By Sapa-Reuter and Carol Hllls SWEDEN announced yesterday it will give f nancial support openly for the lirst time to the l African National Congress and other South African groups. Foreign Ministry official Rasmus Rasmusson could not say whether the is slammed figure for the South African groups would be 200 million crowns (R85,4 million) as reported by the daily Dagens Nyheter, yesterday. The ANC would reand the rest would go to churches and independent organisations, he said. Although the ANC warmly welcomed the announcement, political Swedish aid to ANC Swedish decision. The move was panisan and represented gross interference in the countryls internal affairs, particularly in light of a coming election, they said. ult means, in effect, Government's that rich countries can buy political influence in TO PAGE 2 ceive most of the funds, parties condemned Swedish aid to AN C slammed FROM PAGE 1 other one: simply by empowering the political parties of their choice," said Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer. ttThis is surely the grossest form of interference in the internal affairs of other countries." It was regrettable that more precise infonnation was not yet available. 9However, if it is true that the Swedish Govemment is going to continue to support the ANC when that organisation becomes a political party operating on the South Afrimn scene, then this will be a most unfortunate act and a very dangerous precedent. ill await further information. which 1 very

much hope will reassure e," he said. National Party federal information service director, Mrs Sheila Camerer, said that while it was common knowledge that the Swedish Government had, given the ANC financial support in the past, it was surprising they had shown such partisan allocation now that all parties could operate freely. uAll political parties are able to get funds abroad now to support them in an election. We are all on an equal footing and looking for funding from wherever we can get It. ult is umiesirable..for .. u'. n". 0 any country to show partisanship to one party. tilt is strange that the Swedish Government should support the ANC when there are a large number of political parties in the country." she added. Mrs Camerer. however, ascribed the offer of assistance to uhistorical overhang" and said the Swedish Government perhaps had commitments to projects they were already funding. Conservative Party chief secretary, Dr Lem Theron, labelled the move another example of selective morality. In the light of the atrocities the ANC had admitted committing in neighnoun'ng states. the Swedish Government had no moral ground on which to support one political party and not another, Dr Theron said. There were no grounds whatsoever that the ANC should be singled out to receive the money, and in light of the acts the ANC had committed, aid should, in fact, be withdrawn. The ANC expressed its profound gratitute to the people and government of Sweden. It had found Elm friends in the intemational community - not

least among them Sweden

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- during decades of il-
legality, bannings. ban-
ishment and exile.
. . liBoth 1- the 'v .oSwedish
people and government
took the cause of freedom
and justice for all South
Africans to their hearts.
"They provided hu-
manitarian assistance
without which thousands
of peeple would not have
had food, clothing, eduo
cation or shelter," the
ANC said.
wl'he most lining re-
ward for years of gener-
ous humanitarian assist-
ance will be a democrati-
cally elected government
in a South Africa that
knows peace, security and
freedom."
Sweden has supported
the ANC and other nat-
ionalist movements in
South Africa for nearly 30
years, but up till now has
sought to protect their
identities.
"The ANC has been re-
ceiving aid from Sweden
to help the victims of
apartheid." Mr Rasmus-
son said. uBut now that
there is a new openness in
South Africa there is not
the same need for protec-
tion (of recipients)."
Sweden allowed six
companies to begin trade
with South Africa last Oc-
tober. although it stopped
short of lifting trade sanc-
tions. It imposed an in- '
vestment ban in 1979 and
trade sanctions in 1987.
ANC Secretary-Gener-
al Cyril Ramaphosa criti-
cised the Swedish Gov-
ernment for easing its
trade sanctions against
South Africa during a
visit in September.
iLHC. W ntsweden It!
m:n-c-sq o.-nr..-enooooorooovvrvvvvovvouoo.
the invitation of the op ppo-
sition Social Democrats
who are strongly opposed
to lifting sanctions.
Mr Rasmusson said
there was no inconsisten-
cy with handing out ofiic-
ial aid to ANC while eas-
ing up on sanctions.
"The dispensation was
so that companies tan
keep up production and
remain in South Africa. It
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was not done to support the sitting government, but to support Swedish companies." Sweden would cut its total aid spending in the budget for the year starting July 1, 1993 to be announwd on Monday to 13 billion crowns (R555 billion) from 14,5 billion crowns (R6,19 billion) in 1992/93, affecting almost all recipient nations, Mr Rasmussen said. It would put greater stress on human rights, limited military spending and efficiency in use of aid, including lack of corruption, when handing out aid. Sweden said it could reconsider its aid to Kenya if there was evidence of extensive election cheating, lack of democracy and human rights violations.

Kenya's opposition leaders accuse Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi of rigging last Tuesdayls polls. Mr Arap Moi began a new fIve-year term on Monday in the country's Erst multi- -party elections in 26' "years.

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**AFRICAN** 

NATIONAL CONGRESS

ANC PRESS STATEMENT ON AID FROM SWEDEN

The ANC, during decades of illegality, bannings, banishment and exile ifgund firm friends in the international community, not least among them Sw.eden Both the Swedish people and government took the cause of freedom and justice for all South Africans to their hearts. They provided humanitarian assistance without which thousands of people would not have had food, clothing, education or shelter.

Mr Rasmus Rasmusson, of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, has said that Sweden will continue to provide aid and assistance to the ANC, the people of South Africa and the democratic process. This is warmly welcomed. The African National Congress, on the eve of the 81st anniversary of its foundation, takes the opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the people and government of Sweden. The most fitting reward for years of generous humanitarian assistance will be a democratically elected government in a South Africa that knows peace, security and freedom. Issued by:

Department of Information and Publicity PO Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107 5 January, 1992

The People Shall Govern:

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Escort for
J oseph
funeral
procession
Staff Reporter
Traffic departments in Johan-
nesburg and Soweto will 5-
cort the funeral prahasion of
ANC veteran Helen Joseph
along an unusually long route
- about 25km - from St
Mary's Cathedral in the centre
city to Sowetols Avalon ceme-
tery.
The funeral service begins
at 10 am tomorrow and
mourners will leave the cathe-
dral at about noon, reaching
the Soweto cemetery by 2 pm.
Johannesburg! acting chief
traffic superintendent Andre
van Loggenberg outlined a
route which would take the
procasion rapidly out of the
central business district via
Rissik Street, then head west
along Wolmarans Street.
The procession will pass
through Pageview and May-
fair. before taking Main Reef
Road West and then heading
south on Nasrec Road (pre-
viously known as Baragwan-
ath Road) and turning towards
Soweto along Rand Show
A left turn into Aerodrome
Road will bring the procession
finally on to Sowetols Old Pot-
chefstroom Road, which leads
virtually to the gate: of Ava-
lon cemetery.
While the route had been
carefully planned to cause
minimum disruption to traffic,
Johannesburg traffic officers
would also be attending to the
needs of mourners, Van Log-
genberg said.
Provision for parking had
been made for all those at-
tending the service in buses
and private vehicles, he said.
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Joseph to share grave With friend N goyi t By Sipho Mthembu

VETERAN anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph will be buried in the same grave as her long-time comrade, Mrs Lillian Ngoyi. at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto tomorrow.

Since her death at the age of 87 on Christmas Day, memorial services have been held throughout the country. Theseculminatedinaserviceatthe Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West, Soweto, last night at which African National Congress PWV leader Mr Tokyo Scxwale and Mrs Albertina Sisulu were speakers.

Another service organised by the PWV region of the ANC Women's League will be held at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg at 9am today.

Spokeswoman for the region Nompumelelo Madlala has asked all women to dress in green and black. I Anti-apartheid campaigner to be buried in Soweto:

A vigil will be held tonight at Joseph's home at 135 Fanny Avenue. Nnrwood, where Father Timothy Stanton will officiale.

Tomorrow the tuneral service. Cunducted by Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, will start at 10am at St Mary's Cathedral and proceed to Avalon Cemetery at 1pm.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will deliver the kcynute address at the service. After the burial mourners will gather at the lpelegeng Centre in White City Jabavu for the ceremonial washing ofhands and the funeral meal.

According to ANC PWV region spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa it was Joseph's request that she be buried with N goyi. who died in 1980 and with whom she led the histon'c women' 5 march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in the '505. L3 0 Mat, H 1/ 1S7

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AN C backs UN move on Pilatus
THE African National
Congress yesterday wel-
l corned the decision by the
United Nations Security
Council committee moni-
toring the arms embargo
on South Africa to ask the
Swiss Government to pre-
; vent the export of 60 Pila-
tus trainer aircraft to
South Africa.
The ANC said the Se-
curity Council had reaf-
firmed the embargo in
resolution 591 (1986) urg-
ing all states to prohibit
the export to South Afri-
ca of items with a military
capacity or intended for
military purposes.
uThe ANC repeats our
previous warning that. if
the sale of the trainer
planes proceeds despite
being such a blatant viola-
tion of the arms embargo,
we will not be bound by
CAPE TOWN. - No
mass demonstrations or
rallies were planned to
comcide with the opening
of Parliament on January
29, according to the Afri-
can National Congress in
the western Cape.
ANC western Cape
secretary Tony Yengeni
said the organisation
would not devote its time
to marches, but would
instead work harder-at
building up its election
machinery and resources.
It would. however
take up issues as they oc:
curred and engage in
mass action when necess-
ary. - Sapa.
any contracts or assume
any tinancial responsibili-
ty arriving there from."
In December South
African Minister of De-
fence Mr Gene Louw
confirmed that the South
African Air Force had or-
dered 60 Pilatus trainer
aircraft from the Swiss
manufacturer to replace
ageing Harvard trainers
which had been in service
for more than 50 years.
The first Pilatus aircraft
would be delivered to
South Africa in 1995, -
Sapa.
WWhites !
to defy call-up
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THE African National Congress yesterday called on all conscripts to defy the Whites-only January call-up for national service and to ignore South African Defence Force threats of prosecution. lt called on the government to end all prosecutions of draft-dodgers, saying there was no justification in prosecuting people who were no longer prepared to serve in defence of apartheid. The ANC stated it strongly rejected SADF threats of prosecution. ttlt is disappointing to note that the government still practices racial dis- ${\tt cn'mination.}$  exemplified by the fact that individuals can still be charged under Whites-only laws. The ANC finds these prosecutions totally unacceptable". the organisation said in a statement. -Sapa.

