

12-05-89

# The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

12-05-89

## Peace initiative

LATEST exchanges between Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and office-bearers of the United Democratic Front and Cosatu indicate that both sides are aware of the scale of the human tragedy being enacted in Natal's black townships and of the urgent need for peace negotiations.

The difficulties standing in the way of such an initiative should not be under-estimated. The violence has developed a momentum of its own, revenge has become a powerful motive and criminality has taken a firm hold. It is doubtful whether those who actually perpetrate the violence are answerable to or controllable by any political leadership.

However, this is no reason for the leaderships not to get together. A start has to be made somewhere and if the leaders of Inkatha, the UDF

and Cosatu are seen genuinely to be co-operating, the new attitude will undoubtedly filter down to the rank and file, where the present attitude on opposing sides is one of absolute intolerance; and, ordinary township-dwellers, helplessly caught in the crossfire, might be given enough hope to stiffen their resistance to the bandits.

The security forces should also be drawn into peace negotiations because they have a crucial role to play. They have to calm the troubled areas, stepping between the combatants with impartiality. They also have to ensure that criminality is punished and the law is allowed to take its course. To do so they will require the endorsement of both sides.

All concerned — Inkatha, the UDF/Cosatu and the security forces — need to re-examine their role.

## The Passtoors case

HARDLINERS may shudder at the freeing of Mrs Helene Passtoors, the Belgian woman serving 10 years for helping to plant arms caches in South Africa. It was certainly something of a precedent for someone convicted of a major crime in the Supreme Court to be released in the manner she was. Nevertheless, the South African Government, had good reason to allow her to return to Belgium. The fact that she and the Belgian government agreed to certain provisos, mainly that she does not set foot in this part of the world again, will ease concern — although many will regard these assurances with

justifiable cynicism.

Perhaps the real quid pro quo for South Africa is obscured behind the bland surface arrangement. This is that her release demonstrates that the Government is not insensitive to foreign viewpoints; it is also a manifestly humanitarian gesture; and it is a victory for negotiation.

In these respects, it will ensure long-term consolidation of South Africa's improving international relations and, with the return of three South African envoys to Brussels, help in the shorter term to repair some of the damage done by the embarrassing Blowpipe affair.



12 to 18 MAY 1989

# Security action: from detentions to assassinations

THE Joint Management Centres (JMC) in the townships have several inter-connected functions. Boraine identified these as:

- co-ordination,
- intelligence-gathering,
- re-establishment of local government,
- communication of state policies, and
- "hearts and minds" campaigns.

The co-ordination of security action is a key function of the JMC, usually through the Joint Operations Centre (JOC).

"There are a number of different security forces that operate in the townships," said Boraine. "The task of the JMC is to co-ordinate a uniform security response among them."

Its security committee therefore includes representatives from the police, security police, kitskonstabels, municipal police, traffic police, SADF area defence units, military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service.

"A central task is to monitor all forms of black organisation in a township," Boraine pointed out.

"This is usually done through a Joint Intelligence Committee.

"Security forces attempt to infiltrate these organisations in order to secure information about their activities."

Boraine believes security action against organisations ranges from detentions to the selective assassination of individuals.

But, he added, the JMCs is also engaged in "hearts and minds" campaigns: "A large part of their work is involved in identifying areas of discontent (hence the need for a wide-ranging intelligence network)."

This information is then sent to the JMC's welfare committee, which co-ordinates a wide range of upgrading projects.

These include buying urban land for black development; housing

schemes; providing roads, drainage and street-lighting; providing electricity, water and sewerage; and building schools, sports stadiums and parks.

According to Boraine, several billion rands have been spent during the last four years on more than 1 800 projects in black urban areas.

Re-establishing town councils in the townships is another key function of the JMCs.

As part of this campaign, they have identified additional sources of finance for the councils, and have also systematically tried to break the paralysing rent boycotts.

"The re-establishment of the system of black local authorities is part of the initial campaign to restore 'law and order'," Boraine said. "However, the town councils are also meant to provide the basis

for political representation of urban black South Africans at a later stage.

"One of the key strategies of the JMCs is to project the councils as 'representatives' of township residents.

"Because of this, the JMCs have a strict policy of no negotiations with organisations outside of official government structures, and have often actively intervened to block local-level negotiations that have taken place."

Communication and propaganda is seen as another important responsibility of the JMCs.

"According to the perceptions of security officials, unrest in townships is caused either by 'agitators' and/or because there is 'poor communication' between the authorities and the residents," said Boraine.

Part of the JMC's response is "to establish ways in which the local authorities and the security forces can communicate with township residents".

As a result, communication committees – run by the Bureau of Information – have been attached to all the township JMCs.

These committees have established 45 township newspapers, and are also responsible for actuality programmes on TV2/3 and on radio. They publish media on behalf of the councils as well.

Grassroots intervention is another major function of the JMCs. "Under the cover of the state of emergency, the JMCs are attempting to restructure the social basis of the townships," Boraine said.

"To this end, they intervene directly to facilitate the establishment of different forms of organisation such as sports clubs, youth camps, drama groups and church choirs."

Boraine makes the point that these are the very kinds of organisations "that formed the backbone of the mass democratic movement until 1986".



NEW NATION

12 TO 18 MAY 1989

LAWYERS acting for two alleged members of the ANC, who are charged with terrorism in the Johannesburg Regional Court, this week rejected claims by a state witness that he was a former member of the movement.

The witness, identified by the court as Mr X, claimed that he had seen Gerald Gary Nyembe and his wife Lucienne Ann Abrahams at various ANC training camps. He claimed that he knew them by their code names, MK Tony and MK Jody.

Nyembe is a former Robben Island prisoner and Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAU) organiser on the East Rand. Abrahams was PWAU's Western Cape branch secretary.

The witness' claim that he was a member of the ANC was brought into doubt when he failed to explain to the court the meaning of the

# Union two on ANC charges

Freedom Charter or name the senior office-bearers of the movement.

Defence lawyers rejected Mr X's evidence and made an application to investigate his claim that he worked for a rubber company as a sweeper before he left the country.

Nyembe and Abrahams are

charged with leaving the country between January 1986 and January 1988 to undergo military training. They are further charged with endangering law and order and being members of a banned organisation.

Mr X claimed in court that he decided to turn against the ANC when he returned to the country after spending

two months in Botswana.

He was allegedly arrested while on his way to hand himself over to the police and was held at Zeerust for 48 hours without being charged, the court was told.

But the occurrence book at the Zeerust police station did not have details of Mr X's arrest between January 18-

20.

Mr X told the court that, after being arrested, he was shown pictures of the two accused, whom he identified. He alleged that Abrahams assisted him to cross into Lesotho. He further alleged that he met the accused at the Pango military camp in Angola and again in Lusaka at the Political Military

Council, of which Nyembe was a commander.

He told the court how he joined the police and helped to track down ANC members who had infiltrated the country.

Earlier in his evidence, Mr X said that he was trained in various forms of combat at different camps in Angola, after which he was posted to several transit houses in Lusaka, awaiting instructions to infiltrate the country.

He was finally told to return to the country in October 1987 with instructions to form underground cells in Port Elizabeth.

Cross-examined by the defence on how he managed to support himself, he said that the R15 000 house in which he now lives was bought from race-horse winnings.

He said that he received fluctuating payments from the police for assisting them in their work.



FEATURE





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THE NEW NATION

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THE NEW NATION

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# To pacify and contain

BORAINE said the NSMS has identified 34 townships as "high-risk" security areas.

This list includes Soweto, Alexandra, kwaThema, Katlehong, Tembisa, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Sebokeng and Sharpeville in the Transvaal.

In the Western Cape, Crossroads, KTC, Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain and Mbekweni is on the list and, in the Eastern Cape, Cradock, Duncan Village, Mdantsane, New Brighton, kwaZakhele, kwaNobuhle and Fingoe Village.

Umlazi, kwaMashu, Lamontville, Lindelani and Esakhaweni is included in

Natal, and Tumahole is listed in the Free State.

"These townships are defined as 'oilspots', from where the security forces are attempting to regain control of black urban areas, through a combined process of repression and selective bargaining," said Boraine in his paper.

## STRATEGY

This will be done through Joint Management Centres (JMC), which have been established in the 34 townships.

The JMCs, in line with the strategy of the NSMS, will use a combination of direct

security action and economic upgrading:

"This means that many black material grievances are now acknowledged as legitimate and that there is a need for grassroots intervention in the form of upgrading.

## REVOLUTIONARIES

"[The aim is] to 'cut the ground' under the feet of the revolutionaries, who are perceived as 'exploiting' black grievances."

Boraine said this strategy of winning hearts and minds (WHAM) has been used for years in Namibia and the bantustans already.



1984: a time of demonstrations and marches.

The intention was to move away from indiscriminate repression - "which is seen as alienating the black population" - towards a more se-

lective policy of neutralising specific activists.

In this way, the NSMS hoped, the townships will be "pacified and contained".



# MANDELA SUPPORTS PEACE PLAN

# ANC OFFER

help to harmonise their initiatives and set the whole (peace) process in motion," said the ANC.

"In this regard, the ANC avails itself to play as direct a role as it possibly can, given the conditions under which it has to operate.

"We believe that this role should and can only be defined jointly by the forces operating openly on the ground, in particular UDF affiliates, Inkatha and Cosatu," it added.

The ANC's announcement comes in the wake of the decision earlier this week by Cosatu and UDF affiliates to meet Inkatha in a final bid to discuss starting a peace initiative in Natal.

Cosatu and UDF affiliates initially proposed to meet Inkatha and convenors of the proposed peace conference, but were forced to alter this proposal after Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi said the conference was "undemocratically conceived".

Buthelezi has responded to the latest proposal by suggesting that the three organisations meet on May 20 to discuss a peace plan.

The need for a meeting between the three organisations has been made all the

more urgent by Cosatu's decision this week to suspend its involvement in Pietermaritzburg's Complaints Adjudication Board (CAB).

