

The Star Wednesday November 16 1988

compromise on
one-man one-vote

MUNICH â\200\224 Kwazulu Chief Minis-
ter, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

, said in Munich last night he was

prepared to suspend his ideal of
one-man one-vote in a unitary state
in view of the â\200\234real terrorâ\200\235 this

concept held for many white South

Africans.

' He told the Minister President of Ba-
varia, Dr H C Max Streibl, that he was
prepared to explore any constitutional
form which maintained the basic prin-
ciples of democracy. o

| This included a federal or canton
system in which there was the maxi-

mum devolution of power, Chief Buthe -

lezi said in a memorandum for their
meeting here.

He shared his black compatriotsâ\200\231
cherished ideal of a one-man one-vote
system in a unitary state, which embo-
died the best that
| ry democracy had to offer.

If South Africa had such a parlia-
mentary democracy plus the rule of
. law, no person or group should fear the
future, he said.

â\200\234I am, however faced with the reali-

ty that the prospects of this cherished
black South African ideal strikes terror
in the hearts and minds of a great

British parliamenta-

white South Afri

they are wrong in being afraid of a
real democracy, but it would be wrong
of me not to recognise that the right-
ness and the wrongness of soâ\200\230nothing
does not create or destroy real fear.â\200\235

Unlike those in other formerly colo-
nial African states, whites in his coun-
try had nowhere else to go and had to
live or die where they were. ;

â\200\234Nothing Africa could have ever produced by way of insurgents or revolutionaries could match the real damage

man

~ that white South Africans could do to a government imposed on them by

force,â\200\235 Chief Buthelezi said. He said blacks would also fiercely

â\200\230reject anything imposed on them. Both

groups would have to compromise. - â\200\234If we negotiate towards a multi-

- party democracy in which the winner-â\200\230takes-all principle is toned down in one

way or another, there are prospects of success,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234It is against the background of

â\200\230 these thoughts that I have reluctantly

come to the conclusion that I will have to keep my own cherished ideals somewhat suspended while I explore every possible constitutional form which maintains the basic principles of de-

~mocracy,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224 Sapa.

Front wanted to destroy education system

UDF's reaction of

he.

If the United Democratic Front

were an organisation committed .

to non-violence one would have expected it to have urged Nelson Mandela to renounce violence and join the UDF, the Delmas treason trial judge said yesterday when he began delivering his 1521-page judgment.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst was dealing with evidence on the UDF's policy on violence and cited the organisation's response on the conditional release of Nelson Mandela.

The UDF had observed that renunciation of violence would be unacceptable to the jailed ANC leader.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said the question to be asked was not whether there was an express policy of violence in the UDF but rather whether violence had been explicitly rejected by it.

He acknowledged that the UDF was a loose grouping and that one part could not be held responsible for the actions of another. But the views of those

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ov. /953
violence ques

By Adele Baleta
and Jo-Anne Collinge

who spoke on UDF platforms were not unknown to the leadership.

If non-violence were a UDF principle then immediate, drastic action against any speaker who even obliquely advocated violence could have been expected.

On the UDF's role in school boycotts and other actions by pupils from 1983 to 1985, the judge said: "The UDF regarded scholars, students and non-

' working youth as forces in the

freedom struggle and supported,

" directed and manipulated them

to that end."

He added that the UDF wanted to destroy the education system, and the means was to be the actions of the pupils.

During the course of school boycotts, participants broke the law for instance, the prohibition on outdoor gatherings. "It was inevitable that the police would act. ;

tion

"Violent confrontation was inescapable. The UDF never spoke out against the illegal actions of the scholars."

Earlier in the day, the judge dealt with several of the defence's arguments on the nature of the main charge of treason, which concerns the alleged conspiracy by the UDF to overthrow the State by violence.

Where the defence had argued that the State had drafted its indictment in such a way that the conspiracy was confined to members of management structures of the UDF and its affiliates, the judge found this was not so.

The defence argued that the conspiracy had to have been entered into between January 1983 and August 1983. The judge ruled that the State's case was not restricted to these time limits.

@ There were 19 accused with 19

indictments and the State's case

against each stood or fell on its own merits.

Judgment continues today.

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Judge withdraws
bail for 8 Delmas
treason accuse

By Adele Baleta and Jo-Anne Collinge

Bail for eight of the 19 accused in the Delmas treason trial was withdrawn yesterday as Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst began his judgment on the 438th day of the trial in Pretoria's Palace of Justice.

Three men who have been in custody for three years, having consistently been refused bail, emerged from the cells at the start of the day to cheers and clenched fist salutes from a packed public gallery.

LEADING UDF FIGURES

They are key United Democratic Front figures, national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota and a former Transvaal secretary, Mr Moss Chikane.

At midday, 11 men filed down the stairs to the cells, among them 63-year-old Mr Sam Matlole.

The key question in the trial is whether the accused, through their involvement with the UDF, conspired to overthrow the State by violence.

The State alleges that this seizure of power was

plotted either in association with the African National Congress or within the ranks of UDF members or supporters.

The UDF 1983/84 campaign against black local authorities was an effective means of mobilising the masses and fanning the flames of their white hot anger, Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst found.

He continued: When the eruption came as was inevitable the UDF rejoiced in its success and gloried in its victory.

The judge said that the UDF had achieved this through its office-bearers and publications.

It will be seen that there were no holds barred. The effects were stinging, vituperous, malicious and defamatory. Often criticism was true. Often criticism was grossly exaggerated or blatantly untrue.

The judge observed that there were virtually two cases held together with the spider's web of an alleged conspiracy.

The first concerned the UDF, its aims and its effects countrywide. The second concerned the effects

. of the UDF and its affiliates in the Vaal Triangle.

The eight accused whose bail was withdrawn are Mr Gcina Malindi, Mr David Mphuti, Mr Naphtali Nkopane, Mr Ephraim Ramakgula, Sekwati Mokoena, Jacob Hlanyane, Mr Thomas Manthata and Mr Sam Matlole. The other accused are the Rev Tebogo Moselane, Mr Patrick Baleka, Mr Oupa Hlomoka, Mr Thabiso Ratso-mo, Mr Petrus Mokoena, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, Mr Simon Nkoli and Mr Jerry Tlhopane.