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People are dying in SA and all the emphasis is on protocol, writes Cosmas Desmond Time for our leaders to talk meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi will certainly not solve all the problems; indeed it may not solve any. It is, nevertheless, essential that it take place. it only to stop everybody else passing the buck to them. Whatever the outcome of the meeting, people will no longer be able to excuse their own inactivity on the grounds that nothing can be done without a meeting between the two.

Not that we can expect much activity from the people of Durban. the vast majority of whom were not even prepared to turn on their car headlights as a sign of their concern for peace. Is it really necessary, however. for the proposed meeting to be surrounded by such hype? Even Reagan and Gorbachev. when leaders of the two superpowers, did not insist on such protocol. It is like a meeting between two Bobby Fischers. But in his case people are not dying while demands are made about the shape of the table and the colour of the carpet.

Some preparations are doubtless necessary though it is difficult to see why it should take so long to draw up the agenda when it virtually writes itself. A discussion between two adult. civilised. human beings is hardly a big deal; people do it all the time, the ability to communicate verbally being one of the defining characteristics of a human being. To build up a mystique about the meeting emphasises the distance between the parties and can only have a negative effect on the outcome. It also exaggerates the importance of the individuals involved.

Further. if the leaders. who are not personally involved in physically fighting each other, find it so difficult just to agree to talk to each'other, how can the actual combatants be expected to do so? And that is what has to happen. Politicians, like clergymen, doctors, economists, and many others, love to mystify their role; it makes them seem important and stops the people "interfering". But why must we ape the games that Western politicians play? Openness and true democracy would rule out personality cults and involve all the people, there might even be just a hint of

"ubuntu". I realise that the "new South Africa" has yet to be born; conceived in secrecy, intrigue and elitism. umbilically tied to Western values. it could be aborted. I remember the time. many years ago, when I could phone Chief Buthelezi and ask whether I could drop in to see him; he would reply: "Certainly. come for lunch tomorrow." (Mandela at the time was in no position to make such an invitation to anybody. nor was he too important to have me pay the rent on his matchbox house in Soweto.) Could not Mandela do the same? Or vice versa? Even if one were simply to pitch up on the others doorstep, surely the traditional rules of African hospitality would prevent him from being turned away. Why not behave in a normal human, particularly African, fashion instead of becoming entwined with all the bureaucratic. status-ridden, point-scoring, egocentric trappings of socalled ttstatesmanship"?

ET survived falling off his horse; they might benefit from voluntarily getting off their high ones. Instead, they tend to fit Clement Attleels description of Churchill: "Nails his trousers to the mast. Can't climb down." It augurs ill for the future of South Africa it politicians are to be so conscious of their status and the ople are to be expected to pan er to their delusions of grandeur.

It is bad enough that they already claim the right to all the material rewards of the ruling class. without their being accorded the status of demi-gods. They are ordinary people doing one of the very few well-paid jobs which require no qualifications. Politicians are supposed to be servants of the people who elect them and pay their salaries, not their lords and masters. We do not need a De Gaulle or a Churchill, and certainly not a Thatcher or a Reagan. Attlee would be a better model. He was the most modest, self-ellacing Prime Minister that Britain ever had; he never stood on ceremony. he was "Clem" to even the most junior member of the party; he travelled by public transport; he never did become a "personality".

Yet he not only introduced the most wide-ranging social reforms that Britain had ever seen but also, almost singlehandedly, facilitated the independence of India. He was. as even his political oppo-

nent Harold MacMillan acknow:
ledged, "a good man and a good
politician". - I
Too many of our politicians
seem prepared to forsake the former in the mistaken belief that it
will help them become the latter.
I would like to suggest that the
first. and perhaps the only. item
on the agenda for the MandelaButhelezi meeting should be the
recongnition of what they have in
common: their humannoss, their
history of oppression, their concern for people. not -"their people". who are suffering and
dying. I: , . ,; ;

uw'iTATA. - Transkei would not testify before the Goldstone Commission in connection with violence in South Africa, Transkei military ruler, Maj-i Gen Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday. Reacting to a decision by Goldstone Commission committee chairman, Mr Gert Steyn, in Port Elizabeth earlier yesterday to adjourn the committee hearing until Monday to give all parties an opportunity to respond to South African Police and Defence Force testimony on Azanian People's Liberation Army activities. Gen Holomisa said he stuck to his decision to have his own judicial commission of inquiry into APLA activities in Transkei. Mr Justice Goldstone had been invited by the Transkei government to head this independent Transkei commission, Gen Holomisa said if the investigations of Mr Justice Goldstone into APLA activities in South Africa indicated that

ikei shuns probe l FROM PAGE/1 as a training ground and launching pad for attacks on South Africa, "the Goldstone Commission and South African Government ofiicials were welcome to lead and present evidence to our proposed commission of inquit)"-Referring to Mondayis South African Police statement from Cape Town naming three APLA cadres for whom warrants of arrest had been issued, the Transkei leader advised South Africa to apply for extradition orders through diplomatic channels if the three were in Transkei. The Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into APLA activities, before going into recess, could find no evidence of claims that the govem-

Transkei was being used

TO PAGE 2

ment had flown in APLA dissidents from abroad to testify before the committee

Mr Steyn said: "I would i also be very keen to know where the information came from, because the committee could find no evidence of this."

Mr Steyn said other claims that the committee intended to subpoena Pan Afrimnist Congress leaders to testify were premature.

The police suggested the Goldstone Commission committee subpoena hall persons" within the area of its jurisdiction who could be in possession of information. to testify.

In his submission to the Goldstone Committee, SADF counsel, Mr Danie Pretorius, said the PAC received R42 000 000 from Libyan leader, Col Muammar Gaddaii, in 1991, indicating that Libya contemplated becoming the PAC's primary contributor.

He referregko APLAis umobile warfare", saying the military Wing's full-scale war was to be waged 'against the armed services and farmers through attacks on White residential areas.

Indications were that; this warfare should be; waged in Qwa Qwa, the Vaal Triangle, Bloemfontein, Transkei and against farmers in the Orange Free State.

Mr Pretorius submitted that APLA regarded negotiations with the gov. emment as another form of struggle. - Sapa. Decision on judgets role in probe awaited By Bronwyn Wilkinson Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is expected to decide today whether to second Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to Transkei to head an independent commission of inquiry into the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in the homeland. A formal request for the judge's secondment from Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had been passed on to the Justice Ministry and was receiving urgent attention, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Awie Marais said last night. A decision could be expected today. A Port Elizabeth-based committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the PAC's military wing went into recess yesterday to allow Transkei and the PAC to respond to evidence led on Monday by the SAP and SADF that Apla had used Transkei as a platform for terror attacks in South Africa. Sapa reports that committee chairman Gert Steyn said yesterday that Transkei consul-general August Mapasa had requested copies of the teetimonies so that the homeland government could study them and respond. But Holomisa continued his defiance of requests that Transkei give evidence to the committee. stating: uTranskei will never testify before the Goldstone Commission." He said the homeland was sticking to its decision to have its own judicial commission of inquiry into Apla activities and into the 'tdstabilisation of Transkei by the South African security forces" - headed by Mr J ustice Goldstone. He agreed that ballistics experts from neutral

countries could test

weapons lent by the Transkei Defence Force to Apla and the ANCts military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for the protection of their leaders in the homeland. -Before going into recess. the committee could find no evidence that the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before the committee as had been alleged. According to Sapa, Steyn said reports that the committee intended to subpoena PAC leaders were premature as the PAC had requested copies of the submissions made on Monday by the SAP and SADF. He expected the organisation to respond by Friday. ' PAC publicity director Waters Toboti was quoted yesterday as saying the PAC was adamant its information was correct and that it would maintain its stand of refusingto co-operate with the commission. even if sub poenaed. The committee will at again on Monday.

Big reward for Apla 4 1 Police offer R100 000 for information leading to their arrest and conviction: By Josias Charla THE South African Police have offered a reward ofR 100 000 for information leading to the arrest and successful conviction of four alleged cadres of the ALanian People's Liberation Army. Police spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg told Sowetan yesterday the reward had been approved by the Government. The four include alleged former Apia chief of operations in Transkei Mr Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca. The police believe he may be able to furnish them with information "conceming acts of terror in South Africa". In a statement by the Commissioner of the South African Police. General Johan van dcr Merwe, the other three men were named as Mr Letlapa Mphahlele. Mr Luyanda Humphrey gumfa and Mr Welile Gideon Malilika. Mphahlele, said to be Apia's cur rent chiefotoperations in Transkei. is being sought for attempted murder at Batho Location in the Free State in December 1991, terron'sm and attempted murder at Lady Grey in the Eastern Cape in December 1991. He is also being sought for murder and three counts of attempted murder at Zastron, also in the Free State, in Match 1992. He is said by the police to be a member of Apla' 5 executive commitqumfa is wanted for murder and three counts of attempted murder at Investigation into Apla is adjourned 1 Chance for parties to respond to claims: THE GOLDSTONE Commission's committee investigating the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has adjourned. This is to give parties an opportunity to respond to testimony by the SA Police and SA Defence Force. Legal representatives of the police and the defence force said in testimony in Port Elizabeth on Monday that Apla had planned and carried out attacks from Transkei. The lawyers said the Pan Africanist Congress had to accept responsibility for its military wing's actions. The chairman of the committee, Mr Gert Steyn, said yesterday the Transkeian consul-generai, Mr August Mapasa. had asked that the testimony be made available to him so that the Transkei government could study it and then decide on whether to respond officially. The committee will sit again on Monday. - Snpu. 36 (might! Zastron in March 1992 and arson at Lady Grey in March 1992. The murder charges against Mphahlele and qumfa Ielate to the

killing of Mr Fanic Smit. an employee of Fraser's furniture store who was

shot dead on March 18 1992.

