted so far on party political support have consistently shown the Inkatha Freedom Party to be a very insignificant political player, contrary to widely-held public perceptions. — Sapa CT 11/3/92

Fight for 'crucial' votes

30417 CT 11/3/92
DURBAN. — Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday entered the battle for the critical votes of Natal English speakers — earmarked by the CP and political analysts as being crucial to the referendum outcome.

Mr James Selfe, a DP analyst, yesterday said that Natal was a crucial area.

Speaking here last night, Dr De Beer said there was a selfish, but understandable fear of social change because whites had always enjoyed privileges which they valued highly.

There was also an understanding of the "fear of Africa", he said.

"You have all read hundreds of accounts of what has gone wrong in other African countries once the vote was extended to everybody," he said.

He said that he — as one of the most ardent "yes" supporters — also had doubts, but through Codesa he believed steps could be taken to avert the dangers and allay fears.

"I beg you to listen to me when I ask: If you are not going to share SA with your fellow citizens, what are you going to do instead?"

'Moms' army' appeal

DP MP for Groote Schuur Ms Dene Smuts yesterday appealed for a "moms' army" of referendum workers to form lift clubs in the constituency to ferry "yes" voters to the polls on March 17. Those interested can phone 689-8931.

Students urge 'yes' vote

THE South African Students Congress yesterday decried the referendum, but nevertheless called on white students to vote "yes" to preserve the process towards democracy. Sasco secretary-general Mr Kgomo Masebe said all decisions of national significance should be taken by Codesa as it is the most comprehensive decision-making body ever to operate in South Africa.

CT 11/3/92

Fears for FW

(304A)
CT 11/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has brushed aside fears for his safety in the wake of a right-wing teargas attack in Bloemfontein and plans to continue his high profile campaign for next week's referendum.

Despite warnings from political analysts yesterday that the president might become the target for extremist assassins, Mr De Klerk has no intention of changing his "meet the people" drive.

He will go to Pretoria on Friday and plans to be in Pietersburg on Saturday night.

One source pointed out that it was impossible to guarantee Mr De Klerk's security if he moved freely among the public on the campaign trail.

But Mr De Klerk's office said there were no plans on his side to step up security for the rest of the campaign.

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Mr De Klerk was protected only by his permanent police bodyguards at Bloemfontein on Monday.

Police weighed the security risks of each specific presidential engagement and deployed their men accordingly, although they would reinforce the police contingent if asked by Mr De Klerk, he said.

Political risk consultant Mr Wim Booyse said: "We cannot continue with reform without Mr De Klerk, and the right knows it. The threat to him is increasing by the day."



**KWAZULU
CHIEF
CASTS
DOUBT
ON
DE KLERK**

REPORT —
See PAGE 6

"It's important for him to do walkabouts, especially in rightwing areas to show he is not afraid," Mr Booyse told Reuters.

Political scientist Mr Albert Venter said the political climate was tense enough for rightwingers to go beyond throwing eggs and tomatoes and take more extreme action.

"But you can't have tight security and walkabouts — no practical solution exists," said Mr Venter.

Security specialist Mr Andre Horne said:

"What seems to have gone wrong on Monday night is that the university did not exercise proper access control."

Yesterday, as Mr De Klerk con-

To page 3

- 'Expect tough budget' — Page 7
- Free market will rule — Page 14

From page 1

FW fears

demned the teargas attack as "reprehensible and cowardly" and the CP moved to distance the party from the storm, the AWB said he should expect a repetition of the attack if he carried on likening their movement to Hitler's nazis.

The CP condemned Monday's teargas attack yesterday, and added that they wished Justice Minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and his wife a speedy recovery.

Sapa reports that Mr Coetsee was discharged from the Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein late yesterday and will resume his full programme today.

He was injured in the teargas incident.

But during a brief break from campaigning yesterday Mr De Klerk pooh-poohed CP efforts to distance themselves from the incident.

Mr De Klerk said: "When a party reverts to such tactics it is a clear indication of bankruptcy. It does not help the CP to try to distance itself with nice sounding words from incidents such as this."

"It is exactly the misrepresentations by the CP in their speeches, publications and posters which create the climate for such reprehensible and cowardly actions."

Organisers of Mr De Klerk's visit to the campus indicated that members of AWB had been responsible.

Mr Coetsee will return to the UOFS campus on today when he will deliver the first in a series of academic lectures on "Human rights in the RSA".

The teargassing incident drew strong reaction from students and officials.

The university said it was investigating the incident as a matter of urgency and had noted that a charge of assault had been laid. Local action would be taken as soon as possible after the completion of the investigation.

Mr Coenraad Jonker, chairman of the Students' Representative Council, regretted that "a few fanatics" had managed to disrupt Mr De Klerk's visit.

The SRC would recommend that the AWB's right to operate on campus should be withdrawn and that strong disciplinary action should be taken against those found guilty.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town)

JCI boss warns on 'no' vote

JOHANNESBURG
Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (JCI) chairman Mr Pat Retief has issued a message to the group's white employees warning them of the economic consequences of a "no" vote in the coming referendum. *ET 11/13/92*

He said March 17 would be a "make or break day" and a "no" vote would result in renewed sanctions, a weaker rand and even higher levels of unemployment. — Sapa

Wooltru board calls for 'yes'

Staff Reporter

THE board of Wooltru has "strongly recommended" to all those who have the right to participate in the referendum to exercise that right — and to vote "yes".

The board said in a statement yesterday that its trading companies, Woolworths, Truworths, Makro and Topics, depended on stability in the marketplace and conciliation among their 12 000 staff.

A "no" vote would eliminate both these conditions. CT 11/3/92

JSE investors 'vote with their money'

304A
CT 11/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Diagonal Street was set alight yesterday as foreign buying of blue chip industrials induced local institutions back into the market to lift share prices sharply higher.

The rally took most observers by surprise; the market had been drifting lower after initial views of a resounding "yes" vote in the March 17 referendum shifted to perceptions that the vote would be much closer.

"Investors are voting with their money," a jubilant dealer said as the JSE Industrial Index advanced 29 points to 4 399, helping to lift the Overall Index 20 points to 3 560. Both indices were off their highs towards the close of an active session.

Most observers were divided over the reasons for the sudden re-entry of offshore investors.

Some ascribed the demand to investors taking advantage of a weak firrand, which would firm on a "yes" vote.

Others said demand was futures-related and could have involved some hedging. There had recently been big volumes on the all shares March contract, which would expire on Monday.

Domestic institutions swiftly revised earlier strategies of remaining on the sidelines and scrambled into the market to obtain shares.

The only weak sector was the gold board. The JSE All-Gold Index closed at 1 189 (1 190).

Vote spurs dual citizens

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of foreign nationals are queuing daily at the Home Affairs offices in Cape Town for the dual citizenship that will enable them to vote in the referendum.

More than a dozen foreign nationals interviewed by the Cape Times favoured a "yes" vote. For some, the decision to take out citizenship had been made more than 40 years after arriving in the country.

Mr Nigel Mudge, who arrived in South Africa from England in

1948, was seeking citizenship for the first time yesterday.

"I will definitely vote 'yes'. I'm involved in fruit export and my business would go bankrupt if there was a 'no' vote. I was not prepared to be a citizen of this country while apartheid was still legislated," he said.

Mr Josef Nikiforakis arrived in South Africa from Brazil 30 years ago. He said that apartheid had prevented him from seeking citizenship earlier.

"There is only one vote — 'yes'. I would be a lunatic to vote any other way," he said.

Mr Franz Wertschnig came to South Africa from Austria 21 years ago.

"I want to be able to cast a 'yes' vote. I'm doing this for the country and for my children," he said.

A Home Affairs spokesman said: "We have no statistics on the number of foreign nationals eligible for dual citizenship, but they keep streaming into our offices and we are doing our best to accommodate them."

Home Affairs will continue to process applications from foreign nationals until the day before the referendum.

Small business puts money on a 'yes' vote

304A
CT 11/3/92

By JILYAN PITMAN

AS RESIDENTS in the southern suburbs are being urged to vote in next week's referendum, the DP office in Groote Schuur is campaigning for money from small businesses to support the 'yes' vote.

The money donated will enable volunteers to get voters to the polling stations and to help in door-to-door canvassing to remind voters that Tuesday is referendum day.

Phone calls

Four 'yes' business people have kicked off the campaign — Rainette Stander of Rondebosch, Allan Sakinofsky of Mowbray, and Rory Koch and Allen Bethel of Observatory.

"Support from small business people will go a long way to cancelling the 'no' vote in the rural

Cape and in the Transvaal," said Ms Dene Smuts, DP MP for Groote Schuur and Mr Ian Iversen, DP chairman in Groote Schuur.

Ms Smuts said: "Every cent and every vote counts. This time we are not dealing with a safe constituency which will be won even if some folks don't get around to visiting the polling station. South Africa is not a safe constituency."

Mr Allan Sakinofsky, a pharmacist in Mowbray, said: "I am donating R100 and I challenge other pharmacies to do the same."

Mr Allen Bethel, owner of Pancho's Mexican restaurant in Observatory, said he would give R150 towards the campaign.

Mr Rory Koch, owner of Mnandi African Textiles in Observatory, said: "We must get a 'yes' vote. I am giving R75 — I hope this will help sway apathetic residents."

Miss Rainette Stander, owner of Fountain Framers in Rondebosch, has donated R300. She

said: "We need money to come into the country and the only way to do that is to vote 'yes'."

Where to vote

Mr Bill Sewell, chairman of the Rondebosch Civic Association, said his organisation would support the 'yes' vote.

Cheques should be made out to the Referendum Fund and sent to 90a Main Road, MOWBRAY 7705. Cash may be delivered to the office from 8.30am to 1pm.

Voting stations will be at the Observatory Municipal Hall, Collingwood Road; the Gordon's Institute, Liesbeek Parkway, Mowbray; Newlands School Clinic, corner Main Street and Kildare Road, and Mowbray Town Hall, Main Road. They will be open from 7am until 9pm. One's ID book must be presented.

□ For more information call the DP office at (021) 689-8931.

Buthelezi threatens action over Codesa

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened action if King Goodwill Zwelithini is excluded from Codesa.

Speaking at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi threatened to mobilise the Zulu nation against its exclusion from Codesa.

"We will not honour any agreement reached in Codesa about the future which in any way involves KwaZulu while we are not part of the deliberations which led to the agreements.

"I... will have nothing to do with implementing Codesa decisions which are reached while we are not present to make our own contribution to debates and emerging decisions."

Buthelezi said the exclusion from Codesa was connected to collusion between the government and the ANC.

"What were we supposed to think when we see great enthusiasm being displayed in the banning of the carrying of Zulu accoutrements, but the same enthusiasm is not shown in the dismantling or banning Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

He added he would go to the "very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for the right of the Zulus to be recognised.

Negotiations had to be representative

enough to make negotiators' decisions binding on people.

Buthelezi said he was not threatening armed struggle or revolutionary violence against any government established without Zulu participation.

"I will not be party to a failed constitution and a failed democracy."

In the past all the ills of the people were laid at the door of apartheid but in the future government and the people in it would be blamed for failure, he said.

Groundwork would now be laid for support to reject a government which was not brought into being by a truly representative body.

A government which was not one of national unity would be rejected.

Buthelezi said he would keep his options open about with whom he would ally himself. He would also keep his options open about whom to mobilise and how.

"But I will not bow to a rejection of KwaZulu and a rejection of His Majesty and become party to a government of our country which is doomed to fail.

"I am saying that we must put right now that which is wrong in Codesa."

The legislative assembly would look at available regional options and "if we are not tolerated inside Codesa" would pursue them outside the talks, he said. — Sapa.

8/Day 11/3/92

304A

Labour and business 'must lead the way'

CAPE TOWN — There seemed to be near unanimity at Codesa on the need for business, labour and government to agree on how to achieve economic growth, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"Discussions have begun among several of the parties involved and these are helping to clear the air and crystallise the issues," De Klerk told an international steel and ferro-alloys conference in Cape Town in his 54th speech in five days.

He said he was confident he could win a referendum "tomorrow" held among all South Africans on the need for such an economic consensus.

However, he would not arrange such a

B1 Day 11/3/92
LINDA ENSOR

referendum as it was preferable for business and labour to reach agreement and for this to be blessed by the state, rather than for the state to play a prescriptive and more active role. (304A)

He said there was growing convergence among Codesa parties on the approach to economic growth. Many participants in Codesa subscribed to private enterprise. "The advocates of state control are still active, but wiser counsels now seem to be prevailing among the real decision makers."

To prospective foreign investors De

Klerk gave the assurance that SA was not facing a major discontinuity in economic practice. There was no need to postpone long-term investment decisions.

"There is no reason to fear sudden upheavals, sudden reversals of long-term economic policy. Planners can go ahead and plan in the knowledge that good and stable government will continue."

De Klerk did not believe future growth strategies would depart much from government's present commitment to export-led industrialisation or from its present level of socio-economic expenditure, al-

☐ To Page 2

Business

though he said government spending could always be applied more efficiently.

"With our present rather narrow tax base and low level of VAT at 10%, however, the room available for substantially increased spending is limited and direct taxes are already at levels considered rather high by international standards."

De Klerk said government's role in gearing the economy towards value-added production had been to act as facilitator, "without committing itself to any kind of long-term subvention which invariably produces businesses unable to stand on their own feet."

Sapa reports that in Kimberley last night, De Klerk said SA would have a democracy as strong as the world's best.

He said a new constitution would have to meet the demands of the complexity of the country.

"It must have enough constitutional steel built into it to deal with the problems and built-in conflicts of the distant future and ensure that it can manage it and overcome the tensions and threats to security."

Report by L Ensor, TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, and P Claassen, Sapa Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town.

● See Page 7

☐ From Page 1

How and where to vote

STAR 12/3/92

(30 L1)

THERE is nothing complicated about voting in Tuesday's referendum. Civil servants did all the work, and produced a 23-page Government Gazette (No 13 805) to prove it. But for voters it is as easy as buying a loaf of bread.

Get the Gazette if you want to read paragraphs headed "Sealing of ballot box and other referendum material", and so on, but it's easier to simply arrive at your nearest polling station, knowing the box will be sealed in front of witnesses when voting closes at 9 pm.

If you are inside the door by then you can still vote.

You have to be white, a South African citizen and at least 18 years old. It is a secret ballot: no one will know where you put your cross.

The first thing is to find your identity book: the official green or blue one ... or a temporary ID certificate. Passports or driving licences won't do — it's the ID book (or temporary certificate) or nothing.

At this late stage the Department of Home Affairs cannot issue a new ID book in time — but you can get a temporary ID document before Tuesday, and that will enable you to vote. To get the document, you will need R4 and three clear passport-sized photographs.

However, don't leave it until the afternoon before the referendum before asking for the temporary ID: do it today, or tomorrow at the latest.

Elsewhere on this page are details of polling stations around the country, with phone numbers to help you find the nearest one. It is still being worked out how many stations there will be, but the number is expected to be between 1 300 and 1 400 and no one will have far to travel.

Today The Star tells you everything you need to know about how to vote in the referendum on Tuesday. There are telephone numbers of officials and lists of where your nearest polling station will be. PETER WELLMAN reports.

1 PRESENT YOUR IDENTITY DOCUMENT

2 HANDS CHECKED UNDER ULTRAVIOLET LIGHT FOR SPECIAL DYE

3 FINGERS DIPPED INTO CONTAINER OF COTTON WASTE IMPREGNATED WITH SPECIAL DYE

4 MAKE YOUR SECRET VOTE IN THE POLLING BOOTH

5 CAST YOUR VOTE IN THE BALLOT BOX

Graphic by Liz Warder

Go along anytime after 7 am, and a clerk will help you.

Hand over your ID document for checking. It will be given back to you straight away. There is no problem if it is one of the new books, issued after July 1 1986, which does not reflect your race. Officials will check with the Population Register.

You might be asked to declare orally or in writing that you live in the Republic of South Africa or the republics of Transkei, Bophuthatswana,

Venda or Ciskei, or that your home is in one of them.

Then there is a check to confirm that you are not voting for a second time. Don't, it is a criminal offence and there are heavy penalties. You simply hold your hand for a moment under an ultra-violet neon tube in an upright box.

Next comes what the ultra-violet would have picked up if you had voted: you dip your fingers into clean cotton waste soaked in a liquid.

It seems dark yellow, but

Home Affairs stresses it leaves no mark, and will not stain clothing. It is also harmless and anti-bacterial, and does not affect food. Mothers can safely prepare babies' bottles without any effect on infants.

It will wear off after about a week, but nothing will wash it off.

Some people might have religious objections to having their hands marked in this way, and this is where all the work that went into the Government Gazette pays off.

Objectors must take an oath, or give their word in writing, that they have not voted.

Help will be at hand if you wish to get any last-minute political advice, but must be done outside the polling station, where political parties are free to canvass for support.

By mutual agreement between the various parties, one or more members of a party promoting a "yes" vote and one or more promoting a "no" vote, will be inside each polling station to see that rules are being followed.

They will take no part in the voting procedure — apart from voting themselves.

The voting forms are in a booklet with counterfoils, rather like a chequebook. The first 10 numbers of your ID document will be entered in the counterfoil, and the ballot paper will be torn off and handed to you.

The only sentence it contains is the official referendum question, in English and Afrikaans: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on February 2 1990 and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

Under that are the words Yes and No, each with a white square on a blue background.

There is a cubicle which you enter to place a cross next to "yes" or "no", and no one can see where it goes. You can make a tick if you wish, but a cross is preferred.

Then you fold the paper once, concealing your cross, and the polling official will look for a stamp on the back of the paper (without touching it) to confirm that it is indeed the official ballot document.

You then drop your ballot paper through the slot in the ballot box.

(Reports by P Wellman, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Referendum voting hours extended for South Africans abroad

(3044) M26 12/3/92

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

VOTING hours for South Africans abroad have been extended as the referendum fever builds up.

National Party as well as Conservative Party spokesmen today made predictions of success but the NP is under tremendous rightwing pressure in country areas.

Thousands of foreigners, mainly of British descent, have been streaming to offices of the department of Home Affairs to become naturalised South Africans.

Mr P J Colyn, chief referendum officer, an-

nounced today South African citizens abroad could also vote tomorrow. Initially yesterday and today were set aside for polling.

Arrangements were being made for special votes to be cast, not only at South African missions but at polling stations to be established at other venues which would be made known to the missions.

In Botswana there would be a polling station for special votes in Gaborone.

Meanwhile the main Yes and No parties in the campaign were making confident predictions of success, with the Conservative Party claiming breakthroughs.

Secretary general of the National Party Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said things were going well. He remained confident of a victory.

President De Klerk is also confident. He pointed out this week that he had drawn capacity and enthusiastic audiences throughout his tours, often at meetings which had been called at short notice.

He added that complacency among Yes voters remained the big danger.

Mr Andries Beyers, general secretary of the CP said the biggest problem the party faced was that there had been so little time for canvassing. But the

spontaneous reaction from party supporters had been above expectations.

"Something can happen here," he said.

Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point, said the Yes support in Democratic Party-minded city areas appeared to be solid.

He said the referendum might well be won or lost by the votes of DP supporters.

Today is the deadline for naturalisation applications but a Home Affairs spokesman said there was no guarantee applications received today could be processed before polling day.

... OF COURSE. Officially, Stalf argues the AWPB leader is denying the indomitable nature of the Afrikaner

ET: does the Boer really turn his back in fear?

STAF 12/3/92

PART from his obvious equestrian shortcomings, AWPB su-premo Eugene TerreBlanche has it all wrong.

He is fighting a kind of Boer jihad, conjuring a romantic resistance from the slouch hats, dust and blood of South Africa's past, inspiring nothing less than the politics of bigotry.

"This is not a referendum between the CP and the NP," he told a small sea of khaki in the north-west quadrant of Church Square.

"It's a referendum between God and communism. What an honour it is that God has chosen you to stand against communism."

Stirring stuff, being the chosen. Mr TerreBlanche, tender flanks and all, played his audience like a trekklaavier.

His technique is to summon the ghosts of history and vividly

sketch how Afrikaner trekkers civilised native hurdles and brought technology and prosperity to the untamed hinterland.

Gunfire, the Covenant, spears, treaties and unlocking the country's potential — it's all there, aimed at the soul of the Afrikaner.

But Mr TerreBlanche errs here (apart from his entire political philosophy being fundamentally flawed). He denies the indomitable spirit of the Afrikaner frontiersman.

By promoting "no", he effectively portrays the Afrikaner, the determined Boer with his roer, as one who would prefer to turn back to the relative safety of the coast.

He is virtually saying that Afrikaners looking up now at the terrifying majesty of the Drakensberg should decide to reverse the

wagons — because that is what a "no" today amounts to.

But chronicles tell us that the spirit of the frontiersman drove the Boer on to mount the peaks piercing the sky and venture into uncharted wild country to conquer the savagery he encountered; rather that, and carving a new life out of the bushveld, than retreating and trying to improve that circumstance that caused his trek.

So, too, with the "yes" or "no" ballot. Let the frontiersman's spirit inherent in South Africans reign, and propel them forward into unexplored political/constitutional territory.

To shrink away from the mountains and turn back to unworkable apartheid would be to ignore what is in the Afrikaner's blood. It would also mean no safety at all

— disaster awaits those who flinch, we know that.

And there is a possibility, even a probability, that the catastrophe inevitable in a "no" can be averted in a negotiations process that has so far produced promising results and major shifts in the positions of the dreaded ANC and its loathsome communist component.

When the wagons rolled it was a handful of adventurers against countless thousands. The way Mr TerreBlanche, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais would have it, a paltry group of communists are sufficient to halt the Afrikaner's appointment with the future.

It takes one to know one, the cliché goes. What we are seeing in this referendum campaign are the proponents of one defunct ideology

83 pointing at those of another. Those who are hankering for apartheid by another name are, unwittingly, boosting the status of a 20 000-strong South African Communist Party, which is showing no growth but, rather, enormous potential for decay in the light of communism's devastating decline worldwide.

The "no" campaign has brought new hope for the world's dwindling communist dinosaurs, which lumber about the political landscapes of South Africa. Slovo-saurus has not had this much attention since he arrived from exile in his red socks at D F Malan Airport almost two years ago.

What "yes" cheerleaders have failed to do, with the exception perhaps of Foreign Minister Pik

Botha, is adequately to illustrate communism's demise and highlight the fact that Hanisaurus has no ideological mother ship any longer and very few friends internationally.

Communism has all the prospects of a dodo, but somehow that message is being lost in the voluminous right-wing tirade against the very real possibility of a communist or two in the next government.

It is hard to believe that fear of an ideology in its last gasps may suppress the natural inclination of the Afrikaner frontiersman who forged the Free State and Transvaal republics.

Risk and faith have always characterised the Afrikaner. Why should he suppress it now? □

(Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Ramaphosa adopts conciliatory stance

STAR 12/3/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

304A

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has followed his leader, Nelson Mandela, in adopting a conciliatory stance on the white referendum.

Mr Ramaphosa says that although the ANC is opposed in principle to the ethnic poll "it would be silly to suggest that it only concerns whites".

His remarks, made in an interview with Finance Week, echo the tone adopted by the ANC president in The Star this week. Mr Mandela moved to reassure whites that Conservative Party claims about the horrors of a government involving the ANC were unfounded.

In the interview, Mr Ramaphosa was asked what the ANC's response would be in the event of a clear "yes" win, a close result, and a "no" victory.

He said: "We would interpret a landslide victory as overwhelming support for the continuation of the negotiations

process ... although it would not necessarily signify support for De Klerk himself or the NP negotiating demands.

"In the event of De Klerk winning narrowly, bear in mind that we are talking of a referendum concerning 15 percent of the population. Such a win would not constitute a barrier to continuing the process which enjoys the overwhelming support of the population as a whole.

"And should De Klerk lose, our view is that the process should still continue, though the need for discussions with the right wing would be urgent. We may come to a settlement but it will not necessarily stick if a majority of the white population violently opposes it.

"Our job would be to reconcile this minority of the population, urging them to act in the interests of the country as a whole ... We want to establish a constitution which will be respected by all."

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

ON THE CAMPAIGN
TRAIL TODAY (304A)

CP to aim for
English-speakers

The CP seems to be directing its efforts strongly towards English-speakers today with meetings across Natal, while CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will hold a meeting in Muizenburg in the Cape.

Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenburg will speak in Newcastle, Natal and meetings will be held across the province.

Seeking additional support for the right-wing "no" vote, HNP leader Jaap Marais will speak in Boksburg.

In support of the NP's "yes" vote Cabinet Ministers will speak around the country. Among others, in the Free State Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be in Fauresmith and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in Dewetsdorp. General secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe will be in Sasolburg.

In Natal, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett will speak in Greytown while Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte will speak in Kokstad.

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

CP seeking 'acceptable' option to apartheid — Koos

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

A Conservative Party government would replace apartheid with measures that were "internationally acceptable and morally justifiable" and would therefore not provoke sanctions, CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe said last night.

National Party spokesman Piet Coetzer retorted that Mr van der Merwe's statement completely repudiated Conservative Party policy.

The two rivals were taking part in a lively referendum debate in the Springs Community Centre.

Ironically, while Mr van der Merwe was vowing not to reimpose apartheid laws, rowdy CP supporters often shouted down Springs MP Mr Coetzer in protest at the NP scrapping apartheid — especially in schools.

Mr Coetzer asked them why they wanted whites-only schools when the CP claimed that it did

not intend reintroducing apartheid measures.

Mr van der Merwe was asked which apartheid laws the CP would reintroduce if it came to power. He replied that the CP was now looking for measures to protect its people which were morally justifiable and internationally acceptable.

Mr Coetzer retorted that if Mr van der Merwe was saying that he was not going to reintroduce apartheid measures such as race classification, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act, "he is tonight repudiating his own policy".

Mr van der Merwe denied this, saying that Dr Treurnicht had said that a flood had swept away the apartheid laws and the CP would have to introduce new measures.

The CP had a vision for all the people in Southern Africa to live in peace, harmony and prosperity, but the way to

achieve it was not President de Klerk's way.

Asked what a CP government would say to cricketer Peter Kirsten if he asked why he was no longer able to play international cricket, Mr van der Merwe said that a no-vote would not automatically mean sports boycotts.

The international community had two requirements — that negotiations should continue and that there should be no return to apartheid — and the CP would fulfil those requirements.

Asked how a CP government would combat crime and political violence, Mr van der Merwe said the CP would "mercilessly" stamp it out, using the Defence Force if necessary.

But there was no hope of ending the violence unless a lasting political solution was found, he added, to which a member of the audience quipped: "You sound just like a Nat."

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Hani challenges Jaap Marais

By Esther Waugh ^{STAR}12/3/92
Political Reporter

South Africa's top communist has himself refuted right-wing claims that a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum would lead to communism.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani told The Star yesterday that a "yes" vote meant that the country would continue its path towards democracy, not communist domination.

Mr Hani was asked to comment on allegations by right-wing leaders, who are using the communist issue as a key tactic in the referendum campaign.

The two leaders of the yes-vote campaign, Mr

de Klerk and Democratic Party chief Zach de Beer, have also strongly rejected rightist charges that the Codesa negotiations were dominated by communism.

Mr Hani said communists were in the minority at Codesa, and challenged HNP leader Jaap Marais to name them.

He said 19 groups were represented at Codesa, including the ANC and the SACP which have communists in its ranks. The Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses also have some SACP members, but the other 16 groups did not have any communists.

Turning to Mr Marais's allegation that the ANC national execu-

tive was dominated by communists, Mr Hani pointed out that the committee did not comprise 36 members, as Mr Marais had claimed, but 90 people.

He said there were "fewer than 12" communists on the NEC. These included himself, Joe Slovo, Jeremy Cronin, Raymond Suttner, Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie Kasrils, Jeff Radebe, Harry Gwala and Raymond Mhlaba.

He added that Dr. Treurnicht was dishonest by saying he would not reintroduce apartheid, while he said he intended reintroducing influx control and the pass system.

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

STAR 12/3/92
Voting extended (3044)

Special votes for people finding themselves temporarily outside the country may be cast not only today but tomorrow, the Home Affairs Department announced yesterday. Furthermore, arrangements were being made for special votes to be cast at additional venues other than SA missions. South Africans in Botswana may cast their votes today and tomorrow at SA's representative office in Gaborone. Those able to prove they were temporarily visiting, or living in, Botswana would also be able to vote. The office, at the Gaborone Sun Hotel, Nyerere Drive, will be open between 7 am and 9 pm.

"Show Christian way"

Church leaders had a duty to take a clear and unequivocal stand on the referendum, and had to encourage their members to vote "yes", two Stellenbosch educationists said this week. Dr Dawid van der Vyver and Muzi Sibisi said church leaders had a duty to the disadvantaged majority to show the Christian way.

Danish proviso

The centre-left majority in Denmark's parliament is ready to lift trade sanctions provided South African whites back Mr de Klerk in his reforms, a parliamentary spokesman said on Wednesday. Mr de Klerk would also have to pledge "no longer to organise separate votes for the white population", Radical Party MP Joergen Estrup said.

Appeal to conscience

All white Christians voting "no" in Tuesday's referendum would be lying after saying how much they loved black people with the love of Christ, Christian Peace and Reconciliation for Southern Africa co-ordinator Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya said yesterday. "Voting 'no' would mean that white Christians in this country support the distorted beliefs of rightwingers that blacks are not really human, they do not have a soul and therefore cannot be saved," he said.

Foul play warning

Rumours of intended foul play in the referendum voting booths has come to the attention of the Department of Home Affairs, which has warned that a fine of R10 000 and/or three years' jail could be the penalty for voting malpractice. It said there were rumours that voters with more than one identity document or certificate were being encouraged to vote more than once, and that people refusing to have their fingers dipped in ultraviolet liquid because of religious or conscientious objections would try the same.

Jewish 'yes' urged

DP MP Tony Leon has urged Jewish South Africans to vote "yes" in the referendum to avoid their citizenship being "negated" by the "anti-Semitic" CP and its right-wing allies.

(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 St, Jhb

Graham Linscott on an eerily prescient book

If FW goes .

304A
STAR 12/3/92

IT IS with a degree of pensive-ness that one re-reads Keppel-Jones in the run-up to March 17. He was only half-right about what would happen if the Nats came to power, everyone says. But how terrible if the rest of his predictions should start being borne out from March 18.

Professor Keppel-Jones (now living in Canada) is no Nostradamus. His horror scenario, "When Smuts Goes", was based on his perception of historical trends. He was a historian lecturing at Wits.

The book was written in 1946, two years before Smuts was defeated, and is presented as a history of South Africa from 1952 (when he expected the Nats to win power) to 2010, when the Afrikaner republic collapses in ruins.

The uncanny accuracy of some of his predictions has invested him with the mantle of prophet.

The Nats did win over white workers from the Labour Party. The Dominion Party did slide under the waves. The United Party was immobilised by factions pulling in different directions. The coloured people were disfranchised. Black representation in Parliament was abolished. A republic was declared. Natal did threaten to secede but did pull back. Harsh, repressive baasskap was imposed. The rule of law was suspended.

But all kinds of things he pre-

dicted did not happen.

Afrikaans did not displace English — not in the absolute sense he envisaged, anyway. There was white emigration but on nothing like the scale he predicted. There has been black insurrection, but on nothing like the scale he imagined.

Keppel-Jones was not to know, in 1946, that countries such as Britain would disengage from Africa rather than put pressure on South Africa from Swaziland, "Basutoland", "Bechuanaland" and "Rhodesia", all of them still part of the Empire. He was not to anticipate Verwoerd's attempt to give apartheid a rational and moral basis, Vorster's era of pragmatism, Botha's early reforms or De Klerk's full-blooded reforms.

It is probably those that made improbable, with hindsight, his scenario of war against neighbouring territories, internal civil war and intervention by British, American and Soviet forces under the auspices of the UN.

All the same, one reads it pensively in the build-up to March 17. There are some disturbing images in this Gotterdammerung scenario, not least the emergence of a President Bult, a rightwinger's rightwinger whose body is eventually found, rifle in hand, after a last stand in Pretoria.

Pretty chilling stuff. One cannot help thinking: If De Klerk goes... □

'White land' policy explained

DURBAN — The Conservative Party land negotiations started with leaving the self-governing territories and homelands for specific ethnic groups.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a Durban audience last night that land outside these areas was "white territory", although the CP was prepared to negotiate final borders.

Before negotiating "our people out of land" the CP would, however, go back to the white electorate.

Land outside the homelands historically belonged to whites and that would be the CP's starting point in negotiations with ethnic leaders, Dr Treurnicht told about 600 supporters at the Ex-

hibition Centre.

The CP stood for the modern concept of a commonwealth of nations which would be politically independent and economically interdependent with co-operation in defence and foreign affairs.

The time for black or white domination was past and the CP did not want to dominate black people... "we want you (blacks) to govern yourselves", he said.

His party would not reimpose apartheid if it came to power, but the principle of self-determination would necessitate the reintroduction of laws such as influx control "to secure our own way of life".

Several khaki-clad A WB members and

others sporting A WB T-shirts were seen among the enthusiastic crowd, and the organisation's southern Natal leader General Nick Fourie addressed supporters briefly describing the Ystergarde as soldiers who fought for God and white people, not as thugs as the press depicted them.

Earlier, four black students from Natal Technikon who were covering the meeting as part of a project were refused entry to the hall.

Asked to comment later, Dr Treurnicht said it was not CP policy to refuse anyone entry to meetings although with large groups tension could arise. — Sapa.

(Report by C Doonan, 36 Westgard House, Gardiner St, Dbn)

Africa holding thumbs for a 'yes'

STAR 12/3/92

SOUTH AFRICA'S neighbouring states are hoping for a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum, because they have a lot to lose if the vote goes the other way.

Both in these countries and elsewhere in Africa a negative vote would, according to knowledgeable analysts, result in the immediate suspension of SA's reacceptance in the continent.

The National Party's reforms have been popular in neighbouring countries not only for moral reasons but because they have opened up desperately needed opportunities for trade and other exchanges. The general expectation is that a "no" vote would at least stall the reform process and threaten to squeeze off these opportunities.

Even before the reform process began, the southern African countries gave only token observance to economic sanctions on SA, for they could not afford the damage that full compliance with sanctions would do to their economies. They did, however, apply sporting, cultural and any other boycotts they felt they could afford.

While trade with South Africa continued and even expanded, the neighbouring states had to forego the economic and technical aid SA was beginning to offer.

Perhaps the biggest benefit of reform, as far as the neighbouring states are concerned, is the opportunity it offers

GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service reports.

for the formation of a regional trading bloc revolving around SA. Such a bloc is regarded as essential to help southern Africa emerge from its present economic doldrums and compete in a world whose politics as well as economics are increasingly determined by trade blocs.

Knowledgeable observers believe a negative vote would cause other countries which have been opening up to SA to suspend these moves. It would be seen as a slap in the face for black Africans, just as apartheid was. And it is expected that the militant struggle against white domination will be resumed, again drawing in neighbouring states.

Governments such as Angola, Botswana and Zambia which are about to open reciprocal trade or diplomatic offices would probably stop these proceedings, at least for the time being.

Possibly taking their cue from the ANC, neighbouring countries initially condemned the referendum as an unnecessary, racist exercise offering whites an opportunity to veto reform.

However, information from these countries suggests they have come to accept the inevitability of a white referendum and to hope the majority will vote positively in it.

No neighbouring government initially came out openly in support of a "yes" vote but several are understood to have privately expressed the hope that the vote will go that way.

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said a negative vote would be "an absolute tragedy for South Africa and the whole region".

"It would turn the clock many years back. A 'no' vote would certainly be a vote for armed conflict, and we think that in 1992 armed conflict is the last thing we would like to see in this region."

An analyst said southern African leaders "realise that reform is inevitable and cannot be stopped. They know that a negative vote would only delay the process, not stop it. But they are concerned about anything that might destabilise the region and they would see a negative vote in that light."

Like South Africans themselves, African governments are expected initially to adopt a wait-and-see attitude in the event of a negative vote, to see what effect it would have on Codesa and on the NP's ability to govern.

Until the domestic consequences of a negative vote became clear, they would probably suspend all but trade dealings with South Africa.

A "yes" vote, on the other hand, would be welcomed throughout Africa. □

Our nose almost in front, says confident CP

STAR 12/3/92

By Peter Fabricius (304A) and Shaun Johnson

With the referendum campaign entering its crucial final stretch, a buoyant Conservative Party is claiming it has narrowed the lead of the "yes" vote down to just a few percentage points.

CP sources yesterday said the NP's own latest estimates showed its original 60-40 lead had been pared right down to a nail-biting 52-48 margin.

But the National Party yesterday denied this, and said the

"yes" vote camp was still commanding just less than 59 percent of the vote — a very slight drop on its estimated lead before the campaign started.

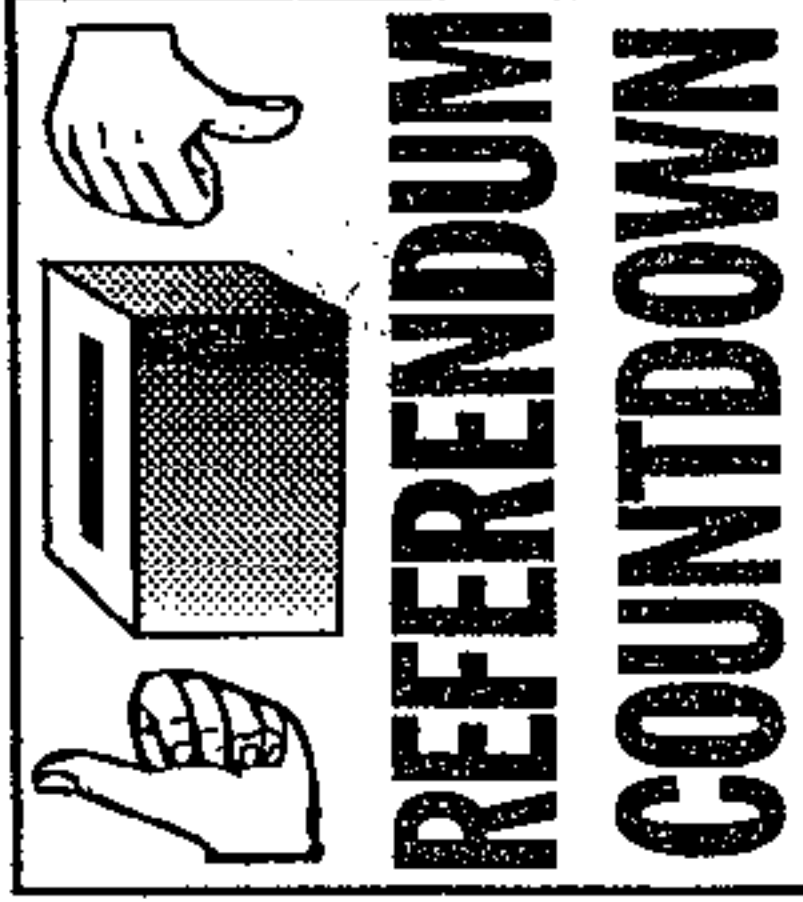
Reliable political observers believe that the "no" camp is making much of the running among the large body of voters who were uncertain at the start of the campaign. They stressed this could still change depending on how the campaign went in the next few days.

Observers say the bedrock of about 49 percent "yes" voters is solid, and could expand to produce a winning result of be-

tween 53 and 62 percent. But, they warn, the chances of the landslide victory which President de Klerk wants are looking increasingly remote under current circumstances.

They say the CP's persistent message that a "yes" vote is a vote for "black communist domination" is resonating among many voters.

They believe the "yes" camp is not adequately refuting this message — or countering the recent CP tactic of persuading voters that a "no" vote is for a "second chance" in a general election.



CP Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday said support for the "no" vote in the Vaal Triangle was 70 percent — showing a substantial swing to-

wards the "no" camp from the 51 percent CP to 49 percent NP breakdown during the 1989 general election.

CP sources in the far northern Transvaal have been reporting a similar breakdown of support for the two camps.

A delighted Clive Derby-Lewis, the CP official who is spearheading the campaign to woo English-speakers into the "no" camp, said he had been amazed by the enthusiasm of supporters. "The phones haven't stopped ringing all day. We came into this campaign with the deck stacked against us, but

people are suddenly realising they have an opportunity to get rid of De Klerk," he said.

But other CP sources say privately they believe the "yes" vote will still win between 55 and 60 percent of the vote.

NP sources said the CP claims that the NP's own estimates put its support at only 52 percent were "pure fabrication". They also denied CP reports that the NP propaganda team had held a crisis meeting on Tuesday to try to find a solution for eroding "yes" vote support.

They said NP tests showed

the "yes" vote was remaining solid while the "no" vote was still doubtful.

They said the NP information campaign was about to go into a final phase of stressing the positive benefits of a "yes" vote — after concentrating for much of the campaign on denigrating the opposition.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the DP had not detected any signs of disaffection among its supporters, who seemed to be remaining solid.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

SA citizens in

US cast votes

By Hugh Robertson (304A) Star Bureau 5/12/3/92

WASHINGTON — A steady trickle of South Africans cast their referendum votes at the South African embassy in Washington today, and at consulates in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Houston. Voting will continue tomorrow and, following a last-minute decision by the Cabinet, on Friday as well.

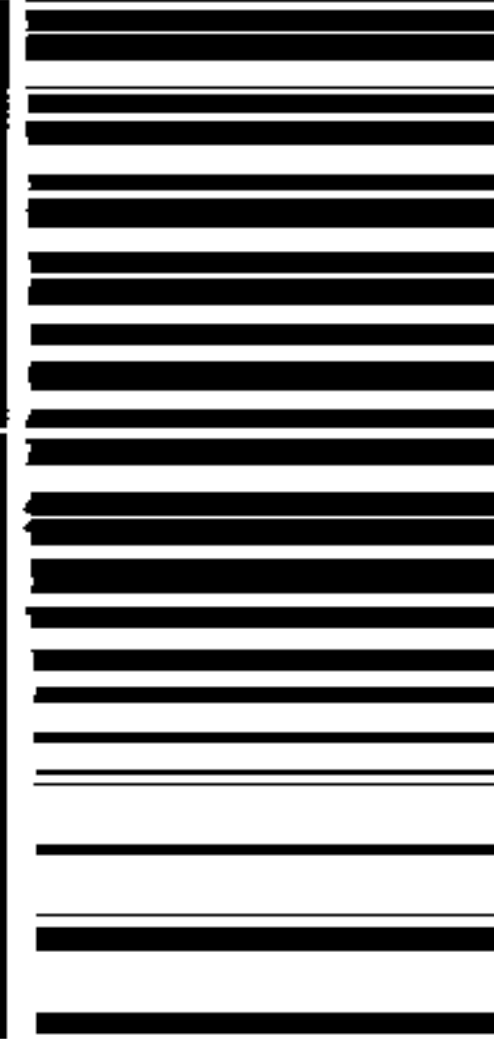
South African officials travelled to San Francisco, Houston and Atlanta to facilitate votes by people unable to travel to centres where there is a South African mission.

About 25 000 white South Africans who are temporarily in the United States are eligible to vote, but because the Department of Home Affairs has insisted that only a Book of Life is acceptable as an identity document for voting, only a few will be able to exercise their right.

(Report by HS Robertson, 3426 Reservoir Road NW, Washington DC)



The long wait . . . voters had two-hour waits in queues at Home Affairs offices in Harrison Street, Johannesburg, yesterday. Officials said naturalisation requests were up 180 percent and temporary IDs more than 70 percent. Yesterday was the deadline for naturalisations. Picture: Etienne Rothbart



Business is on hold until after referendum

Sowetan 12/3/92
MANY jittery businessmen are adopting a wait-and-see policy before next Tuesday's reform referendum.

They are holding back on deals running into many millions of rands and placing large sectors of the economy on hold.

A resounding "yes" majority will help restore badly-needed confidence, according to local business spokesmen. And there are hopes that it will spark off a "mini-boom" in the property market, in financial investment by the public and in some other fields, particularly if next week's Budget is a popular one.

But the outlook is bleak if the "no" votes carry the day, according to the spokesmen. A number of big deals will crash.

Not all businessmen and members of the public are marking time. The overall picture is topsy-turvy - and one Durban financial adviser, Mr David Upfold, said that now was the time to invest and to buy property - before the "mini-boom", which he is confident will materialise.

A multi-million rand commercial property deal arranged by estate agents JH Isaacs is precariously balanced. A clause written into the agreement stipulates that it will fall through in the event of a "no" victory.

Brink Properties' marketing director, Mr Chris Williams, said yesterday that a R500 000 property offer had been frozen and was dependent on a "yes" vote.

He said: "The general trend is that people are looking

304A
Sowetan Correspondent

around at properties but are reluctant to put pen to paper until after the referendum."

Share prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange drifted aimlessly yesterday as nervous investors mostly kept to the sidelines. Dealers described trading as directionless in jittery conditions ahead of the referendum.

Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce economist Barry Poulosom said: "Everyone is on tenterhooks in business circles."

A Durban travel agent said quite a few nervous people had inquired in the last fortnight about the "cheapest possible one-way ticket to the UK".

A large number of other people, who had immigrated to South Africa years ago, had now made up their minds to quit the country.

The referendum has led to the postponement of Safto export marketing consultants' Southern African Trade and Investment Conference in Johannesburg this month.

The conference will now be held on April 28 and 29.

A Safto spokesman said: "We have speakers confirmed from Zimbabwe, Zaire, Kenya, Botswana, Ivory Coast and Angola as well as Europe and America. The referendum has influenced the situation and the speakers understandably don't want to be in South Africa before the results are clear."

She was replaced by Major after a backbench Conservative revolt against her autocratic style in November 1990.

SA artists call for a 'yes' vote ^(304A)

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

LOCAL artists will call for a "yes" vote in the March 17 referendum at a Johannesburg Press conference today at 11am. *Sowetan 12/3/92*

Dr Hermien Dommissie, a theatre personality, urged artists who have not yet been contacted to fax their names through to (011) 726-2010.

Meanwhile the giant Premier Group's executives have been briefed to explain the implications of the a "no" vote to their employees.

VW boss outlines cost of a 'no' vote

PORT ELIZABETH — A "no" vote in the referendum would mean the "loss of probably thousands of jobs at Volkswagen SA", VWSA chairman Peter Searle said in a statement yesterday. (304A)

"It is estimated that more than 100 000 people in Uitenhage, Despatch and Port Elizabeth are dependent on VWSA for their daily bread. A similar number of people in our supplier and dealer organisation in this area is probably also dependent on the money generated by Volkswagen's purchases and supplies. 3/12/92

"If the world decides to act against SA we would certainly lose virtually all our export business overnight.

"This would affect not only hundreds of jobs at operator, artisan and management level in our Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage plants, but in the present depressed economic situation we would have to restructure our operation to a much leaner level.

Own Correspondent

"This would in turn involve the loss of probably thousands of jobs at VWSA, its suppliers and its dealers."

A "yes" vote would mean "a substantial strengthening" of SA's trading partnerships worldwide and it was "on this inter-relationship" that current and future jobs depended, Searle said.

Such a vote would also mean "a vote of confidence in the future, further export possibilities as the world opens up to SA, access to much needed investment and consequently greater participation for all South Africans in the economy."

"Taking our rightful place in world trade is the only viable formula for SA's future. On it depends the jobs and incomes not only of ourselves but also our children and their children," Searle said.

Report by J Dewes, TML, 19 Baskens St, Port Elizabeth.

Pik paves the way for FW in Japan

DARIUS SANAI

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha would visit Japan later this month, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

Botha's trip — his first to Japan in six years — will prepare the ground for an official visit to Japan by President F W de Klerk in June or July, according to unconfirmed reports from sources close to government. This would be the first visit to Japan by an SA head of state.

Japan and SA established full diplomatic ties in January, and Japanese diplomatic sources said yesterday Botha and De Klerk had been planning to visit Japan for some time. 8/Day 12/3/92

Well-placed sources said Botha would also visit Singapore, Thailand and South Korea during the trip, but the spokesman would not confirm this.

Sources also said yesterday French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas would probably come to SA later this year, making him the highest ranked French minister to visit.

French foreign ministry sources said yesterday that as far as the visit was concerned, much rested on the outcome of the French local elections later this month, as well as on the negotiation process in SA.

The SA Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha would leave for Japan on March 23 for a two-day visit and would discuss political and economic relations.

Sapa-Reuter reports that an official of Japan's most powerful economic group, the Federation of Economic Organisations, said yesterday: "We are considering ways for closer economic relations between the two countries. But we may have to give second thoughts to it if there is drastic political change after the referendum."

Fedhasa takes stand

THE Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa) came out in favour of a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum. (304A)

Fedhasa, in a statement, said the hospitality industry was about to make a breakthrough in international tourism to SA. (304A)

A "no" vote would have a negative effect on the industry.

1 B1 Day 12/3/92

B100-1213192

Baptists for change

THE Baptist Union of Southern Africa and a group of prominent members of the NG Kerk have come out in support of a "yes" vote in the referendum, SABC radio news reported yesterday.

The union's executive said it approved of government's policy of negotiating with all willing sectors of the community to establish a just society in which all racial discrimination was abolished.

304A

REPORTS: Sapa

1976

'Yes' euphoria less evident in dorps

6/Day 12/3/92

304A

BARRY STREEK

BLOEMFONTEIN — Nationalists in the Free State and northern Cape are fired up about the referendum and enthusiastically campaigning for a "yes" vote next Tuesday.

