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THE [TIMES WEDNESDAY JANUARY 2 Thes

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\2'7 JAN 193

uth Africa  
demolish  
ducation

partheid

W Eâ\200\230he Baptu Education Act is a dead letter.  
b Rz,â\200\230xcial schfols will not receive state money

-.Â\$ â\200\230T'he annoupeement, sct out  
\* Hn the cquivalent of & depart-  
.+ Jmental white paper and called  
â\200\234#the Educator]Renewal Strate-  
â\200\230Bay,â\200\235 proposeq a- single non-  
A racial educgionâ\200\231 policy, in  
Â¥ which every dnild Is entitld to  
schooling ug to the highest  
Jewel accordirg to his ability.  
. .This unitay education poli-  
: Â¥y Will be lid down by a  
central authcity but adminis-  
tered regiondly through dem-  
ocratically flected bodics.  
Every child will be subjected to  
compulsory ejueation for ninÂ¢  
years, generdly from the age  
of six 10 15.  
The projpsals represent  
government hinking but are  
still subject tgnegotiation with  
\_other politicd groupings. But  
Mr Marais psisted that tak-  
ing race out Â¢f education need  
not wait for the political pro-  
â\200\234cess to develop. He announced  
:that from noy on it would not  
~ be possible f the government  
to fund schepls which admir-  
ted pupils of racial grounds.  
No school (Â\$at received gov-  
crnment mojeý would be able  
to cxclude } pupil for any  
reason otherthan academic.  
â\200\230The differgnce in the quality  
of black anJ white education  
has long lpen onc of the  
bitterly rescpted products. of  
apartheid, sgmming from the  
policy of H{ndrik Verwoerd,

the architect of apartheid, who explained in the senate debate on his Bantu Education Act of 1954 that school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands of the economic

MICHAEL HAMLYN IN CAPE TOWN

life of South Africa will improve

. on him", and asked: "What is |,

the use of teaching a Bantu-

- child mathematics when it

cannot use it in practice?" ..

In the next ten years spending on black education dropped (in real terms) from 8.7 rands (about £2) a child to 4.9 rands, while spending on

each white child rose from 50 - rands to 75 rands. At the same

time, the kind of university education that had equipped generations of black political leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, " Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Robert Mugabe, was closed to the next generations.

Now, Mr Marais declared, the government intended to eliminate inequalities in spending. Given the pressures on government expenditure this was unlikely to be achieved in fewer than ten years, he said, giving a target date of 2003.

Nor will it be possible, a government booklet on the new policy says, for the present levels of education for whites to be taken as the national norm for the future, it would cost too much. Accordingly. schools wanting to maintain these levels or improve on them will have to find their own funds. The possibility then is of segregation continuing but on economic rather than racial grounds.

The new policy has been welcomed by white liberals in the Democratic party who

.insist that the government has

finally come round to their

. way of thinking. It was â\200\230in-

stantly condemned by white  
hardliners of the Conservative  
party who said that it was  
wholly opposed to the idea of a  
unitary system of education.

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â\200\234iam B e i SR e e .â\200\224,,.-â\200\230jâ\200\234â\200\231â\200\234.f.;w';ve-â  
\200\230oi-oâ\200\230-â\200\230eâ\200\224.â\200\230"~7,-",~--.'4\_" Vol R e

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

David Beresford -  
in Johannesburg

HE African National Con-.

gress and the South Afri-

can government â\200\230yester-  
day completed five days of  
crucial talks on ways of getting  
negotiations re-started, but  
carly indications were that pro-  
gress had been limited

In a joint statement, the two  
sides said that they would be  
â\200\234reporting to their principals  
with a view to resolving mat-  
ters and facilitating the  
resumption of multi-party nego-  
tiations.â\200\235 Further talks be-  
tween the two sides would be  
taking place. \_

â\200\234The ANC went into the talks  
hoping to get broad agreement  
on the creation of a government  
of national unity by carly April  
and non-racial general elec-  
tions by carly next year. There  
are fears that if they do not get  
substantive concessions from  
the .government, Nelson Man-

dela will be forced to give way  
to militant demands in the ANC  
for a programme of â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230mass  
actionâ\200\235 to break the will of the  
administration of President  
F. W. de Klerk.

The governmentâ\200\231s negotiat-  
ing team is expected to meet In-  
katha today .in an attempt to  
patch up a row which blew up  
between them last week over  
the alleged obstructionism of  
white advisers to the predomi-  
nantly Zulu organisation.

Meanwhile, South African

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: police yesterday preparÃ©de'id'

o vepd soeele

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headway  
in S Africa talks !

charge a former officer withâ\200\231  
perjury...over h  
that he could point out mass  
burial sites of anti-apartheid  
activists murdered by col-

leagues.

his . allcgationss

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After 24 hours!â\200\230. of diggihÃ©

under the watchful eyes of jour: |

nalists and lawyers, the â\200\234scan-  
dalâ\200\235 over secret burials: .of.  
police yictims was developing.  
into a public relations triumph  
for the force. Not a single skele-

ton had been discovered by late

yesterday, although police; in-  
vestigators were still ostenta-  
tiously pursuing rumours of  
other burial grounds. - St  
The graves hunt was started.

by the Johannesburg news-

paper, the Sowetan, which on.  
Monday quoted sworn state-

ments by a disaffected police-

man, Johnny Mokaleng, that he .  
had witnessed the torture,.

killing and burial of activists on  
a farm in the Western  
Transvaal. .

A police task f'orc':e\_heade'Ã© by

two generals and using earth-

moving .\_equipmcn\_t worked  
until late on Monday night ex- .

cavating a giant hole on the  
spot where. Mr Mokaleng

claimed the corpses were  
T o  
Yesterday they continued the .

search, .digging up the back  
yard of a police station, near  
the town of Carltonville, where

Mr Mokaleng claimed more.  
bodies had been buried. Again  
| no evidence of burials was dis-

covered. 2

S. Africa  
pledges  
parity in  
'schools  
Education chief  
offers plan but canâ\200\231t  
name date when  
inequality in  
funding will end

By Brendan Boyle  
REUTER

CAPE TOWN, South Africa â\200\224  
South Africaâ\200\231s education chief  
Tuesday repudiated 40 years of ra-  
cially segregated education but said

he could not promise to bring black |

schools up to white standards be-  
fore the turn of the century.