Matilika is wanted in connection with attempted murder at Batho Location in 1991 and terrorism, attempted murder and malicious damage to property at Lady Grey in January 1992. According to Van dcr Merwe, all four have undergone military training outside the country.

"The public is urged to assist the police in locating the wanted men but people should note they are trained and are being regarded as very dangerus," Van der Merwe said.

APLA hits back over wanted 4 THE Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) yesterday warned the South African Governmerit to stop lldragging innocentl' people into its probe into ttrevolutionary violencell. Speaking by phone from Dar es Satelelaam, Tanzania, the chairman of APLAls high command, Victor Sabelo Phama, said there were "discrepancies and inaccuracies" in information about the four men whose photographs appeared in national newspapers yesterday. The South African Police on Monday issued photographs of four APLA to newspapers countrywide, saying warrants for the arrest of three of them had been issued. The four are Letlapa Mphahlele, alias Hap-PY; Luyanda Humphry qumfa. alias Thami; Welile Gideon Maflika, alias Vuyo; and Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca. alias Sizwc. Mr Phama denied claims that Mr Ntilu'nca was APLAls chief of operations and that Mr Ntikinca underwent military training abroad. He said Mr Ntildnca TO PAGE 2 \_ APLA hits back FROM PAGE-1 was ttmerely a patriotic Azanian who supported the aims and ideals of the Pan Africanist Congressl'. The other three were uwell-lmown members" of PAC subordinate organisations. either the Pan Africanist Students Organisation or the Azanian National Youth Unity, in the Border region. uThat is why they (the police) have their photographs. The regime would be lucky to have photographs of (real) APLA cadres," he said. About the supply of

arms to cadres of liberation movements by lranskel, Mr Phama said: uPistols were supplied to people involved in the security of the PAC leadership during its national congress in Umtata in April last year. ttLeaders are protected all over the world. even (President) F W de Klerk himself; its a known thing." Mr Phama joined the PAC in condemning a claimed move to bring into the country PAC and APLA dissidents to testify before the Goldstone Commission. The PAC on Monday claimed that two of its dissidents based overseas, one of them, Mr Justice Nkonyana, were in the country after being flown in by the government to testify. Mr Phama described Mr Nkonyana as a urenegade of no consequence" who joined a rebel group led by the late Potlako Leballo. He said Mr Nkonyana masterminded and sanctioned the execution of PAC'S David Sibeko in Tanzania in 1979. The Goldstone Commission committee on APLA activities was not a credible body. For it to sit and waste its time listening to Mr Nkonyana, who also had no credibilty, would conhrm the oommissionls untrustworthiness. -

Sapa.

Transkei, : Apla s\_cont SAP offer: By Bronwyn Wilkinson; and Sap: . Transkei and the Mattian People's Liberation Army (Apla) have seeied at the SAP's offer bf substantial rewards fer the arrest and conviction of four men the SM3 claims were Apla cadres wanted on terrorismrelated charges. I In a telephone interview from Dar es Salaam yesterday, the chairman of Aplats-lgigh command, Victor Sa 0 Phama. warned the Gobernment to stop "drafging innocent" peop e .into its probe of t"rev,olutionary violence".- : Phama said there were several discrepahciu and inaccuracies in the information the pplice had given to he media on the four men; Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the SA Government should apply for the extradition of the men if it believed they were in Transkei. :

mu: Qatar Established 1887 , South Africa's largest daily newspaper Containing fanaticism HERE is a tendency to place Apla zealots and AWB bigots - and their demented kinsmen in the Wit Wolwe (WW) - at the opposite ends of the political spectrum. That is a mistake. They belong together. linked by a common fanaticism and a common threat to the fragile peace process. In its treatment of these fanatical move. ments it is imperative that the public neither underestimates them nor inflates their importance. They must be taken seriously without being built up. Some media may have erred in not tak-

Some media may have erred in not taking Apla seriously enough until its recent' attacks at King William's Town, Queenstown and along the Free State-Lesotho border. According to SAP testimony before the Goldstone Commission, Apla mounted more than 40 attacks in 1991 and 1992. The SAP attributes the record number of 226 policemen killed last year in part to Apla, whose attacks on civilians were preceded by a self-proclaimed assassination campaign against policemen.

But in compensating for that error, it is necessary, too, not to exaggerate the importance of Apla, the AWB and, still less, the WW. These groups have the capacity to do great harm by inflaming racial hatred on both sides of the colour line. But, mercifully, they represent only a tiny minority of South Africans. The evil they do is containable.

The white extremists in the AWB and the WW perceive themselves as the nemesis of Apla. They are nothing of the sort. If they take the law into their own hands, as the WW has threatened to do, they will act as recruiting agents for Apla. A series of ill-considered attacks on black civilians will increase Aplals appeal in the black community. The AWBtand WW have the capacity to beat up, or kill, random innocents. That is a tragedy - but it remains true that the AWB jackboot or the WW horsewhip will help, not crush, Apla. South Africans of all colours must reject fanaticism, irrespective of its ideological hue, and make sure that the centre holds fast against extremism.

Weill find teacherls killers -.Transkei - 0" co""c'llonllent DURBAN - Transkel leader Major-General Bantu Holorima said last night his pohce force would work round the clock to track down the culprits who robbed and murdered a Johannesburg schoolteacher near the Wild CMTh Suncasino' resort. e woman. 34- -o d Yuklku Yoshuni urn. ylg the holiday resort alone on Sunday afternoon for a walk along the beach 01; Monday afternoon her body was found in a dune forest nearly 2km from the 23?: :3? \$an mm c 0 man out gt: msheigfhailed to 33m 0 es tseein trl . \_Alber\_to Chiannfla. enanaging director of the mart, said Yoshimura - who had been teaching at the Japanese School in Johannaburg for three years - booked in on New Year's Day, accomed by fellow teachers T atanabe and M Jimbo. On Sunday afternoon she told her friends she was gonna for a walk on the beach. but because she was a:aroomothercoedwmhernbwas noti onl Monday morning. y on When she failed to arrive for lunch. the colleagues were unable to comatn their anxiety and contacted Chl-. . arandas He dispatched a team of security staff to search the beach. Two hours later they found the teacher's body a short distance up from the beach in a done ' thicket of dune forest about 2 km from the resort. 1" \_ Blood had down. '53: nose-and a metal plpei'. lay on-the ground near her body. Police were notified " ahd\_-a team of Transkel de tecnm' from me Umtatax Wet and Robbery Unit amved to investigate i Chmanda said robbery 0 To Page 3" iWelll track down area. although the murder happened on a owned by the Transkei government 0 From Page I seemed to be the motive

for the murder. as the victim's camera and handbag were missing. It was not known whether Yoshimura had been sexually assaulted. We are afraid about the effect this will have on international tourists, but unfortunately we live in violent times. However. we are very pleased with the instantaneous response of the Transkei authorities in trying to solve the matter." Chiaranda said patrols by his security staff had in the been stepped up beach And in a telephone interview from Umtata last night, Holomisa expressed his condolences to Yoshimura's family and vowed that his men would do all in their power to track down the culprits. Warning signs might have to be erected along isolated stretches of beach to warn lone tourists. and vagrants would be prevented from sleeping in bushes near the re-50".. A senior pathologist from Umtata was due to killersl fly to Bizana today to conduct a post-mortem. A school colleague of the slain woman, who asked not to be named, said Yoshimura was "a very honest woman, kind and hard-working. She was loved by the children. It was a big shock

recently changed her address. .
The Sun International group has put up a ije. ward of R10000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of her killers.

for us all. She had been teaching with us for three years." she said. Yoshimura spoke only a little English. and had African National Congress

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DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

ANC RESPONSE TO THE THREATS OF THE WIT WOLWE AGAINST MK
The African National Congress is concerned about the flagrantly racist
threats that the Wit Wolwe repeats with impunity against Umkhonto we
Sizwe. The government seems incapable or unwilling to act against these
self proclaimed Wit Wolwe who incite racial violence.

The ANC is committed to a peaceful and negotiated transition to a democratic South Africa. Umkhonto we Sizwe suspended all military activities in 1990. We have made numerous calls to all organisations to commit themselves to a peaceful settlement. We will continue to do so, but for the sake of our countries future the violent and racist actions of Barend Strydom and those who make common cause with him cannot be tolerated.

A psychologist who treated Strydom in prison issued a stern warning that she believes Strydom is a danger to society and may kill again. In order to placate right wingers the government decided to ignore such professional advise. It was their decision to accept that his heinous crimes were committed in defence of apartheid, and fell within their definition of a legitimate political act. Having done so the government will also have to accept full responsibility for any future atrocities Strydom and his followers might commit.

We demand that the South African police take the necessary action to prevent the so-called Wit Wolwe from carrying out their violent threats and ensure the security of members of MK.

Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity P O Box 61884
Marshalltown
2107

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ANC angry, SAP itake
note of Wolwe threat
THE South African
Police will keep close tabs
on the Wit Wolwe organi-
sation, but umnot act
against them at this stage
because no crime has
been committed.
Police spokesman, Col-
onel Reg Crewe, said in
Pretoria yesterday the
South African Police had
taken note of threats by
the Wit Wolwe to attack
APLA and MK forces un-
less the government acted
against these organisa-
tions.
On Monday the organi-
sation said at a Press con-
ference it regarded every
Black man as an enemy
and would launch attacks
at soft targets as well as
cross-border raids, should
the government not act
against these organisa-
tions.
Col Crewe yesterday
said the South African
Police had taken note of
these threats, and would
carefully watch the situa-
tion.
It was, however. not an
offence to plan crime and
the police could do noth-
ing until such time as a
crime had actually been
committed.
The Afrimn National
Congress meanwhile de-
manded that the police
take "necessary action" to
prevent the Wit Wolwe
from carrying out their
"flagrantly racist threatsil
against members of
Umkhonto we Sizwe, its
military wing.
It was reacting to a Wit
Wolwe Press conference
on Monday at which
threats of violence were
made against the ANC
and the PAC.
The ANC said it was
llconcemed about the fla-
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the Wit Wolwe repeat
with impunity against
MK."
wl'he government
seems incapable or unwil-
ling to act against these
self proclaimed Wit
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Wolwe who incite racial violence," the ANC said. ml'he ANC suspended all military activities in 1990 and will continue to call to all organisations to commit themselves to a peaceful settlement, but for the sake of our country 5 future the violent and racist actions of Barend Strydom and those who make common cause with him cannot be tolerated," said the statement.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Wit Wolwe

lT says something about the state of this country when the extremist Wit Wolwe can hold a Press conference. complete with masked men. to announce that they will attack the Azanian People's Liberation Army and Umkhonto we Sizwe unless the government takes drastic measures against these organisations by January 12.

We have never thought that the Wit Wolwe were much of an organisation. .

Their only claim to recognition - of sorts - IS that their leader. Barend Strydom, killed eight Blacks in cold blood, was sentenced to death. the sentence was commuted and he was freed last year. . \_ .

Not a very impressive record by any cmlised standard.

At their Press conference the Wit Wolwe announced that they had infiltrated almost every Right-wing organisation in the country as well as the police and the Defence Force. They claimed to have formed cells of three to four people countrywide to avoid Infiltration by the security forces, received uworld class" a training in terrorist war tactics and acted Independently.

Whether these are empty boasts or not. the fact is that the Wit Wolwe publicly threatened to make cross-border raids to uwipe out APLA terrorist murderers wherever they are."

And to emphasise their racist nature, they said they regarded ttevery Black man as an enemy." 9

With White fears and anger heightened by the APLA attacks in which five Whites have been killed, the Wit Wolwels threats cannot simply be ignored. since there is a very real danger of retaliation by White extremists. If they do carry out attacks, this will place them in the same bracket as APLA terrorists - cold-blooded killers of innocent people whose actions are an affront to all cwrlised people.

The killing of a Black taxi driver in retaliation for the Ficksburg attack in which a White girl was shot dead was a crime as deplorable as the APLA attack that gave rise to it (the Wit Wolwe did not claim responsibility though they uapproved" what happened.) The point simply is that if every extremist organisation made cross-border raids - or attacked people within our borders - this country would be in a state of anarchy. The response to APLA attacks is a matter for the government and its security form. We have suggested hot pursuit across the border of Transkei, but this is not a matter for a bunch of trigger-happy extremists. As for the Wit Wolwels claim that their cell system will protect them. we have no doubt they will be mught like other extremists before them if they any out their threats. Another extremist organisation, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which recently paraded a strong force of armed men and women, has also issued threats, in its case against the

ANC should it come to power.

The ANC also has its own private army, Um-khonto we Sizwe, which mrried out vile terrorist attacks as part of the ANCs armed struggle.

The government has called on it on numerous oomsions to hand over its arms caches, but it has refused to do so.

Instead, it is sending thousands of MK recruits overseas for military training, saying this is necessary to eliminate any imbalance when MK is merged with the SADF under joint control.

With APLA declaring war on Whites and MK training more cadres overseas, we have a very dangerous and threatening situation. On the White side, the AWB, Wit Wolwe and other armed Right-wing organ'sations. On the Black side, MK and APLA and other . armed Black groups. I

All these organisations should be made to dis-  $\rm I$  band, but the government seems unable to  $\rm I$  act against either White or Black private i armies.

Unless it does so - unless it puts an end to all 9 private armies - this country will never find peace and may well end up in civil war. Heaven help us if it does.

Frustration for Moseneke A former senior offical oi the PAC, Dikgang Moseneke, faces a frustrating situation as his chances of taking silk seem to be at stake. This is a highly respected black advocate who should walk into his new office as a senior counsel with ease. He boasts of a fine legal professional rec-' Ord, having rendered successful services to his community. Controversy surrounding his appointment should be ruled out

outright. He has timeous. 1y distanced himself from PAC leadership through resignation. The State President has the capacity to overcome this pressure on him to veto his application.

Moseneke has placed his professional career above all and has no future political ambitions. He projects to us utter dedication to service.

I. M Robertson Boyne, Pietersburg

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OAU aid to PAC in the
balance, hearing told
PORT ELIZABETH - The OAU had
sharply criticised the PAC for creating the
impression the OAU was financing acts of
terror against civilians, the SADF yester-
day told the Goldstone commission investi-
gating Apia activities.
SADF advocate D O Pretorius said OAU
political department director M Bah had
said from Addis Ababa that the OAU was
waiting for its SA representative to report
before deciding on continued financial sup-
port to the PAC. Bah did not disclose how
much money the PAC had received.
The SADF' submitted that China had also
ceased financial assistance to the PAC "be-
cause the PAC refm to participate in
multilateral negotiations".
Meanwhile, Sapa reports that commit-
tee chairman Gert Steyn said yesterday
the inquiry could find no vidence the gov-
ernment had flown in A dissidents from
abroad to testify before the committee.
He said other claims that the committee
intended to subpoena PAC leaders were
premature: "The PAC has already request-
ed copies of the submissions made by the
SAP and SADF and have told us they will
inform us of their plan by Friday.'
In Johannesburg, PAC official Waters
Toboti said investigators would not find
guerrilla training camps in Transkei.
t Apla warned the government to stop
I dragging innocent people into its probe.
1 Speaking from Tanzania, Apia high com-
. mand chairman Victor Sabelo Phama said
there were inaccuracies in information
about the four men wanted by the police.
They are Letlapa Mphahlele, Luyanda
Humphry qumfa. Welile Gideon Maflika
and Vumankosi Laurence Ntiki'nca.
Phama denied that Ntikinca was Apla's
chief of operations and underwent military
training abroad. The other three were
members of PAC subordinate organisa-
tions in the Border region.
In Umtata. military ruler Maj-Gen Ban-
tu Holomisa said Transkei would not tes-
tify before the Goldstone commission in
connection with violence in SA.
Holomisa stuck to his decision to have
his own judicial commission of inquiry into
Apla activities in Transkei.
He said Goldstone had been invited by
the Transkeian government to head an
independent commission of inquiry in
Transkei. If investigations in SA indicated
Transkei was being used as a training
ground and launching pad for attacks on
SA, "the Goldstone commission and SA
government officials were welcome to
present evidence to our proposed commis-
sion of inquiry". Transkei would provide
transport for ttin loco inspections" of al-
leged training centres
Referring to the SAP statement naming
three Apia cadm for whom warrants of
arrest had been issued. the Transkei leader
advised SA to apply for extradition orders
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if the three were in Transkei.

Azapols demand By Joe Mdhlela

HE AZANIAN m's ORGANISA'HON in Bekkersdal yesterday said peace talks between itself and the lnkatha Freedom Party (IFP) should involve other organisations in the area.

It appeared yesterday that peace talks between Azapo and the IFP were on the cams.

But Azapo branch secretary Mr Father Ratsoeu said it was prematune to talk about a peace meeting. l'I'he peace talks we envisage should involve other liberation movements. They need to be present as observers." Ratsoeu said. Azapo members would not subject themselves to the discipline of the local dispute resolution committee. Ratsoeu said.

He accused the police of siding with the IF? as the feud which has claimed the lives of fIve people in the West Rand township continued to rage.

IFP spokesman Charles Loliwe said his organisation was for peace and welcomed initiatives to have hostilities between the two organisations ended.

"We are for peace . . . we want to talk to Azapo. However we must point out that three of our members have been killed by Azapo. "

He said it was not true that they were the instigatot's of the violence.

"I'he truth of the matter is that we are forced to retaliate in order to protect outselves."

I BEKKERSDAI. WAR

Peace talks should involve

other organisations

The allegation about police might appear to be aeoncoction llbut we know that the ordinary midents of the township will support this claim," contended Ratsoeu. The lighting started after a slain Azapo member. Mr Mandla "Billity" Nono. was buried on Saturday afternoon. he said.

"Later the same evening the house of Mandla's parents was attacked, with people identified as lnkatha members breaking all the window panes and terrorising the occupants of the house. As Iamtalkingtoyou. Mandla'sparents have lied and abandoned their house." said Ratsoeu. Police spokeman Major Henrietta Bester denied police were helping lnkatha attack Azapo members.

She said a group of youths. allegedly Azapo members. had attacked Zulu-speaking people. killing one and seriously injun'ng a second person.

Soweran established that several houses in Bekkersdal had been attacked. In one house a woman was stabbed several times as she hid under the bed by men carrying "traditional weapons".

HE NEXT three weeks could prove to be the most eventful in the negotiations process of the past three years in South Africa.

Agreements reached and deci-

sions taken between now and the end of J anuary. when Parliament opens. should determine the pace of political developments over the next year and possibly give a lot more clarity on elections for a constitution-making body mooted for later this year.

Bilateral discussions between-the Govemment and its political opponents; between the African National Congress and its Patriotic Front allieshand among members of the Concerned South Africans Group (CSAG) - the loose affiliation of separatists from the homeland: of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu and the leaders of the Conservative Party and Afn'knner Volksunie.

The ANC and the Government, the main players in the negotiations process, will meet regularly over the next three weeks in informal sub-committees which were established during a lengthy "lekgotla" between the two from December 9 to December 11 last year and will centre on agreements and positions of mutual understanding on issues relating to the envisaged two phases of the transition.

These talks include discussions on the elements. composition. structure, jurisdiction and actual character of an envisaged electoral commission; the role and control of the electronic media: and details of the portfolios of law and order. defence and foreign affairs.

