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NEWS

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The Daily News

 \hat{a} \202 \neg) FOUNDED IN 1878

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 $a\geq 0$ 0 and the human tragedy being enacted in Natala ≥ 0 0 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

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 \(\frac{1}{200} \) 224 although many will regard these assurances with

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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 eequire the endorsement of both sides.

All concerned $a\200\224$ Inkatha, the UDF/Cosatu and the security forces $a\200\224$ need to re-examine

their role. ? 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

â\200\230a manifestly humanitarian ges-

ture; and it is a victory for negotiation.

n these respects, it will ensure long-term consolidation of South Africaâ\200\231s 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.

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THE Joint Managemen; Centres
A Gl LT I g 3 ] n } f Part of the IMC's response is "to
" (IMC) in the townships have se : r' i act' o n rom 5 estabh_sh Ways in which the local
eral inter\hat{a}200\224connected functions, s \hat{a}\200\230 ] | " authorities and the Secun'y force
Boraine identified these as: t can communicate with lownship
\hat{A}® co-ordination, : - = - residents\hat{a}\200\235,
<. detentions to assagsipg ons ...
\hat{A}® Te-establishment of Jocg] 8ov- \ "4 / @ - N mittees \hat{a}\200\224 myp by the Bureay of In-
â\202¬rnment, e SO N Lt T LA b fied POy - formation-have been attached to
' ® communication of state policies, "This is usually done through a - schemes; providing
roads, drain- ltation of urban all the township JMCs,
and Joint Intelligence Committee, age and ereet-lighting; providing These ¢
\hat{\texttt{A}} \texttt{@} "hearts and minds" CAMPpaigns. nSecurity forces attempt 10 jnfir. el il ater and ; sâ
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The co-ordination of Security ac- trate these Organisations jn order to a\200\231 IMCs is
10 project the councils as
| tion is a key function of he JMC, secure information abou e ac- arks . ives' Of township
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\hat{a}200\230usually through the Joint Opera- = tivities,\hat{a}\200\235 . i : radio. They publish me
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tions Centre (J ). Boraine believes Security action "Because of this, the JMCs have half of
 the councilg as well,
There are a number of different against organisationg ranges ffOf_ï¬\202 " than 1 800 pr
o a strict policy of no negotiationg Grassroots intervention js anoth-
| securi operate in the dâ°19n00ï¬\202ÂŞ to the selequq assassi- eas, Y ' With organisatior
is outside of offj. er major function of the JMCs,
\hat{a}200\230 Ds,\hat{a}\200\235 said Boraine, "The - nation of Individuals, : \hat{A}$ ' &% (2\hat{A}$ R ishi il
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W1 Security respongse among - engaged â\200\230in "hearts and fmindÂ$" tion of the JMCs. BT
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Work is involved in identifying ar- have identified additional sources Communicationfing Pr
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importan; re. rectly o facilitate ghe
fora Wide-ranging Intelligence net- have also Systematically tried 10 Sponsibility of the J
MCs, * of diff;
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of the townships, " Boraine sajq.
task is to mc; m'tor all ading projects, RN gy s / â\200\230 ;
forms of black Organisation in a . These include buying urban Janq ~ sa; i councils
township, â\200\235 Boraine pointed out, * gop black develop; nent; housing al de the basis
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NS N\T\ onJ

- LAWYERS acting for two l'alleged members of the | ANC, who are charged with terrorism in the Johannes-, burg 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 (PWAWU) organiser on the East Rand. Abrahams was PWAWU's Western Cape branch secre-

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

 \hat{a} \200\234eus (\WQN

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

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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-

1989

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20.

Mr X told the court that, after being arrested, he was shown pictures of the two

- accused, whom he identi-

fied. 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 jeined 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.

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FEATURE

THE Joint Management Centres

(IMC) in the townships have sey*

eral inter-connected functions. Boraine identified these as:

® co-ordination,

@ intelligence-gathering,

@ re-establishment of local gov-

ernment,

® 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 &mform security response among

em."

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, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ 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." a\200\235

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

But, he added, the JMC:s is also engaged in "hearts and mindsâ\200\235 campaigns: "A large part of their work is involved in identifying areas of discontent (hence the need for a wide-ranging mtelhgence network)."

This information is then sent to

 \hat{a} 200\230the JMC's welfare committee,

which co-ordinates a wide range of upgrading projects.

These include buying urban land for black development; housing

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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

Re-estabhshmg 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

Security action: from detentions to assassinations

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 'representativesâ\200\231 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, a \200\235 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 \hat{a} \200\224 run by the Bureau of Information \hat{a} \200\224 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 charch choirs."

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

. until 1986".

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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 â\200\230oilspots', 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:

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 glready.

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"This means that many $^{\prime}$

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984: a time :of demonstrations a}\d marches.

The intention was to move away from indiscriminate repression $a\200\224$ 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".

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help to harmonise their ini-

tiatives and set the whole (peace) process in motion, \hat{a} 200\235 said the ANC.

"In this regard, the ANC avails itself to play as direct arole 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 de-

' cision earlier this week by Cosatu and UDF affiliates to meet Inkatha in a final bid to discuss starting a peace initiative in Natal. o

Cosatu and UDF affiliates initially proposed to meet In-katha and convenors of the proposed peace conference, but were forced to alter this proposal after Inkatha leader

- Gatsha Buthelezi said the

conference was "unde-

mocratically 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 urgent--ly discussed with Inkatha,"

added Cosatu. . i

PEACE PLAN

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.

Neanw

end. The energies of our people must be directed against the com'mon enemy of the overwhelming majority of â\200\230South Africans - the â\200\230apartheid regime," said Lthe ANC's National Executive Committee this \hat{a} 200\231 week in a statement to \hat{a} 200\230the 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 peaceâ\200\235. "Such a meeting among the three organisations will

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"The >chrnagbe> must

ELPHIC ut-

terances 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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ don $\hat{a}\200\231t$ 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 $a\200\234$ own affairs $a\200\235$, could Mr Heunis have been planning to add a cham-

ber or two to the existing structure?

One for placks and another for those

who decline racial or ethnic cate... gories? .

It is a grotesque thought because"
| such a s, i¬\201tem would spawn two
i

more nationwide bureaucracies, quite apa;t fr be acceptable on political grounds.