' Presenting an education renew-  
al blueprint that has been vetted by

the white cabinet but not by Nel- -

son Mandelaâ\200\231s African National  
Congress, Education Minister Piet  
Marais said: â\200\234The removal of racial  
inequality is our immediate priori-  
ty.â\200\235 â\200\230

Pressed to give a target date for :  
parity between black and white ed-

ucation, Marais said it was unlikely  
that spending could be brought in  
line by the year 2000.

â\200\234I cannot give you a date . . . the  
important thing is we are absolute-

ly committed to parity as soon as-

possible,â\200\235 he said.

ANC education spokesman â\200\231  
John Samuels called the blueprint

â\200\234a shift in the right direction.â\200\235  
â\200\234However, itâ\200\231s important to see

â\200\230this as a discussion document. We.  
in the ANC also have a set of pro-:

posals and we now need to work towards a mechanism that would enable us to discuss these proposals," he said.

Government spending on each white child is currently 4.2 times the budget for each black child, an improvement from a ratio of 18 to 1 in 1970.

Black school classes have an average of 51 pupils, while in white schools each teacher is responsible for 19 children.

Marais said the 140-page renewal plan, drawn up by the government's Committee of Heads of Education Departments, would form a basis for dismantling apartheid in schools.

The committee proposed a single education ministry to replace the four that now exist for black, white, colored (mixed race) and Indian education.

Marais said whites-only schools will work, but would not receive state funds. But schools that admit pupils on the basis of religion or culture could receive state funds.

South Africa began to relax 40 years of strict apartheid in schools two years ago, but most black pupils are still educated in crowded and under-funded township schools.

The report said the country needed to open a school a day to keep up with the 4.3 percent annual growth in the number of black pupils, who outnumber whites by more than 7 to 1 in the 40 million population.

A-8 Wednesday, January 27, 1993 4





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BUSINESS DAY, WEDNESDAY

1 CAPE. TOWN -~ Government's proposed  
{ plan to restrecture education aloeg nonra-  
cial lines, mih a strong regional compo-  
nenl was weicomed by the ANC yesterday  
Â» The plans, outlined in a 141-page educa-  
tion renewsi strategy docuroent, constitute  
governmentâ\200\231s opemng Ddegotialing posi-  
tion, and few of e proposals Wil be im-  
plemenied immediately. They provide a  
Â»ew vision for a deracialised education  
system wilb a sipgie ministry bul several  
regional departments.

The proposal suggests compalsory edu-

the first nioe years the stale would finance  
95% of ihe schooling, and for the final three  
years T5%. By comparison, Model C  
schools are 83% state-financed.

Teo equalise expenditure on black and  
white pupils withoul overburdening the ex-  
chequer, the strategy suggests an exten-  
sion ip â\200\234distance eduscationâ\200\235â\204¢ and vocatien-  
al training.

Capital expenditure is slashed 25%, wilh  
space and cost norms scaled dowp dra-  
matically, while the â\200\234learper-to-educatorâ\200\235  
ralio is increased Lo 35:1 at primary school

KATHR YN STRACHAN  
and TIM COHEN

The plan is based ou a spending level for  
education of 8% of GDP and an economic  
growth rate of 3% to 4% a year. It wiil in-  
volve an increase in the education budget  
Irom the current R22bn to R33bo (al 1992  
rand valoe) by 2003,

The pian suggests that a pahonal educa-  
tion authority be resposibte for the core  
corriculum, Lbe setting of examipations

tion of dectston-making powerâ\200\235 will go to  
regional departents, communities and  
institutions.

Presenting the proposal yesterday,  
National Education Minister Piel Marais  
wendl not be drawn ob a date by when eda-  
cation expepditure wowl be equalised,

saying this peeded (6 be npegotialed Dis-  
mantling the racial aspect of educatioo  
would start as soon as possible, but â\200\234com-  
pletion would take a liltle longerâ\200\235.

Although it was stili possible for an Own  
Aliairs school Lo refuse 2dmissicn {o a pu-  
pii on the basis of colour, government was

Govt plans for nonracial overhaul of education welcomed by ANC

committed Lo a nooracial future, and "{be  
Izie expectancy of such possibilites will be  
removed quicklyâ\200\235. â\200\231

ANC education spokesmap Lindelwa  
Mabandls szid the proposals would move  
education forward. The goal of pine yearsâ\200\231  
compuisory education i particular was  
welcomed.

He agreed i priociple that the move Lo-  
wards parity in per capita speadiog be .  
tween black and white pupils could pot be  
achieved â\200\234overnightâ\200\235, bot 20ded it was es-  
sential that the hacklog ib black education

O 7o Page 2

and the financial structure. However, the  
calion for ail for al Jeast nive years. For and 321 at secondary school. â\200\234maximum f  
unctionally justifiable develu-

Education  
be made up as quickly as possibie.

The proposals were a realistic atlemp1  
to solve the problem, he said, and in the  
light of existing financial constraints, the  
ANC itself bad nol envisaged a budgetary  
allocation ef more than 6% for education.

He said the financial limilations had also  
made it necessary lo offer a system of dif-  
fering oplious for schooling, such as  
models where parents and the community  
were responsible for financing schools.

DP eduocation spekesman Roger Bur-  
rows also welcomed the document, but was  
concerned about the lack of political will  
lo eliminate racial inequalities in the sup-  
piy of resources within a given timeframe.

() From Page-1

Government would have to channel every  
resource, including foreign funding, into  
â\200\234extremely rapidâ\200\235 elimination of backlogs.

"While certain aspects of the proposals  
can be criticised, they represent a major  
shift away [rom racial thinking in educa-  
tion towards a more equilable consider-  
ation of our total population,â\200\235 he said.

The CP rejected the plan. Spokesman  
Andrew Gerber said it would do every-  
thing in its power to mobilise Afrikaners  
and whites against the "foolish direction"  
in which education was being sent.

@ Ses Page 4

Â® Comment Page 10

LT Ty g

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WASHINGTON â\200\224 Fear, cynicism and coo-  
fusion could lead to & disappointingly low  
black turnout in SAâ\200\231s first nonracial elec-  
tion, soou to be published research spon-  
sored by the Matla Trust sbows.