'Recommendations'

The ANC and the Government emphasise that none of the agreements reached between them over the next few weeks. and which are expected to be ratilied by a second ulekgotla beraad" between the two parties on or about January 20, will be binding on other parties.

While these agreements do not detract from those reached at Codesa, they will be tabled at the new multiparty forum uas recommendations" when it resumes, possibly in February. The ANC and the Government believe that there is an urgent need to unblock the flow of developments after negotiations collapsed so unceremoniously on May 16 last year.

Since then the country has gone through a bitter period that should not be given a chance to repeat itself, key negotiators on both sides feel. TheCSAG. comprising KwaZulu ChiefMinislet Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier

Oupa quzo. Bophuthatswana Chief Minister Lucas Mangope, CP leader Dr Andries Treumicht and Mr Andries Beyers of the Volksunie. will meet President FW de Klerk on

This meeting is primarily to "clear up the The pace of development in South Africa will be determined by agreements and decisions taken between now and the end of January, when Parliament opens. Ismail Lagardien, Political Correspondent, reports

Andrlos Treumleht

Oupa quzo

Friday and Saturday.

misconception" that the Government and the ANC were clinching usecret deals" that would be foisted on the rest of the country, State sources have continued.

It is, however, pan of a continuing process of .bilateral discussions which. it is hoped. will speed up the process.

Once consensus is reached on the restructuring of Codesa with all its former participants, including those who initially stayed out. multiparty negotiations could resume by the end of February or in March.

lf Codesa does resume by March and the bilateral agreements which axe being worked out are of such a nature that multiparty negotiations Mungosuthu Buthelozl

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can go straight into a plenary session. far-reaching announcements. especially on elections, could be made. v;

A big question mark hangs over whether De Klerk can get past the obstinate CSAG, whose broader objectives differ fundamentally from those of the rest of the country. Buthelezi has said that he (and presumably his

region) can "negotiate out of whatever contractud relationship the rest of South Africa negotiates with the ANC".

Besides leaving room for extended conflict, th's places Buthelezi and the province of Natal on the path of secession and the country on the edge of the abyss On which Yugoslavia is lettering.

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Cosag prepares for crucial talks with De Klerk

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE Government must commit itself to entIenching the boundaries and powers of regions in a tlansitional constitution before the Concerned South Africans Gmup could enter multiparty talks.

This is the position adopted by the various political parties in Cosag on the eve of their crucial meeting with President FW de Klerk on Friday weekend.

This position will be ratified at a meeting tomorrow night.

Cosag. a loose affiliation of political parties bound by the principles of fcdexalism. believes that the Government had ucapitulated to the ANC" after it had given a prior commiUnent that the powers. duties and functions of the regions would be secured before elections for a constitution-making body were held.

Mr Andries Beyets of the Afrikaner I Affiliates need clarity on regional powers and

boundaries:

Volksunie yesterday said this weekend's meeting would concentrate on the Record of Understanding about which he believed the Government had made its about-tum. He said Cosag would not attend multiparty negotiations as a group and that each party in the alliance had its own policies and agenda.

"We will enter into multi-lateral negotiations as separate parties, but it would not be worth it if the powers and boundaries of the regions are not entrenched in a transitional constitution." Beyers said. Friday's meeting is cmcial in that, along with a series of bilateral meetings between the Government and ANC. it would speed the process towards the resumption of multiparty negotiations by late February of March.

Inkatha set to distance itself from CP alliance THE two-day meeting starting on Friday between government and the Concerned South Africans Group to try to resolve the differences delaying multiparty talks was going to be a tough session of negotiating, sources in both groups said yesterday. At the same time lnkatha, which leads the group, is coming undar increasing pressure as strains within group ranks start showing and government, exploiting the strains. demands that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi honours Codesa agreements.

It is understood that Inkatha is Ineasy in the loose grouping of homeland governments, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie and the scene is set for Buthelezi to go it alone with government, leaving the Ciskei, Bo phuthatswana and the CP isolated. Inkatha is likely to distance itself from its partners constitutional positions at a meeting tomorrow when the group gathers to prepare for the two-day discussion with government There are strong differences between Inhatha, which maintains that lt is committed to federalism, and the parties. especially the CP, which pursue a confederal position An lnkatha source yesterday also indicated that the party was ready to resume one-on-one bilateral talks with em for the first time since suspending all direct contact in September last year.

He said the time was right for the prom to move forward and bilateral talks with government tiindependently and separately from (the group) are on the cards in the near future".

A. government source confirmed this but said no meetings had been scheduled.

Meanwhile, government and the NP also meet tomorrow to plan their strategy for the meeting amid strong difference within the NP caucus. NP federal spokesman Piet Coetzer yesterday admitted there was debate within the party over the strategy to he followed with Buthelezi. He said MPs in Natal had a different position and considerations from those in other areas who were not as sensitive to the relationship with Inhtha and Buthelai.

A government source said government was going to demand to know where lnkatha stood and "if it would honour the Codosa agreements it entered into on interim measures and other constitutional issues". lnkatha central committee member Walter Feigate yesterday ad-

mitted there were clear differences between Inkatha and other group members on constitutional principles, but refused to confirm there were strains within the group.

"(It) was set up with a clearly defined and specific role - that of rallying groups behind the demand for a multiparty forum of review and a rejection of attempts by government and the ANC to dictate the process," he said.

He said lnkatha had rejected the Codm process as dead and it was questionable whether it would honour agreements reached in that forum. He said the major issues the group planned to do battle with government over were:

El That a multiparty forum of review be set up to broaden the base of those included in the process such as the PAC, the CP. Azapo and the KwaZulu government;

DThat these parties and those that were in Codosa be given the opportunity to review Codeoa decisions and the concessions that were made; (That the top-down method of the negotiating process be changed to allow regions a direct input in the multiparty forum; and D That it be decided in advance what kind of constitution the country would have before making decisions on constitutional principles

DET denies claims of irregularities a Citizen Reporter THE Department of Education and Training yesterday denied allegations of irregularities with examination results. and claimed that delays caused by illness of examiners and a number of other reasons were hehind incomplete or incorrect examination results. This followed a case at one Pietermaritzburg school, the Khonsinkosi High School. where five of their top pupils re-\_q\_\_\_-1 ceived matriculation certificates in which it was claimed that all five were absent during the German third language examination. The delay in the German examination results were caused by the illness of the examiner and the physical science papers had been traced yesterday, and would be finalised. The DET said in a statement yesterday that it was looking into the matter, and that the results for these subjects at this particular school were being ftnalised, and the school would be informed by today of the final results. The DET objected strongly against what it called "glib allegations of corruption" regarding this high school, and said while it was true that there was a delay in the

been lost.
It requested candidates at all DET schools who had received incomplete results to contact their principals, who would forward their names to the DET for investigation.

results, it was totally uncalled for to suggest that corruption had been involved or that scripts had

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' the students. At times the students
would have nothing to do but play
i gamed. like dropping water bombs
and throwing water parcels at one
., another to celebrate 3Wm day".
said one student.
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il had no methe end hiology
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He says the teacher: were te-
placed by mesh college graduates"
without experience whowere "let
loose" on the metrics. ^{\prime}
However, the students said they
learnt more from Project Excel. It
was 13de late in September by
teachers affiliated to the SA Demo-
cratic Teachers Union to help metric
At Seneone Junior. Seeondery
School one pupil thought the mess
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dating the whole year .. ' Students- mo admitted thet" ..teeeheuwouldoftengotoclheeeez andftndthememptymteachstxk smdenmt -. causetherewetenoteachetsto class. "Ifeteechafmdeevenfmtrpupile endheteechelmthersmdents' 9 ethdent Heeddedthatheknewoieboy whomyedethomeheeansethete; wete no classe- but'umuld catch 1:5 taxi and he etechool my day forj; en Afrikaans class. because the , teecherettended regularly Several of the students who ment of Education and Training was alsotoblamefornotptovndmg textbooks. "For the whole year we hed ,. ' Mathematics, Biology. English . and literatme without textbooks. We even had' to buy others ourselves,' one said. .. -Those who received books seid they only arrived tn September. 3 Not one of the students we spoke to

said they went into the exam room
he'ving worked through a 'whole
syllabus on any subject. ' ,

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Entract not binding on Model C: Govt THE signing of a contract or agreement between parents and governing bodies at stateaided schools is not regarded as a criterion for admission to these schools, Minister of National Education Piet Matais said yesterday. Pupils who would normally have the light of admission to a specific scth may not be discriminated against because of "refusal or neglecti' by their parents, he said. Mr Marais was responding to a Conservative Party request to give a ruling - before Transvaal schools reopen today - on whether pupils may be refused admission by Model C schools should their parents refuse to enter into a contractual agreement with governing bodies. The signing of an agreement or contract was seen merely as an arrangement between the parents and the governing body and anything in such an agreement which was not fair to both panies was "unacceptable", Mr Marais said. ' There were no legal directives for the signing of contracts before a child was granted admission to a specific school or before the payment of school fees could be enforced. Payment of tuition fees was arranged legally and not contractually. The relationship between governing bodies and parents could be arranged by means of an agreement 0! contract. he : said. i hThe governing body has. in terms of the Act, the authority to do what is necessary for the effective management and control of the school, as long as it is not contrary to the Act or does not in any way . lead to unfair practice. hThe governing body also has the authority, after consultation with

the parents, to lay down the criteria for the admission of the pupils to the school. hThe signing of a contract or agreement is not regarded as a cn'terion for admission. but merely as an agreement between the parents and the governing body." Mr Mantis accused the CP of being politically inspired to actively opunjustihable and irresponsible way" the successful continuation of the activities of stateaiM schools.-Sapa. pose in an hedueationally i i i i Ι