@ See Page 3.

DAILY MIRROR, Wednesday, November 16, 1988

by NOREEN
TAYLOR

O see Prince Charles

during the Seventies,

as he galloped around

polo fields or charmed
adoring females on his walk
-abouts, you could be for-
given for thinking: This
man has been blessed with
so much.

The richest, the most eligi-
ble, the most popular... a
prince loaded with every glit-
tering prize life had to offer.

Yet there was one major flaw
with this profile â\200\224 an impor-
tant one. :

y Prince Charles did not believe
it.

There had always been a strong

vein of self-doubt in the Princeâ\200\231s
make-up. Part of the problem
stemmed from being unfairly
compared to his dashing, no-
nonsense, macho father.

Charles, questioning and intel-
lectual by nature, now began to
reshape himself into an action
man in order to convince him-
self and the watching world that

the son of Philip was no wimp.

So in between serving as an
officer in all three of the armed
services, he parachuted, he flew,
he dived under icebergs, he
hunted. 5

He rode in flat races, and he
played polo with a reckless dis-
regard for his own safety.

All this he did with an almost

wall. But he doesn't look too comfortable

HELLO, SQUIRE .

by royals and the land-owning set. The
fogeish county uniform makes Charles
look older than his 24 years in 1972. The
blonde is Isobel Whitbread. Recognise the
boy in the flat cap? He's Charles's
gest brother, Prince Edward.

HIGH-FLIER

neurotic fervour, until gradually
he began to believe he was
Action Man himself.

In this new role he grew his
hair so that his ears did not look
so prominent. He kept his body
slim and muscular, his face
tanned.

The awkward, jug-eared youth
had become a bit of a dish. With

AR R

the sexy new Charles came a
string of high-born blondes, fast
cars, and an unmistakable raffish
air as he began to chat up worldly
ladies such as Sabrina Guinness,
Susan George and Anna Wal-
ace.

Charles had at last learned to
flirt, and he was enjoying every
sex-charged minute. But the

other side of Charles â\200\224 the side
that loved opera and paintings,
the side that was moved by pov-
erty and injustice â\200\224 was far from
being fulfilled.

Close friends began to remark
on his loneliness, and the fact
that he spent many nights sit-
ting alone in front of the TV with

Charles opens a lei-
sure centre in Corn-
up lines.

with the bathing beauty line-up. Still, in
1970 he hadnâ\200\231t quite mastered the chat-

The off-duty
ook favoured
youn-

Charles pilots a Hawk
aircraft. He learned to
fly in 1968 and got his wings in 1971
after six tough months at the RAF college
at Cranwell. Two years ago he took a
conversion course so that he could pilot
the two BAe 146 four-engined jets of the
Queenâ\200\231s Flight.

a tray on his knee. People in his
circle were marrying and becom-
ing parents while Charles was
still playing the field.

A field that once seemed
crowded with potential brides
was now gradually emptying,

and Action Man was getting tired
of playing games.

L
peared, reportedly at the Queen's insis-
\ tence, after he left the Navy.

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Charles's beard, 1976-style,

wasnâ\200\231't a success. It disap-

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Mn Ellï¬\2011n1 The slick, assured version
at last. Here he is watch-

ing a polo match at Windsor Great Park with

PAGE 23

DAILY MIRROR, Wednesday, November 16, 1988

was one of the girls listed in Prince Charles's little
black book. But she quickly became unlisted
when she revealed to a magazine that she was not

Lady Sarah Spencer, elder sister of Diana. She

"y - e,

in love with him.

WELL PLAYED /575 \$3rne Guinness

seems to be enjoying every star-spangled moment. Being described as a girlfriend of the

TOMORROW: Finding love

Prince of Wales was regarded as the ultimate in oneupmanship â\200\224 even if you had to sit for hours pretending to be fascinated by one of his favourite pastimes.

The gentle
weapon that
IS routing the
critics who
mock Charles

IN the unique, engaging
way that endears him to
millions, Prince Charles
has this week given us all
a lesson in the value of a
self-deprecating sense of
humour.

His 40th birthday speech,
delivered to a predominantly
young audience in a vibrating
former tram-shed in the middle
of Birmingham, was written, it
should be noted, by Charles.
himself and proved to be a gem
of which any scriptwriter would
be justifiably proud.

For example: I was talking to
the roses, he said, when sud-
denly all the sprouts butted in

. those idiotic flowers got it
wrong again ... you have given
me one of the best birthday
parties I could have hoped for.

Thus, in a single hilarious
but oh-so-carefully thought-
through speech at probably
his most important occasion
of the year, he humorously
but effectively demolished
totally the vieious criticism
that has been aimed at him
over the past few years and
has unfairly branded him a
loony who talks to the
flowersâ\200\231.

The fact that self-deprecating
humour is the very best way to
tackle adversity and defuse
destructive criticism is a lesson I
learned at an early age and in
much less auspicious circum-
stances.

Floored

And it is something for which
I will never be able to thank my
English mother enough. My
father was Peruvian and I had
returned home from school ery-
ing my eyes out after being
called a â\200\230Dagoâ\200\231.

â\200\230But you are a Dago,â\200\235 said my

mother. Be proud of it and, best
of all, make a joke of it. That
will put an end to their non-
sense. :

The next day the same school
bullies set about me. Dago!
Dago! they yelled. Yes, I said,
I am a Dago, and joke, joke
I'm proud of it.

They were completely floored. .

The comedy theme that
Prince Charles seized on
and used so cleverly at that
splendid birthday party was
his alleged habit, as a keen
gardener, of chatting up the
flowers.

I say alleged because it is
worthwhile recording exactly
how he became tagged as a
weirdo.

He

laughed them

Student days (left) and in Birmingham yesterday. The humour'
was always there, now Charles is using it_t_p_ devastating effect
out of court!