â\200\234lt would be 3 mistake to believe that  
voter turnout will be high.â\200\235 Craig Charney,  
the Wits sociologist Who is runoing the  
study, told the Carpegie Endowment for  
International Peace yesterday.

The finding, based on interviews with 24  
focus groups throughout SA last Novem-  
ber, appeared to reinforce ANC president  
Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal for electoral  
assistance during his visit here last week.

Key lactors included ugidespread fear  
of retributionâ\200\235, Charney said. Interviewees  
â\200\234were afraid of violence if they do vote, .  
they don't vote, or | they vote for the

wrong peopleâ\200\235.

~rurpout could be low  
= 5

SIMON BARBER

worpag in the Free State Who

would be afraid to yote because I am

afraid to die.â\200\235

There was widespread cynicism, oot

bout the capa~

pilities of the resulting black government. |  
as also confusion about what |  
the need for a  
massive voter education programume.  
the costs of vot- |  
med to outweigh the perceived  
o situation those With ap interest|

only about the fairness 0  
the secrecy of ballots, but a

There W  
voting entailed, indicating

For many interviewees,

ing see  
benefits,  
in a low turnout would seek to

said: â\200\234T |

exploit. |

Foreign governraents, the UN and pri-|

vate groups could play ao impo  
in supporting voter education,  
disputes on alectoral codes and

in providing rmomy

toring and security.

rules, and

The researcher quoted a3 typical &

B A e s

BUSINESS DAY, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

bIH]

THE ANC yesterday rejected an appeal by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelez: that the two organisations short-circuit preparatory talks in favour of high-profile peace rallies in conflict areas of Natal.

The ANC said in a statement it had no objection in principle to ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly addressing rallies with Buthelezi, but added that such events should be part of a comprehensive approach currently under discussion.

Buthelezi said earlier he and Mandela urgently needed to address meetings jointly, which would result in a massive movement for peace, instead of engaging in posturing, skirmishing and manoeuvring for peace.

The ANC said discussions were aimed at resolving differences and laying the basis for a successful meeting between the leadership of both organisations... "

The two parties had in recent weeks held

ANC says no to Inkatha proposal for peace rallies

BUSINESS DAY, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

@ RAY HARTLEY o]

a series of meetings to address all issues relating to violence and ensure the creation of a climate for free political activity and tolerance, the ANC said. Delegations headed by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose have identified and discussed issues. The ANC looks forward to further discussions with the IFP so all measures possible can be taken to address the violence and improve relations between the two organisations, both at leadership and membership level, it said in a statement. Hundreds of women and children from Maritzburg's Imbali township marched to police headquarters in the city yesterday to demand among other things the deployment of a neutral security force in the area, Sapa reports.





line Ciincen, wedNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

Govt,

Â\$ FROM PAGE 1

!  
cratic South Africa-style fâ\200\230  
talks is within reach. |  
The row which erupted|â\200\231  
between the IFP and thel;;  
government on Monday  
and Tuesday last week is  
expected to be settled,  
with more moderate ex-|  
changes at a scheduled  
five-hour meeting at th,  
govermmentâ\200\231's HF Ver  
woerd headquarters to-,  
day. :  
The ANC and govern- Â\$  
ment each fielded 20-man 1  
negotiating teams in the  
second haif of follow-up/!  
tatsk to the Record of:}

b

Understanding signed on'  
September 26 last year.  
Their brief was to address

ther release of political {! The IFP has demanded

prisoners, the ANC's |  
armed wing Umkhonto

we Sizwe, and the repeal

of certain securiry legis-

laton,

The teams are known  
also 10 have dealt with  
other legislative measures

required to level the pol- |  
tic 4 | demandiaq that the gov-

itical playing fields, "as  
well as transitional meas- .  
ures to prepare for the  
first Open Â¢lections,

T LAdd .â\200\2302:  
negotiannng |

113 commuttees.

outstanding bilateral js-  
sues emanating from the  
agreement,

The teams spent five  
days of secluded â\200\234bosbe-  
raadâ\200\235 talks at the Presi-  
densic in Pretoria and  
then at the De Hoop re-  
sÂçctve on the southernj:  
Cape coast.

Accordiag to the joint  
media statement issued  
. | by Constitutional Devel-  
opment Minister Roelf  
Meyer and ANC sec-  
retary-general Cyril Ram-  
aphosa, the first two days  
of ralks in Pretoria fo-  
cused on security matters.

These were set 10 in-  
clude violence, the fur-

â\200\224 â\200\224

Three days were set  
aside lo deal with consti-  
mtional matters, mor  
particularly those areas in  
which the ANC and gov-  
ernment failed to reach  
agreement at Codesa IT,  
such as regionalism and  
deadlock-breaking mech-  
apisms in the constitut-  
ion-making and amending  
process. Their respective  
positions on the re-inco-  
poration of the TBVC |  
states were also ad-

\_dressed.

goveramient of national |  
umty and regional goy-  
ernment were considered.

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S - â\200\224marry

Before their talks both  
sides made it clear that bi- )  
T agreemen

ed WO e

TESched WouRd be bding |  
a0d That\_dediions affect- |

an t  
ing other parties would be

fubjected to multi-party

agreement.

T  
A special effort was

Emadc to try 10 address the i

{ IFPâ\200\231s opposition to the

Record of Understand- |/  
ing, which it interprets s |  
& ganging-up of the ANC {j  
and National Party to  
sideline the IFP in the ne-  
gotiatng process.

Tâ\200\230heï¬\202"?issecnutï¬\201o

most influeptial party in |!  
the Concerned South |!  
Afficans Group (Cosag) |1

which was formed to op-  
pose the Record of  
Undeggtanding, ;

ia conference of review of  
ithe Codesa agreements  
and the establishment of

\ a0 entirely new negotiat-  
ing forum.

resumed Codesa process.

Negotiators believe the  
IFP would rather desert

{| the Cosag grouping and  
rejoin Codesa-style talks

makion and functioning of | !f Cosag should persist in

Committe and its special- (Â¥ Sumpnion.

opposing Codesa's

re-

The government is fed  
up with the squabbling  
between the ANC and

IFP. It has also had enough of taking the blame for trouble between them. .