In retrospect, Mr Heunisâ\200\231s ambivalence and his assertion that the tricameral system has worked suggests that he was not prepared to ahandon 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. om0 g 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?

Oom00

- SPECULATION persists that Louis $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 30$ Luyt intends fighting Umhlanga for

LINSCOTT AT LARGE) Mew $\hat{a}\202$ Heunis $\hat{a}\200\224$ ^ $\hat{A}^{\circ}7$ strangled

by his own,verbiage?

(\\Lfore deciding.

from whether it would

the Democratic Party. He owns a sumptuous beach house in the con stituency.

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 be-

: omO

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 Natcontrolled 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 Apellate 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

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ reform process and South Africa $200\231$ s international standing $200\224$ but not J

much for the Natsâ\200\231 election prospects against the CP.

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Jubilant CP
believes it is
â\200\230a glant leap
nearcr power
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Mr Stoffgj Botha
Nats stu
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Political Correspondent

Opposition parties last night saw Mr Chris Heunisâ\200\231s departure as a sign of the failure of the Governmentâ\200\231s 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 Heunisâ\200\231s budget vote this week.

Dr Zach de Beer said he thought Mr Heunis had $a\200\234$ reached the limits of frustration $a\200\224$ he was caught in an impossible situation $a\200\235$.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and Mr Heunisâ\200\231s adversary in many tussles, said the resignation was an indictment of the NPâ\200\231s inability and unwillingness to walk the road of reform. i

Mr Chris eunis

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.. Mr Danie Steyn

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Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the â\200\230â\200\230architect of reform has ca-'

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Dr de Beer ,
o Mr Heunisâ\200\231s staff heard of his |
decision only yesterday afid the '
news astonished most N?/MPS.

cause he hag
jrun out of
%gnodehâ\200\235. 5

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 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It $\hat{a}\200\231$ s unbelievable. I'm absolutely stunned. We weren $\hat{a}\200\231$ t given the slightest indication, $\hat{a}\200\235$ one said.

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

He would not be available to stand for the NP ih 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.

r Pietie
Mr Greyling Wentzel

X?r:signation of N

Chris Heun ght 1 and left lead seriously concerned

Senior sources admij the wake of five others created the dangerous im NP is in danger of disintegr.

A jubilant Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today: â\200\234The architect of reform has capitulated. It brings the CP a giant leap closer to taking over the Government.â\200\235

Democratic co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, who nearly defeated Mr Heunis at the last election, said Mr Heunisâ\200\231s resignation was less a personal failure than the fajlure of the partyâ\200\231s approach to the countryâ\200\231s constitutional future.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ believe his resigation and that of Mr Stoffe] Botha $\hat{a}\200\224$ two provincial leaders in two days $\hat{a}\200\224$ is bound to affect the NP $\hat{a}\200\231$ s confidence in the elections. $\hat{a}\200\231$

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer 'said: \hat{a} 200\234T suspect he has reached * the limits of frustration. \hat{a} \200\235 He said the defeat of Mr Heunis \hat{a} \200\231s 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, \hat{a} 200\234soricthing must sick in tlEtparty \hat{a} 200\230J:, i

tha \hat{a} 200\230era dray:

4 close with @ series of g

', departures, Nati alist MPs and

- even Cabinet Ministers were asking themselyes today: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Who is next? $\hat{a}\200\235$ 3,

Question marks have pow 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 ang

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ 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

 \mid as the NPâ\200\231s crown prince, he apparently resigned in frustration

' at his rejection by the Govern-

 \mid mentâ\200\231s negotiation partners and $\tilde{}$ his own party.

But he gave no reason for the $a\200\224S$ R T W

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ationalist 'Cape leader Mr ast night has s

for the Na

t Mr Heunisâ\200\231s resi In the space of o pression that t ating.

. believe he had

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~ Mr de Kle

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Cape Town

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ing lights in the

tional Partyâ\200\231s futyre. gnation, coming in nly four months, has he once monolithic

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

sudden decisjon which has Sparked a flurry of Speculation.

Mr Heunis $\hat{a}\200\224$ architect of the Government $\hat{a}\200\231s$ reform plans $\hat{a}\200\224$ recently gave an indication that he had grown tireq of the frustrations of his portfolio.

Nat politicans said the last

raw might have been rejection, by the House of Representatives this week, of Mr Heunisâ\200\231s vote in the main Budget. 3

NP sources said they did not 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 deven by his own party, which commands 48 votes; an. that the ryle of President Botha, his patren, â\200\230was coming to an end,

Many thought Mr Heunisâ $\200\231s$ ca-Was in fact destroyed when

39 votes of be% eated 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, _.â\200\230a&llowing Mr Danije
Steyn, Economic Affairs and
Technology Minister; Mr Greyl- |
ing Wentzel, Agriculture Minis- |
ter; and Mr Stoffel Botha, Home
Affairs Minister.

But Nat MPs nations were to the P W Botha er
â\200\234These are disconcerting but
Very necessary aspects of a - change in power,â\200\235 a senior Nat
MP said. â\200\234F W de Klerk has not
only aright but a duty to put his
imprint on the Government or
he could not be held responsible
for what it did.â\200\235 |

The $\hat{a}\200\230$ resignations had made rk $\hat{a}\200\231$ s job much easier as they had avoided the need for $\hat{a}\200\234$ necessary purges $\hat{a}\200\235$. o

said the resig- $\hat{a}\200\230$ be expected as a ended.

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endrickse slates

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R252-m shortfall WL

The amount allocated to colouxfed 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 \hat{a}^200^234 exhausted \hat{a}^200^235 themselves trying to convince the

authorities of the impracticalities they faced in satis-

fying community needs with the allocated funds. He strongly objected to the National Party \hat{a} 200\231s atti-

tude in dealing with the â\200\234obvious inadequaciesâ\200\235 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. i

Unused school buildings

. $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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?

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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 eco nomically sound can such a policy ever be? $\hat{a}\200\235$

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 tranport

- services, lodging allowances, study grants, provisioning and equipping of educational institutions, repair and maintenance of equipment and furnishings, trav-

el and subsistence costs $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ and so on and so on $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The total needed for these latter items comes to about R396,3 million $\hat{a}\200\224$ in other words a shortfall of about R252,4 million. $\hat{a}\200\235$

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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ 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? !