A ear Or SO ago, in =
t,elevisyion interview with Sir
Alastair Burnet, the Prince had
replied to the question:

Why do you come to this
gardeg? with the words: I come
here to chat up the flowers.

When he said it, he had that

A SR, TR S SRR S E R

unmistakeable twinkle in his
expressive eyes. But Burnet took
the remark literally. Do you
mean, Sir, that you talk to the
flowers?

With. fhat revealing twitch of
his lips, Prince Charles delivered
the gentle â\200\230punchlineâ\200\231

â\200\230Doesnâ\200\231t every gardener do it?

It all went straight over Bur-
netâ\200\231s head â\200\224 and straight into
the filing systems of those royal
watchers who monitor every
utterance and nuance. The
headlines next day, in certain
sections of the Press, could not

have been worse: â\200\230Is our future.

monarch mad? He talks to
flowers!â\200\235 Heaven help us!

But full)
clever, caring communicator,

credit to Charles,

articulate and brave enough to
express his considered opinions,
which so often echo our own
doubts and fears, that he didnâ\200\231t
rise to the bait.

Instead, this week, he dem-
onstrated that he possesses
the wvery same sense of
humour that is also the
unassailable weapon of the
put-upon, down-trodden
and over-governed.

The marvellous sense of
humour that so distinguishes
the people of these islands who
will be Charlesâ\200\231s very own sub-
jects.

A sense of humour in the face
of adversity is a form of high
courage. Hate and a sense of
revenge are so easy to ge;nerate.

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Judge criticises
procedures in

t

â\200\230MR Justice Van Dijk-

horst said yesterday that .

_the â\200\234Delmas treason tri-
alâ\200\235 had been a trying case
for all concerned and that
the quest for justice
should follow a route)
torturous, was a sharp in-

dictment to the procedure

of the court.

~ â\200\234One should not run an
â\200\230ultra-marathon to decide
the guilt or innocence of
persons,â\200\235 he said, and
â\200\230added that justice delayed
â\200\230Was justice denied.
- He criticised ~ the
â\200\234lengthy treadmillâ\200\235 of
~Cross examination, which
â\200\230seemed to have become 3
â\200\234holy cowâ\200\235, :
- It seemed to be re-
ga as a sin to ask a
short direct question, de-
~manding a di answer,
â\200\230and also levelled criticism
â\200\230at @e tendency of counsel
to argue their case during
cross-examination. ;

If the court tried to in-

terfere to speed up the

â\200\234whole process, it was un-
fairly
tlallâ\200\230y.' 4

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ccused of impar- : â\202¬ \$5L0
e besmptsiions are being tried, he said.

orturousâ\200\231 tri

~The court should â\200\234have
the power to intervene,
and question witnesses in-
depth. He also levelled

criticism at the absolute
rule that the stateâ\200\231s case

had to be completed be-

fore the ~defence could

â\200\230commence.

He said if the court had :
the power, it would have
ordered that the question
of whether the United
Democratic Front propa-
gated violence should be
determined first. The fact

â\200\230that the court did not

have such Statutory
POWer, was unfair to the
accused. : il &

About recent argument

that treason trials should

not be heard by ordinary
courts, Mr Justice van
Dijkhorst said that the
aNSWEr was to correct trial
procedure, not to exclude
the courts. s Âç
He emphasised â\200\230that a
court room was not a fo-
rum for political debate.
It is not the views, but the
deeds of the accused that

ey

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

\ / ' g

Press â\200\230sourcesâ\200\231

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has

threatened possible further steps involving the Press.

This time he is angry about reports which, he said had tried to play his Cabinet Ministers off against each other.

The same â\200\234muckrakersâ\200\235 had dragged him into the arena with reports about a film production.

The State President is obviously referring, in the first instance, to the reports that Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, was going to lose his portfolio in a Cabinet reshuffle. This was followed by reports that two of Mr Heunisâ\200\231s top officials had lost their security clearance and were being moved sideways. There were also reports that the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, was going to join the Cabinet and take over Mr Heunisâ\200\231s portfolio. :

The film to which Mr Botha referred was Back to Freedom, a co-production by Mimosa Films and the SABC, which put R2,5 million into the production. :

The fact that the SADF provided facilities (for which it was paid), was also raised as part of the controversy, which was heightened by local critics panning the film as propaganda and a poor effort.

Mr Botha said the government should give serious consideration to the possibility of legislation compelling disclosure of â\200\230â\200\234responsible sourcesâ\200\235 which were quoted in the media and maligned or slandered people in public life.

He quoted an Australian High Court judgment in support of this.

â\200\234I think our government should take this (Australian) possibility seriously . . . if a person is slandered or maligned, then that so-called â\200\230responsibleâ\200\231 source must be named.â\200\235

No doubt this will be among the issues Mr Botha will be taking up with the Newspaper Press Union and the Media Council.

- We think, however, that the State President should carefully consider the matter before he does so. :

Speculation on Cabinet reshuffles are commonplace in all countries, as is speculation

on action involving government officials.

Nothing can or should be done about such speculation â\200\224 except to issue denials if such reports are untrue.

In the case of MrHeunis, there is speculation that the reports were leaked to embarrass the Minister.

We do not think there is any purpose in trying to determine the source of this information, but it can be established quite easily by Mr Botha himself if he so wishes.

In the case of Back to Freedom, the first stories appeared in a Nationalist magazine and its sister newspaper. â\200\230

In these and subsequent reports it was stated that Mr Bothaâ\200\231s daughter, Rozanne, was production co-ordinator of the film â\200\224 and in one or two reports there were suggestions that Mr Botha was among Cabinet Ministers who had approved of the film. :

Clearly Rozanne Botha, whose involvement' in the film industry is well-known, had nothing to do with the South African Broadcasting Corporationâ\200\231s R2,5 million involvement, since it is something quite out of her sphere of influence.

Nor, we are sure, had Mr Botha himself anything to do with the film, which was a joint venture between Mimosa Films and the SABC that did not require his involvement, or approval. :

Mr Botha has every right, we are sure, to be affronted by these reports.