F ears of anarchy in Vaal paradise By Monica Oosterbroek The close-knit Vaal Triangle community of Henley-on-Klip fear their beautiful and peaceful garden-village existence will become anarchic after reports that Eskom buildings have been sold to the UnitefNations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to house and train returning exiles. But much of the panic has been due to lack of information, according to Eskom. Eskom property manager Herman van den Heever said the UNHCR was at this stage only considering buying the property, which has been up for sale since 1988. It is believed the UNHCR will use the property to train refugees in basic commercial and technical skills. The buildings. once used as a training centre for Eskom, can accommodate several hundred people in the double-storey hostels as well as dozens of teachers in small houses on the property. Teaching, sport and eating facilities also exist. Eskom officials believe the refugees would remain only until they moved into the cities to look for jobs and make way for other students. But residents, who have been kept in the dark as the deal has not been finalised, are worried their peace would be shattered. One woman, who felt her life would be endangered if her name was revealed, said she was very nervous about living with "terrorists" down the road. "Nobody knows what is going on. We havent been told anything and the secrecy is making us very scared, " she said. Many of the residents had moved to this tranquil part of the world to enjoy peaceful and scenic surroundings. Rural atmosphere "Look around you and see how special our village is. " said William Small, who retired to Henley-on-Klip two years ago. He pointed out the lush vegetation, the vast array of colourful flowers blooming in gardens, the huge trees lining the lanes, and overgrown hedges. vines and creepers. As he talked about the rural atmosphere. a rider trotted down a' side lane on her pony while shoppers

strolled past and waved.
"It's a special piece of para-

dise hiding here in the Trans-vaal," he said. .

He is udisgusted and appalled by what he thinks is a massive cover-up by the Government and Eskom.

"Violent crime will soar and there will be anarchy because no one will be able to control them," he said.

Labourers, domestic workers and friends who had gathered under trees near a row of shops also expressed concern about moves to allow refugees into the area.

They fear that the refugees' families would pour into the village and that jobs would become more scarce. Some locals. unemployed and homeless, are upset and envious that refugees would be given training and accommodation.

"Surely charity should start at home? Why do refugees get all the opportunities when there are people right here who need attention and help," one man said.

Eskom has offered to make senior executives available to meet any local residents who wish to discuss the proposed sale.

The UNHCR is arranging for a meeting to take place soon at which details of the running of the centre will be explained. a, % 1/ / ff

TPA gets conflict warning THE Soweto Civic Association (SCA) has warned of a 'huge conflict" in Soweto's streets if the TPA does not fast-track the scrapping of the three Greater Soweto councils. And the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has alleged TPA "attempts to proted corrupt structures" could dstabilise National Forum negotiations. TPA spokesman Magda du Toit said yesterday the executive committee had not yet decided the fate of Diepmeadow and Soweto councils after their representations to fight off dissolution by December 15 last year for financial irregularities. The councils have been plagued by rent boycotts and corruption which left them mm in debt. SCA secretary Pat Lephunya said yesterday his organisation foresaw a "huge conflict" in the townships because councillors had started summoning residents for rent and services arrears.

"A total of 600 summonses have been issued in Dube township alone," Lephunya said.

The SCA would like to avoid conflict, but to do this the TPA had to My dissolve" the Diepmeadow, Soweto and Doheonville councils, Lephnnya said.

"We will urge people to burn summonses and warn messengers not to d'utrihute the documents because the people will see them as responsible for their preparation. We have also warned the (chief) magistrate of Johannesburg to stay clear. lie should not apply legal mechanisms to a political problem," Lephunya said.

Cast president Kgabs Mosunkuthu said Cast had never been fooled by TPA attempts to ttcreate the imprasion that it wanted to scrap corrupt m".

"We knew they would do everything to protect them, especially the Soweto countils. We insist the TPA dissolve: the councils, because it has the power to do it," Mosunkuthu said.

Govt has new housing policy I have read with interest the article, "SAT Urban Nightmare" (The Star, November 12), which was based on recent findings and recommendations by the World Bank on the provision of housing, particularly to lower income groups in the urban areas. However, the statement that uthere is no evidence to suggest that the Government has drawn up urban housing policies" needs clarification. We all agree that South Africa is indeed experiencing'a housing crisis - the magnitude of which is reflected by the fact that at least 330 000 housing units have to be erected annually for the next 10 years to erase the backlog and to meet the needs of a growing population. Against this backdro , the Government requested t e SA Housing Advisory Council towards the end of 1990 to review the existing dispensation and to advise on a new national housing policy and strategy. The Task Group, headed by Dr Joop de Loor, made its recommendations public earlier this year and these proposals will ho fully soon serve as a valua le input at the recently established National Housing Forum. The reasons for the, "urban nightmare" referred to in your article are manifold: a legacy of imbalances of the past. the fluid political situation, a depressed economy, poverty, unemployment, unrest, violence, boycotts, the rapid growth in our population and urbanisation, fragmentation in the delivery process, limited financial resources and unrealistic expectations, to . name only a few. The main goal of the proposals as enunciated by the De Loor Task Group is precisely to obtain the widest possible agreement on a homegrown housing policy which is fiscally responsible, not inflationary, and meets the demands of our present crisis. Furthermore, the ultimate policy should provide access to secure and affordable housing for all, it shOuld protect consumer, investor and community interests, promote home ownership and ensure community participation and responsibility. The proposals made by the Task Group are aimed at a V 1

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stimulation of demand, the facilitation of supply and the rationalisation of the institutional framework to ensure a maximum contribution by the private sector as well as substantial financial intervention by the State at the lower end of the market. If accepted, these pro-'posals could potentially affect 85 percent of all households. Major principles incorporated in the report are that the housing policy should be uniform for the whole country; it should be absolutely non-racial; a one-channel financing and subsidy financing system should be operative; a market-related approach should be adhered to; there should be security of tenure; it should provide for maximum private sector and community involvement; and it should be affordable and aimed at the most needy. However, the housing problem is merely a symptom of a malignant disease from which we, and indeed most of the Third World, are suffering. This disease is poverty. Until we in South Africa discover the secret code needed to unlock our growth potential and effectively address the poverty issue, we will be unable to address the real housing issues on a permanent long-term basis. For any housing policy and strategy to be effective, the housing environment must first be normalised and all the parties involved have to understand that unless they arrive at some kind of housing "peace agreement", taxpayers' money spent on housing will most probably be ineffectively and wastefully spent. This we cannot afford. The basic philosophy underly- 3 ing the recommendations of the Task Group has been sounded against the World Bank during two visits by their officials to South Africa and one Ministerial delegation to Washington. They have found that the basic points of departure, as expounded by De Loor and his team, are in line with present intemational thinking and wisdom. EG De Beer Director-General, Department of Local Government and National Housing Pretoria

1Squatter ruling tspells doom9 Staff Reporter The rejection of an application for a court interdict preventing the Transvaal Provincial Administration from settling Zevenfontein squatters at Diepsloot is likely to sharply reduce property prices in the area, according to estate agents. De Huizemark managing director Piet Hamman said last week's Pretoria Supreme Court judgment "spelt doom" for homeowners who had invested large amounts of money in the area, as close proximity of s uatter camps would "very de initely have a dampening effect" on property prices. "It is a pity that there is no . form of compensation for homeowners," he said. Howard and Decker estate agency managing director Graham Levin said it was difficult to determine to what extent the ruling would cause property prices to drop. "Sometimes the market falls away completely, making it difficult to sell the house at any price." However, the price reductions also offered home buyers the opportunity to pick up bargains, Levin said. Some residents of areas around Diepsloot said in interviews they were very disappointed with the decision. "Naturally everybody is very disappointed", said resident Len Facius. He said residents still had to decide whether to appeal against the ruling. But another resident, Ken Boyce, said he accepted squatter settlement as inevitable although he believed the settlement should be properly ' planned and constructed. He believed residents should respond positively to the changes and spend their' money on constructive deveIOpment instead of expen-

sive court cases.

Mooi River hostel is set alight PIE'I'ERMARI'IZ-BURG. - Four sections of the Bruntville hostel in Mooi River in Natal, were badly damaged and furniture burnt when the hostel was set alight by unknown people on Tuesday morning. Captain Britz of the Mooi River police said the incident occurred at 9am. ttAttacks on the hostel have been occurring since the hostel inmates went on holiday on December 11. MMy guess is they don't want lnkatha to return to the place. We had rumours before Mooi Textiles closed that they were going to do this and we sent police there to monitor the situation, " Capt Britz said. Bruntville has been the scene of repeated clashes between hostel inmates, mostly lnkatha Freedom Party supporters, and the African National Congress-supporting township residents. Despite two Goldstone Commission investigations into the situation in Bruntville. and promises by warring parties that hostilities would end, the township is still tense. The ANC in Bruntville on Tuesday alleged that the police were to blame for the latest attack on the hostel. ANC Bruntville publicity secretary Nhlanhla Mthethwa said policemen accompanied by South African Defence Force I units were seen around the area before the tire started. IFP Midlands leader David Ntombela. however, accused the ANC of burning down the hostel

and dismissed allegations of police involvement. t1 received information that the ANC was going to attack the hostel the night before the incident. I then contacted the police who raided the

area. After they had left, these ANC people burnt the place down." - Sapa.

Krmy lblack-outl On theft of weaponry Citizen W THE South African Army yesterday placed a black-out on details of a major break-in at an army weapons store in Welkom in the Free State, where a large number of assault rifles and pistols were stolen at the weekend. Unconfirmed reports say that 39 R-l rifles. 19 R-4 rifles and four 9 mm pistols as well as a large quantity of ammunition for the weapons were stolen. A spokesman for the Free State Command of the SA Army yesterday oon6rmed that the breakin had taken place during the weekend. and that the theft had been discovered on Monday niorning. The spokesman refused. however. to reveal details of the stolen items, and said earlier reports were uncontirmed. The investigation was at such a sensitive stage that to reveal details of the burglary could hamper its conclusion. he said. The police in Bloemfontein yesterday also continued that the incident had taken place, but refused to reveal details, referring all inquiries to the Army. He R-l rifles that were allegedly stolen are old weapons which had been withdrawn from general use more than five years ago, but according to reports almost 4 000 rounds of ammunition for these n'fles were also stolen. Apparently only 120 rounds of ammunition for the more modern R-4 assault rifles were taken, as well as 120 rounds for the four pistols. Nine handgrenades and six illumination rockets as well as a number of webbing belts were also stolen. 1 It is believed that the burglary took place between Saturday afternoon and Monday morning, but there is no indication of who could be responsible for the theft.