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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? $\hat{a}\200\235$

In his speech, Mr Hendrickse also said that:

- $\ensuremath{\mathtt{0}}$ His department was committed to expanding preprimary education.
- ${\tt @}$ 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 Betshelsdorp and Athlone was at an advanced stage. $a\200\224$ Sapa. $a\200\230$

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k1 i \hat{A} ® , - , 6 \hat{a} \200\231 Dehornlngbmrymghg \hat{a} \200\230gl; \ddot{i} \201wro \ddot{i} \201g.

The move by Namibian conservation authorities this week to dehorn black $a\200\234$ rhino in the wild in an attempt to deter poachers, has met with mixed reaction from conservationists.

Some have condemned it, others belie a drastic situation demands a drastic sol tion. Most see it as a desperate, last ditc bid by conservationists to save the rem nants of what was once a flourishing animal population. i

Poachers have killed over 55000 black rhino in the last 19 years. In 1970 there were about 60000, 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 the massacre continues.

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

The horn itself is formed from com pacted keratin fibres, the same substance that hair and fingernails are made of. Taking rhino horn medicinally will have as much effect as biting one $200\231\$ nails.

So far, South African and Namibian rhino have been relatively safe from

oachers. This year the situation changed.

p Sixteen black rhino have been killed in

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A dead rhino with a horn or a live one without is a question which has raised

arguments among conservationists, re-

ihia this year, five in Damaraland nd 11 tosha 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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This causes the animal no pain. It $\hat{a}\200\231$ s just like cutting one $\hat{a}\200\231$ s fingernails, $\hat{a}\200\235$ 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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Joubert said.

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

 $a\200\234$ The rhino need their horns for defence

against predators and against each other.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Hitchins said.

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Rhino populations are under such severe threat that all possibilites need to be looked at. Someone had to take the bold step of experimenting with dehorning. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Dr Anthony Hall-Martin and Dr Martin Brooks, both members of the Internation-

al Union for the Consercation of Natureâ\200\231s African Elephant and Rhino Specialist Group, admit the move is drastic but say the results of the dehorning programme would be useful to conservationists. " "

Mr Clive Walker of the Rhino and Ele-

hant Foundation disagreed: $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Dr George Hughes, director of the Natal Parks Board, also expressed reservations about the idea: $\hat{a}\200\234I$ don $\hat{a}\200\231t$ 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. $\hat{a}\200\235$

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.

 \hat{A} «T would not reject the experiment. It is better having a live rhino without a horn than a dead one. \hat{a} 200\235

RIEDRICH HAYEK, the greatest economic philosopher of our age, celebrated his 90th birthday this week

. still fighting collectivist econom-

ic policies.

is lifeâ\200\231s work in the cause of economic freedom and individual liberty was restated a few weeks ago in his latest book $\hat{a}\200\234$ The Fatal Conceit $\hat{a}\200\224$

. the Errors of Socialism \hat{a} 200\235. Like his

numerous other books over the past 50 years, it will enhance his influence on the worldâ\200\231s political economy. Hayekâ\200\231s birthday fell within a week «of Margaret Thatcherâ\200\231s 10th - anniversary as British Prime Minister. Thatcher owes much of her fundamental political thinking and success to Hayekâ\200\231s teaching, as do many other influential people throughout

. the world.

\ H.ayek rose to world fame in 1944

with his book $a\200\234$ The Road to Serfdomâ\200\235. He attacked the view, commonly held in those days, that pri-

- ' vate enterprise had had its day, that
- " mankind had available new kinds of
- . freedom \hat{a} \200\224 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 \u00e1\200\234free-
- ' domsâ $\200\235$ could be realised through a

â\200\234mixedâ\200\235 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 individ-
- ' ual freedom and thereby ultimateÃ@ly

| to greater -poverty, inflation and widespread unemployment.

Now, 45 years later, collectivist economic policies are on the defensive .around the world $a\geq 00\geq 24$ thanks largely to the growing influence of Hayek $a\geq 00\geq 31$ s insight and his teachings.

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HANS MIDDELMANN

() ... freedom fighter for free enterprise

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 Britainâ\200\231s success today.

While SA still has a long way to go,

 $a\200\230\$ categorical statement that

central planning inevitably leads to

-ultimate ruin has found a major vin-

dication in Russia and China. These extreme exponents of the dream of anning for freedom from want are w, after more than 70 years of disastrous practice, aba&doning 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

 \hat{a} 200\230than the planned economy: -

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The market economy $\hat{a}\200\231$ s facility for change and development, and therefore economic growth, has done more to eliminate poverty and $\hat{a}\200\230$ the exploitation of the working class $\hat{a}\200\231$

than any political intervention in the

marketâ\200\231s system of distribution.â\200\235 And he concluded that \hat{a} \200\234it is time

to stop knocking the market economy; and that means accepting private ownership, the profit motive and differences of income and wealthâ\200\235.

The 1944 heresies of Hayek $\hat{a}\200\224$ the $\hat{a}\200\234$ messiah of the market $\hat{a}\200\235$ as he was called by some $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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-

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 â\200\234the extended order of human co-operationâ\200\235 as his greatest contribution to the future of human-kind. 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 $\hat{a}200\234$ The Constitution of Liberty $\hat{a}200\235$ (1960) and in his three-volume work $\hat{a}200\234$ Law, Legislation and Liberty $\hat{a}200\235$ (1973 to 1979) he has dealt, in great clarity, with the economic, legal and moral \hat{A}° issues of human freedom. Significantly, the sub-titles of two of these volumes are $\hat{a}200\234$ The Mirage of Social

Justiceâ\200\235 and â\200\234The Political Order of a Free Peopleâ\200\235.

It is a pity that the recent splendid working paper by the SA Law Commission on $a\200\234$ Group and Human Rights $a\200\235$ makes no reference to Hayek $a\200\231$ s work. This will, no doubt, be remedied in the comimission $a\200\231$ s final report. It proves, however, that Hayek $a\200\231$ s teachings which influence the rest of the world have, until now, had little serious discussion here.

It is worth, in conclusion, quoting Hayekâ\200\231s favourite definition of freedom. It was written in 1792 by Adam Ferguson. The implications for SA are obvious:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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 api)lication of every just restraint to all members of a free society, whether they be magistrates or subjects. $\hat{a}\200\235$

[0 MIDDELMANN is a past president of ${\tt Assocom.}$.