Party organisers in Bloemfontein and Kimberley, the major centres in the region, say they have more volunteers in their offices and canvassers than they had in either the 1987 or 1989 elections.

"They have something to fight for and they are going for it," one of them said.

The enthusiastic crowds who packed the Bloemfontein and Kimberley city halls this week to cheer President F W de Klerk and give him numerous standing ovations emphasised the commitment of these Nationalist supporters to a "yes" vote.

In both centres, they applauded when De Klerk paid tribute to the Democratic Party for rising above party politics to support a "yes" vote in the interests of the country. But, for all their enthusiasm, they face an uphill battle as conservative whites rally against what they perceive to be a sell-out to a black dominated government — and a threat to their lifestyles.

Nationalists, who are canvassing door-to-door and by telephone, believe they are ahead in both cities, but not in the rural areas.

Overall, they think the vote in the Free State will split 50-50 which, after the Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections, would not be a bad result for government and would point to a comfortable victory nationally.

In both cities, Nationalists cite examples of CP supporters — and in one case an AWB member — who are going to vote "yes" because they fear the economic consequences of a "no" vote, and because they do not want the reimposition of the sports boycott.

Winburg MP Piet Steyn says that in contrast

to the 1989 election, right-wingers are coming to meetings, listening and perhaps asking a few polite questions.

At Bloemfontein and Kimberley this week, there was no heckling or disruption, the pattern, according to Steyn, of nearly all the meetings in the region. The teargas incident at the University of the Orange Free State on Monday night was very much an exception to this pattern. De Klerk's aides believe reports of the incident were blown up out of proportion and exaggerated the situation.

The President himself told Kimberley businessmen he was on the verge of leaving the university restaurant, after speaking to students from a table for half an hour, when the teargas incident occurred. He said more than 80% of the students present were in favour of a "yes" vote.

Yet, for all the positive signs, the incident was symbolic of a deep concern in Nationalist circles about the outcome of the referendum on Tuesday. Just as the Nationalists are fired up, so is the right wing. One of Kimberley's two MPs, National Party chief whip Keppies Niemann, says the "yes" posters, which cost R3,50 each to produce, last a maximum of three days in the city.

In one main thoroughfare they were being taken down as quickly as they went up.

There are hundreds of posters for both sides in the smaller Free State towns with large banners across the streets in Dealesville, saying "Dealesville votes no". Referendum offices have been opened everywhere.

But what about the ordinary people? Have they been left behind by the short, high-profile media campaign?

Party organisers know that white voters have been hit by the economic recession and that they do not believe a recovery is imminent. Those voters have been influenced also by right-wing claims that the government is taking money from whites and spending it on blacks. The more realistic know the urgent need to address gross inequalities between the average white and the average black person, and that this of necessity will result in less spending on whites.

In short, most voters realise the days of white privilege are really coming to an end. The right wing is effectively saying to them that this can be reversed and the good old days can be restored.

Whether they believe that or not, and few seem to think it is possible, this mood among the voters may not be sufficient to encourage them to vote "no", but it may well persuade them not to vote.

There are other voter concerns, some very real, such as the retrenchment of teachers in white schools and the increasing costs of education. These concerns are not being addressed directly during the campaign.

While De Klerk, and NP and DP leaders are telling them investment will follow a "yes" vote because it will give the go-ahead for negotiations and provide confidence in the future, it is not clear whether this message is really getting through to voters.

Enthusiasm for the new SA among white voters, particularly in the rural areas of this region is not high and there is a great deal of uncertainty.

The possibility of a low poll is real, however, and that could be a serious setback for De Klerk and government.

2.
1. Athlone

ON MONDAY night I had the dubious distinction of being personally castigated in Johannesburg's city hall by the CP's Clive Derby-Lewis. He tried to denigrate the editorial I had written in that morning's Business Day by declaring I was not an SA citizen and that, by implication, I was not fit to discuss this country's affairs.

I shall be voting along with other South Africans on March 17. And I shall not be voting for the country or future the CP promises us.

It took me a long time to get around to applying for citizenship of this country — almost all of the half of my life I have lived here. But the fact that I and many other people who came here as immigrants have adopted SA citizenship gives, I believe, a significance to the votes we will cast on Tuesday. Immigrants actively chose to become citizens of this country. Unlike Andries Treurnicht or Eugene Terre-Blanche, they did not acquire its citizenship through an accident of birth.

No immigrant who became South African was forced to take that decision — his action was considered and the pros and cons carefully weighed up. He did not have to stay and he could have left easily.

For years I saw little point in becoming a South African — voting against Nat hegemony in a gerrymandered voting system was of little avail. And there were far too many drawbacks when apartheid made a pariah of the country I chose as my home. The country itself was good and so were its people. Its government was, for years, taking us down a dead-end street. The dead end of racism, of political intolerance, of deportations, of human rights abuse, of political murders, of desperation and finally of economic decay.

Now the prospects have changed dramatically with black and white, right and left talking through our future in Codesa. And now, with the referendum, there is the real possibility that my vote will have some weight in keeping us on the road of reconciliation.

Can we now trust those same Nats to negotiate a just society? I believe so — more than we can trust the CP wrapped in its unforgiving fervour. President F W de Klerk and his gov-

ernment have travelled their road to Damascus and their policies owe much to the humanity preached in the New Testament.

That the government changed direction still seems little short of a miracle. February 1990 was a watershed, but it was reached only after many years of heart-searching and debate by Nat government leaders and advisers who realised the policies of apartheid had failed and could never be made to work.

We might have reached that point sooner, but the very resilience of SA's people and its economy saw us through difficulties which might have floored lesser countries. We might even have been better off, the decision to abandon the discredited policies of separation came late in the day. And that has brought its own problems. We still have to find a way of overcoming the legacy of the opposition groups' strategies of maligning the country ungovernable.

Government's opponents believed they had little choice. We cannot now hope that turning to the separatist policies endorsed by the CP or the thuggery of the AWB will help settle an issue which gave rise to the lawlessness gripping the country.

The CP preaches seductive distortions. Its spokesmen blithely tell us we need not fear sanctions — which are almost inevitable if De Klerk loses the referendum — because the rest of the world needs our chrome, platinum and so on. And they quote out of context the views of foreign

Hopes eclipse fears as an immigrant opts to vote 'yes'

B10aw
12/3/92

JIM JONES

304A

politicians such as Geoffrey Howe that sanctions cannot work. If renewed sanctions would have the small effect the CP would have us believe, why did we in SA suffer so badly after the mid-80s?

I do not want to see a repeat of the hurt of those years which stressed everyone and which gave rise to our massive problems of unemployment, idled our factories, closed our mines, lost us skills and cost us opportunities. And I am sure other South Africans feel the same.

The CP misleads South Africans when it tries to fix the blame for the poor state of our economy on De Klerk's reforms. Treurnicht screams from the city hall platform that we cannot expect foreign investment if we have a black government. "No one will invest in a banana republic." Won't they? Foreigners certainly avoided us when P W Botha obstinately turned away from reform. Meaning, "banana republics" such as Mexico and Thailand are booming and attracting foreign investment by the billion. I have seen them. I know.

Reminiscent of the Nazis in pre-war Germany, the avowedly anti-communist CP castigates the very businessmen whose management and entrepreneurial skills have seen this country through its worst years of economic setback. The paradoxical attacks are tinged with racism

and anti-Semitism.

I have often wondered which would be more attractive to a foreign investor — an SA headed by an anti-business Treurnicht or an SA headed by a Nelson Mandela with the flexibility and honesty of mind which allowed him to back away from his earlier positions on nationalisation and expropriation. I know which I would choose.

Treurnicht attacks our friends abroad: "Leave us alone," is his injunction to Britain and America. He forgets that Britain bent over backwards to help us during the sanctions years. That help was accompanied by sage advice.

To reject foreign advice now is indicative of the dangerous road the CP would take us along. More than ever we need friends abroad. Less than ever we need the policies which would make friendship impossible for them.

Treurnicht and Derby-Lewis are adept at appealing to the short-term concerns of white South Africans in their call for a "no" vote. By implication they blame reform for inflation, for rising school costs, for job losses, for the crime rate. The CP's prescription is the old system of repression through force.

Does anyone, apart from his family, remember Frans Jacobus Nel? He was 24 when he died on November 23 1977 in the Rhodesian bush. Frans hailed from Karol, was schooled in Sinoia and never had time in those army years to marry

and have children.

Less than 24 hours after Frans Nel's life drained out of his body, Ian Smith conceded in Salisbury that there could be no prospect of a settlement in Rhodesia through successful negotiations with African nationalist leaders unless he accepted the principle of majority rule based on universal suffrage. Ian Smith's belief that he could maintain his white minority grip on Rhodesia through force was finally killed a day after farmboy Frans Nel.

Frans Nel's life was wasted, despite the fond condolences printed in the local newspapers. Young South Africans are no longer losing their lives since our government ended the futile wars in Namibia and Angola and since it started its search for a properly negotiated settlement at home.

I fear, more than almost anything else, that if the CP prevails our newspapers will be filled with obituaries of young men who trust a government which tells them their duty is to fight to hold down fellow countrymen whose skins are coloured differently.

And when it is all over and we are left in a wasteland, who will give tuppence for the wasted lives of our Frans Nels? Who will be the fast white youngster to die for the already failed dream of apartheid?

Of course I complain about the higher school fees I have to pay to educate my children. But I know they are sitting next to kids of all colours in those classes and that they are learning more tolerance and understanding than the CP's cynical leadership can ever be capable of.

Mr Derby-Lewis, this is the country I chose cheerfully, not as a refugee. My friends might question my loyalties when the Boks play the Lions, but at least we are now playing again.

I do not want this country to lose its present chance of peace and prosperity. At present we have the possibility of negotiating our common future from positions of strength and confidence. If you and your party colleagues have anything to do with it, we run the certain risk of civil war and economic disaster and all that they would entail.

That's why I'll vote "yes" on March 17.

NEWS IN BRIEF**Ventersdorp for CP**

THE Ventersdorp Town Council pledged its support yesterday for a "no" vote in the referendum.

In a statement issued by mayor J.A. Korff, the council said its support was based on the fact that the town councillors were elected on CP policy.

1 B1pary 12/3/92

(304A)

Referendum crowds London's SA House

310 day 12/3/92
LONDON — A resounding "yes" emerged from the first South Africans to cast their referendum votes at a special polling station in London yesterday, an exit poll showed.

More than 500 people crowded into South Africa House to vote during the first two hours — with every one of the first 60 to emerge vigorously asserting that they had answered "yes".

An angry handful of people were turned back onto a chilly Trafalgar Square, after being unable to produce both their ID documents and SA passports.

Dozens of people, including several draft dodgers, travelled hundreds of kilometres to help shape their country's future.

CHRIS BATEMAN

Just three out of 63 people polled, declined to say what they had voted. One man said he had voted "yes" against his better judgment.

An estimated 70 000 South Africans live in or are passing through the UK.

By 4pm yesterday well over 1 000 people had cast votes, Richard Carter, Minister at the embassy, said. Voting continues again today from 9am to 9pm.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw has extended special voting for South Africans "temporarily abroad" to include tomorrow.

Report by C Bateman, TML, 23 Hatton Gardens, London; and G van Oudshoorn, 41 Commissioner St, Jhb.

SA on course for 'rehabilitation'

PATRICK BULGER

SA's international integration will take time, but as long as the process of change remains on course SA's international rehabilitation will continue, says RAU political studies professor Deon Geldenhuys.

Writing in the International Affairs Bulletin of the SA Institute of International Affairs, he says SA's short-term challenge is to manage this reintegration effectively.

"It is a process that will only be concluded... once a new domestic political order, enjoying both internal and external legitimacy has been devised. At that point, obviously under a new government, SA will for the first time in decades enjoy sufficient freedom of action to make fundamental choices in its foreign policy," he says.

In an article called "Towards a new SA: The Foreign Policy Dimension", Geldenhuys says SA has developed a new co-operative relationship with its neighbours, expanded its representation abroad, eased

relations with world bodies and been given access to world activities like sport.

"The ANC, of course, still insists on the retention of at least economic and military sanctions. The fact that so many states have nonetheless begun resuming or expanding economic ties clearly shows that the ANC's influence over other countries is strictly limited... (however)... the ANC can indeed still affect the pace of SA's return to international respectability.

"The foreign policy of SA's internal transition has two key elements: promoting co-operative involvement by foreign countries in SA and furthering its return to the international fold. Through these dual initiatives SA could help to ensure that one form of international exclusion (enforced isolation) will not simply be replaced by another (marginalisation)," he says.

"As we fly, we must surely
quickest to Europe?"

"What about KLM? They fly

192

Durban's 'Tories' set for a resounding 'yes' vote

MANY South Africans regard Natal as "another country" but even Natalians consider themselves part of a different heritage. Speaking to a random sample of white people in Maritzburg and Durban — almost all of whom will vote "yes" in the referendum — one notices the shadow of a conservative regionalism behind so many remarks here.

Take Sheila. She's a secretary in a liberal Maritzburg legal firm who voted DP in the last election. "We know our Zulus. They are not like blacks who don't like whites. In fact, Zulus are more for whites than for Indians. There are problems in Natal, but its among the Zulus themselves. White-black relations are okay here so Natal will give a big 'yes' vote."

That seems to be borne out by the NP/DP axis which estimates an 80% 'yes' poll. But what does 'yes' mean in Durban, one of the world's fastest growing cities, with huge squatter settlements? Val, a business consultant who is campaigning for a "yes" vote, shakes her head when asked if she would support the ANC's Nelson Mandela as president.

Val trusts Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi because "we know him". She thinks the Kwa-Natal indaba was a good idea and predicts something like it will re-emerge on the back of a big 'yes' vote in Natal.

Colin works in a sports shop and is a part-time lifesaver. He points out how "different" Natal is. It is English and Indian and Zulu. It is tropical and green and beach oriented. Basically, it's cool.

He has no doubts that most people will vote 'yes' in Durban, but he worries about the rest of the country. Still, he says, even a national 'no' vote

REFERENDUM The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters across the country. DIRK HARTFORD spoke to people in Durban and Maritzburg.

will not change things much in Natal "because we are getting our own thing together here".

I ask my white ANC-supporting friend George about this strange amalgam of liberal and conservative which seems to co-exist in some white opinions.

"Oh, they are the Tories," he says. "They are probably the strongest force in white Natal politics. They think CP, act DP and will vote for the NP in the referendum."

Think CP? Some are acting it too. A local paper carries a story of northern Natal AWB leader "General" Monty Markow calling on about 100 Queensburgh supporters to join him in a "holy war".

Monty said: "If the right wing takes the referendum, the ANC, PAC and SACP will take up arms. If it goes the other way, every boer man, women and child will, with force, take back the land which belongs to us."

Jonathan, a retired 70-year-old Durbanite says he will vote "yes". But he thinks the "yes" voters are walking into the ancient military

trap of Zulu warfare — the horns of the bull. "A big 'yes' vote will allow President F W de Klerk and Mandela to work out a middle road. But while they are doing that the extreme left and right — the bull's horns — will encircle them and trap them and eventually destroy them."

Jonathan fears for the next generation. "It will be another holocaust, with either the extreme right or extreme left emerging supreme." Still, he says "no" vote is unthinkable.

So do many others spoken to. They say apartheid was wrong, that whites have to find another way of living in Africa, that to go back is disastrous, that to go forward is dangerous but necessary, that things have got better since February 1990.

Better? Natal is in a state of civil war. Between 1986 and 1991 nearly 6 000 people died violently in the province.

Last year, according to the Black Sash, there was a 30% decline nationally in the unrest-related death rate. Perhaps that is an improvement. But try telling that to the thousands who have lost loved ones, the families without homes and hope.

I ask businessman M C Pretorius, chairman of the Natal regional peace committee, why he bothers with the struggle for peace. He turns to faith, to Christianity, to his love for his country, to the future of his grandchildren, for an explanation.

He says it makes sense from a business point of view, that foreign investment requires peace and political stability.

And one cannot help thinking that in spite of the anomaly of Natal's conservative liberals, it is sentiments like these which underline the likelihood of a big "yes" vote in the region.

Nat
our
Pov

Sh
R7

A L
nent
was
Eva
awa
Sup
Jc
hom
his
are
was
men
S
driv
of L
age
H

rsday, March 12 1992

Buthelezi still backing FW

CT 12/3/92

304A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still backing a "yes" vote in next week's referendum.

In spite of comments made at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Chief Buthelezi yesterday said he still stood by a statement released after President FW de Klerk announced the referendum on February 20.

In it he said: "I urge that every white South African should not only go to the polls, but to support the SA government's commitment to negotiate openly among all parties for a new constitution.

"The whole world is ready to receive South Africa back into the international community.

Treurnicht: 'No nazi link'

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party was in no way linked to nazism or fascism, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said here this week.

He said the National Party had levelled accusations to this effect at the CP because it was desperately grabbing at straws to save itself from what looked like certain defeat in the March 17 referendum.

"English-speakers must not let the NP confuse the real issue — the truth is that a "yes" vote is a vote for black communist domination, while a "no" vote is a vote for their survival as a free and independent nation," Dr Treurnicht said. — Sapa
(Report by Norman Patterton, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

The South African recession is beginning to bottom out.

"Investors are looking at South Africa with new interest. International bankers are ready to support economic development in South Africa.

"We must continue with negotiations."

Chief Buthelezi said

yesterday that suggestions that comments he made to the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly indicated support for a "no" vote were "misinterpretations".

He had told the assembly that he no longer felt "comfortable" with Mr De Klerk and would go to "the very heart of

Afrikanerdom" to campaign for KwaZulu's right to participate in constitutional negotiations.

Diplomats and several media observers at Ulundi had interpreted these and other comments as indications that Chief Buthelezi had put a question mark over his stand on the referendum.

But Chief Buthelezi said yesterday he was "rather amazed" that the comments could be interpreted as support for a "no" vote.

He also reacted to suggestions that he and the Conservative Party were getting closer. He pointed out that, besides seeing CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on Saturday, he had supper with NP Natal leader Mr George Bartlett on Friday.

(Report by C Whitfield, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville, Durban)

**COUNTDOWN
to March 17**



**YES
NO**

Foreign voting extended (304A)

SPECIAL votes abroad may be cast not only on today, but also tomorrow because of the "tremendous interest shown by South African citizens finding themselves abroad temporarily", chief referendum officer Mr P J Colyn said yesterday. He said the decision was made by the Minister of Home Affairs.

CT 12/3/92

Ozone layer needs 'yes'

March 17 would lead to

'No' could lose VW jobs

PORT ELIZABETH. — A "no" vote in the referendum would mean the "loss of probably thousands of jobs at Volkswagen SA", VWSA chairman Mr Peter Searle said in a statement yesterday. *CT 12/3/92*

"If the world decides to act against South Africa we would certainly lose virtually all our export business overnight," he said.

T

port
g to
y for
outh
ter-
ing

Big turnout at UK polls

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A resounding "yes" emerged from the first South Africans to cast their referendum votes at a special polling station here yesterday, an exit poll revealed.

Over 500 people crowded the lobbies and hallways of South Africa House to vote during the first two hours — with every one

of the first 60 to emerge vigorously asserting that they had answered "yes".

Just three out of 63 people polled declined to say what they had voted, with one man complaining that he had voted "yes", "but against my better judgment".

Dozens of people travelled hundreds of kilometres to help shape their country's future.

An estimated 70 000 South Africans live in or are passing through the United Kingdom.

By 4pm yesterday well over 1 000 people had cast votes, Mr Richard Carter, minister at the embassy, said. Voting continues again today from 9am to 9pm.

Voting was slower at the South African consul-general in Glasgow, Scotland, with some 40 people having cast votes by 1pm.

Dr
me
ica
huj
tus

(304A) CT 12/3/92

Right-wing win not 'fruitful'

Staff Reporter

THE jobs of 500 000 workers in the three fruit industries in South Africa could be affected if the right-wing triumphed on March 17, according to Mr Louis Kriel, managing director of Unifruco, an international marketing group for the deciduous fruit industry.

Mr Kriel dismissed the recent claims by Mr Thomas Langley (CP Soutpansberg), that the fruit market would be unaffected by sanctions.

The export market accounted for 80% of the deciduous, citrus and sub-tropical fruit industries, he said.

"Since 1990, we have enjoyed tremendous support from the outside world from the time President F W de Klerk began his reforms. New markets have opened up for us. If the situation

alters, this could change overnight," said Mr Kriel.

At least 14 000 jobs were sacrificed during the period 1986 to 1989 when sanctions were imposed and 25% of the fruit market was lost, he said.

If the EEC joined in imposing agricultural sanctions, at least 90% of the fruit export business would be lost, said Mr Kriel.

The three fruit industries brought in an income of R3 500 million in export earnings a year, he said.

CP spokesman Dr Corne Mulder said the electorate had been threatened across the board with this type of argument. A "no" vote would not necessarily mean that mandatory sanctions would be immediately imposed, he said.

Capetians cast the vote

Danes may lift sanctions

COPENHAGEN. — The centre-left majority in Denmark's parliament was ready to lift trade sanctions provided South African whites backed President F W de Klerk in his reforms, a parliamentary spokesman said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk would also have to pledge "no longer to organise separate votes for the white population," said Radical Party MP Mr Joergen Estrup, referring to the referendum. — Sapa

WHERE TO VOTE: ALL DETAILS

See PAGE 12

'No' could lose VW jobs

PORT ELIZABETH. — A "no" vote in the referendum would mean the "loss of probably thousands of jobs at Volkswagen SA", VWSA chairman Mr Peter Searle said in a statement yesterday.

"If the world decides to act against South Africa we would certainly lose virtually all our export business overnight," he said.

Blacks ask: Do the whites want peace?

CT 12/3/92 (304A)

THE referendum campaign has brought out the best and the worst in the reformist wing of white politics. The best has been an appeal to values such as democracy, negotiations and the peaceful resolution of our racial conflict. The worst has been the tendency of leading politicians to substitute rational argument with warnings, threats and prophecies of doom if voters don't act according to prescription.

Voters have been warned of mass demonstrations on the East European scale, of crippling sanctions and widespread violence. It is doubtful whether this argument will dissuade voters inclined to vote 'no'. After all, the government has spent the entire '80s telling its constituency that the South African state is more than capable of withstanding these challenges and ultimately overcoming them. Can the capacity of the state really have been weakened dramatically over the past two or three years?

Those doubting the credibility of the NP will believe that all that has changed is that the current Cabinet has lost its will to fight back against these assaults and that the time has come to replace it.

The second argument for a 'yes' vote is that it will bring peace and prosperity all round. The problem is that this was originally used in urging a 'yes' vote in the 1983 referendum — en kyk hoe lyk ons nou.

A positive vote will, of course, bring forward our return to the international financial markets, which will help the government to stimulate and manage the economy. However it is difficult to persuade voters feeling the pinch that growth will benefit them personally.

Greater stability

The fundamental problem is apartheid, which inflated white living standards disproportionately. But the voters (or their parents) have cashed that

cheque. All they know is that the good life has slipped from white South Africans. The white share of income after tax has fallen from 69% to about 50% over the past 30 years.

With an expected increase in state spending on black health, education and welfare and black resistance to VAT, the income tax burden and the erosion of living standards will in all likelihood continue.

Thirdly, the government promises greater stability under its proposed power-sharing form of government. Here too there are grounds for legitimate doubt. Just as the NP is warning of dire trouble if its plans are not accepted, sympathisers of the ANC are warning of doom if there is no swift transition to majority rule. In this vein Allister Sparks warns that an interim government of 10 years would "invite mounting instability and turmoil ... so causing greater unemployment and thus greater instability in an intensifying vicious circle". Again, the relapse into prophecy in the absence of rational argument.

The NP's attempt to woo over especially Afrikaner voters by

appeals to their immediate interests may well have been counter-productive. It goes against the grain of history. In her major study "Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1986" Merle Lipton concluded that whites were susceptible to appeals to interests except in the field of security. As she formulates it: People were willing to sacrifice their interests and ethnic preferences if their security ... was perceived as threatened. People were prepared to bear heavy costs for defence and greater self-sufficiency. What the NP appeared to be saying in this campaign is this attitude has suddenly become obsolete. Mr De Klerk's assurances that he will not compromise this security in the negotiations may have won over some but it was not enough of a leading theme in the campaign.

Symbolic importance

I believe the NP should have appealed much more to values than interests. The only inspiring performer on the 'yes' side has been Mr De Klerk. His decision to unban the liberation organisations and abolish

apartheid was taken because it was morally the right thing to do, not because there was any immediate political gain to be derived. It was, in the classic words of Afrikaans poet NP van Wyk Louw, a choice for survival in justice rather than mere survival.

In this referendum, too, Mr De Klerk offers us a choice between exactly that. It is between survival in terms of Western and settler values, between negotiations and coercion.

The election is also of major symbolic importance. To blacks the result will signify only one thing: whether whites want to live in peace or at war with them. Although the CP professes a willingness to negotiate, this can only occur on the basis of apartheid. The most hated part of apartheid was that whites denied the individuality of blacks: they were all declared to be members of different nations. The CP wants to negotiate only with leaders accepting this premiss. It is a recipe for never-ending conflict.

This referendum is about taking risks and making sacrifices in pursuit of a settlement, not avoiding the risk of further pressure as the nervous 'yes' campaign implied. It is about transcending narrow grievances and fears. It is an opportunity for white South Africa, so long the byword for bigotry and greed, to show the world that it can be magnanimous and great.

Frank Hubbard, a 19th century caricaturist, once remarked: "Peace has its victories no less than war but it does not have as many monuments to unveil." A century later a great philosopher said something similar: "The only way to abolish war is to make peace heroic." A resounding 'yes' vote may turn out to be one of the rare monuments for peace.

□ Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.



Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOME

CT 12/3/92
By ALLISTER SPARKS

THIS referendum is supposed to be our moment of truth, yet seldom have I heard a campaign so filled with untruth, sophistry and evasion.

The Conservative Party says its policy is not to return to apartheid. Yet obviously it is. It talks of negotiating the establishment of a "commonwealth of nations", which means going back to Verwoerd who was the first to articulate this notion of a confederacy of ethnic units — "white" South Africa and the Bantustans — as apartheid's ultimate objective.

The CP says it will not end negotiations, merely negotiate on a different basis. That means it will disband Codeda and go back to trying to negotiate the Bantustan commonwealth. But with whom? Not with the ANC, PAC or Azapo, because it refuses to talk with any of them — and they will certainly refuse to negotiate any such thing.

The only people who will are the same old tribal hacks, Vewoerd and Daan de Wet Nel, conjured out of the ethnic woodwork back in the '60s. They had no credibility then, and they would have even less now. That is not negotiating, that is quackery.

Dr Treurnicht says in one breath there will be no return to apartheid, and in the next that he will bring back influx control and the pass laws — leaving his spin controllers to explain that this is no different from America's or Britain's immigration laws.

What humbug, pretending there is no difference between controlling the entry of foreigners and prohibiting fellow citizens from moving freely about their own country.

Worst of all are the Conservative Party's attempts to delude ordinary people into believing there will be no great internal or international reaction to a 'no' vote. They laugh off the warnings, saying the world needs us too much to get really tough.

Common sense must tell you it will ignite a response like the mass reaction to last year's attempted coup against reformism in the Soviet Union. The black population, having had its expectations raised, will explode into mass revolt.

Sympathy

The international community, its own hopes dashed that this nagging moral issue is at last being resolved, can likewise be expected to react with exasperated toughness. Massive sanctions on the scale of those imposed against Iraq's Saddam Hussein are the least we can expect. A naval blockade under a United Nations flag is not out of the question.

Not least of the considerations is that George Bush is an American President in deep trouble in an election year, for whom a spectacular overseas operation on a popular issue could have strong appeal.

I have felt a measure of sympathy for the right-wingers, for the genuine dilemma of people who feel a strong sense of ethno-nationalism but are so outnumbered by others in the land they regard as their own that they can give no territorial expression to their sense of nationhood, and who as a consequence feel their cul-

Campaign built on untruths, sophistry, evasion

tural survival threatened as though they were an endangered species.

Afrikaner state

But such sympathy rests on the honesty of the sentiments. Strip it of that and it becomes just another shabby attempt to exploit voters' fears and prejudices for political gain.

Given its own dishonest campaigning, the CP's complaints about Mr de Klerk now amount to the pot besmirching the kettle. If, God forbid, it were to win the referendum and come to power, it would have to do exactly what it accuses Mr de Klerk of doing, and betray everything it is now saying because it is promising a mirage.

Where is the separate Afrikaner state to be? That is the touchstone of practicability and honesty of purpose, for if there can be none then the policy is a sham.

Ferdi Hartzenburg says whites are entitled to all the land they own. Since the 1912 Land Act prohibited blacks from owning land anywhere outside the tribal reserves, that means the whole of South Africa except the Bantustans.

I called last week on Koos van der Merwe, a man with a reputation for being forthright and who told me he has "discovered clean, morally justifiable and internationally acceptable Afrikaner nationalism".

Coloureds

He talked about there being 14 magisterial districts where whites are in a majority, and about 44% of the country having Afrikaans as its dominant language. These factors, he said, held "exciting possibilities for negotiating an area for the Afrikaner people".

But it's casuistry again. The magisterial districts exclude many black townships (Johannesburg's excludes both Soweto and Alexandra) and they are not contiguous.

As for the area of Afrikaans usage, more than half those people are coloureds — and the right-wingers are not prepared to accept the coloureds as fellow Afrikaners. Coloureds speak the language, belong to the Dutch Reformed Church and share the same cultural heritage, but in any future Boerestaat hundreds of thousands of them will be forcibly removed. So much for the argument that the policy is rooted in culture, not racism.

And what of the English in those magisterial districts? Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, excludes them from the Afrikaner state. So does Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

Mr van Tonder, in a newly-published book called "Boerestaat", writes: These people are predominantly monolingually English and they can be ignored in our calculations for the future. They still cling to their English heritage and are of no use to us in our faulk (sic) development."

And what of the thousands of Afrikaners who don't want to be ghettoised, who are sick of the chauvenism and the enmity and odium it brings upon them and their language and culture? Are they part of Mr van der Merwe's statistical fantasising?

8/10/92 12/13/92

Call to accountants

THE SA Institute of Chartered Accountants executive director Ken Mockler yesterday encouraged all chartered accountants to vote "yes" in Tuesday's referendum.

He said all that had been achieved in the Institute, which was nonracial, would be jeopardised by a No vote.

(30/11)

INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED
ACCOUNTANTS
MEMBERSHIP



INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED
ACCOUNTANTS
MEMBERSHIP

Buthelezi denies switching support away from reform

DURBAN — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has reaffirmed his commitment to a "yes" vote in the referendum.

In spite of comments made at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Buthelezi said yesterday he still stood by a statement released after President F W de Klerk announced the referendum on February 20.

In that he said: "I urge that every white South African should not only go to the polls, but to support the SA government's commitment to negotiate openly among all parties for a new constitution."

"The whole world is ready to receive SA back into the international community. The SA recession is beginning to bottom out."

"Investors are looking at SA with new interest. International bankers are ready to support economic development in SA."

"We must continue with negotiations," he said.

Buthelezi yesterday said suggestions that comments he made to the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly indi-

cated support for a "no" vote were "misinterpretations".

He had told the Assembly that he no longer felt "comfortable" with De Klerk and would go to "the very heart of Afrikanerdom" to campaign for KwaZulu's right to participate in constitutional negotiations.

Diplomats and several media observers at Ulundi had interpreted these and other comments as indications that Buthelezi had put a question mark over his stand on the referendum.

But Buthelezi said he was "rather amazed" the comments could be interpreted as support for a "no" vote and he stood by his original statement.

Buthelezi also reacted to repeated suggestions that he and the CP were moving closer. He pointed out that, besides seeing CP leader Andries Treurnicht on Saturday, he had supper with NP Natal leader George Bartlett on Friday.

Report by C Whitfield, 18 Osborne St, Durban.

Political Staff

SA 'must not return to isolation'

STW/L 13/3/92

3047

IN THIS world of complex interdependence South Africa cannot afford to be left behind. Fortunately, the international isolation which steadily increased from the early '60s and culminated in the intolerable position of the late '80s, has largely ended.

Since February 1990 there has been a dramatic turnaround, and it is remarkable how quickly the promise of a negotiated political settlement has opened doors around the world for diplomatic and economic intercourse.

Harry Oppenheimer two years ago recognised that South Africa's international position was already much improved. Since then the number of countries in which SA has diplomatic, consular and trade missions has doubled, from 30 to 60.

Although full normalisation of our diplomatic relations will not be realised until there is agreement at least on interim or transitional arrangements prior to acceptance of a new constitution, there is no doubt that we are far along the road to normalisation.

The same applies in the crucial area of trade relations,

South Africa must not return to isolation, said DR CONRAD STRAUSS, national chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs in his biennial report this week.

even if some economic sanctions have not yet been formally removed. In sporting and cultural links there have also been remarkable steps towards normality.

It is unthinkable that South Africans, of whatever political or racial grouping, would want to turn away from these new opportunities and return to international isolation and economic decline.

Isolation in an increasingly interdependent and harsh world is, in fact, not a viable option.

Yet there are those on the Right and the Left who, for their own sectional interests, seek to disrupt the present negotiating process which has had such a positive effect on our international relations.

On both sides there is an apparent unwillingness to recognise the global trends and particularly the vital element of interdependence.

Political or economic ideologies which ignore these trends

can only spell economic and social disaster.

Should they ever prevail, such ideologies will obviate any meaningful participation by this country in the development of the modern world.

For South Africa's international position to continue to improve, and for the country to avoid the threat of marginalisation in the tough conditions of the new world order, there should continue to be positive development in three inter-related areas.

First, it is essential that political and social stability be achieved on the basis of a democratic constitutional settlement acceptable to a clear majority of our people.

A stable and democratic political order is a basic requirement for the creation of confidence and the renewal of the flow of investment capital which is sorely needed.

Second, if we are to become fully part of the modern, inter-

dependent world, we have to have economic policies in tune with the known and generally accepted formulae for success, in order to promote economic growth and social peace.

Third, without neglecting the crucially important markets of the north, we have to become more closely integrated with our own region of southern Africa, with the aim of promoting development and security throughout the region.

Given the great economic imbalances and the actual and potential conflicts within some states, achieving regional peace, stability and economic growth will not be simple.

But it is important for our relations with other regional groupings now emerging throughout the world, that we move as quickly as possible towards closer and more effective cooperation in southern Africa.

Such is the make-up of the South African economy, such are the countervailing forces at work in our society, that I will be surprised, in two years' time, if sound progress has not been recorded on all three fronts. □

(Report By Conrad Strauss, Jan Smuts House, Johannesburg)

Investment in a sub-continent

THE decision that will be taken by white voters on Tuesday is not just a referendum on the reform process, it is a referendum on whether South Africa wants to be part of the world. South Africa's huge energy and potential have been restricted, both by itself and by its opponents, for more than a generation. Other countries, with few of South Africa's advantages, have surged ahead.

South Africans need to understand that institutions like the World Bank stand poised to make a massive investment in the South African economy as soon as an interim government comes into office. Sources at the bank make no secret of their belief that, within four years, their programme of loans to — in essence, investment in — the South African economy will be the largest in Africa, at more than R3 billion a year.

Their seriousness is indicated by the fact that, while the bank has not made any loans to South Africa since the 1960s, for the last two years they have had 80 professional staffers engaged in economic and sectoral analyses of South Africa.

It is not far-fetched to conclude that, within a decade, South Africa could well exceed Nigeria as the largest single recipient in Africa of World Bank funds, currently more than R17 billion in that country.

The bank is looking at major water projects to relieve the drought and to secure South Africa's water needs into the

World Bank millions are waiting to be invested in South Africa, writes JOHN CHETTLE (right), a partner and director of international trade law practice of a leading firm of Washington lawyers, which represents several major South African organisations in the United States.

next century; at an expansion of the Eskom electricity grid throughout the sub-continent; and at massive investments in housing, hospitals, black education and agriculture.

The current thinking would involve an annual infusion of funds into South Africa amounting to more than 1 percent of the gross national product. It is intended to be a massive kick-start to the SA economy, and World Bank officials are talking about making as big an impact as possible immediately, of cutting red tape, even of piggy-backing on existing projects.

The psychological impact may be even greater. South African companies which have been hesitant to invest will have to move smartly to take advan-



tage of the opportunities. The need for goods and services will percolate into every area of the South African economy. The fears that many whites harbour of receiving a smaller share of a diminishing pie could be replaced by a realisation that there will be greater shares and opportunities for all.

For the first time, South African companies could move into a dominant position in Africa. Already the World Bank has given contracts to major SA companies such as Eskom, Sasol and Barlows. Their opportunities are already proliferating.

In the entrepreneurial arm of the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which is the largest

source of project finance in the developing world, distributing some \$25 billion (R70 billion) a year, there is also great eagerness to move into South Africa.

The IFC is responsive to approaches from corporations to look at any project which is (a) developmental, and (b) profitable. It is, for example, busy modernising the Polana Hotel in Maputo, building pipelines in Zimbabwe and extending the Wankie colliery, Zimbabwe.

During a recent three-week visit to South Africa, I was struck by the quick appreciation by South African businessmen of the opportunities this offers, and by the great spur to the South African economy that could develop from this source alone.

South Africa is almost tailor-made for such a collaboration with the World Bank. As a result of its previous isolation, it has under-borrowed internationally. It has the infrastructure and skills to use World Bank aid. While its inflation rate would normally be an obstacle, its huge black unemployment, and its potentially dynamic impact on the whole sub-continent argues for the most energetic programme of expansion.

It is one of the most promising indications that South Africa has yet received that the long night of apartheid is now coming to an end and opportunities can now be glimpsed for South Africans of every race and colour. □

(Report by John Chettle, 1050 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC)

the last three weeks. A total of 111 were killed in the pre-

national disaster and Azapo called on blacks to consider

ed two trains on the Soweto-Johannesburg line and disco-

(LHR) yesterday offered a R10 000 reward for informa-

EW roadshow hits decisive phase today

STAFF 13/3/79

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor (364A)

The referendum campaign enters its decisive phase today as President de Klerk's roadshow descends on Pretoria, en route to do battle in the right-wing heartlands of the Transvaal.

Sources in both the "yes" and "no" camps said today's and tomorrow's meetings were pivotal in the short campaign, described as the most concentrated political showdown while South Africa has ever seen.

With four days to go before Tuesday's poll — and only three of them campaign

days (no meetings are scheduled for Sunday) — observers believe the perception which emerges after the weekend could be crucial in influencing wavering voters.

"The current impression is that the right is closing the gap," said a "yes" campaigner. "We have to turn that around by Monday, and think President de Klerk can do it by facing the CP head on in its home territory."

Mr de Klerk has a hectic programme in Pretoria today, before moving on through Louis Trichardt, Nylstroom and Pietersburg. He will deliver his final campaign message in the Transvaal on Saturday.

Rightwingers are not leaving the field clear for him. A rally is scheduled for Pretoria tonight, and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will speak in Nylstroom on Saturday — after Mr de Klerk has left the town.

Campaigners say the likelihood of clashes between the rival camps is higher than before on this leg of the De Klerk "walkabout", but are hopeful that the generally peaceful character of the campaigning will persist.

Peter Fabricius reports that the NP has dismissed CP suggestions that the "no" campaign is making substantial inroads into its English-speaking voter support.

"My impression is that they are not having much success in reaching the English vote," NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said at a briefing in Pretoria yesterday.

And Rosettenville MP Sheila Camerer said that in her largely English-speaking constituency, 80 percent were in favour of the "yes" vote. She said she believed this was the pattern throughout the country.

Assessing the campaign so far, Dr van der Merwe said he was convinced "common sense" would prevail.

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

● More reports — Pages 2, 14 and 15

123197

ALAN DUNN
in Pretoria

A PART from his obvious equestrian shortcomings, AWB supremo Eugene Terre'Blanche has it all wrong.

He is fighting a kind of Boer Jihad, conjuring a romantic resistance from the slouch hats, dust and blood of South Africa's past, inspiring nothing less than the politics of bigotry.

"This is not a referendum between the CP and the NP," he told a small sea of khaki in the North-west quadrant of Church Square. "It's a referendum between God and communism. What an honour it is that God has chosen you to stand against communism!"

Stirring stuff, being the chosen. Mr Terre'Blanche, tender flanks and all, played his audience like a trekkla-vier.

His technique is to summon the ghosts of history and vividly sketch how Afrikaner trekkers civilised native hordes and brought technology and prosperity to the untamed hinterland. Gunfire, the Covenant, spears, treaties, and unlocking the country's potential — it's all there, speaking to the soul of the Afrikaner.

But Mr Terre'Blanche errs here (apart from his entire political philosophy, which is fundamentally flawed): he denies the indomitable spirit of the Afrikaner frontiersman.

By promoting "no", he effectively portrays the Afrikaner, the determined Boer with his roer, as one who would prefer to turn back to the relative safety of the coast. He is virtually saying that Afrikaners looking up now at the terrifying majesty



of the Drakensberg should decide to reverse the wagons — because that is what a "no" today amounts to.

But chronicles tell us that the spirit of the frontiersman drove the Boer on to mount the peaks piercing the sky and venture into uncharted wild to conquer the savagery he encountered; rather that, and carving a new life out of the bushveld, than retreating and trying to improve that circumstance which caused his trek.

So, too, with the "yes" or "no" ballot. Let the frontiersman's spirit inherent in South Africans reign, and propel them forward into unexplored political/constitutional territory.

To shrink away from the mountains and turn back to unworkable apartheid would be to ignore what is in the Afrikaner's blood. It would also mean no safety at all; disaster awaits those who flinch, we know that.

And there is a possibility, even a probability, that the catastrophe inevitable in a "no" can be averted in a negotiations process which has so far produced promising results and major shifts in the positions of the dreaded ANC and its loathsome communist component.

When the wagons rolled it was a handful of adventurers against countless thousands. The way Mr Terre'Blanche, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais would have it, a paltry group of communists are sufficient to halt the Afrikaner's appointment with the future.

It takes one to know one, the cliché goes. What we are seeing in this referendum campaign are the proponents of one defunct ideology pointing at those of another.

Those who are hankering for apartheid by another name are, unwittingly, boosting the status of a 20 000-strong SA Communist Party which is showing no growth but, rather, enormous potential for decay in the light of communism's devastating decline worldwide.

The "no" campaign has brought new hope for the

Reversin

The flawed philosophy of the dinosaur

NO: The technique is to summon up the ghosts of history

world's dwindling communist dinosaurs which lumber about the political landscapes of South Africa. Slovosaurus has not had this much attention since he arrived from exile in his red socks at DF Malan Airport almost two years ago.

What "yes" cheer-leaders have failed to do, with the exception perhaps of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, is adequately to illustrate communism's demise and highlight the fact that Hanisaurus & Co have no ideological mother ship any longer and very few friends internationally.

Communism has all the prospects of a dodo, but somehow that message is being lost in the voluminous right wing tirade against the very real possibility of a communist or two in the next government.

It is hard to believe that fear of an ideology in its last gasps may suppress the natural inclination of the Afrikaner frontiersman which forged the Free State and Transvaal republics.

Risk and faith have always characterised the Afrikaner. Why should he suppress it now?

Report by: Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

of the wagons

MR 6/13/3/92

5041A

Alex Anderson votes 'yes, but . . .'

Don't try this trick again, FW

STAR 13/3/92

304A

PRESIDENT de Klerk has been motorcaded around the capitals of the world on the strength of his undertaking that the reform process was "irreversible".

People who are new to the workings of the De Klerk mind must with reason ask: "Why a referendum?" Why spend more than R12 million of hard-earned taxpayers' money to allow white voters to revoke what we have often been told is "irrevocable"?

The referendum is either prevarication or an indication that Mr de Klerk is losing his cool. Those who know the inherently verkrampste compass that sometimes takes over the De Klerk direction will explain that the Potchefstroom by-election was a real blow to the presidential nose.

Before the cottonwool had been taken from the nostrils, counter measures were impetuously resorted to. It is not often that the National Party government honours commitments. The earlier promise, however, of a white referendum was now convenient to keep. Other commitments about lowering government spending, reducing the size of the public service, not funding Inkatha, or lowering inflation, will and have been forgotten.

The presidential proboscis, after all, is a more sensitive issue than providing money for reducing violence in the townships, assisting drought-stricken farmers, giving funds for black housing, relocating unemployed teachers or resolving the squatter crisis.

It is important to emphasise that few in the voteless South African majority would be unhappy with the earlier De Klerk initiatives. Mr de Klerk has also commendably shown that it is possible to start and sustain an initiative like Codesa whether whites, ET and Dr No like it or not. As Codesa progresses and the prospect of a nonracial democracy comes closer so the numerically minuscule white Right would become less and less of a concern. The khaki shirts would surely become lost in the dust of reform.

By taking the focus off Codesa, Mr de Klerk has put into motion a number of serious factors:

- A consolidation of right-wing rhetoric, resources, and organising energy. The CP and AWB have never in the past worked together on a joint campaign. It took this

gauntlet to initiate a war alliance.

- A suspicion among all South Africans about Mr de Klerk's enthusiasm for reform.

- The concentration of "no" votes will give the "Boerestaatsmanne" a means of identifying where their real strength lies. If that support is wide and strong, who knows if the results will not serve as a basis for setting out the geographical limits of Boere territory!

- He has put a definite, I hope temporary, but nevertheless expensive, hold on new investment decisions.

- He has put unwanted focus on the racial character of the Constitution and voting procedure.

- We have now a delay in Codesa. There is also a breach in the code of procedure in that body, in that no party was to return to its supporters for a mandate or confirmation of Codesa decisions.

But Mr de Klerk likes referendums. He was heavily involved in the test of support for our current Constitution in 1983.

Many, unfortunately, trusted the Government and its "Some reform is better than no reform" story in that referendum. The reality of "power sharing" is that the tricameral parliament, in the words of Hermann Giliomee, is actually "how to share power without losing any".

We clearly have no option but to say "yes" in this referendum, but this time we hope we will see the last of these clever racial ploys of the NP. The real priority for South Africa is for urgent, concerted and sustained work to be concentrated on the prospect of a constituent assembly and a new, democratic, nonracial constitution. These issues are far more important than Mr de Klerk's nose. He must be warned that white voters who are part of the struggle will vote "yes" on the understanding that the Machiavelian manoeuvres for which the NP have become infamous must stop.

It must also be clearly said that if Mr de Klerk once again resorts to the white minority to assist him with a further racist and menial political counteraction, he will suffer a great deal more than a sore nose. He would face his political end. Helping a piqued white President is hardly an urgent matter when seen against the crucial issues facing this country. □

(Report by A Anderson, Box 3832, Alrode.)

Yes, or else, warns Japan

(304A) ARCT 13/3/92

TOKYO. — Japan's most powerful business group warned South African whites today they would face the cold shoulder from Japan if they voted No in next week's referendum.

The Federation of Economic Organizations is to send an economic mission to South Africa and other Southern African nations in May, a senior official said.

"But we may have to suspend the mission if the whites vote No to President De Klerk's apartheid reforms and South Africa will face isolation again."

The federation is considering closer economic relations with Southern Afri-

can nations on the assumption South Africa can be an economic engine for the region.

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

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

Last October, Japan followed the United States and other nations in ending economic sanctions against South Africa, apart from sales of computers for military use. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Whites to fight on, whatever the result'

Aug 13/3/92

3044

**MICHAEL MORRIS and
TOS WENTZEL**
Political Staff

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has warned that whites will not simply "lie down" and accept black majority rule, but will mount a resistance "struggle" in defence of their right to self-determination.

The path to an interim government and, ultimately, a permanent, black-dominated government was a "recipe for serious conflict" and would provoke "a struggle to make sure we as a white nation are not dominated by communists, terrorists or other peoples".

He said to applause from more than 400 people at a meeting in Muizenberg last night that the CP was "fighting to win" the referendum, but even if it lost the white nation would still exist on March 18 and its demand for self-determination would still have to be reckoned with.

Several times at last night's meeting, occasional hecklers were urged to remain silent by uniformed AWB members, armed with batons.

The AWB phalanx of more than a dozen — which included infamous rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolf — provided security at the entrance of the hall before the meeting and maintained a prominent presence throughout.

Dr Treurnicht said a Yes vote amounted to a "surrender of power". President De Klerk's government had "lost the nerve and will to govern" and was negotiating itself out of power at Codesa.

Meanwhile, Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point, said South Africans could walk tall, at home and among the nations of the world, if there was a Yes vote in the referendum.



Dr Treurnicht ... "whites will mount a resistance struggle."

Mr Eglin was addressing about 100 people in the Green and Sea Point Civic Centre last night.

He said that, unlike in a general election, every vote was of equal value this time.

The platteland vote would not be worth two or three times that of a city vote. People in the cities would be able to make their full impact on the result.

Mr Hennie Bester, MP for Green Point, said a No vote would bring the peaceful constitutional process to a stop.

A Yes vote would unleash a wave of reconciliation in the country.

(Report by M Morris and T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

FW: I'm not a gambler, I had no choice

STAR 13/3/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

(304A)

President de Klerk yesterday denied claims that he had "gambled with South Africa's future" by calling next week's snap referendum on reform.

Speaking on Radio 702, Mr de Klerk said he had no choice but to get clarity from his electorate.