To our mind, the explanation by the SABC, Mimosa Films and the Defence Force satisfactorily answers the critics.

But if some reports continue to suggest ulterior motives, those â\200\234slandered or malignedâ\200\235 have their remedy in the courts â\200\224 or the Media Council can be approached to ensure that the reports are put right.

We do not think the Press as a whole should be subjected to any further legal impositions.

Besides, there is so much emotion surrounding

" -the Press at present that any further steps â\200\234 -+ would be counter-productive, besides being unnecessary.

â\200\230Wednesday 16 November 1988

THE GITIZEN

Delmas treason trial judgment begins

By Sapa and lise
de Lange

ATTACKS on Black
local authorities by the
United Democratic
Front during 1984 and
1985 were stinging,
malicious and defama-
tory, the Pretoria Su-
preme Court hear

yesterday.

In remarks leading up
to the judgment of 19
men standing trial on
various political charges
in the Delmas treason
trial â\200\224 which lasted 37
months â\200\224 Mr Justice K
van Dijkhorst told a
packed courtroom that al-
though these attacks were
often true, they were
sometimes grossly exag-
gerated and at times bla-
tantly untrue.

Prominent UDF fig-
ures, national secretary,
Mr Popo Molefe (36),

Judge recalls

malicious /
campaign by
UDF

publicity secretary, Mr
Trevor Lekota (40) and
former Transvaal sec-
retary. Mr Moses Chi-
kane (40) are among the
19 standing = trial on
charges of treason, alter-
natively subversion and
terrorism and five counts
of murder, arising from
violence in the Vaal tri-
angle townships in 1984.
The bail of eight of the
accused was withdrawn at

the start of the judgment.
The judge said there
were â\200\234no holds barredâ\200\235
during the UDFâ\200\231s cam-
paign against local auth-

orities which it carried out through office bearers, publications and through assisting affiliates. Extracts of UDF publications written during the turbulent period claimed that the UDF ~forced councillors to resign and â\200\234left them without ashred of legitimacy to ~remain.â\200\235 :

. A UDF report published on March 9, 1985, said the local authorities were â\200\234as unpopular as the hated community councils,â\200\235 and â\200\230â\200\234had broken the back of the stateâ\200\231s reform strategyâ\200\231â\200\231.

Claims

Other claims made by the UDF in reports and publications during 1985 were that â\200\230â\200\234the government was in the weakest position it had been in since 1948 and that the local authorities were â\200\234the cannon-fodder of apartheidâ\200\235.

â\200\234The campaign against the local authorities carried on for two years, yet the UDF did not ever discuss an alternative with them,â\200\235 the judge said, adding that the UDF â\200\234fostered hatred against the community councilâ\200\235.

â\200\234Its aim was to effectively mobilise the masses â\200\224 and when the eruption came, the UDF gloried in its victory.â\200\235 "

He said the. tion also linked current problems and issues with the Black local authorities. S :

Quoting from a UDF

aper written on January 21 1985, the judge said the UDF aimed to make Black local authorities unworkable. They were unacceptable to the organisation and it was policy to get rid of them.

Turning to the issue of

youth and education in the UDF, Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst said that although the organisation had a legitimate grievance against the education system, which he conceded was an inferior one (system), their extensive campaign was not substantial enough to merit boycotts throughout South Africa.

One of the major reasons for the school boycott was a demand for student representative committees which were politically motivated. Unmarked examination scripts had also been found by one of the accused. Mr Moses Chokane, and there had been reports of punishment, sexual harassment and love

and pupils.
However, the

judge

organisa-

- pate pupils, to ensure

affairs between teachers

_ Principle

The judge rejected the UDF's alleged principle of non-violence, saying it should then have been opposed to speakers in its ranks who expounded violence. :
Speaking on the poli-

ruled that these reasons, notably the call for SRCs were wholly inadequate causes for a boycott and had subsequently paralysed the schools. He said the UDF had no proof that the UDF carried out 2 non-violent students Organisation and policy. The Congress of South African Students to further its aims. . enough to incorporate violence. Cosas served to coordinate violent and non-violent sectors, the judge said. y
He said a phrase frequently used by the UDF that the people shall

governâ\200\235 showed the
UDF's view that its strug-
gle was not one of fighting |
over civil rights. : {
The UDF had stated |
that one is â\200\234cither in the
camp of the people â\200\224 or
in the camp of the ene-
myâ\200\235 and was welcome to
people from all race
groups who had an inter-
- est in opposing apartheid.
Judgment ~will continue |

democratic representa-
tion for them and to en-
courage them to organise
their teachers. Education
was geared towards â\200\234the
advancement of the strug-
gleâ\200\235. : Â¢

The judge claimed Co-
sas was a â\200\234progressive or-
ganisation used by the
ANC â\200\230to fight the revol-
utionâ\200\235. Describing it as a
Marxist-Socialist organi-
sation, he said it was anti-
government and not
averse to violence. It was
declared unlawful in Au-
gust 1985. :

It played a leading role
in organising the staya-
way in November 1984
and its call for SRCâ\200\231s was
supported by the UDF.

Azaso had also incited
the people, calling on pu-
pils to become â\200\234uncon-
trollable and ungovern-
ableâ\200\235. ;

The judge claimed the
UDF welcomed the dis-
turbance and violence
caused by the boycotts as
a way of mobilising the
youth in the â\200\234freedom
struggle.â\200\235

â\200\234The UDF manipulat-
ed the youth to its own
ends,â\200\235 he said, adding
that the UDF had itself
stated that the youth were
indisensable to the â\200\234â\200\230liber-
ation struggleâ\200\235.

In fact, he said, UDF
notes written in June 1983
conceded that the youth
â\200\234were the lifeblood of the
Struggleâ\200\235. .