Sources said that since Monday's outburst by the IFP delegation a â\200\234Jast strawâ\200\235 to the government

| â\200\224 both sides have been  
Â¢ told to stop using the gov-

ernment as a go-betweenq.  
The sources say that each time the government has delivered the opposing party's point of view, it has been accused of backing the other side.

The government is demanding that the two parties get together. Some definite undertaking in this regard may be finalised this week.

Talks to get the ANC and IFP leaders â\200\224 Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi â\200\224 together are expected to be accelerated after today's meeting.

Yesterday there were early signs of momentum when the ANC said joint ANC/IFP rallies addressed by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthe should form part of a comprehensive strategy to combat violence.

The ANC responded to the IFP leader's call to Mr Mandela to join him in visits to all strife-torn areas.

â\200\234The ANC has no ob-

- QUL IR vt e 2

ANC to revive talks |

jection in principle to the  
reaching

joint rallies, but

such

THE CITIZEN,

|

CAPE TOWN.

Government and African National Congress negotiators returned to Cape Town last night with plans for reviving all-party constitutional talks within weeks.

According to a brief joint statement issued on their return from two days of talks at the De Hoop nature reserve and missile range, some details still need to be resolved with their respective principals.

At least one further round of bilateral talks is expected.

If a follow-up meeting

N

WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party today produces the desired result, 2 formal announcements on the assumption of multi-party talks may be included in State President De Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

Failing this, the government and ANC may disclose plans for keeping the process of transition (0 a democratic constitution going without the IFP and the militant Pan Africanist Congress for the time being.

Sources close to key negotiators in all three of the major parties bcllc\:\e-â\200\2301

progress towards setting 3 date for a meeting preparing for the resumption of Convention for a Demo-

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STRAIGHT

DAY 27 JANUARY

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STRANGE assartment of

critics, from Wisnie Maadela  
to the Sunday Times, have begun  
criticising the bilateval negotis-  
tions between the ANC and the  
National Party as elitist deal-cot-  
ting to share the spoils of power  
while the underprivileged masses  
are forgotten.

[n Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s hacsh phrase,  
â\200\234the NP elite is getting into bed  
with the ANC in order to preserve  
its silken sheels, and the [eader-  
ship elite in the ANC is getlng  
into bed with the NP to enjoy this  
new-found luxuryâ\200\235.

The implication is that the form  
the allons has taken is es-  
sentially undecweratic 20d will

:u:e a bacidash froc the diafl-

ioood masses whose interests  
are beioq abandosed in the rush  
for the gravy train.

It is a criticism the political  
leaders shoald heed, to the extent  
that it is a warning of how careful  
they must be not to give the im-  
pression of fat-caltlag once they

care part of an mterim govern-  
ment. Bul ia itself the criticiam is  
a serious misinterpretation of the  
process taking place

What is luypemng is the mego-  
tlatlng of a sevies of pacts be-  
tween the majoc political orgaad-

al-cutting actually SA\200\231s

Sparks

-

Altister i

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sations, which is the classical  
form for 2 transition (to democra-  
<y to take.

The process is well established |  
Four years ago, South African po-  
litical analysts became aware of  
an extensive study by a team of  
American scholars of 13 countries ]  
â\200\224 including Spain, Greece, mmlf  
Venezuela, Uruguay and Argee  
ting - that have moved from  
right-wing authoritarianism to de-  
mocracy without revolution since  
World War 2.

One of the teachers, Philippe  
Schmitter, came here as a guest  
of Idasa. He has since started his  
further studies of transitions (to  
Chile and eastern Europe

in attempting to pinpoint the  
key factors which enabled these

transitions to take place, the answer is |

theory of what is now a weighty hi-  
erarchy on the subject found that  
â\200\234pactingâ\200\235, or negotiated compro-

mises between (the major political

players, was the most important.

These pacts usually emerge. The } As Schmitter and co-author

authors say, when a series of  
crises has created an â\200\234unstable  
equilibriumâ\200\235 between the authori-  
tarian forces of the state and  
those pushing for democracy. It  
when the regime loses legitimacyâ\200\231  
but the democratic forces still  
cannot oust it

Basically what has happened in  
South Africa.

The two sides then try to negoti-  
ate a new dispensation. Attempts  
to do this in large democratic  
forums usually fail because of the  
disparity of views and the difficul-



ly of making compromises to  
cherished positions in a public  
arena.

Hence the process of pact-form  
ing by leaders. These pacts define  
the rules under which the parties  
will operate, with each agreeing  
to modify its own policy position  
to accommodate the other's vital  
interests. When the deal is struck  
a foaming election is held, and the  
view dispensation is then fepiti-  
mised by the population at large.

Since they are agreements

are obviously acts of political ell-  
tisso That means they are vulner-

able to attack as undemocratic. !  
Yet they are essential to achiev-

ing democracy  
}

i

AGuiltermo O'Donnell put it in a

W o summing-up volume: "In the end,

such modern pacts move the poli-  
ty towards democracy by unde-  
mocratic means. They are typi-

cally negotiated among a small  
' number of participants representing \*

41 ing established (and often highly .  
, oligarchical) groups or institutions, i

they tend to reduce competitive ;  
ness as well as conflict; they seek |  
to bring accountability to wider ?  
publics; they attempt to control;

the agenda of policy concerns, and &  
they deliberately distort the prio- \*

# ciple of citizen equality." (1994: 235)

' Nonetheless, they alter power  
relations, set loose new political  
processes and open the way to de-  
mocracy

"Pacts are not always possible" (1994: 235)  
the authors say, "but we are con-  
vinced that where they are a fea-  
ture of the transition, they are de-  
sirable (1994: 234) that is, they enhance the  
probability that the process will  
lead to a viable political democ-  
racy" (1994: 235)

in (it is understandable that lay !  
reached by political leaders, they |

if members feel uneasy when their  
leaders cut deals behind closed

doors. That's the means of

the 2003 elections. But it is the end result that

is getting there  
ever the best, it's worth going to lead to an

|

The process, how- '

election - and that & when the  
democracy will begin and (the ordi-  
nary people have their say.

Even then it will not come to a

single step but in instalments, The  
first steps will  
be a gradual sharing of  
power - gradually shared; then an  
election and a new constitution  
followed by a 3rd government of na-  
tional unity, another awkward  
coalition but this time at least of  
elected representatives.