"I'm not a gambler, I'm a democrat," he said.

"I've been elected by the voters of the House of Assembly. They have put me in power in terms of the present constitution. The by-election results of the past few months have started to create the impression that I no longer have their support."

"I know that the by-election results reflected a vote of grievance with regard to a wide range of complaints which voters have at the moment — interest rates, taxes, violence etcetera. People are worried and I have sympathy for that."

But, Mr de Klerk said, if one was a democrat then "when there is a question mark about whether one still represents the people who originally elected one, one has but one option". "That is to put oneself in their hands again, and this is what I am doing in this referendum."

He said he remained confident that there would not be a "no" victory — but "should that happen, however improbable it is, I think it will lead to a very, very negative situation. It will actually spell disaster."

"Because the 'no' vote will have no option — notwithstanding all their denials — but to reinstitute within the terms of their philosophy and policy, important measures of apartheid again. They can't implement their policy without these."

"It will be an effort to turn the clock back. It will be a very negative message to the 26 million South Africans of colour."



A "yes" vote, by contrast, would "add impetus to the whole negotiations process". "It will inspire confidence amongst all South Africans, and internationally".

"I've no doubt it will have a very positive effect — and, yes, we will get it."

Mr de Klerk said he was "bearing up" to the strains of an unprecedentedly gruelling campaign programme, and was sorry he did not have time to follow closely the progress of the South African cricket team at the World Cup.

"I've tried to fit in a little bit of cricket, although I don't have time to watch it ball by ball. And I've only swung a golf club once since I called the referendum, and that was to raise funds for the referendum."

"But I'm running on all my cylinders and I'm in good health."

"And I'm confident that if all the "yes" voters turn up, and if they don't fall prey to complacency, then we will do well. And I look forward to the result on March 17," he said.

● Esther Waugh reports that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday told diplomats that the right-wing alliance could win the referendum.

Speaking to the diplomatic corps in Cape Town, he said that at the outset of the campaign it appeared that a "no" vote victory was unthinkable, but it was now not improbable. The CP's campaign was gathering momentum and it would be a force to contend with.

(Report by S Johnson, E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday joined DP leader Dr Zach de Beer in last-minute efforts to swing pensioners behind a "yes" vote in the referendum.

Mr Botha told residents of the Sandringham Gardens old age home in Johannesburg that a "yes" was not a vote for the NP but for South Africa. Dr de Beer, in Port Alfred, urged senior citizens to vote "yes" for their grandchildren's sake. Retirement villages and

'Yes for sake of grandchildren'

STAFF 13/3/92

homes for the aged have become the latest battleground in the referendum campaign, with the "yes" camp responding to fears that large numbers of senior citizens are considering voting with the right wing because they hope for better security under a CP government.

"Yes" campaigners from different parties concede that the elderly are "easy pickings" for

the right wing, because they are so directly threatened by rising crime "and because they find the scale of change difficult to adapt to and, in many cases, think of the immediate future rather than the prospects of a peaceful country for their grandchildren".

Mr Botha told 580 pensioners that reform provided firm hope for a better future. In a new

constitution there was no room for racism and there would be no safe future in South Africa until racism was removed. This, however, did not mean the Government was prepared to hand over the country to chaos.

Dr de Beer described himself as "among other things, a pensioner with the sort of view of life that people over 60 tend to share".

"What we have here is a referendum called by President de Klerk to obtain a clear mandate for what he has been doing during the last couple of years... I refer to the negotiation of a new constitution acceptable at least to the majority of people."

"The referendum is concerned with this issue, and no other. It is for this reason only that the DP is working with the NP for a 'yes' vote."

"A 'yes' majority offers a real chance of peace and prosperity and law and order."

(Report by S. Johnson, E. Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Jnb)

Rightwing

fury over \$149,131¹² 'swastika' ad

Political Reporter (304A)

The NP's advertising campaign linking the AWB symbol to Hitler's swastika has drawn a furious response from right wingers, who are now considering legal action.

Two khaki-clad men walked into the NP's Pretoria head office yesterday, demanding the name of the person who compiled the advertisement.

AWB deputy leader Ernie van der Westhuizen told The Star yesterday the organisation had contacted its legal representatives about the poster.

The poster shows a swastika with the words: "This one cost 45 million lives and took six years of war to stop", offset against the AWB's "triple seven" emblem and the words: "How many lives will this one cost? Your vote will decide."

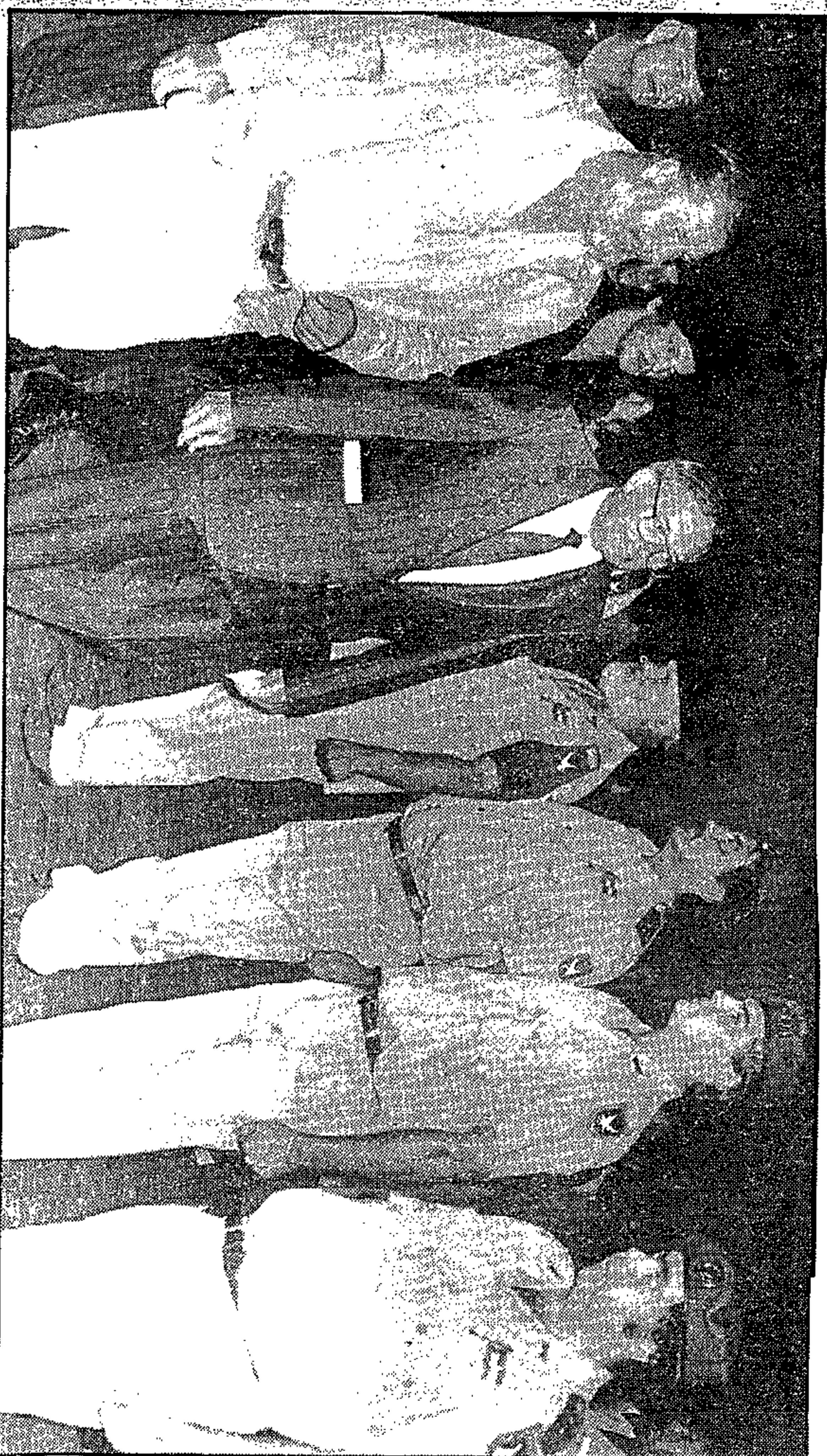
Mr van der Westhuizen said the triple seven was in Biblical terms the perfect figure.

A computer typist at the NP's office, Sarah Erasmus, told The Star that the two men, who identified themselves as members of the AWB, demanded that all copies of the poster be removed from the street.

Mr van der Westhuizen would not comment on the incident, saying he was not aware of it.

● The AWB will today announce an "important historical agreement which would without doubt have an effect on the result of the referendum".

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

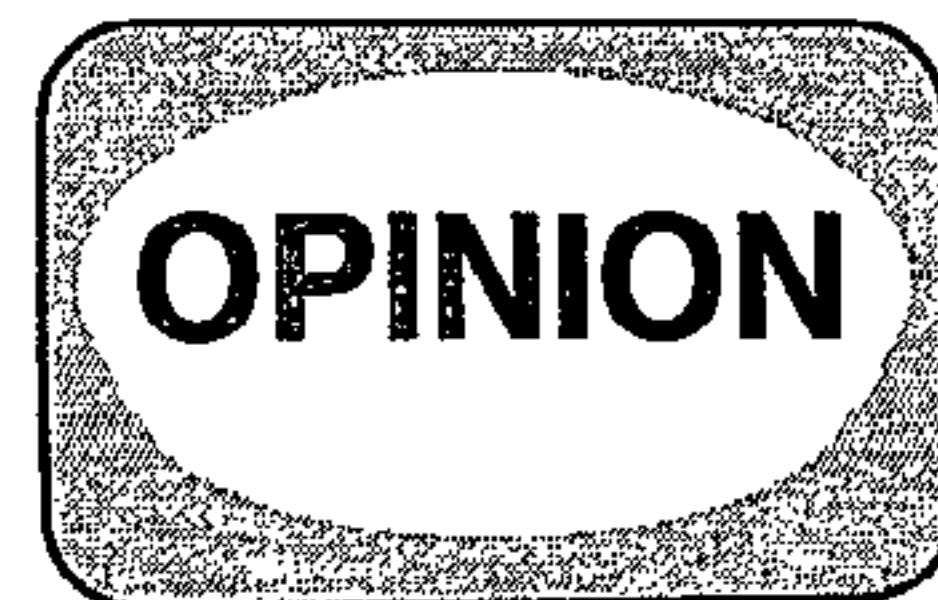


△ Guard of honour ... Eugene Terre-Blanche and CP MP Dr Willie Snyman inspect a Wenkom-mando guard at a Pietersburg rally this week.



△ Officials ... and supporters ... at the combined right-wing meeting.

Referendum shows arrogance of whites to blacks



The chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, in this article slams Tuesday's referendum and says the minority is once more deciding alone the future of this country.

THE calling of a whites-only referendum on the 17th of this month is one in a series of such exercises by whites in which they display their arrogance and contempt for black people.

The spectre of a small racist minority conducting democratic elections among themselves, to decide who can best oppress blacks and deny them democracy in their own country, is as contradictory as it is hurting and annoying.

In this referendum, just as in others and general elections in the past, white racists will be strutting around the country peddling their policies on how best to secure white privilege at the expense of the black majority.

In the past, blacks and their political organisations watched such referendums and elections with quiet and dignified trepidation.

Otherwise, they continued with their lives and activities as though nothing was happening.

But the present referendum has aroused undeserved interest from a section of the black community, especially those who believe Codesa is their road to salvation and bliss.

Some have taken the unusual step of appealing to "baas" and "missus" to vote "Yes", so that "makulu-baas" De Klerk can continue to host Codesa.

Beyond that they can do nothing except to wring their hands while waiting for whites to decide.

They are not alone in this.

Western countries have entered the fray, urging whites to vote

"yes" and threatening dire consequences if they do not comply.

This can only mean that the West considers De Klerk and his allies in Codesa as the best custodians of its interests in Azania. The calling of this snap referendum by De Klerk has brought a few issues to the fore:

Firstly, De Klerk has once more demonstrated his complete disregard of black people and their opinions. In ordering this referendum to test white opinion on his reforms, not a whisper was uttered about the feelings of the majority of the population in the country. Apparently, even his trusted partners in Codesa were not informed, let alone consulted.

Secondly, some in the liberation movement have so hinged their fate and programme on De Klerk and his agenda that they shake in their boots at the thought of his possible demise.

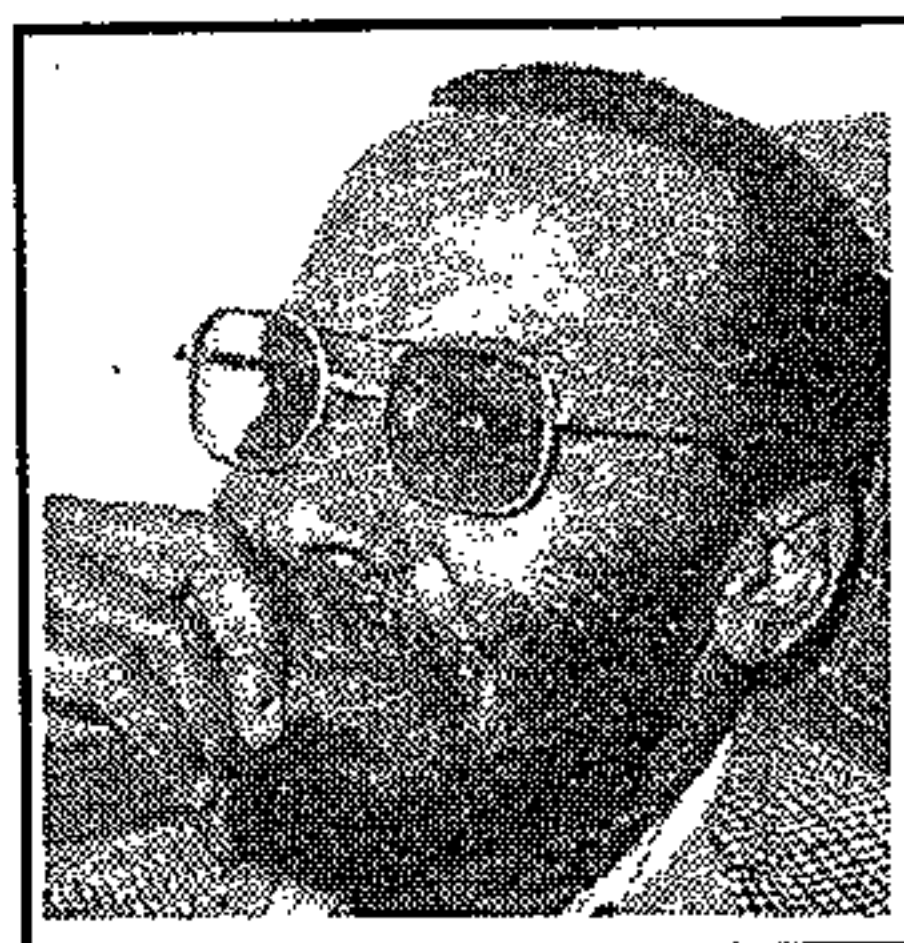
His sudden decision to hold a referendum caused them some sleepless nights and the calling of crisis meetings.

Thirdly, De Klerk's realisation that he might not have a mandate from the white minority brings into focus the fact that the entire Codesa exercise has no mandate from the population.

At least De Klerk is seeking a mandate from the whites so that he can negotiate on their behalf.

Where do the other groups in Codesa derive their mandate from?

Clearly, the whole Codesa exercise cannot claim legitimacy and has no shred of democratic pretences. Some at Codesa are little



MOSIBUDI MANGENA

military despots who have overthrown pathetic quislings in the bantustans.

They represent nobody except their tiny armies in their respective bantustans.

The other bantustans and their tricameral parliamentary parties are much the same.

None of them have legitimacy in the black community and the disgracefully low polls achieved when they tried to call so-called elections bears eloquent testimony to this.

But the most fundamental fact is that nobody at Codesa has a mandate to negotiate on behalf of the population.

The fact that some are legitimate liberation movements with a track record of struggle does not detract from the unsoundness of the situation.

In fact, liberation movements that have fought for liberation, democracy and justice, ought to be very sensitive to the democratic rights of the people they purport to represent.

Finally, De Klerk clearly calls the shots at Codesa. He orders a vital referendum on his own and everybody at Codesa falls lamely

behind him. If he loses the referendum, the entire exercise collapses.

Some people might have to run back into exile, regroup and resume the struggle.

Conscious of this scenario, Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania have called for negotiations outside the country under an impartial mediator.

Such negotiations will only concern the modalities for the holding of democratic elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote on a common voter's roll in a unitary Azania.

Naturally, such modalities would include the setting up of a transitional authority that has in it a strong international component to monitor the security forces of the regime and ensure that the elections are free and fair.

Thus, the people drawing up a constitution for our country would have been mandated by the electorate to do so. Furthermore, not a single party would find itself at the mercy of De Klerk.

It will indeed be a tragedy if black people sat on their hands hoping to be liberated by the benevolence of their racist oppressors.

The emancipation of black people will only come from their own activities, regardless of whether whites vote "yes" or "no" on March 17.

De Klerk might yet suffer the fate ex-President Mikhail Gorbachev suffered in the Soviet Union.

What will those holding on to De Klerk's apron strings do then?

'NP can't manage country'

Political Staff *STAL 13/3/92*

DURBAN — The National Party has formed "a clique with a group of convicted criminals" in the form of the ANC, deputy leader of the Conservative Party Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said last night.

The NP/ANC alliance was necessary for the Government because it could no longer effectively manage the country, he said in a speech at a joint AWB/CP meeting attended by about 400 people in the Newcastle Farmers Hall.

The Government was fast moving away from its stated principle, he said.

Referring to the opening of the NP to all races, Dr Hartzenberg said: "The State President wants to be a chief role player in the future but now he is asking the 'ousies' to help him out."

The Government's standpoint on crucial issues such as an interim government and a constituent assembly were being eroded by the Codesa process.

He criticised President de Klerk for seeking international support for the "yes" campaign.

"He is trying to gain the support of the international community because he is doubtful of security domestic support," he said.

(Report by D Mitchell, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville).

Independent group launches 'yes' campaign

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A
STAR 13/3/92

A group of prominent citizens has launched an independent initiative to bolster the "yes" campaign — by fax.

"Citizens for the Yes Vote" co-founder and former Five Freedoms Forum chairman Mike Olivier said the campaign

was started because the private sector initiative was primarily aimed at advertising.

The campaign's steering committee includes prominent South Africans, such as Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, Professor Wimpie de Klerk, publisher Jonathan Ball, Roy Paulsen of The Star and various businessmen.

The committee has compiled a letter which top South Africans are sending to clients and other individuals urging them to vote "yes" on Tuesday.

The letter said political views should not be mixed with business but went on to point out that the referendum question was not a political question and the referendum was not testing

support for the National Party or for the Conservative Party.

"It is my opinion that a majority "no" vote will lead to direct black-white confrontation, which will bring this country to its knees through drastically increased violence, renewed sanctions and international ostracism..." the letter said.

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

STAR 13/3/92 (30411)
Result out by 1 pm

South Africa should know the result of the referendum by 1 pm on Wednesday. The Department of Home Affairs said the results from the 15 referendum regions would be announced by chief referendum officer P J Colyn in the main auditorium of the Hendrik Verwoerd Building in Cape Town from 10 am with the final result between noon and 1 pm.

Secrecy assurance

The secrecy of voting will be upheld in terms of the Referendum Act of 1983, chief referendum officer P J Colyn guaranteed yesterday. Counterfoils of ballot papers will be sealed and forwarded to the chief referendum officer in Pretoria immediately after the referendum. The ballot papers are also sealed, but are kept in safekeeping by the various referendum officers throughout the country. The counterfoil and ballot papers are destroyed after one year, unless a court of law directs otherwise. The counterfoils and ballot papers can only be connected with each other by a court order, he said.

Radicals warned

Firmer action would probably be taken against organisations such as the AWB, PAC and Azapo once a transitional government was in place, Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar said at a referendum meeting on Wednesday. He said these organisations were placing bombs "and it's about time we did something about it".

'World backs FW'

President de Klerk had read out letters of support from British Premier John Major, his predecessor Margaret Thatcher and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, Minister of National Education Louis Pienaar told a referendum meeting. This showed times had changed. "The world is not longer on the side of the ANC. The world is now on Mr de Klerk's side."

Gqozo calls for 'yes'

The leader of the Ciskei Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has appealed for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

Poster theft charge

The DP in Sandton has laid a charge of theft against a Nylstroom man following the removal of "yes" vote posters in the area. DP vice-chairman in Sandton, David Woolf, said men in khaki uniforms were seen removing and destroying posters. The registration number of their minibus was noted and a charge of theft laid.

Many vote abroad

South African embassies in London and The Hague had recorded 2 000 and 232 votes respectively for the referendum by Wednesday, a Dutch Embassy spokesman said yesterday.

(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 St, Jhb

Patrick Laurence examines the far-Right's fascist connection

The legacy of intolerance

STATE 13/3/92

304A

AFRIKANER nationalism's uneasy relationship with far-Right movements espousing fascism of one variety or another has been highlighted by President de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk did so when he challenged the Conservative Party — which claims to be the "true custodian" of Afrikaner nationalism — to declare where it stands on the fascist ideology and racist *weltanschauung* of its AWB ally in the referendum campaign.

Acting with apparent prudence, Mr de Klerk delivered his challenge shortly before he and his wife were targeted in a tear-gas attack at the University of the Orange Free State. AWB zealots are suspected of throwing a tear-gas canister at the presidential couple.

Reacting to allegations that the National Party is soft on communism, Mr de Klerk said: "I say let us fight communism, but let us also fight fascism and Nazism. I challenge the CP to say where they stand."

Mr de Klerk went on to note

that fascist influences are strongly present in the AWB, remarking: "You only need to read their constitution and look at their insignia."

The CP, seemingly nervous about its alliance with the AWB, was quick to distance itself from the attack and to deny that it espoused fascism in any way.

It condemned the assault and wished Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who went to hospital after the attack — a speedy recovery. CP leader Andries Treurnicht accused Mr de Klerk of "grasping at straws" to avoid defeat in the referendum.

"The CP is not linked in any way to Nazism or fascism," Dr Treurnicht insisted. "The CP is the carrier of true nationalism, which has a healthy and balanced view of life."

The CP cannot, however, disown its links with the AWB that easily. Ties between the two organisations are deeper and more permanent than the tactical alliance they formed last month to oppose Mr de Klerk in the referendum. The CP is bonded to the AWB by the hundreds of men and

women who are members of both organisations.

The CP tries to rationalise away its embarrassment over its card-carrying members who subscribe to the AWB's neo-fascist ideas. It describes the AWB as a "cultural organisation" and contends that it is not anomalous for members of a political party to belong to a cultural organisation.

Its explanation is unconvincing. The AWB is a political movement. Its armed men — who, like Hitler's Nazis, wear brown shirts and black shirts — are not renowned for their love of culture. Their primary interest, like that of the AWB hoofbeater, Eugene Terreblanche, is power.

AWB roughnecks, who have been given several titles since the formation of the AWB in 1973 — including Stormvalke, Wenkommandos and Ysgergarde — recall Herman Goering's remark: "When I hear anyone talk of culture, I reach for my revolver."

The AWB pursues a political objective: the establishment of a "moderne Christelike Afrikaner-boere volkstaat". It views the

African National Congress as a communist-dominated organisation which must be resisted to the death and proclaims: "Under no circumstances will the Afrikaner people be prepared to be the slaves of the atheist ANC and its communist bosses."

Anti-semitism surfaces in its publications and the utterances of its leaders. Its original programme of principles — which has since been sanitised — labels parliamentary democracy a "British-Jewish" system, alleging that its purpose was to divide and weaken Afrikanerdom.

Mr Terreblanche is on record as blaming "international Zionism" and "British-Jewish" capitalism for the woes of Afrikanerdom and declaring: "We want nothing to do with those anti-Christians who have stars or crescents as their symbols. Ours come from the Bible."

The AWB's penchant for anti-semitism — it is described by the Jewish Board of Deputies as "a radical organisation with extreme racist views" — may explain why Dr Treurnicht felt compelled to

deny that the CP is anti-Jewish at his recent referendum meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall.

But, as Patrick J Furlong shows in his definitive new book "Between Crown and Swastika", Afrikaner nationalism's uncomfortable relationship with pro-fascist movements is not new.

Dr Furlong traces the relationship between Afrikaner nationalism, as represented by DF Malan's Purified National Party, and a succession of pro-fascist organisations, including Louis Weichardt's Greyshirts, Johannes Straus von Moltke's South African Fascists, Oswald Piro's New Order and Hans van Rensburg's Ossewabrandwag (OB).

At various times Malan's NP viewed these movements as potential allies in its tactical manoeuvring to unseat the United Party of JBM Hertzog and JC Smuts, as sources of ideological inspiration, and — equally important — as a threat to its political hegemony in Afrikanerdom.

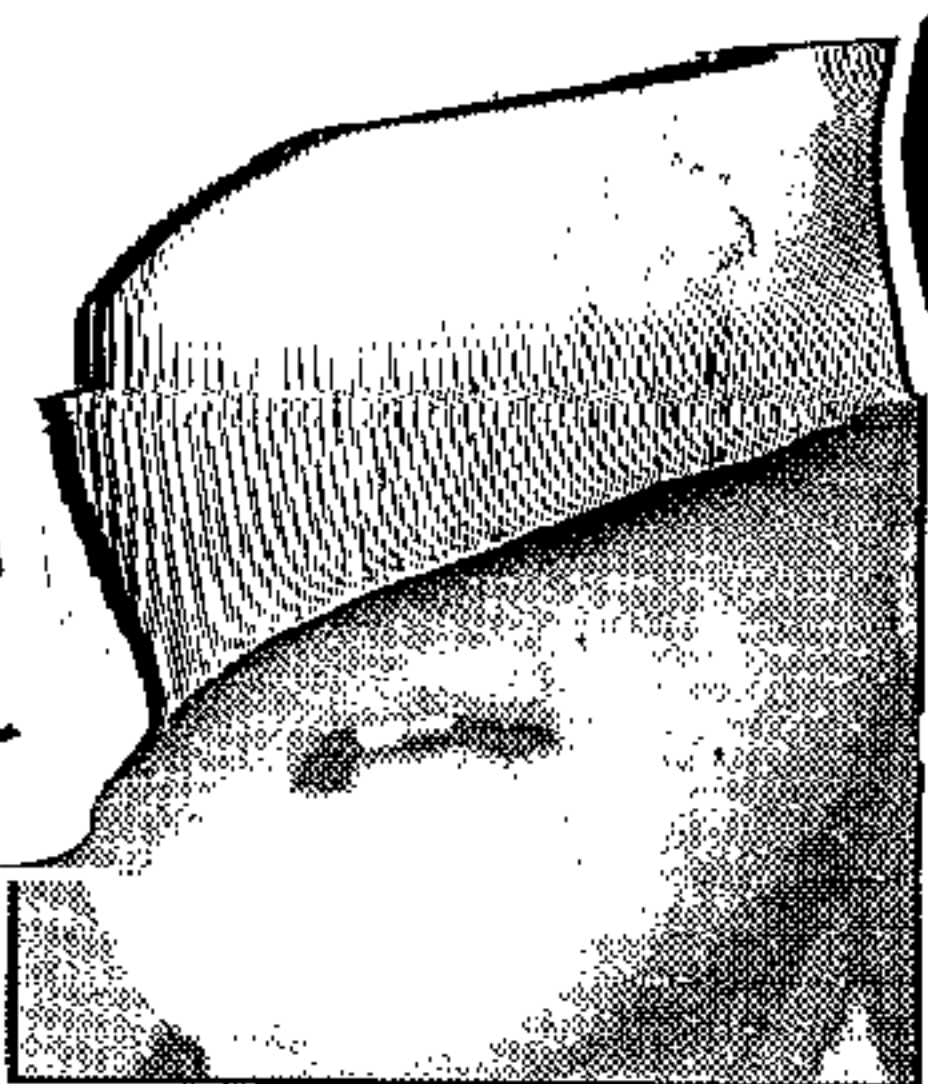
Significantly it was Malan's NP rather than Smuts's UP that played a key role in reducing the

up in the NP included Weichardt, Von Moltke, BJ Vorster and Hendrik van der Bergh.

Dr Furlong writes: "... the NP to which the radicals returned after 1948 was of a very different kind. (It was) more authoritarian, more elitist and more exclusive...."

Mr de Klerk's NP broke decisively with the old NP when it decided in 1990 to seek a settlement with black opposition forces, and to open its membership to people of all races. Dr Treurnicht's CP is the heir to the old NP and its troubled relationship with fascist-orientated movements. □

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Senator Edward Kennedy

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." □

OB from a formidable force of more than 400 000 members to a minuscule movement. The OB dwindled and withered away as Malan's NP became the unchallenged organisational voice of Afrikaner nationalism.

But, as Dr Furlong argues, that did not mean that fascist ideas and leaders of the far-Right did not enter into and influence the NP ideologically. Leaders of these fascist movements who entered

Squatter fears drive English

speakers into the CP fold

WJM and 13 13-1413/92

If the Conservative Party has a route to the future, it runs through the heart of the English-speaking communities of the cities.

Most predictions for the outcome of the referendum have had to make detours around the question of which way nervous English voters would go. Indications are that the heady pace of negotiations—and the attendant socio-economic problems brought to the surface by political reforms—has created a climate of uncertainty in which many formerly liberal voters are wavering in their convictions.

The most dramatic example is the Randburg suburb of Bloubostrand, which until two months ago would have come out with a firm yes vote.

Today, the lamp-posts of the suburb are covered in "No" posters. "Yes" campaigners are as scarce as liberals in the Soupanberg.

The sea-change came with the sudden announcement by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and Randburg Town Council that 10 000 squatters would be deposited in vacant land next door. The "Nimby" syndrome — Not in my back yard — took root with a vengeance, turning a community of young, liberal, English-speaking people into prime recruitment material for the CP.

"When the whole debacle began in full force, the CP really climbed in," says Peter Bantock, chairman of the Bloubostrand Action Committee. "When we were all on the streets protesting, they began signing up members — I saw a list containing six pages of names of people they'd recruited. At 30 people a page, that's 180 members. And there

Squatter fears and doubts over reform are opening up fertile ground for the right among urban English speakers, says

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

are only about 500 houses in Bloubostrand.

"Randburg is actually a Democratic Party area — the last by-election in the area was won by the DP. I don't have any research to prove it, but Bloubostrand was also really a typical DP constituency. Now indications are that the squatter issue has swung the community to the right."

Bantock says the same phenomenon is occurring throughout the Greenbelt area, where moderate people are suddenly facing what they see as an uncertain future filled with squatters, crime and lower land values.

"If this is government policy — to expropriate vacant land next to existing suburbs, regardless of public opinion, with a view to erecting squatter camps and informal housing — then it's definitely begging for a no vote from the Greenbelt."

Bantock points out that the Bloubostrand squatter issue has not yet been resolved, and the government's decision is not expected until after the referendum. This has implications not only for that suburb, but for all people living in such situations — mostly English-speakers in outlying areas of the PWV region.

"What would make everyone a little more comfortable is if the government

embarked on a sound public relations programme, consulted the residents and, if a blow is going to be dealt, to soften that blow. Not suddenly tell us we've got 10 000 squatters on our doorstep."

Ironically, Bantock himself will be voting yes.

"I think a yes vote is progressive thinking, it's realistic thinking. South Africa is already integrated, and you can't just segregate people again and put them in isolated compartments. A yes vote is a step in the right direction of positive integration."

This fairly typical liberal attitude would have obtained throughout the Greenbelt before the TPA muddled the squatter issue, first with foot-dragging, and then with approaches guaranteed to offend the highest number of people in the shortest possible time.

The same threat has given the CP its first inroads into the English heartland of Johannesburg.

Any motorist driving out of Johannesburg on Jan Smuts Avenue would have perceived these suburbs as enclaves of Democratic Party thought. The pedestrian bridge opposite Hyde Park Corner — after which the road drops down into Randburg — served as a veritable border post: suddenly the motorist would have been confronted with a flurry of CP posters hanging from the bridge.

Does this mean the CP had given up on the affluent suburbs, accepting that business executive types are lost to the yno vote and fear of sanctions?

On the contrary, says Jurg Prinsloo, appointed by the CP's executive committee as a "guardian" of the party's campaign in Johannesburg constituent-



Romancing the rooinekke ... CP leader Andries Treurnicht

beweging and Nazi philosophy.

"When the DP supporters in Chartwell and Howick needed help, they didn't run to their wimpy parliament. They called in the AWB to help them.

"English-speakers are a funny lot — they don't do anything until they've got their backs to the wall, and then they get more frantic than anyone else, even the Afrikaners."

Sisters are doing it for themselves

W/Mail 13/3-19/3/92
By BEATHUR BAKER

FORTY women's groups, which merged to form the Women's National Coalition, plan to launch a campaign to ensure that women's rights are included in a Bill of Rights in the new constitution.

The coalition is a historical first: women, representative of cross cultural, political, apolitical and religious groups, will be united by a single cause.

The launch, on April 24 and 25 in Johannesburg, will be conducted as a workshop for debate and decision-making among the 560 women representing the 40 national women's groups.

"This is no cake and tea coalition," says Sheila Meintjies, of the Wits Gender Forum. "Unlike past alliances, it is an issue-based movement to bring together women from different backgrounds under a common cause — ensuring their rights are firmly fixed in a future constitution."

"South African women have been far too passive. We plan to stimulate them and ensure they have a say in the future," said Gill Noero, interim steering committee member and representative of the Democratic Party.

Mavivi Manzini, of the African National Congress Women's League says: "... we believe that although from different backgrounds, women at the launch — like rural women, for instance — can voice their own problems, yet also identify with the (general) oppression of women. That is why we feel we need a special charter in addition to a constitutional clause."

"We are determined to work for the inclusion of women in decision making on all levels, regional, local and national," says Doris Ravenhill, executive member of the Women's Lobby (WL), which is also affiliated to the coalition.

The WL wrote to Mr Justice I Mohamed and Mr Justice P Schabert requesting they recommend to all parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa to "include capable women on their negotiating teams".

Three women are members of the ANC delegation to Codesa.

The ANC Women's League says it sees the purpose of forming a coalition as "one from which women can draw an understanding, assessment and conclusion on issues that affect them."

"In this way, we feel women will have taken part in the shaping of the country."

Democratic Party MP Carol Charlewood, regional organiser for the Women's Alliance (WA), said they plan to look at the United Nations Convention document on the elimination of all discrimination against women. The WA has research units to look into the problems of rural women "because as urban women we cannot speak for or identify the needs of rural women".

Ellen Motopeng, speaking on behalf of the African Women's Organisation, a component of the Pan Africanist Congress, said: "Our greatest challenge in the 1990s remains that of uniting African women and communities around the cause of genuine liberation. Our primary objective is to rally African women around the issues of women's liberation and to strive to educate women socially, politically, morally and make them aware of social degradation, exploitation and male domination."

Black priest urges whites to vote 'no'

Sawetun 13/3/92 304A

A BLACK church leader who congratulated the Conservative Party on its by-election win in Potchefstroom has now called on whites to vote "no" in Tuesday's referendum.

Bishop Isaac Mokoena, leader of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, yesterday became the first black to publicly endorse the right wing's campaign against President FW de Klerk's reforms.

Mokoena said although blacks were not taking part in the referendum, he was concerned about the future of the church under an ANC/SACP government.

"We feel threatened that the word of God will have no place in their government," he said.

Mokoena claims to represent four million people. But theologians have disputed the claim in the past.

He said another reason for the "no"

vote call was that the majority of blacks were not represented in Codesa and that those who participated were "pro-SACP".

He denied that he was supporting a party which would bring back apartheid, saying: "(CP leader) Dr Treurnicht has said he would not bring apartheid back. I believe they would be forced to build on what (President) De Klerk has done."

Treurnicht said in Durban Mokoena and "more than four million black moderate Christians", were witness to the acceptance among other nations of the CP's idea of self-determination.

Treurnicht read from a letter Mokoena had sent him which said: "We look forward to you and the CP winning the De Klerk referendum because we are very concerned that our survival and the future prosperity of South Africa and its people lies absolutely in the hands of your leadership and that of your party."

(Report by Cle Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Sanctions: Next time they will hurt

THERE is a Conservative Party pamphlet doing the rounds which asks this important question: Did you personally suffer from sanctions?

On the surface, the answer is surprising. No, South Africans didn't have to drink fake Scotch or go without imported hi-tech machinery. No, we weren't forced to abandon our motor cars for want of fuel.

There is some argument that the indirect effects of sanctions are seen everywhere in South African poverty and soaring crime, but Kapees will put that down to reform and other forces.

On the CP premise that sanctions haven't really caused much hardship is built the specious conclusion that South Africa will be able to ignore any new sanctions.

The CP's case is paradoxically bolstered by the government's now abandoned stance that

In rebutting claims that a no vote would be economically disastrous, the Conservative Party says sanctions didn't and won't work.

REG RUMNEY says they're half right, but any more

sanctions could cripple us

sanctions weren't working and by pro-sanctioners' overemphasis of the effect of sanctions on the South African economy.

After all, if sanctions were "crippling", as was claimed, why didn't we suffer that much? If that's the best the world can do, what have the CP to fear?

Merle Lipton in her seminal study on sanctions, published in September 1990, noted: "...sanctions *per se* have not yet 'crippled' the economy and ... their importance has been exceeded by the effects of other shocks, such as

the fluctuations in the terms of trade, the drought, rising interest rates on the growing foreign debt and the less tangible factor of political instability."

So did sanctions "work"? Yes, but not in the way so often claimed.

Writing in *The Weekly Mail* a US journalist observed that the US government viewed sanctions only as a way to push for certain reforms, not as a method to bring the country to its knees.

"And in the end, US sanctions (which cost the South African economy an estimated \$30- to

\$40-billion during the 1980s) were never as airtight or comprehensive as those imposed on Iraq."

One cannot therefore blithely assume, along with CP leader Andries Treurnicht, that new sanctions will not be implemented in a more effective manner than they have been.

The CP argument makes no distinction between trade and financial sanctions.

Trade sanctions were designed to cut off the flow of goods and services to and from South Africa, and financial sanctions to cut off the flow of money to South Africa.

Take trade first. On the physical front, South Africa is still vulnerable to a trade embargo in one crucial area, oil.

Chairman of the UN group monitoring the oil embargo, Anthony Nyaki, pointed out at the beginning of this year that monitoring the embargo wasn't easy because the embargo is voluntary.

But extensive and tireless monitoring by the Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau, set up in 1980, shows this: the oil embargo was and is as leaky as an old sieve. The group claims to have identified 84 percent of oil imports in 1989, 61 percent in 1990, and 72 percent in the first half of 1991.

Chief culprit in shipping oil to South Africa are British firms.

It is clear then that participating countries have not had the political will to enforce the oil embargo, and have been satisfied with rhetoric.

So to enforce true comprehensive sanctions against South Africa the UN Security Council could make the oil embargo mandatory.

The UN would have to enforce that embargo, either by putting pressure on individual countries, or through, say, a blockade of oil tankers.

But forget about trade sanctions for a moment.

Examine the financial sanctions South Africa still labours under, since unlike trade sanctions they were mainly spontaneous and not legislated (except for state and local sanctions in the US which discourage US banks from dealing in South Africa).

South Africa has come under pressure because it has had to repay rather than roll over loans frozen in the famous "debt standstill" imposed unilaterally by South Africa in September 1985 in response to foreign banks suddenly calling in their loans.

The standstill has forced South Africa, a developing country, to be an exporter of capital since 1985. "From 1985 to the end of 1988 South Africa's debt payments accounted for over half of the heavy capital outflow of \$10-billion (R25-billion). This was equivalent to about four percent of GDP over this period," writes Lipton.

That in turn has meant that it has had to keep the current account of the balance of payments, South Africa's account with the rest of the world, in substantial surplus. And this has meant the authorities have had to rein in the economy's growth to keep it from overheating.

It is somewhat, though not entirely, analogous to a small and growing business being kept small by having to pay back a big bank overdraft rather than using the money to expand.

So financial "sanctions" have cut back economic growth. But, as Lipton notes, it is not clear how much. And whether South Africa needs new investment is a separate issue and one not as clear-cut as the government would like to make out.

What would happen if the US, Canada and Europe had the political will to isolate South Africa financially?

Bans spurred by commercial risk considerations and kept in place by that and anti-apartheid pressure could be replaced by mandatory bans on any loans to South Africa. A demand could have been made for immediate repayment of loans inside the debt standstill, and a bar on trade credits imposed.

South Africa would have to default on the remaining loans in the net.

Foreign countries would retaliate by attaching South African ships in foreign ports and planes in foreign airports and freezing South African assets abroad.

Most drastically, foreign countries could refuse to clear South African foreign exchange transactions.

By this stage South Africa would be approaching war with the rest of the world.

Remember what Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Colin Powell said after the Gulf war: "Sanctions and war were a seamless process."

'Vote yes' call from 19 DRC rebels

w/mar 13/3-19/3/92

304A

By PAT SIDLEY

NINETEEN theologians, teachers and ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church, hoping to sway conservative voters, have written an open letter which states that the Bible requires Christians to vote yes.

The move, coming after the church had decided not to tell voters which way to vote, places the struggle within the church at the heart of the referendum battle.

The DRC has been split by the fact that a large percentage within its ranks belongs to the Conservative Party and will vote no. These include CP leader Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff.

In 1986 and in 1990 the church took political decisions which alienated its far-rightwing members to the extent that 30 000 of them formed a new, pure white church. By 1990 the church had largely condemned apartheid and then confessed its role in the sin of apartheid at a large church conference.

But Assessor Johan Heyns said he believed that there was too much of a party-political element to the referendum for the church to give a lead on purely moral and ethical grounds.

One of the signatories to the letter, Prof Adrio König, of the Department of Systematic Theology of the University of South Africa, told *The Weekly Mail* that it was clear the decision to condemn apartheid taken by the church at its 1990 synod meant that church members should vote yes.

He said the letter was intended to sway "middle-of-the-road" members who may not be very involved in politics, although he could not predict just what effect it would have. "It is not the style of the church to tell people how to vote," said König. "We felt, however, that the whole meaning and advantage of the 1990 decisions would go down the drain if the church now gives no indication of where it should be on these issues."

König caused a stir when he expressed this view in a TV debate. Rightwingers, including Treurnicht and Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais, were furious, claiming that König's comments indicated that the DRC had taken a stand.

Shortly after, the church confirmed its decision that it would not indicate how people should vote and effectively gagged its officials from making statements on the referendum.

DRC Moderator Pieter Potgieter said he regretted that the letter had been written and repeated the church's decision to stay silent on the issue.

However, sources say many in the DRC leadership support König's stand but are unable to express this.

Last Sunday, Treurnicht walked out of a church service as he interpreted the minister's somewhat obscure sermon as a suggestion to vote yes.

The signatories to the open letter say they support the negotiation process because they see something of Christ's injunction to do to others what you would have done to you.

König said the DRC had been involved in politics for 40 years — on the side of apartheid. So he did not see a problem on the part of the church participating in the referendum.

He said if the church was convinced in its new stand it should discipline Treurnicht.

White man he speak with forked tongue

W/Mail 13-19/3/92

Is the Conservative Party slightly to the right (or slightly to the left) of Aritia the Hun? Not even the CP leadership knows, suggests DREW FOREST

"I'm afraid I can't answer your question: you'll have to talk to Dr Treurnicht." — Andries Beyers, Conservative Party secretary. **"We can't give details now. It's like a jam under a flood: you can't tell what repairs are needed until the water's dried up."** — Corné Mulder, CP MP for Randfontein.

THE polite evasions in phone interviews this week were not on some highly technical or esoteric issue. They were in response to fundamental questions facing voters next Tuesday: what does the CP mean by saying there will be no reversion to old-style apartheid? And what policies will it pursue if it comes to power?

An obvious interpretation is that the party is cynically wooing centre-right waverers by projecting a moderate face, while winking at dependable far-right supporters.

It is an impression strengthened by a singular piece of double-talk by party leader Andries Treurnicht in Worcester last week. After first telling his audience that a CP government would not reinstate apartheid measures, he assured a questioner that influx control, while "Christian National Education" and residential group areas would all grace the white Volksstaat.

And in East London, he gave himself an escape clause by indicating that grand apartheid might be dead, but laws ensuring social stability would still be needed.

But the CP's vacillation goes deeper than a mere election ploy: what the referendum has

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Published by WM Publications, Pty Ltd,
104 Frederick and Smail Streets,
Johannesburg. Printed by Caxtons, c/o
Bloomberg and Commando Roads,
Industria.

Editorial comment in this issue by Drew
Forest and Phillip van Niekerk.
Newsletters by Irwin Maroon. Headlines
and subediting by Laura Yeatman. All of
104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg.

Phone numbers: Editorial: 334-2400
Fax: 334-2905 Advertising fax: 334-0747



The message is clear... An AWB supporter and his trusty steed at the rightwing rally in Church Square, Pretoria. Photo: GUY ADAMS

done is force to the surface the party's profound disarray on policy for a future South Africa.

The split over participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) between "pragmatists" headed by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe and Free State leader Cehill Pienaar on the one hand, and hardliners including deputy-leader Ferdinand Hertzberg on the other, has been well documented. On policy, the divisions are reproduced and magnified.

Consider the conflicting stands of party spokesman and party statements in recent months on almost every key political question:

- In the run-up to the Potchefstroom by-election, Hertzberg "unveiled" a map showing the CP's proposed partition of South Africa. In fact devised by the parliamentary select committee on Bantu affairs in 1975, this envisages a white Volksstaat comprising all South Africa except the homelands, which would be consolidated by negotiation with tribal leaders.

- In an interview with a financial weekly, Pienaar called for a "smaller haven for whites within a confederation of states". Different pockets of territory where whites are numerically dominant could be linked together to form a white homeland.

- A document prepared by the CP's "continuation committee for constitutional affairs", leaked to the press late last year, adds another competing voice to the clamour. This would give most of Natal to the Zulus, the western Cape to coloureds and reserve a "Goldfields" area, stretching from

- Welkom through the Reef to Secunda, for a non-racial unitary state whose fate would be determined by Codesa.

- Compounding the confusion was the recent statement by Van der Merwe on an American TV talk show — immediately repudiated by Treurnicht — that the CP favoured federalism.

- An official CP policy document released in 1991 states that blacks in the white homeland would be denied citizenship, given temporary work permits and live in separate residential areas administered by white authorities. All sporting, health and educational facilities would be segregated.

- Van der Merwe told *The Weekly Mail* this week measures applied in the Volksstaat would have to be internationally acceptable, and for that reason would not discriminate on grounds of race.

- Manpower spokesman Frank le Roux insists that in the white homeland, black unions will be banned, while labour preference enforced and influx control reinstated. Again, Van der Merwe denies this.

- The 1991 document states that population registration will be reintroduced, improved and strictly applied. Race classification is also implied by Treurnicht's pledge in Worcester to reintroduce group areas.

- In a recent interview, Pienaar said there would be a register of "citizens of countries" determined by association, not race. Theoretically a black person who identified with Afrikaner ide-

als could be part of white South Africa, he said.

- The 1991 document proposes areas for coloured and Indian occupation. At a recent parliamentary briefing, Parys MP Piet Gous equivocated on the position of coloureds, saying it would be "presumptuous" to forecast what would happen to them in the future.

- Treurnicht and Hertzberg are adamant that there will no negotiations with the "terrorist" Afrikaner Weerstandsweging. On a black radio show, Pienaar recently said the CP would talk to the ANC, as long as the latter "undertook not to threaten the Afrikaner volk". Gous has also hinted at the possibility of talks.

- In some measure, the rift is between out-and-out race supremacists and passionate Afrikaner nationalists who are moved by the understandable desire — paralleled in such places as Croatia and Quebec — for home rule.

- What unites them is a common dread of a unitary South Africa under a majority government, but because of the country's unique demography, neither has a coherent or workable alternative.

- Van der Merwe concedes as much: "Our problem is the diversity of our population, our 'scrambled egg' situation," he plaintively told *The Weekly Mail*.

- "We don't know what the characteristics of the new order will be. If we come to power, we feel there must be a moratorium period in which we are allowed to find our feet."

predict the pros

W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92 (304A)

Worst case: 51 percent yes vote

Most probable: 58 to 60 percent yes vote

THE choice in this referendum "is not between two uncertainties, it's between an uncertainty and a disaster". Sparks is "not predicting a no vote" but says that such a victory will be "catastrophic for the country".

He bases his prediction in part on the results of the Potchefstroom by-election, saying that some people will still use their no vote as a protest measure — though on March 17 the number who do so will be much lower.

For the CP, De Klerk's win would be a crisis point: "It will split, with members either turning toward the negotiating table or linking up with extremist rightwing group like the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."

DONALD SIMPSON: Political analyst based in Potchefstroom.

Best case: 62 percent yes vote

Worst case: 49 percent yes vote

Most probable: 56 percent yes vote

SIMPSON says "a victory will give way for rapid moves by the president. He may call for general elections before the end of this year on a one man, one vote basis because he can count on at least a 60 percent vote of the coloured population and about 80 percent of the Indians."

He believes De Klerk has moved brilliantly so far, outmanoeuvring all his foes.

ALBERT VENTER: Chairman of the Department of Politics at Rand Afrikaans University.