To pac

BORAINE said the NSMS

has identified 34 townshipsâ\200\231

as "high-risk" jas.

| This list includes Soweto, Alexandra, kwaThema, Katlehong, Tembisa, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Sebokeng â\200\230and Sharpeville in the | Transvaal,

In the Wester.n Cape,

Crossroads, KTC, Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain and

security are-

' Mbekweni is on the list and, ' in the Eastern Cape, Cra-. Village, .

dock, Duncan
;â\200\230Mdantsane, New Brighton,
| kwaZakhele, kwaNobuhle
' and Fingoe Village.

Umlazi, kwaMashu, La- montville, Lindelani and Esakhaweni is included in

Natal, and Tumahole is list ed in the Free State.

"These townships are de-

fined - as 'oilspotsâ\200\231, from where the security forces are attempting to regain control of black wurban 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 es-

tablished ships.

The JMCs, in line with the strategy of the NSMS, will

in the 34 town-

. use a combination of direct Ty TR H T SIS $\,$

Ify and contain

security. action and economic upgrading:

"This means that â\200\230many black material grievances are now acknowledged as : legitimate and that there is.a need

REVOLUTIONARIES |

"[The aim is] to 'cut the \hat{a} 200\231

ground' under the feet of the

-revolutionaries, who are perceived as \hat{a} 200\230exploiting \hat{a} 200\231 black

grievances."

Boraine said this Strategy -

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

TWe NEw NNTon

270 18 Ny

for grassroots intervention in the form of upgrading, :

 $i&a\200\230$; T

away from irdiscriminate repression $a\200\224$ "which is seen as alienating th Δ 0 black population" - towards a more se-

(985

11984 a "time. of demotra The intention was to move.

tions. and marches.

lective policy of neutralising specific activists.

In this way, the NSMS

hoped, the townships will be

"pacified and contained".

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Dy NEeRns

(& - 05 - 39)

Top conservationist reviews a searching biography

'he heart of

\ L-0g ~§9

a

tightrope walker

Conservationist IAN PLAYER, an expert on Zululand and its peoples, gives his $a\geq 00\geq 30$ personal review of Jack Shepherd Smith $a\geq 00\geq 31$ book, BUTHELEZI: THE BIOGRAPHY.

HE recent biography of Dr Mangos-

uthu 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 Butheleziâ\200\231s 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 $a\200\234$ slings and arrows of outrageous fortune $a\200\235$ of

ignorant, but revered by those who understand his suffering and see his vision. As Shepherd Smith so succinctly puts it, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ For many years he has walked the tightrope over a chasm of twin hatreds. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$

â\200\230He 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. ez

o Black politiéé

near to Mangosuthu Buthelezi at various periods dur-

ing 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 Buthelez 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 wha_t_ 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 $200\224$ 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 demo-

graphic fact alone would be enough to convince a white government of the urgency to treat ${\tt Man-}$

gosuthu Buthelezi with the greatest care and consideration. i ;

South African politics, scorned and reviled by the

- $\tilde{a}\$ Dr Mangosuthu Buth $\tilde{a}\$ 0lezi: $\hat{a}\200\230$ He stands high. $\hat{a}\200\231$
- : Instead, pntil very rec;htly, hé was constantly insulted. It is a miracle that he did not say $a\200\234$ To hell with it, $a\200\235$ go into exile and join the formidable fo
- now arraigned against this country. /
- : His_Ch;istian background has been a sourcé' of Inner inspiration and he had a great admiration and Atnï¬\201xreâ\200\235r?rf)therly love for Bishop Alphaeus Zulu who

stood by him and counselled him with Christian un-

derstanding. Bishop Zulu leaves an example that

I have personally had the opportunity of b eiing ! other church leaders could do well to fo

Mangosuthu Buthelezi has consistently opposed sanctions and has had little recognition or thanks. Bishop Tutu, courting popularity, advocated sanc tions. Shepherd Smith quotes from a letter written by Buthelezi to Tutu which inter alia says: â\200\234You 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?â\200\235

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

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homeland conservation department, ,

~ Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a man with a heart andamindwhohassufferedfromfoolsandfrom 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 ttrhispeople, hisi¬\201-imds, andtoSouï¬\2021 Africa. Anyone who wants an insight into the most important leader of our time should read Jack Shep-

12-05 -39

LUSAKA $\hat{a}\200\224$ The African National Congress on Wednesday appealed | for an end to fighting between rival black groups in South Africaâ\200\231s Natal province and said it supported the idea of peace talks. $a\200\234$ We reiterate our call that the carnage must end, $\hat{a}\200\235$ it said in a statement issued from its headquarters in Lusaka. $a\200\234$ The energies of our people must be directed against the common enemy of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, the apartheid regime. $\hat{a}\200\235$ More than 500 people have been killed in the past 18 months in Natal in what has become known as South Africaâ\200\231s Zulu War, mainly between members of the Zulu movement Inkatha and supporters of the antiapartheid United Democratic Front (UDF). '

TO END KILLING

supported the proposal

get tough call

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SOWETAN Friday May 12 1989 L]/5

DS PLEA

The ANC said it

by church and community leaders of peace talks between the parties $\hat{a} \ge 200 \ge 24$ Inkatha, the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). It called on church, business and youth groups 10 take part. $\hat{a} \ge 200 \ge 34$ 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, \hat{a} \200\235 the statement added. 1 It said the ANC was ready to play 2 role in peace efforts.â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter. JERUSALEM â\200\224 An Israeli minister called for theArabupri; sing_inthe . closer than ever. Egyptâ\200\231s ambassador said i in townships in Cosatu to try and end the violence In 10 $\ensuremath{\text{r}}$ Natal and KwaZulumay be heldon May 20 at Ulundi, SABC radio news reports.; The KwaZulu chief minister and prgsid_cnt*, of inkatha, Dr Man thu l?uthclen, said .1n the legislative asscm!:ly at date after receiving suppo and Cosatu leaders for peace pro and Inkatha. ! Special 8% Minister External Affairs, Dr Gaoesu:rdayforswmland' to deliver 2 mensagefmomtl\cla\200\231nuidenl.DrQuatMasire, toKinngtim', tthotswanancwsagmcy Bopa reported. Fromsmi¬\201hndai¬\201epeiscxpeaedto_ptoceedto Lesothowhucshcwillalsodchvu' a special message to King Moshoeshoe IL :) Mauled by lion ABLACKman.yhouicdtoentchomhAï¬\201-n' ille-, gally through the Kru _Nai¬\201omuâ\200\231uk, hasbwnz found in the vicinity i after being attacked | by a lion. . sin 202dmemFotccspoki¬\201mathlspmit.′ m:ni¬\201dmehi¬\202we&andWm\ Monmbiqi¬\201cthrous\lthchebombobotderpost.â\200\224