Established late last year by Cosatu and Inkatha in a bid to discipline members involved in violence, the board has consistently run into problems.

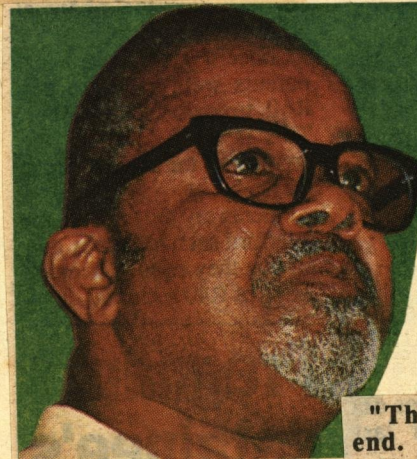
The last straw for Cosatu was the murder two weeks ago of a complainant to the CAB, Nicholas Duma.

Duma was murdered a few days after giving evidence against two Inkatha members and councillors allegedly involved in attacking his family.

"We have had difficulty getting the CAB to work because respondents who fear criminal charges have refused to appear before the CAB," said Cosatu.

"After much delay, a case was heard and within days the complainant (Nicholas Duma) was dead.

"Both Cosatu and the UDF affiliates remain committed to the Pietermaritzburg agreement and the CAB, but quite clearly its continued functioning has to be urgently discussed with Inkatha," added Cosatu.



THE African National Congress (ANC) has offered to play "as direct a role as it possibly can" in facilitating peace in Natal.

And jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in a meeting with the ANC's Harry Gwala that he fully supports the proposed peace conference in Natal.

NEW NATION

12 TO 18 MAY 1989

"The carnage must end. The energies of our people must be directed against the common enemy of the overwhelming majority of South Africans - the apartheid regime," said the ANC's National Executive Committee this week in a statement to the NEW NATION.

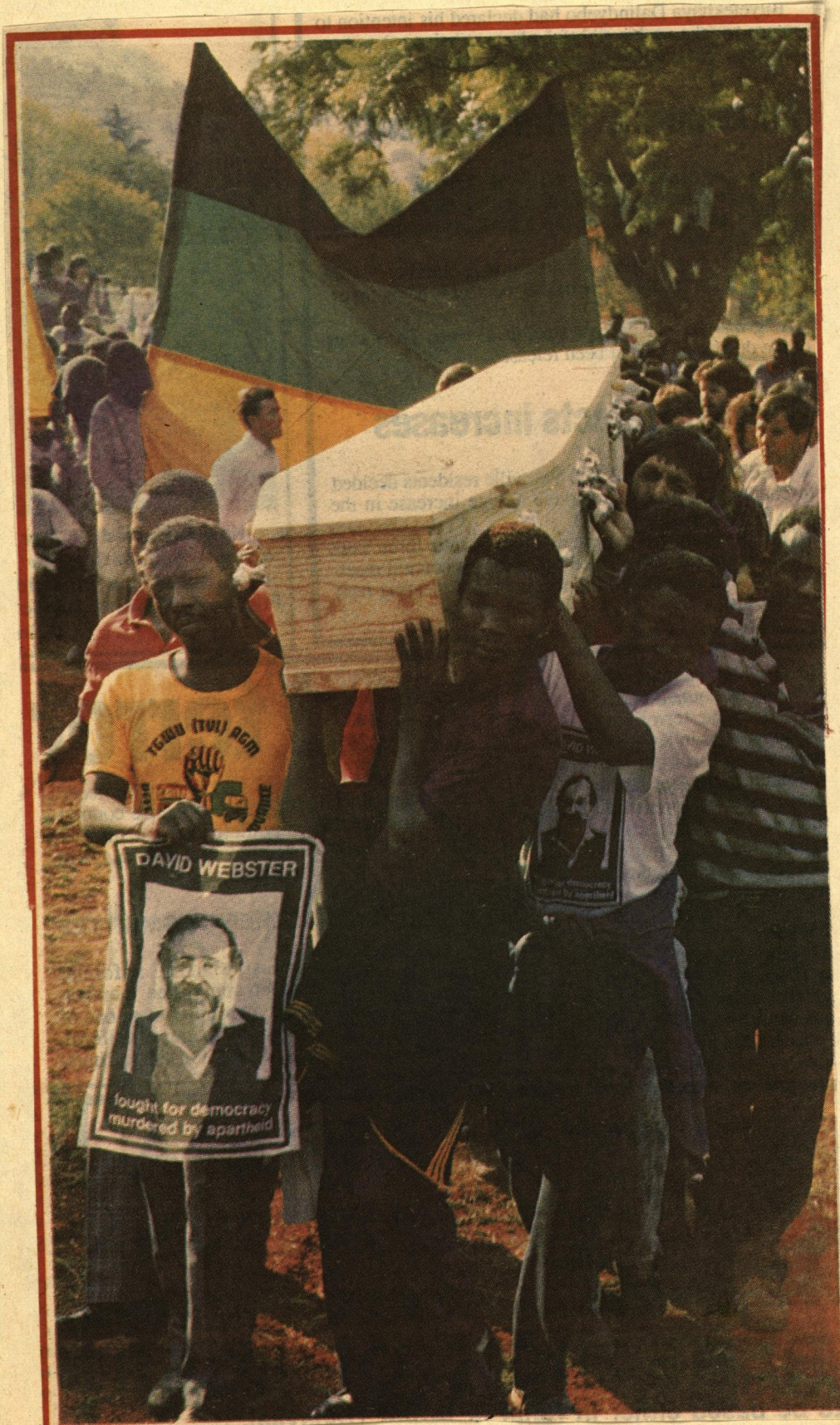
The movement also said it supported the call for a meeting between Cosatu, UDF affiliates and Inkatha to "work out the practical mechanisms relating to the achievement of peace".

"Such a meeting among the three organisations will



THE NEW NATION

12-18 MAY 1989





**D**ELPHIC utterances from Mr Chris Heunis. Then his resignation a week later.

Could it be that obfuscation finally caught up with him?

A hurried glance at reports of his speech in Parliament last week gave the impression he was announcing a new deal altogether.

A single legislature ... all entities represented in the Cabinet ... a degree of free association.

Had he been keeping the recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba beneath his pillow by any chance?

But then one picked more carefully through the verbiage.

A single legislature — don't we have a single legislature already?

Yes, of course we do. Its three chambers are not themselves legislatures. They are part of a single legislature.

With his simultaneous emphasis on "own affairs", could Mr Heunis have been planning to add a chamber or two to the existing structure? One for blacks and another for those who decline racial or ethnic categories?

It is a grotesque thought because such a system would spawn two more nationwide bureaucracies, quite apart from whether it would be acceptable on political grounds.

In retrospect, Mr Heunis's ambivalence and his assertion that the tri-cameral system has worked suggests that he was not prepared to abandon it. He was the architect.

It looks as if the equivocation was at last too much for his colleagues. Perhaps they anticipated something even more monstrously cumbersome.

So Mr Heunis had to go. The Nats now face the task of cobbling together a constitutional policy to put before the electorate in four months.

Or will they ask for a blank cheque?

It is a strange and shaky start to an election campaign.

ANOTHER strange thing for an election campaign is the wave of Government-administered price and interest rate increases.

Things must be desperate indeed. The Government can hardly believe the effects will have died away by September.

Can there be anything left in the cookie jar for August?

SPECULATION persists that Louis Luyt intends fighting Umhlanga for

## LINSCOTT AT LARGE

*Daily News*



# Heunis — strangled by his own, verbiage?

the Democratic Party. He owns a sumptuous beach house in the constituency.

His chances would rate as good because the seat is held by the Nats by the slenderest of margins, while it seems the CP intends coming into the fight.

But the President of the Transvaal Rugby Football Union representing a Natal constituency?

Perhaps he will wait to see what happens between Natal and Transvaal at Kings Park tomorrow before deciding.

THE Government hardly earns even Brownie points for courage with its draft Bill aimed at CP-controlled councils in the Transvaal which have reintroduced petty apartheid.

The thing is transparent. CP councils which have resegregated amenities in terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act are forced to re-open them. But adjacent Nat-controlled councils with amenities that have always been segregated in terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act are able to carry on as before.

What is sauce for the goose is most certainly not sauce for the gander.

Why not go the whole hog and abolish the Separate Amenities Act?

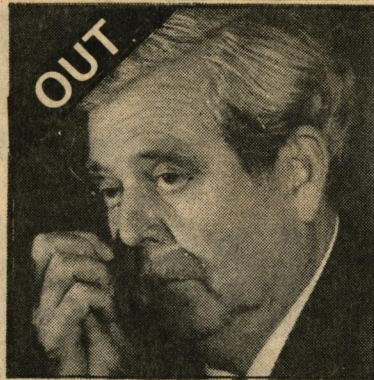
Why not indeed. Abolition would bring back into force a Supreme Court judgment of the 1950s (upheld by the Appellate Division), which ruled that if amenities are segregated they have to be equal.

No province or municipality in the country would be able to meet this requirement, and a large portion of social apartheid would be swept away overnight.

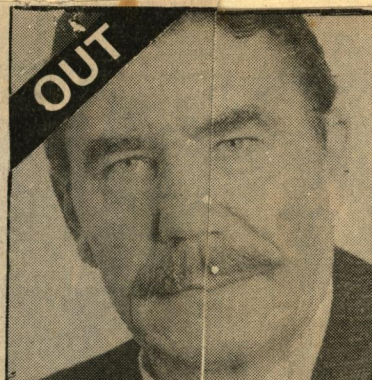
It would do a great deal for the reform process and South Africa's international standing — but not much for the Nats' election prospects against the CP.



