

16/1/20

Churches plan commission to end violence

MERCURY 26/07/91

JOHANNESBURG—A permanent peace commission and a national peace secretariat were likely to be set up in the wake of talks by participants of the National Peace Initiative, spearheaded by the country's ecumenical family.

A statement issued yesterday by the National Conference of Churches in South Africa said 'broad consensus' was reached on matters relating to the violence and the vital need for dialogue and urgent action, at a meeting of the preparatory committee held this week in Sandton.

'Work groups, which emerged from the June 22 peace meeting, reported in-depth feedback on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces; socio-economic development and implementation and monitoring mechanisms, to members of

the preparatory committee which included representatives of the ANC-led alliance, the IFP, the Government, business and religious leaders.'

The issues included a permanent peace commission, a national peace secretariat, local and regional dispute-resolving committees and socio-economic reconstruction.

The preparatory committee, which came into being as a result of delicate, shuttle diplomacy by business and churchmen, agreed that the working groups would finalise their reports and a consolidated document would be presented at the next preparatory meeting on August 14.

'It is envisaged that the preparatory committee will start consultations to create an inclusive process which will culminate in a binding agreement facilitating peace and stability in South Africa.' — (Sapa)

16/1/11

ANC starts peace drive

SOWETO 26/07/91

THE ANC yesterday launched a campaign to appeal to security force members to stand up for peace.

In a message to police and defence force members, the ANC said security force personnel should expose the "real terrorists" who perpetuate the violence.

It accused certain elements in the Government of breaking "their own laws and rules".

"It is time the truth is told. It is time responsible South Africans joined hands to promote peace and reconciliation," the message said.

It also accused Cabinet Ministers of doing different things in private to what they said in public.

"They train and deploy mercenaries to butcher people in coldblood. They supply weapons to these groups and create a situation of anarchy and instability in the country. They fund a party whose members are responsible for raids and murders against communities in the PWV and Natal.

Security forces

"This is not law and order. Even the basic principles of police and army professional work do not allow this."

Policemen and soldiers were also urged to join security force members who had already exposed the "perpetrators of violence".

The message called on the security forces to act impartially, respect people's right to free political activity, take action against illegal arms dealers and to "refuse to be used against the people".

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government on Wednesday repaid the R250 000 given to it by the South African Government to cover the cost of staging two political rallies.- *Sapa*.

CRISIS ADDS STUTTER TO PEACE TALKS

Daily News 26/7/91

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations — it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase — came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was voluble, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could only be expected once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party, in fact if not in name.

Conditions

In the event the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled.

ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horsetrading which would shape our future.

Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overreaching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously.

The scene was ready, and set. The "go" signal never came.

Exposed

Out of the blue, secret Government funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the startlingly ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President F.W. de Klerk has the will and the ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the ne-

Country waits to see if FW can extricate himself

Before July, South Africans were told real negotiations would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Daily News Correspondents **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **STANLEY UYS** try to pick their way through the rubble.

on the political survival of Mr Mandela, so an unsullied Mr de Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming president: it is seeking to exact a heavy tithe in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

The Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC).

Treacherous

For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous.

It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate". Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Then the planning talks for the MPC must be reactivated — the ANC has been refusing to participate since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity.

When this apex is reached, the MPC can begin, and lead eventually to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its "Patriotic Front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" — the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively).

Then the ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles.

Then it must reactivate MPC planning talks without losing face; and finally it must see through — as an observer — its ally the SA Communist Party's first in-

At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the MPC.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem.

The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this, and is without question the country's top political priority.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift — that is to say, harden or soften — their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC National Working Committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview with The Daily News's sister newspaper, The Star, only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government's thinking in some detail.

Benchmark

It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Mr Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks — it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about an eventual constitution-making body.

"If the Patriotic Front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the MPC together."

"If that is so, then one can expect another two or three months thereafter to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the MPC.

Further, he had this to say about the Govern-

ANC call for an interim government to supervise the transitional period: "We will probably have to find compromises," he said, "but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government. I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other."