Best case: 60 percent yes vote

Worst case: 49,5 percent yes vote

Most probable: 50 percent yes vote (by very few votes)

"It would not be good for De Klerk to win or to

lose by a slight majority," he says. "If the NP managed just to scrape through, it would mean the white electorate is really split in half. The CP can then say that they have a good support base in the white community. You need a clear win, not a one percent win."

VAN ZYL SLABBERT: Former leader of the opposition, a founder of the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) and chairman of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

Best case: 60 percent yes vote

Worst case: 55 percent yes vote

Most probable: 55 to 60 percent yes vote

HE believes the question of the referendum has been clouded by several aspects that should play a less important role, such as crime, the state of the economy and violence. He regrets the NP has been focusing on the negative results of the referendum.

Voters should not expect "heaven on earth" after a De Klerk victory, he says. It will give momentum to Codesa and to De Klerk, who will have to move fast but will not require new elections to do so.

A virgin's guide to voting

W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92 (304A)

GAVIN EVANS offers hints to white adults who've never done it before

IF you're (a) white, (b) at least 18 years old, (c) a South African citizen and (d) have been too pure of heart or mind to have soiled yourself by voting in days gone by, this is what to do on Tuesday.

The first step is not to panic. While the fear of the unknown produces paralysis in first-time VCR and PC users, it needn't have the same effect on first-time electoral booth users.

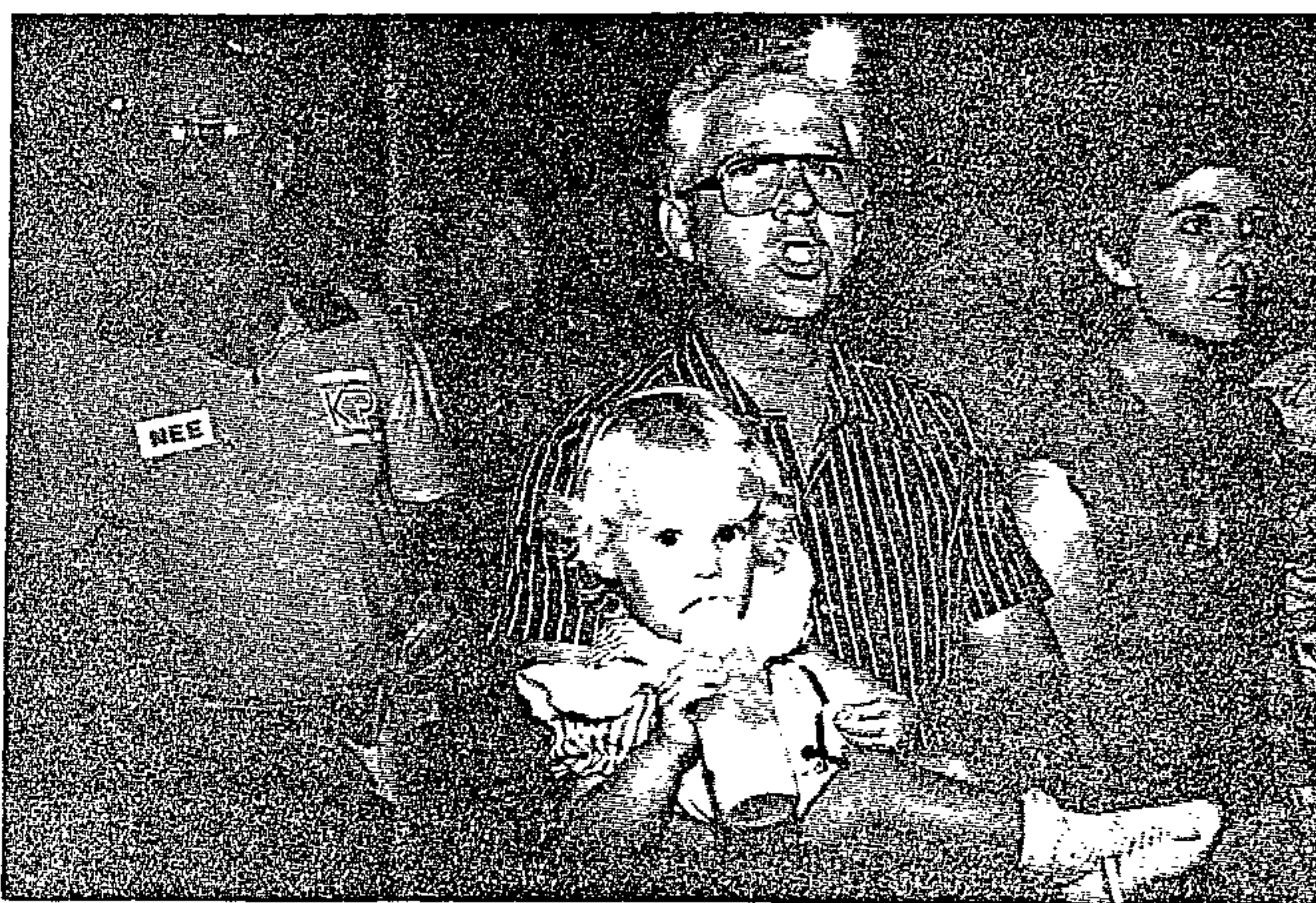
It's actually a very simple procedure — more so than with a general election — but one that seems to cause a fair amount of terror and consternation among the uninitiated.

Before doing anything else open your desk drawer/moonbag/attaché case and make sure you've still got your ID, and that it's the right one. If it's one of the blue 1970s versions or one of the green 1980s versions then you can pass Go.

If you've lost it/only have a passport/have sent it in for a driver's/firearm licence, then take whatever form of ID you have plus R4 and three passport-size photographs and take the quickest route to your local Department of Home Affairs office, where you'll join the queue for a temporary ID certificate.

Now, armed with your proof that you are indeed a bona fide white, South African, adult citizen you'll have to make a series of important decisions. Sometime on Monday you should pull out your local daily newspaper and look up the polling station nearest to you.

You then need to decide what time to vote. Voting starts at 7am and ends at 9pm. The rush hours tend to be from 8 to 9am, 1 to 2pm and worst of all from 5 to 7pm. So the wise thing to do is to rise from your desk at say 11am or 3pm, announce you're doing your bit for South Africa, vote, and then have yourself a long cold beer or two to get



Supporters of a no vote voice their choice at a CP rally Photos: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

over the shock of losing your electoral virginity — and return to your office two hours later.

If you live in the western Cape you may come across one or two strident leftwing boycotters handing out unreadable pamphlets, but don't worry, they tend to be sheep in wolves' clothing. Not so the rightwing, who can get a bit rough, but then even if you make the mistake of choosing one of their areas there will be enough friendly policemen around to make your voting as painless as possible.

As you're a *Weekly Mail* reader you should have no need to talk to the parties outside the polling station for last-minute advice on which way to vote.

Once you're inside your polling station (usually a primary school or recreation centre) you will hand in your ID to the first official-looking government bureaucrat you find at the table. S/he will check your picture and ID number. The officials will be on hand if you get confused along the way.

Once you've passed the table you will hold your hand for a second or two under an ultra-violet neon tube in an upright box, to detect whether you've already voted.

You then dip your finger into clean cotton waste soaked in a liquid which leaves an invisible mark for a week. (Apparently it's not the Mark of the Beast and does not cause cancer.) If you object to

this you may take an oath to say you've not voted before.

You then proceed to vote. The forms come in booklets with counterfoils, and the first 10 numbers of your ID are entered into the counterfoil, after which you are handed your ballot form. It asks The Question in both official languages.

Make sure you don't sign, illustrate or otherwise deface your ballot paper. If you do this your vote will be marked as a spoiled paper.

Below that the words Yes and No appear in white squares. You place your cross (though a tick is also legal) next to the word "Yes".

You then fold your paper, show it to the polling official (who will look for a stamp on the back to prove it's an official ballot paper) and then drop it in the slot in the ballot box.

At this point you can allow yourself a skip or two, in the knowledge you've done your bit for creating the brave "new" South Africa.

After this all you can do is wait — until at least 10.20am on Wednesday. If it's yes, take the rest of the day off and have a party. If it's no, rush to your nearest travel agency.

Reform allows \$25-million deal...

SOUTHERN African Caterpillar dealer Barlows Equipment Co this week concluded a US\$25-million deal to supply Angolan state-owned diamond mining firm Endiama with equipment.

304A

180

...while referendum causes jitters...

THE JSE marked time, assuming optimistically a yes vote. Both the commercial rand and the financial rand dipped slightly, a rare event betokening extreme nervousness. The referendum caused the postponement until April of a Johannesburg conference on trade and investment in Southern Africa.

...and business is on ice

THE South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) Business Confidence Index level remained at 87,4 in February for the third successive month. The unchanged figure reflects a "wait-and-see" attitude by major business decision makers, according to Sacob. Also, a number of big deals were put on hold pending a yes vote in the referendum, or had clauses inserted which would cancel deals if the referendum turned up a no vote.

w/mail 13/3-19/3/92

Nats' flirtation with fascism

W/mail 13/3-19/3/92

304A

**BETWEEN CROWN AND SWASTIKA: THE
IMPACT OF THE RADICAL RIGHT ON THE
AFRIKANER MOVEMENT IN THE FASCIST
ERA** by Patrick J Furlong

(Witwatersrand University Press, R50,55)

SIXTY years after fascism first found such fertile ground within Afrikaner nationalism, we seem to have come full circle. Or have we?

Patrick Furlong's readable and scholarly account of how fascism, anti-Semitism and support for the Nazis became a dominant part of the nationalist movement in the 1930s and 1940s reveals a sometimes astonishing parallel with the present. The flowering of small fascist groups, the rapid spread of anti-Semitism and growing antipathy to the "Money-Power", splits within Afrikanerdom followed by pressures for unity, tension between the old Nationalists looking towards an authoritarian Boere-democracy and the younger and more militant Nazi sympathisers, the spread of rightwing terrorism, the growing support within the security forces for the far right, and the increasing distance between the right and a cautiously reformist government.

And yet, as is so often noted, if history does repeat itself it's first as tragedy, then as farce. Going over this fascinating piece of history there is no denying that the 1948 victory of the National Party (with 37 percent of the vote) was a tragedy.

Without setting out to do this, the book casts fresh doubt on neo-Marxist and other revisionist histories of the period, which have downplayed the distinctions between the racial and other policies of the Jan Smuts government and those of the Nationalists.

The authoritarian governments of DF Malan and his more radical successors may not have been fascist, but they undoubtedly owed a considerable debt to fascism for their racial and security policies. The Smuts government was moving slowly and reluctantly towards a more flexible form of racial paternalism. The Nationalist governments moved very rapidly in the opposite direction, and it was only in the 1970s that they began to change direction — making room for the second wave of rightwing extremism and crypto-fascism of the past decades.

But the key differences between the current rightwing wave and that of the 1930s and 1940s are probably more profound than the similarities. While the world today is certainly experiencing a worrying rise in nationalism, the more profound development is the spread of liberal democracy. Certainly there is nothing comparable to the rise of fascist dictatorships in Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal for local rightists to get their teeth into.

Of greater significance is the fundamental difference in the black political and economic power today, and in the demographics of the country. The fragmented rightwing vision of the 1990s is simply not implementable. Yet the visions of rightwing radicals of the 1930s evolved into the policies of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

Full-blooded fascism first found its way to the sub-continent in 1928 when the Nazis began establishing a presence in Luderitz. Four years later the Nazi Party was founded in South Africa



Blood libel ... An anti-Semitic cartoon from an Ossewabrandwag publication, depicting the 'ritual murder' of Christian infants by Jews. From *Between Crown and Swastika*

by University of Cape Town engineering professor Hermann Bohle. From then on the direct Nazi involvement in South Africa expanded rapidly, both through the flooding of agents and propaganda into the country, and through a variety of front or allied groups such as the Greyshirts, the Blackshirts, the South African Fascists and the Gentile Protection League.

The National Party had long sown seeds of anti-Semitism (through, for example, its use of the "Hoggenheimer" caricature), but it was only in the 1930s that this became stated policy. In the late 1920s Malan was still courting the Jewish vote. Prompted, however, by the wave of grassroots anti-Semitism fanned in particular by Louis Wiechardt's Greyshirts, Jew-baiting became a more and more important platform of the Purified National Party by the late 1930s, and remained an important tenet of Nationalist thinking well into the 1950s.

Certainly Malan's successors as NP prime ministers — Hans Strijdom, Hendrik Verwoerd and BJ Vorster — were virulent anti-Semites, at least until the 1950s, while PW Botha was a member of the pro-fascist and anti-Semitic Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond and until 1941 was a leader of the Ossewabrandwag (OB).

Throughout the 1930s the NP moved steadily to the right, and this trend continued after 1939 when Malan and JBM Hertzog were reconciled. The dominant figures in this shift were two German-educated Nazi supporters, Nico Diederichs and Piet Meyer, both of whom were extremely effective in using the Broederbond to engineer the NP's rightward drift.

Once in power, the NP went out of its way to make room for the fascist leaders. Robey Leibbrandt was immediately released from prison. OB Eastern Cape general BJ Vorster became prime minister and then state president. Fellow OB leader Hendrik van den Berg became the head of the Bureau for State

Security. Greyshirt leader Louis Weichardt was appointed to the senate. South African Fascist Party leader Johannes von Moltke became the leader of the NP in South West Africa. The fascist New Order leader Oswald Pirow became the government's chief prosecutor in the 1956-61 treason trial. Diederichs became state president from 1975 to 1978. Meyer became rector of the Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit and chairman of the SABC from 1959 to 1981. The NP's most virulent anti-Semite, Eric Louw, became Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Even in the 1960s the party retained open links with unreformed Nazis. British fascist leader Oswald Mosely was a regular guest of Verwoerd and his cabinet, while German neo-Nazi leader Adolf van Thadden retained close links with the NP.

Today the NP is the antithesis of what its founding fathers intended. Its current leadership is the first not have to been nurtured in the party's pro-fascist days (though older leaders like Gerrit Viljoen did cut their political teeth in this period). What becomes clear from this book is just how profound was the break made by FW de Klerk with his party's history.

In any work of this nature there are likely to be gaps. Furlong says nothing about PW Botha's early leadership role in the OB and ignores the important symbolic role played by the Dietsefons in bringing out the Nazi war orphans to South Africa (among them Lieutenant General Lothar Neethling) in 1946. More importantly, he ignores organised black and leftwing reaction to the rise of fascism. It might be added, too, that — though always readable — *Between Crown and Swastika* offers little in the way of colour and feel of the period.

It is, however, an extremely important book, not only for an understanding of the history of the NP, but also for understanding the genesis of the forces shaping the right today.

Gavin Evans

A VOTE could be the biggest present for South Africa's voteless majority this Christmas. In an interview this week, African National Congress executive member Mohamed Vali Moosa predicted "an election for a constituent assembly before Christmas is not at all unlikely".

According to Moosa, the agreement on a transitional executive, accepted by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) this week, provides a framework for elections to a constituent assembly charged with drawing up a democratic constitution.

Sketching the ANC's scenario for the next few months, he forecast Codesa reaching a package of agreements on technical and political issues in time for Codesa 2 in late April. "The Nationalists are under tremendous economic pressure but cannot get international loans until there is an interim government. After the referendum they will move fast," he said.

The ANC sees legislation encompassing these agreements being drawn up and passed into law at a special sitting of parliament within three months of Codesa 2. Some time would be necessary to organise an election, but voting would take place before Christmas.

Elections for a constituent assembly would make whatever role the Pan Africanist Congress and the other far-left organisations see for themselves, outside of the negotiations process, redundant. They have justified their refusal to participate in Codesa on the grounds that it could never deliver a constituent assembly.

However, despite his optimism — which includes a yes vote in the coming referendum — Moosa recognises that "a lot of time will be spent on details", including:

- Deciding how Codesa will appoint the transitional executive structure, what its powers will be and how it will arrive at decisions.
- The creation of an independent media commission to ensure the independence and neutrality of state broadcasters.
- Deciding on a system of voter identification and registration.

Broader political obstacles must be cleared before a comprehensive package of agreements can be reached.

According to delegates, the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), shot to the top

of the agenda of working group one, charged with the creation of a climate for free political activity, after a statement by Defence Minister Roelf Meyer on Friday that there could be no interim government until MK had been dissolved.

An MK administrator, Calvin Khan, rejected the demand. "We will not unilaterally disband MK until some kind of mechanism to ensure the neutrality of all armed forces, including those of the homelands, is in place."

However, an end to the skirmish between the ANC and the gov-

ernment may be a lot closer than it seems in the run-up to the referendum.

When the government last rejected ANC proposals for joint control of the security forces, Meyer stated: "No form of unconstitutional joint control of the army will be acceptable to us."

The agreement by Codesa that the transitional executive, which will have ultimate control over the Defence Force, be legislated into existence by parliament accommodates the government's

Constituent assembly elections 'this year'

*W/Mail 13/3-19/3/92
Elections for a constituent
assembly could take place
before the end of the year, says
the African National Congress.
By PAUL STOBER*

demand for "constitutional" control.

The transitional executive also meets a key pre-condition set by the ANC for the organisation to stand down from the suspension of its armed struggle to a cessation of hostilities. "The ANC is willing to entrust its arms caches to an interim government," said a delegate.

The ANC and the government have been engaged in bilateral discussions about control of their armed forces but, according to Khan, "there is no question of us reaching a bilateral agreement because a political solution to the question is the responsibility of Codesa".

● Bophuthatswana is providing as many obstacles as it has parts. By refusing to hold a referendum on reincorporation until after South Africa has a new constitution and has elected a new government, the territory is effectively preventing South Africa's first democratic election from including all its citizens.

The ANC insists there will be no elections without — at least — an agreement on reincorporation from the TBVC states.

Under pressure from some of its allies in the homelands, the ANC is reluctantly considering agreeing to referendums in the homelands.

ANC warns of 'offensive'

KATHRYN STRACHAN

Blanc 13/3/92
IF THE CP ever came to power, the people of SA would launch an offensive on the new regime that would make everything else look like a Sunday school picnic, ANC official Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday at a referendum debate with the CP and the NP at Wits University.

Moosa said within three months of that onslaught the CP would talk to the ANC. He said the NP had not come to the negotiating table out of choice. "It was at great cost to ourselves, and it was only because none of their other plans worked."

Jacques Theron, CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, said his party would rather side with the AWB, despite its neo-Nazi standpoints, than with communists, as they shared the same ideal of a boerestaat.

"Afrikaners feel strongly that we want to rule ourselves. It's not that we're racist. We don't want blacks to rule us — just as we don't want Americans or Eskimos to rule us," he said.

Theron said his party was opposed to Codesa because it did not believe the forum was democratic. The ANC and the NP were "conniving" and holding secret discussions, he said, and they had already

decided on a undivided SA.

He denied that a "no" vote would be detrimental to the country's economy. A "yes" vote was a vote for a communist/-Marxist ANC government, and the instability that would follow would be a far greater deterrent to foreign investors, he said.

Deputy Regional Planning Minister Andre Fourie said it was imperative that parties moved away from the "one-man, one-vote" system, where a straight majority took all. "We need to create mechanisms where basic agreements are reached by consensus rather than vote, and minority rights are protected," he said.

The country's most critical problem was the staggering unemployment rate, he said. He warned the ANC about "talking glibly" about nationalisation because, he said, SA would die like the rest of Africa if it did not get foreign capital.

Employment was fundamental, said Fourie, because "people who are employed do not need to steal. People who are employed do not need to commit violence".

Report by K Strachan, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

B/row
**'Codesa needs
Zulu king'**
13/3/92
Political Staff

DURBAN — Natal NP leader and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett has called on Codesa to resolve the issue of King Goodwill Zwelithini's admission "as a matter of urgency."

Bartlett said in a statement yesterday: "I do not believe that lasting consensus can be achieved in Codesa without King Goodwill's delegation being there." *(304A)*

He was responding to suggestions that comments made by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week amounted to support for a "no" vote, and that a future IFP alliance with the CP was a possibility.

He said a statement released by Buthelezi after the referendum was announced made it clear that both of these assertions were incorrect.

Given Buthelezi's opposition to apartheid, there was no basis for speculating on an alliance between the CP and Inkatha.

Report by C. Whitfield, 18 Osborne St.
Durban.

Frontline states prepare 'worst-case scenario'

LUSAKA — Africa's Frontline leaders, fearing a political crisis in SA, met in Lusaka yesterday for a one-day summit to examine the regional impact if whites rejected political reform in next week's referendum.

Compounding their fears is the worst drought on record, devastating crops and the effect violence in SA, with its key ports and railways, could have on relief transportation efforts.

Opening the meeting, Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba said he hoped the summit would help the peace process unfolding in SA. (227A) (304A)

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said before the session: "We have prepared a worst-case scenario which we will be discussing."

"If there is a 'no' vote, we think it would be an absolute tragedy for the people of SA and our region." — Sapa-Reuter.

South Africans in US cover great distances to cast vote

WASHINGTON — A South African working on an oil drilling platform off Alaska had his family courier his identity document to Los Angeles, then helicoptered ashore and flew there himself to cast his referendum vote this week.

A group of SA students in South Carolina drove for 10 hours through the night to vote at the Washington embassy, then drove straight back so as not to miss classes.

Despite such enthusiasm, however, less than 10% of the estimated 25 000 South Africans in the US eligible to vote are expected to have done so when the special voting period — which the Cabinet extended by one day on Wednesday — expires tonight.

According to embassy spokesman Frik Schoombee, about 1 000 votes were cast nationwide on Wednesday.

Many would-be voters, including some who travelled considerable distances to the embassy and SA's consulates in Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston and New York, have been turned away because they did not have their identity documents with them.

Ten were rejected for this reason at the Washington embassy on Wednesday, including a man who said he had lost his passport and identity document while fishing in Chesapeake Bay.

SIMON BARBER

This led to a number of angry scenes, which embassy officials expect to be repeated when hopeful voters turn up on Tuesday, believing they can still cast a ballot.

"We are trying our best with limited resources to ensure that everyone who wants to vote will have an opportunity to do so," ambassador Harry Schwarz, who was clearly unhappy with the situation, said yesterday.

The embassy has been able to take out only one advertisement, in the nationally distributed US Today, to alert potential voters, though a number of publications, including the Los Angeles Times, the Boston Globe and the Dallas Morning News, have published stories to alert South Africans to their options.

The embassy and consulates are sending officials to receive ballots in San Diego, San Francisco, Atlanta, Boston and Florida, but only after receiving sufficient requests to justify the travel expense.

Those wishing to vote in more remote parts of the country have been less lucky. A family holidaying in Las Vegas, the Nevada gambling capital, was one of several that had to be told "no dice".

Report by S Barber, TML, 1010 Vermont Ave, Washington DC.

O
GE
our
s c
t b
m
lig
v v
Cs

CODESA FM 13/3/92 (304A)
Waiting for 'yes'

The seventh meeting of Codesa's working group 3 has agreed on "certain general elements" for interim arrangements, "which would facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution." The landmark agreement was achieved on Monday.

The group, whose big hitters include Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, leading the government delegation, and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, agreed that:

- ☐ There is a need for interim arrangements to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which Codesa is committed;
- ☐ An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure;
- ☐ The transitional executive structure will initially be by appointment in accordance with procedures agreed by Codesa (these have yet to be worked out);
- ☐ Arrangements reached at Codesa will have to be given effect by parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation; and
- ☐ Other aspects of the interim/transitional arrangements still need to be discussed.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan (of the Natal Indian Congress) stated that certain press reports suggesting that a comprehensive agreement had been reached are incorrect and misleading. Among the details yet to be tackled are the:

- ☐ Objective of transitional arrangements;
- ☐ Structure and functions of the transitional executive and the transitional legislature;
- ☐ Position of the TBVC and self-governing states; and
- ☐ Time frames.

Working group 5, which is trying to place time limits on the other groups' proceedings, has (unofficially) called for agreement on principles to be reached by April 16 — in time for Codesa 2 (the second plenary), which now looks like being on April 24-25 — and an interim government to be installed when parliament rises on June 30. This proposal has yet to be ratified.

Working group 2 has, meanwhile, decided to suspend its debate on constitutional principles in order to catch up, as it were, with group 3. When it convenes again in two weeks' time, therefore, it will tackle its second brief — the constitution-making process — specifically to discuss transitional constitutional arrangements to tie in with the broad agreement on interim plans.

Some ANC negotiators after Monday's session seemed pleased indeed with the apple-pie draft principle on "meaningful participation of minority political parties" prepared by the steering committee of group 2. This appeared to them to signal acceptance that an elected constitution-making body would fill in the details — which government has in principle accepted.

In the view of some NP and DP delegates, however, the draft principle reflects stalemate on this fundamental issue of power-sharing (see *Current Affairs* March 6).

The draft principle states: "A new constitution should provide for effective participation of minority political parties consistent with democracy." (The previous week's draft said: "There shall be meaningful participation of minority parties in a future constitutional dispensation.")

Intriguingly, though, this principle does not imply or reject:

- ☐ Constitutional prescription for the participation of minority political parties in any structure of government;
- ☐ Simple majoritarianism; or
- ☐ Veto powers by minority political parties on any issue.

In short, the delegates seem, if not deadlocked, to be treading water on the issue of minorities and coalition government — at least until the referendum is over. Both the government/NP side — which argues that there is no example of where majoritarianism has worked in divided societies, and the ANC — which says there is no case where coalition government is constitutionally required — have quite strong cases.

It is doubtless also realised by the NP that, whereas at Codesa there are various parties among the 19 who back its stance, the situation will be quite different in an elected constitutional forum which many expect will be ANC-dominated. The NP could therefore press for all manner of consensus provisions to be arrived at at Codesa, possibly including a "shared executive," to use Colin Eglin's phrase.

"A number of points of vital interest to our electorate have not been met," says an NP source. "Negotiation will continue on mechanisms to ensure minority protection."

Results by the 18th

CT 13/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS should know the final outcome of the March 17 referendum between noon and 1pm on the 18th, the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday.

Counting of ballot papers will begin at 7am on March 18 and the first result from the 15 referendum areas will be announced about 10am, the department said.

The outcome of the regional contests will be announced in Cape Town by the chief referen-

dum officer, Mr P J. Colyn.

Immediately after results are released in Cape Town, they will also be announced in the 15 regions by the referendum officers outside the venues where votes were counted.

The results will be announced to journalists in the H F Verwoerd Building next to Parliament. The public will not be admitted to the premises.

Special programmes have been arranged by the SABC to inform listeners and viewers of the outcomes on the day of the poll.

Mr Colyn also said the secrecy of voting in the March 17 referendum would be upheld in terms of the Referendum Act of 1983.

He said counterfoils of ballot papers will be sealed and forwarded to the chief referendum officer in Pretoria immediately after the referendum.

"The ballot papers are also sealed, but are kept in safekeeping by the various referendum officers throughout the country."

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town)

● World will punish you
Dr No told — Page 5

C
F
n
P
c
e
sc

Diplomats warn CP on tough sanctions

ARC 13/3/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DIPLOMATS have warned Dr Andries Treurnicht that tough sanctions will be imposed on a Conservative Party government if it tries to reintroduce apartheid.

And, after a meeting with the CP leader yesterday, diplomats said they remained unconvinced that the Conserva-

tive policy would be anything other than old-style apartheid.

One diplomat responded: "I do not see how they can govern in a way that would not elicit a strong, immediate international response.

"I came to the conclusion that it was impossible to distinguish between apartheid and what they would intend implementing."

Yesterday's meeting between about 25 senior diplomats and Dr Treurnicht was held at the invitation of the CP.

Diplomats said that while Dr Treurnicht was "very generous" in his replies, they emerged without "a sense of clarity on how the CP's vision of the future can be perceived as anything but apartheid".

The issue of sanctions was

apparently not raised directly in the meeting, but diplomats made it clear, privately, to the Dr Treurnicht that any attempt to bring back apartheid would be to provoke a swift and tough international response.

"Our chief concern was to find out what policies a CP government would implement and how. Frankly, we did not feel much insight was shed on that," a diplomat said.

By ARI JACOBSON

THE JSE, which rose and fell on a roller-coaster ride yesterday as the gold price weakened — is geared for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

The bulls went on an early buying spree to maintain the upward momentum seen throughout the week but turned sellers later in the day as profit-taking ensued.

A dealer said "everyone has started discounting a yes vote in the market and this led some to opt to take profits early to out-do the market".

Another dealer confirmed "the market has accepted a yes-vote as the outcome — if anything else should happen there will be mayhem".

He added that trading on the day had been thin "with local investors glued to their television sets (the World Cup) and foreign investors frightened off by the lower gold

JSE geared for 'yes' vote in referendum

price".

The Overall Index which was 33 index points higher in early morning trade, ended the day seven points lower at 3571.

The Industrial Index copied this trend rising 12 index points before registering a 15 point drop on the day at 4392.

The Gold Index was affected by a weaker gold price which traded up a dollar at \$350 before coming off to close in London at \$348.10 an ounce.

The index rose 17 points but fell on the back of the weaker yellow metal price — it closed one index point lower on the day at 1208.

The see-saw market was accentuated by a fluctuating finrand which started off the morning at about R3.83 to the dollar fell to as low as R3.96 before returning back to the starting point by late afternoon.

A currency dealer said the investment currency was marking time until the referendum. Its acknowledged that the finrand will be the clearest indicator reflecting investor sentiment in the aftermath of the referendum.

London share prices have been falling over the week and this has finally filtered through to the JSE, said the currency dealer.

Among blue chips Barlows lost 75c at R55, mining financial Anglo's ended 75c easier at R122.75 after testing highs of R125.50 and Gencor lost 15c at R11.05 — but De Beers bucked the trend closing 50c higher at R91.25.

Around the market industrial holding giant Malbak fell 20c to R13, in the financial sector Nedcor rose 40c at R18.25, in retailing Pick'n Pay was unchanged at R21 and electronics share Voltex firmed 3c at 128c.

In platinum Impala gained 50c at R44 and Rusplats also moved 50c higher at R73.50.

● Reuter reports that at the ordinary meeting of the JSE general committee held on March 10 it was resolved that the listing of Sub Nigel's ordinary shares of no par value would be transferred from the Mining/Gold — Witwatersrand and Others section to the Mining/Gold — Curtailed Operations section with effect from Monday 16.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 13/3/92

(304A)

much of the business community in a state of semiparalysis. Sacob's latest business confidence index for February showed no movement compared to January. Residential property brokers reported that a number of big international deals were on hold pending the referendum result. There was widespread consensus that a strong "yes" vote would boost property investment prospects in the short term.

In a significant move obviously aimed at assisting the "yes" campaign, Mandela told *Business Day* this week that white civil servants had little to fear from an ANC government. Their jobs and pensions would be safe. Those who may be retired to make way for senior black officials would receive full pensions and other benefits.

And in an attempt to defuse the tension caused by this week's surprising threat by Cosatu of mass action on March 18, and later in the year if certain political demands are not met, Mandela said progress at Co-Desa over the next few months would probably make any proposed Cosatu action unnecessary.

irrelevant concerns by local fruit farmers that exports would be lost if the CP triumphed next week.

One farmer told Snyman that an export order of tinned fruit worth "several million rand" had been postponed and would be cancelled if most whites voted "no."

Snyman reportedly evaded a direct response to the concerns of about 50 farmers in the 180-strong audience. He told them they were in a minority and that most whites backed the CP. In reply to one question he said the CP was not prepared to sell the freedom of the *volk* for a basket of grapes.

Fruit exports from the Cape have increased dramatically in the past two years in the wake of reform. Former markets have been re-established and new ones have opened up in eastern Europe.

According to industry sources the regional

economy will be severely crippled and thousands of workers will lose their jobs if sanctions are reimposed.

Snyman's attitude was typical of CP leaders who are either unable to understand the full economic implications of their proposed policies or are lusting after power to such a degree that they simply don't care.

De Klerk, at a meeting in Welkom, spelled out that the most serious consequence of a "no" vote was not renewed international isolation and sanctions, but black insurrection on an unprecedented scale.

In effect he said that while some whites believed they could knuckle down and live with the economic hardships that sanctions may bring, the violence and civil unrest of a massive black uprising would make life impossible.

Assurances by CP spokesmen that the

party would reinstate apartheid now have little credibility: they are ignored by their supporters who know they are untrue and disbelieved by blacks and the international community.

The CP's proposed "white homeland" is actually SA as it is minus the black homelands, but possibly with slight additions to their geographical areas. Rigid Verwoerdian apartheid will be applied in "white" SA.

A CP government will not negotiate with the ANC. CP MP Schalk Pienaar said at a meeting in Potgietersrus this week that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his "rabble" must be put back in jail.

In Despatch in the eastern Cape, local AWB leader Tony Burger told a rightwing alliance meeting that rightwingers regarded blacks as "the personification of Satan."

The uncertainty of next week's result left

continue →

ALF STADLER

IN MY OPINION

Beyond consensus

FM 13/3/92

Alf Stadler, professor and head of the Department of Political Studies at Wits University, discusses what kind of mandate may be claimed from the referendum.

The yes votes are likely to prevail on March 17 though the result is less certain than it has been for any SA election or referendum. The history of the collapse of centrist governments — as this government has become — is that when their Afrikaner supporters desert them, they desert very quickly and in their former strongholds. This time it is not only Afrikaners who fear what will happen when they lose their privileges.

But, assuming the result will be "yes," the question that should be asked is: what kind of mandate can be claimed for the referendum? If politics were business, the bottom line would be that a "yes" majority would be the signal for Codesa to go ahead. But politics is not business and the process by which assent to major changes is achieved is often as important as the result, casting its effects over future political relations and arrangements.

The result is likely to deliver little more than temporary respite to President F W de Klerk with his party's failing fortunes. It will be said that he got a "yes" victory because the question and the campaign confused both supporters and opponents of negotiations. The referendum campaign fudged the issues it was purportedly intended to clarify. A "yes" vote was meant to signal that a process should continue, not that any particular outcome should be pursued.

Part of the problem lay with the hard-sell strategy pursued by the DP element in the campaign. A voter might not desire negotiations to continue but they seemed less dreadful than a collapsed stock exchange or warships off Cape Point, the prospects held out by DP leader Zach de Beer, demonstrating

an unsuspected talent for hell-fire preaching.

The Right also blurred the options in a perfect illustration of the Downs Theory of Democracy, which says that parties copy one another when competing for the same support. The CP claimed that it was consistent to vote "no" and to support negotiations, though it was coy about whether these would continue within Codesa. The HNP picked up law-and-order issues on the same day as government announced its plans for revamping the police force, leaving the impression that they were in accord except that government could show itself to be more effective.

Only the AWB acted as though it rejected the legitimacy of the whole process, though there was something petulant about it huffing and puffing to blow De Klerk away with abuse.

Nor does the referendum provide a secure vehicle to launch new nonracial politics with the potential to win support beyond the political elites assembled at Kempton Park. For much of the campaign, the ANC remained enigmatic, with an occasional nod and wink for "yes," leaving it to some of its white members to be more explicit. In the end, ANC president Nelson Mandela came out clearly enough for his friends and enemies to say the ANC wanted a "yes" vote. But its hesitancy did not help to clarify the dilemma which many voters felt over the morality of participating in a racially constituted referendum.

It is not the people who assent to Codesa who are the problem. It is those who stand outside it who will pose problems. The referendum is unlikely to remove the doubts of those who stand outside the Codesa consensus. The Nationalist manifesto contains phrases such as "the demand for a simple transfer of power to a black majority is no longer a central issue," and it avers that consensus makes it impossible for "one party

to impose its will on others."

Do these phrases contain the implication that the referendum legitimises a form of government which will perpetuate limitations on democracy and a continuation of a white veto? How will these affect the way that black militants view the process of constitution-making?

An indecisive commitment to an objective so nebulous by such a variety of interests as support the "yes" vote may bode well for the players of *les grandes politiques*, the coalition-builders and consensus-makers that gather daily at Kempton Park. But it does little to strengthen their political bases. Here again, the course of the referendum is likely to affect the way in which politics will be shaped after the referendum.

The danger is that government and its allies, in chasing the middle of the road, will fail to win credibility among the two groups which are likely to create the most problems in the next decade or so: the so-called radicals in the unions and in the grass-roots movements, as well as among rightwing whites.

The "extremists" in such a situation are those who dissent from middle-road positions. They become marginalised because their demands, no matter how reasonable or unreasonable, can be put on the political agenda only through conflict.

The recent history of countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe suggests that the first stage of post-colonial rule is an alliance of the "moderates" in the major parties on the basis of a consensus, and the exclusion of those who do not accept the consensus.

The second stage is the use of political repression by these moderates against dissidents and radicals — usually groups demanding more radical land redistribution, discontented ex-freedom fighters and radical unionists.

304A

THE REFERENDUM

FM 13/3/92

304A

The facade stripped away

The full horror of what a rightwing victory in next week's referendum could mean emerged clearly this week as the campaign peaked ahead of Tuesday's crucial poll. It did so as the intense pressure of the short campaign began to tell. In fact, the veneer, behind which CP moderates have tried to hide the CP-AWB-HNP alliance's unacceptable face, slipped badly.

Though the alliance continued to draw strong support in some areas, "yes" campaigners said there was growing evidence that voters were no longer impressed by its simplistic message. The Right had failed to spell out either the true intentions of a Conservative government — or the social, economic and security implications for SA in general and whites in particular of a return to apartheid.

The NP's Sheila Camerer says the CP is having increasing difficulty in camouflaging its links with the militant AWB and in ex-

plaining contradictions in policy interpretations by various factions in the alliance. She says the "yes" campaigners are successfully exploiting rightwing divisions and will continue to do so until polling day.

"We are confident of a good result — around 60% 'yes' vote. We are finding that 'yes' votes are firm, while many of those who say they will vote 'no' are still wavering. We're concentrating on that group and expect a good response."

A result of 60%-plus for the "yes" campaign would not only be a major personal triumph for President F W de Klerk, but also arguably the best birthday present he will ever receive: he turns 56 on Wednesday, the day the result will be announced.

Heightened confidence in the "yes" camp follows a growing voter awareness of the dangers of CP success. Three developments in particular this week crystallised SA's future under a racist apartheid regime:

□ The AWB hijacked a rightwing solidarity rally in Pretoria and totally disregarded the authority of policemen who tried to maintain order. This showed the extent of militant domination of the Right;

□ Later in the week AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche warned in a TV interview that his organisation was prepared for armed insurrection if necessary; and

□ In an apparent attempt to keep pace with the tone of a campaign that has clearly run away from him, CP leader Andries Treurnicht echoed Terre'Blanche's sentiments at a public meeting in Johannesburg.

The extent of the AWB's militant influence on the rightwing alliance was also demonstrated in Bloemfontein this week when a teargas grenade was thrown at President De Klerk, allegedly by an AWB member, during a visit to Free State University.

At a public meeting at Robertson in the Cape, CP MP Willie Snyman dismissed as

Continue →

READING THE BONES OF THE WHITE VOTE

FM 13/3/92

304A

Don't wait up next Tuesday night for the result of the referendum. Counting in each region will only start at 7 am on Wednesday March 18. Earlier this week, the Department of Home Affairs was reluctant to predict exactly when the final result will be announced.

But when the votes in each region have been counted, the totals will be announced by the regional referendum officers and then forwarded to the chief referendum officer.

This region-by-region announcing means it will be possible to keep a running total until the final result is known. Early swings of voter support will be evident to some extent, using as a rough base the statistics from the 1983 referendum, the 1989 general election and various by-elections. But these figures may be unreliable: so much has changed since February 1990.

There are 15 regions, each containing a cluster of parliamentary constituencies; the regional boundaries are identical to the ones drawn up for the 1983 referendum.

Some of their names, normally associated with cities and magisterial districts, can be highly misleading. The "Pretoria" region, for instance, includes the capital city as well as the entire eastern Transvaal. The whole of Natal falls either under "Maritzburg" (six constituencies) or "Durban" (14 constituencies), while the

entire Free State is divided between "Bloemfontein" and "Kroonstad" (seven each).

The regions also vary greatly in voter numbers. Three regions — Johannesburg, Germiston and Roodepoort — will be decisive. They contain the country's biggest city, the entire Witwatersrand, the Vaal Triangle and the western Transvaal. This adds up to a third of the registered white voters in SA.

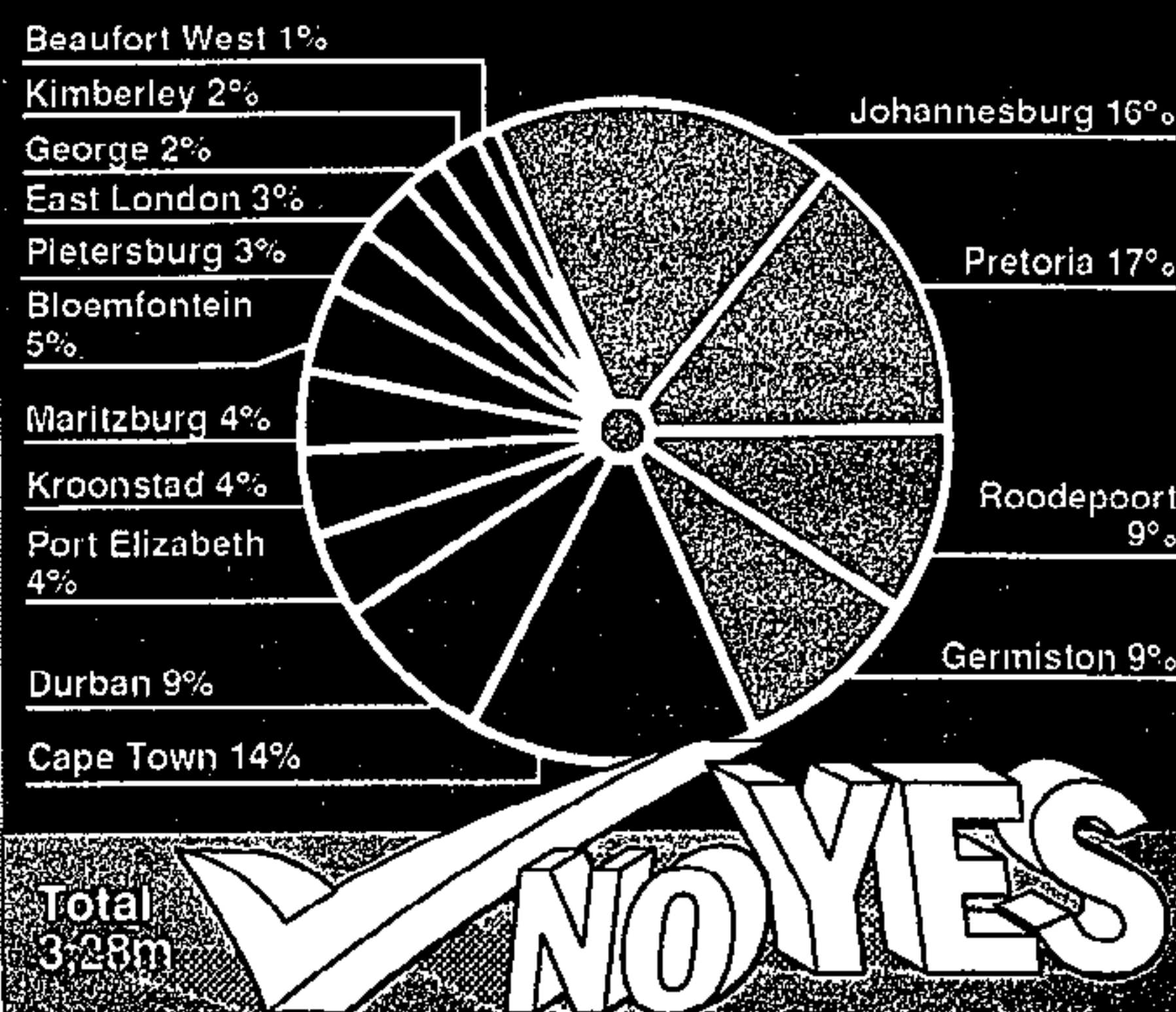
Cape Town and Durban together provide another 22% and Pretoria 17% — which means that these six regions contain nearly 75% of the voters.

If the 1983 results are any guide, the strongest "yes" vote can probably be expected from Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. As the results from each region come in, if any of these three produces a "no" vote, F W de Klerk will know he is in trouble. Conversely, if Pretoria, Roodepoort or Germiston produce a "yes" majority, he will be cheered considerably; the other big three will then probably also deliver a "yes."

The results from the smaller regions may well be

the first to be announced. Of these nine, in 1983 the "yes" vote was strongest in East London, Beaufort West, George, Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth. A "no" vote in any of these would spell trouble for De Klerk in the bigger regions. On the other hand, a "yes" majority in Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Kroonstad and Pietersburg would be very good news for the Nats.

Determining the outcome White voters by referendum region



Low poll likely in heartland

CT 13/3/92
By BARRY STREEK

NATIONALISTS in the Free State and Northern Cape are prepared for a stayaway vote in the referendum but say it is impossible to establish how extensive this will be.

So while Nationalists in the area are fired up about giving President F.W. de Klerk a "yes" vote the possibility of a low poll is real.

However, party organisers in Bloemfontein and Kimberley, the major centres in the region, say they have more volunteers in their offices and canvassers than they had in either the 1989 or 1987 elections.

"They have something to fight for and they are going for it," one of them said.

NP focus on Portuguese

Political Staff

THE National Party was focusing attention on Portuguese-speaking voters in next week's referendum, NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said yesterday.

"Portuguese-speaking South Africans are as important as any other South Africans," he said in response to criticism that the NP was not paying enough attention to the Portuguese-speaking community.

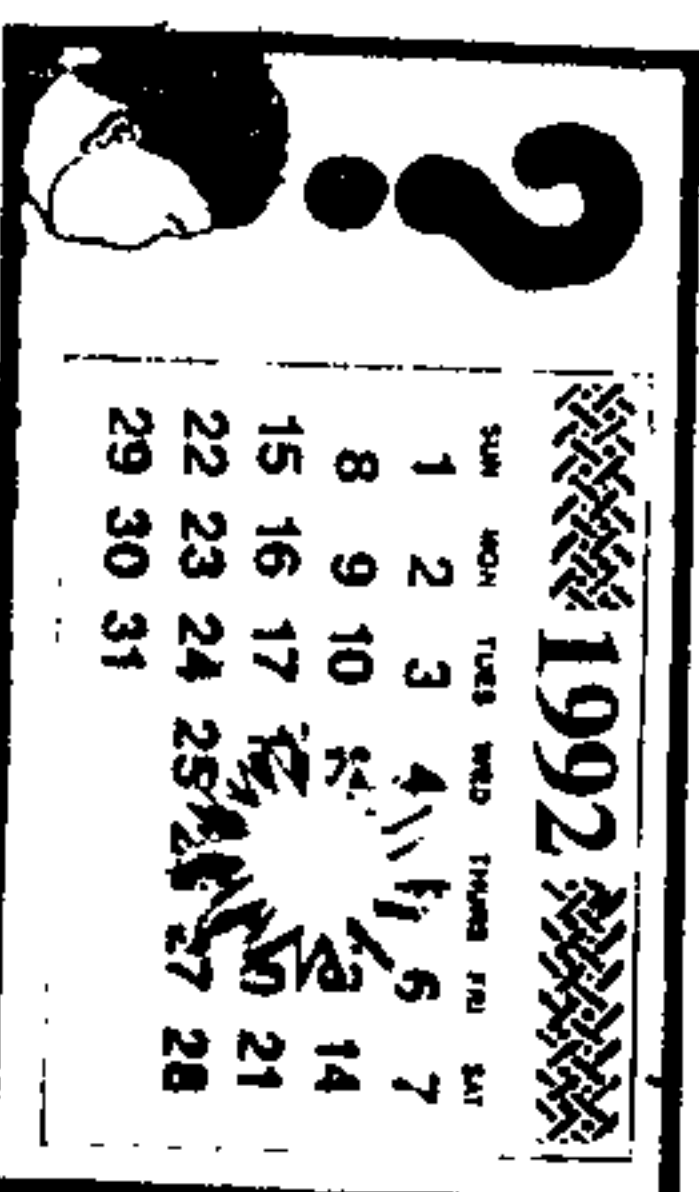
The NP placed full-page advertisements in Portuguese-language newspapers and an interview with President F W de Klerk would be carried this week in the largest of these newspapers.

(News by B Strack, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

CT 13/3/92

3044

CURRENT ISSUES



Racist Referendum Day:

How should the

New Nation Learning
13/3 - 19/3/92

black working class vote?

Introduction

Readers, De Klerk has suddenly called a "whites only" referendum on 17 March 1992. He wants a mandate from the white minority to proceed with negotiations.