Jubilant CP  
believes it is  
'a giant leap  
nearer power'



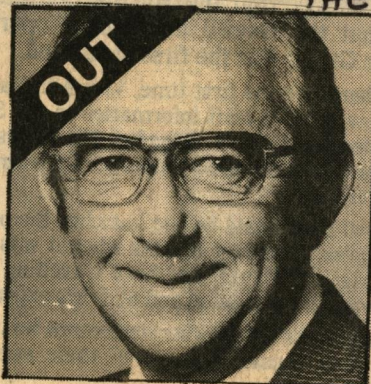
Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Greyling Wentzel



Mr Stoffel Botha



Mr Danie Steyn



Mr Pietie

# Nats stunned as Heunis goes

## Departure 'sign of failure'

Political Correspondent

Opposition parties last night saw Mr Chris Heunis's departure as a sign of the failure of the Government's reform initiative.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said he believed the decision to retire might have been triggered by the defeat of Mr Heunis's budget vote this week.

Dr Zach de Beer said he thought Mr Heunis had "reached the limits of frustration — he was caught in an impossible situation".

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and Mr Heunis's adversary in many tussles, said the resignation was an indictment of the NP's inability and unwillingness to walk the road of reform.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the "architect of reform has capitulated because he has run out of models".



Dr de Beer

Mr Heunis's staff heard of his decision only yesterday and the news astonished most Nat MPs.

"It's unbelievable. I'm absolutely stunned. We weren't given the slightest indication," one said.

Mr Heunis said his resignation as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning would take effect from July 1.

He would not be available to stand for the NP in Helderberg and would resign as Cape leader. He had arranged for a meeting of the Cape head council on May 19 to choose an acting leader to run the Cape party until congress chose a leader in July.

Cape deputy Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Privatisation and Administration, is tipped as the likely choice.

⇒ P.2



## Cape Town

**The shock resignation of Nationalist Cape leader Mr Chris Heunis at midnight last night has stunned the Government and left leading lights in the party seriously concerned for the National Party's future.**

Senior sources admit Mr Heunis's resignation, coming in the wake of five others in the space of only four months, has created the dangerous impression that the once monolithic NP is in danger of disintegrating.

A jubilant Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today: "The architect of reform has capitulated. It brings the CP a giant leap closer to taking over the Government."

Democratic co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, who nearly defeated Mr Heunis at the last election, said Mr Heunis's resignation was less a personal failure than the failure of the party's approach to the country's constitutional future.

"I believe his resignation and that of Mr Stoffel Botha — two provincial leaders in two days — is bound to affect the NP's confidence in the elections."

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I suspect he has reached the limits of frustration."

He said the defeat of Mr Heunis's vote could only have been the last straw, and the frustration must have built up over a long time.

He added that when two provincial leaders resigned within two days, "something must sick in the party."

### 'Who is next?'

As the P W Botha era draws to a close with a series of shock departures, Nationalist MPs and even Cabinet Ministers were asking themselves today: "Who is next?"

Question marks have now been placed over other names, including that of the Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Environment Affairs Minister Mr Gert Kotze.

Senior Cabinet Ministers conceded the party had been damaged by six resignations from Cabinet in four months.

Mr Heunis said last night he would resign as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning on July 1, as leader of the Cape National Party on May 19 and as MP for Helderberg on election day, September 6.

Regarded only two years ago as the NP's crown prince, he apparently resigned in frustration at his rejection by the Government's negotiation partners and his own party.

But he gave no reason for the

**By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent**

sudden decision which has sparked a flurry of speculation.

Mr Heunis — architect of the Government's reform plans — recently gave an indication that he had grown tired of the frustrations of his portfolio.

Nat politicians said the last straw might have been rejection, by the House of Representatives this week, of Mr Heunis's vote in the main Budget.

NP sources said they did not believe he had been pressurised to resign by NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

They offered several possible contributing reasons for his resignation: the fact that he had been defeated so soundly in the election contest for the National Party leadership on February 2; that his winning of only 25 votes in this election showed he had been deserted even by his own Cape party, which commands 48 votes; and that the rule of President Botha, his patron, was coming to an end.

Many thought Mr Heunis's career was in fact destroyed when he came within 39 votes of being defeated in Helderberg by Dr Denis Worrall in the general election in 1987.

He is the fourth Cabinet Minister to resign since the September 6 election was announced recently, following Mr Danie Steyn, Economic Affairs and Technology Minister; Mr Greyling Wentzel, Agriculture Minister; and Mr Stoffel Botha, Home Affairs Minister.

But Nat MPs said the resignations were to be expected as the P W Botha era ended.

"These are disconcerting but very necessary aspects of a change in power," a senior Nat MP said. "F W de Klerk has not only a right but a duty to put his imprint on the Government or he could not be held responsible for what it did."

The resignations had made Mr de Klerk's job much easier as they had avoided the need for "necessary purges".



THE STAR

12-05-89

# Hendrickse slates R252-m shortfall

THE STAR

12-05-89

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The amount allocated to coloured education by the central Government in the Budget was about R252 million less than was needed, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Introducing his vote he said he and his department had "exhausted" themselves trying to convince the authorities of the impracticalities they faced in satisfying community needs with the allocated funds.

He strongly objected to the National Party's attitude in dealing with the "obvious inadequacies" in the educational system for the coloured community.

Instead of allowing his department to use a disused white education college complex for the purpose for which it was erected, the complex had been handed over to the police, or the army.

## Unused school buildings

"How do you explain a lack of funds to build a school when just across the road a school building is half empty or even empty, unutilised?"

"Yet, my colleague in the House of Assembly (Mr Piet Clase) argues that the policy not to open white government schools to all races, is based on sound conclusions. I ask myself how educationally and economically sound can such a policy ever be?"

Mr Hendrickse said that after the allocations for universities and technikons, staff salaries and contractual obligations, which his department were obliged to meet, were deducted from the budgeted R1,37 billion, a total of R143,8 million remained.

This had to cover postal expenditure, bus transport services, lodging allowances, study grants, provisioning and equipping of educational institutions, repair and maintenance of equipment and furnishings, trav-

el and subsistence costs "and so on and so on".

"The total needed for these latter items comes to about R396,3 million — in other words a shortfall of about R252,4 million."

For buildings and grounds, an additional R201 million had been provided to the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

This was hopelessly too little to meet the needs for new schools, replacement buildings and extensions, boarding hostels and school halls.

In addition, school grounds had to be developed from this allocation.

"I ask myself the question, how can my department, with the best will in the world, beat the budget without affecting personnel expenditures? How can personnel expenses be cut without lessening personnel numbers?"

"Taking into account the feeling in the community against the recognised shortfall in the past, is it justified that posts which have been allocated according to the approved personnel provision scale, be reduced?"

In his speech, Mr Hendrickse also said that:

- His department was committed to expanding pre-primary education.
  - The shortage of teachers in rural areas might mean that the department might have to attach specific conditions to bursaries to teaching students.
  - The department was experiencing a severe shortage of qualified teachers of the natural sciences at secondary level, and had therefore entered into a contract with the University of Port Elizabeth to give in-service science training to unqualified teachers.
  - Planning of campuses for technical colleges at Bethelsdorp and Athlone was at an advanced stage.
- Sapa.



THE STAR

12-05-89

# Dehorning: right or wrong?

The move by Namibian conservation authorities this week to dehorn black rhino in the wild in an attempt to deter poachers, has met with mixed reaction from conservationists.

Some have condemned it, others believe a drastic situation demands a drastic solution. Most see it as a desperate, last ditch bid by conservationists to save the remnants of what was once a flourishing animal population.

Poachers have killed over 55 000 black rhino in the last 19 years. In 1970 there were about 60 000, today there are fewer than 3 500.

Conservation authorities in Zimbabwe have been fighting a small war to save the black rhino and have instructions to shoot poachers on sight. Since 1984 about 450 black rhino have been shot in the Zambezi Valley and at least 43 poachers have been killed. But the price of illegal rhino horn is so high that poachers, highly efficient and heavily armed with automatic weapons, are willing to take the risk and the massacre continues.

The horn is sold mainly in Asia where the bulk is ground down and used medicinally. Less than 1 percent is used as an aphrodisiac. Many horns are sold in north Yemen for dagger handles.

The horn itself is formed from compacted keratin fibres, the same substance that hair and fingernails are made of. Taking rhino horn medicinally will have as much effect as biting one's nails.

So far, South African and Namibian rhino have been relatively safe from poachers. This year the situation changed. Sixteen black rhino have been killed in

A dead rhino with a horn or a live one without is a question which has raised arguments among conservationists, reports **MELANIE GOSLING**

Namibia this year, five in Damaraland and 11 in Etosha Game Reserve.

A spokesman for the Directorate of Nature Conservation in Windhoek said this was the first time dehorning rhino had been done in Africa. The animals were therefore being strictly monitored to establish if they suffered any physical or behavioural disadvantages.

## NO PAIN

The animals are darted with an immobilising drug and anti-stress drugs. The horn is then sawn off.

"This causes the animal no pain. It's just like cutting one's fingernails," said spokesman Mr Jan Joubert.

The horns are kept by the conservation authorities who have a stockpile from rhino which have died naturally or which have been confiscated. In terms of the Cites agreement the horns, which could bring in millions of rands to conservation, are not allowed to be sold.

"It is a drastic measure. But there is hardly any game left in the rest of Africa. In the next decade there could be none left here," Mr Joubert said.

Mr Peter Hitchins of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation is totally opposed to dehorning.

"The rhino need their horns for defence

against predators and against each other.

"Besides, the horns grow again and the rhino will have to be captured and dehorned within a few years. This is an enormous expense and puts the animals through severe stress," Mr Hitchins said.

Dr John Ledger of the Endangered Wildlife Trust believes the method should be tried.

"Rhino populations are under such severe threat that all possibilities need to be looked at. Someone had to take the bold step of experimenting with dehorning."

Dr Anthony Hall-Martin and Dr Martin Brooks, both members of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, admit the move is drastic but say the results of the dehorning programmed would be useful to conservationists.

Mr Clive Walker of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation disagreed: "Poachers shoot to kill on sight without investigating whether the rhino has a decent horn, so I think they will kill the animal whether it has a horn or not."

Dr George Hughes, director of the Natal Parks Board, also expressed reservations about the idea: "I don't like it. It is a last resort where one admits one is on the point of failure. But we're watching the experiment with interest."