"The idea of an interim government is not on as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing constitution. We can't do that — it will create a vacuum."

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week.

The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

Optimism

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC — only days ago Mr Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year — and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to "demote" Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive.

But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm — and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not when and how they will unfold.

16/1/11

The Citizen 26 July
1991

(2)

R100-m for anti-Swapo parties

Namibia parties funded

FROM PAGE 1

"And then Swapo won the election and we accepted that, we congratulated them and then we said the time had come to reconcile and look at Southern Africa in a wider spectrum and work for peace."

Mr Botha said South Africa's funding of the election campaigns of certain political parties did not subvert the UN-supervised peace process in Namibia.

Swapo, which now governs Namibia, had millions of rands at its disposal and South Africa had given possibly only one-tenth of that figure to other Namibian political groupings he added.

Namibia gained its independence on March 21 last year after more than two decades of bush fighting by Swapo's military wing against South African control of the country.

The Democratic Turn-

halle Alliance became the official opposition after the Namibian elections. Namibia's United Democratic Front won the third most votes in the elections.

The funding was approved by the Cabinet.

The money given to Namibian parties had not jeopardised the South African Government's relations with Swapo.

After Swapo won the election, "we went out of our way to help get Namibia on the road to recovery."

Mr Nico Basson, who worked as a major in South African military intelligence in Namibia during the election campaign, said after Mr Botha's remarks that Pretoria gave the anti-Swapo Democratic Turnhalle Alliance party R65 million during the campaign.

"What about (UN resolution) 435, what about the Namibian settlement agreement?" Mr Basson asked.

"They stipulated that Namibia's parties should be left to fight their own fight."

Namibia's transition to independence after seven decades of South African rule was governed by a United Nations-sponsored regional peace accord linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Also speaking in reaction to Mr Botha's comments, Mr Colin Eglin, a senior spokesman of the Democratic Party, said:

"It's totally against the spirit of 435 and the concept that South Africa was occupying a neutral position during an election period."

But Mr Eglin said the Namibian funding was less serious than the Inkatha scandal.

He called for the South African Government's secret accounts to be opened to scrutiny. The Namibian funding could be forgiven if there was total disclosure, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

16/1/11

ANC's sport leader hits out at national flag and anthem

D. NEW 26/07/91

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: It would be "outrageous" for a fully integrated South African team to march on to overseas sports grounds chanting the national anthem or waving the South African flag, ANC sports spokesman Steve Tshwete said this week.

Addressing a mass meeting called by the South African Tertiary Institutions Sports Council at the University of the Witwatersrand, he added it was important to get back into international sport "for the right reasons", and to address the twin problems of the flag and the anthem as neither were national symbols of the South African people.

He said it would be difficult to embrace the concept of non-racialism in the shadow of the "racist flag".

Earlier Mr Tshwete said to cheers that it had not been Mr de Klerk's initiative that had led to the scrapping of the apartheid laws, but the struggle that the State President and his su-

porters had sought to frustrate by all means at his command.

The present situation in sport was born of the struggle of the oppressed.

Also addressing the meeting, Sam Ramsamy, chairman of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa, also stressed it was vital that South Africa re-entered the international sporting fields for the right reasons.

This meant not merely facilitating established sport being re-admitted, but the inclusion of all South Africans.

"We want a programme that benefits the less privileged. We must address the iniquities of the past," he said.

Labelling as "saboteurs", those who wanted to benefit by re-admission without making any sacrifices to a united, non-racial situation he warned: "I have not come back to South Africa to lead only a section of the people into the world arena. I want all South Africa sportsmen there."

THE CITIZEN

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LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Your slobbish editorial

RE: Editorial on Inkatha scandal.

We are short of words to express our disgust at your slobbish editorial of July 24.

You must be ashamed of the fact that your editorial was not only at variance with almost all editorials of respectable newspapers in this country, but was also contrary to general public opinion and even the views of 45 percent of supporters of the National Party, according to a survey done today, July 24.