Transkei might even rejoin a â\200\230newâ\200\231 SA

â\200\230There can

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â\202¬ No
loe MoV 1987

settlement

withou

GRAHAM
LINSCOTT
Special
Correspondent

UMTATA: Transkei ex-
pects to be involved in
any constitutional settle-
ment in South Africa and
could even consider re-
joining as an integral

This emerged in an in-
terview today with
Major-General Bantu
Holomisa, Transkeiâ\200\231s

military ruler who took -

power in a bloodless
anti-corruption coup.

But he stressed that in
no circumstances would
Transkei consider be-
coming part of South
Africa again under its
present dispensation.

He also said Nelson
Mandela would be free
to live in Transkei if he
were released by the
South African Govern-
ment.

Transkei was the first

of the South African
black â\200\234homelands* to ac-
cept independence, in
1976. Since then it has
been followed by Bophut-
hatswana, Ciskei and
Venda. Their indepen-
dence has not been re-
cognised by the interna-

tional community and they are heavily dependent on the South African Treasury.

General Holomisa said that whatever the political future of Transkei, it would be influenced by a change of government in

South Africa. And there

Major-General
Holomisa

could be no settlement in South Africa without the viewpoint and contribu-

tion of Transkei being

taken into account.

â\200\234There can be no settlement without us, whether we are part of it or whether we go on our own.

He said that at the time of independence neither the South African Government nor Transkeiâ\200\231s new rulers had properly considered such things as international recognition â\200\224 political and economic â\200\224 and Transkeiâ\200\231s need for trained people.

â\200\234After independence we were not recognised. We were also disadvantaged because geographically we do not enjoy the infrastructure of the metropolitan areas. There was no pro-

t usâ\200\231

gramme to upgrade Transkeiâ\200\231s infrastructure into that of an independent state. They just dumped us.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234These are areas which have to be addressed. We have to ask whether Verwoerdâ\200\231s policy has worked. And, if not, what we can do about it?

â\200\234We would not go back to South Africa with its present dispensation and prescriptive laws. But if there were a settlement, we could contribute. We also suffer sanctions with South Africa and we have the right to tell South Africa of our own

interests in Southern

Africa.

â\200\234We have provided much in South Africa. Whatever is to take place there, we have to be taken into account.â\200\234

General Holomisa said a freed Nelson Mandela could live unrestricted in Transkei if he chose. There would be no difficulty as many former members of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress were in the government service.

But Mandela would not be allowed to organise the ANC in Transkei and use the country as a springboard against South Africa. Every state in Southern Africa had discovered that the military and economic costs of such a course were simply too high.

Bla

to join

Daily News ;

PRETORIA: South Afri-

set aside their preconditions and come to the negotiating table while there was still a majority of whites who wanted to negotiate on constitutional reform, the Minister of Constitutional De-

Mr Chris Heunis, said

yesterday. :

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal

made an earnest appeal to black leaders to leave confrontational politics behind and to join the Government in its quest for a new constitution. He was responding to a resolution, introduced by the NP's Innesdal divisional council, calling

lay out detailed plans for political reform. <

" Several speakers including Innesdal MP Mr Albert Nothnagel and former the Deputy Minister of Development Aid

<

black leaders should
velopment and Planning,
congress, Mr Heunis
on the Government to.

aders
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Transvaal
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congress

and Land Affairs Mr Ben

Wilkins urged the Government to clearly define the constitutional

goal towards which it

was heading.

They stressed that the NP would lose further

support if it could not :
spell out its reform plans

to supporters.

M Hounis replied that

it was impossible to do

so under present circumstances. A new constitution should be negotiated through process politics.

" Emphasising the need for overall support for a

future system, he said: -

«t does not help to have

a plan on the table that

is only yours. 3
Congress should rather

accept a resolution
calling on all leaders to
come to the negotiating

table to negotiate on
peaceful solutions.

All South Africans 7

urged
%]
in reform

should be dedicated to a
constitution based on

no

democratic values, the
rule of law, Christian
principles and justice.

Mr Heunis said existing detailed constitutional models provided a false certainty about the future.

A future constitution

would have elements of

federalism, but would be

â\200\234unique to South Africa.

A once-only blueprint
could not be laid down
to provide an instant so-
lution to the problems of
a society that was divid-
ed in terms of develop-

" ment, exposure to West-

â\200\230ern democratic process

~ and participation in the

free economic system.

As far as black politi-
~ cal participation was

concerned, the Govern-
ment was taking short-
term and long-term ac-
tion.

Legislation was to be
introduced to provide for
black representation in
executive government
and for the appointment

2

of a prime minister. \

THE South African
Council of Churches
resolved as far back as
1984 to call for
comprehensive sanc-
tions against the
Government.

In a statement, the
. SACC says â\200\230it is our
- considered view that if
~ there is anything that can
" force the South African
Government to abandon
its belligerent defence of
apartheid, it is a drastic
reduction on the amount

~ of resources available to

it to pursue war against

its own people and

neighbouring countries.
â\200\234It is in that sense that

we strongly believe that

honestly applied sanc-
tions can be helpful to
those of us who seek
change in South Africa
with minimal blood-

o .

It adds that the
internal crisis of the
apartheid state has led to
increasing pressure on
transitional companies
operating in South
Africa to withdraw their
involvement in and
support of the â\200\234apart-
heid Ãconomyâ\200\235â\200\231.

The SACC said: â\200\234The
disengagement of com-

panies from South Africa
hitherto has been

designed to prove, firstly,

that sanctions do not
work and secondly that,
as the argument goes,
sanctions hurt blacks
more than whites.â\200\235

Econom

It said disinvesting

companies have tended
to strengthen apartheid
by measures ranging
from increasing the
monopolisation of the
economy to drastic
reductions of the gains

'SOWETAN, Wednesday, November 16, 1988

that workers had made at
great cost.

~ It is in the context of

the above observationsâ\200\231

and concerns that we

â\200\234viewed with extreme

the proposed
restructuring of Control
Data in South Africa.

e have reason to
believe that in the
restructuring imminent
within Control Data
decisions are being based

on racial considerations

instead of accepted
business practices.â\200\235

The SACC had drawn
to the attention of the

company that
unions and other
concerned organisations
in South Africa have
worked out a procedure
in the interest of justice
and fairness and said
they requested the
mother company in the
United States to monitor

â\200\230the situation on the

SACCâ\200\231S behalf.