Mr Raoul du Toit, who is doing research on rhino in Zimbabwe, says while dehorning would be logistically impossible in the Zambezi Valley, it might be appropriate for Namibia.

"I would not reject the experiment. It is better having a live rhino without a horn than a dead one."



**F**RIEDRICH HAYEK, the greatest economic philosopher of our age, celebrated his 90th birthday this week still fighting collectivist economic policies.

His life's work in the cause of economic freedom and individual liberty was restated a few weeks ago in his latest book "The Fatal Conceit — the Errors of Socialism". Like his numerous other books over the past 50 years, it will enhance his influence on the world's political economy.

Hayek's birthday fell within a week of Margaret Thatcher's 10th anniversary as British Prime Minister. Thatcher owes much of her fundamental political thinking and success to Hayek's teaching, as do many other influential people throughout the world.

**H**ayek rose to world fame in 1944 with his book "The Road to Serfdom". He attacked the view, commonly held in those days, that private enterprise had had its day, that mankind had available new kinds of freedom — collective freedoms from want, poverty and insecurity.

This notion, propagated by John Maynard (later Lord) Keynes amongst others, was widely accepted. It suggested that these "freedoms" could be realised through a "mixed" economy of capitalism with some socialist planning features.

Hayek denied the validity of these appealing ideas, which he described as a dangerous utopia. He prophesied correctly that any system of overall central control by government would lead to curtailment of individual freedom and thereby ultimately to greater poverty, inflation and widespread unemployment.

Now, 45 years later, collectivist economic policies are on the defensive around the world — thanks largely to the growing influence of Hayek's insight and his teachings.

# Hayek, the messiah of the market

**HANS MIDDELMANN**

Thatcher gained her understanding of the issues from regular contact with Hayek in the Seventies before she became Prime Minister. This enabled her to pursue the policies which are the basis of Britain's success today.

While SA still has a long way to go, Hayek's categorical statement that central planning inevitably leads to ultimate ruin has found a major vindication in Russia and China. These extreme exponents of the dream of planning for freedom from want are now, after more than 70 years of disastrous practice, abandoning so-

cialist dogma for greater individual freedom.

The Swedish social democratic Minister of Finance recently wrote that, across the world, the market economy has proved more successful than the planned economy:

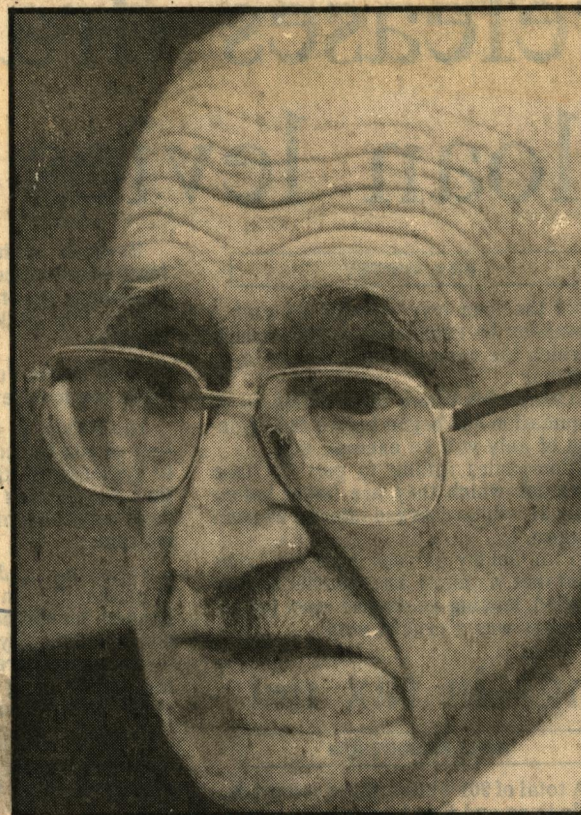
"The market economy's facility for change and development, and therefore economic growth, has done more to eliminate poverty and 'the exploitation of the working class' than any political intervention in the market's system of distribution."

And he concluded that "it is time

to stop knocking the market economy; and that means accepting private ownership, the profit motive and differences of income and wealth".

The 1944 heresies of Hayek — the "messiah of the market" as he was called by some — have become the realities of today.

Hayek, at 90, can look with justifiable satisfaction on the wide acceptance, in practical terms, of his thesis that there is no substitute for the information-gathering process of the market. But his major concern re-



□ HAYEK . . . freedom fighter for free enterprise

mains the unresolved question of individual freedom under the rule of law.

It may well be that the next century will judge his statements on liberty and "the extended order of human co-operation" as his greatest contribution to the future of humankind. They are of immense relevance to SA today in our transition from an autocratic system of government to, one hopes, the beginning of a non-racial democratic dispensation.

Hayek's writings could influence our future more positively than any freedom fighter can ever do.

In "The Constitution of Liberty" (1960) and in his three-volume work "Law, Legislation and Liberty" (1973 to 1979) he has dealt, in great clarity, with the economic, legal and moral issues of human freedom. Significantly, the sub-titles of two of these volumes are "The Mirage of Social Justice" and "The Political Order of a Free People".

It is a pity that the recent splendid working paper by the SA Law Commission on "Group and Human Rights" makes no reference to Hayek's work. This will, no doubt, be remedied in the commission's final report. It proves, however, that Hayek's teachings which influence the rest of the world have, until now, had little serious discussion here.

It is worth, in conclusion, quoting Hayek's favourite definition of freedom. It was written in 1792 by Adam Ferguson. The implications for SA are obvious:

"Liberty or freedom is not, as the origin of the name may seem to imply, an exemption from all restraints, but rather the most effectual application of every just restraint to all members of a free society, whether they be magistrates or subjects."

□ MIDDELMANN is a past president of Assocom.



THE NEW NATION

12 TO 18 MAY 1989

# To pacify and contain

BORAINE said the NSMS has identified 34 townships as "high-risk" security areas.

This list includes Soweto, Alexandra, kwaThema, Katlehong, Tembisa, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Sebokeng and Sharpeville in the Transvaal.

In the Western Cape, Crossroads, KTC, Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain and Mbekweni is on the list and, in the Eastern Cape, Cradock, Duncan Village, Mdantsane, New Brighton, kwaZakhele, kwaNobuhle and Fingoe Village.

Umlazi, kwaMashu, Lamontville, Lindelani and Esakhaweni is included in

Natal, and Tumahole is listed in the Free State.

"These townships are defined as 'oilspots', from where the security forces are attempting to regain control of black urban areas, through a combined process of repression and selective bargaining," said Boraime in his paper.

## STRATEGY

This will be done through Joint Management Centres (JMC), which have been established in the 34 townships.

The JMCs, in line with the strategy of the NSMS, will use a combination of direct

security action and economic upgrading:

"This means that many black material grievances are now acknowledged as legitimate and that there is a need for grassroots intervention in the form of upgrading.

## REVOLUTIONARIES

"[The aim is] to 'cut the ground' under the feet of the revolutionaries, who are perceived as 'exploiting' black grievances."

Boraime said this strategy of winning hearts and minds (WHAM) has been used for years in Namibia and the bantustans already.



1984: a time of demonstrations and marches.

The intention was to move away from indiscriminate repression - "which is seen as alienating the black population" - towards a more selective policy of neutralising specific activists.

In this way, the NSMS hoped, the townships will be "pacified and contained".



Top conservationist reviews a searching biography

# The heart of a tightrope walker

Conservationist **IAN PLAYER**, an expert on Zululand and its peoples, gives his personal review of Jack Shepherd Smith's book, **BUTHELEZI: THE BIOGRAPHY**.

**T**HE recent biography of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi by Jack Shepherd Smith gets to the heart of the man. It is a story about the most remarkable political figure to appear on the South African stage in the past 35 years.

There has been much said and written by many people about this great Zulu leader, but no one was able to see behind the persona.

It needed the penetrating eye of a professional journalist with a lifetime of experience to get to the core of Prince Buthelezi's being and in plain English to show us what makes the man tick.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is not only a political leader, he is part of the Zulu Royal family. This makes him unique.

Buthelezi the politician has had to suffer the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" of South African politics, scorned and reviled by the ignorant, but revered by those who understand his suffering and see his vision. As Shepherd Smith so succinctly puts it, "For many years he has walked the tightrope over a chasm of twin hatreds."

He has been attacked viciously from the left and the right and, with certain notable exceptions, abused by the white Nationalist government. It needed a man with great inner strength to be able to keep going, and this Buthelezi has done with remarkable success, but being a sensitive and humane man the pain at times must have been unbearable.

## Black politics

I have personally had the opportunity of being near to Mangosuthu Buthelezi at various periods during his political career, and at the same time I had the job of entertaining white political leaders from Prime Ministers to junior Cabinet Ministers. Not one of them had the grasp of the totality of the South African political scene that Buthelezi had, and still has. They knew the ins and outs of white politics to the finest detail, but they had no inkling of the complexity of black politics.

Buthelezi has always understood both, and this is what has given him the edge, and this makes him critically important today. It is the white man in South Africa who is facing an uncertain political future — not the black man. Anyone who has been around for the past 30 years will have experienced the population explosion. The black population is increasing exponentially while the white population decreases or remains static.

One would have thought that this single demographic fact alone would be enough to convince a white government of the urgency to treat Mangosuthu Buthelezi with the greatest care and consideration.



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: 'He stands high.'

Instead, until very recently, he was constantly insulted. It is a miracle that he did not say "To hell with it," go into exile and join the formidable forces now arraigned against this country.

His Christian background has been a source of inner inspiration and he had a great admiration and true brotherly love for Bishop Alpheus Zulu who

stood by him and counselled him with Christian understanding. Bishop Zulu leaves an example that other church leaders could do well to follow.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi has consistently opposed sanctions and has had little recognition or thanks. Bishop Tutu, courting popularity, advocated sanctions. Shepherd Smith quotes from a letter written by Buthelezi to Tutu which inter alia says: "You shame the cloth you wear and turn the accolade you receive in being given the Nobel Peace prize into a farce. Are you a bishop or a politician?"