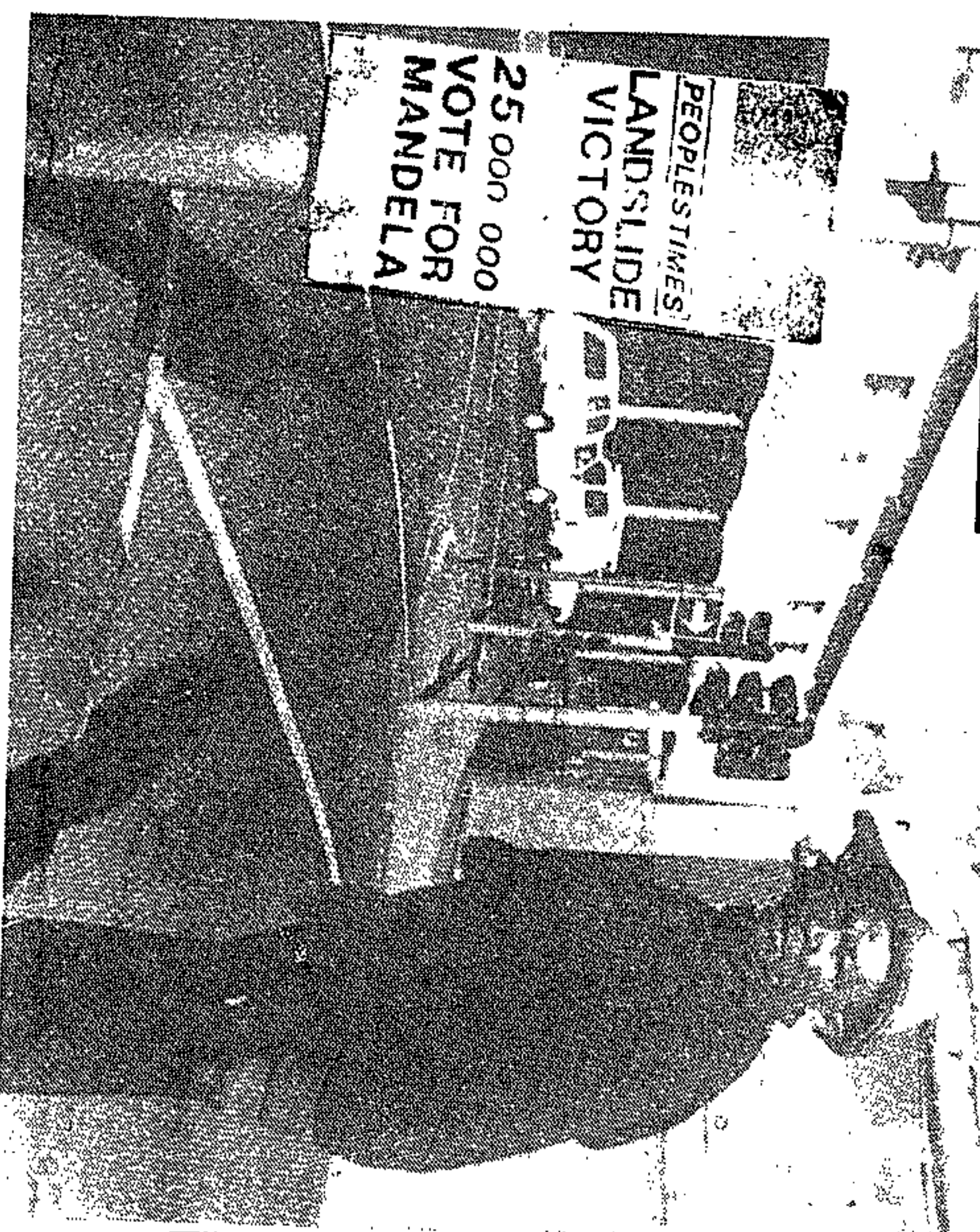
The significance of De Klerk's call for a referendum

Following the outright defeat of the National Party by the Conservative Party in the recent Potchefstroom by-election, De Klerk immediately called a "whites only" referendum. By doing this, De Klerk has yet again clearly proven his double agenda. On the one hand he is a part of the negotiations process which is meant to lead to

health facilities. This allowed the almost exclusively white bourgeoisie to make huge profits.

In response to minority rule, the black majority have established a tradition of resistance to this oppression and exploitation of apartheid-capitalism through mass action both in the workplace and in the community. There is a wealth of experience worldwide to show that popular movements based on mass action can lead to the radical overthrow of oppressive regimes. The events of the Soviet Union and the struggle for democracy in the various African countries are recent examples. The revolutionary situation of 1985 in South Africa taught the ruling class that **old style apartheid-capitalism** will lead to revolution.

We interrupt our second article on the Constituent Assembly for this week to focus on the referendum. We will publish our second part of the Constituent Assembly article next week!



white teachers are to lose their jobs. ANC and the SACP have taken a

democratic majority rule in a unitary South Africa. On the other hand since 2 February 1990, we see De Klerk's regime put obstacles in the path to peaceful negotiations.

Not all exiles can return unconditionally. Political prisoners still sit on death row. There is clear evidence of the SAP and SADF training vigilante squads and playing a role in fomenting the ongoing rightwing violence against the democratic movement. On the economic front, De Klerk's government continues to privatise state owned companies leading to retrenchments and higher prices. By imposing VAT on us, the burden of funding the apartheid state has shifted even more onto the working class. De Klerk does nothing to address the basic day-to-day problems of the masses around housing, health services, education, etc. The R2 billion IDT fund alone cannot even begin to redress the crimes of apartheid. In the run up to the referendum, De Klerk is explicit about what he stands for. He is promises a "maintenance of standards" and a "free market economy". De Klerk is intent on preserving capitalism and white minority rule.

Why De Klerk called a referendum now

Capitalism in South Africa has depended on the minority white middle and working classes who occupy key positions in the regime's civil service, in the SAP and SADF, in the farming industry as well as in the management layer of other industrial sectors in the economy. In return, the white middle and working classes were rewarded with privileged access to political rights, better wages and

other social benefits such as housing, education, sport, recreational and

Through negotiations, De Klerk hopes to co-opt the black masses into becoming willing partners in a new style apartheid-capitalism. De Klerk wants a new regime in which by law, blacks will have the same rights as whites. However through privatising existing state industries, education, health, welfare and other social benefits, only those who earn a living wage will be able to afford decent food, housing and education. As things stand now, it will still be the white minority who will benefit.

To co-opt the black masses, De Klerk will have to restructure the apartheid state for black participation. This cannot be done however, without seriously cutting back on the privileges and even entire layers of whites who now staff the civil service and the armed forces (SAP and SADF) to make way for "black advancement" into the state.

If De Klerk succeeds with his plan, there will be capitalist stability, renewed foreign investment, economic growth and rewards for the white minority and co-opted blacks. But presently, the South African and world capitalist economies are both experiencing a severe recession. The mass democratic movement is firmly against co-option, De Klerk's ongoing privatisation and the imposition of VAT. There is popular support for nationalisation of key sectors of the economy. Foreign investors are waiting to see the outcome of negotiations before investing in the South African economy. Against the worsening economic situation, De Klerk promises white voters a prosperous future but right here and now, he must act viciously against their privileged status. For example, the regime is presently undercutting the privileged status of white education. Some 4000 represented at CODESA including the

Whites must now pay school fees as high as R1500. Other departments of the apartheid civil service are also threatened with cuts.

Faced with a situation in which their present standards of living are dropping and with only promises of a better future, whites could turn their backs on De Klerk and his attempts at reform. The strong support for the Conservative Party (CP) in Potchefstroom is a sign to De Klerk that whites have already started to turn against negotiations. De Klerk knows that whites must still give up more of their privileges before the new style apartheid capitalism can be implemented. The referendum is called now and not later so that De Klerk still stands a good chance of getting a "yes" mandate from the whites. To postpone the referendum, means asking whites to say "yes" to negotiations when their living standards have dropped even further. De Klerk wants to tie whites to a "yes" vote to negotiations and reforms now so that he can go ahead and cut into white social privileges without having to answer to the white electorate through another referendum or election. In this way, the rule of the white capitalist class will be maintained at the expense of the lower middle and working class whites.

How will the black working class vote in the referendum?

De Klerk is not accountable to the black majority of this country. The only way in which the working masses get the attention of the regime and the bosses is by "voting with their feet", that is, take up struggle through mass action. De Klerk blackmails the mass democratic movement by saying that if he loses in the referendum then the black majority will also suffer. The organisations represented at CODESA including the

position of calling on their white membership to vote "yes". The ANC and SACP acknowledge that the referendum is racist. They argue that it is important for De Klerk to win so that the initiative of CODESA continues. Is this the only option open to the mass democratic movement?

By supporting the racist referendum, we give credibility to the De Klerk's regime and power to the white minority to shape the future of the vast majority. In this way the mass democratic movement loses its initiative and unity for the sake of De Klerk.

What about the threat of the rightwing if De Klerk loses?

The mass democratic movement must always be vigilant of the rightwing. At present the rightwing may be divided and not very strong. The referendum will not stop the rightwing mobilising now or in the future. The mass democratic movement cannot put its faith in the De Klerk regime and its SAP and SADF to defend us against the rightwing. Our unity in mass action and our own methods of defence are our only means of countering the rightwing. It is also the only means for the working class to ensure that De Klerk does not get away with his new style apartheid capitalism.

The outcome of the referendum will affect the negotiation process and the fate of all working class people.

What are your views on the referendum and how should the mass democratic movement respond?

Write and tell us your views. Send your letters to Learning Nation, P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000.

THE REFERENDUM FM 13/3/92

Look behind the lies (304A)

The intervention of former State President P W Botha in the referendum campaign is unfortunate and potentially damaging. It must be exposed.

The timing and the terms of Botha's announcement that he would be voting "no" next Tuesday suggest that the Big Crocodile has been biding his time in his retirement lair at the Wilderness, waiting for the moment when his revenge on the National Party and his successor could be exacted with the greatest possible effect. If not, why did he not keep his intentions to himself, just as he has until now refrained from criticising De Klerk's rule? And why did Botha set out his reasons in such careful detail, using emotional words like "suicide"?

The negative force of Botha's announcement does not lie in his intention to vote "no." What is really damaging to De Klerk is that Botha argues that it is possible to vote "no" without supporting the Conservative Party. And Botha is logically quite correct (as the *FM* pointed out in this space last week), even if he is morally wrong.

It is a seductive argument. It no doubt has considerable appeal to thousands of voters who normally would have nothing to do with CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his non-policies — or some of the thuggish characters with whom he has formed an official alliance.

But these are doubtful voters who are, understandably, fearful for the future. They worry about crime, about a declining standard of living and schooling, about job security, about their property and pensions. They feel threatened by the African National Congress and especially by its Communist Party ally. They have a sense of things slipping away, getting out of control.

They are *gatvol* with De Klerk, the Nats, the communists, Chris Hani, Model C schools and suburban hijack murders. And they want to express their resentment by voting "no" next Tuesday.

We confess a certain understanding for their emotional exhaustion; the people who intend to vote "yes" feel it too.

But the great flaw in the *gatvol* reasoning is that none of the things that are upsetting people will go away if De Klerk is ousted from power. On the contrary, everything will get very much worse. And there is a good case for arguing that the major problems facing the country were caused largely by the Nats' incompetence and selfishness since 1948, under P W Botha and his four predecessors.

There is a wistful note in the calls from the Right. Whatever words they use, there is a common emotional pull. Remember the good old days of law and order, of growth and prosperity, of low crime? Remember when the black man knew his place and the Indians and coloureds were docile? Remember when the Nats had a policy to give each *volk* its own territory? Well, says the CP, we will take you back to those days — though we aren't quite sure how we'll do it.

The CP is telling lies. Not only is it impossible to turn the clock back, but that wonderful past is an illusion. Even the Sixties, with high growth and relative stability, now presents itself simply as the period when the lid was clamped on before the kettle began to boil.

For at least 15 years until De Klerk released Nelson Mandela and unbanned the ANC, the government had uneasily been trying to suppress the black revolt that was inevitable without real negotiations. The signs were there in the early Seventies; Soweto finally exploded in 1976 (courtesy of one Andries Treurnicht, the Minister who arrogantly insisted that black children be taught some subjects through the medium of Afrikaans). The townships have never really been peaceful since; only a nonracial government will restore them to normality.

And there was the war in Namibia and Angola. It became so unpopular at home that the government finally felt compelled to instruct its commanders, about to undertake a major battle, to accept no casualties at all. The war was a drain on the country's resources and morale; it threatened to become Vietnam for a country that, unlike the US, did not have the resources to recover. De Klerk's promised reforms made up one of the cards that SA was forced to play in exchange for a deal to get the Cubans out of Angola. As a result, he was able to give independence to Namibia — and bring the troops home.

Botha and his predecessors were tough on communism (as well as several civil freedoms); now there is no need to be tough on communism. It is collapsing of its own accord. Only the jargon remains: whoever takes power in any future government cannot afford to pay more than the briefest lip-service to it.

There remains the accusation that De Klerk is giving everything away to the blacks. This is not true: what he is doing is negotiating to retain as much as possible while his position — that is, the position of the whites — is still strong enough. To be sure, his position is not impregnable and his approach contains risks — but the alternative was to go into siege internationally and civil war internally.

And that is precisely the alternative which is being offered, behind its lies, by the CP. The referendum question must be taken in context; nobody should be gulled into falling for Botha's sophistry.

Everyone should know by now what a majority "no" vote will mean sooner rather than later: sanctions, no sports tours, violence, war, economic ruin, chaos — in short, the Low Road in its most rutted, pot-holed form.

We're all *gatvol* — but that is no excuse to take the cowardly option. P W Botha's voice is a voice of failure, bitterness and personal vengeance. Like the false appeal of the Sirens, it can only lead us to wreck ourselves on some very horrible rocks. ■

Communism not for FW

(304A)
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party allegations that President F W de Klerk is sympathetic to communism are "laughable" — and that's from the horse's mouth.

The South African Communist Party general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, said last night that his party had noted that Mr De Klerk went to "great pains" in the referendum campaign to distance himself from communism.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town).

CT 13/3/92

CP, IFP pact 'baseless' (304/1)

NATAL NP leader Mr George Bartlett said in a statement yesterday there was no basis for speculating on an alliance between the IFP and CP as CP leader Dr Andries Treurnich said the party would reintroduced white group areas, influx control and whites-only education if it came into power, and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was opposed to apartheid.

CT 13/3/92

World will punish you, Dr No told

(3047) CT 13/3/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DR Andries Treurnicht met senior diplomats for 90 minutes in Cape Town yesterday — and was warned that punitive measures would greet any attempt by a Conservative Party government to bring back apartheid.

Afterwards the diplomats indicated that a fresh onslaught of international sanctions was a certainty if a Conservative Party government came to power.

Diplomats yesterday dismissed claims by the CP leader that there was "no chance" of the international community reimposing sanctions and boycotts under a CP government.

Dr Treurnicht said in an open letter published in newspapers yesterday that his opponents were falsely creating such an impression, both in South Africa and in the outside world.

However, several senior diplomats said after a 90-minute briefing from Dr Treurnicht in Cape Town yesterday that the CP's vision for the future remained firmly rooted in racism and apartheid — sure recipes for sanctions.

They emphasised that no assurance had been given to the CP to back up Dr Treurnicht's sanctions-free scenario.

Indeed, they pointed out that United Nations declarations, international law and the standpoints of individual governments would ensure that strict punitive measures would greet any attempt by the CP to impose apartheid in whatever guise.

The CP's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Tom Langley, said Dr Treurnicht was "particularly pleased with developments at the briefing".

However, diplomats said afterwards that they were "stunned" by the experience, saying that it was like "being in a different world to hear views that we thought were long-since buried".

One diplomat said Dr Treurnicht, despite an hour of intensive questioning, "left us in the dark about what the future holds" and said "nothing to convince us that it would not be based on racism".

He said: "He kept on hedging and we came away with the feeling that they themselves did not know how they intended getting to a society which was different from one based on apartheid."

During the briefing, Dr Treurnicht also declined to give an assurance that the ANC would not be banned if the CP took power.

However, Dr Treurnicht told the diplomats that he would not negotiate with the ANC.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town).

"Yes' could split Treurnicht's party'

8/10 Aug 13/13/92 (3047)
THERE was a strong possibility that the CP would split in the event of a "yes" vote in the referendum, NP general secretary Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

The conflict within the CP about whether to take part in the poll demonstrated tensions within the party, and subsequent contradictory statements from CP members about SA's future were further evidence, NP strategists said.

Van der Merwe described the CP's contradictory statements about the ANC as "most frustrating".

TIM COHEN

"On the one hand the CP is now saying they will talk to the ANC, but on the other hand they are trying to hang the ANC around our neck," Van der Merwe said at a media briefing.

He conceded that the NP was asking whites to take a large step in effectively agreeing to circumstances which would most likely result in a black dominated government, but in the current circumstances, this was the only logical direction to take.

Report by J. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

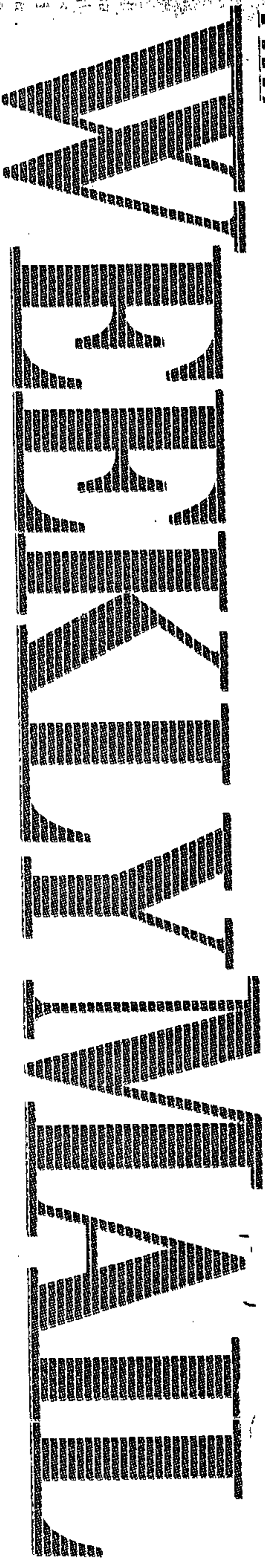


Music lovers! Don't miss Sunday's Weekly Mail-Nedbank Courtyard Concert

Details on PAGE 41

19 MAR 1992 ★

The paper for a changing South Africa



R2,50 (including VAT) ★ Southern Africa: R2,50, excl tax ★ Zimbabwe: Z\$3,50, incl tax

Volume 8, Number 11, March 13 to 19, 1992

Should elephants die so that elephants may live?

In the week of the world conference on ivory, we debate the ethics of hunting
PAGES 24 and 25



Adoption's not child's play for gay couples

For the first time, gay couples have been allowed to adopt children. Follow our fascinating account of love despite prejudices
PAGE 12



83

HERE are 83 reasons this week to vote yes in the referendum. Those reasons are all people. And they are all dead. *W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92* (3044)

In the past seven days, innocent people have been hacked to death on trains, murdered in their beds, fired at while seated in taxis or mourning at funerals. Children have not escaped the slaughter: early on Thursday morning, seven children were burned to death in a Pretoria church. *W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92*

All these deaths are a grim reminder, if one is needed, that the vote on Tuesday will not be an academic exercise. If by some terrible combination of cir-

20/01/11 13131-1913142

5047

circumstances a no vote is returned, we can expect weeks when 83 deaths will seem almost peaceful.

If there is indeed a no vote, it will have been helped along by abstentions — either

from the apathetic, or from the morally high-minded.

We can sympathise with those who find it difficult to cast a cross on the same side as the National Party. It is,

after all, this government which has brought the coun-

try to the brink of ruin, destroying tens of thousands

of lives, wrecking the economy and making South Africa

sink in the nostrils of the world. But the referendum is not about the past.

It is about choosing for tomorrow — between the certainty of a civil war, and the uncertain path

to a democratic society. Opponents of this government are rightly

offended that once again, the fate of the nation is to be decided by a minority, on the strength of

pigmentation alone. This must be the last time. But if it is to be the last time, every vote will

count. This is not a five-year government that voters are choosing. Mistakes made on Tuesday will

never be rectified. *The Weekly Mail* urges all its white readers:

Remember the 83 who died this week. For their sake, for yours, and for the country's, go to the polls on Tuesday — and vote yes.

continue —

Reasons to vote YES

**There's
real cause
to fear a
'No' poll**



**Down on the farm,
it's all no, no, no
PAGE 2**

**The invisible
English right
PAGE 4**



OW do the professionals expect the referendum to go? *The Weekly Mail* asked academics and leading political analysts their views. All qualified their responses: in a situation as fluid and volatile as this, anything can happen.

WIM BOOYSE: A risks analyst who advises foreign clients and multi-nationals on the risks of investment in this country.

Best case: 72 percent yes vote
Worst case: 53,8 to 55 percent yes vote
Most probable: 64 to 66 percent yes vote

HIS calculations are based largely on interviews with people and on the by-elections. He has found an 11 percent incidence of protest votes from National Party voters, who are likely to return to the fold for the referendum. He says the voter sees the referendum as "a matter of survival" and the consequences of a no vote too ghastly to contemplate.

Triumph of the yes-men

13 | 3 | - 19 | 3 | 9 22

His scenario, if there is a 64 to 66 percent yes vote: "There will be a speeding up of the democratisation process." He expects an interim government at the latest by the end of July.

HERMAN GILJOMEE: Head of the Department of Politics, University of Cape Town.

Best case: 62 percent yes vote
Worst case: 55 percent yes vote
Most probable: 57 percent yes vote

GILJOMEE calls his predictions "a guess, a hunch, no more and no less than that". He says voters are probably not willing to accept "the very negative consequences of a no vote". The reaction to a President F.W. de Klerk victory will be temporary euphoria and of help to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa proceedings, but will not speed them up.

DIRK LAURIE: Head of the Department of

Some of the country's leading thinkers forecast a thumbs-up for the yes campaign

Mathematics, University of Potchefstroom.

Best case: Doesn't want to speculate
Worst case: Doesn't want to speculate
Most probable: 54 percent yes vote

LAURIE says he is a not a political analyst and does not make predictions on any basis except that provided by a scientific calculation. "There are a lot of people trying to predict the outcome of the referendum, but I don't," he says. "I base my prediction (a 54 percent yes vote) on calculations which are based on the last five by-elections."

STEVEN FRIEDMAN: Director, Centre for

Policy Studies.

Best case: 63 percent yes vote
Worst case: 49,5 to 50,5 percent yes vote
Most probable: 54 percent yes vote

FRIEDMAN'S calculations are based on the last three by-elections. He says a narrow majority of yes votes may cause the National Party to take a tougher stand at Codesa. Defeat for the Conservative Party — however narrow — would mean the death of the party, with those in favour of elections breaking away to join the Codesa talks and the others going off into the wilderness. A yes vote will mean the next election is non-racial and the conservative strength very small — perhaps six percent.

ALLISTER SPARKS: Former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* and head of the Institute for advanced journalism at Wits University.

Best case: 58 to 60 percent yes vote

WILL white South Africans opt for a negotiated peace on Tuesday — and will they do so in convincing enough fashion to ensure the success of negotiation, renewed confidence and the chance of economic recovery?

The result will need to be decisive, turning the country away from conflict and starting the long haul back to peace and prosperity.

A 50-50 split in the white electorate would be almost as bad as an outright 'no' victory, suggesting to the world that the divisions in our society are deep and irreconcilable.

A really convincing 'yes' in favour of a negotiated settlement, on the other hand, would transform this country's prospects, dispelling the gloom induced by endemic violence and crime and all the other distressing symptoms of economic stagnation.

An overwhelming victory for Mr De Klerk would put the country firmly on the road to stability, which would in turn stimulate the return of foreign investment. There would still be a way to go before the benefits became tangible to ordinary South Africans. But a strong 'yes' vote is an essential beginning.

Irrationality

When the referendum was announced no one doubted that Mr De Klerk would be given a resounding mandate. No one in their right mind would want to vote otherwise, it seemed. Yet rationality is often at a premium in politics. And there is a disquieting measure of irrationality in the air. So much so that there is now some doubt about the margin of victory and, some say, even a chance of defeat.

The party machines have hardly had time to get into top gear for March 17 and organization is all. As an NP prime minister, the late John Vorster, said to me in the 1960s after yet another thumping Nationalist victory, winning elections is three-quarters organisation and one-quarter slogans, issues and the rest.

The DP organisation will need to pull out all the stops to achieve the highest possible percentage poll. There is a measure of confusion and apathy among conservative English-speaking citizens of the economic class which lives in places such as Constantia and Bishopscourt. It is

English vote likely to tip the balance

CT 13/3/92

(3047)



**Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW**

going to take an effective DP organisation to convince these privileged doubters and to get them to the polls.

Some of these voters seem half-inclined to believe the scare stories about Mr De Klerk ushering in a communist-dominated regime in Tuynhuys. As if big business would be backing Mr De Klerk if the abolition of private property was on the cards! Voters in the well-heeled category, if they wish to preserve their assets, would do well to discuss the question of the referendum with their investment advisers.

And those of the older generation who were in the fight against nazism in World War II might ask themselves whether they really want to bring to power an alliance which includes another gang of brown-shirt fanatics.

If revulsion against these racist thugs and an appeal to common decency cannot sway such voters, we may hope that they will yet hesitate to risk their hard-earned assets by voting 'no' in thoughtless fashion or by staying away from the polls.

Another cause for concern is the half-hearted manner in which the once-formidable NP election machine is functioning at grass roots. The trouble seems to be that the NP in the constituencies is poorly motivated and is itself rather confused, perhaps understandably.

For decades NP campaigns were underpinned by a simple faith of Afrikaner Nationalism, anti-communism and an illusion of security under apartheid.

Now, suddenly, there is a new world in which such illusions are exploded and old enemies are prospective partners in a coalition government. These rapid reversals need to be explained in all honesty to an electorate which has been reared for decades in a political culture of apartheid escapism.

If voters are seeking to blame someone for squatters, soaring crime rates and falling living standards let them place the blame where it belongs — on the apartheid social engineering of successive Nationalist governments. These things do not stem from the De Klerk reform.

Let voters accept the reality that apartheid, like communism, has been a wholesale economic disaster. And the anti-communism of the 1950s is irrelevant in a world in which communism is wholly discredited as a catastrophic economic failure, and is recognised as such throughout Eastern Europe and in Moscow itself.

All this has happened too quickly for the average NP supporter to absorb. So the chances of a convincing De Klerk victory depend on every possible 'yes' voter in the English-speaking, DP-supporting community getting to the polls on Tuesday.

For once the English do not have to wring their hands on the sidelines. This time every vote counts. With Afrikanerdom split, English-speaking South Africa can tip the balance, voting to entrench decent values and fair play for all.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Many vote overseas

SA EMBASSIES in London and The Hague had recorded 2 000 and 232 votes respectively by Wednesday, an embassy spokesman said. South Africans travelling abroad were allowed to cast their special votes on Wednesday.

Sponsors say 'yes'

THE SA Sports Sponsors Association yesterday called for a "yes" vote in the referendum, saying a landslide positive vote was needed to strengthen President F W de Klerk's hand in negotiations.

Portuguese wooed

THE NP was focusing specific attention on Portuguese-speaking voters in next week's referendum, NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said. The NP had placed full-page adverts in Portuguese newspapers and an interview with President F W de Klerk was being carried in the largest of these this week.

810am 13/3/92

Civil war warning

WHATEVER the outcome of the whites-only referendum, SA was facing the real danger of a many-sided civil war, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action warned yesterday.

National chairman Neville Alexander postulated either a Lebanon scenario or a military government after March 17.

Left out in the cold

ENVIRONMENTAL Affairs Department weather teams in Antarctica, and on Gough and Marion islands, would be unable to vote in Tuesday's referendum, the Home Affairs Department said yesterday.

REPORTS: Sapa, Political Staff.

Envoys shocked by CP racism

B/Day 13/3/92

304A

SENIOR foreign diplomats said they were "shocked and devastated" by the CP's "immobile and racist outlook" after the party held its first briefing for the diplomatic corps in Cape Town yesterday.

One European ambassador who attended the briefing said he was "depressed and upset" by the way CP leader Andries Treurnicht, who chaired the briefing, did not even attempt to disguise his regressive ideas.

Another senior diplomat said: "We expected them at least to put on a show, to try and elegantly disguise their stubbornness and inflexibility."

"But their way of dealing with diplomats is horrible: they have these weird ideas and they are entrenched deep inside them: they can't change."

Diplomatic sources yesterday also rebutted claims by Treurnicht that there was "no chance" of the international community reimposing sanc-

tions and boycotts if there was a "no" vote.

Treurnicht said yesterday morning that the CP had the best chance of ensuring "peace, stability and socio-economic development", better than that of the NP or its negotiating partners.

A spokesman for the US embassy said that if a CP victory in an election led to a retreat from Codesa negotiations, it would be a "devastating step backwards towards international isolation and domestic discord in SA".

Diplomats will not go on the record to predict what would happen if the CP won an election because, they say, the question is hypothetical.

But European diplomats said privately yesterday that any attempt to derail Codesa or reimpose a repackaged apartheid system would elicit a "highly negative reaction".

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



Foreign Minister Pik Botha's wife, Helena, was one of 70 South Africans to cast their votes in Taipei yesterday. Mrs Botha, who is partially paralysed after a fall in April last year, arrived at the SA embassy in Taipei in a wheelchair. She is in Taiwan for acupuncture treatment.

Picture: AP

Chief raps Treurnicht, backs 'yes' vote

Buthelezi deals CP deadly blow

STAR 14/3/92

(304A)

SHAUN JOHNSON
and
ESTHER WAUGH

THE Conservative Party's referendum hopes have been dealt a severe blow by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's clear rejection of the party's policy and his reiteration of support for a "yes" vote.

The CP moved yesterday to limit the damage done by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader's decision to release a confidential memorandum of his discussions with CP leaders in Ulundi last weekend.

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

Pact

Reinforcing his move away from the right wing, Buthelezi yesterday also sharply slapped down senior IFP central committee member Musa Myeni for reaching an extraordinary "non-aggression" pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact was signed yesterday in Johannesburg between Myeni and AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate told Saturday Star after speaking to

● TO PAGE 2.

Buthelezi

STAR 14/3/92

● FROM PAGE 1.

Buthelezi that the IFP did not support the pact and Myeni had acted "out of mandate".

The CP has been using alleged sympathy from Buthelezi as a major selling-point in its referendum campaign — holding him up as a powerful black leader who might negotiate with the Right rather than with F W de Klerk.

But the document shows Buthelezi told the top-level CP delegation he believed that:

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

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

- A confederation of racially divided states inside South Africa was "unthinkable".

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

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

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday this revealed "the thorough dishonesty of the suggestions made by the CP in its referendum propaganda".

However, he rejected the CP's interpretation — contained in a letter from Treurnicht on January 14 — of recent IFP actions, especially its refusal to sign the Codesa declaration of intent.

"I do not believe we have got anywhere near passing a point of no return beyond which there will be the need to take drastic steps such as the exclusion of KwaZulu/Natal from South Africa," he said.

"We must, I suggest, stop looking at cultural and ethnic groups as only being able to achieve self-determination on the basis of a racially partitioned South Africa."

In a statement yesterday, Treurnicht said: "These views (those of Buthelezi) are completely compatible with the policy of the CP."

"Although it is the view of the CP that nations can exist best as ethnic units — the right we demand for our own people — we do not prescribe this rigidly for

other nations.

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

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

CP chief spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said Treurnicht's statement was not a policy shift, but it could be interpreted as a "shift in emphasis".

De Beer told Saturday Star he was "very pleased" that Buthelezi had chosen to release the contents of his memorandum. "It confirms everything that I have wanted to believe."

"I personally have never been in doubt of his advocacy of a 'yes' vote — nor of his rejection of the principle of racial partition in South Africa."

"White voters should take note of Chief Minister Buthelezi's wish for their 'yes' vote."

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

ad from

Photograph: M. KUMALO

What the
party men
won't
tell you

FOR the past two weeks South Africa has been bombarded by information, misinformation, propaganda and straight lies by organisations trying to influence next week's referendum.

To help try to resolve some of the confusion that resulted, the Saturday Star has attempted to define some of the main questions upon most in people's minds and Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN has tried to answer them.

● See Page 6



a Simeon "Gonondo" Mkhabele at Phola Park yesterday.

TH
TASTE

Churches join protests over VAT and poverty

ARC 11/3/92

304R

JEAN LE MAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

LEADING churchmen in the Western Province have launched a campaign to get rid of VAT on basic food and health-care, including medicines.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela will be the keynote speaker at a church service in Cape Town next Friday which will wind up the week-long campaign.

"VAT may be a better system of taxation than GST, but as applied in South Africa it adds to the already heavy economic burden of the poor," said the newly founded Churches Committee on VAT yesterday.

"Instead of being graded to make the poor pay less and

the rich more, it shifts part of the burden of taxation away from the bosses onto the shoulders of the working class."

The campaign, which was planned to coincide with next week's budget, hopes to highlight the position of poorly-paid workers in the Peninsula who are forced to spend more than 70 percent of their monthly income on food.

Weekend Argus, in an attempt to identify the burden, established with the help of the Labour Research Centre that the average minimum weekly wage of nine categories of workers in the Peninsula was a mere R149.

From another source it found that a 24-item weekly "shopping basket" to cater for a family of four would cost at

least R99 excluding meat, vegetables and transport.

A CPA health worker who asked not to be identified told Weekend Argus that the effect of rising food prices was becoming more evident every day, with children and adults displaying signs of clinical malnutrition.

The ANC's Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak said in a statement that "before the introduction of VAT last year the ANC warned that the introduction of another form of indirect taxation without adequate measures to counter poverty would be both irresponsible and unjust."

Church leaders yesterday launched the campaign, which is supported by the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Meth-

odist, Lutheran, Moravian and Dutch Reformed Mission Churches.

It will include participation in the planned Cosatu march on Parliament on budget day and pickets at the cathedral and in St George's Mall.

The Western Province Council of Churches said that the government, by imposing VAT unilaterally, was acting "in bad faith, intent on political deceit and trickery."

In a "Declaration on the Injustice of VAT" the WPCC said that taxation without representation was a denial of a basic principle of democracy.

"The imposition of VAT on all foods and on health care are examples of uncaring and oppressive taxation."



□ **REFERENDUM FEVER:** The posters show the mood as President De Klerk visits the University of Pretoria yesterday during his whirlwind Transvaal campaign.

A sniff of teargas, a peck on the cheek and a big 'Yes, sir'

PETER FABRICIUS

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk got a whiff of teargas, a kiss from a beauty queen and warm endorsement for the Yes vote from South Africa's top sportsmen and artists when his razzmatazz referendum road show reached Pretoria yesterday.

A small crowd of rightwing students brandishing No posters scuffled with a bigger crowd of Yes voters as Mr De Klerk arrived at the University of Pretoria to address students.

At one point, Mr De Klerk was hit lightly on the head by a No placard, but was not injured.

Some teargas was released, apparently from an aerosol can, and some National Party officials were affected.

Mr De Klerk was nearby, but showed no signs of adverse affects. He branded the demonstration as the "unfortunate ugly face of radicalism" when he addressed about 500 pro-Nat students who gave him a standing ovation.

He talked to them in the Musain building where the carpet was earlier burnt by arsonists, apparently in protest against his speaking there.

This was the second hot reception by students. Earlier this week, rightwing Free State students detonated a teargas canister while Mr De Klerk was addressing them and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee was hurt in the ensuing stampede of students out of the cafeteria.

Mr De Klerk's main message in several meetings yesterday was that a No vote would break the promise which whites had given in general elections in 1987 and 1989 that blacks would be given full political expression in a unitary state.

It would send a message to 26 million black South Africans that they were not wanted in SA — and should go back to the homelands where there were no jobs and no viable existence.

The message to them would be that all of them should get out except those who were needed to keep the economy going — and those could stay

only as second-class citizens, with no houses they could own, no trade-union rights and no full citizenship.

"If you tell them that, do you think those 26 million people will say: 'Ja, baas' he asked a solitary rightwing heckler at Pretoria University.

Mr De Klerk said the rightwing was making a campaign issue of the level of political violence.

He agreed it was tragic, but said the government was doing something about it through the peace accord and other agreements.

The violence had now changed and was no longer directed against the State.

"Now, you can go into supermarkets or drink a milkshake in a milkbar without fear of bombs."

Later, at a reception at Loftus Versveld rugby stadium, Mr De Klerk was given a warm welcome by top sportsmen and sports administrators.

Comrades marathon star Bruce Fordyce told him that, after all that sportsmen had suffered because of isolation, he couldn't imagine any sportsmen would contemplate the "horrific" prospect of voting No.

Anyone watching the SA cricket team in the World Cup who voted No would be displaying the "height of hypocrisy."

Other sportsmen present were Graeme Pollock, Brian Mitchell, Ali Bacher and Ernie Els, while messages of support for the Yes vote were read out from Gary Player, Sol Kerzner and Gary Bailey.

Mr De Klerk told them a Yes vote also would be a vote for creative thinking.

A country which had no spiritual depth and respect for the arts was a poor country.

In typical US presidential campaign style, Mr De Klerk arrived by boat across a lake to walk among shoppers in Verwoerdburgstad.

He was greeted by beauty queen Odette Scrooby and SA's strongest man, Wayne Price, while singer Sarina Briedenhan sang him a song of support.

(Report by Peter Fabricius, 42 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Afrikaners 'won't accept domination'

(304A) ARG 14/3/92

PORT ELIZABETH. — The National Party government was making a big mistake if it believed the Afrikaners would accept domination by any other group, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Addressing students and academics at the University of Port Elizabeth, he said he was not a racist but was opposed to domination of one group over another.



Dr Andries Treurnicht

Fielding a few "boo's" from South African Student Congress (Sasco) members, he told about 300 students the NP was "negotiating itself out of power" and that this was unacceptable.

The Nationalists could not be trusted, Dr Treurnicht said, because they had been talking to the ANC at least three years before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

He said the claim that blacks occupied only 13 percent of the country's land was laughable.

"When we talk about land we have to take into account the land occupied by the independent homelands. This makes the ratio 50:50," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the government had agreed to keeping the homelands, but now "wanted whites to give up their land". — Ecna.

Zac warns against a voter stayaway

Weekend Argus Political Staff

(3047)



PRETORIA. — Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer has urged his party's supporters to turn out for Tuesday's referendum and vote Yes despite concern at the way their National Party allies have run the campaign.

"A Yes vote is the most important thing you will ever do for South Africa."

□ Zac de Beer

No DP member should fail to vote short of extremely serious illness, he said, assuring supporters that it would not be a vote for the National Party but one with it.

Dr De Beer was addressing concern about voter complacency and resentment in Pretoria at the way their allies in the Yes campaign had conducted their drive.

"I am told there are DP supporters who have taken offence at the highly personalised campaign being fought by the NP, and are consequently threatening to abstain on Tuesday."

"With all the authority I have, I say that they should not contemplate abstention for one second." He said the DP was campaigning and voting for a Yes majority, not for President De Klerk or anyone else.

ARG 14/3/92

Codesa proposal: 'Transitional executive structure' for SA

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa could be forgiven for being confused about what is happening at the negotiating forum, Codesa, on the crucial question of interim government.

Last week's apparently contradictory statements about a new multiparty interim cabinet did not help, suggesting the negotiators were back to square one.

Not so. There has been much convergence between the ANC and the NP since Codesa began less than three months ago. Nor is it true — as the CP is shrieking in the referendum campaign — that the NP has done all the back-peddalling.

The NP has won important concessions from the ANC, most notably in securing its basic demand for constitutional continuity during the transition.

At first the ANC's said the present constitution — including the present parliament and cabinet — should simply be suspended in favour of an interim government consisting of at least the ANC, the NP and other significant players.

The supreme authority in the country, concentrating on supervising elections for a constituent assembly, would draft a new constitution.

New democratic elections would be held on this new constitution, a new government would be formed and the interim government would hand over power to it.

The government was totally opposed to this sequence of events, arguing that the suspension of the constitution would create a dangerous "constitutional vacuum." It said instead, that the present

government should remain in power until a new and final constitution had been negotiated.

However, the government dramatically shifted its position at the the first Codesa meeting on December 20 last year when President F W De Klerk accepted the idea of a new "transitional" government brought about constitutionally and legitimised through elections.

The present government and parliament would remain in power until the interim government was put in place.

In one stroke President De Klerk thus effectively met the essence of the demand by the ANC and others for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

During February the ANC responded to this important policy shift by publishing a new two-phase plan for the transition which incorporated important elements of the NP plan.

The ANC accepted that in a second phase, the constituent assembly could also function as an interim legislature which would form an interim executive.

To ensure free and fair elections the ANC proposed that there should be a first phase of transition supervised by an impartial, multi-party interim government council appointed by Codesa.

Last week the government's negotiators in Codesa's working group three responded in turn to this proposal by accepting that the interim or transitional period should start with an executive body — now termed a "transitional executive structure" — appointed by Codesa rather than elected. At that point referendum politics intruded.

It is a few weeks hence. You and the rest of your family settle anxiously in front of your TV set for the 8pm news.

The news reader begins: "Good evening, here is the news, read by ...

"South African State President Andries Treurnicht today declared a national state of emergency and curfew as the death toll in riots and clashes around the country rose to more than 1 000.

"Minister of Law and Order Mr Moolman Mentz said white males under the age of 60 who failed to report for military service within the next 24 hours would be court-martialled.

"In a statement read on South African television, President Treurnicht appealed for 'calm and courage'. He expressed condolences to the families of the many white soldiers and policemen who have died in the fighting.

"Major metropolitan centres, including Johannesburg, are still paralysed by a hundred percent stayaway of black workers. All businesses are closed, and most whites have barricaded themselves in their homes in the suburbs.

"Police and SADF soldiers are fighting pitched battles on the outskirts of the cities with small groups of black protesters, some armed with AK47 assault rifles and RPG rocket launchers.

"There were reports of continuing desertions from the security forces because of the 'shoot to kill' orders. At least three Nyala riot-control vehicles were abandoned on the Soweto highway.

"Trading on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange was suspended 'until further notice', and the building evacuated and sealed last night.

"Foreign banks and financial institutions announced the immediate cutting off of credit lines, and South African assets have been frozen in several countries.

"All border exit points in South Africa have been closed and there are reports of chaotic scenes at Jan Smuts airport, with thousands of people attempting to board flights out of the country.

"All air traffic has been halted.

"Foreign governments are meeting in crisis sessions to discuss the possibility of evacuating their nationals from South Africa. The United Nations security council is expected to announce its unanimous decision to impose 'mandatory sanctions ... including the



If

Political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON** takes a peek into what the future under president Andries Treurnicht and a rightwing Cabinet might hold.

FUTILE FUTURE: The outcome of the referendum could unmask a harsh new era in South Africa. Some say it's in black and white.

Treurnicht wins

option of military steps" in New York later today.

"The whereabouts of former President F W de Klerk and his Cabinet is still unknown.

"An undisclosed number of politicians are under house arrest, while ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in hiding, earlier urged "all patriots" to realise that there was no choice but to "resist the illegitimate regime with their lives".

"President Treurnicht was unable to get to his office in the Union Buildings this morning, as overnight

explosions had destroyed major access roads. He read his statement from Defence Headquarters in Potgieter Street.

"Yesterday Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected President Treurnicht's offer of a seat in a "temporary government of national unity". Other "homeland" leaders have also turned President Treurnicht's plea for urgent discussions.

"Unconfirmed reports said the "Ystergarde" (Iron Guards) — the paramilitary

wing of one of the Government coalition partners, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — were going on "black-killing sprees" in the Transvaal.

"In terms of the emergency regulations announced by President Treurnicht, communications with the outside world will be severed at midday today, for an unspecified period."

"Dr Treurnicht's rightwing coalition government precipitated the crisis with its announcement yesterday that negotiations at the Con-

vention for a Democratic South Africa were to be cancelled with immediate effect.

"This followed incidents of racial violence in the wake of the shock No result in the referendum last month, and the violence-marred white election which followed it.

"Fanciful? Fantasy? Fallacy? Perhaps. But do you fancy taking that chance on Tuesday?

A frightening number of whites seem to have very short memories. The matter

is quite simple. Just two years ago our country was staring total ruin, both moral and physical, right in the face. Miraculously, brave politicians have sought mutual salvation, however traumatic and imperfect that process has been and will be.

"Whites can undo this work, and then proceed to learn their lesson all over again. It will be much quicker and more painful this time around.

Or they can vote Yes, as if their lives depended on it.

24

304

NRG 14/3/92

Political parties to scrutinise count

304A

ARG 14/3/92

POLITICAL parties will be monitoring the balloting and scrutinising the countrywide vote-counts in a bid to ensure fair play and to minimise any accusations of shenanigans.

"The whole counting process will be done in the presence of the agents of political parties," said Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw.

Their inclusion in the checking process will seek to dispel fears expressed by some political figures, particularly those promoting a No, of efforts by opponents to cheat.

When the polls close at 9pm on Tuesday, the presiding officer at each station will seal the ballot boxes and deliver them to the polling officer.

He, in turn, will examine the wax seals and, watched by the agents of political parties — one for the Yes camp and one for No's, will open the boxes to verify the number of ballots against certified ballot reports.

However, counting of the actual Yes's and No's will not have started. The polling officer will reseal the boxes. The agents can seal them as well, if

they wish, with their own seals.

The boxes are then taken to 15 central counting points, one for each region. Political agents can, if they want to, accompany them on the trip.

The boxes will be locked away and re-opened after an examination of the seals when the nationwide count starts at 7am on Wednesday.

The chief referendum officer, Home Affairs director-general Mr Piet Colyn, will announce the results as they are transmitted to Cape Town that morning.

Arrangements are being made for him to do so, region by region, on the steps of the Senate building in Parliament.

Officials say the timing of his announcements, which will probably be televised live, will depend on delays that may be caused by objections in the 15 counting operations.

They expect the first result might emerge as early as 10am, and the last one — and therefore the overall result — by lunchtime on Wednesday.
(Report by A Dunn and R Brand, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Yes vote 'only way to go' for SA

Weekend Argus Reporter

SEVERAL organisations, including the South African Teachers' Association (SATA) and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), support a Yes vote.

SATA president Dr Malcolm Venter said yesterday his organisation believed any interruption in the reform process would seriously delay the negotiated development of the equitable non-racial education system needed in South Africa.

The Institute of Marketing Management (IMM), with a membership of 10 000, also supports a Yes vote.

"Traditionally, as an association of professionals, we have stood outside the political arena," executive director Mr James McLuckie said.

"However, when it comes to factors that influence the interests of our members we believe it important to address them." ARG 14/3/92

And SBDC MD Mr Ben Vosloo said small business needed a Yes vote. (304A)

"We simply cannot afford to move backwards by reintroducing past policies and strategies that turned the whole world against South Africa," he said.

March 17 is also St Patrick's Day

GRAHAM LIZAMORE

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE choice of March 17 to hold the referendum was not an arbitrary one taken by President De Klerk's Cabinet. (304A) ARG 14/3/92

Anyone with more than a little knowledge of history and psychology will know why this day was chosen to decide South Africa's future.

To understand the significance of the choice of March 17 one has to look to Ireland and that country's most festive celebration: St Patrick's Day.

Although March 17 might be seen by South Africans to be just any old day, some members of the Cabinet might have been aware that it was on this day that the greatest of all Irish saints, St Patrick, ordered all serpents out of Ireland.

St Patrick, otherwise known as Magonus Succetus Patricius, was born in the fifth century in England, probably in Wales. At 16 he was captured by Irish raiders and spent six years as a slave in Ireland in County Antrim.

He escaped and some time after that dreamt of converting the pagan Irish to Christianity.

Somehow legend becomes fact in Ireland and the question of the total absence of snakes in Ireland became firmly linked to the "apostle of Ireland" and March 17 was decreed the day he ordered all serpents out of his adopted country.

For centuries since then all Irishmen the world over have celebrated this day by wearing green, drinking beer (often coloured green) and singing.

This was not lost on Mr De Klerk, whose links with Catholicism extend only to a brief meeting with the Pope, which presumably did not affect his status as a devout Dopper.

But to a nimble-minded politician like FW the idea of using St Patrick's Day to usher in a New South Africa made sense. After all, he more than most, knows that the South African psyche is riddled with serpents.

There can be little doubt that the canny president also realised how many Irishmen and Irish Afrikaners there are in South Africa.

By choosing March 17 he knew it would be a day when anybody with even a hint of Irish blood could never say No to anything. In fact it will be the one day that all Irishmen will be determined to say Yes!

No way!



ARG 14/3/92
304A

FW warns opponents

ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk tore into leaders of the No campaign last night, warning that South Africa now faced the dangerous phenomenon of rightwing terrorism.

He demanded that leaders of the Conservative Party, Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Herstigte Nasionale Party kept their supporters in line and saw that they remained within the law.

Speaking at Pretoria Onderwyskollege in Groenkloof, he lambasted rightwing elements for two blasts yesterday at National Party offices in Cullinan and Nylstroom and efforts to disrupt his visit to the University of Pretoria campus.

"They acted like ill-mannered, uncouth people who don't deserve the vote," he said of the rightist students, noting that 20 million people had craved the vote for hundreds of years in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk told foreign newsmen that the demonstrators they had seen at Tuks did not reflect the true character, face or soul of the South African and, particularly, the Afrikaner.

"You saw the radical fringe in action," he said, a small, vociferous minority of which even No voters were ashamed.

He noted that friends of the rightwing alliance (a man saying he was a member of the Wit Wolwe) had claimed responsibility.

The government would act firmly against terrorism as it had done in the past, he said. "We will not be intimidated and allow the vast majority of South Africans to be intimidated in exercising their democratic rights."

The CP had been reasonably silent about these incidents, except the teargas incident at the University of the Free State. However, their allies' supporters had tossed that canister, he said.

On the prickly subject of job and pension security in the public service, police, defence force and teaching profession, he said these rights should be effectively secured in a future constitution, in a Bill of Rights and other laws.