â\200\234We pray and hope
that this appeal made by
us in good faith in order
to avoid a situation that
could be nasty will meet
the companyâ\200\231s favour-
able consideration.â\200\235

trade

' Teresa

makes
promlse

MOTHER Teresa of Calcutta, the saint who

served the poorest of the poor, yesterday promised to send her sisters to Winterveldt outside Pretoria as soon as possible so that they could do something beautiful for God.

The tiny, sandal-clad figure who constantly fingers her well-worn rosary, said: "I have no gold or silver to give, but I give you my sisters."

Mother Teresa was greeted by singing and cheering during her three-stop visit to the poor rural area of Winterveldt.

At the St John the Baptist Old Age home, she called on people to make a "strong resolution to ensure that no one was unloved or unwanted no matter what colour or religion they belonged to.

"What I can do for you, you cannot do and what you can do, I cannot do so together let us do something beautiful for God."

MOTHER Teresa
"beautiful thing for
God

S DW=

HE other day I attended the Shell Road to Fame talent competition in Johannesburg and I came back feeling really good. The standard of the performance by people who are not real professionals, was exceptionally high.

But what was most exciting was the thinking behind the competition. I would still like to see something more meaningful that any company can do in contributing to Nation Building.

what Shell Road to Fame is all about. Three years ago, Shell started a search for people with potential to make it as musicians, singers and dancers. I am usually very sceptical of the way most companies get themselves involved in what they call social responsibility programmes. I do not believe in the type of assistance that promotes dependence among recipients. When people are hungry, they should not only be given fish to eat, but they should be taught how to catch it themselves. - That is why I like the Shell Road to Fame idea of trying to search for budding stars in the townships. Through the campaign many youngsters, some of them from the remote corners of this country, have discovered their own talents as singers, musicians

of musical instruments they had previously not laid their hands on. .

They have now started their road to stardom as is the case with the likes of Desiree Baird and Rebecca Malope. 4

When you walk around the streets of our townships, you see many unemployed young people who look very tired, miserable, hungry, frustrated and seemingly with no hope for the future. They have no ambition, no love for life and they loiter aimlessly in the streets.

These people are our brothers, our uncles and our fathers. They have become a burden and an embarrassment to us because they cannot make a living for themselves. : ;

I have stated before that the most deprived sections of our communities pose a threat to all of us and to the new society we are trying to create. I've said that in South Africa human resources are abundant, but are underutilised, if not abused.

- By not educating our people to make them creative and productive, South Africa has undermined the value of millions of members of its population and denied itself the opportunity of greater development. Since this is a man-made problem, it can only be corrected by man and I

challenge everybody to play a role in trying to give some value to these people. 3

- There are many
| young people who
because of unemployment,
believe they have reached the end of the road in life. Some don't know that they could be the best athletes in South Africa or in the world, the best boxers, marathon runners,

I even fell in love with the slogan: "We're - discovering the stars of tomorrow" which sums up

and dancers. Many have been exposed to the usage .

Entertainment offers chance for independence

motor mechanics,
karatekas, soccerites, -
chefs and the list is
endless. They could be leading a fairly decent life without relying on anybody for hand-outs or for a job.

They don't know because they have not

volis~

been given a challenge could bring out their latent talents. We have not bothered, for instance, to exploit some of the natural gifts that are inherent in us. Even with little education, as natural singers and dancers which we are, we could be exploiting those skills to earn a living. With song and dance, we could build the nation.

The mapantsula jive, which is an invention of South Africa, would be a better choice for me than breakdance. I would actually like to see the jive becoming as famous as breakdance and being copied by people in other parts of the world. We will forever be copy cats and unless we lead the way, nobody will follow us.

Through the Shell Road to Fame programme, a good number of young people who would otherwise be roaming the streets with nothing to do, are now earning themselves a decent living, something they may not have dreamt would happen in their lives.

But what Shell is doing now is what we should be doing ourselves. The whole thing may be. a promotions effort for the company, but it is working

for us to some extent. : :

My next area of concern is the type of music that

we are fed by some of our stars. It would appear recording companies will only record music that follows a particular line only. They are actually deciding what type of music our stars should sing. That is why if you went to any music festival nowadays, you would only have to listen to one group or one singer and youâ\200\231ll have heard them all. While we accept that we have to earn a living through music, the over-commercialisation of our music is not doing the nation any good. i

That is why â\200\224 with due respects to the singer

concerned â\200\224 we end up with songs like Ayashis amateki. We are aware of the _international conspiracy by recording giants to let us use music solely for entertainment and to ignore the important function music plays as an instrument of culture.

There is a lot more to music than mere entertainment. The role of music should, among other things, be to express our hopes, fears, joy and aspirations. It should be to reflect and respond to socio-economic conditions under which we live.

Recording companies who want to be counted as Nation Builders should take note of these points and stop destroying our music like they have successfully done over the past years.

Musicians like Hugh Masekela, Caiphus Semenya and Mirriam Makeba, do not produce records that make gold or sell millions of copies overnight as Michael Jackson does. But their music reflects and

. responds to issues we identify with. It heightens our

* social and cultural consciousness. For this reason, their music does not die with the passage of time â\200\224 it lives for decades and does not need to be propped up by the media. 2 :

N a trim, brick

: a fortified police station lives a soft-spoken, bespectacled old man.

The police consider him a threat to state security. To others, he is a national hero.

Govan Mbeki (78) was freed from prison a year ago, 23 years after he, Nelson Mandela and other African National Congress leaders received life sentences for conspiring against the white-led government.

Mandela and five co-defendants custody, but there are persistent hints they may soon be released. If they go free, one factor will have been Mbeki's willingness to endure severe restrictions that have cut him off from many of the blacks who revere him.