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gets 18 | Soweew

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veals \0.- O -85
A CAPE Town Supreme
Court has jailed Allen
Mamba, a self-confessed
member of Umkonto we
_Sizwe, the ANCâ\200\231s
â\200\230military wing, to an
effective 18 yearsâ\200\231

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 $\hat{a}\200\234$ to 15 years for plantinga $\hat{a}\200\230$ limpet mine on Langa-Pinelands railway lineon | 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
1 catastrophe with seores ÂS
of people being killed.;

And if a policeman | had not seen the premature explos:on and stopped the train in time | there would have been a dï¬\2021&ter

My Ar \wsmi u; *rlr%! SHTERUDE? SOWETAN Friday May 12 1989

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Union 10 put the

lâ\200\230HE Chemical Workers Industrial Union is to initiate a strike ballot to prepare for a legal strike agamst a\200\230Mobil 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 â\200\234persisted in their denial of any prior or even current knowledge of the

disinvestment process. ..«

 $\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\234$ They were only willing to confirm the company $\hat{a}\200\231$ s employee bulletin announcing the sale, the statement says. $\hat{a}\200\235$

In addition, the union notes that it is $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34 \text{dismay-edâ} \geq 00 \geq 35$ at the industrial court $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31 \text{s}$ decision to grant the company $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30 \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34 \text{yet a}$ further postponement in our application for an urgent interdict. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$

- â\200\234Wedo, how::ver,take
note of the disquiet
expressed by the court at

SOWETAN Reporter provided by Mobil to the workforce. We also welcome the courtâ\200\231s directive to Mobilâ\200\231s attorneys to attempt to get instructions from Mobil to: provide the union with â\200\234information

concerning the dlSanCSt'.

ment.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It was also clarified that a key witness on Mobil $\hat{a}\200\231$ s intentions is

. \hat{a} 200\230'managing _director, Mr

Bob Angel, who so far has been inexplicably absent from South Africa and unavailable to shed the light on Mobilâ\200\231s sudden inability to

negotiate when disinvest-

ment became an issue. $\hat{a}\200\235$

A spokesman from

Mobil Oil was not available to comment on the statement.

Tï¬\201§m nghtlhg emplbyees dlsmliud'by' lhég mpan last week.

Malorlty in SA say they won

- WASHINGTON â\200\224 An overwhelnung 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, ishows a majority of blacks oppose the move towards disinvestment and sanctions even if those sanctions and $200\230$ boycotts cause the South African Government to resign within five years, and did not harm South 'Africans personally. { The release of the $^{\circ}$ survey in the US has been fimed to pre-empt a

. government,

major. public relations boost for the pro- $\hat{\mathtt{A}}^{\circ}$

sanctions campaign next week, when a delegation of South African church leaders under Archbishop Desmond Tutu visit $a\200\230$ 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, in-â\200\230 cluding 1400 blacks. \hat{a} \200\230 It was conducted by Markinor, the South

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

rejected sanctions as a means to get rid of apartheid.

~ The formulation of the | â\200\230questions were such that

| eliminate any ; possible misrepresentations of the true opinions of South Africans on the issue. â\200\224 Sowetan Foreign News Service.

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

War rages 'BEIRUT â\200\224 [Lebanese

and Syrian | gunners

pounded Beirut with

shells, ignoring an appeal for peace by Arab Lea- | gue envoys trying to me-diate an end to 14 years â\200\230of civil war, â\200\224 Sapa-

Reuter.

Votes invalid

respondents of the survey

PANAMA CITY $\hat{a}\200\224$ Pa-nama $\hat{a}\200\231s$ election tribunal has annulled Sunday $\hat{a}\200\231s$ presidential vote because

Cgreaticare was takenâ\200\231 toâ\200\231

of foreign interference, tribunal ' president Yo-landa Pulice de Rodriguez announced. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

Baker visit

MOSCOW â\200\224 US Secretary of State James Baker met Mikhail Gorbachev and a Soviet official hinted that the Kremlin leader might make a pro-

posal on the issue of

short-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Gall for talks

MOSCOW $\hat{a}\200\224$ The Soviet Union has proposed that the superpowers meet Is-

 \hat{a} 200\230rael and the Palestine

Liberation Organisation (PLO) in four-party talks

- on the Middle East, anofficial spokesman said.
- NICOSIA $\hat{a}\200\224$ Iranian parliamentary speaker
- Ali Akbar Hashemi Raf-

sanjani, who caused an
international outcry by

-urging Palestinians to kill | ,;Wcstemefs last week, has _ backed down, concÃ@&int £

he had glven the wrong impression.

Not standing

THE former Member of Parliament for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, will not be available for nomina-

* tion in the coming gen-

eral election, either for
Hillbrow or any other
constituency. :

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ICOHEN GETS JOB

WASHINGTON â\200\224 The

appointment of Mr

| Herman Cohen as the | new US Assistant '| Secretary of State for

African Affairs was

â\200\230 | 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 Affica his top priority for the next four years..

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

't bring an end to apartheldâ $\200\231$

rAN APgâ\200\224ITI?XIION to nulhfy the election last] \hat{a} \200\230month of the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr M N Ramodike, as amember of the legislative assembly for Maphumo has been filed in the Pretona

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. .

Threats

In an affidavit, Mr
| Mahlo, who lost the
f elections in the constituency, said Ramodike an
Mrs Mahlo, his sister
had *â\200\234â\200\230intimidatedâ\200\235 th

{ waged a $200\230\200\234\200\230\$ an orchestrated camnaig

voters to vote for them).

Chief Minister Ramo-dike.

to stop me from holding | pre-election meetings.â\200\235

â\200\230Mr Mahlo further alleges that Maphumo has an estimated 15000 voters but that over 25000 had participated. This he asserted, meant that there were people

who voted more than§ once.