Mangosuthu Buthelezi has all his life been an innovator and his contributions in the shape of the Buthelezi Commission and the Indaba were initiatives of utmost importance for South Africa. They were guidelines for the future, and Shepherd Smith has done an excellent job in distilling the essence of these developments.

## Most effective

My world has been that of conservation and intuitively I know when people really care. Mangosuthu Buthelezi stands high. The rapid growth of the Kwa-Zulu Bureau of Natural Resources is the result of his strong backing of the director, Nick Steele, and the bureau has become the biggest and most effective



THE DAILY NEWS 12-05-89

homeland conservation department.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a man with a heart and a mind who has suffered from fools and from vicious men. Being human he makes mistakes and his reaction to criticism sometimes gives his enemies much ammunition. Deep down he is a very sensitive man loyal to his people, his friends, and to South Africa. Anyone who wants an insight into the most important leader of our time should read Jack Shepherd Smith's book.

We hear the word "reform" incessantly nowadays but in most instances it is the undoing of stupidities of the past 40 years. Real reform will have come when Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi takes his rightful place in the South African Cabinet in Cape Town.



# ANC SENDS PLEA

## TO END KILLING

LUSAKA — The African National Congress on Wednesday appealed for an end to fighting between rival black groups in South Africa's Natal province and said it supported the idea of peace talks.

"We reiterate our call that the carnage must end," it said in a statement issued from its headquarters in Lusaka.

"The energies of our people must be directed against the common enemy of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, the apartheid regime."

More than 500 people have been killed in the past 18 months in Natal in what has become known as South Africa's Zulu War, mainly between members of the Zulu movement Inkatha and supporters of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF).



Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha who holds the other key to peace.

The ANC said it supported the proposal by church and community leaders of peace talks between the parties — Inkatha, the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). It called on church, business and youth groups to take part.

"No one must be left out. The ANC is firmly convinced that these forces share more common ground on this question than what might divide them," the statement added.

It said the ANC was ready to play a role in peace efforts. — Sapa-Reuter.

### Get tough call

JERUSALEM — An Israeli minister called for harsh measures to end the Arab uprising in the occupied territories but Egypt's ambassador said Middle East peace was closer than ever.

### Inkatha—UDF talks

A MEETING of leaders of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to try and end the violence in townships in Natal and KwaZulu may be held on May 20 at Ulundi, SABC radio news reports.

The KwaZulu chief minister and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in the legislative assembly at Ulundi he had suggested this date after receiving support in principle from UDF and Cosatu leaders for peace proposals made by him and Inkatha.

### Special messages

BOTSWANA'S Minister of External Affairs, Dr Gao-sitwe Chiepe, left yesterday for Swaziland to deliver a special message from the President, Dr Quett Masire, to King Mswati III, the Botswana news agency *Bopa* reported.

From Swaziland Chiepe is expected to proceed to Lesotho where she will also deliver a special message to King Moshoeshoe II.

### Mauled by lion

A BLACK man, who tried to enter South Africa illegally through the Kruger National Park, has been found in the vicinity of Nuanetsi after being attacked by a lion.

A defence Force spokesman at Nelspruit said the man had been arrested last week and repatriated to Mozambique through the Lebombo border post. — Sapa.



## ANC man gets 18 years

A CAPE Town Supreme Court has jailed Allen Mamba, a self-confessed member of Umkonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, to an effective 18 years' imprisonment for murder.

Mamba was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for placing a hand grenade attached to a limpet mine in a bin outside Volkskas Bank in Piers Road, Wynberg, in June last year which resulted in the death of Mr Elliot Mphathi Ketelo.

He was also sentenced to 15 years for planting a limpet mine on Langa-Pinelands railway line on June 15 last year.

Nine years of the first sentence will run concurrently with the second sentence.

Passing sentence Mr Acting Justice G D van Schalkwyk said the crimes were extremely serious and could be equated with treason. He said if the dead man had not found the explosive device on the bin there would have been a catastrophe with scores of people being killed.

And if a policeman had not seen the premature explosion and stopped the train in time there would have been a disaster.

SOWETAN

12-05-89



## Labour Update

# Union to put the squeeze on Mobil

THE Chemical Workers Industrial Union is to initiate a strike ballot to prepare for a legal strike against Mobil Oil South Africa following the breakdown of discussions held in Durban.

A statement released by the union yesterday says that Mobil refused to negotiate the terms of its recently announced disinvestment at the meeting and that a group of ten senior officials of the company "persisted in their denial of any prior or even current knowledge of the disinvestment process."

"They were only willing to confirm the company's employee bulletin announcing the sale, the statement says."

In addition, the union notes that it is "dismayed" at the industrial court's decision to grant the company "yet a further postponement in our application for an urgent interdict."

"We do, however, take note of the disquiet expressed by the court at

### SOWETAN Reporter

the lack of information provided by Mobil to the workforce. We also welcome the court's directive to Mobil's attorneys to attempt to get instructions from Mobil to provide the union with information concerning the disinvestment.

"It was also clarified that a key witness on Mobil's intentions is managing director, Mr Bob Angel, who so far has been inexplicably absent from South Africa and unavailable to shed the light on Mobil's sudden inability to negotiate when disinvestment became an issue."

A spokesman from Mobil Oil was not available to comment on the statement.

## 220 workers fired



Thorn Lighting employees dismissed by the company last week.



# Majority in SA say they won't bring an end to apartheid'

# SANCTIONS OPPOSED

WASHINGTON — An overwhelming majority of all South Africans say sanctions and boycotts used to bring about an end to apartheid are unwanted, according to a new Gallup poll which has been described as the most comprehensive survey ever taken of South Africans on the issue.

The study, sponsored by the Chamber of Mines, shows a majority of blacks oppose the move towards disinvestment and sanctions even if those sanctions and boycotts cause the South African Government to resign within five years, and did not harm South Africans personally.

The release of the survey in the US has been timed to pre-empt a major public relations boost for the pro-sanctions campaign next week, when a delegation of South African church leaders under Archbishop Desmond Tutu visit Washington to plead for more sanctions.

The full results of the survey, which has been called *Voice of the South African People*, are to be released at a Press conference next Tuesday, the day the Tutu delegation arrives in Washington.

Its findings were based on a survey of 2000 South Africans, including 1400 blacks.

It was conducted by Markinor, the South



**ARCHBISHOP TUTU**

African affiliate of the Gallup organisation.

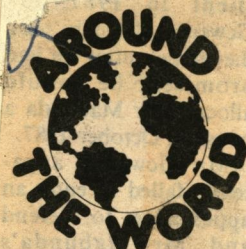
The Chamber of Mines, which commissioned the survey, has described the poll as the most careful, comprehensive and thorough study ever done of what South Africans of all races themselves want.

According to sources about 85 percent of the respondents of the survey rejected sanctions as a means to get rid of apartheid.

The formulation of the questions were such that great care was taken to eliminate any possible misrepresentations of the true opinions of South Africans on the issue. — *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*

## Sats sellout

THE South African Transport Services (Sats) are to sell all its assets in Swaziland to the Swazi government, Sats has announced.



## War rages

BEIRUT — Lebanese and Syrian gunners pounded Beirut with shells, ignoring an appeal for peace by Arab League envoys trying to mediate an end to 14 years of civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Votes invalid

PANAMA CITY — Panama's election tribunal has annulled Sunday's presidential vote because

of foreign interference, tribunal president Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez announced. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Baker visit

MOSCOW — US Secretary of State James Baker met Mikhail Gorbachev and a Soviet official hinted that the Kremlin leader might make a proposal on the issue of short-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

## Call for talks

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has proposed that the superpowers meet Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in four-party talks on the Middle East, an official spokesman said.

## Backing down

NICOSIA — Iranian parliamentary speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who caused an international outcry by urging Palestinians to kill Westerners last week, has backed down, conceding he had given the wrong impression.

## Not standing

THE former Member of Parliament for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, will not be available for nomination in the coming general election, either for Hillbrow or any other constituency.

## COHEN GETS JOB

WASHINGTON — The appointment of Mr Herman Cohen as the new US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs was approved unanimously by the Senate Foreign Relations Africa Subcommittee this week.

Cohen, who succeeds

Dr Chester Crocker, who has taken up an academic post, has made a peaceful settlement in South Africa his top priority for the next four years.

He has told the senate he is opposed to the imposition of further sanctions against South Africa.



# Voters were intimidated defeated candidate claims CHIEF MINISTER SUED

AN APPLICATION to nullify the election last month of the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr M N Ramodike, as a member of the legislative assembly for Maphumo has been filed in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The application, filed by Mr S S Sekororo, cites seven respondents including the State President, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Ramodike, Mrs Jane Mahlo who was elected together with Mr Ramodike, the Lebowa Minister of Home Affairs, Mr L G Mathole and the chief electoral officer, Mr P P PHEME.

The papers were served on the respondents yesterday, according to some of them, and they have up to June 8 to indicate whether they will contest the application.



**Chief Minister Ramodike.**

## Threats

In an affidavit, Mr Mahlo, who lost the elections in the constituency, said Ramodike and Mrs Mahlo, his sister, had "intimidated" the voters to vote for them, waged a "general and orchestrated campaign

to stop me from holding pre-election meetings."

Mr Mahlo further alleges that Maphumo has an estimated 15 000 voters but that over 25 000 had participated. This he asserted, meant that there were people who voted more than once.

The court application comes only five days before the election of a chief minister which is to be held on Tuesday. Although the application requests the court to order that both Mr Ramodike and Mrs Mahlo should be barred from holding public office or standing for election for five years, this is not likely to affect the elections on Tuesday, legal sources say.



# Bishop quits over Tutu visit

THE BISHOP OF ASTON announced his resignation yesterday after the financial failure of last month's visit to Birmingham by Archbishop Desmond Tutu which made a loss of some £200,000.