The future of Mandela and others is to some extent Mbeki's hands, a government official said last year. ;

Within a month of his release, Mbeki was prohibited from leaving the area around Port Elizabeth, barred from addressing meetings and banned from writing for publications.

He may receive visitors at his two-storey apartment in New Brighton, a black township adjoining Port Elizabeth, but he cannot

be quoted in the media.

His presence is symbolic, said the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an Anglican minister who knows Mbeki well. His release was a resurrection. No one expected to see him this side of the grave.

Immediately after his

release, Mbeki reaffirmed his support for the ANC's guerilla campaign and his allegiance to the outlawed South African

Communist Party.

His steadfastness has earned him deep respect in New Brighton and neighbouring townships, which form one of the most militant, pro-ANC strongholds in South Africa.

IN GLA SB35 e

townhouse near

remain in

in Mr

To cops he's a threat

to State security, but to others he's a

By DAVID CRARY
of Associated
Press :

national
next year

a former

teacher and journalist,
moved to the area in 1955
and became the ANC's

Mbeki,

chairman the

Symbol

â\200\234Heâ\200\231s a legend,â\200\235 said a government - employed librarian. â\200\234Heâ\200\231s a symbol of hope that Mandela and the others will be freed.â\200\235-

A visitor to Mbekiâ\200\231s home encounters a gracious, relaxed man whose eloquence brings to mind a retired

national hero

i great deal, including pro-

Mbeki

government newspapers, and receives a steady â\200\230stream of guests. Mbekiâ\200\231s wife and daughter live in the black homeland of Transkei and visit only occasionally. His three sons left South Africa for political reasons â\200\224 one of them, Thabo, is one of the leaders of the ANC. Associates say Mbeki manages to communicate with his sons and other colleagues despite restrictions.

â\200\234Heâ\200\231s got hot lines all over,â\200\235â\200\235 said Judy Chalmers, regional co-

ordinator of the Black .

Sash civil rights group.

Mr Xundu said the restriction that irks Mbeki most is the one barring him from publishing .articles.

â\200\234He would like to write his thoughts and engage intellectually with the powers that be,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Xundu said.

Associates have the impression that Mbeki

views the Governmentâ\200\231s

[imited reforms of recent
cosmetic:

years as
changes that do not
address the fundamental
issues of black- political
rights.

They say Mbeki has a
deeply rooted optimism
that black majority rule
is inevitable.

. Under apartheid,
blacks have no vote in
national affairs and a
white minority controls
the economy and
maintains separate
schools and districts.

GOVAN Mbeki . . . â\200\234his pre-
sence is symbolicâ\200\235.

Rights

A local human rights
worker, Mike Mjekula,
said the restrictions on
Mbeki have been difficult
on the former prisoner.

â\200\234They (the Govern-
ment) have managed to
release him and silence
him and create a
situation where he is
useless,â\200\235 Mr Mjekula
said.

Mr Mjekula predicted
the Government would
try similar measures to
control Mandela. But
many blacks believe
Mandela, aware of the
intense international
spotlight on his condi-
tion, would not accept
such restraints.

Since his release, one
of Mbekiâ\200\231s few public

statements was the text of
an undelivered speec

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Opinion

â\200\230Wednesday, November 16, 1988

NprpL twyrrsss

South Africa

' IF, as some people still believe, we are

fast approaching the magical date of
Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s release, this week
will be one of extraordinary historical

. symmetry for South African resistance.

For should it happen, the anti-apart-
heid leaders of the 1950s would come
out of prison just as the process to put
their counterparts of the 1980s behind

- bars winds up.

Modern South African political his-
tory has long been punctuated by fam-
ous trials, usually known by place
names. â\200\234Rivoniaâ\200\235 ever conjures up the
top African National Congress trialists
led by Mandela and Walter Sisulu.
â\200\234Delmasâ\200\235 will henceforth be connected
with the three key officials of the
United Democratic Front: Popo Mo-
lefe, Patrick â\200\234Terrorâ\200\235 Lekota and Moss
- Chikane.

Judgment in the latter trial â\200\224 the
longest-running in South Africa in
terms of court days â\200\224 began yesterday,
and observers believe that long sen-
tences of imprisonment for the three
highest-ranking of the 19 accused are a
sad likelihood.

The symmetry, spanning more than
120 years, goes deeper. Both marathon
trials reached conclusion in Court C of
Pretoriaâ\200\231s Palace of Justice; both
groups of accused faced the maximum
penalty; both, curiously enough, were
defended by advocates Arthur Chas-
kalson and George Bizos. But most im-

portantly, both trials took place in the
aftermath of unprecedented nation-
wide resistance to apartheid. Indeed,
they took place precisely because of
that resistance.

Mandela and his co-accused â\200\224 Si-sulu, Denis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni â\200\224 were charged with plotting the violent overthrow of the South African Government after the banning of the ANC in 1960.

Molefe et alâ\200\231s charges are framed in a more contemporary idiom, but amount to much the same thing. Their involvement was in what has come to be known as the â\200\234Vaal Uprisingâ\200\235 of September 1984, the wave of outrage which sparked the nationwide â\200\234long waveâ\200\235 of resistance lasting until 1986.

Mandela and his colleagues will probably not be released this week, of course. There is no reason to believe that the latest rash of â\200\234Mandela Releaseâ\200\235 speculations has any more substance â\200\224 save for its level of hysteria â\200\224 than the hundreds of rumours which preceded it.

For one thing, those who ascribe rationality to South Africaâ\200\231s white leaders point to the fact that it would be inexpressibly impolitic for the National Party to release an unknown political quantity like Mandela before next

yearâ\200\231s white general elections. No-one in government can be under any illusion that, in their terms, the experience will be anything but a costly one. Mandela will be released because, and only because, it has become too politically expensive to keep him in. To deliver such a political â\200\234freebieâ\200\235 to Dr Andries Treurnichtâ\200\231s buoyant Conservative Party before the most volatile poll for many years simply does not make sense.