Officials should know they could not be victimised. There should be effective protection and

guarantees, he said, and they should have such autonomy that they would not become pawns of political parties. His government would ensure they would not be misused as political pawns.

Merit would have to be the basis for promotion in the public service. Promotion would have to be free of discrimination against skin colour.

But, guarantees were not enough — they would have to be enforceable. They would have to be secured so that they could not be changed within months, said Mr De Klerk.

Turning to the African National Congress, he reiterated that it would have to drop its armed struggle entirely and become an ordinary political party before it could become a "contractual partner" with the government.

Mr De Klerk said a No vote would be a rebuttal of black South Africans, telling them to go away because white people were breaking their word. "We want to deprive you of your South African citizenship," would be the No message.

It would tell them to go to far corners and find havens there, where no work and no home awaited them. "But, please, stay some of you, because we need you for the economy", it would say.

A No vote would tell those that stayed that they could be only second-class citizens without votes, discriminated against, subject to job reservation and salary differentiation.

"Do you think those 26 million people are going to say 'Yes, baas'?" he asked to cheers.

Mr De Klerk questioned the integrity of those campaigning for No. He said they were lying by:

- Accusing the government of wanting a blank cheque through the referendum;

- Saying the government was in league with communists; and

- Charging that the government was continuously succumbing to ANC pressure.

The government had had remarkable success in attaining its goals through negotiation, he said. "We are at nobody's beck and call. We have the will, the authority and the capacity to prevent that which you fear," said Mr De Klerk.

(Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

azi allies'

STAR

14/3/92

304A



y amid supporters and chanting right-wing students who sprayed
de Klerk — fortunately he was not injured.

It had succeeded in bringing about a multiparty forum for negotiations against initial objections, had won agreement that Codesa decisions should be by consensus, that Parliament should remain the only legislature, and had also won agreement on the principle of federalism.

The NP was also succeeding with its insistence on a free-market economy, and the ANC was already "miles away" from its original Marxist-Leninism. But the ANC would have to give up the "armed struggle" totally before the Government entered into any agreements on interim government.

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

FW slates CP's 'N

STAR 14/3/92 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Government would act firmly against right-wing terrorism, President FW de Klerk warned in Pretoria last night after a spate of sabotage, violence and rowdiness surrounding his visit to the city to campaign for a "yes" vote in the referendum.

Despite the incidents his visit went well and De Klerk had several successful meetings, receiving enthusiastic endorsement from about 100 sportsmen, 100 artists and nearly 1 000 students in two separate meetings.

But last night fist-fights broke out between right-wing and National Party groups at the Pretoria Teachers' Training College after De Klerk's speech to about 400 students and lecturers. Several right-wing students were thrown out after loud heckling. They let off stinkbombs as they left and outside there were several scuffles.

Earlier, at Pretoria University, the President ran the gauntlet of chanting right-wing students who jostled his entourage, sprayed aerosol teargas and threw posters about.

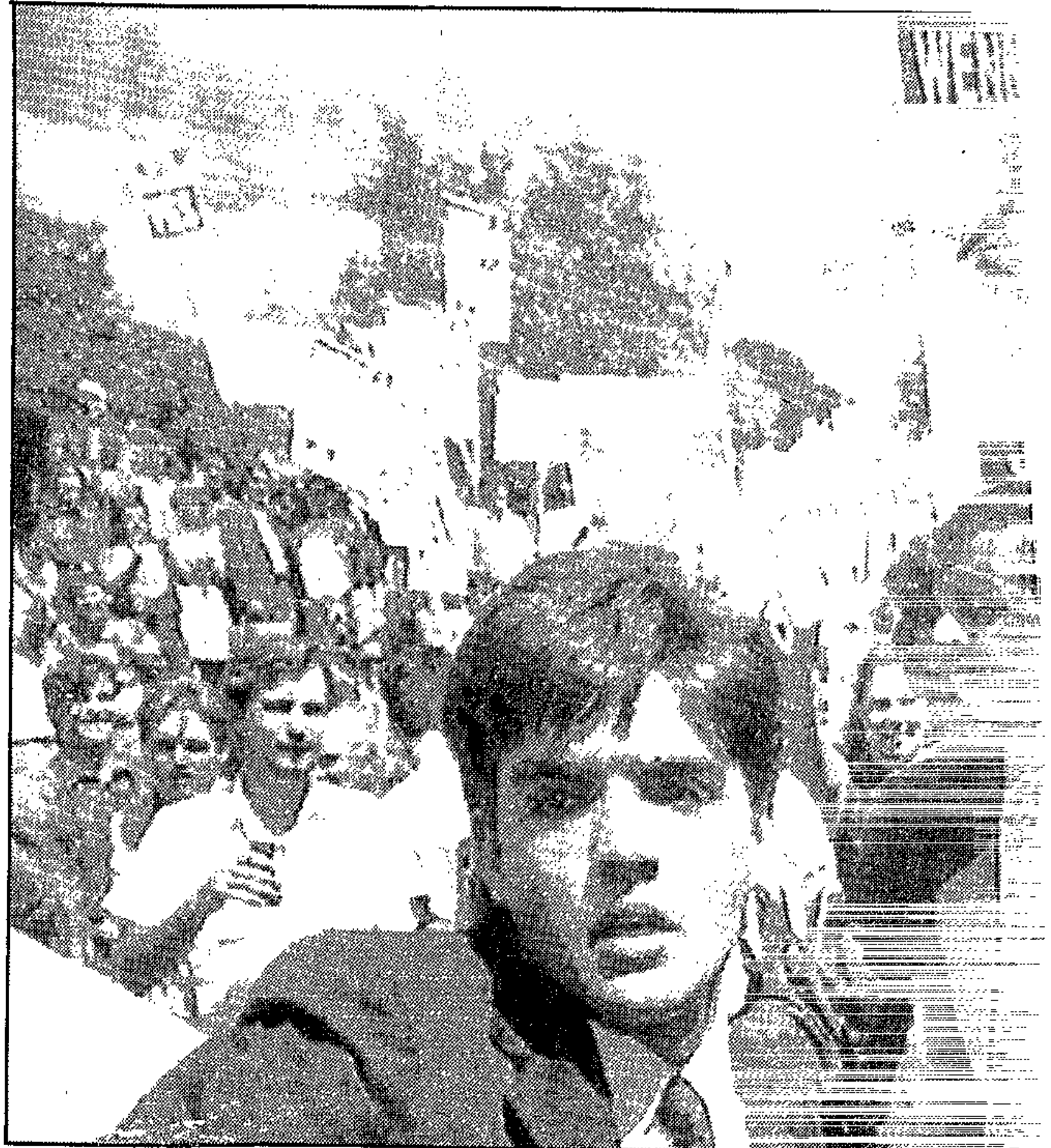
There, too, several scuffles broke out.

Before De Klerk's arrival in Pretoria, bombs went off at two NP offices in the city, and a fire damaged the hall where he was to address university students.

In his speech to the trainee teachers, De Klerk blasted the rightist no-vote alliance and linked it with all the incidents of violence — including the fire in a Sunnyside church which killed eight children.

"We are dealing with a very dangerous phenomenon — terrorism from the Right," he said. "The Government will act firmly against this terrorism; it will not allow itself or voters to be intimidated."

He gave the assurance that police would be out in full force on Tuesday.



CP campaign based on 'three lies'

De Klerk described the right-wing university demonstrators as "ill-mannered, uncouth people" who did not deserve the vote.

He also blamed the right-wing alliance for the teargas attack on him and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in Bloemfontein earlier this week, and said the CP would have to curb its "fascist, Nazi allies".

The CP's campaign was based on three great lies: that the Government was asking voters for "a blank cheque", that it was in alliance with communists, and that it was giving in to pressure in negotiations.

The NP was not asking for a blank cheque because it had already filled in all the measures to secure power-sharing and prevent domination of minorities, which it insisted should be in a new constitution.

On the second count De Klerk said both the NP and the Democratic Party, which also backed a "yes" vote, were anti-communist as were the overwhelming majority of parties at Codesa. Communism had failed everywhere, although it remained a very dangerous ideology — especially in a country like SA with suffered such great poverty.

The SACP, however, was struggling to survive, didn't have leaders and was so ashamed of its philosophy that its chairman, Joe Slovo, sounded like British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

De Klerk also rejected the third "great lie" — that the Government was giving in to pressure at negotiations. It had, in fact, achieved remarkable success in negotiations.

YES AND NO AT TUKKIES: President de Klerk at the University of Pretoria yesterday, gas from aerosol cans and threw placards, one of which hit Mr

More reasons why you should vote 'yes'

Star 14/3/92

304A

THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL...

CAPE TOWN — Diplomats who met Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said they came away unconvinced that the Conservative Party's policy would be anything other than old-style apartheid, should it find itself in power after the referendum.

As a result, they warned him that if a future CP government tried to reintroduce apartheid, tough sanctions would be imposed. Yesterday's meeting between about 25 senior diplomats and Dr Treurnicht was held at the invitation of the CP.

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

BONN — The German Parliament has proposed the lifting of the oil embargo against South Africa if a positive referendum result is achieved next week. Germany's most influential newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, reported yesterday. The newspaper said the German government in a debate this week expressed support for the reform policy of President de Klerk and as encouragement the first official development aid project — expected to total Dm 1 million (about R2,5 m) — was approved. It entails the promotion of vocational training.

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

CAPE TOWN — All "no" voters would share responsibility for future attacks such as that in which eight young people died after a fire in a Pretoria church this week, DP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said yesterday.

The DP noted with distress that a man claiming to represent the notorious right-wing organisation, the Wit Wolwe, had claimed responsibility for the fire, Soal said.

"Whether or not a member of the Wit Wolwe is proved to be responsible, we all know that members of this organisation are quite capable of such a brutal attack."

It was horrifying that otherwise reasonable white South Africans were prepared to support such people by voting "no".

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

NELSON Mandela warned yesterday that white voters faced a stark choice between democracy and the turmoil that would follow if they rejected President de Klerk's reforms.

Mandela told a working breakfast for foreign journalists: "If whites make a mistake and vote for repression, the country is in for a hard time."

There is going to be unprecedented turmoil and conflict."

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

A LETTER sent from United Cricket Board managing director Dr Ali Bacher to President de Klerk said the members of the SA cricket team at present in Australia had told him to convey the following message to the president:

"The present South African World Cup team supports your reform initiatives and negotiations through Codesa and is confident that the 'yes' vote will succeed."

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

PORT ELIZABETH — Eastern Cape motor giants have come out unequivocally in support of a "yes" vote in the referendum, with Keith Butler-Wheelhouse, chairman of Delta, saying the company could close down if there was a "no" vote.

In Uitenhage, Volkswagen chairman Peter Searle said if there was a "no" vote, Volkswagen would lose virtually all export business overnight.

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

WINDHOEK — The chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat, yesterday wished "all our friends

in South Africa" success in next week's referendum. Referring to Israel, Arafat said: "Maybe we can find a (President F W) de Klerk among them."

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

LUSAKA — Delegates to the Frontline states summit in Lusaka, Zambia, hoped South African whites would be guided by the fact that peace and security for all South Africans lay in the continuation and amicable conclusion of Codesa, they said in a communique.

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

THE Small Business Development Corporation yesterday added its support to the "yes" campaign with a warning that the outcome of the ballot could steer SA into either rapid economic recovery or else "an unprecedented recession".

Managing director Dr Ben Vosloo said: "We simply cannot afford to move backwards by reintroducing past policies and strategies that turned the whole world against South Africa. A 'yes' vote is therefore vital to the establishment of a stable and secure domestic environment for all communities. We need normalised international relations."

(Briefs edited by D Allen, 47 Sauer Street, Jhb)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will tour the eastern and northern Transvaal today on the last leg of his referendum campaign in the province.

He will visit Trichardt in the eastern Transvaal in the morning and then the Sasol plant at Secunda before going on to Nylstroom to address a public meeting and attend a braai.

He is expected to visit the SA Police regional offices in Pietersburg before giving his final referendum message to voters in the Transvaal at the town's showgrounds.

While some Cabinet ministers will be travelling and meeting people to garner further support, no formal speeches are planned, said a National Party spokesman.

(Report by M Sparkes, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

CP claiming irregularities

LONDON. — Mr Fanie Jacobs, Conservative Party observer at the referendum voting in London, has claimed there have been major irregularities and said his party was to demand an inquiry. (304A)

Interviewed by the SABC's London representative on the last day of the extended three-day referendum, Mr Jacobs said he believed more than 1 000 people should not have been allowed to vote because their permanent domicile was in Britain and not South Africa. ARG 14/3/92

In response to the accusation, Ambassador Mr Kent Durr said his staff had been meticulous in keeping to the rules, dismissing the CP claim as a political manoeuvre.

FW goes to 'enemy' land

ALAN DUNN

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk steps into the cauldron of far northern Transvaal politics today in what could be the toughest two days of his two-week Yes campaign.

He was due to enter the heartland of Conservative country, stopping at Trichardt, Evander, Secunda, Nylstroom and Pietersburg.

Both the Yes and No camps said Mr De Klerk's appearances were pivotal in the short campaign. With only three days left observers believe the perception which emerges after the weekend could be critical in influencing wavering voters.

"The current impression is that the right is closing the gap," said a Yes campaigner. "We have to turn that around by Monday and think Mr De Klerk can do it by facing the CP head-on in its home territory."

His rightwing opponents realise that and will somehow be sure to make their dissent heard loud and clear during his stops.

AR 14/3/92

REFERENDUM BRIEFS

Fordyce: Don't be hypocritical

ANYONE who considered voting No in the referendum but had watched the South African Grand Prix or the SA cricketers in the World Cup would be displaying the height of hypocrisy, marathon star Bruce Fordyce said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was speaking at a function for the State President at Loftus Versfeld rugby stadium which was attended by about 250 of South Africa's top sports stars.

COMMENT

Say YES! Avoid the Dark Ages

ANDRIES TREURNICHT says the path through Codesa to an interim government and a negotiated settlement on a future constitution for South Africa is "a recipe for serious conflict".

He has the wrong end of the stick. He is putting his oxwagon before his horse.

A No vote in the referendum on Tuesday favouring the Conservative Party and its cohorts would be "a recipe for serious conflict". And more. The world is already looking to that contingency, waiting to play cards that would bring in sanctions even heavier than we have experienced since P W Botha's disastrous retreat from the shores of the Rubicon.

A No vote on Tuesday would be a recipe for the re-introduction of sports isolation, because even at this stage it could lead to the repatriation and excommunication of our cricketers on the eve of the World Cup semifinals. And an end to the aspirations of our other sportsmen of all disciplines, just at a time when international competition is opening up to all South Africans like a glorious, tantalising oyster.

A No vote of Tuesday would signal to the international community — and to fellow citizens who are not entitled to vote on this vital question — an inclination by most whites to return to the retrogressive, morally debilitating ways of the past.

And that would not only be a recipe for serious conflict. It would be a recipe for disaster, disaster and tragedy of immense proportions.

Dr Treurnicht, according to reports, told foreign diplomats this week he would not negotiate with the ANC if his party came to power. The point is: would the ANC be prepared to negotiate with his party when the only matter on the agenda would be apartheid (or something in similar guise)?

He declined to give an assurance that the organisation

would not be banned should the CP win a general election, so suggesting it might.

In that event, the ANC, the PAC and the rest of the resistance factions would be forced underground once more and the whole cycle of violence would be in danger of starting afresh.

Economic, sporting, cultural, social and human decimation. Is that the future white South Africans want?

It certainly is the future they are in danger of bringing upon themselves, and the rest of their countrymen, if a majority choose to vote No on Tuesday.

The answer next week must be an emphatic Yes!

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

WITH only three days to go before polling day, South Africa's referendum campaign has developed into a hectic neck-and-neck race between Yes and No campaigners.

Some of the country's top election analysts predict a close finish. They say the signs this weekend point to a Yes victory for President De Klerk — but by a narrow margin, possibly as low as 52-48 percent.

Insiders of all the main political parties believe it will be close.

They say there remains an uncertain factor, the large undecided vote.

Political scientist Professor Pieter Joubert of the University of Potchefstroom put the undecided vote as high as 25 percent of the total.

This means that doubtful voters, including many with grievances not connected to the referendum, may decide the poll outcome.

Professor Joubert, who monitors rightwing political developments in Ventersdorp and other key Transvaal regions, told Weekend Argus he did not believe the majority of undecided voters were English-speaking, as claimed by some observers.

He also expected that socio-economic factors like crime, the economy and the drought would have a decisive effect.

It was unfortunate that the referendum question — to decide for or against reform initiatives — was

ANATOMY OF A REFERENDUM

See pages 4, 5, 22 & 23

overshadowed by socio-economic problems.

Professor Joubert envisaged three possible scenarios:

■ A 60-plus percent landslide victory for the Yes vote, giving Mr De Klerk a strong mandate to go ahead with negotiated reforms;

■ A close 52-48 percent result giving the Yes vote a narrow victory, but cause for concern about the reasons for this and about possible reaction against the government's socio-economic policies; and

■ A No victory, which Professor Joubert believes is unlikely.

He said the government could not ignore the rightwing threat.

Professor Hennie Kotzé, head of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, predicted a 52-48 Yes vote.

His personal hunch was a strong possibility of a decisive 60-40 Yes victory — and the Yes majority could be higher.

An important factor would be the size of the stayaway vote.

Another Stellenbosch political analyst, Professor Willie Breytenbach, agreed a narrow 52-48 win for the Yes vote was possible.

Professor Breytenbach said an important factor in the referendum would be the vote of Natal's English-speaking residents.

He also believes some of the potential No voters will stay away from the polls because of the Conservative Party's alliance with the militant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Another analyst who has predicted a fairly close Yes victory is Professor Dirk Laurie of Potchefstroom. After the Potchefstroom by-election, Professor Laurie's computer, which had been fed with all the by-election results since 1989, showed a 55-45 victory for the government in a referendum.

Pretoria risk consultant Dr Wim Booysse told Weekend Argus the most probable result, according to his analysis, was a Yes-vote of between 64 and 66 percent.

LEUSE : SAAM BEREIK ONS MEER

ONS WINKEL & LANDBOU.

Street talking

Justin Pearce sounds out opinions

Voteless coloured National Party members back the referendum, and one wants a coloured referendum too.



Mr Dennis de la Cruz

MP for Ottery

Although I am not altogether in favour of the referendum, it is at this point of political development essential from the point of view of the white electorate.

I am going to call on the state president immediately after the referendum to embark on a similar referendum among the coloured and black communities.

He has gone to great lengths to win white support, and he must now show that the support of non-white communities is equally important to him.

Mr Abie Williams

MP for Mamre

I am in total agreement with the referendum. The situation in the white community must be settled.

There is no time to argue about a referendum for everyone — I am sure the coloured and black people are in agreement with the proposals anyway.

The state president is caught up in his own community and must settle the matter in his own chamber of parliament.

We can give him our support without taking part in the referendum.

ANY PROGRESS? Despite the alleged "new South Africa", next Tuesday will see blacks standing outside voting stations like they did during the last referendum

South 14/3 - 19/3/92

Nelson Mandela has questioned the state president's leadership within his own community and since the Potchefstroom by-election Dr Treurnicht has done the same.

30 4A

It is time to settle the leadership crisis within the white community.

Mr Andries Johannes

MP for Heideveld

My opinion is that while we are

busy with Codesa, the whites have got a right to go out and ask for a "yes" vote in their own community. They were the people who were consulted to initiate the present process of reform. So I think the referendum is fair.

I don't know what to say (about a referendum for coloureds). We have not discussed it yet. But it is the CP who holds the power, so we need to test the opinion of whites in the country.

Mr Patrick McKenzie

MP for Bonteheuwel

The whole referendum came about from a challenge by Treurnicht to FW de Klerk about De Klerk not having white support.

My feeling is that De Klerk does not have the same problem among communities that are not white. Our community will vote overwhelmingly in favour of the reforms. We must not have the view that whites are telling us what the future must be. The National Party is committed to reform whether or not white people vote for De Klerk.

In the very unlikely event of a massive "no" vote, the progress towards reform will be even more rapid.

It's borders or bust, says CP winner

South 14/3-19/3/92

3044

THE CP's growing support, and its association with militant extra-parliamentary fighting groups, raises a critical question for parties negotiating a new constitution at Codesa. It is not whether they can reach a settlement, it is whether they can make the settlement stick under the onslaught of increasingly violent offensives from the extreme left and right.

Leadership: President FW de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and even the ANC continue to urge the Conservative Party to table its proposals at Codesa. Why don't you at least do that?

Andries Beyers: Codesa is nothing more than an instrument through which the National Party wants to carry out its policy to establish black majority government. Codesa's point of departure is the establishment of a unitary state controlled by one government. There is no room for groups to have the right to self-determination. Indeed, Codesa's first decision, as set out in its declaration of intent, was that South Africa is an indivisible country — a decision which completely sidelines the CP. They just want us there so that they can take a photograph of us and say we were also part of the process. We regard that process as an act of treason against our folk. The CP has one non-negotiable: our folk's right to self-determination. That is our right. That is non-negotiable.

What does self-determination mean to you in its fullest sense?
We want to be free and independent in our own fatherland. There is no other form of self-determination.

The NP under Dr Malan, Mr Strijdom and Dr Verwoerd tried to partition off groups, and their attempts were rejected not only by the majority of South Africans but by the international community. Why persist with such policies?

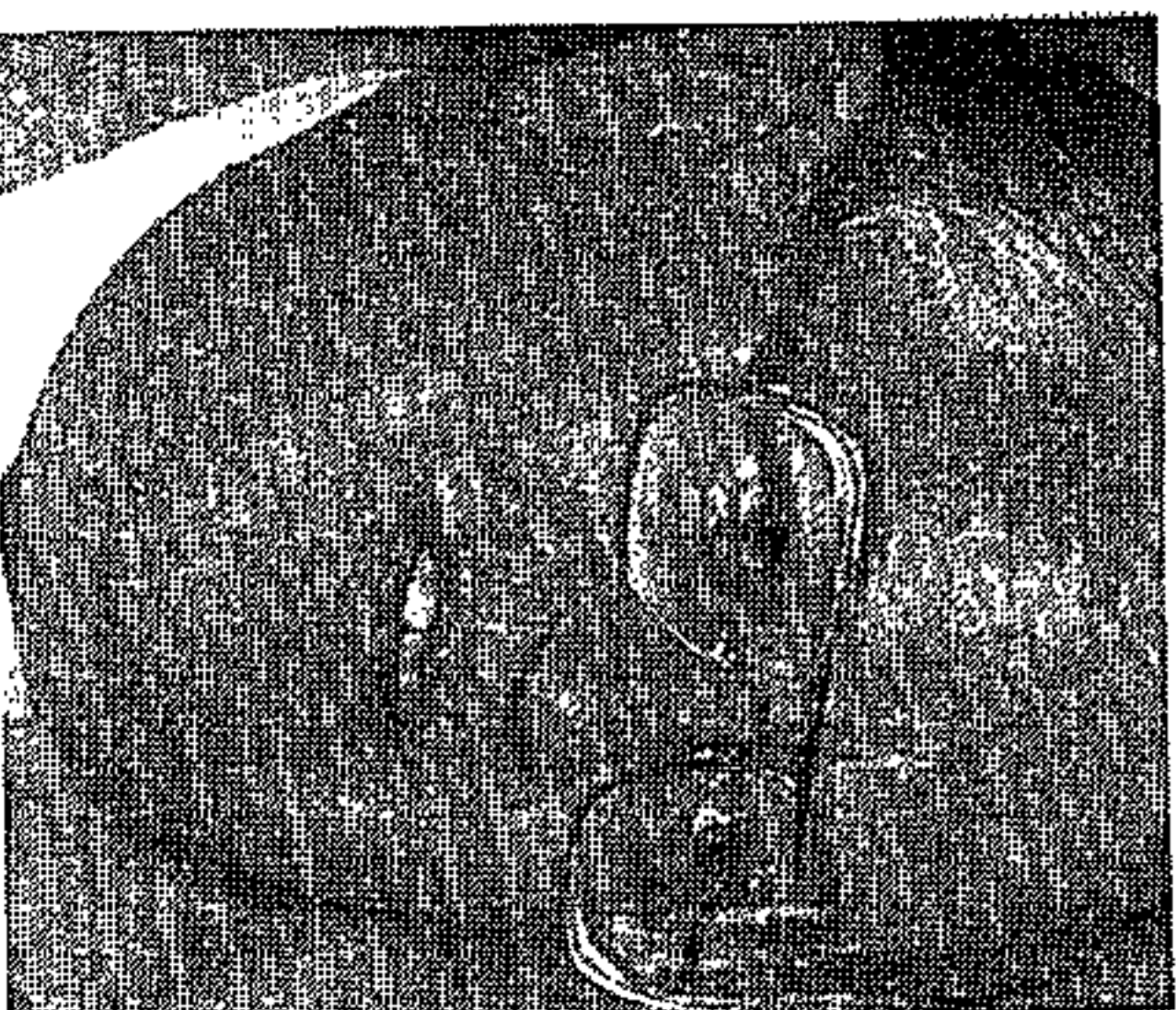
The policy never failed in South Africa. It was abandoned, and other policies were tried, namely to turn South Africa into a unitary state. It is this policy which is failing. Under the previous policy there was relative peace and, indeed, some groups took their independence.

Bophuthatswana is almost a model republic today. They liberated themselves, and they want to continue as an independent nation.

Aside from the fact that past partition was imposed through political oppression, is there not one fatal flaw in your arguments? No matter where an Afrikaner homeland is situated there will always be established black communities within its borders. Do they become mere gasterbeiters with no rights? Do you advocate mass removals?

We envisage the development of a confederation of independent states, and we are prepared to work together with other members of the confederation to resolve issues. The ideal — and perhaps it will only be achieved by future generations — is that there will eventually be a white majority in the Afrikaner fatherland. That would be the final solution.

We will not give blacks citizenship in our state, but where there are concentrations of their communities, we will gladly give them local government powers.



Is it realistic to expect ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to allow some of his people to live in a situation in which they do not have full rights?

Is it realistic to expect my leader to accept that our people should live under Mandela's government? This is the problem. Either, we all live under Mandela, or Mandela's people live under Mandela and Treurnicht's people live under Treurnicht.

Where is your white homeland?

We want to negotiate the issue of boundaries with leaders of other groups who recognise our right to self-determination. We would rather accept a smaller South Africa in which we can govern ourselves in our own fatherland than the whole of South Africa in which we will be oppressed by an ANC-controlled government.

Have you put your proposals to any black leaders?

Yes. We have had regular discussions with (Inkatha president) Chief Buthelezi, President Mangope of

The Potchefstroom by-election victor, Mr Andries Beyers (left), says in an interview with Leadership magazine the CP will not abandon its dream of a white fatherland:

Bophuthatswana, General Holomisa of Transkei and the leaders of several other black and coloured groups. Their attitude was that there is room for our policy of self-determination.

If you are not going to use Codesa to pursue your ideal of an independent fatherland, how will you secure what you regard as your rights?

We first have to establish beyond any doubt who talks on behalf of the whites in South Africa. The NP has thus far spoken on behalf of whites, and now they have broken all their undertakings to them. So we need new elections among whites to enable them to elect new leaders. If this happens, then we say the leaders will come from the CP which can then negotiate with the other groups on the implementation of self-determination.

The state president has promised a referendum to test Codesa's constitutional proposals (if these depart significantly

from the NP's proposals), but do you think you will be given a chance to elect new leaders in a white election?

An election is the only constitutional way in which we can ensure freedom for our folk. If we are denied the right, then the Afrikaner and the whites of South Africa no longer have constitutional means to win their freedom. We warn against this daily, because if this happens then you leave us with no alternative but to use other bargaining methods.

What type of methods do you have in mind?

The NP no longer wants to lead the whites. They want to create a new nation and to win majority support from that new nation. So the mantle of white leadership has passed to the CP, which now has the task of leading the folk to independence. We prefer to use constitutional means, and we will use them as long as they are available to us. When they are no longer available, we will regard our folk as an oppressed people.

If we are an oppressed folk, we are forced to use the same methods "that other oppressed people are forced to use. Then a new phase in our freedom struggle will begin, but I cannot at this stage discuss those methods because they will have to be methods available to us at that time and which will be effective.

Do the methods include the use of violence?

We will always strive to avoid violence, so we therefore ask Give us a white election which is the only constitutional way in which we can liberate our people without violence.

On the outside, looking in — for the last time?

"IT'S like watching a naughty little white boy busily setting fire to your house and not being able to do anything about it," is how one old man described his deep sense of helplessness about Tuesday's whites-only referendum.

Despite the fact that they have been completely sidelined in this week's poll, most blacks I spoke to were deeply concerned with its outcome.

The mood was generally one of "Let's wait and see", but at the same time it was characterised by an utter determination that nobody is prepared to return to the bad old days of apartheid or to re-submit to repression.

Most people felt a "no" vote would be a declaration

of civil war — in which many said they would willingly participate "to the bitter end".

"I will never carry a pass again," an elderly Johannesburg city driver told me. "They would have to kill me: I don't care, if they try to bring apartheid again we shall just have to fight them. Old as I am, I will go to the bush and join."

But not everybody I spoke to about their feelings on the referendum displayed such passionate militancy. An Eldorado Park couple, both Christians and with a large family of grown-up children, said they prayed every night that whites "do the right thing, for our country, for us, for themselves and for the

As white society goes to the polls this week to once again unilaterally decide the fate of the nation, JOE LOUW went out to the nearly enfranchised masses to report how they felt to be once more on the sidelines.

STAR 14/3/92

sake of our children."

"This country does not want war," the husband said.

A Soweto businessman said he had great admiration for President de Klerk and for what he did "to bring white people out of the darkness of apartheid." But he said he was confused and angry that

the State President let himself "get trapped in this thing. This is the politics of the past," he said.

It seemed the younger the interviewee, the more militant the point of view of what the referendum means to blacks. Many younger blacks seem to feel that those in

power "can never be trusted and that talks should never have been started in the first place".

Few seemed to be concerned about how the outcome might affect their future. "We have nothing to do with it — it's their affair if they want to destroy the country." For them, everything beyond Referendum Day was spelled out as a kind of doomsday scenario.

Most professional people such as nurses, teachers, doctors and business people expressed optimism that De Klerk would win and generally opted for peace and a continuation of the negotiation process that had begun with Codesa.

But at the same time, most

expressed resentment that they should not be part of such an important decision that would profoundly affect their future and the futures of their children — and the country as a whole.

Until ANC President Nelson Mandela spoke up this week asking whites to vote "Yes", many blacks had expressed satisfaction that the ANC was "keeping quiet" on the issue — "so that they don't blame us if they make a mess of the country," as one teacher put it.

"This referendum is polarising us into thinking in harsh racial terms again — a white referendum for whites only. It's hard to imagine that happening even as Codesa is still going on."

'CP can't aid black poor'

THE Conservative Party has no solution to the problem of meeting the needs of the millions of the poor and disadvantaged, CP MP Koos van der Merwe said in Sandton yesterday.

At a referendum seminar organised by the Innes Labour Brief, Van der Merwe rejected warnings of adverse international reaction in the event of a "no" vote.

"Dr (Zach) de Beer has become the main scarecrow that if whites vote 'no' this will bring disaster — sports boycotts and international

STAR 14/3/92

304A MIKE SILUMA

isolation," he said.

"If this Government is replaced by a CP government which says it is committed to reform and wants to restructure Codesa, there will be no (negative) international reaction."

Van der Merwe said it would be hard to find a solution to black poverty while "blacks have no understanding of family planning".

(Report by M Siluma, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Investor jitters finrand at new low

OVERSEAS investors have a distinct case of pre-referendum jitters. The financial rand, a reliable gauge of foreign business confidence in South Africa, has sunk to a new low (204A)

The foreign investment unit eased to R3,86 to the dollar yesterday, from Thursday's weak close of R3,83. This means the financial rand has dropped below 26 US cents in value. 14/3/92

The finrand initially traded between R3,70 and R3,80 on the news of the referendum. — Business Staff and The Argus Foreign Service. ARG 14



NEW SOUTH AFRICANS: Some of the 600 foreign nationals who queued outside Home Affairs in Randburg for citizenship documents so they can vote in Tuesday's referendum. ● Photograph: GEORGE MASHININI

In works like "Saturday Night at the Palace", "Smallholding" and the TV series "Senor Smith", Slapolepsy has written some of South Africa's grittiest, most authentic theatre. His characters have spoken in the words that white South Africans, both English and Afrikaans, actually use.

That's why it was a bit of a surprise to see Slapolepsy joining nearly 600 others who queued for hours at the Department of Home Affairs in Randburg to take out South African citizenship in order to vote in the referendum.

"I have lived in Messina, Pieterburg and Cape Town — in every corner of the country," Slapolepsy said, clutching his ID document which he had spent more than seven hours getting. "But I always kept a British passport so I could work in Britain."

Slapolepsy came to South Africa when he was five.

"I was going to take out citizenship anyway, so that I could vote. But now this is an urgent situation. I'm doing this for all the black guys I have worked with as well. It's now time that all South Africans become South Africans."

Just behind him in the parking lot were a group of South Africans who would still have to wait a while. Mncedisi, a deserter from the Transkei army, regularly waits in that area, which also serves as a pick-up point for temporary workers. Today he would make a bit of money finding parking for people who had arrived in the country many years after but would be deciding his destiny the following week. "I get gardening work about twice a week, but it's not too good," he said. "Yes, it would be nice to vote myself."

14/3/92 (3049)

going to be paying more and more for them. CP supporters may well have the satisfaction of knowing that everyone else paying through their noses is of the same colour.

Will the CP negotiate — or be able to negotiate — with the ANC if it became the leading white political party?

The CP, of late, has been sounding much more resigned to negotiating with the ANC. Much would depend on the confidence of the right wing, on whether they believe they can jam the lid down on the pot again and hold it there. A puffed-up confident right wing might toy with the idea of suppressing the ANC for a bit. Once that failed — and it would — they would then set about looking for alliances with other "nations" interested in separate development, such as President

Lucas Mangope and his supporters in Bophuthatswana and possibly even Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha.

In the end, the CP, or at least one wing of it, would probably find themselves where the Nats did in the late 1980s — with a nasty sinking feeling that things couldn't really carry on like this any more. The big question for South Africa is how much damage will have been done in the interim.

Will a "no" vote get South Africa thrown out of world sport again, as the Nats and the DP say it will?

It probably will, though not necessarily immediately. The hard fact is that our return to virtually every sporting code has depended on a final nod from the ANC.

India at one point was in favour of blocking

South Africa's return to the International Cricket Conference — but after the intervention of Nelson Mandela and Steve Tshwete, they became the first country to host a South African team. It has also depended heavily on bodies like the Commonwealth voting to renew "people-to-people" contacts.

That can be rescinded — which means re-breaking the newly formed links with the West Indies, India and Pakistan in cricket, New Zealand and Australia in rugby, all countries due to visit here in the next 12 months.

A "no" vote will also have consequences for the domestic running of sport. It will reopen divisions between white and black administrators, which have been painstakingly bridged. The pressure on black officials to vote for a return to isolation will be enormous. That will surely

strain relations with white officials, who have often been accused of wanting international sport at any price. That means problems for even the average sportsman, who has no prospects of overseas competition.

Will a "no" vote really bring back sanctions, and if so how severe will they be?

Foreign diplomats in South Africa have never been this jumpy. One reason for that is that many of them have been getting a real earful from governments at home: Why were we not warned of the threat from the Right? Why didn't you advise us to reward De Klerk more generously for the steps he has taken?

The reopening of doors closed by sanctions has been a painstaking process, and the master key was provided when De Klerk got rid of the

Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and modified the Land Act. It was those laws, with their naked reference to race, which stuck in the throat of even conservative parties in the West. The CP, with its segregationist policies, would have to reverse De Klerk's steps. Sanctions would follow swiftly.

White South Africa would also discover that the ANC once again has a lot more room to manoeuvre internationally. The moderate approach of the De Klerk government has allowed countries like the United States to put much more pressure on the ANC to moderate its policies, especially on economics. A CP government would not enjoy that moral high-ground and the bargaining balance would certainly shift.

How much foreign investment will a

"yes" vote really guarantee?

There is no doubt that even with the shadow cast by ongoing violence, reform has been good for business and even better for trade. There are no real guarantees of investment. South Africa is but one factor in a fast-changing global economic system, and despite our perceptions that the world does nothing but think about us, the fact is they don't. In the long-term, South Africa will have to offer hard-nosed businessmen a competitive, attractive package. There will be a honeymoon period of "development" investment but it won't last that long.

What the "yes" vote will guarantee is that investors will look seriously at the economic advantages that South Africa has to offer. A "no" is likely to knock that squarely on the head.

(Reports by J Perlman, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Grandiose heritage recalled as Sir Herbert honoured

JAMES CLARKE

MICHAEL Baker (55), say those who know, looks just like his grandfather — tall, aquiline-nosed, friendly and restless.

And like "grandpa" Michael Baker — who is in South Africa on holiday — is interested and knowledgeable about many diverse things: from engineering science (which he read at Oxford) to South African birds and architecture...

Architecture. Now

The name Sir Herbert Baker is legend in South Africa. Now his grandson, Michael Baker, is in the country to unveil a bust of Sir Herbert as part of the Parktown centenary celebrations.

Northwards (that 52-roomed Parktown Ridge mansion west of the M1); South Africa House in London; and the monument which graces the Delville Wood war memorial in France.

Herbert Baker is not as well known to the British public as he is to South Africans. But his family home, Owletts in Kent, is helping redress that. It

show people around on designated days.

I asked how true was it that Herbert Baker built his houses in South Africa "back to front". How fair are those who say he overlooked the fact that the sun floats in our northern sky, unlike in England where the sun is in the south? Look how the arc of the Union Buildings is *south* facing.

It was no mistake, says

Parktown homes, there were no trees — just bare veld."

Michael recalls "grandpa" writing him letters (he has kept them all) embellished by amusing and very "professional" drawings.

Tomorrow Michael Baker is to unveil a bust of his grandfather in St George's Church in Sherborne Road, Parktown, as part of this year's Parktown centenary celebrations. Sir Herbert designed the church.

Baker had come to SA not to build houses but to try to help his brother Lionel, who had emigrated to farm in the Drakensberg valley in the Cape

but was in trouble.

There Herbert met Rhodes who, being a shrewd observer of people, invited him to reconstruct his own mansion — Groote Schuur.

Baker never looked back. He built himself a house facing Constantia Valley and later one in Muizenberg.

That towering Abe Bailey mansion with its elegant chimneys next to Rhodes's thatched cottage in Muizenberg was also designed by him.

When Rhodes died in 1902 (Baker designed Rhodes Memorial in Cape Town), Lord Milner, then residing in Sunnyside in Parktown, invited

Baker to come to Transvaal to "improve architectural standards".

It was then that Herbert Baker revealed talent as a planner.

He was invited to sign miners' accommodation, but instead of signing dreary houses he designed cottages using local material and talent. More important: they were centred on village green and had ample space for sport and communal life.

To this day the mill built to the Baker plan that really was Herbert's genius. He understood the human scale, and he understood the community.

STAR

14/3/92

5047

lence while negotiations are under way will probably shift back towards support for the armed struggle.

They will regard a "yes" vote as final, and will see it as a signal that De Klerk — with the last question mark over his mandate removed — should move faster.

□ □ □

WHAT guarantees can the NP offer that standards of education, health and so on will be maintained?

Neither side can offer particularly solid guarantees on this score. The NP has dented some voters' confidence in their promises by their shifting policies on opening schools. But the cornerstone of the CP's plan for social services is protection by separation, something which has been shown not to work — and not simply on moral grounds. The massive duplication of facilities under apartheid was financially wasteful and economically inefficient.

What both sides can guarantee — though neither will — is that the user of services like hospitals and schools is

What party

STAR 14/3/92

304A

FOR the past two weeks South Africa has been bombarded by information, misinformation, propaganda and straight lies by organisations trying to influence next week's referendum. To try to resolve some of the confusion, the Saturday Star has defined some of the main questions uppermost in people's minds and Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN has tried to answer them.

THE right wing is telling voters that a "no" will signal to President de Klerk that "we need change but not so fast" and allow them a "second chance" to express their wishes in a general election. Is this so?

President de Klerk has said publicly he will resign if white South Africa votes "no". That has been interpreted to mean a general election will be called, although De Klerk has not specifically promised that.

What is certain is that after March 17 all the other major players in national politics, who have largely left white South Africa to get on with it, will insist on having a say in this decision. It is unimaginable that groups, ranging from the ANC to the Labour Party, will allow the future of the country to be raffled off in a whites-only election. They will get international backing for that stance. As it is, Codesa is pressing ahead on constitutional and other issues, and won't easily be derailed.

□ □ □

WHICH is a more effective vote against crime and violence, "yes" or "no"?

Neither De Klerk nor the Right have offered convincing-sounding solutions to the crime wave. The rhetoric on both sides has been similar — Koos an der Merwe's promise that the CP would "mercilessly" stamp out crime is a fair-

ly typical example. Peering through the smoke, though, three things are clear.

First, there are deep-rooted causes of crime, ranging from unemployment to the fact that the courts and prisons are clogged and creaking, which will take some solving.

Second, force alone has never worked in South Africa — our history is littered with examples.

Third, if effective policing depends on community support — and the consensus is that it does — the Nats are more likely to get backing for the war on crime from blacks (who statistically are still the greatest victims) than the CP is.

□ □ □

WHAT is the right-wing's alternative to reform? Do they want to bring apartheid back wholesale or just some bits of it?

That seems to depend on which member of the CP is speaking and to whom. The CP has clearly adopted a softly-softly approach when addressing English-speaking voters and less hard-line constituencies.

Thus Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, stands up in Springs and says a CP government would replace apartheid with "internationally acceptable and morally justifiable" measures.

Then Dr Andries Treurnicht, speaking in Thabazimbi, lays heavy emphasis on F W de Klerk's treachery against

the Afrikaner — despite constant claims that the CP is "politically with-it" — and makes plain that if the ANC wants a fight they will get one.

Overall, the CP has tried to steer clear of an ox-wagon image, leaving the sabre-rattling to the AWB, whose supporters expect nothing less. But the fact is, separate schools, separate residential areas and, if necessary, separate "homelands", are cornerstones of CP policy.

Whatever kid gloves the right-wing may have donned now, they will be hard-pressed not to deliver on those minimums if they came to power. That, after all, is what their supporters will be voting for.

□ □ □

IF THE vote is "yes" and reform continues, won't a future black government eventually throw whites out of their jobs and homes and nationalise the economy?

The extent to which a "black government" will be able to wield that kind of power will depend on the constitution that is finally hammered out. The NP believes its constitutional model provides sufficient checks and balances — the problem, however, is that the ANC and others don't think too much of that constitution.

The leaders of most black political parties, and the ANC in particular, have been at pains to stress that private property will be respected

and that the skills of white South Africans will be sorely needed in rebuilding the country. Their commitment to nationalisation has been put under severe pressure by business, both here and overseas.

The Nats say the best way to protect what whites have is to create by negotiation a society which affords blacks a chance to prosper — with some unavoidable redistribution of resources, but emphasising the sharing of opportunity. The CP say it is necessary for whites to say certain things are "ours". The referendum-style CP insist that certain things will be "theirs" as well, but there is little doubt as to priorities.

Looking beyond the political platforms, the bottom line is that a more equitable social order will put pressure on whites to shift over a bit and share, even if economic growth produces a bigger cake.

□ □ □

HOW will black political organisations react to a "no" vote? To a "yes" vote?

Groups like the Congress of South African Trade Unions have been champing at the bit during the referendum. Mass action, including stayaways, is inevitable. On a political level, the ANC and others would insist that forums like Codesa — which they now see as the key decision-making body in the country — continue with their work. The differing opinions in the black community on the use of vio-

Dutch Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Wim Kok seems determined to avoid controversy about his upcoming trip to South Africa, reports

RAAFO ROHAN, from the Netherlands:

THERE ARE MANY unanswered questions about the visit to South Africa later this year by top Dutch politicians, leaving the impression that issues surrounding the visit are more than just sensitive.

Due to visit in August, the delegation will be led by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, his deputy Mr Wim Kok (who is also Finance Minister) and Foreign Minister Mr Hans van der Broek.

A proposed trip earlier this year was called off in January in the face of ANC protests.

At the time, senior Dutch government members communicated with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela during his trip to an economic summit in Switzerland, but met with his strong opposition to the planned visit. In a demonstration of the ANC's continuing international influence, the trip was then postponed.

Mandela had argued that such a high-level visit should only take place once an interim or transitional government was in place.

On this basis, the ANC subsequently gave its blessing to the rescheduled visit.

Kok, leader of the Dutch Labour Party and a pivotal figure in his country's coalition govern-

ment spoke, to SOUTH about the trip.

Having had his government's fingers burnt on the South African hot potato once already, he was careful to avoid further controversy.

Raafq Rohan: What is the purpose of your visit to South Africa?

Wim Kok: We are responding to an invitation by the government and Mr (Thabo) Mbeki has said the ANC says we are fully welcome.

What is your government's position on the whites-only referendum?

I cannot remember that we had an official debate in the government on the referendum, but I think the general impression in the Dutch government is that the referendum is of crucial importance for the further process to abolish apartheid.

If the majority of the white population votes against it, then the outlook for continuing and even speeding up the process of abolishing apartheid would be damaged fundamentally. So I think bringing apartheid to an end is highly dependent on the outcome of the referendum.

We hope very much, and express also in public, that the referendum will be positive for President F.W. de Klerk.

What would be your government's position if the process is damaged?

It is difficult to speculate but I think it is better to express confidence, hope and a kind of moral

Dutch leaders due in SA

South 14/3 - 19/3/92



WIM KOK Photo: Eric Miller

support from outside — in this case from the Netherlands.

I think threats do not work. Perhaps creating a perspective for a positive result is much more important.

If De Klerk just scrapes through the referendum with 55 percent of the vote, many feel he will not only use this result to preserve the rightwing, but as a blackmail tactic to force the ANC into making more compromises and thereby maintaining some form of white control in a future government. What is your government's position on this perspective?

We do not have a position on that. Personally I think it is better to give moral and political support to the role President De Klerk plays in getting majority support for his position. I think it has become

absolutely necessary and unavoidable that this type of referendum takes place after the outcome of the Potchefstroom by-election.

But speculating on what might happen with an 80 percent or a 70 percent or a 55 percent majority — I think it's better to listen to the comments and the views of estimates of insiders in South Africa rather than give political comments from outside. I am not in a position to speculate on what might happen as far as the outcome is concerned. I will be much more interested to listen to my friends in South Africa.

Who are your friends in South Africa?

Well, many, the majority.

Apart from the referendum result, the white-controlled parliament still has the power to overrule Codesa on any decisions it takes. There is no indication that this parliament will change during the period of talks. What are your feelings on this?

I am not going to make political statements as a member of the Dutch government. There are a lot of internal matters that are on the negotiating table.

The Codesa process has started. I am not a partner in the process and I think it is not wise to interfere in depth or even superficially into what is discussed over there. I think wisdom and courage will be necessary from all sides.

Wisdom, because everybody who uses his brains knows that continuing apartheid will be bad, at the end of the day, for mankind.

Courage, because people who take the lead in the process of negotiating and sometimes compromising have to take into account that not every step they take will be fully applauded or welcomed by the whole movement they represent.

That is obviously the case for Mr De Klerk because he would not have organised the referendum to see what the white minority thinks about all this.

And this is also obviously the case, sooner or later, for responsible people of the ANC who also represent a lot of people and tendencies who have varying positions on strategies and tactics.

What should the Dutch role be in assisting the process of change?

We all in the Western world and in the European Community have a firm interest — not a business interest — for political, cultural and human reasons in developments in South Africa that would, at the end of the day, lead to the abolition of apartheid. An overwhelming majority of Western opinion feels this way.

What we do is give moral support, through the European Community, international bodies and bilateral contacts.

As far as this visit is concerned, of course we would never visit if a Conservative government is formed after the referendum and represents a political view of those who want to continue and intensify the apartheid regime.

I won't step on South African soil if there should be a kind of fall-back after the referendum.

From Madeira to Maputo to an uncertain future

South
14/3 - 19/3/92
304A



VOTE YES: Antonio Gouveia wants stability in South Africa

Pic Yunus Mohamed

Mr Horacio Goncalves awaits South Africa's future with foreboding, remembering a morning 17 years ago when he fled Maputo in a hail of gunfire.

Like many Portuguese speakers in South Africa, he escaped war in Mozambique to seek a calmer life next door — and now worries his security could vanish again.

The Portuguese community, South Africa's largest white immigrant group, fears chaos if President FW de Klerk loses his referendum.

"My biggest fear is that a 'no' vote would lead to civil war," said Goncalves, 48, who built up a furniture business in Krugersdorp after arriving with just two suitcases in his car.

"I don't want to go through that trauma again. But I may leave the country if he loses."

A third of the 600 000 people of Portuguese descent in South Africa is naturalised.

Community leaders are urging those who can vote to register a resounding "yes" for negotiations.

They are scared that if the Conservative Party wins, sanctions will return, the economy will collapse and political violence will spin out of control.

"People came here looking for a better life. They found it. Now they don't want to lose it," said Mr Manuel Contente, leader of one of Johannesburg's Portuguese associations.