The Rt Rev Colin Buchanan had overall responsibility for organising the week-long Christian Celebration of Birmingham's Centenary.

The high-point of the week was to have been an appearance by the Archbishop at Villa Park football ground, which seats 48,000 people. But only 8,000 people attended the rally.

Most of the £200,000 deficit will be borne by the diocese of Birmingham, which has only just recovered from a financial crisis in 1980, when it had a shortfall of

By Andrew Brown

Religious Affairs

Correspondent

£190,000 on an annual budget of £1m.

Bishop Buchanan, an evangelical who had been prominent in synodical politics before his consecration in 1985, has a reputation for vehement, though well-meaning enthusiasm. He was, according to the Bishop of Birmingham, the Rt Rev Mark Santer, "primarily responsible for planning and organising the Birmingham Citywide Christian celebration".

In his resignation statement, Dr Buchanan said: "I hold myself fully responsible for the loss incurred. Consequently on the day

after the Celebration finished, I submitted my resignation as Bishop of Aston to the Bishop of Birmingham. I am now resigning my office from 30 September 1989, but will cease public ministry and other duties in Birmingham immediately."

Sources close to the organisation of the Tutu visit yesterday criticised the organisers for amateurishness and for restricting the event to Birmingham.

One said: "They expected too much of the people of Birmingham — too much interest in one man, and spread over too long a period. There is a desperate need for more professionalism in these things. You've got to employ a few experts and not willing horses. People are not that interested in South Africa in Britain."

*The Independent*  
12/5/89 - London



# Buthlezi suggests May 20 for peace talks

by CARMEL RICKARD

THE president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has suggested that the leaders of Cosatu and the UDF meet with the Inkatha leadership in Ulundi on May 20 for initial talks about beginning a peace process.

This was confirmed late yesterday by a spokeswoman for Mr Buthelezi and follows a letter to the Inkatha leader from Cosatu and the UDF earlier this week in which they urged that talks be held between all three parties as a matter of urgency.

They said they would be prepared to meet as soon as possible at any mutually acceptable venue. By last night, no official response from Cosatu and the UDF had been made to the latest Inkatha proposals of date and place.

If the meeting goes ahead on May 20 it would be for preparatory talks aimed at working out a plan for a joint peace initiative.

It is not yet clear who would chair the meeting or what its agenda would be, but both sides have mentioned the need to discuss the role of the African National Congress in any peace process, so this is likely to be one of the issues dealt with.

While the prospect of Cosatu/UDF-Inkatha talks has greatly improved, the ANC has issued a statement underlining more strongly than in any previous communique its backing for a Natal peace initiative.

In the statement, issued on Wednesday night, officials of the organisation also indicated that the ANC would be

prepared to play whatever role the other three parties decide would be appropriate, within the limits posed by the fact that the organisation is outlawed in this country.

Meanwhile, representatives of Cosatu in the city have clarified Cosatu's position on the complaints adjudication board.

Earlier this week the Cosatu central executive announced that it had accepted recommendations from the Natal region and that Cosatu had instructed its lawyers to suspend the processing of complaints for the board to hear.

However, Cosatu representatives said yesterday this would not affect Cosatu's participation if a complaint were to be lodged against a Cosatu member.

## Imbali to pray for peace

Witness Reporter

A PRAYER meeting to "plead with God to help end the violence" in Natal's townships is to be held in Imbali on Sunday, one of the organisers said yesterday.

Evangelist Mr Mbulelo Hina, of Africa Enterprise, said the meeting had been called by Inter-denominational African Ministers of Southern Africa (Idamasa) and stressed it was entirely non-political.

"The only 'outside' speaker will be the Reverend B.K. Dindla of the Congregational Church in Durban. A representative of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly requested that the Deputy Minister of Works, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, be allowed to address the meeting but we refused. We said he was welcome to attend the meeting, but that he would be doing so in his private capacity and we would accord him no extra treatment."

He said the meeting would take place at the Imbali stadium, Stage 1, commencing at 10 am.

• A security force member was slightly injured in an unrest incident at Clermont, near Pietermaritzburg, at the weekend, when a group threw stones at a patrol, police reported. — Sapa.



# Son tells how vigilantes burned his father alive

THE NATAL WITNESS 12-05-89

by BRYAN PEARSON

INKATHA vigilantes attacked 45-year-old Vincent Mazibuko while he was relaxing with his family in his Mpumalanga home on Saturday evening — poured a can of petrol over him and threw a lighted match.

"He was burnt alive. Only his ashes were left," Mr Mazibuko's distraught son, Vandag (18), told a press conference in the township yesterday.

He said that minutes after attacking his father, the Inkatha vigilantes shot and killed his grandmother, Mrs Mita Ndokweni (60).

He said that on Saturday afternoon vigilantes had been patrolling a section of the township "warning the amaqabane (comrades) they were coming later to avenge the death of Zakhele Nkehli".

Mr Nkehli, who was Inkatha chairman of the area, was shot in the neck while driving his car in Mpumalanga in December and died in Edendale Hospital last Wednesday. His death has heightened tension in the township and at least five people have been killed in the last week.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu Police confirmed a number of murder cases were being investigated, but in the absence of the station commander, Warrant Officer S.J. Ndlovu, would not elaborate.

An Inkatha spokesman, who would not be named, blamed "the UDF" for the attacks, claiming they had burnt five Inkatha houses and had killed an Inkatha student, Miss Bongile Dladla, on Wednesday.

Mr Vandag Mazibuko said his brother and three sisters were in the house when it was attacked. The children had tried to douse the flames and drag their grandmother to safety but she told them to leave her and rather save themselves.

"Then one of the vigilantes came inside and shot my grandmother in the chest, killing her. When I arrived home I found the house still burning with my father and grandmother dead," a tearful Mr Mazibuko said. He



ABOVE: Mr Vandag Mazibuko wipes the tears from his grieving mother Esther's eyes.

BELOW: Minister of religion Mr Andrias Shelembe, whose home was attacked.

Pictures by ELAINE ANDERSON

said his mother had been away for the weekend and only heard of the killings when she arrived home on Monday.

Another Mpumalanga resident, Apostolic Faith Mission minister Mr Andrias Shelembe (51), told the press conference he had arrived home on Saturday evening to find a number of vigilantes stoning his house. They later set fire to it as well as to his car.

He said vigilantes had come to his home last week demanding R20 "to buy guns to wipe out the amaqabane". He refused to pay because "I will never contribute money to killing people". The vigilantes returned later, this time demanding R30 towards Mr Nkehli's funeral. Again he refused.

"This must be the reason my house was attacked," the minister said.

Mpumalanga's mayor, Mr Rodger Sishi, said yesterday he had heard of a number of cases where those refusing to contribute towards Mr Nkehli's funeral costs had been attacked.

However, the Inkatha spokesman said he knew nothing of people being forced to pay money for the funeral.





# Heunis: long and varied career

THE NATAL WITNESS

12-08-89

*Chris Heunis, a close confidant of President P.W. Botha and the architect of South Africa's tricameral constitution, is to retire from politics.*

*DUNCAN HARRISON reports on his life and political career.*

THE man once viewed as the obvious successor to P.W. Botha in the highest office of the land, Jan Christiaan Heunis, was born in 1927 at Uniondale in the Cape.

After matriculating from the Outeniqua High School in George in 1943, he obtained a Bachelor of Arts in 1946 and an LL.B. in 1948.

In 1951 he began practising as an attorney in George.

He became district leader of the National Party and a member of the town council.

Also in 1951 he married Miss Alida Andre van Heerden of Ceres. They have four sons and a daughter.

In 1959 he entered provincial politics and was returned as member of the Provincial Council for George.

He served as vice chairman of the Provincial Council and as a member of the executive committee.

On April 22, 1970, he was elected MP for False Bay (now Helderberg) a seat which he has held ever since.

In the same year he served as a member of the commission of investigation into the Stock Exchange.

And for two years he was a member of the Select Committee on Certain Organisations.

In July 1972 he was sworn in as deputy minister of Finance and of Economic Affairs and later in that year as Minister of Indian Affairs and of Tourism.

In 1978 Environmental Planning and Energy was added to the Economic Affairs portfolio.

In June 1979 he was appointed Minister of Transport Affairs.

And in the same year he was appointed by the Prime Minister as a member of the Commission for Investigation into the Constitution.

After serving as deputy chairman he was appointed chairman

in December 1980.

In October 1980 he was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs, a post which included the old Ministries of the Interior, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs.

On August 2, 1982, he became Minister of Constitutional Development.

Mr Heunis is one of Mr Botha's closest confidantes and played a key role in the struggle within the National Party which eventually led to the split in February 1982 resulting in the breakaway of the Conservative Party.

He also played a major role in formulating and marketing the government's new constitutional dispensation and was clearly in the reformist camp of the National Party.

When introducing the Constitution Bill in 1983, he maintained that although it contained fundamental principles to secure self-determination and co-responsibility, it was not the final blueprint, but only a further stage in the evolution of constitutional structures.

He admitted that the bill did not provide a complete answer to the constitutional problems facing the country because it did not deal with the issue of black constitutional development.

He said that, in his view, blacks had a separate constitutional path to follow.

In September 1986 at the Cape Congress of the National Party he was unanimously elected leader of the Cape NP after the surprise resignation of President Botha.

This position as leader of the largest of the four National Parties, put him in strong contention for the state presidency.

But the next year, in a general election, he retained the Helderberg seat by only 39 votes in a contest fought against former South African ambassador to the Court

of St James, and former National Party MP, Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall, a noted constitutional expert with whom Mr Heunis had disagreed inside the NP in earlier years, launched his own Independent Party on the basis of the government's, and therefore Mr Heunis', inability to find a constitutional solution for South Africa's black majority.

Mr Heunis served as acting State President in 1988 when Mr Botha took a trip to Europe, and again at the beginning of this year (from January 19) when Mr Botha suffered a light stroke.