Nevertheless there are indications, difficult to ignore, that the decision to bring Mandelaâ\200\231s lifetime-in-a-cell to an end has been taken. It is now a matter of timing and minutiae: sources say the ANC leader has fortnightly meetings with officials of the Department of Justice to thrash just this out. Whatever the precise outcome, it is certain that one epoch of black leadership-imprisonment is drawing to its close while another begins. And this fact alone is of inestimable significance for the seemingly interminable struggle to wrest power from Pretoria.

It is believed that intensive debates are being conducted both inside and outside the country to determine how the release of the Rivonia leaders will affect the structures of extra parliamentary organisation. Indeed, there is already a move toward creating a national Welcoming Committee structure. Much depends, in the end, on whether the leaders are restricted, exiled, or allowed a relatively free rein. It is not certain, for example, whether the ANC veterans would wish to reinvigorate the structures pioneered by leaders like the Delmas trialists and other key figures currently in the dock, like trade unionist and Alexandra community figure Moses Mosse Mayekiso or whether they would judge the time ripe for a thoroughgoing rethink of resistance tactics

by Shaun Johnson

An extraordinary symmetry <

under the strictures of successive states of emergency.

In a country where political imprisonment has become a hallmark of the state's attempts to head off majority opposition, however, two points about the current situation shine through. One, there has never been a release as important as Mandela's because there is only one Mandela. The experience of the release of even so famous a resistance figure as Govan Mbeki does not really supply pointers to what a free Mandela might be able to do. The second point is that, while accepting his release will make a difference as never before to the fortunes of that resistance, it will not signal the capitulation of Pretoria. There is a grim political joke doing the rounds in activist circles inside South Africa which spells this out clearly. It goes like this:

- We won't be disbanding the RMC (Release Mandela Campaign) when Comrade Nelson comes out.

Why not?

Because it'll have to be reconstituted as the Release Molefe Campaign.

Mandela's 25-year-old phrase No Easy Walk To Freedom will have lost none of its resonance.

Shaun Johnson is a reporter on the Weekly Mail.

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[SusAN RUssELL
The 19 activists have pleaded not

guilty to treason and alternative

charges of terrorism :

and five counts of murder arising â\200\231from

the death of four Vaal councillors. â\200\230

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of the
Association.

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centre on the violence and
heaval in black areas in the V

gle during 1984.
Itis. also alleged the 19 were involved
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with violence that the UDF cam-

g:ned ainst local black anthortt.ies
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towards vnlence mThe &aal 'mangle ;
and 31 other areas
e accused â\200\224 UDF national ;

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Molefe, UDF ublicity
* Le ota and

- The others were on bail, but the judge
said yesterday bail of eight accused had
been cancelled pending the conclusion of
his judgment

He said the Congress of SA Students
was one of the origi members of the

UDF and its most portan
was this organxsation which formed part

UDF fanned flames of anger

- working youth as forces in
â\200\230 struggle and

judge |

of the task force in the li ration strug-
gle and the two waged a campaign
against the Department of Education

â\200\230to which we have
referred lead to the conclusion that the
UDF regarded student scholars and non-
e freedom
supported, directed and

3 ted them to that end.â\200\235
Judgment continues today.

â\200\224

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, November 16 1988

COMMENT

Smell of tro =

| OLITICIANS are especially in- and by key civil servants â\200\224 the best
furiated by â\200\234leaks of infor- of them â\200\224 Who view with alarm the
gnatxon when the information Inismanâ\200\230agement of imponent as-
B s true, OF partly true; the in- pects of the economy. They per-
yective drawn from the State Presi- ceive in the failure to overcome
dent by recent â\200\234leaksâ\200\235 ls a measure external pressures a simple failure
not only of the man but of the state of leadership, an obduracy that has
of his government. Suspicion and its degenerated into ineptitude.
counterpart, paranoia, run high. Leaders donâ\200\231t seek scapegoats.
+ There is every reason for edg- It is common talk among those
iness in the upper echelons of the gho went to the IMF meeting in
National Party. Professional politi: gerlin that news of the increase in
cians know, even if they pretend ciil servantsâ\200\231 salaries took the
otherwise, that the comfort to bâ\202\231 piance Minister by surprise and
& mg&?mtgecâ\200\230gâ\200\234;}g&azgi\201ggi\201 that a senior official stomped about
x x living earthy vent to his feelings.
gains, and there 1S no reason to sus- gl be mythology, but

pect that they will not make further s
ains. If an election is held in March last week's address {0 @ blue-chip

%r April, the National Party will aGâ\200\230::/i:::ri& gl?mrl:rfg by the
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Jose control of the Free State. g ;

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~ leader F Wde Klerk, Cabi ini a's time e

. ters Pietie du Plessis Agamst this background, the log-

â\200\230and Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbiil), rolling that has apparently been

â\200\234oenâ\200\231s verligte deputy Sam de Bee aimed at Constitutional Affairs

{Geduld), and perhaps even Bavend, . Minister Chrs Heunis, whose loyal-

du Plessis (Florida). Many Leser | - ly to the party. leader is said to be

figures feel themselves to be in firm, takes on a greater dimension

â\200\230equal danger. Such conditions tend than it might otherwise do;; so, too,

to generate in any political party a does the curiously distant stance

â\200\230demand for the leader to â\200\234do some- taken on the matter of the SABC's

thingâ\200\235, or t0 Jet somebody else do it. movie ventures by former vice-

" Febrility in party ranks is com- ;_yrwdent Alwyn Schlebusch.

â\200\230plemented by disaffection in busi- There is a smell of trouble in the

â\200\230ness and cultural circles, i i air, athering of shadows. No

â\200\230some important Afrikaans ele- country can be as badly governed

â\200\230ments, which are generally ap- for a decade as SA has been without

palled by the deterioration of the political consequences. That, at

countryâ\200\231s international standing, least, would explain the fury.

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have been foundâ\200\231sho dead wlt h :
â\200\234their horns ripped out inâ\200\231 Swazx-
landâ\200\231s bxggesti-â\201gameâ\200\230isanctuary, A

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Conservationists say poachnn

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about 3700 today. TheJâ\200\234
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