The Portuguese are prominent among South Africa's small businessmen whose shops have become targets in the wave of violent crime sweeping the country.

They are anxious to see stability to protect their material gains.

Many of them came to Africa from the impoverished Atlantic island of Madeira in the first half of the century, seeking work in fishing and mines.

In the mid-seventies, 75 000 Portuguese streamed in from Mozambique and Angola after Portugal aban-

doned its African colonies.

They stick closely together in suburbs around Johannesburg where cafes with names like "Belem" and "Silva" serve strong black coffee and shops are stocked with cod, sardines and Vinho Verde wine.

They maintain strong links with Portugal. Postcards of Funchal adorn the walls, talk is of holidays in the villages back home and no big party would be complete without Fado, the mournful music of the Portuguese mainland.

De Klerk campaigned among the Portuguese- and Greek-speaking communities last week, striving to address their concerns over crime. The 100 000-strong Greek community also runs small shops and restaurants.

The president told a meeting with the two communities in Krugersdorp there would be a greater chance of economic and political stability if the National Party won the referendum.

He received a standing ovation.

"I wish I could be naturalised in time so I could vote 'yes'," said a restaurant owner who moved to South Africa three decades ago. "A 'no' vote will send this country backwards 50 years."

Loyalty among the two communities towards De Klerk does not generally translate into enthusiasm for a future black majority government. But many accept that they will have to live with it.

Several months ago a group of Portuguese businessmen from Cape Town dined with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss what would happen if he came to power.

Mr Antonio Gouveia, the organiser, said the businessmen left reassured.

"I think everyone was very impressed with him. He doesn't want South Africa to go the same way as some of Portugal's former colonies," said Gouveia.

— Sapa-Reuters

'Inkatha still backs Codesa'

From page 1

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

He said he believed that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buthelezi deals blow to CP hopes

SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turn to page 3

AWB, Inkatha sign pact

JOHANNESBURG. — A non-aggression pact was signed between the AWB and the Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal region yesterday afternoon — but IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi later distanced himself from the pact. Chief Buthelezi said the pact agreed on by IFP Central Committee member and Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was "deeply disturbing".

KWAZULU WANTS DEFENCE UNITS

See PAGE 2

Earlier Mr Terre'Blanche said his organisation and the IFP were committed to peace and rejected any communist dictatorship. "The implications of the pact are that we want people in South Africa to realise that they will not be killed if the "no" vote wins," he said. CP deputy leader Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg attended the meeting in his personal capacity. He said the CP would welcome such a pact. Mr Myeni said he had already discussed the pact with Chief Buthelezi. He was confident the IFP leadership nationally would accept it. Chief Buthelezi said: "I state emphatically that I have never discussed a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB with anybody whomsoever." — Sapa

(Report by M. C. Cole, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Business execs back 'yes' vote

(304A)
CT 14/3/92

By BARRY STREEK

AN overwhelming majority of South Africa's top businessmen believe a "no" vote in Tuesday's referendum will have a negative or very negative influence on employment in their companies — and 98% say it will have a negative effect on social stability.

They also felt a "no" vote would have a negative effect on their relations with their international affiliates.

The preliminary results of a poll about the referendum among the managing directors of 120 to 130 of the 150 top companies were released yesterday.

Dr Jannie Hofmeyr of Research Surveys said it was clear from the responses that many were filled in by the managing directors personally. The results reflect the responses of 84 managing directors or their appointed deputies.

Six percent felt a "yes" vote would have a very positive effect on employment by their companies, 45% felt it would have a positive influence, and 48% said the effect would be

Sakekamer urges 'yes' vote

Staff Reporter

THE Kaapstadse Sakekamer has come out in favour of a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum, echoing its English-speaking equivalent, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.

In a statement issued yesterday the Sakekamer said "a yes vote will improve both race and foreign relations, strengthen and speed up the expected upswing in the economy."

● Stockbrokers Simpson McKie Inc have written to clients emphasising that a "no" vote would put wealth and investment of every kind — including retirement annuities, pension funds and unit trusts — at risk.

● Syfrets chief executive Mr John Cragg has warned staff that a "no" vote "will lead us into certain disaster".

neutral but none felt a "yes" vote would have a negative influence on employment.

None felt a "no" vote would have a very positive or positive impact on company employment and 23% were neutral, but 31% felt it would have a negative impact and 45% a very negative impact.

Dr Hofmeyr said open-ended estimates of the decline on company employment if there was a "no" vote ranged from 3% up to 30% with an average of 10%.

They felt the hardest hit would be exports and tourism.

The survey found that 19% of the managing directors thought a "yes" vote would have a very positive impact on social stability, 50% felt it would have a positive effect, 23% were neutral and 6% felt it would have a negative effect.

However, only 2% felt a "no" vote would have a positive effect on social stability, none were neutral but 14% felt it would have negative impact and 84% a very negative impact.

Dr Hofmeyr commented: "It is clear most people are thinking here of black response and implications if the CP got the upper hand in the transition process, but there was a small number who also pointed out the importance of bearing in mind the right-wing response."

"Those people interpreted the referendum as an almost no-win situation because while a "yes" vote might bring hope of social stability, when you take the country as a whole, it would also increase the danger of a hard-core right-wing backlash."

"These sort of people said either way the impact of the referendum will be negative."

Asked about the impact of "yes" vote on relations with international affiliates, 61% of the managing directors said it would be very positive, while 34% said it would be positive, 3% were neutral and 2% were negative.

However, when they were asked about the impact of relations with international affiliates if there was a "no" vote, 4% said it would be positive and 8% were neutral, while 13% said it would have a negative and 73% a very negative impact.

Students

(304A)

DT 14/3/92

as said FV

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk and his entourage were yesterday assailed by angry right-wing students who yelled "communist" and "traitor" at him.

Some tried to hit him with placards and Reuters correspondent Rodney Pinter, who was reporting on Mr De Klerk's visit, said a flying poster struck Mr De Klerk on the head.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk, Mr Casper Venter, said the poster had missed Mr De Klerk and hit a bodyguard. Mr Pinter said he stood by his report.

Mr De Klerk was jostled by the students as he tried to mix with them on a walkabout before speaking in a campus hall.

One woman tried to beat him with her placard.

Security men hustled him to safety in the hall and shut the doors against the demonstrators. He slipped out a back door after his



Plea for Jaws and Yes

THE Great White shark surfaced unexpectedly in the referendum campaign yesterday.

It happened when the Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, met cyclists who are raising money for shark research at the South African Museum.

Speaking at a function to mark the end of the cyclists' 1 450km ride, Mr Pienaar alluded to a "yes" vote being vital to the survival of the Great White.

Mr Pienaar said the outcome of the referendum had a bearing on the protection of the Great White. He said proper management of the terrestrial and marine

environments depended on stable political and relatively prosperous economic circumstances.

"The question is whether the 'aye' or the 'nay' result will bring us nearer to environmentally desirable circumstances. I am going to vote 'yes' and may we have a massive 'yes' for the sake of the environment," Mr Pienaar said.

He said that when people were fighting for survival, they could not care less about the consequences to the environment. In times of political stability, the "luxury" of environmental conservation and protection could be considered.

Sapa (Report by E.H. Kemp, Press Gallery, Parliament)

JAWS

Mr De Klerk's aides and police liaison officer Lieutenant Colonel Willie Vlotman said the incident was "not serious".

"That was the unfortunate, ugly face of radicalism," Mr De Klerk said. "They represent a very small

but vociferous minority." At a speech later in the day to student teachers, he called the right-wing students "ill-mannered and uncouth".

It was the second rough reception Mr De Klerk has received from right-wing students. The first was a

"We are not going to allow any form of intimidation to impinge on the big process we have started in South Africa."

Right-wing Pretoria University students stormed the stage last year when Mr Nelson Mandela tried to speak on campus. He was forced to cancel the engagement.

The attack on Mr De Klerk and his entourage follows a wave of violence in the Transvaal aimed at disrupting the yes-vote campaign.

Early yesterday bomb blasts hit National Party offices in Cullinan and Nyistroom.

Today Mr De Klerk's campaign will go into the Northern Transvaal, a strong right-wing area. He will address a meeting in Pietersburg tonight.

The hall used yesterday by Mr De Klerk was slightly damaged on Wednesday night when arsonists set fire to the a carpet.

The Afrikaner Studententfront was also reported to have threatened violence during Mr De Klerk's visit to the campus.

To page 2

Back-door FW avoids scuffles

By CHARLES LEONARD
and DE WET POTGIETER

EFFORTS by a small group of rightwingers to disrupt a meeting by President FW de Klerk in Nylstroom — Treurnicht country — failed yesterday when police prevented them from entering the town hall.

Several scuffles broke out between police and rightwingers trying to force their way into the hall, but no one was injured.

Shortly before Mr De Klerk arrived, a group of khaki-clad rightwingers was removed at the entrance to the hall where the president addressed about 350 supporters.

Mr De Klerk used a back entrance to avoid the group, consisting mainly of disgruntled farmers.

A strong police contingent had been brought from Pretoria to the town, where the National Party and the Conservative Party simultaneously held braais to mark the end

of their referendum campaigns last night.

A police helicopter circled over the town hall while Mr De Klerk was making his speech.

Later Mr De Klerk addressed about 2 000 supporters at the show-ground Hall at Pietersburg.

He arrived by helicopter, avoiding about 70 AWB demonstrators.

(News by Charles Leonard and De Wet Potgieter,
11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

Business told of serious implications of 'no' vote

S/Times [cm] 15/3/92 (22/11) (58) (304A) (17)

THE Cape Town-based Life Office Association (LOA) and the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce are among prominent local organisations warning that a "No" vote in Tuesday's referendum could have serious repercussions on investment and the inflow of foreign funds.

The LOA warns that the link between investment and insurance policies could be affected.

It says in a statement: "A No vote outcome could have such a seriously negative impact on the investment markets, which influence the underlying values of policies, that the benefits arising from these policies or pension funds could be significantly impaired."

Another warning on investment comes from the South African Chamber of Business (SACOB), which says that as a major employer organisation representing 102 chambers of commerce and industry and 70 national associations it does not get involved in party politics.

However, it points out that because of the decisive role of investment — both foreign and local — in a return to a substantial growth path, South Africa cannot afford to be isolated again from the world economy and its capital resources.

It says this was confirmed by a

recent International Monetary Fund report on South Africa which concluded that "if economic growth were to be raised to about 3,5% a year — or to the minimum rate that would be required to reduce the level of unemployment given the rapid prospective growth of the labour force — the investment-to-GDP ratio would have to rise to about 27% from its present level of 19%".

SACOB says that to achieve these economic results requires a high level of confidence both in South Africa and abroad — coupled with a minimum of uncertainty.

The referendum will play a major role when companies assess the political risk of doing business in South Africa, and the result should strengthen and not weaken business confidence so as to enhance investment, job creation and the addressing of urgent social needs.

SACOB adds that the referendum outcome could also have important implications for Southern Africa as a region, as it would have to be attractive to overseas business people in a highly competitive world.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president, Kenneth Marcus, calls on the Cape Town business community to support a "Yes" vote in the referendum.

In a statement following the chamber's executive council meeting, he says the chamber supports SACOB's view that the referendum should strengthen and not weaken business confidence.

"This chamber has consistently advocated the abolition of apartheid and the involvement of all representative leaders in negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa.

"The business community cannot afford to stand on the sidelines but, in its own self-interest, has to facilitate the promotion of peaceful political reform in the country.

"SACOB and others have warned that South Africa cannot afford to be isolated from the world economy, its capital resources and its markets.

"South Africa will have to compete strongly for its share of international capital, and the decision in the referendum will play a major role when companies assess the political risk of doing business in South Africa."

Mr Marcus says it is "vitally important" for every qualified voter to register his or her vote in the referendum.

He appeals to all business concerns to make it as easy as possible for staff members to vote on Tuesday.

Political focus on Cape Town

SI Times (CM)

By NORMAN WEST 15/3/92

Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN is to be the political focal point this week with events both inside and outside Parliament vying for attention.

Between noon and 1pm on Wednesday chief referendum officer Mr P J Colyn will announce the results of Tuesday's whites-only referendum at an international press briefing in an auditorium of the Verwoerd Building opposite Parliament.

After a lunch break, Mr Barend Du Plessis, Minister of Finance, will deliver his 1992 Budget speech.

Both the referendum results and the contents of the budget will be broadcast on radio and TV and keenly analysed by stock market watchers.

At the same time as Mr Du Plessis' official speech, the ANC will hold its "alternative" budget debate on the Grand Parade. It will be a symbolic gesture, as was made

when the ANC held its "People's Parliament" simultaneously with Mr De Klerk's opening of this year's session of Parliament on January 24.

The ANC's "People's Budget" — a joint effort by the tripartite alliance of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu on the Parade will be addressed by ANC Secretary-General Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Other speakers will be ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, Welfare Department chief Mrs Winnie Mandela and Cosatu officials Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr John Gomomo.

As happened with the opening of Parliament, the Grand Parade activities will culminate in a march to Parliament.

Organisations and unions participating in the march will draw up demands in a symbolic "People's Budget" to be "presented" to Parliament as was the "People's Parliament Bill" on January 24.

If we get the 'no' vote...

CP 140 15/3/92

3044

Veteran journalist OBED MUSI knows what to expect if the CP takes power and moves the country back to square one.

LOOKING at my old khaki-coloured dompas the other day I thought of the number of times I had been through thick and thin with that plastic-covered 52-page document with a picture of me that makes me look like an escaped convict.

Since all my cohorts in our nightly gathering place were a-buzz with the referendum one

could forgive a not so well-remembered client who thought we were talking of reference books.

Understandable, because there on the TV screen, beating his breast in Old Testament fashion and weeping as if he was one who had lost his harp on the banks of the River Jordan, was Dr Andries Treurnicht. He was promising CP would not bring back old pass or apartheid laws, but would ensure that influx laws were observed. If that did not mean the old dompas then nothing does.

There was this white pal of mine who having long ago lost his ID and perhaps his "liberalism" sent his wife to apply for

one on his behalf. He was amazed at the bureaucracy she had to undergo.

So I felt I should just give him an insight into what used to happen to us right in the middle of Johannesburg - 80, Albert Street to be exact.

The trembling black work-seeker would approach the "blackjack" (municipal policeman) at the gate and ask for the office where workseekers permits were to be found. The cop would send him to "Room 4".

A white-shirted clerk, eyes on the lookout for an under-the-table bribe, would give him the once over and if the "gwayi" was not forthcoming would curt-

ly refer him to Room 8.

After standing in a long queue he would face a stern-faced and ageing white Council employee who had a smattering of African languages (mostly swear words). The clerk would, in colourful terms send him to Room 10 where an armed SAP constable would usher him into the back of a waiting farmer's truck with the words "RW (Refused Work)".

This daddy who'd left his family in Soweto that morning to look for a job would end up digging potatoes on a farm somewhere in Bethal.

(Report by Obad Musi, Media Centre, 2, Herb Street, New Doornfontein.)

Vote 'yes' — Hani

By SEKOLA SELLO

21 Press 15/3/92
304A
Hani
SACP chief Chris Hani has endorsed the 'yes' vote and added his voice to the growing list of those who predict dire consequences for the country should the Conservative Party win Tuesday's referendum.

Hani said if a CP win forced the government to resign and call for a whites-only general election, the SACP and the entire liberation movement would mount a massive campaign to stop such elections. The international community would also be asked to reimpose and intensify all sanctions.

Hani said there would be no point in Codesa continuing if De Klerk resigned or lost the elections. The ANC and SACP would then have to "review all agreements with the government", including those on the armed struggle.

Hani said SA would be ungovernable under a CP government, and it would not be possible to reintroduce apartheid.

Hani vowed that the SACP and ANC would not go into exile or underground.

"We are not prepared to run away from this country. We will remain here. We shall be waging an open, mass struggle."

■ Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that white voters faced a stark choice between democracy and repression, with turmoil in prospect if they rejected De Klerk's reforms.

"If whites make a mistake and vote for repression, the country is in for a hard time. There is going to be unprecedented turmoil and conflict," he said.

"The forces of peace inside and outside the country are too strong to allow the return of oppression," he added.

The ANC would talk to the CP if they came to power, but only as part of efforts to create a multiracial democracy.

Any attempt to return to apartheid would be resisted, Mandela said. He said the ANC could topple any government by mass action — including strikes, and international sanctions.

(Report by Sekola Sello, Media Centre, 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, and Michael Sanders and Barry Renfrew, both of 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.)

STRANGE but true. Did you know there are people in this country who support and vote for people they dislike?

Let me put it differently. In South African politics today one would rather have a strange bedfellow than one you know. In other words, the devil you don't know seems to be a better one than the one you know.

If that confuses you wait until you hear this one.

Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are today closer to the far rightwing than to the National Party or any other black political organisation.

Yes, it's true.

Otherwise, the IFP must explain to the South African nation why they mollycoddle the

Conservative Party. On Friday they surprised all and sundry by signing a non-aggression pact with the Afrikaner

Weerstandsbeweging.

Come on, Buthelezi, your reputation of this pact leaves us suspicious. You are the chief of the IFP and Musa Myeni - your Transvaal leader - would not have signed a pact

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

CP news

15/3/92.

Weird lovers, strange land

304A



with Eugene Terre-Blanche and CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg without your blessings or at least your knowledge.

Myeni says he discussed this matter with you before he signed. Tell us why you kept quiet until Friday.

Worst still, this pact comes on the eve of a crucial South African referendum where a 'yes' or 'no' vote means everything to the people of this country.

Some of us have been watching with interest this development of strange bedfellows forming an unholy alliance. The IFP is purported to be a non-violent political

movement, but all the killings and violence that have taken place over the past eight years in Natal and on the Reef, raises a lot of doubt about this 'non-violence'.

Also, why sign a pact with the violent AWB and the CP when as a peaceful organisation you could have aligned yourselves with peaceful people?

Throughout the build-up to the referendum, the CP and other fighting movements have used Buthelezi's name and that of Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo, Bop leader Lucas Mangope and Chief Kenneth Mopeli as people who understand why there

should be a 'no' vote.

So far, none of these leaders have openly repudiated Dr Andries Treurnicht's utterances.

It was an irony to hear Terre-Blanche say after signing the pact with the IFP on Friday: "We are committed, as South Africans, to solve the country's problems peacefully."

Is this not the same person who this week threatened to use all sorts of violence to block the 'yes' vote?

How on earth could Myeni and the IFP be so gullible as to be used by Terre-Blanche and the CP before this crucial referendum?

This brings us to Bishop Isaac Mokoena, once the darling of the NP, who this week came out strongly in favour of a CP 'no' vote. This is the man who was used to the fullest by the NP as the authentic voice of moderate blacks in this country.

He travelled extensively on a Nat ticket telling the world how irresponsible blacks were and how good the government was.

At one stage he was given money to rent a crowd that demonstrated against Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his return after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

This is the price the Nats are today paying for having created and elevated their own leaders within the black community.

The chickens are coming home to roost.

Should the NP win on Tuesday, they must form closer links with the ANC. This will be the only way to keep this country alive. A win for the CP will spell doom.

Free State blacks 'joining the NP' (304A)

The Argus Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Blacks in the Free State have joined the National Party in increasing numbers since January and plans are underway to open more branches, the NP said yesterday.

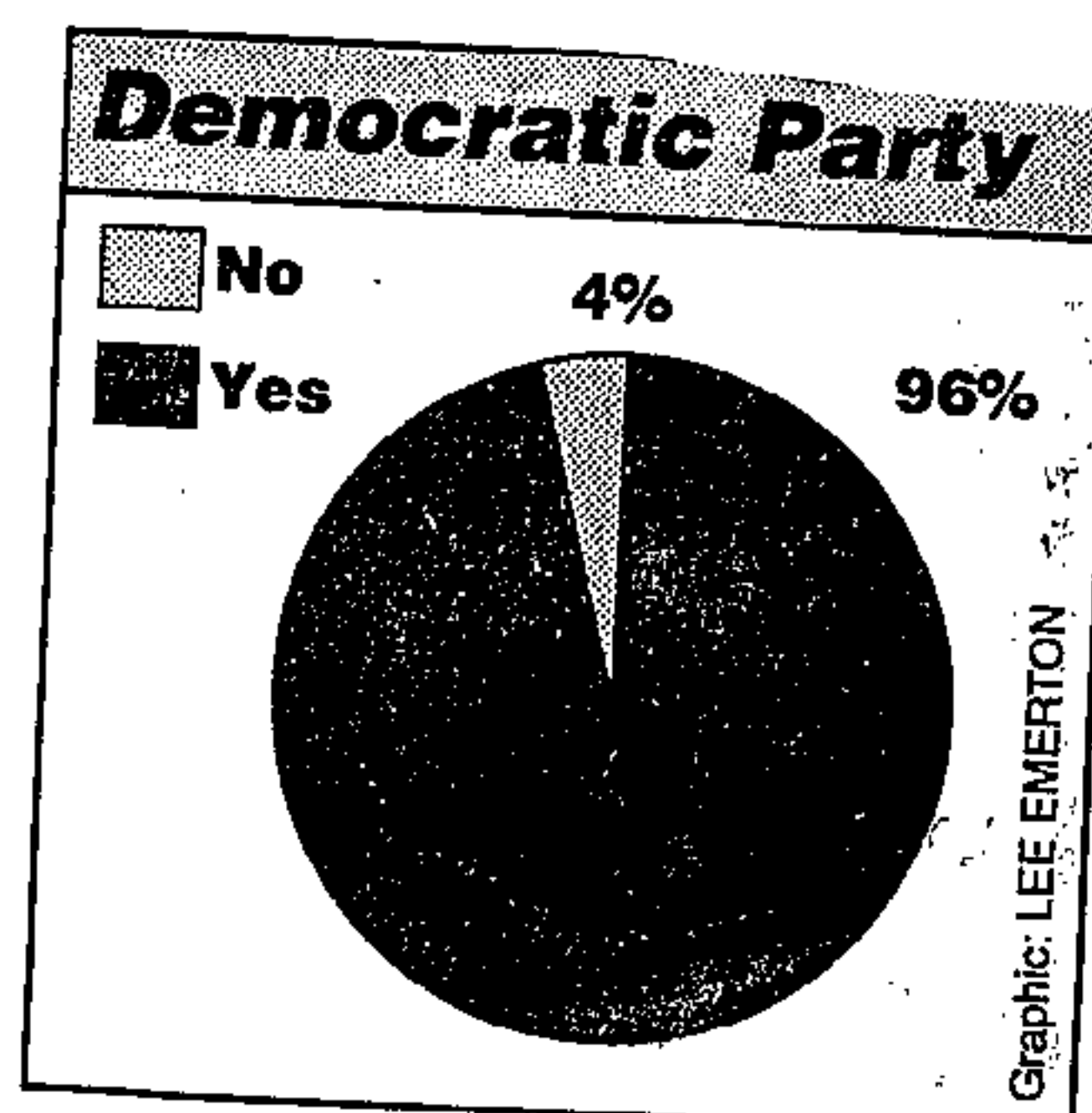
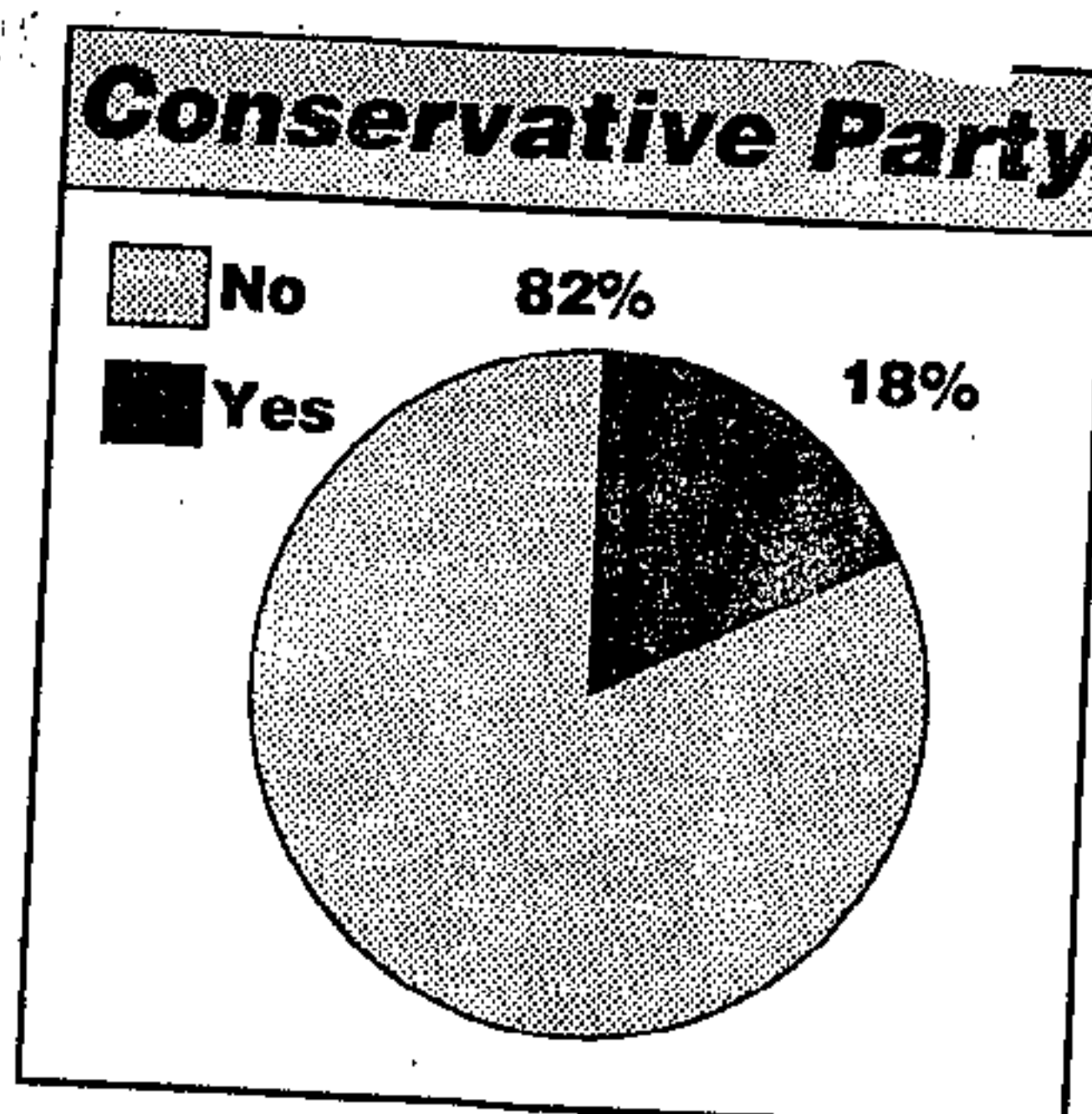
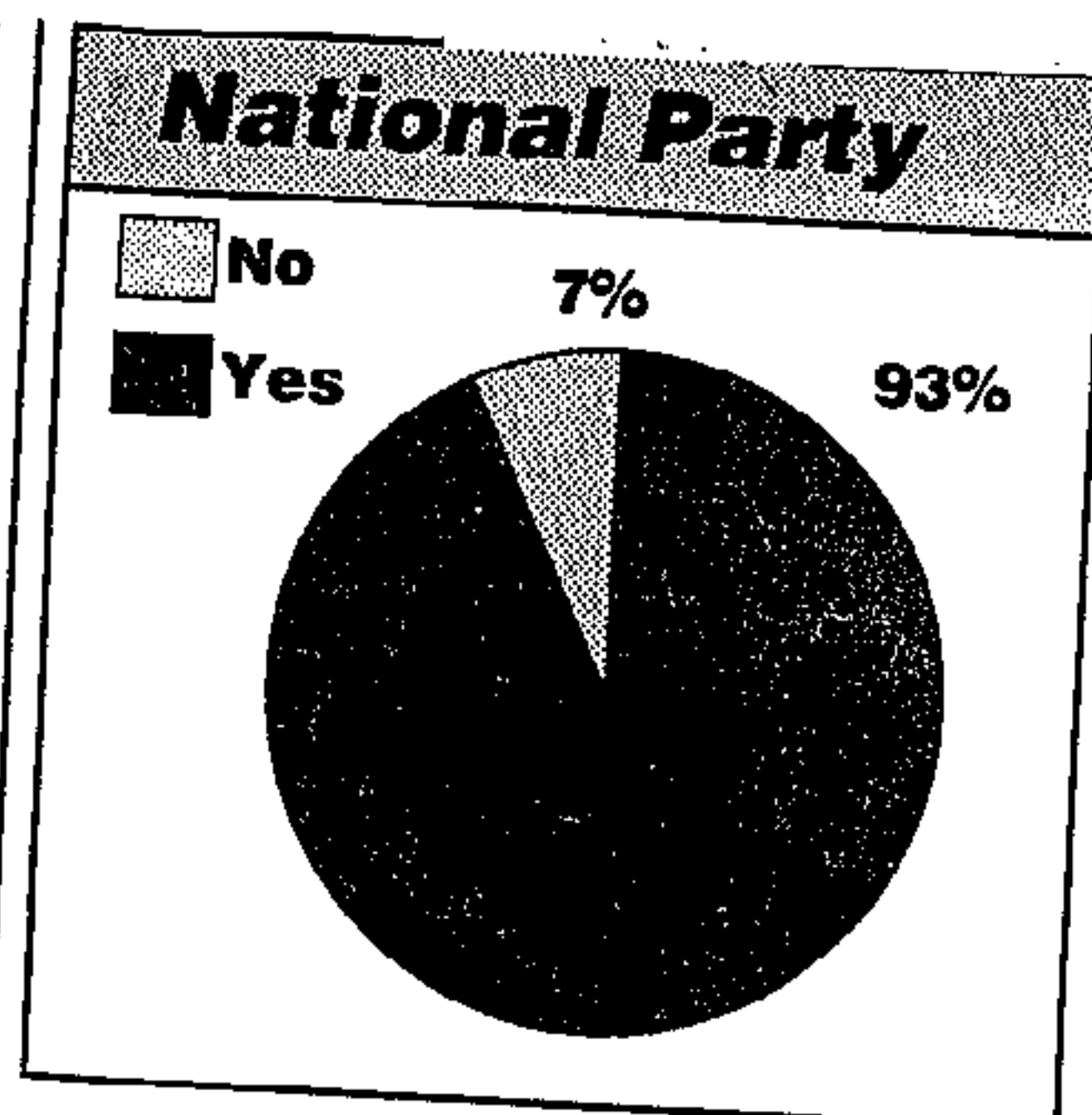
NP Free State secretary general Mr Johan van der Merwe said the first new branch would probably be opened in Koppies. He would not say how many blacks had joined because "the party does not register people on a racial basis".

ARG Most of the black NP members told reporters they joined the NP because they believed in President De Klerk and the NP's policies while others said they joined the party because they supported capitalism.

A few said they were disillusioned by the attitude and policies of various political organisations.

ANC southern Free State spokesman Moses Mogamise said the NP was free to recruit and open branches anywhere.

"We have not experienced any defection of members to the NP in the region," he said.



MOST referendum analysts put the margin of victory for the "yes" campaigners at 55 to 60 percent — and falling.

Independent analyst Donald Simpson, who has been tracking voter swings for the Sunday Times, believes that a 56 percent "yes" vote is now the most likely outcome.

He estimates a surprising 18 percent of Conservative Party voters will turn against their party leadership and vote "yes". These are former National Party supporters who recently converted to the CP in protest against the 1990 reform package but will swing back to the NP on Tuesday. (304A)

Traditional National Party supporters will vote 93 percent "yes" and Democratic Party supporters 94 percent "yes".

All told, says Simpson, the "yes's" should get 1 290 234 votes and the "no's" 902 017 with a 70 percent turnout.

That means six out of the 15 referendum areas will return a "no". They are Beaufort-West, Kimberley, Kroonstad, Pietersburg, Pretoria and Roodepoort.

Seventy percent of English-speakers and 50 percent of Afrikaners, he believes, will support a "yes" vote.

Bitter battle of slogans

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE Bible has become a political pamphlet, with both the CP and NP increasingly quoting selected texts.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the CP has extolled Christianity instead of "heathenism". The CP quotes Deuteronomy, which says no people can elect a foreigner as their king.

Religion, Nazism, terrorism, suicide, domination, everything including fire, brimstone and pestilence have been threatened for voters who vote the wrong way — with the AWB and the ANC targeted as pivotal fear factors.

Nat signs in Potchefstroom, a stark skull and crossbones in black and white, warn "No is suicide". Then, in stark ads late this week, a Nat ad showed a gunman wearing a balaclava and an AWB insignia, with the slogan: "Free with every CP vote, the AWB and all they stand for".

A photograph below that of Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Eugene Terre Blanche of the AWB and

Advice straight from the Good Book

AN NGK prayer group in Johannesburg's Kibler Park prayed for two weeks for a "sign" to tell them how to vote on Tuesday.

The group claims it was directed to Jeremiah 34, verses 15 to 17, where Jews in Jerusalem pledged liberty to free their servants and repent before God — only to change their minds later.

Verse 17 reads: "Therefore thus says the Lord: You have not obeyed

Me in proclaiming liberty ... behold I proclaim liberty to you ... to the sword, to pestilence and to famine. And I will deliver you to trouble among all the kingdoms of the earth."

The prayer group believes a "no" vote will bring the sword, pestilence and famine on SA.

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

Jaap Marais of the HNP has the caption "Not family but blood brothers nevertheless".

Late this week the party that had some of its founders interned for Nazi sympathies during the Second World War placed an advertisement showing the Nazi swastika and the slogan: "This one cost 45-million lives and took six years of war to stop."

"How many lives will this one cost?" the Nat party advertisement queried next to the swastika-like emblem of the AWB.

In a snide sidwape the CP had a cartoon poster of President De Klerk on his knees tugging at the trouser leg of Nelson Mandela, who has arms folded smiling smugly — the slogan: "Nee, vir Mandela en sy Klerk."

Dr Treurnicht, in an open letter published on Thursday, ingenuously tries to claim that the SA economy has "collapsed ... over the past 30 months". He says the "most important reason why we fail to attract foreign investment is crime and violence" and,

after attacking communism and its links to the ANC, proposes a solution for South Africa adopted by the former USSR and Eastern Europe — a "commonwealth of nations".

NP signs have had the P defaced to resemble a communist hammer and sickle. Stop signs around the country have been defaced by "no" supporters, who have continued the theme into posters by spray-painting De Klerk below Stop.

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

51 Times 15/3/92

STimes

15/3/92

(304A)

'Yes vote can be an apartheid apology'

STIMES (CM) By EVE VOSLOO

(304A)

ALTHOUGH he does not have the vote, the Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Lawrence Henry, is urging the white electorate to vote "a resounding yes" in the referendum "as a clear apology for apartheid and a firm commitment to a democratic South Africa".

Archbishop Henry said this week that he and the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference looked forward to the day "when all the people of South Africa can exercise their democratic right to vote in choosing a new constitution and a new government".

The bishop said it was in the best interests of all South Africans to know as clearly as possible where the white community generally stood on the issue of a negotiated settlement for a non-racial democracy.

Archbishop Henry has arranged for a day of prayer and vigil in St Mary's Cathedral, beginning with holy mass and exposition of the blessed sacrament at 7am, followed by masses at 1.10pm, 5pm and 7.30pm.

Councillor

voted 'yes'

S/Times (C.M.) 15/3/92

MILNERTON Councillor for Ward 5, Mr Russell Gee, has pointed out that he voted in favour of a decision taken by the Milnerton council last week to call on all white voters in the town to vote "yes" in Tuesday's referendum.

In a Sunday Times Metro report last Sunday he was incorrectly reported as having voted against the motion proposed by Milnerton's ex-mayor, Mr Willem van Staden.

(306A)
"In actual fact I supported the request (by Mr Van Staden) to debate the motion, debated the item and voted for it to be accepted," Mr Gee said this week.

"I think it is also important to point out that councillor Isobel Hutchison did not vote against the motion (as reported) but voted against the principle of a non-political council giving guidance on such an important political matter. Councillor Hutchison made it very clear she would personally be voting "yes" in the referendum".

WORLDS APART

S/Times
15/3/92
304A



WHITE South Africans have been presented with two starkly contrasting world views in the short but intense referendum campaign.

On one hand, the NP and DP have put forward a view of a liberal democratic South Africa that pursues free trade policies and actively seeks to engage with the outside world.

The Conservatives, the HNP and AWB, on the other, have proffered a narrow nationalism that is isolationist and incorporates strong elements of economic protectionism, militarism, authoritarianism and socialism.

The wording of the referendum question — "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which President FW de Klerk began on February 2 1990" — has placed the onus on President De Klerk and the Democrats to spell out the essential components of the emerging constitution.

Certainties

During his whistle-stop tour of the nation over the past two weeks, Mr De Klerk has identified 16 principles which represent his bottom line.

Some, like multi-party democracy, regular proportional-representation elections and strong regional government which derives its power from the constitution, he has said, can be regarded as certainties as the negotiating partners at Codesa have already agreed to them.

Others, like measures to prevent the abuse of power by the majority and to ensure that South Africa pursues free-market economic policies, he says, have still to be negotiated. But, he has added, the NP will not accept a constitution that does not either incorporate these principles or address the areas of concern satisfactorily.

Spectre



President FW de Klerk reaching out to the world and Eugene Terre Blanche, circled, returning

base instincts, been able to mount an extremely effective campaign which relies heavily on door-to-door canvassing.

Their meetings, advertised by word of mouth or limited street posters, have been easily the best attended.

There is nothing sophisticated about the "no" campaign. Its essential message is that a "yes" vote is a vote for godless communism.

This message, in various formulations, was the essential ingredient of the

just how ineffective the "yes" propaganda is on an audience such as this.

The "yes" poster featuring the "ystergarde" member that normally reads: "You can stop this man, vote Yes to a future without violence" has been amended to read: "Wie gaan hierdie manne stop ... stem Nee vir 'n toekoms."

Where Mr de Klerk and the "yes" campaign have made much of the end of South Africa's international isolation,

government which would not get overseas loans. In addition the communists would confiscate land like Mr Robert Mugabe and: "Think what will happen to your pensions." Audiences love this. So much for the assurances of Mr Nelson Mandela.

But what they love even more is Mr Marais on the economy.

He recalls the 60s, when South Africa had high growth rates and low interest rates. Dr Verwoerd, he says, was

No initial financial outlay. 10kg Tel. (0331) 61691 Now.

To get his message across, Mr De Klerk has relied on extensive media coverage of his US-style roadshow. His ministers, Mr Pik Botha foremost among them, have toured the country addressing more traditional meetings. The DP, too, has relied on traditional political meetings and both it and the NP have backed them up with telephone canvassing.

The NP and the private-sector referendum fund have concentrated in a series of newspaper advertisements on the negative consequences of a "no" vote in terms of international isolation, economic ruin and the spectre of the fascism of the AWB.

The right wing, because it is simply asking people to say "no" to all of this, has not really had to detail what it has in mind as an alternative. It has, however, given some hints.

Its campaign has been directed at the fear, envy, greed and anger of white voters.

Despite being outspent by at least five to one, the right-wing groups have nevertheless, by appealing to these

by CP deputy leader Ferd Hartzenberg, HNP leader Jaap Marais and AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche that were enthusiastically received by more than 1500 people at the Bloemfontein city hall this week.

It is striking at "no" meetings just how acceptable the AWB has become. Little boys dressed in khaki, their eyes filled with adulation, queue up to perform the AWB greeting, involving a clutching of forearms, with black-uniformed "Ystergarde". Khaki-clad mothers dress their babies in khaki.

Those not in uniform, representing a cross-section of Afrikanerdom and including significant numbers of university students, revel in chanting "AWB, AWB, AWB ..." when the three leaders make their entrance.

One thing is clear. The referendum has irrevocably melded the formerly disparate elements of the right. The AWB, once on the fringes, has not just entered the mainstream but has become the rider of the CP horse.

Even while still digesting this, one becomes aware of

ing James 4:4 which reads: "A friend of the world is an enemy of God."

The threat of renewed sanctions is negated with remarkable ease before an audience such as this with the assertion that the world cannot do without South Africa's raw materials.

Ruin

When it comes to what US President George Bush calls the "vision thing", all three leaders are suspiciously vague.

But it is significant that none of them talks about a white homeland. What they have in mind is an Afrikaner homeland. They refer to it repeatedly.

The only sop to English-speakers comes from Mr Terre Blanche, who refers to them as "English-speaking Afrikaners". Their ancestors, he argues, did not fight and die in the Boer War only to have the country handed to communists 90 years later.

Dr Hartzenberg counters arguments that a "no" vote will result in economic ruin by saying that a "yes" vote would result in a communist

loans. It could fund new investments out of the savings of the "volk". The reason for all this was, of course, that apartheid was being properly implemented.

Quoting, much to the disgust of the audience, from the hated local newspaper Die Volksblad, he says that white women in Bloemfontein have become so impoverished that they are looking for jobs as domestics and car washers.

The reason for this, he says, is not just that blacks are being enriched at the expense of whites, but an even more sinister enemy.

Again quoting from a newspaper, he reads that directors like Trencor's Mr Neil Jowell earn dividends of as much as R49 000 a week.

The main reason you have become poorer, he tells the audience, is that there has been a transfer of wealth to a small group of profiteers.

It's "Hoggenheimer" all over again and the audience responds rapturously.

The trouble is that in the national debate between liberal democracy and communism, the threat posed by a third competing ideology,

3/Time

15/3/92

504A

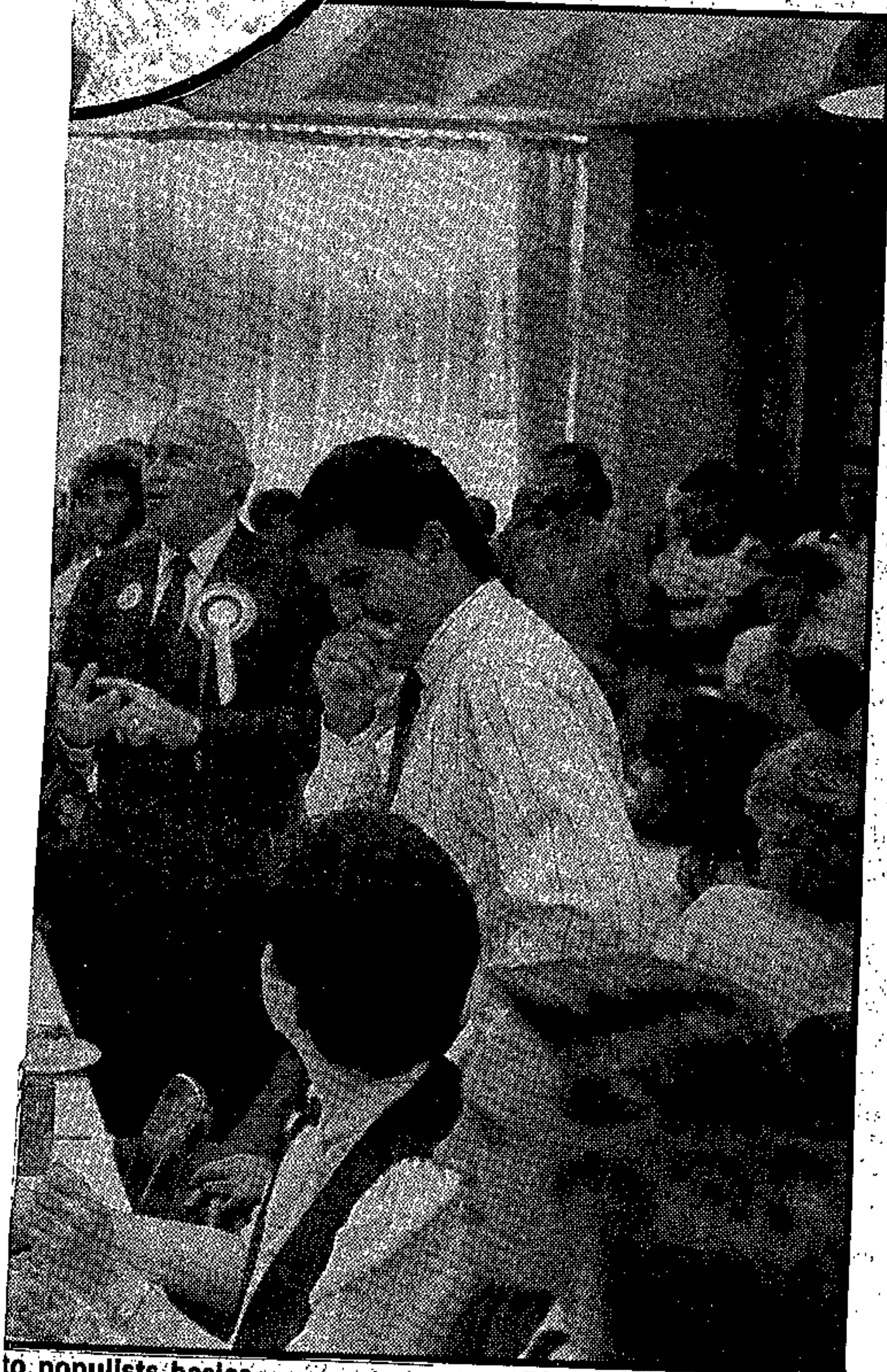
3/TIMES

15/3/42

304A



**MIKE
ROBERTSON**
believes
Tuesday's
referendum
boils down to a
simple choice:
being part of
the world or
out of it.



to populists' basics

Pictures: JUHAN KUUS

nationalism, and at that a nationalism that barely conceals the authoritarianism, racism and socialism of its proponents, has been underestimated by the NP, the DP, the business establishment and the media.

It has a seductive appeal in troubled times and in all probability most whites in the Free State, the northern Cape and the rural Transvaal will vote for it on Tuesday.

A massive turnout of NP and DP supporters in the

major metropolitan areas would offset this and ensure a "yes" majority.

But, even then, at least 40 percent and probably more white South Africans will have rejected reform. Unless their fears, concerns and even prejudices are taken into account and dealt with, fascism will continue to hold an allure for them and they will continue to be an immensely destabilising factor in the effort to create a new South Africa.



Now a love-sick warrior seizes the high ground

S/Times 18/3/92

(304A)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KEN OWEN

EUROPE'S most powerful country is offering South Africa a dramatic and beneficial "special relationship" — but only if there is a "yes" vote on Tuesday.

A resolution adopted this week by Germany's three governing parties promises South Africa a "fair and active" economic partnership on all levels.

It also proposes the ending of all sanctions, including the oil embargo but not

By CHARLENE SMITH

the arms embargo.

The parties want to encourage the emergence of a regional economic centre in Southern Africa and propose a co-operation agreement to help the country during the transition phase to democracy.

Full details of the tantalising plan are not available but Mr Michael Schmunk of the German Embassy in Pretoria con-

firmly the intention was to develop a full relationship between the European Community and SA as soon as a non-racial government was in place.

"We are considering whether SA should be defined as a Third World country so it can receive aid on that basis. Alternatively, we could assist meantime with cross-border aid projects which would include several projects to neighbouring countries."

Mr Schmunk said his government was looking at direct economic aid and it could become a reality if there was a positive referendum result.

Germany is also keen to re-establish cultural ties with South Africa and as a first step is considering founding a Goethe Institute for the study of German language and culture.

Professor Karl-Heinz Hornhues, deputy chairman of the co-governing Christian Democrat parliamentary caucus, called on the German government

☐ To Page 2



IVE

RY

DDIL

FD

of PW's last
: Page 4

☐ **From Page 1** He said the referendum and the EC to help the offered a "great historical reform process in South Africa" chance for the 'guardians of Africa "so that the way to a of the grail of apartheid' to democratic future be finally pushed back and becomes irreversible". for SA to take a big consti-

"The emergence of a regional economic centre in a democratic, socially stable and economically

attractive South Africa is also of interest for the European Community and calls for a concrete European co-operation offer, especially in the transitional phase," he said.

In rare agreement, all German parties backed increased aid to SA if there was a "yes" vote on Tuesday.

He said the referendum offered a "great historical chance for the 'guardians of the grail of apartheid' to be finally pushed back and for SA to take a big consti-

...to take a big constitutional jump forward to open the door for a democratic future for all members of the population".

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

On the same day, a special debate in the German

Bundestag backed the lifting of the oil embargo against South Africa — again only if the referendum has a positive result.

The total lifting of the 1985 embargo will need the backing of the EC, and indications are strong that this will be given in return for a strong pro-reform vote on Tuesday.

A strong "yes" vote will also give impetus to a scheduled meeting in April in which the EC Industrial Council of Ministers will discuss ways to enhance SA's entry to EC markets.

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

announcement four days earlier that he would meet Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for talks on August 28 — a meeting PW Botha said he had not been told about.

But the nascent power struggle between PW and FW had been six months in embryo.

In cabinet circles, it was an open secret that Mr Botha was fiercely opposed to Mr De Klerk as his successor, and bitter that the caucus had chosen him over Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis to head the National Party. Mr Botha had relinquished the leadership on February 2 — two weeks after suffering a mild stroke.

In March, Mr De Klerk called President Botha and told him that he had taken his case to the National Party's highest body, the federal council. He informed Mr Botha the party had decided its leader and president should be one — and it wanted him at the helm, not PW.

On April 6, Mr Botha announced that an election would take place on September 6 and intimated that he would retire when it was over.