In this role he presided over the historic first visit by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to Tuynhuys and also later become the first head of state to open the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

He was defeated in the second of two preliminary rounds where senior men stood for election as leader of the National Party following the surprise notice to the caucus of President Botha's relinquishing of the office.

Mr Heunis's subsequent actions in the public controversy surrounding the split leadership and presidential roles of the newly elected leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk and President Botha, was generally seen as having left him exposed to a possible demotion in a new regime.

It became apparent that he had backed Mr Botha's contention, against that of Mr de Klerk and the majority of the caucus, that the two offices should be separated.

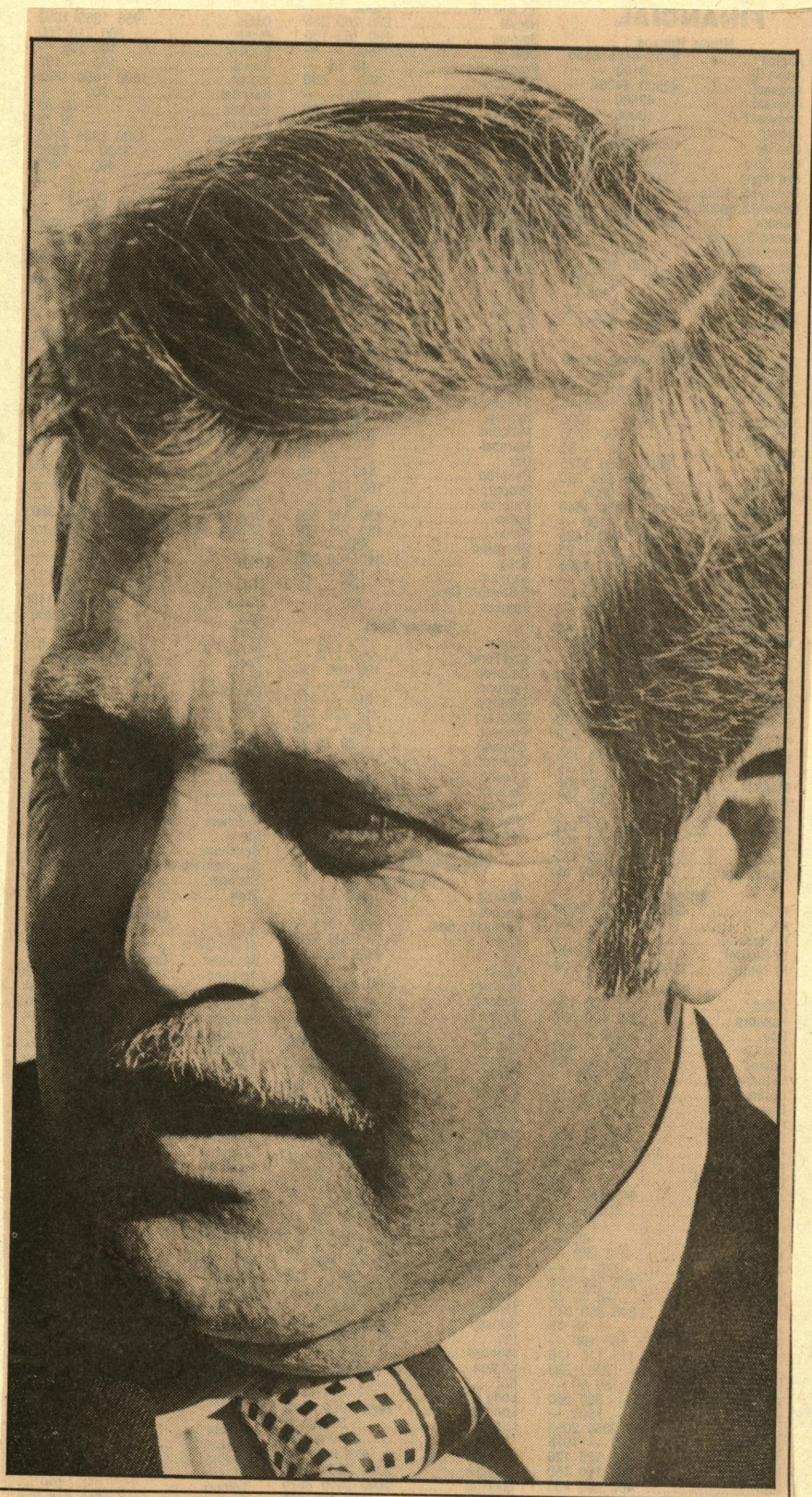
As minister responsible for the most crucial constitutional portfolio, he was also regarded as in the firing line in any new direction to be taken, particularly as so little progress had been made in negotiating with blacks during his custodianship.



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# Black leaders move to end township violence

ULUNDI. — A meeting of leaders of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to try and end the violence in townships in Natal and KwaZulu may be held on May 20 at Ulundi.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in the legislative assembly at Ulundi he had suggested this date after receiving support in principle from UDF and Cosatu leaders

for peace proposals made by him and Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi read out a letter signed by top leaders of the two organisations.

The letter stated that a need for a successful peace initiative was abso-

lutely critical. The letter also proposed that they should discuss how the ANC and other organisations would be involved in the peace initiative.

Chief Buthelezi said he had responded to the UDF/Cosatu letter and he had suggested May 20 as a date for the meeting.

In the letter Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Elijah Barayi and Mr Jay Naidoo, president and general secretary of Cosatu respectively, thanked Chief Buthelezi for his letter of April 29 and copies of the resolutions of a meeting of the Inkatha central committee held on that day.

The three organisations shared common ground, the letter said, adding that "the need for a successful peace initiative is now absolutely critical".

Supporters of Inkatha have clashed with Cosatu and UDF supporters in Natal, particularly in the Pietermaritzburg region, for almost two years now, resulting in the loss of over 1 200 lives.

The UDF and Cosatu leaders suggest in the letter that the purpose of the initial meeting should include the full motivation of the various proposals of the parties concerned on a face-to-face basis.

It would be necessary to discuss how the banned African National Congress and other organisations would be involved in the initiative, they state.

The leaders would also have to discuss and find solutions to the practical and logistical problems of any joint meeting between the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha that might be agreed upon, the UDF and Cosatu spokesmen pointed out.

They emphasised that their delegations to the first meeting would be led by their respective presidents. — Sapa.



# HEUNIS

Weekly Mail 12-18-05-89

# MADE SIMPLE

*What he's saying is: blacks may vote,  
as long as they don't outvote whites*

MANY people have seen the new constitutional plans announced by Chris Heunis last week as a major shift in government policy and an indication of what to expect in the era of the new National Party leader, FW de Klerk.

Last Friday's announcement by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis can be summed up in a phrase: give blacks a say in central government, but not enough to allow them to outvote whites.

Speaking in parliament last Friday, Heunis announced that the constitution would be changed to allow for:

- The participation of all political groups in the election of the state president;

- The representation of all political groups in the executive authority, which could be called the cabinet;

- A single legislative authority that would have powers over common national interests. This could be called a parliament or a congress and would be a structure in which numbers would not play a decisive role;

- Legislative and executive structures at various levels to control "own affairs" for political groups who so wished;

- A constitution based on federal principles but not simply a geographic federation.

Although these proposals are vague, they are consistent with resolutions adopted at the NP's federal congress in August 1986 and outlined by President PW Botha last year.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Heunis' proposals was the reference to a single legislative authority with powers over common national interests (general affairs). He intimated that it could

**Chris Heunis' much acclaimed new plans last Friday signal a less dramatic shift than might seem. Most of the ground work was already done at the party's 1986 congress.**

**By SHAUN MACKAY**  
(Of the Policy Research Unit at the South African Institute of Race Relations)

various houses of parliament, as well as leaders of the non-independent homelands and African leaders from outside the homelands. It will be chaired by the state president.

Numbers will not matter on this council since it will be based on consensus (probably using the idea of concurrent majorities in which a decision cannot be taken unless all represented groups agree). This will effectively give smaller groups the same power as bigger groups.

The so-called "open group", made up of anyone who doesn't want to identify with any of the existing racial groups,

dent.

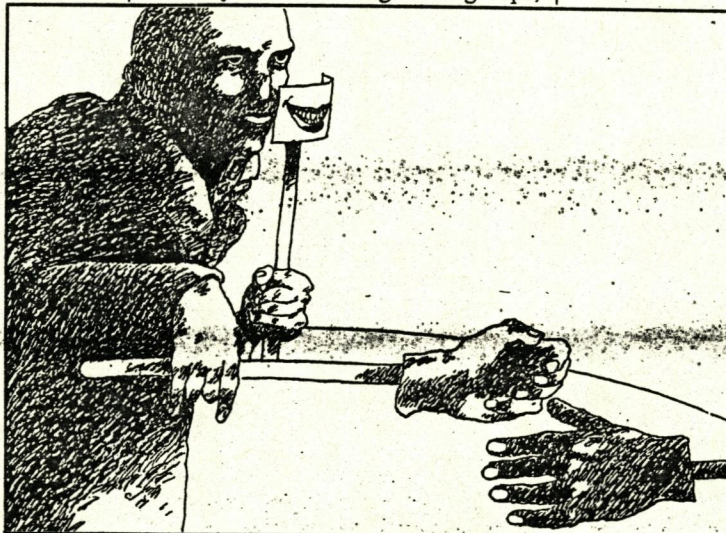
The electoral college which elects the state president will also be changed to accommodate Africans. The government is hoping that this will make the state president a symbol of unity, having been chosen by all sectors of the community.

However, the government is certain not to appoint sufficient Africans to the college to allow them to outvote whites. One suggestion has been to appoint one representative from each of the proposed regional legislatures for Africans — thus avoiding "swamping".

These legislatures, outlined in the Promotion of Political Participation Bill, will provide a forum for black control of "own affairs", currently handled by the provinces and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Africans in the non-independent homelands already have control over their own affairs by virtue of the fact that they have their own legislative assemblies. The "own affairs" of whites, Indians and coloureds will continue to be handled in their respective houses of parliament. A fourth chamber for Africans is not on the cards because the government is attempting to move away from the present parliamentary system where Africans would upset the balance of power.