 \hat{a} 200\230Lhe court application

comes only five days |
. before the election of a |

chief minister which is to "be held on Tuesday.

| Although the application $a\200\230$ requests the "court to forder 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, lcgal som'ces say. \hat{a} \200\224

ICHIEF MINISTER SU

Blshop qults over Tutu visit

THE BISHOP OF ASTON announced his resignation yesterday after the financial failure of

fast monthâ\200\231s yisit to Birmingham

by Archblshop $^{\circ}$ D&imond Tutu which -made $2\hat{a}\200\231$ Ioss of some \hat{A} £200000

â\200\234The Rt Rev Colin Bnchanan

: , had overall responsibility for of-

ganising 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 at-

 \hat{a} \200\234tended the rally.

Most of the \hat{A} £200,000 de \ddot{a} 201clt will be borne by the dmcese of Birmingham, which has only just recovered from a financial crisis in

 $\tilde{\ }$ 1980, when it had a shortfall of

By Andrew Brown:
Rellgit}us Affanfsâ\200\230
- Cofrespondent - -

 \hat{A} £199,000 on an annna] budget of \hat{A} £1m,

Blshop Buchar!ag,'anl }evâ\200\230anggh-cal Whio' had bÃ@en . prominent in

synodical politics before his con:

Secrition in 1985, has a reputa: tion for vehement, though well-

meaning enthusiasm. He was,

according to the Bishop of Birmingham, the Rt Rev Mark Santer, â\200\234primarily responsible for planning and orgamising the Birmidgham Citywide Christian

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celebrationâ\200\235.;
In his resignation statemént, .
Dr Buchanan said: â\200\234I hold myself
fully responsible for the loss in-
curred. Consequently on the day
\label{eq:linear_condition} $$ \frac{200\230}{\hat{a}\200\231[(*\hat{a}\200\231)/JL/C} - \hat{a}\202\p*\hat{a}\200\231[\p\hat{a}\200\231] }
fi¬\202i//¢}/'5â\200\234â\200\231 /
\hat{a}\200\230,/s
: after the Celebration finished, I
sabmifted my resignation as
- Bishop of Aston'to the Blshop of
Birmingham. [ am now resigning
my office from 30 September
1989; but will cease public minis-
_ try and other duties in Bmmng-
ham immed{ate!y, e
. Sources close to the organisa-
tlon of thie' Thte Visit yesterday
' criticised the organisers for am-
ateurishness and for restricting
the event to Birmingham.
- One said: \hat{a}200\234They expected too
much of the people of Birming-
ham \hat{a}\200\224 too much interest in one
man, and sprehd gver too long a
period. There is a desperate need
: for more professionalism in these
You've got to employ a few
\hat{a}\200\230and not willing horses.
-Pecple are ot that Interested in
South Africa in Britain.â\200\235
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by CARMEL RICKARD

HE 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 initjal talks about beginning apeace 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, < $\hat{\text{A}}^{\circ}$

- Itisnotyet 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

uthelezi suggests May 20 for peace talk&

prepared to
other three
appropriate, within the limits posed by

play whatever role the

the fact that the organisation is out-

lawed in this country. '

Meanwhile, representatives of Co-satu in the city have clarified Cosatuâ\200\231s 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 pro-

cessing of complaints for the board to

ear.

. However, Cosatu representatives

said yesterday this would not affect Co-

satuâ\200\231s participation if a complaint were tobe lodged against a Cosatu member.

parties decide would be

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Son tells how vigilantes burned his father aliv

Tae WAL WRNSR \2- -DR -GS

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 $a\200\224$ poured a can of petrol over him and threw a lighted match.

 $\hat{a}\200\234He$ was burnt alive. Only his ashes were left, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Mazibuko $\hat{a}\200\231s$ 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 $a \ge 00 \ge 34$ warning the amaqabane (comrades) they were coming later to avenge the death of Zakhele Nkehlia \200\235.

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 Kkilled 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

 $a\200\234$ the UDF $a\200\235$ for the attacks,

claiming they had burnt five Inkatha houses and had killed an Inkatha student, Miss Bongi 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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Then one of the vigilantes came inside and shot my grand-mother in the chest, killing her. When I arrived home I found the house still burning with my father and grandmother dead, $\hat{a}\200\235$ a tearful Mr Mazibuko said. He

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 â\200\234to buy guns to wipe out the amaqabaneâ\200\235. He refused to pay because â\200\234I will never contribute money to Kkilling peopleâ\200\235. The vigilantes returned later, this time demanding R30 towards Mr Nkehliâ\200\231s funeral. Again he refused.

 \hat{a} 200\234This must be the reason my

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ house was attacked, $\hat{a}\200\235$ the minis-

ter said.

Mpumalangaâ\200\231s mayor, Mr

Rodger Sishi, said yesterday he had heard of a number of cases where those refusing to contribute towards Mr Nkehliâ\200\231s funeral costs had been attacked.

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

ABOVE: Mr Vandag Mazibuko wipes the tears from his grieving mother Estherâ $\200\231s$ eyes.; BELOW: Minister of religion Mr Andrias Shelembe, whose home was attacked. Pictures by ELAINE ANDERSON

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Heunis: long and varied'

 $\hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\224_7L\$. Tae NWRAL wtinegs V-3 -89

" Chris Heunis, a close the architect of South

retire from politics.

DUNCAN HARRISON reports on his life and political career.

confidant of President P.W. Botha and Africa $a\200\231s$ tricameral constitution, is to

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 Artsin 1946 and an L1.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 commit-

tee. s

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

b â\200\224

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 Bothaâ\200\231s 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 $200\231$ 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 Helder-berg 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 governmentâ\200\231s, and
therefore Mr Heunisâ\200\231, inability to
find a constitutional solution for
South Africaâ\200\231s 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 Buthe-

lezi, 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 Bothaâ\200\231s relin

quishing of the office.

Mr Heunisâ\200\231s 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 Bothaâ $\200\231s$ 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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Fnday 12 May 19_89

Black leaders move to â\200\234end township violence-

ULUNDI. $\hat{a}\200\224$ A meeting of leaders of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to try and end the $\hat{a}\200\230$ 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 Bu-

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

their delega ons to the first meeting would be led by their respective presidents. $\hat{a}200\224$ Sapa

thelezi for his letter of $a\200\224$

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, addxpg that *â\200\230the need for a successful peace initiative is

now absolutely critical $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$.