It is surprising that your newspaper, after congratulating President Bush for partially lifting sanctions, should find it appropriate to instruct him not to interfere in South Africa's affairs.

We find it striking that you don't feel that the US Government is interfering when they call for the release of political prisoners, the repeal of all security legislation and the

return of exiles in return for lifting of sanctions. We think it is outrageous for your newspaper to demand that the US administration stay out of the matter.

We had never imagined that, in your efforts to downplay the scandal, you would stoop so low as to make reference to the internationally-acclaimed Groote Schuur meeting, which took place under the scrutiny of millions of observers here and abroad.

The government must finance the return and settlement of former exiles because it is responsible for the tragedy of refugees and apartheid.

Moreover, sir none of the above two events and activities resulted or might result in the deaths of people and maiming of residents and innocent children.

The acceptance by the

government to meet with the ANC has not been as a result of the government's liking of the ANC, but due to the ANC's undisputed position as leader of the struggle for freedom and main protagonist of the South African state. The government is involved in devious schemes against the ANC because of this fact and nothing else.

It is for this reason that they are funding Inkatha, Umasa and other reactionary organisations and also using special units of the SADF to destabilise communities and kill people in trains.

Your attempt to deliberately exclude the SADF from the overall crisis and its implication in the killing of train commuters is remarkably apparent.

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY
ANC Youth League
Johannesburg

Preferable

THERE is a great deal of fuss going on, and political capital made, over the government donation to Inkatha.

I am quite sure that a lot of loyal South Africans like me, although they have no patience with the government, would infinitely prefer their hard-earned tax money to be spent in this way in preference to the vast sums squandered on the Transkei, with obvious inferences.

P H V WELLS

Cape Town

Reveal
all covert
projects

FOR once I am in complete accord with the SACC in that ALL covert activities should be disclosed.

Where I differ, however, is in the fact that I mean ALL covert activities, not only those of the government.

All covert activities should be disclosed of the SACC itself, the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, and indeed every front organisation for the Communist-backed organisations in this country, as well as those of the Right-wing organisations and the centrist organisations.

I have a shrewd suspicion that the one group that will come out with the cleanest record will be that of the Inkatha Freedom Party, else why are the Communist-backed organisations throwing the book at the IFP?

Could it be that it is clear that the IFP is gaining support from all those who are sick and tired of the intimidation they have suffered in the hands of the ANC and its allies?

GEORGE GRIFFINS

Sandton

Nothing but harm

I HAVE absolutely no objection to my tax money being utilised to assist Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha. In fact, I would willingly give more!

It was with a growing sense of outrage that I read the editorial of a national newspaper, which had the cheek to claim that it was speaking on behalf of "millions of moderate South Africans".

The editorial further made the observation that the country is at a standstill politically. Negotiation feeters, the next disaster could be the last one for this poor be-

littled country...

Naturally, according to this bit of "wisdom", the "disaster" has to be laid at the door of the government.

That the present furor about providing funds to Inkatha has achieved nothing but harm to the best interests of our country and all those who live in it is true.

We, the "moderate millions", are only too grimly aware that the righteous revelations serve only the vindictive purposes of a handful of grudge-bearing journalists, who don't give a fig for reconciliation, peace or democracy, and who

will be the first to run from the chaos they so diligently are helping to create.

It is time that these "investigative whizz kids" started realising that the "majority" that they so glibly claim to speak for and whose "right to know" they have appointed themselves to defend, are not impressed by their self-serving antics and we most certainly don't appreciate being associated with them or their publications!

ONE OF THE MILLIONS OF MODERATES

Pretoria

16/1/11

ANC warns of return to armed struggle

THE STAR 24/07/9

By Phil Molefe

The ANC could not rule out the possibility of a return to its traditional forms of struggle if the Government was not committed enough to negotiations, national chairman Oliver Tambo said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the opening session of the fourth annual conference of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, he said the union federation faced the challenge "to find ways to pre-empt this dreadful possibility without sacrificing our principled commitment to struggle until we win our freedom".