With each step the democracy  
will be widened and the people  
will become more involved. That  
is the transforming process. De-  
mocracy itself changes the whole  
game, opening the way for the  
emergence of new forces. The re-  
lationship between the old players  
will change and new players will  
emerge. A changing class stratifi-  
cation will transform the political  
landscape.

The mistake is to imagine we  
are creating the whole thing now,  
designing Utopia in one great act  
of political creation. What we are  
doing is starting a democratising

process. Even then democracy is

not an end, but a beginning. It  
does not end the struggles over

| the form and purpose of politics. It

All it does is institutionalise those |  
struggles, providing a framework |

. & then it's

18  
the best way forward

in which they can take place con-  
stitutionally and peacefully.

The struggle Mrs Mandela  
speaks of, is to promote the cause of 2003 |

the impoverished and unemployed, the people disadvantaged |  
for centuries by colonialism, segregation and apartheid, will go on  
well beyond her lifetime and?  
mine 1L will be the stuff of South  
African politics for the next 50  
years or more.

Democracy provides the means  
to wage that struggle, and pacting  
is the most effective way to attain  
democracy

Ves, it is important for the NP  
and ANC leaders to keep their  
members informed of what is hap-  
pening in the negotiations, to  
counter perceptions of bedfellow-  
ing and bring their supporters  
along with them to the deal

in this the ANC has done rather  
. better than the NP, with its vigor-

As our internal debate over the sunset  
clauses and the return of U Thabo  
AT which some media critics  
promptly denied as a sign of  
divisions and confusion.

But the best way to carry the  
people along is to build up a sense

of momentum. It is endless argu-  
ment and stalemate that breeds  
disillusionment. Again, pact-form-  
ing is the way. @~

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n'ff Cliizen, wedNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

LÂ«kllled . pollcemen  
Wounded in Natal

BAN. â\200\224 At least  
one pexsou was killed  
and two policemen were  
injured in violence in  
Natal on Monday,  
police said.

KwaZulu Police sad  
Bonginkosi Mzobe (20),  
was shot dead by un-  
known people late on  
Monday night in Kwa-  
Makhutha, south of  
' Durban.

There were no further  
details.

KZP Special Con-  
stable K Ntshangase  
was attacked at his

home in Msangweni,  
KwaMakhuths, also on  
Monday. Several shots  
were fired at his house,  
hirting him in his head  
and chest.

HeÂ¢ was taken to hos-  
pital in a critical condit-  
ion and police are inves-  
tigating a case of at-  
tempted murder.

South African Police  
spokesman Captain  
Bala Naidoo reported  
two ambushes on police  
vehicles in Natal's Mid-  
lands on Monday.

He said Constable  
Rudi Kock was shot in  
the leg in Ndaleni, Rich-  
mond. He was leaving  
the township after ar-  
resting suspects in a  
theft case when shots  
were fired at his police  
vehicle.

Const Kock is recov-  
Âçring in hospital.

In Pietermarizzburgâ\200\231s  
Imbali township a pa-  
trolling police vehicle  
came under fire and was  
hit four times. No one  
was injured. â\200\224 Sapa.

\ atholic Church focuses on democracy

E Catholic Church  
should devote further at-  
tention to its Democracy !  
Campaign, Southern  
African Catholic Bishops' 2002  
Conference president  
Archbishop Wilfrid Na-  
pier said in Pretoria last  
night.

He said the SACBC  
had turned its attention to  
the 'Get Your ID Docu-  
ment Campaign' 2002 en-  
sure that all who were

! eligible would be able to  
vote.

Delivering his annual  
report at the SACBC's  
plenary session, he said  
the next phase of the cam-  
paign would be intense  
education on the meaning  
and implications of  
democracy, particularly  
the exigency of tolerance.

Reviewing the past  
year, Archbishop Napier  
said the major let-down  
had been the failure of

the politicians to bring  
Codesa Two to fruition  
and violence to an end.

Just how disastrous  
this failure was, can be  
gauged by the cost in  
terms of human lives 224  
3 600 killed, 6 000 injured  
and well over 100 000 dis-  
placed. 2002

He said judicial com-  
missions of inquiry had  
exposed a 'shocking mor-  
ass of corruption in the

ranks of administration  
and the security forces'.

They had deepened the  
crisis of confidence, by  
extending suspicion as far  
as President De Klerk.

Mr De Kierk bad re  
lapsed ito the â\200\234â\200\230kragda-  
digheidâ\200\235 (bullying) ways  
of his >redecessor, Mr  
P W Boba, when.in his  
anxiety Â get the Further  
Indemniy Bill through  
Parbament he resorted to

the loaded President's  
Counal to break a dead-  
lock.

â\200\234This action seiniorced  
the suspicion that be had  
something to bide, or that  
he was under pressore (o  
protect certain peopie.â\200\235

Last year would be re-  
membered as the year  
when the breakdown in  
morzl standards at all fe-  
vels of society reached its  
worst poini. â\200\224 Sapa

â\200\230NAZI 11 FAH]

â\202~661 NV1 LZ AVASINCIA

THFâ\200\234'câ\200\230mzsn, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

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BURQ  
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Congre  
The

the Afncan

RMARITZ- ,  
. â\200\224 Lmbali town-!

ay as transport

and schooling ground to a  
halt amid claims  
counter claims of intimi-

and a threat by  
National  
ss of war.

area most affected  
was the Namibia section

tside Pietermaritz- |  
burg came to a standstill t

|

and |

ETNAINY

of Stage Two, where  
many families have fled  
and others have taken re-  
fuge at the Dutch Re-  
formed Church.

Hundreds of ANC sup-  
porters, mostly women,  
marched to the South



African Police headquarters in Pietermaritzburg to protest against what they termed Inkatha Freedom Party-police collusion and a plan by IFP supporters from the city and Richmond to eject people from their homes.

They demanded the removal of police and the South African Army from Imbali.

ANC regional secretary Sifiso Nkabinde said his organisation was shocked of being a burial society and from now on it should be an eye-for-an-eye.

He said yesterday's march was the last one.