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 1 on a face-to-face basis,

- HEUNIS

MADE

V8 â\200\224os

SIMPLE

 $\tilde{}$ What heâ\200\231s saying is: blacks may vote,

as long as they donâ\200\231t 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 Fridayâ $\200\231s$ announcement by Mini-

ster of Constitutional Development and _

Plarning Chris Heunis can be summed

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:

 $\hat{\text{@A}}\text{@}$ 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 parhament or a congress and would bea structure in which numbers would not play a decisive role;

@ Legislative and executive structures

Chris Heunisâ\200\231 much acclaimed new plans last Friday signal a less dramatic shift than might seem. Most of the ground work was already done at the - partyâ\200\231s 1986 congress. By SHAUN MACKAY

(Of the Policy Research Unit at the South African Institute of Race Relations)

R P e S L R T ST 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 coun-

cil.since it will. be based on.consensus. $\hat{a}\200\230$ (pmbably using the idea of concurrent

majorities in which a decision cannot be taken unless all represented groups

.agree). This will effectively give smaller

E0Eps he_samq. power &8 "DIZECT "\ that they have their own legislafive o6~ groups.

The so-called $a\200\234$ open group made up of anyone who doesn $a\200\231$ t want to identify wlLh any of the existing racial groups,

dent.

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

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 â\200\224 thus avoiding â\200\234swampingâ\200\235.

These legislatures, outlined in the Pro- \hat{a} 200\230

motion of Political Participation Bill, will provide a forum for black control of $a\geq00\geq34$ own affairs $a\geq00\geq35$, currently handled by the provinces and the Department. of. Constituuonal $a\geq00\geq30$ Development and Planning,

Africans in the non-mdependent homelands already have control over their own affairs by virtue of the fact .

semblies. The $a\200\234$ own affairs $a\200\235$ of whites, Indians and coloureds will continue to be handled in their respective houses of

at various levels to control $a\200\234$ own affairs $a\200\235$ for political groups who so wished;

@ A constitution based on federal principles but not simply a geographJC federau

Although thc. $\n^201e\ prbpoa^200^24$ sals are vague, they aré consistent with resolutions—adopted at the NPâ $^200^231s$ feder—al congress in August 1986 and outlined by

L PKM, EWQ, BOM.M» '

Perhaps the most sxgmi¬\201-.cant feature of Heunisâ\200\231 â\200\230proposals was the reference to a single legislative authority with powers over common national in-

parliament. A fourth chamber for Africans is not on the cards because the government is attempting to move away from the

.-tary system -where
Africans would up-- set the balance of
power.

A - restructured

st with Africans includ- *.] ed inâ\200\230it 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

- terests (general affairs). . & He intimated that it could

for old as Heunis talks of one parllamem

council suggest that -

.-present " parlmmen,, Bt

.Presidentâ\200\231s Council ,' \hat{a} \200\230

be called $a\200\234$ parliament $a\200\235$, 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 NPâ\200\231s 1986 federal congress: â\200\234a joint council of state or leaderâ\200\231s council which would formulate policy over matters of common national interest (general affairs) by means of consensusâ\200\235.

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, $\frac{a}{200}$ will consist of the leaders of the various communities, as represented in the

BRUAVLSY X

cbixld be easily accomodated in $a\geq 00\geq 30$ such a structure, even though its size'.could

fluctuate from day to day as more peo--

ple opted to join it. $a\200\230$ Plans for the inclusion of Africans in

the cabinet are already well advanced.

The Constitution Second Amendment

Bill now before parliament makes pro--

vision 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 Bo-

tha 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 staté presi-

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Africans are likely to be allocated the seats now occupied by opposition parties, thus ensuring that the white majority party remains in control. . \hat{A}^{φ}

 $\tilde{a}\200\230$ As Heunis indicated, many. of these

ut they are based on group rights, and that shows no sign of changing.

These proposals do, however, indi-

 \hat{A} ¢ate a move away from a position where the NP sought to ensure the survival of $\hat{A}\200\230$ whites as a group by dominating all constitutional structures to one in which whites seek to ensure their sutvival by ensiring that all groups have-equal power in the system, regardless of

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roposals will be subject to negotiation,

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' Plessis should have chosen last week | {*
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and thego price, on the othex, and {\tt R}
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elechon date.as possnble EiGwn
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i HILARY JOFFE:
_our economy, have' | "
couldnâ\200\231t it be; earlier? Most econo-
mists have been saying for some time
' that the measures already taken were gone up from 12,5 percent at the be-
not going t 10 have the desired effect in ginning of last year to the present 20
, damping consumer and company de^{-\prime} percent charged by. all the major
mand and' several have. «called for banks as of this week. Prime is the.
interest rate tises. : rate banks charge their best custom-
Commentators - this week'i have ers \hat{a}\200\224 consumers and small \hat{a}\200\230busi-:
â\200\230asked why.Du Plessis did not imple-' nesses are usually charged at least
: ment measures such as last week\hat{a}\200\231s at ' three or four percent above thts on
. the time. of the March budget, only their overdrafts...
seven weeks ago s â\200\230" Home loan rates are likely to go up
" Butat the time of the budget, 1t was. 100, although in the case of building-
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why â\200\230Finan MMinlster â\200\230Barend du |

f not clear when the election was going societies, which usually give one to be. And it is possible that the gov- $a\200\230$ month $a\200\231$ s notice of mortgage rate in -. | ernment wanted the budget to look as_creases, this won $a\200\231$ t bite yet.! . good and ggnmistxc as possible $a\200\224$ in; * It seems inevitable, though, that . the event of an early elecdon for ex- . most homeowners will be soon pay-

ample in May or June.: : - ing around 20 percent on mortgage

When confirmation came last week bonds â\200\224 compared to 12 5 percent

that the election would be in Septem- early last year. ber, this may-have left a little more: ' Homeowners with a R6O 000 bond

- . space for Du Plessis to impose harsh. payable over 25 years could now beâ\200\231 measures which the electorate would. paying R1 006 a month, where early
- . not like and which could affect those last year they were payrng R654 a
- * without the. yote Ã@ven more severely.â\200\235! month.;

The pnme overdraft rate has now

Low-income homeowners, many of them black, who took out bonds at the low 12,5 ent 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 â\200\224 and that, very ely, is on a monthly household _injome ! of less than R1400. !