Unions set out their position on taxes
IF GOVERNMENT increased indirect taxes such as
VAT. it would effectively be shifting the tax burden to the
poor, says a report on the Budget prepared for the
National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) by the Labour
Research Service.

The report. which Nactu has adopted as its position on the Budget and which it will use to put its case in the National Economic Forum next week. argues that poor people pay more VAT, proportional to income. than the wealthy. It argues also that VAT is inflationary and that a 3% increase in VAT, which it says is on the cards, will increase inflation by 2,479.

It recommends other ways of raising revenue such as cutting government expenditure and abolishing tax loopholes. increasing fuel levies and imposing new taxes such as a capital gains tax.

The report rejects argument: that the zero-rating of . certain foodstuffs will offset the negative effects of a VAT increase on the poor.

Zero-rating certain food will cost government Rl.34bn. I the report says, but increasing VAT to 13% will cost the consumer Rebn.

Government does not intend zero-rating either white or red meat, the report says.

The Coordinating Committee on VAT wants rice, fresh vegetables. cooking oil, legumes and huh milk zero-rated. And the Department of Inland Revenue wants brown wheaten meal. fruit, eggs and cultured milk zen'rrated, the report says.

Nactu says rather than increase VAT, government should cut expenditure on the ilcorruptll homeland sys-DIRK HARTFORD

tern (R12.an this year), defence (39mm). the ttunrepresentative" tricameral system (RG,35bn) and halt overspending of government departments.

It argues for taxing pension fund contributions - valued at about R5bn - on the grounds that the rich benefit more from pension tax exemptions then the poor. And it proposes introducing a progressive property tax, arurallandtax.aminimumhusinesstax.acapital transfer tax, a capital gains tax and a tax on interest earned by emigrants The tax on dividends, abolished in 1990. should be reintroduced, it says.

According to calculations in the report. if these taxes were introduced, with increases in the fuel levy and additional exise duties on cigarettes, beer and soft drinks. a total of R15Abn could be raised.

The government is castigated for its poor record in collecting taxes. It says that in the year to October 1992. only R42.4bn had been collected instead of the R58.7bn that was expected.

HERE is a conflict between the objectives of the newly established national economic forum's short- and lon -term working groups. e iong-term working group's urpose is to formulate a strategy or sustainable. non-inflationary eco nomic recovery. The short-term working group is under pressure to deliver immediate relief to the poor, deprived and disadvantaged. But measures decided on by the short-term working group could directly compromise the sustainability of the recovery. with which the long-term working group is concerned. A related problem is the budgetary comtraint caused by the rising Budget deficit - alreadglgrojected at more than 8% of G . If anything is to be provided in the way of short-term relief, it will be possible only b cutting back elsewhere it an 'ationary rebound is not to recur. Not only the forum, but also the Finance Minister preparing his March 1993 Budget, are in a straitjacket.

The deficit before bon-owing of 4.5% of GDP indicated last March was already more than the guideline 3% frequently attributed to the IMF. Its rise now to more than 8% has been a function of a continued rise in nominal government diture as well as a significant shortfall in expected revenue.

This alarming development has pushed SA closer to a debt trap. Debt servicing already accounts for about 17% of total central government expenditure And it exceeds 24% of tax revenue and 66% of the deficit before borrowing. A continuing 8% deficit would increase debt servicing exponentially to a point where, within a few years, government's ability to attend to its other functiom would become seriously compromised. What emerges from this is an imwrative for fiscal restructuring. ithout this, little else that is durable will be possible.

In broad terms, four matters need to be addressed: the collapse in real fixed investment; the rise in consumption thre (particularly within the public sector); the deficit itself; and the matter at cost-benefit ratios as they affect departmental state expenditures.

A distinction needs to be made between borrowing used to finance current spending and borrowing used to extend the country's ca ital base. Borrowing of the latter 'd provides the means. through eventual increases in revenue generated, of debt servicing and debt repayment Borrowing which finances

consumption (mainly salaria and wages), provides no such means. What is required is a strategy aimed at changing the balance between current and capital spending, and reducing public sector dissaving. Cost-benefit relates to this emphasis on investment. Within departmental expenditures. education being a particular case in point, there is huge wastage. Its elimination, or even significant reduction, would make an important contribution to improva performance. Consuniption itse 1 requires restructuring, and this has to be effected in a nonunitive way to avoid serious negaflve market consequences. Private consumption levels too reuire correction. As a percentage of DP the have risen. resulting in a sharp la in personal saving as a rcentage of personal disposable Ecume. At the beginning of the 1980: this was more than 10%. It is about 2% toda . But maple at or below the povery tum e cannot be expect. ed to reduce their consumption and increase their saving. That adjust. ment is going to have to be made by HM i 17 Debt trap threatens future governmehtis ability to function RONNIE BETHLEHEM more privileged groups. Interest rates and taxation have important roles to pla . Incentives to save. especially in a ter-tax terms. need to be increased. The earning, as opposed to the spending, of income must be encouraged, while consumption 5 nding, not on basics but on other terns, needs to be discouraged. This provides a 'ustification for a continuation of ti t monetary policy, for leaving undisturbed existing pension fund and retirement savings arrangements (contrary to the Jacobs committees recommendations), and for a differential VAT system with a widening of zero rating on essentials and an increasing of the general rate, poaibly to 15%. In the coming Budget there will be little scope for tax reductions. On the contrary. the pressure will be great for across-the-board increases in direct and indirect taxes. If SA is to avoid the debt trap towards which it is silppin , determined measures to contain e deficit, in spite of the recession, will have to be taken. However. the Minister will also need to keep his sight on long-term goals. A strong long-tenn case can be made for reducing corporate and personal income taxes with a view to encouraging growth. The nominal

on rate tax rate. at 48%. is too

hi even though the average effective rate is lower. What is required is f 99

a system which maximises growth (includin employment growth), not one whic minimises the paying of tax by concentrating the corporate mind on exploiting investment and other allowances.

other allowances. The personal income tax system also requires restructuring. The authorities place too much reliance on fiscal drag and not enough incentive is given to individuals to earn income and save. The system does not attract. or retain, the professional and other skilled people required for sustained economic performance. But it is with regard to VAT that the most scope for restructuring exists. Purists will argue that a differential VAT system would complicate revenue collection. However. it would immediately alter consumption patterns, reducing the burden on lower socio-economic groups while discouraging consumption among the better off. Zero-rating food, medicines, ublic transport, children's clo 3. books and electricity, gas and coal for domestic use. and exams (as in the UK), while increas g the VAT rate to 15%, would not have too serious an immediate impact on the inflation rate. One area where an actual tax reduction would be justified. even in current circumstances, is that of the import surcharge. With so large a Budget deficit it would be naive to expect this to be abolished. But a gesture in the direction of its removal would be a reminder that this remains a serious objective of policy The SA economy, if its efficiency i: to be improved, needs to be exposet to more international competition. Beyond these changes, a gal would still remain that could not ht bridged by regular borrowin . This makes the consideration of ternative revenue sources essential anu forces a re-examination of a state lottery and privatisation. Be and church objections, the case or a state lottery is powerful. it has the potential significantly to increase revenues at minimal cost. Its attractiveness to the public would be increased were the scale of prizes widened to include all contributors; middle-ranking prizes to constitute significant amounts and spread fairly widely, and the sums collected . earmarked for redistributive and/or development purposes, such as housing, education and health. A two- to threeyear privatisation programme would go a long way to cutting the Gordian knot facing the

fiscal authorities. It would open the

way to other forms of economic restructuring which are as important as those discussed here because they relate directly to the correction of social imbalances and job creation. However. to succeed it would have to have broad political support, which brings one back to the national economic forum. It is in such a body that a large-scale sale of state assets could be de-ideologised or developed Into a programme for economic democratisation.

Although selling state assets ere ates nothing new in the way of resources its rearrangement of surpluses and deficits makes possible a countercyciical initiative on the state'sJiart, which the private sector is not esigned, nor in a position, to take. But the money raised throu h privatising state assets must not used to finance government consumption expenditure. That would be a travesty of everything a restructuring programme, alon the lines put forward here, would intended to achieve.

D Bethlehem I. group economics consultant of JCI and chairman o! Secob'e economic afllln commit. m. The views oxprueod hen In Me own. Thln Is the tint of a twopnn nodes.

SA now one of world,s biggest recipients of project aid, says UN PRETORIA - SA received almost Rlbn in development aid from overseas sources last year, making it one of the world's biggest recipients of project aid, according to a UN report.

The UN Development Programme re port, the first of its kind on SA. said 13 foreign missions together last year contributed \$343m (mm at last years average exchange rate).

The total disbursements in 1992 were the largest amounts of external assistance provided to SA in the past decade, and were distributed almost entirely to nongovernmental organisations.

The report noted that in previous years a significant portion of funding was provided on a "solidarity" basis. and used at the discretion of the organisation.

This tom of funding had nearly ceased. Donors were more interested in the quality of the services offered and their effects. By far the largest sector to receive aid was education, which accounted for 43% of the total, or \$117m (R328m). Since 1990 there had been a marked shift to increase the percentage of bursaries for study inside SA, to reduce the costs per student. But the report was critical that in education between 50% and 70% went to tertiary education bursaries, to the detriment of primary education.