These marches are being treated as circuses and even the State enjoys them. We no longer even have to apply for a permit. They know we will

township co-operation { } \_sâ tb halt as war threatens ; |

hand over a memorandum and go home.

Instead we shall en-yi

gage in action that will bring quick results. We will consider something like a consumer boycott to force the powers-that-be to end the suffering of our people. From today Imbali will become a regional issue and we will

/

channel! all resources to it, he said.

ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala said ANC members would remove IFP members who had occupied their homes and we want no protection from the army and the soldiers. We are capable of defending ourselves. Sapa-AP.



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A GOLDSTONE Com:-

mittce witness testified  
yesterday that he escaped  
4 panga and knife-wield-  
ing mob on a train â\200\224 only  
to be shot in the neck by a  
security guard as he fled  
the station.

The man, â\200\234Mr C" from  
Nancefield Hostel, said

=

l

he was shot in the peck by  
a secunty officer clad i  
green as he fled the  
Milamlankunz Station on  
November 25 |ast year,  
following an artack on  
train commuters,

At the time he identi-  
fied the man as 3 Spring-  
bok Patrols guard

Mr C toid the commit-  
tee in Pretonia that rwo

N femoved from his neck at

l\shorgun pellets were later

he Baragwanath Hospi-  
tal. He denied that he had  
bad anything (0 do with  
the atrack.

But Mr Jacob van Zyl,  
a director of Springbok  
Patrols, which is con-  
fracted by Spoomet to  
guard the Mlamlankunn  
Station, said the firm's of-  
ficers stopped wearmng  
green uniforms at lease g

year 2go.

by guard

One of the guards, Mr  
Zola Mathika, did howev-  
â\202-r say that be had short  
someone in the back of  
the head after finng a  
warning shot.

It also emerged yesterday that Springbok Patrolsâ\200\231 brief was to protect Spoornetâ\200\231s property rather than passengers.,

Mr Van Zyl confirmed

that Springbok Patrols had conveyed different accounts of the incident 10 Spoornet, but that company director My Wahl Bartmana, who could shed more light on the matter, was in the Seychelles and could not be reached -~ Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

" Alleged ANC robbers

Cittren Reportes

THREE alleged bankrobbers and self-confessed members of the African National Congress (ANC), threatened a Phola Park security guard with death if he did not help them "take the White people's money" the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Alert Industrial Security employee, Mr Ezra Sikwebu, told Mr Justice M J Suorydom, that Solomon Mngqangeni (33) and Mr William Makhosi (28), had threatened to kill him if he did not help them access to the Southdale Branch of the Standard Bank "his place of employment" in May 1991.  
| Mr Mngqangeni, Mr  
| Makhosi and a third ac-

cused, Mr Daniel Motaung (35), face various charges of murder, attempted murder, robbery

with aggravating circumstances, housebreaking and the illegal possession of machine-guns, firearms and ammunition arising from a robbery at the

Standard Bank on May 29, 1991, and a hold-up outside Corobrik, in Nigel, on November 25, 1991.

It is believed that Mr FR Memani, appearing for the three accused, was appointed by the ANC after Mr Mngqangeni, Mr Makhosi and Mr Motaung

claimed that the organisation

tion had promised them legal representation.

Two Fidelity Guards employees, Mr Hermanus Lombaard and Mr Daniel Verster, were shot dead during the Corobrik robbery, after which the three accused and several accomplices allegedly escaped with R372 050.

The State, represented by Mr I Pretorius and Mr F Stander, allege further that Mr Mngangeni, Mr

" Mr

threatened bank guard

Makhos: and Mr Motaung fatally wounded traffic officer Mr Jacobus van der Merwe, after being caught in a speed-trap in Alrode on March 27, 1992.

Mr Sikwebu told the court yesterday that Mr Makhosi (alias T-man), Mngangeni (â\200\234Speechâ\200\235) and two men named Dlamini and Madiba, had visited him at his Phola Park squatter camp home, on the outskirts of Tokoza, during the week of May 29, 1991. Dlamini and Madiba were not present at court yesterday, he said.

It is alleged that the gang robbed the bank of R571 280 in cash.

The trial continues today.

Southdale Branch of the

THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

. SADF, MK will  
â\200\234merge â\200\224DrT

THE South African  
Defence Force is to  
merge with the African  
National Congress's  
military wing Umk-  
honto we Sizwe (MK)  
soon, Conservative  
Party leader Dr An-  
dries Treurnicht  
claimed yesterday.

v i

erger plannedâ\200\231

, â\200\234MK will be taken up  
in the SADF with the  
understanding that it will  
be proportionally rep-  
resentative of the popula-  
tion and that the posts of  
generals who had been re-  
dired early will be taken  
up by Blacks,â\200\235 Dr Treur-  
nicht said in Johannes-  
burg at the opening of the  
all-White Mine Workers  
Union annual congress.

According to the CP  
leader - the information

/ was given to him by an in-

formant in the SADF. He  
declined to give details  
but undertook to elab-  
orate during the no~confi-  
dence debate in Parlia-  
ment.

Dr Treurnicht warned  
delegates that should the  
SADF be taken over by  
\*Communist-inspired

| forces', Whites would be  
left defenceless, making  
self-determination unpat-

\*+ tainable.

Sketching a scenario of  
| how revolutionary forces  
| had taken over politics in  
South Africa, Dr Treurnicht said the establishment of an interim government would be a dishonourable capitulation by Whites.

To prevent this total onslaught the only solution would be to embark on a process of a people's revolution (rolling African nationalist action),

he said, adding that it was

naive and dangerous to believe that communism was dead.

The Right-wing leader, who found some unlikely allies in the recent establishment of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthe, claimed Cosag's leaders collectively enjoyed the support of the majority of the people in the country.

Dr Treurnicht said a negotiation forum such as Codesa would never be able to reach consensus, making another forum such as envisaged by Cosag a necessity.

Regarding the Africaner-style rolling mass action, Dr Treurnicht said he looked forward to the co-operation of the Mine Workers Union, which would be important in the mobilisation of the people.

Another speaker, Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) vice-president Willie Lewies, said he was not ashamed of being known as a militant: Moderation would only lead to our demise.

Co-operation between White mineworkers and



farmers was therefore  
needed as a matter of urg-  
ency to fight for White  
survival,

-~ Sapa.