Lower-mcom consumers will also be hit by. the new hire-purchase re-

strictions, since for many this is the-

only way they can afford basics such as furniture or fngerators The new HP measures limpose higher initial deposits and shorter repayment periods on consumers. .

 $a\200\230$ The new measures may also affect

investment negatively, and hence em-

ployment, since borrowed money
will cost companies more, and within

 $a\200\230$ the next eight weeks they will have to

pay al0 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 per-
cent, from 20 percent on most capital
goods, but Du Plessis said few ex-
emptions would be granted.
" In presenting the new measures, Du
Plessis warned consumers to stop
\spending and pointed to the fact that
â\200\230companiesâ\200\231 imports had risen very.
rapidly. Capital goods were about 84
percent of imports. *:
Du Plessisâ\200\231 stress on South Africaâ\200\231s
â\200\230balance 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. ° OT
5 e B i LastweekDuPlessispointedwthe
  ~ Tfact tnaralthough the current account-
, of the balance of payments would
- probably show 2 surplus of -about
i R1-billion for the first three months
Eof the year, South Africaâ\200\231s gold and
foreign exchange reserves had hardly
 changed, indicating \hat{a}\200\234a further large
. net outflow of capital in the first three
 months of this year a \geq 00 \leq 35. . 2
 - Since South Africa has no signifi--
-cant new loans coming in from over-
'seas, and has had to repay its foreign
|loans since 1985, a surplus on the
' current account of the balance of pay-
-ments (the surplus earned by exports,
over imports) is needed to repay for-
eign loans and compensate for out-
flows on the capital account of the'
' balance of payments. About four per-
\cent of gross domestic product is .:
leaving the country by way of capital
outflows. - . 2 AR
I the current account surplus is not
â\200\234enough to cover the capital account
outflow, the country has to draw on :
/its gold and foreign exchange re- |.
\hat{a}\200\230 serves. - e
i JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem
 says South Africaâ\200\231s net reserve posi-
tion has been negative since the end
. of last year, when there was a deficit
! on the reserves of about' R800-
 a\200\234million. While the gold and foreign
ÂO exchange reserves are usually pre-
. gented as a gross figure \hat{a}\200\224 around
. R6-billion \hat{a}200\224 Bethlehem says this
:must be set against the countryâ\200\231s total
 short-term labilities (debts payable
\hat{a}\200\230within one year).: \hat{a}\200\224 o eyt
- Bethlehem points to the figures on
South Africaâ\200\231s gold holdings, which
.show a dramatic decline, from 40,2-
a\200\230million ounces in 1969 to 12-million
in 1980 to only about' 3,5-million %
DOW.i % Loniisys i A
 â\200\234The problem is that South Africa is
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ina Cashi 2 201-x' 2 200\235 he says.'-". A, ,5-,'

~ 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 Africaâ\200\231s eco-} nomic problems required political so-Vutions; = &iF i ERea ST AR i He was reported as saying: â\200\234The \ truth is that the political situation in South Africa finds itself in the world â\200\230today has had, and will continue to â\200\230have, adverse effects on the econo-

EMY i i e e \hat{A} He argued that if South Africa could - make progress in political reform, | | this could bring in foreign capital { which would make possible an eco-

+ nomic growth rate of four to five per-

THe STRe

Dehorning: right

The move by Namibian congervation authorities this week to dehotn $a\geq 00\geq 30$ black rhino in the wild in an attempt to deter poachers, has met with mixed reaction from eonservationists. %

- a drastic situation demands a drastic sol tion. Most see it as a desperate, Jast ditch bid by conservationists to save the remmal population. $\ensuremath{\mathtt{W}}$
- Poachers have killed over 55000 black rhino .in the last 19 years. In"1970 there were_about 60 000, today there are fewer than-3.500. g :
- Cohservation authorities inâ\200\231 Zimbabwe have been fighting a small war; to save the black rhino and have instructiens to shoot poachers on sight. Since 1984 about 450 black rhino have been shot in the Zambezi Valley and at least 43 poacherg have been killed. But the price of illegal rhino horn is so-high that poachers, highly .efficient and hÃ@avily armed with automatic weapons, .are willing to take the risk and the the massacre continues. Jat. Bt
- "The horn is sold mainly inâ\200\230Asia where the bulk is ground down and used medi--cinally. Less than 1 percent:isâ\200\231 used as an aphrodisiac. Many horns*are sold in north Yemen for dagger handles:.
- $_$ -The horn itself is formed from com pacted keratin fibres, the same substance that hair and fingernails are made of.

Taking rhino horn medicinalfy -will have .as much effect as biting on $\tilde{A} \otimes \hat{a} \times 00 \times 31$ s nails. -

- Sq:far, South African antl Namibian
- _}.rhino_have been relatively safe from

poachers. This year the situation changed. Sixt¢en black rhino have been killed in

Some have condemned it, oth \tilde{A} es._ki¬\201e \hat{a} \200\230sz \hat{a} \200\230__

nants of what was once a flour{shing ani- o

Αi

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A dead rhino with a horn orâ\200\230a live one without is a question which- has raised arguments among conservationists, re-

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amibia this year, five in Damaraland

nd 11 iirEtosha 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 $\hat{a}\200\230$ drugs. The horn is then sawn off. 2

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This causes the animal no pain. It $\hat{a}\200\231$ s just like cutting one $\hat{a}\200\231$ s fingernails, $\hat{a}\200\235$ 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. —

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Joubert said.

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

«The rhino need their horns for defence

|2 - OSâ\200\230;?Ecï¬\201 & or wrong?

against predators and against each other. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Besides, the horns grow again and the

rhino will have to be captured and de-

horned within a few years. This is an enor-

mous expense and puts the animals

through severe stress, â\200\235 Mr Hitchins said.

Dr John Ledger of the Endangered wildlife Trust believes the method should

be tried.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Rhino populations are under such severe threat that all possibilites need to be looked at. Someone had to take the bold step of experimenting with dehorning. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Dr Anthony Hall-Martin and Dr Martin Brooks, both members of the Internation- al Union for the Consercation of Natureâ\200\231s 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: $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Dr George Hughes, director of the Natal Parks Board, also expressed reservations about the idea: â\200\234I donâ\200\231t 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.â\200\235

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.

 \hat{A} «T would not reject the experiment. It is better having a live rhino without a horn than a dead one. \hat{a} 200 \hat{a} 235