A restructured President's Council with Africans included in it has already been the subject of the most recent report by the council; however, even in the council, those involved in the planning of the new council suggest that



**New masks for old as Heunis talks of 'one parliament'**



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be called "parliament", but it is unlikely to bear any resemblance to parliament as it now exists.

The structure Heunis is referring to is probably the one raised in a motion at the NP's 1986 federal congress: "a joint council of state or leader's council which would formulate policy over matters of common national interest (general affairs) by means of consensus".

The NP is hoping that its national negotiation forum (the National Council) will evolve into this body. It is therefore not envisaged as a directly elected body, but will consist of the leaders of the various communities, as represented in the

could be easily accommodated in such a structure, even though its size could fluctuate from day to day as more people opted to join it.

Plans for the inclusion of Africans in the cabinet are already well advanced. The Constitution Second Amendment Bill now before parliament makes provision for this; there are also plans to reintroduce the post of prime minister (PM) who would then replace the state president as chairman of the cabinet. In his April 1988 proposals, President Botha suggested that the PM and his cabinet could be responsible for the day-to-day administrative running of the country and be appointed by the state presi-

Africans are likely to be allocated the seats now occupied by opposition parties, thus ensuring that the white majority party remains in control.

As Heunis indicated, many of these proposals will be subject to negotiation. But they are based on group rights, and that shows no sign of changing.

These proposals do, however, indicate a move away from a position where the NP sought to ensure the survival of whites as a group by dominating all constitutional structures to one in which whites seek to ensure their survival by ensuring that all groups have equal power in the system, regardless of numbers.



WEEKLY MAIL

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AT first glance, it was not obvious why Finance Minister Barend du Plessis should have chosen last week to introduce his austerity package.

But view it against the background of electoral politics, on the one hand, and the gold price, on the other, and it begins to make sense.

The package, which included a one percent rise in interest rates, a 10 percent loan levy on companies, and tighter hire-purchase conditions, is part of an attempt by the financial authorities to slow down the economy in the context of a looming balance of payments crisis.

It's not a new problem. And it isn't necessarily worse this month than last month, although the fact that the gold price dropped below \$380 an ounce after falling pretty steadily since last year, when it averaged \$437, was an important factor, which Du Plessis cited when he announced the new measures.

It's clear that if the authorities were going to take action at all, it had to be now — as early before the September election date as possible.

But if it couldn't be later, why couldn't it be earlier? Most economists have been saying for some time that the measures already taken were not going to have the desired effect in damping consumer and company demand and several have called for sharper interest rate rises.

Commentators this week have asked why Du Plessis did not implement measures such as last week's at the time of the March budget, only seven weeks ago.

But at the time of the budget, it was not clear when the election was going to be. And it is possible that the government wanted the budget to look as good and optimistic as possible — in the event of an early election for example in May or June.

When confirmation came last week that the election would be in September, this may have left a little more space for Du Plessis to impose harsh measures which the electorate would not like and which could affect those without the vote even more severely.

# This bitter pill we could have taken weeks ago

**The reasons why Barend du Plessis chose last week rather than some other to discover the woes of our economy, have more to do with voting patterns than economic ones. By HILARY JOFFE**



**Gerhard de Kock: Strongest yet stand on politics**

The prime overdraft rate has now gone up from 12,5 percent at the beginning of last year to the present 20 percent charged by all the major banks as of this week. Prime is the rate banks charge their best customers — consumers and small businesses are usually charged at least three or four percent above this on their overdrafts.

Home loan rates are likely to go up too, although in the case of building societies, which usually give one month's notice of mortgage rate increases, this won't bite yet.

It seems inevitable, though, that most homeowners will be soon paying around 20 percent on mortgage bonds — compared to 12,5 percent early last year.

Homeowners with a R60 000 bond payable over 25 years could now be paying R1 006 a month, where early last year they were paying R654 a month.

Low-income homeowners, many of them black, who took out bonds at the low 12,5 percent rate would have seen their household finances steadily eroded. The monthly repayment on a R30 000 bond, for example, would have risen from R327 to R503 — and that, very likely, is on a monthly household income of less than R1 400.

Lower-income consumers will also be hit by the new hire-purchase restrictions, since for many this is the only way they can afford basics such as furniture or refrigerators. The new HP measures impose higher initial deposits and shorter repayment periods on consumers.

The new measures may also affect investment negatively, and hence employment, since borrowed money will cost companies more, and within the next eight weeks they will have to pay a 10 percent loan levy.

Changes in the import surcharge

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could affect investment too, since much machinery is imported. The surcharge has been reduced to 15 percent, from 20 percent on most capital goods, but Du Plessis said few exemptions would be granted.

In presenting the new measures, Du Plessis warned consumers to stop spending and pointed to the fact that companies' imports had risen very rapidly. Capital goods were about 84 percent of imports.

Du Plessis' stress on South Africa's balance of payments problems were an admission, once again, of the pressure of financial sanctions. He referred to these directly in his budget speech in March.

Last week Du Plessis pointed to the fact that although the current account of the balance of payments would probably show a surplus of about R1-billion for the first three months of the year, South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves had hardly changed, indicating "a further large net outflow of capital in the first three months of this year".

Since South Africa has no significant new loans coming in from overseas, and has had to repay its foreign loans since 1985, a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments (the surplus earned by exports over imports) is needed to repay foreign loans and compensate for outflows on the capital account of the balance of payments. About four percent of gross domestic product is leaving the country by way of capital outflows.

If the current account surplus is not enough to cover the capital account outflow, the country has to draw on its gold and foreign exchange reserves.

JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem says South Africa's net reserve position has been negative since the end of last year, when there was a deficit on the reserves of about R800-million. While the gold and foreign exchange reserves are usually presented as a gross figure — around R6-billion — Bethlehem says this must be set against the country's total short-term liabilities (debts payable within one year).

Bethlehem points to the figures on South Africa's gold holdings, which show a dramatic decline, from 40,2-million ounces in 1969 to 12-million in 1980 to only about 3,5-million now.

"The problem is that South Africa is in a cash fix," he says.

And the pressure of financial sanctions was highlighted this week, when Reserve Bank governor Gerhard de Kock came out with his strongest statement to date on the link between the economy and politics, suggesting that South Africa's economic problems required political solutions.

He was reported as saying: "The truth is that the political situation in South Africa finds itself in the world today has had, and will continue to have, adverse effects on the economy."

He argued that if South Africa could make progress in political reform, this could bring in foreign capital which would make possible an economic growth rate of four to five percent.

WEEKLY MAIL

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# Dehorning: right or wrong?

The move by Namibian conservation authorities this week to dehorn black rhino in the wild in an attempt to deter poachers, has met with mixed reaction from conservationists.

Some have condemned it, others believe a drastic situation demands a drastic solution. Most see it as a desperate, last ditch bid by conservationists to save the remnants of what was once a flourishing animal population.

Poachers have killed over 55 000 black rhino in the last 19 years. In 1970 there were about 60 000, today there are fewer than 3 500.

Conservation authorities in Zimbabwe have been fighting a small war to save the black rhino and have instructions to shoot poachers on sight. Since 1984 about 450 black rhino have been shot in the Zambezi Valley and at least 43 poachers have been killed. But the price of illegal rhino horn is so high that poachers, highly efficient and heavily armed with automatic weapons, are willing to take the risk and the massacre continues.

The horn is sold mainly in Asia where the bulk is ground down and used medicinally. Less than 1 percent is used as an aphrodisiac. Many horns are sold in north Yemen for dagger handles.

The horn itself is formed from compacted keratin fibres, the same substance that hair and fingernails are made of. Taking rhino horn medicinally will have as much effect as biting one's nails.

So far, South African and Namibian rhino have been relatively safe from poachers. This year the situation changed. Sixteen black rhino have been killed in

A dead rhino with a horn or a live one without is a question which has raised arguments among conservationists, reports **MELANIE GOSLING**

Namibia this year, five in Damaraland and 11 in Etosha Game Reserve.

A spokesman for the Directorate of Nature Conservation in Windhoek said this was the first time dehorning rhino had been done in Africa. The animals were therefore being strictly monitored to establish if they suffered any physical or behavioural disadvantages.

## NO PAIN

The animals are darted with an immobilising drug and anti-stress drugs. The horn is then sawn off.

"This causes the animal no pain. It's just like cutting one's fingernails," said spokesman Mr Jan Joubert.

The horns are kept by the conservation authorities who have a stockpile from rhino which have died naturally or which have been confiscated. In terms of the Cites agreement the horns, which could bring in millions of rands to conservation, are not allowed to be sold.

"It is a drastic measure. But there is hardly any game left in the rest of Africa. In the next decade there could be none left here," Mr Joubert said.

Mr Peter Hitchins of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation is totally opposed to dehorning.

"The rhino need their horns for defence

against predators and against each other.

"Besides, the horns grow again and the rhino will have to be captured and dehorned within a few years. This is an enormous expense and puts the animals through severe stress," Mr Hitchins said.

Dr John Ledger of the Endangered Wildlife Trust believes the method should be tried.

"Rhino populations are under such severe threat that all possibilities need to be looked at. Someone had to take the bold step of experimenting with dehorning."

Dr Anthony Hall-Martin and Dr Martin Brooks, both members of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, admit the move is drastic but say the results of the dehorning programmed would be useful to conservationists.

Mr Clive Walker of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation disagreed: "Poachers shoot to kill on sight without investigating whether the rhino has a decent horn, so I think they will kill the animal whether it has a horn or not."

Dr George Hughes, director of the Natal Parks Board, also expressed reservations about the idea: "I don't like it. It is a last resort where one admits one is on the point of failure. But we're watching the experiment with interest."

Mr Raoul du Toit, who is doing research on rhino in Zimbabwe, says while dehorning would be logistically impossible in the Zambezi Valley, it might be appropriate for Namibia.

"I would not reject the experiment. It is better having a live rhino without a horn than a dead one."