The second largest amount, 832m (R90m) went to "community development". 1: ategory covering a range 0! activities.

The report criticised the diverse nature of this aid. pointing out that there appeared to be an absence of weli-integrated strategies for addrmhg the multitude of problems facing the poor in SA.

Human rights, legal aid and democratisation was ranked third, receiving ssom (R9411!) or 11% of the total. Much of this funding involved fees for lawyers. The other sector to receive a significant amount of aid was rural development at 829m (Raim). while health, repatriation, trade unions, humanitarian aid and businee: development all got between 1% and 3% of the total.

01 those providing aid to SA, the biggest donor was (he EC with 81mm (R302m). followed by the US with :80m (R224). Sweden with \$57rn (R159m), the UK with 327m (1176111) and Germany with Slim (350m). Other contributors were Denmark, Italy. the Netherlands. Canada, Australia. Japan, France and Spain.

LLOYD COUTTS reports the ANC yesterday welcomed a decision by the Swedish government to continue aid to the organisation, which amounted to about 325111 in 1992.

Swedish Foreign Ministry official Rasmus Rasmusson said Sweden would now openly give aid to the ANC and other organisations after years of secret funding.

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1SAis strategy of
forging air links is
paying off
KUALA LUMPUR.
- South Afn'ca,s stra-
tegy of forging air links
with Asian countries as
a prelude to diplomatic
ties is beginning to pay
03, Transport Minister
Peter Welgemoed said
yesterday.
"They are opening up
to us now and with these
air links, we can enhance
trade and then diplomatic
relations," said Mr Wel-
gemoed, who arrived
here yestetday for a
three-day visit.
Following State Presi-
dent De Klerkis February
2, 1990 announcement
scrapping apartheid, Mr
Welgemoed said more
Asian countries wanted to
conclude air services
agreements and establish
diplomatic ties with Pre-
toria.
South Atria now has
diplomatic ties with Sing-
apore, Thailand, the Re-
public of China, Japan
f
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and South Korea, said an
ofEcial of South Africals
Consulate in Singapore.
India had set up a cultural
ofliee in Johannesburg,
while South Africa has an
uintet'ect'i'ofiioe in Beij-
ing, the official said.
uIndia is now interest-
ed in flying to South Afri-
m and we are also allow-
ing one of our airlines to
lly to Pakistan," Mr Wel-
geinoed told reporters
after Malayda and South
Africa signed an air ser-
vicesagreement to pave
the way for scheduled
flights between the two
countries.
South African officials
said Pretoria's enhanced
air links with Asia, par-
ticularly the booming
economies of Southeast
Asia, would enable it to
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divetsify its trade which is
now concentrated around
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Europe.

"But one of the irritants to this is the trade sanctions imposed by some of the Southeast Asian oountn'es on Pretoria, " said an official. Many nations have not followed Japan, the European Community and the United States in lifting the sanctions against South Africa, insisting that they would do so only when mechanisms were in place to build a non-racial and democratic South Africa after aparte heid.

Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei are three of the six Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) that have not lifted the trade embargo on South Ahim.

The Philippines lifted the embargo in June last year, but traders still have i to seek government permission before they deal with Pretoria, South Africanofticials said. Singapore and Thailand have lifted the trade embargo and together with Malaysia have air links with South Africa. Mr Welgemoed said uduring the bad old days of apartheid, only 21 international airlines flew into South Africa but a fortnight ago, the '37th airline landed in Johannesburg".

"At the moment, we have a list of 42 countries that want to negotiate bilateral air agreements with us and many more 'will join the fray." he said.

Mr Welgemoed also said that South Africa's neighbours wanted to cooperate with Pretoria to adopt a common approach to marketing the region.

ltWe would like to
work together and that is
why we are promoting 10hannesburg as a hub for
the South African region
asawhole. i
"An Asian tourist

"An Asian tourist wanting to visit Zimbabwe game park or Zambian national park can use Johannesburg as

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the gateway and in the process everyone gains," said Mr Welgemoed. _ Sapa-AFP.
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Angola: This is now a civil war - envoy LUANDA. - Several people died in fighting between Unita and Angolan government troops yesterday in the central coastal city of Benguela, diplomats said. They said fighting was expected to spread to other areas. ttForget about the peace process this is civil war, " one diplomat said. ult looks like a stepby-step offensive by the govemment." The Benguela fighting. which erupted on Mon. day. followed a battle in the southern city of Lubnngo on Sunday in which diplomatic sources said at least 100 people died. UN special representative Margaret Anstee. who has been overseeing the peace process, was expected to meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to discuss the flare-up. UN peace observers may decide against extending their mandate be yond a January 31 deadline as neither Angolan side appeared committed to the May 1991 peace accord. the sources said. The peace accord halted 16 years of civil war. But Prime Minister Marcolino Moco said on Monday: the country is at war, not a declared war. but we are at war." Angola has been on the brink of renewed fullscale Eghting since Unita rejected its defeat in a UN-supervised vote last September and began occupying some 75 percent of national land. The sources said the next expected flashpoint was the deep-water port of Lobito, where Unita has a strong presence. Large numbers of government warplanes have been seen flying north to-

wards Unita-held territory during the past week. The government blames Unita for starting the fighting in Lubango. Unita has said the government killed more than 200 people in the Lubango incident, which the sources said was a well-co-ordinated ground attack backed by aircraft and artillery. 4
Lubango provincial governor Dutnilde Chagas Rangel put the death toll at 40 but the sources said the figure was at least 100 and could be as high as several hundred.:-

r Major SA players in U US polltlclans are unlmpressed with the performance last year of both the South African Government and the ANC, reports HUGH ROBERTON from Washlngton. HEY might not say so on the record. but most at the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992. Surprisingly. since he is known for his bland and cautious statements. probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came (mm the Assistant Secretary 0! State for Africa, Herman Cohen, when he said at a "media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa" By way ol 3 jocular aside. he added: "How's that lor evenhandedness?" In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department. the US Treasury and, who knows. in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency. there appears to be a consensus that the South Alrican Government and the ANC 'are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decisionmaking, with both emerging triumphant The year started well for the Government. when President de \_ Klerk announced a white relerendum to determine whether or not white- wanted the Government to proceed with negotiations aimed at lull democracy. The ANC's criticism 0! the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise lrom the US media and US otlicials. But to man Africanists in the US. De Kler failed to capitalise on his win. The day alter the result was announced. some of them say. should have been the day be Klerk tackled white opponents in the military and security estahlishment. His long and unexplained tails Clinton . . . SA could become his bargaining chip. ure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military

and police. wrongdoing exposed

more than two years ago in oilicial inquiries into the CCB and certain police shootings. have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. lndeed. disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken. Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the Government in the wake ol the Boipatong massacre (or having tailed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities and the perception - actively promoted by the ANC - that De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand, gained credeuce.

The fact that long alter all the judicial recommendations. long alter the inquiries. and long after the tragedies at Boiatong. Bisho and elsewhere. De f(lerk should have ordered an investigation into the role at the military in South Africa's violence and. as a result of police work undertaken partly by the Goldstone Commission. should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence. was reported on extensively - but the praise that might have come De Klerk's way it he had acted far earlier was missing. Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many at its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho. for instance. was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident There was also much questioning of the wisdom oi the campaign at mass action. which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other arties.

AN radicals also were seen to be behind the colla se 0! Codesa 2. When the dea lock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing lrom further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism. the more so because they are suspected ol being unenthu-

Baker. . siastic about negotiations anyway, . There is a pervasive belief in Washington. enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Bill. that the only lorces that would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irrational extremists on the Left and Right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion. That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed. the campaign of mass action began, and the Blsho tragedy ensued. What supporteh American tears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipntong massacre was seized upon as a reason (or breaking olf talks with the Government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief. as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks. Few in Washington were con-. otter to medlate turned down. vinced. and the resulting UN Se curity Council meeting on the massacre. at which the ANC failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have ol Government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame. But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements. the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa. lmalar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa. the UN meeting must have been a disaster (or them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure tor a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind the scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forcelul were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC itself made discreet overtures in a lobby off the Se-

\$42. v"

curity Council chamber to the Minister ol Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha. about the possibility at it joining the negotiating process. Earlier the PAC. as much as HMS i. Cohen . the ANC. was given unambiguous warnings by African countriu, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation Revolutionary dreams at armed struggle, mass action and rendering the country ungovernable were rudely dashed in the sleek office towers that cluster around the UN's headquarters in Manhattau As the negotiations deadlock went on. alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis. the US offered the services of its Secretary of State. James Baker. as a mediator to get talks resumed. Baker's interest in Africa was known to be faint. but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House. his prestige and influence were made available to the Government and the ANC. separately lncredibly. both sides rejected the US overture Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the Government and the ANC feed the fires 0! the tar Right and tar Left. and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a pre .Acandldly critical of SA negotlators. condition to resuming negotiations. demands which the Government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radi. cals to ensure talks did not resume'! What political leadership would fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society? But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. It the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the Government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all. it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list at preconditions if it felt the Government wasn't interested

in successful negotiations.

And so the taint flickers ol hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change that comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say. since so little is known about the foreign policy that President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere. let alone to South Africa. There are some hints. however. Most of those who will have the final say on South Alrica policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim They are honourable. principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights, They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy, So, while they might be a little tougher on the Government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm. In an article under Carter's name, but written by an adviser. support is given tor a continuauou of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa. An area of major disagree ment with the Government and feasibly with a luture government - will be Armscor's programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliieration of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy - and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armseor is aware. the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and missile systems. among other things which South African newspapers are not free to report In trying to assess Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word of caution for South Alrica. The whole of Atrica is lading from public and po litical attention in the US except. perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out lor South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Dealmaker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress. where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.
And watch out. too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa - already a Stepchild of US foreign policy - will become more of a nuisance than an area 01 major concern. - Star Bureau. D 1 S dog box .