From mid-June, Mr De Klerk made several visits abroad to meet European leaders. Amid speculation that his next trip would be

Eventually, when it ended, and after the usual tragic appearances of some Nationalists on TV — I'll come back to that later — I could not sleep that night. Thursday night.

"I regarded this as an absolute slap in the South African head of state's face. That a head of state of a neighbouring country, which is not well-disposed to us, can announce, without my knowing about it, that two of my ministers are going to talk to him on a given date. Doesn't one arrange these things in an orderly fashion?"

"I didn't sleep a wink that night. First I called Minister Botha. I couldn't reach him, couldn't get a decent connection. I accept that, I'm not saying it accusingly. When I failed to reach him, I telephoned Minister De Klerk. I got the answer, he is in Johannesburg and cannot be reached by telephone. Fine, I accepted it.

"Then I called General Malan. I told him: But this is an impossible situation. I cannot accept this and I cannot accept it as head of state.

"I told him I would rather resign than accept it."

The next morning, an angry President Botha issued a public statement saying he had not been informed about the Kaunda meeting and called his last

Prayer for guidance offered by Dawie de Villiers and the president arranging for tea to be served around 10am. "I don't know if there are eats, but I'm sure you'll want a cup of tea around then," he told the assembly.

Emphasising the gravity of the occasion, he urged his colleagues to "remain calm and put your case to the best of your ability".

Dispensing with cabinet protocol, which sees ministers speaking in order of seniority, he waived his right to do so first, inviting Mr De Klerk to state his case.

In his preamble, Mr De Klerk said he had called his colleagues to a meeting on the previous Saturday morning.

"We knew your statement was already in the hands of the media, and we had do something to consider our options, and bring peace and calm to the situation.

"As far as the Kaunda visit goes, it was at his initiative, and I had decided it would not be in the interest of the party nor the country to see him during the election campaign.

"I was in Natal for a meeting when colleague Pik telephoned me and said a crisis was brewing over Koevoet, which made a visit to Kaunda necessary as soon as possible, to ensure that the Security Council would not take a negative decision on the Koevoet problem.

"I told him that in those circumstances, I would have to consider it, but I wanted to be sure of two things: first, that it would not blow up in our faces, because we were perilously close to the election, and second, I asked him to take the matter up with you.

"My viewpoint and the viewpoint of the National Party in this respect is still that formulated under your leadership, namely that we negotiate only with people and organisations that do not espouse violence, and who have committed themselves to peaceful solutions." Mr De Klerk assured the president.

"Secondly, we do not negotiate with such people through go-betweens. As a sovereign state, we welcome to the table all who are committed to peace, and we will conduct our

was an internationalised problem, and we were not dealing in that instance with a sovereign state.

"If there are new facts that indicate that the National Party, and I as leader of the National Party, have shifted policy in this regard, I will ensure that no such assumptions can be made, because at this stage, serious problems could result.

"We are facing a two-pronged attack — firstly political and secondly an assault on the administration of the country.

"We earnestly desire to ensure that your honour and your dignity are not impaired. On the other hand, we must ensure that the National Party emerges from this situation in a way that guarantees maximum support from those who stand behind us, so that we can give them the heartfelt assurance that they can safely support us and should resist efforts to weaken our position in the political arena.

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

Support from the other ministers came by rote: Pik Botha, Magnus Malan, Gerrit Viljoen, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Greyling Wentzel, Gert Steyn, Barend du Plessis, Stoffel Botha, Gene Louw, Willie van Niekerk, Adriaan Vlok, Gert Kotze, Stoffel van der Merwe and Eli Louw, all asked PW to go. All had their say.

PW then had his. He stated categorically that he could not permit "the Minister of National Education" to hold talks with the Zambian president — "the rogue of Africa" against whom he had frequently warned.

"... this is a man who wants to subjugate this country ... who wants to crush South Africa under the ANC's heel.

"You are prepared to sacrifice me for the sake of

I am warning you day, you are playing with fire. You are playing with the ANC.

"I say Kaunda wants use the ANC to make certain constitutional proposals to you. My latest intelligence is that Oliver Tambo is paralysed on the right side after a serious stroke and this spells calamity for South Africa, because it means Umkhonto we Sizwe is going to be more powerful. And that means simply that Kaunda wants to drag you into a trap to negotiate with the ANC, and you will have to say no.

"Why won't you allow me to say this? Why do you balk at it? No, you are too hasty.

"I knew what to expect from you this weekend, because this cabinet is a sieve. This cabinet is a sieve. Most of what you say in this cabinet, leaks out.

"Now I come to the election. We could have won the election another way, but I'll tell you, I've been watching you on television, those you sitting around the table. Most of you, or a large number of you have performed very badly on television. And this includes ministers who say the state president's powers must be curtailed, wings must be clipped.

"I'm giving it to you straight. You come off poorly on television, or you are apologetic. You do come across as frightened. And do you know why Nationalists are angry with you? Because the party lost its sense of propriety in the caucus earlier this year, and in the federal council.

"I told you two weeks ago to stop letting the party down. Now I'm telling you again: you are letting the party down. You should have stood with Vereeniging. A left fight, or he goes up (Mr De Klerk, former MP for Vereeniging, decided not to stand in that seat. It was won by the CP.)

"You can't play state president before you

I have the right to fire you. If I only had enough enmity left in me, I would. For the first time in this country's history, a cabinet tells its head: Go

AUSTRALIAN



U.S.A.
CANADIAN
MIGRATION

SOUTHERN CROSS COMMERCIAL CONSULTANTS (PTY) LTD of Australia and SARCAN INC of North America are established professional migration consultants.

Our record of success internationally places us as a leader in migration services.

For a personal and highly confidential interview please contact Tracfin cc. Tel (011) 465-3001. Fax (011) 465-3708

EXCLUSIVE

Former State President PW Botha's last cabinet meeting, at which his ministers bluntly told him he must go, was a bitter confrontation. Minutes of the meeting, leaked to the Sunday Times, show how PW went out in a blaze of fury

IT began with a prayer by dominee and former Springbok rugby captain Dawie de Villiers.

It ended with ousted State President PW Botha exhorting his successor, FW de Klerk, to make sure his relationship with the Lord was in order.

The date was August 14 1989. The place was Tuynhuys, Cape Town.

The occasion was the last cabinet meeting presided over by the former State President — the meeting at which all his ministers sought his resignation.

By 8.30am on that wet and wintry Monday, South Africa's 15 most senior politicians had taken their customary seats at the horseshoe-shaped table.

Around 11.30, the man who had served the National Party for 53 years bade them farewell. He took a solemn walk in the rain-washed gardens with his trusted aide, naval Captain Ters Ehlers.

For three hours, the cabinet room had reverberated as one minister after another voiced the fear that if Mr Botha remained in office, the National Party would lose the general election he had called five weeks hence.

One by one, they pledged support for the move to unseat him.

The acrimony of the president's exchanges with his colleagues escalated in proportion to the mounting clamour for his resignation.

When the meeting adjourned, PW Botha stood alone — deserted by even the closest of those he had appointed to office.

Not even his staunchest allies and fellow securocrats — erstwhile Defence Minister Magnus Malan and former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — dissented when party leader FW de Klerk proposed that Mr Botha retire to his Wilderness home.

The constitutional crisis facing South Africa on that August morning was the most serious in the country's history. It was sparked by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's an-

Special report
by MARLENE
BURGER and
DE WET
POTGIETER

to Washington to meet President George Bush, Mr De Klerk and Pik Botha were invited to Zambia.

In terms of regulations governing foreign visits by cabinet members, the invitation was discussed with Mr Botha, and it was decided to delay the meeting until after the September 6 election.

But on August 10, Mr Kaunda announced that the talks would take place before the end of the month.

To this day, Mr Botha maintains that he was not consulted on this visit — that he heard about it on the 8pm TV news.

He told the cabinet: "... I was still making myself at home, around eight, when I had to hear on the TV news that President Kaunda was announcing that Mr Pik Botha and FW de Klerk would visit him in Zambia on August 28 for talks.

"This had not been cleared by me in terms of the cabinet regulations.

"I immediately called Minister Botha ...

"When I asked him if he had heard what had happened, he was amazed, and he used these words: 'He has let me down.'

"Then he said: 'I'll correct it while this news broadcast is still on.'

"The news was still on

MINUTES OF THE DRAMATIC MEETING



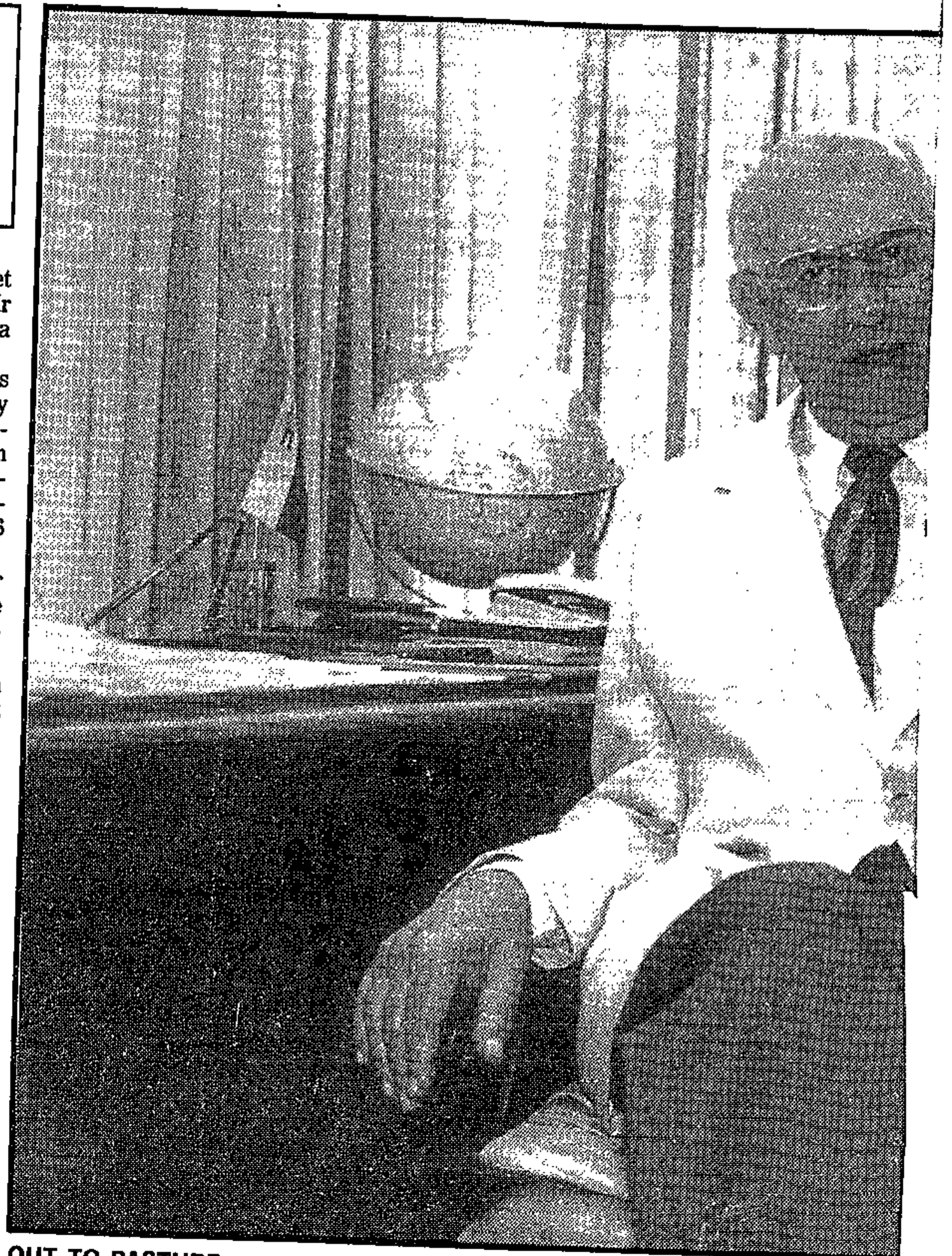
FW DE KLERK ... 'not soft on the ANC'

PW: Yes, that's the
What you are in
for myself. Why

FW: That's not what

PW: Why not? Why do
while holding a

FW: President, that



OUT TO PASTURE ... 'You are unleashing wild horses' PW Botha warned

cabinet meeting for Monday.

The meeting began cordially, with mutual agreement that the proceedings would be tape-recorded, a

own negotiations, and in no way place ourselves in the situation of Rhodesia, or adopt the typically African approach followed in South West Africa, because that

your chat with Kaunda — this cabinet is prepared to do so. You ignore the rule of the cabinet in order to satisfy your lust in this respect.

8 Times
15/3/92

COMP 17

Sounds GREAT[®]

A NEW CONCEPT

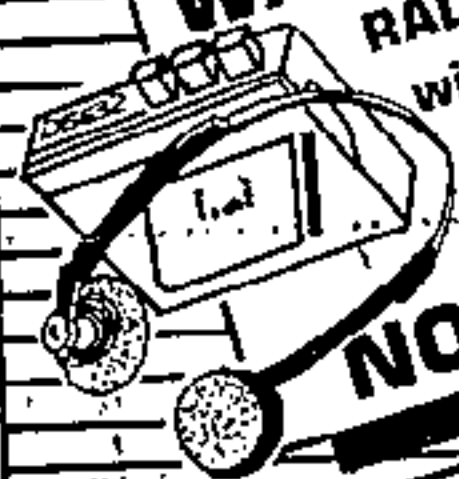
**GRAND
OPENING
OF**



Shop No. 2 East Rand Mall
Rietfontein Road, Boksburg
Tel: 826-6395/6/7



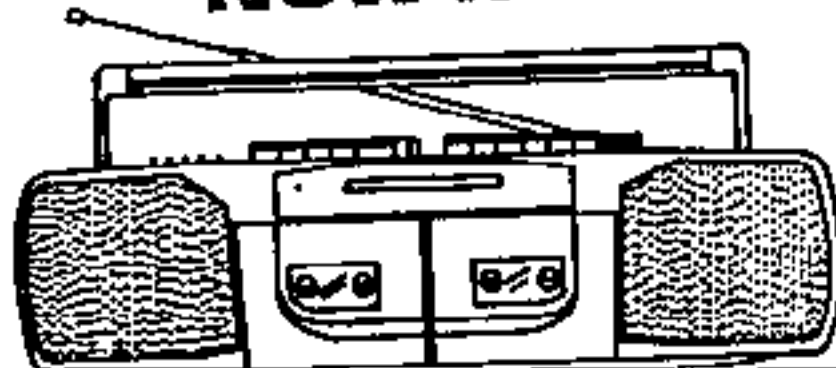
**SCIENTIFIC
CALCULATOR**
Perfect for School use
WAS R49-00
NOW
INCREDIBLE PRICE OF R29-00



WALKMAN with FM/AM
RADIO CASSETTE PLAYER
with headphones, comes in
Red / White or Black
WAS R149-00
NOW ONLY R79-00

Portable Radio

- 4 Band Radio
 - 3 Band Graphic
 - Double Tape Deck
 - Hi-speed dubbing
 - Bass Booster
- WAS R350-00
NOW R270-00



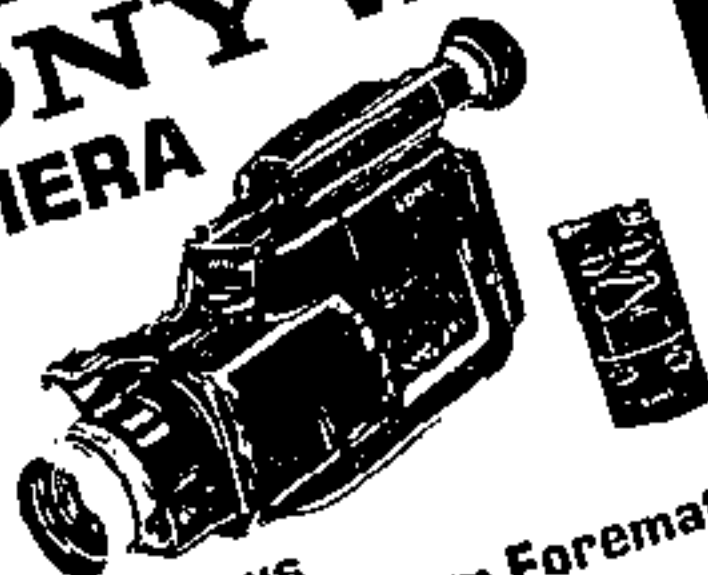
Famous make VHS Video

- Full remote
- Quick start recording
- 4 event / 2 week timer
- Digital tracking

WAS R1499-00
NOW R1299-00



SONY VIDEO CAMERA



- Auto Focus
 - Auto Zoom (8 mm Format)
 - FREE LESSON
- WAS R3849-00
NOW R3399-00

KENWOOD

Normal price R1499-00 incl. VAT
Limited stock offer **R1350-00**



- Features:
- Anti theft
 - Music search
 - Metal Tape
 - Auto reverse
 - Fader
 - Separate Bass & Treble

FREE FITTING incl. VAT.
Huge range of car radios fitted from R195-00 incl. VAT.

ORION 51cm COLOUR T.V.

- Remote control
- 1 year guarantee
- Black Matrix Tube
- Fully imported from Japan

WAS R1599-00
NOW R1350-00



TELEFUNKEN - MP 140 37cm COLOUR T.V.

- Fully remote
- On screen display simulcast



WAS R1 399-00
NOW R1 299-00
• Wide range of TV games available.
• We'll better any Hyperstore.
• Best Price

PIONEER HI-FI

- A229 Amplifier 35 RMS
- CTW 340 Tape Deck - Dolby B & C
- PD 4700 CD Player - Bit Stream
- SDI Speakers - 3 way - 130 watts max

WAS R4499-00
NOW R3850-00



TDK E195 VIDEO TAPE
WAS R24-99 NOW R23-15
SONY E120 VIDEO TAPE
WAS R20-99 NOW R18-99
SONY 18MM CASSETTE
WAS R49-99 NOW R45-00
SONY TAPE EF 60
WAS R4-99 NOW R4-45

SHARP MIDI HI-FI CMS 150 CD

- Turntable
- Tuner
- 3 Band Graphic Equalizer
- Double Tape Deck
- CD Player

WAS R2999-00
NOW R2499-00



**20% OFF
ON ALL VIDEO GAME
CARTRIDGES**

- Best Prices.
- We also deal in Insurance Replacements.
- Free quotes welcome. • Prices include Vat.

NG THAT SENT PW BOTHA INTO THE POLITICAL WILDERNESS

coward's way of doing it.
plying is that I can't think
don't you say it?
I'm saying.

you insinuate it with a smile,
dagger in your hand?
's not what I'm insinuating.

304A

S/Times
15/3/92



De Klerk at the historic meeting in Tuynhuys

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

state president. I grant you the chance to be that, but then you must fight.

"I warned against an early election. Members of this cabinet prodded me to

election. But no — my advice was thrown to the wind. And now you are sitting in a pickle.

"Yet this morning, you have — I'm tempted to say

point another man. Why? Because I oppose a Kaunda? Because I oppose the ANC? Must I go because of that?

"I am prepared to leave.

Klerk told him:

"If that is your decision, we accept it, but we will not be silent — depending on what you say — and we will be obliged to put our viewpoint clearly and loudly.

"I said at the start that the question of Kaunda did not represent a change of approach in respect of the ANC and in respect of our strong stand on the ANC. Any deduction that we want to consort with the ANC — that we are naive about Kaunda — would honestly be wrong," he said.

Responded President Botha: "When I opened the newspapers this morning, the message was clear ... 'the die has been cast'. The propaganda machine is running. You have five minutes to discuss things. If you stand by your proposal, I stand by mine. To tell you the truth, I have the right to fire you. If I only had enough enmity left in me, I would.

"For the first time in this country's history, a cabinet tells its head: Go.

"Hertzog was a man. He walked out of Botha's cabinet. He didn't allow himself to be kicked out because he refused to accept Botha's views. He was a man, and I believe in a man. But if you think I'm a coward, you are making a big mistake. I'm not your coward."

After a five-minute adjournment, Mr De Klerk — acting as spokesman — informed President Botha that the cabinet had no option but to accept his decision.

"I want to emphasise two things," he said.

"First, it would be an incorrect assumption to say we have gone soft on the ANC, or that we are being led around by the nose by anyone who wants to promote the ANC's case. I don't want to prescribe to you, but there is a serious risk that the deduction can be made that you suspect us of changing our position on this, and that could give rise to a furious debate.

"Secondly, our suggestion about the Wilderness stems from our concern over your health."

FW: That's not what I'm saying.

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

FW: President, that's not what I'm insinuating.

PW: Look, you will go too far. I am healthy. Is any one of you in a position to supply a medical certificate testifying that you are healthy? Let me hear, how many of you are sitting here with pills in your pockets? But you drag my health into it. It's far-fetched. Oh, that's going to be your new tack, your new propaganda. He's not compos mentis.

FW: No, that's not what we are saying.

PW: Oh yes, that is what you are saying. Where do you get it that my health is bad? I'm leaving tonight. From tomorrow I'm going to relax. You need not worry about my health, leave that in God's hands.

FW: We will, and we hope ...

PW: And you keep your relationship with Him in order.

FW: We'll do that, President. It looks, then, as if ...

PW: This is a far-fetched thing you are bringing up. You are more tactless than I thought you were.

FW: I was direct, President, as you asked us to be.

PW: But I didn't attack your person, why did you bring up my health? Is this the story that you and your henchmen will take into the world?

FW: I have no henchmen, President ...

PW: Oh yes, very much so.

FW: ... and I do not mean to insult you. I assure you that I will deal with this matter on my knees, and we pray for strength on your behalf.

PW: I will not lie about my reasons. I'm sorry, colleague, I will not be party to the kind of hypocrisy you got the federal council to accept. I will follow my conscience. I will go on television tonight and give my reasons for resigning.

You can adjourn — but I warn you: you are facing an extremely difficult time. I feel sorry for you. The powers that you have unleashed, are wild horses.

ON A



FW under pressure as party's agents say Free State and Transvaal could fall to No's

KNIFE THROAT

SITWES 15/3/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

3041

SOUTH AFRICA'S future rests on a knife edge this weekend as an unexpected surge of opposition to President FW de Klerk threatens hopes of a 'yes' majority in Tuesday's historic referendum.

Alarm bells began ringing for the National Party when canvass returns showed the whole of the Free State and the Transvaal, with the exception of Johannesburg, could fall to the right-wing 'no' campaign.

This would leave Mr De Klerk with little better than an even chance of winning the mandate for reforms that are vital if South Africa is to avoid a political and economic calamity.

Adding to the president's problems is escalating violence in black townships, an economy on hold, foreign pressure and a rising tide of racism and fascism.

His chief foes, meanwhile, yesterday met to form a united front against his reform programme. Forty-six right-wing organisations banded together to form the Regse Blanke Volksfront (Right White People's Front)—an unprecedented show of conservative unity.

Concern

With two days to go before the country's 3.3-million white voters go to the polling booths, the National Party hopes of a landslide victory have all but disappeared. Although the party is still expecting a 55 percent 'yes' vote, some ministers are openly concerned that things may

Bok Jannie leads a 'yes' charge for the referendum tryline

TRANSVAAL rugby captain Jannie Breedts (below) will lead his team against Western Province on Referendum Day — but only after he's led the way to the polling booths to vote 'yes'.

At practice yesterday for Tuesday's first big match of the 1992 season, the former Springbok skipper made no secret of which way he would vote. The rest of the team were not saying — but they had no hesitation in

gathering for a Referendum team picture with 'yes' placards.

Dr Louis Luyt, president of the Transvaal RFU, said yesterday: "If there's a 'no' vote, we might as well close down all the rugby stadiums, because that's exactly what will happen. The CP can say what they like, but the only way they will ever see the Wallabies is by going to Australia."

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA



a 51 percent yes vote, some ministers are openly concerned that things may yet go wrong.

The National Party commissioned a private poll recently to establish its support base. The poll showed 58 percent of whites would vote "yes" while another 13 percent were undecided.

Since then, however, party sources have reported an erosion of support to the right-wing.

"My mind is not as easy as I would have liked it to have been," a top NP official said.

Mr De Klerk says a majority of one would be sufficient to maintain his reform programme, but the 55 percent "yes" vote his party anticipates would be far from the unambiguous mandate he is seeking.

Crunch

A victory for the reform camp will only be achieved with a massive turnout of "yes" voters in Johannesburg and the major metropolitan areas of the Cape and at least a 70 percent majority among the fickle English-speaking voters of Natal.

A senior CP MP said "The crunch is among English voters".

The fiercest battle, National Party sources said, would be in the Pretoria region.

With 560 896 voters, it is the largest in the country. Here the "yes" campaign seems to have come most seriously adrift with heavy defections from the National Party, particularly among civil servants and security force members.

A skilful CP propaganda campaign capitalising on

INSIDE

- The Aussie and the CP 'waffler'
- The calamity that faces SA business
- A love-sick warrior seizes the high ground
- The no-men and the yes-men: worlds apart
- Investors back a 'yes' vote: Business Times

the weak economy, the high crime rate, the ANC's communist connections, foreign "intervention" and suspicion of big business motives, have all played their part.

Conservative Party MPs predict a 56 percent "no" vote in this referendum region, which also includes the Eastern Transvaal. Top Nationalists concede that they will lose the Pretoria region — but dispute the size of the majority. They predict the "no" vote will be just over 50 percent. The right-wing is counting on "no" majorities in Roodepoort, Germiston, Pieterburg, Kroonstad, Bloemfontein and possibly Kimberley and Beaufort West.

The NP expects the "no" vote in the two Free State referendum regions could be as high as 60 percent. Officials believe, however, that they can just hold Germiston and claim they have a fighting chance in the Kimberley and Beaufort West.

Foreign Minister P. Botha, who campaigned heavily in the rural areas,

says support for the "yes" vote there is better than expected. It is in urban areas such as Pretoria and the Vaal Triangle that the NP is taking a buffeting.

Despite the right-wing's targeting of English speakers in Natal, NP and Democratic Party officials are confident of an 80 percent "yes" vote in the Durban and Maritzburg referendum regions where 387 373 voters are registered.

Former President PW Botha might be voting "no", but the strong electoral machine he bequeathed to the Cape National Party could in the end be responsible for delivering an overall "yes" majority.

NP MPs say that even blue collar constituencies

Germans say: Join us in prosperity link-up

By CHARLENE SMITH

EUROPE'S most powerful country is offering South Africa a dramatic and beneficial "special relationship" — but only if there is a "yes" vote on Tuesday.

A resolution adopted this week by Germany's three governing parties promises South Africa a "fair and active" economic partnership on all levels.

It also proposes the ending of all sanctions, including the oil embargo but not

the arms embargo.

The parties want to encourage the emergence of a regional economic centre in Southern Africa and propose a co-operation agreement to help the country during the transition phase to democracy.

Full details of the tantalising plan are not available but Mr Michael Schmuck of the German Embassy in Pretoria con-

firmed the intention was to develop a full relationship between the European Community and SA as soon as a non-racial government was in place.

"We are considering whether SA should be defined as a Third World country so it can receive aid on that basis. Alternatively, we could assist meantime with cross-border aid projects which would include several projects to neighbouring countries."

Mr Schmuck said his government was looking at direct economic aid and it could become a reality if there was a positive referendum result.

Germany is also keen to re-establish cultural ties with South Africa and as a first step is considering founding a Goethe Institute for the study of German language and culture.

Professor Karl-Heinz Hornhues, deputy chairman of the co-governing Christian Democrat parliamentary caucus, called on the German government

□ To Page 2

such as Tygervallei and partly rural seats like Caledon could deliver 80 percent "yes" votes.

With the DP reporting strong backing for a "yes" vote in its Cape Peninsula strongholds, both parties are confident of a 70 percent plus "yes" majority in the Cape Town region.

This is despite the fact that there will be stronger right-wing support in the northern part of the region which stretches up to the Namibian border.

There are 471 705 registered voters in the Cape Town region.

In the rest of the Cape, the NP predicts a 60 percent "yes" majority in the Port Elizabeth and East London regions and, despite Mr Botha's decision to vote "no", a 70 percent "yes" vote in the George region.

Majority

The NP officials expect a 55 percent "yes" vote in the Kimberley referendum region and an even smaller "yes" majority in Beaufort West, the smallest of the referendum regions in the Cape, with 36 809 voters.

In Johannesburg, NP and DP officials are banking on an 80 percent "yes" vote.

But the Johannesburg referendum region also includes the Vaal Triangle where the CP expects to get 70-75 percent of the vote.

There is unanimity among the parties that the outcome in the whole region will be a 65 percent "yes" vote.

(News by Mike Robertson and Eryn Bulding, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK
One lucky punter received a payout of R1 119 102.37. Numbers: 11; 8; 8; 9; 13; 10; 4.

SCOTTSVILLE
There were 46 winners with each collecting R5 885.40. Selections: 11; 2; 4; 12; 1; 1.

MILNERTON
Only 5 winners collected a dividend of R41 828.90 each. Combinations: 9; 5; 4; 1; 1; 5, 6.



When your children
ask you why you didn't
vote, what will your
excuse be?

YES X

For goodness sake,
vote... and vote YES.

Published in the interests of a better South Africa by the
Private Sector Referendum Fund — a non-party political initiative.

EXCLUSIVE
THE FURY
OF A
PROPHET
SCORNED



Secret minutes of PW's last
cabinet meeting: Page 4

Dear Sirs . . . FW's case (almost) to the world

21 February 1992.

Dear Mr President/Prime Minister

YOUR support and understanding for the process of constitutional development and transition to a fully democratic order in South Africa has been a source of encouragement to me and my government, and to all South Africans who share our ideal of freedom, stability and prosperity.

I therefore feel it incumbent on me to keep you abreast of developments in my country by way of personal communications such as this. The path we have chosen is, predictably, fraught with obstacles to our progress, but I am both confident that they will be successfully overcome and determined to see the process through to its logical conclusion.

By now you will doubtless have been informed that I have called a referendum, to be held shortly among white voters under the existing constitution in South Africa. My announcement in Parliament on 20 February 1992 has unleashed a flurry of

STIMES 15/3/92 304A

THE day after President FW de Klerk announced the all-white referendum, Foreign Affairs officials drafted a letter to 70 foreign heads of government to explain his reasons. The early draft of the letter was sent in error to South African missions abroad. It was subsequently redrafted and the final paragraph — calling for support for the referendum — was dropped. The new version, different but retaining the gist of the original, was sent on to foreign governments. The Sunday Times here reproduces the original draft . . .

commentary in political circles and the media throughout the world, not all of which is helpful to an understanding of the circumstances in which this decision was taken, nor of the primary reasons for which the vote has been called.

For the purposes of perspective, I thought you might be interested in hearing directly from me, as it is a particularly serious matter on which rests the future of this country and, indeed, the entire sub-continent of Africa.

In recent months, and particularly since the commencement of the Codesa process in December last year, I and my Government have

been the targets of increasingly hostile and emotive attacks from right-wing political and para-military groups in South Africa. In essence they have sought to undermine the Government's legitimacy at every opportunity by claiming that we have no mandate to negotiate a new constitutional role-players in this country, and by manipulating the fears and uncertainties of a large section of the white community in an exaggerated and irresponsible fashion.

These circumstances have been exacerbated by adverse economic conditions partially caused by sanctions and other punitive measures

adopted against South Africa in the mid-Eighties; a prolonged drought, rising unemployment and continued factional violence among various black political and ethnic groups. These factors have had the effect of alienating an increasing number of whites from the Government, and sowing the seeds of suspicion among numerous other groups whose participation in the Codesa process is critical to its eventual success.

It is in these circumstances that the Government has had to contest the recent Parliamentary by-elections which, as you will know, have been won by the opposition Conservative Party. These inroads into the Government's major political power-base have had two important effects, both of which need to be very urgently addressed.

Firstly, right-wing radical groups have been energised to the point where increased violence appears certain; and, secondly, the black and other political groups involved in Codesa are no longer confident that the Government which I lead can

speak for its followers with the same authority as before.

I have therefore called a referendum in order to clarify this issue for all concerned. The question to be asked of voters will relate only to the question of the new South Africa currently being negotiated at Codesa, and the result will determine the Government's legitimacy and authority to proceed on its chosen course.

As a democrat I shall accept the verdict of the electorate. If the referendum is lost, I shall resign and call an election. If it is won, I shall continue with a renewed mandate, and will have shown to South Africa and the world that the majority of whites in the country are fair and reasonable people who want to live in peace and prosperity with everybody in this multi-cultural country.

The process of change in South Africa is irreversible. Neither the Conservative Party nor the other right-wing radicals can stop it, but they do have the capacity to create confusion, fear and uncertainty by threats of violence and armed intimidation.

A victory for the Government in the forthcoming referendum will, however, remove whatever legitimacy they may imagine they have achieved, and allow the Government to proceed with the all-important business of negotiating a new order in which all South Africans, of all races, colours and creeds, will share the fruits of full citizenship in an undivided, democratic nation.

I am confident that the Government will win this referendum because I do not doubt that it enjoys majority support among its current electorate. Therefore I have every reason to believe that the Codesa process will continue and that it will achieve its primary objective of a negotiated settlement which most South Africans can support and in which all can freely participate. I trust that I can also count on your support as I am sure that, like me, you know that we must succeed.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
FW de KLERK

Azapo plans for alternative talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is planning to establish an alternative to Codesa, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nofolovodwhe announced yesterday.

After a weekend conference to discuss the viability of joining negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Azapo decided Codesa fell far short of expectations for a future South Africa.

"Azapo doesn't see any purpose whatsoever in joining Codesa," Mr Nofolovodwhe said.

The Azapo statement came after a call on Saturday from leaders of the frontline states for the Pan Africanist Congress to join the ANC in negotiations with the government.

"A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise their common objective and to unite in the face of a common enemy," the communique from the presidents of the seven African countries said.

The PAC, which sent representatives to the frontline summit, rejected the appeal.

Azapo insisted that for Codesa to become meaningful, the homelands,

Councils 'would be part of executive'

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 Three which triggered a storm of protest for being old-style apartheid advisory "toy telephones".

Dr De Villiers denied the NP proposals would leave the government and the tricameral Parliament in charge in the run-up to the first open elections, so failing to "level the playing fields".

The councils would have "the powers needed to carry out their assignments," he said. — Sapa

"tricameral elements" and the government would have to be regarded as a single delegation. The agenda would have to be restricted to negotiating a constituent assembly.

Alternatively, a forum consisting of those who had refused to join Codesa would be a viable option.

Mr Nofolovodwhe said he envisaged participation by, among others, the PAC, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and New Unity Movement. — Sapa

Is Tuesday's referendum just another white tribal scrap? No, says political journalist DRIES VAN HEERDEN.

THE 'yes' vote is expected to win Tuesday's crucial whites-only referendum, but early predictions of a large victory are fast fading.

Caught off guard by the sudden announcement of the referendum, the rightwing took some time to get organised, but in recent days its campaign for a "no" to fundamental political change has gained a momentum that is worrying reformists.

Calling a referendum was a calculated gamble State President FW de Klerk had to take.

Honour-bound to hold such a poll because of promises he made to the white electorate during the 1989 election, he also knew that he had to go to the polls sooner rather than later. The Conservative Party's victory in the Potchefstroom by-election and the subsequent wild claims of majority white support by rightwing leaders gave him the reason he wanted.

De Klerk's decision to make a policy U-turn in 1990 and initiate negotiations with the ANC was not met with wild enthusiasm by all sectors of the white electorate.

While it captured the imagination of reformists which resulted in his National Party making huge inroads into the support base of the liberal Democratic Party, he lost heavily to the CP on his right.

For the rightwing it was the final confirmation that the De Klerk government was intent to "sell them down the river".

However, De Klerk's reform strategy has been heavily dependent on SA's return to international respectability and an upsurge in the economy.

Unfortunately for him the fruits of his reform have not yet reached the ordinary white household.

While the international sports doors have swung open and De Klerk himself has been feted in most of the world's capitals, the selective lifting of economic sanctions and the subsequent return of foreign investment will still take some time to filter through the economy.

On the other hand, De Klerk has no intention of turning his back on the reforms he initiated.

In recent weeks the government and the ANC have reached major agreements on the structure of an interim government while Codesa has also attained consensus on matters such as regionalism and minority rights in a new dispensation.

But at the same time there has been a constant drain of his support among the white electorate. The results of several by-elections in the past two years have pointed to a rightwing swing of at least 12 percent against the government.

'Yes' O



WHITE BUNFIGHT ... The main warriors squaring up for the battle are Andri

Platteland paranoia m

Most political pollsters still predict a clear and comfortable mandate for him on Tuesday. However, the early predictions of a 60 percent plus majority has in recent days made way for a more sober assessment. Now, most experts would consider a victory of 55 percent plus to be a good score.

The NP has asked the support of everybody who is anybody in their high profile propaganda campaign. Faces of well-known figures such as rugby hero Naas Botha, athletics ace Frith van der Merwe and beauty queen Suzette van der Merwe ask them to vote "Yes" for reform.

They have capitalised greatly on the country's return to the international sporting arena and especially on the success enjoyed by the South African cricket team participating in the World Cup in Australia.

Quite rightly, the government points to this as the result of reform that would not have been possible had they continued on the path of apartheid.

De Klerk himself has been the key figure in the referendum campaign during the past three weeks. Mindful of criticism that he

has been spending too much time abroad in recent months meeting world leaders and neglecting the local electorate, De Klerk went out of his way to expose himself to the ordinary man and woman. He has been on a punishing schedule, kissing babies, drinking tea with grannies, visiting factories and addressing up to seven meetings a day.

In its advertising campaign the NP concentrated heavily on the possible consequences of a 'no' vote. They drew vivid images of empty airports, deserted sports stadiums and investors leaving the country in droves.

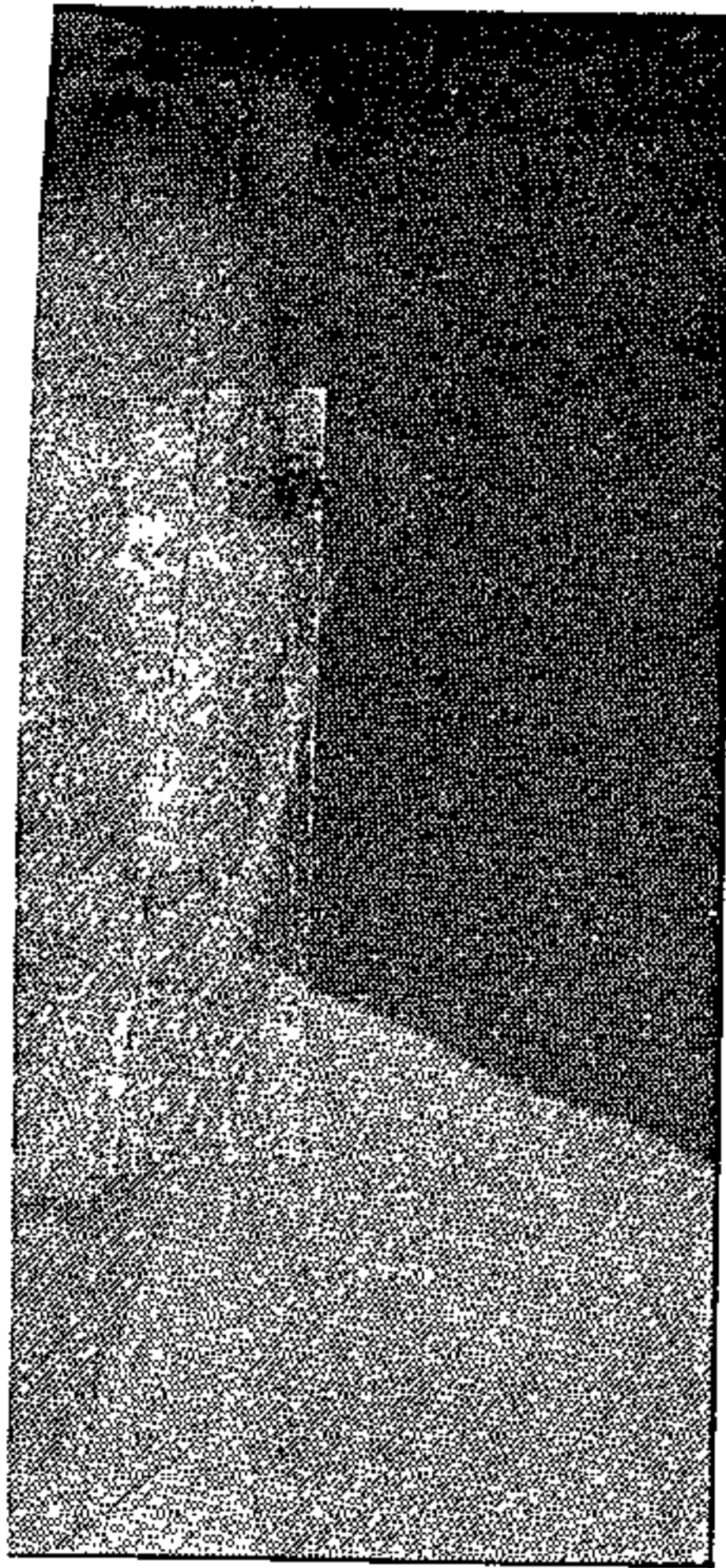
Warnings by foreign governments that they will institute economic sanctions and boycotts on an unparalleled scale should the No-vote win, was given prominence in the media.

However, using the international community to threaten rightwing whites is at best a gamble.

This is an electorate that came of age in the paranoiac heyday of PW Botha and his total onslaught philosophy. There is still a

C/PRES 15/3/92

r 'No'?



es Treurnicht, Eugene Terre'Blanche and FW de Klerk.

akes it a very close call

belief among rightwingers that "if the whole world is against us, then we must be doing something right" and an almost childlike belief that white SA can go it alone against the rest of the world.

For the same reasons the low profile adopted by the ANC over the past few weeks has probably been the right strategy.

The rightwing's whole campaign for a 'no' was based on scaring whites about the prospects of an ANC-led majority government.

Enthusiastic support by Nelson Mandela or Chris Hani would have been grist to the mill of CP propagandists.

For the vast majority of South Africans, however, the most important question is: what will happen once the results of the referendum have been announced in Cape Town on Wednesday afternoon.

If the rightwing wins, it would not need much imagination to predict the consequences.

Despite efforts by CP spokesmen to rid themselves of their racist image and to portray themselves as reasonable men who

want to negotiate with "black leaders" they cannot hide the smallprint of their policy which is "self-determination for all nations".

A CP government will swiftly return to old-style apartheid with all its ugliness: homelands, forced removals, petty apartheid, group areas and separate amenities, the banning of political parties and their leaders, and an immediate end to the present negotiations.

A victory for De Klerk will definitely mean a continuation of the negotiating process. A decisive win – more than 60 percent – will speed up the process which may result in an interim government as early as June.

However, a rightwing defeat may also result in the emergence of a new militancy among fanatical white racists. To them it will signal an end to constitutional avenues to unseat De Klerk.

They know there will not be another white election and that a majority government is a foregone result of the negotiating process. South Africa may be entering a new era of increasing rightwing terrorism.

For most South Africans, Tuesday's ref-

erendum is little more than just another – perhaps the last – white tribal squabble. However, whether they like it or not the yes or the no decided on by the estimated two million voters will have an indelible impact on their own political future.

■ The NP lost nine percent support among white voters over the past year while CP support increased three percent, according to market researcher Dr Jannie Hofmeyer.

Hofmeyer, of Research Surveys, says his company found that the NP had 38 percent of white support while the CP commanded 28 percent, reports Sapa.

The DP's support had risen by one percent over the last year to five percent, he told a meeting of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa his week.

Hofmeyer said 23 percent of white voters did not want to support any party.

"This 23 percent reflects a disillusionment with party politics. It's crucial in terms of the future what this 23 percent does. Both De Klerk and Treurnicht have picked up on that very early on in the referendum campaign. "They've identified the English non-voters as a critical element."

Hofmeyer said it was vital for rightwing to form an alliance to contest the referendum, but he warned that the alliance could cost them the votes of undecided English voters.

Another important indicator of white political opinion, according to Hofmeyer, was the selection for State President. De Klerk had the support of 44 percent of whites for the post, while Treurnicht had 27 percent with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche holding eight percent.

Hofmeyer explained that De Klerk would have to fight the combined 35 percent support for rightwing leaders in the referendum. However, he said a positive sign for De Klerk was the fact that he had more support for his personal leadership than he did for his party.

Support for De Klerk in black communities had crystallised at about 21 percent, but this was declining and the NP's support among blacks had dropped by nine percent to two percent.

The reasons for this erosion, Hofmeyer explained, were his failure to "deliver on stability" and end violence sweeping the country.

Support for the ANC in black communities had not been affected by violence and had grown to 62 percent in the past year.

However, the ANC and its leader, Nelson Mandela, had little support among whites.

Hofmeyer said only one percent of whites wanted to see Mandela as State President while less than one percent supported the ANC.

(Report by Dries van Heerden of 147 Cliff Ave, Pretoria, and Craig Doonan of 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

'Yes' should win if it be close

By DESMOND BLOW

C/Prem 15/3/92

POLITICAL analysts predict the 'yes' vote will win Tuesday's all-white referendum, but with only about 54 to 56 percent of the vote and not the 60 to 65 percent predicted earlier by some NP members.

The 'yes' vote will be won with the assistance of DP votes, which means there has been a big swing to the CP.

There will also be a lot of English-speaking voters voting 'no'.

The growing township violence has struck fear into the hearts of whites who, under rigid apartheid, were seldom affected by what was happening in the townships.

Now they fear the violence will spill over into white suburbs and anarchy will prevail. The growing murder of po-

licemen and the government's bungling of the education problem has added to the white voters' anxiety.

Another fear is the continuing economic recession signalled by growing unemployment and high inflation. Voters also fear that the ANC could nationalise some sectors of the economy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has acted in a responsible

3044

statesman-like manner over the referendum by keeping a low profile. But on Friday he called on whites to vote for De Klerk and warned that if whites voted for repression, the country was in for a hard time.

He said there would be unprecedented turmoil and conflict, adding that any attempt to return to apartheid would be resisted by mass action, including strikes and sanctions.

The bishop prefers Treurnicht

By LEN KALANE

3044

TREURNICHT is the better devil when compared with De Klerk, according to Bishop Isaac Mokoena. C/Prem

"I don't trust De Klerk," he said. "He has given in to the ANC."

The controversial cleric is the only black leader who has called for a 'no' vote in the referendum.

Bishop Mokoena is the head of the Reformed Independent Churches Association. 15/3/92

"Giving in to the ANC means capitulating to communism. I am trying to stop the ANC-SACP takeover. For that reason the CP must win."

"I am not saying the CP will bring about a land of milk and honey... To me they seem to be the better devil compared to the Nats."

Sapa reports the ANC reaffirmed its commitment to freedom of religion, saying the bishop was being irresponsible.



'AWB' raids camp

KILLING FIELDS ...

Plainclothes policemen remove the body of James Tsakoane, 30, killed in Phola Park, Thokoza, this week. Residents of the squatter camp allege khaki-clad AWP men driving in several cars fired at random at the camp.

PICTLADI KHUELE

City Press turns 10

CITY Press, your favourite newspaper, turns 10 at the end of this month.

To celebrate this important birthday, we will publish, in addition to your regular newspaper, a special commemorative supplement on Sunday, March 29.

We have pulled out all the stops to bring you the life story of City Press: the good and the bad times.

'End white veto to end armed struggle'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had told the government it would not abandon armed struggle until a white veto — such as this week's referendum — no longer presented a threat to constitutional change, senior ANC sources said at the weekend.

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

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

Should there be a "yes" vote and

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

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said at the weekend that the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multiparty control of the security forces.

ANC sources said the movement would have been in a difficult position had it abandoned armed struggle only to find a whites-only referendum vetoing the reform process (304f)

'The past has to be undone'

Staff Reporter

3049

POSITIVE measures were needed to undo the deeply-ingrained patterns of discrimination on grounds of sex and race in South African society, Professor Kader Asmal, who occupies the chair of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape, said at a graduation ceremony at the weekend.

Affirmative action must "form part of a constitutional principle," he said.

Most of his speech had a strongly non-racial message.

But he said: "Not to embark on orderly, carefully organised and sensitive measures would be to maintain and protect what we already have — a discriminatory and unevenly-privileged society."

A society in transformation required that those sectors of "our community" which have, by law and practice, been denied a proper place in the world must be empowered.

"We must not deny the vast majority of our people — women and men, whose lives have been blighted by racism — the possibility of reconstructing themselves in a future free South Africa."

Professor Asmal noted that African student enrolment at UWC now stood at over 50%.

Racism often came out under the guise of euphemisms such as "preserving civilised values" or "maintaining norms and standards", he said.

Monuments 'to stay'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC does not intend dismantling the Voortrekker Monument if and when it comes to power.

However, the co-ordinator of the ANC's commission on museums, monuments and heraldry, Mr Themba Sirayi, said yesterday that the upkeep of "own affairs" monuments would not be the responsibility of a future central government.

Mr Sirayi, who is director of the cultural centre at Fort Hare University, told a news conference here yesterday: "There is a notion that the Voortrekker Monument is a national monument but I want to stress that it is not a national monument." He said 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 and beauty to Africans who had been denied these rights by apartheid. He said 97% of existing 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.