THE CITIZEN, WEDNESDAY 27 JAN 1993

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NC Youth's Israeli  
stance disappoints

JEMSH community  
leaders ;1 South Africa  
have expressed disap-  
pointment over state-  
ments made by the  
ANC's Youth League  
(Ancyl), a delegation of  
which is on a fact-finding  
mission to Israel.

The national! Chairman  
of the South African  
Board of Deputies, Mr  
Mervyn Smith, and the  
chairman of the South  
African Zionist Feder-  
ation, Mr Abe Abraham-  
son, described remarks  
made by Ancyl spokes-  
man, Mr Parks Mankah-  
lana, as harsh and one-  
sided,

No recognition is  
given to Israel for being  
the only democracy in the  
Middle East and that Is-  
rael was actively pursu-  
ing peace.

Both sentiments ex-  
pressed are negative and  
do not recognise the com-  
plexities of the current  
Middle East situation  
the two leaders said in a  
joint statement,

The national director of  
the SAJBD, Mr Seymour  
Kopelowitz, said the An-  
cyl visit to Israel was as  
the initiative of the South  
African Union of Jewish  
Students and had the full  
support of the SATBD.

It was hoped that, in  
spite of difficulties, dia-  
logue between the two

youth groups would continue.

A report from Tel Aviv quoted Mr Mankahlana as saying Ancy1 would not support a visit by Mr Nelson Mandela to Israel at the invitation of the Israeli Government, but would not rule out a visit at the invitation of Palestinian

communities in Israel.

He also criticised Israel's refusal to speak to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and cited alleged human rights violations against Israel.

WEDNESDAY 27 JANUARY 1993

THE STAR,

By JOESLOVG

OU could wish for nothing more reassuring than the words used by - Russell Crystal, a member of the SA branch of the historically anti-communist IFF, to introduce his client's report on ANC detention centres. He said, "I have applied strict legal criteria in pursuit of the truth, and have maintained a consistently high standard throughout the result of which is indisputable."

| Indeed, that is the least one would have expected from a senior

lawyer who has been at it

for 30 years. I last wore a barrister's gown when Mr Douglas was still at law school, and I have no doubt that, as in my case, the same rubrics of law and natural justice must have been drummed into his head. +

Among these are: You never reach a conclusion without attempts to hear the other side. You judge on the evidence, not on preconceptions and prejudice. You base a finding on what witnesses have them-

self-witnessed, not hearsay.

if these be fundamental legal criteria in pursuit of truth then I cannot be blamed for concluding that whatever or whoever he was pursuing in his commission, it was certainly not the truth. For this claim I need not go outside his own report which I demonstrably condemn itself as little more than a hatchet job against political enemies. You merely have to examine the evidence on which he bases his conclusion about me to cast a dark pall over the integrity of this IFF venture.

| In the first place, since the SACP and its leaders are con

~sidered by Douglas and Bis Cli-

ent o be among the main cul-  
i prits, why did he not see fil, at  
the very least, to give the party  
or those of its fingered leaders  
an opportunity to answer?

!

â\200\230Smeared b

What is Douglas's conclusion  
about my complicity e crime  
as the No 2 culprit?

â\200\234f come to the counclusion  
that Joe Slove,om the evideace  
(my emphasis) was responsible  
andt accountable for the crimes  
committed by Mbokodo He  
was the most powerful commu-  
pist in the movement at the  
time. He was seen visiling the  
camps including Quatro. He  
saw for himself what was going  
on and clearly must have ap-  
proved of it.â\200\235

Now, Joe Slove was, acoord-  
ing to the report, ome of the  
most prominent figures. No one  
conild have overiooked his pres-  
ence, or involvement and ap-  
proval of the atrocitles alieged.  
Did it not cross Douglas's legal  
mind that it was extremely odd  
that of over 100 witnesses he  
claims to have interviewed  
under cath, only a single one at-  
tests to my complicily and ie  
his case, as I will show, his evi-  
dence would be langhed out of  
court? That witness said:

â\200\234Joe Slove visited Quatro; to  
my knowledge, during 1984, He  
vigited the priscn at wmight so  
that Inmates would not recog-  
nise bim. I might add that we  
had always bad the highest re-  
gard for Joe Slove who was  
head of special operations. The  
fact that he could associate  
bimself with the brutality . of  
oor impcisonment at Quatro  
came as a great shock to me. I  
was told by the warders of his  
vigitt and cecnli their boasting  
of bls belag ia their company.â\200\235

By whal fortaved reasoning  
can any person, even without

legal training, use this Bit of

hearsay pantomime to ground  
Douglas's conclusion that Joe  
Slovo saw for himself what  
was going on and clearly must  
have approved of it? But what

| e

y hears

Joe Slovo . .

is more disturbing is that Doug-  
las for good measure, and with-  
out the benefit of a single  
strand of even hearsay evi-  
dence placed before him, con-  
cludes that Slovo was seen vi-  
siting the prison camps other  
than Quatro.

What then is left of Douglas's  
conclusion in pursuit of  
truth? It is that I was the  
most powerful communist in  
the movement at the time. He  
places considerable reliance on  
a book he read and some chats  
with the author. The book is  
Comrades against Apartheid

by Stephen Elkis and Sechaba.

Douglas regards Stephen  
Ellis as a most reliable and  
knowledgeable expert on our  
exile history. It is common  
cause that Ellis had little, if

laws of natural justice must apply.

any, personal knowledge of the  
evils he describes and relies  
largely on his co-author who re-  
mains anonymous. There is no  
single identifiable source quot-  
ed in the book that (as Douglas  
averts) the ANC's security arm  
was operated by the SACP.

Also, why the selective  
quotes from Ellis's book which  
Douglas studied very careful-  
ly? Was it a printer's error  
that the following quote from  
Ellis's book was omitted from  
the report?

in the chapter dealing with  
allegations about the prison  
camps, Ellis has this to say.

â\200\234Joe Slovo, for example, although known to be a communist, remained popular with the

1â\200\234;; (1&. and file of the ANC and

Umkhofito "We Sizwe throughout these difficult times. No one questioned his commitment and no one doubted his personal integrity.â\200\235

To cap it all, listen to this  
geny: â\200\234There is also evidence that a top level delegation headed by Oliver Tambo which included Joe Slovo, Joe Modise, Casgios Make and Roanie Kasrils visited Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1978. The idea, 30 [ heard, to create Quaitro came from none other than Pol Pot who, 30 it is claimed, murdered some three million of his fellow Cambodians.â\200\235

The visit to Cambodia and Laos never took place. When we went to Vietnam (Kasrils was not there), it was in a state of war with Pol Pot. The dirty underwear of the commission is nowhere more visible than the way it throws in the smear about Pol Pot with words â\200\234so I heardâ\200\235. It is public knowledge that the ANC was the first to engage in an inquiry into whatever crimes may have been committed in its prison camps.

There â\200\234is no precedent anywhere in the world for a liberation movement to so openly unclothe itself. Unfortunately not only Douglas but also some sectors of the media have claimed that those responsible have not been identified, well knowing that a commission has been launched by the ANC to do this. In its first commission those mentioned had not had an opportunity to respond.

By what standard of fairness can the ANC be criticised for doing something which goes to the very root of our common law? The doctrine of audi alteram partem, to protect individual liberty by providing a

~fairâ\200\224hearing, was scandalouslyâ\200\224â\200\224 â\200\224 â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

evaded by Douglas and the

ANCâ\200\231s attempt to take the route  
of patural justice ls, to boot,  
also rubbished by his commis-  
ston. OO

PRRâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 -



A ol W APV MR R ST AR

S monoJAY 27 JANUARY 1993

' Aussie celebrations marred

{ MELROURNE â\200\224 Aus- land, an Aboriginal

tralla Day celebrations

- Feszerdâ\200\230ty were marred

by an Aboriginal protest

in one state and contro-

versy over speeches in

two others

January 26 commem-

raorates the arrival of

the first whites in Aus-

tralia, in 1788, to form &

convict settlement

At a ÂçeÃ©remony in the

Vietorian town of Port-

woman wrenched a flag

from a naval rating

In Brisbane an Ab-

original activist upset

whites by saying Austra-

lia Day was â\200\234the day the

nightmare beganâ\200\235

In Sydney, Aborigines |

were angered by New

South Wales Premier

Bob Carr saying whites

had brought civilisation

- Star Foreign Service



THI

Rules apply to all

By BOB DOUGLAS

R Slovo's emotionally

charged attack on my  
integrity does him no

credit. Rather he  
(should have explained why the  
ANC built a prison camp like  
Quatre in which it beat and  
tortured young recruits to  
death.

}

He should also have ex-  
plained why he's still commit-  
ted to Marxist principles when  
all reasonable people know that  
the application of such princi-  
ples brought about utter devasta-  
tion

Slovo was invited to deal  
with the allegations against  
him. On October 1 1992, I wrote

to the National Executive  
Committee of the ANC. Slovo is a  
member stating inter alia: "I  
am fully prepared to make de-  
tails of all the allegations as  
well as the background of your  
organisation who send  
me your letter and to give you the  
unity you may require of  
them

make myself available at your  
convenience to meet at  
any time between 7-30" and 230

In the circumstances it

(\_r;mrn- rensible to me that

3love can now claim that the  
:m{i{ alteram partem rule  
was not applied.

Slovo misses the poial about  
this responsibility and account.  
{ability for the crimes of the  
ANCâ\200\231s security arm (Mbokade)  
in exile. The fc LÃ«:mir:g i8cts are  
indisputable  
i@ The ANC in exile had a secu  
rity arm known as Mbokodo  
[(the boulder which crushes)  
Â® Mhokodo committed the most  
{appalling crimes against  
Umkhonte we Sizwe cadres in  
lexile (see the Amupesty Report  
jand the ANC's own report).

\ &y  
THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 27 JANUARY 1883

Bob Douglas . .

& Mbokodo was established and  
controlled by the South African  
Communist Party.

@ Slovo was Umkhonte we  
Sirwe chief of staff and a lead-  
ing member of the SACP at the  
time

Ia the light of the above, is  
Slovo really trying to say he did  
not know what kodo was  
doing? What does Slovo sav  
about President de Klerk's re-  
sponsibility and accountablility  
for the crimes of the South  
African security forces? He  
says De Klerk i to blame All ]  
have dona is apply the same  
rule of collective reÃ@sponsibility  
to him

Why does the ANC need an  
othÃ@r comunission to, identify  
those responsible for crimes?  
The ANC known exactly who  
they are and dozens of themn

have already been identified in

. no hint of apology has been shown,

the press (Weekly Mail). The ANC should boot the lot out and the sooner the better

In vain one searches Slova's statement for one hint of regret of what happened, for one hint of compassion for the shattered lives of the former inmates. It goes without saying that he hasn't bothered with my recommendation that they be compensated and evil doers punished

I feel sorry for Joe Slovo. His life's work lies in ruins. Communism is dead. He just does not have the moral courage to say: 'My God we were wrong' 'I'm sorry.' Douglas was invited to write a response to the same length as that of Slovo's article, but decided he could make his points in a shorter piece. O

s ST SR 200\224 200\224

- o - - . ,â\200\231-' . fâ\200\230  
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W ZToSDAY 27 JANUARY 1993

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Knller dlsease warning

GENEVA - Up to

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Sudan, cut off by Âcivil

400000 people could dje  
from an epidemnic of an  
Aids-like disease that has  
killed tens of thousands  
in Sudan, the UN health

agency warned yester-

da

â\200\230;he World Health Or-  
gamsatlon appealed for  
\$1 million ( million) to  
buy and transport dugs  
and materials to treat  
patients in the isolated

| area.

- The UN Childrenâ\200\231s  
Fund said in Nairobi on  
Friday that the disease,  
|- carried by sand flies, had  
killed 60000 in scumern

war from outside medi-  
cal help.

Kala azar, or viscera)  
lexshmanlasxs 18 spread  
by parasxte-mfected sand  
flies living in acacid for.  
ests along flooded rivers,  
The disease destroys the  
bod \$ immune system.

â\200\234If untreated 3N pa-  
tients with cnmcal  
symptoms will dxe 'f\*the  
agency said,

Clinical cases repre-  
sented only the \* Mp ol

the icebergâ\200\235, it said. The  
disease had already  
spread north and south.

~ Sapa- Reuter :