Mr Tambo (74) told the 2 524 delegates that the ANC was committed to a peaceful settlement.

"Pretoria does not as yet seem willing to match our commitment.

"Hence, in the light of Pretoria's reluctance or unwillingness to march in step with humanity, despite our wishes to the contrary, we cannot as yet rule out the possibility of a reversion to our more traditional forms of struggle."

Complicity

He said the continued loss of life in the townships was the most serious obstacle to a political settlement.

Mr Tambo said the Government's unconvincing dismissal of evidence pointing to complicity in the violence by elements within and outside it had left the ANC with no choice but to

conclude that the Government had a vested interest in the violence.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said South Africa needed a new constitution and a democratic constituent assembly.

The entire "apartheid Parliament" had to be dissolved without delay because it was implicated in the present political violence.

"The entire regime must be thrown into oblivion, never to rise again," Mr Makwetu said.

Cosatu president Elijah Barayi said the violence was cause for concern. "The religious and business leaders who have initiated a process to end the violence can count on our co-operation," he added.

ANC and violence in S Africa

From Mr N A Tomalin.

Sir, The ANC may try to blame Inkatha and the security forces for the violence in South Africa during the past five years, but your correspondent must know that this is not true. ("Buthelezi tries to shrug off scandal", July 23).

Up to March 1987 the recorded deaths of black people by burning - the method of intimidation encouraged by Mrs Mandela - numbered 660.

These were known and recorded deaths; no one knows how many went unrecorded.

And while people were being "necklaced" the ANC was receiving substantial financial support from many sources far exceeding any payments made by the South African government to Inkatha.

N A Tomalin,
Highfields,
Gussage All Saints,
Wimborne, Dorset

F.T. 29/7/91

Financial Times.

London

Page 12

26 July 1991

THE CITIZEN

False accusations blamed on media: SAP general

SOUTH Africa's police commissioner has attacked the media for "continued and unfounded attacks on the security forces".

In a statement yesterday Gen Johan van der Merwe dealt, in detail, with several incidents where he charged false accusations had been made by "certain organisations and individuals" and witnesses had failed to come forward.

He dealt, firstly, with the Inanda bus disaster in

Natal last year in which 25 people died.

According to Gen Van der Merwe's statement "False statements regarding police involvement were made by various organisations and individuals" and much negative publicity had been given to the matter.

A witness's statement that the bus driver had ac-

cused special constables of firing at the bus, changed under cross-examination.

The prosecutor also shed light on the fact that this witness was a member of the United Democratic Front and that he was previously involved in an incident with special constables.

A bullet hole in a window proved to be an old one, and postmortems of all those who had died in the incident, including the bus driver, showed not one bullet wound.

The court concluded the deaths were probably due to the bus driver's negligence.

Gen Van der Merwe's statement also dealt with investigations into allegations that members of the security forces were involved in train massacres.

Sgt Felix Ndimene, who made the allegations, had not been made available to the investigating officer, which seriously hampered police investigations.

But police investigations into the massacres had led to the arrest of 15 people and the seizure of weapons, Gen Van der Merwe said.

"All these cases will be brought to trial but what is significant at this stage is the fact that not a shred of evidence has been found to link any member of the South African Defence Force."

Referring to the massacre at the Erica Tavern in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle in July, Gen Van der Merwe said media reports claimed that the police have failed to investigate the matter properly.

In fact, a suspect had been arrested and two others were being sought.

"Another matter which

must now be finally clarified, is that of the Swanepville massacre of May 12, 1991, in which 28 people were killed and many others injured."

He said a "reign of terror was conducted against Zulu-speaking inhabitants of Swanepville."

"Ill-feeling developed and eventually resulted in an outbreak of violence between residents and hostel-dwellers in Swanepville."

"The SAP was not involved in creating this climate of violence or in the attack." — Sapa.

Back to step one as trust

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations — it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase — came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

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The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party — in fact, if not in name.

In the event, the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horse-trading which would shape our future.

Constitution Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was set.

The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Govern-

ment funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

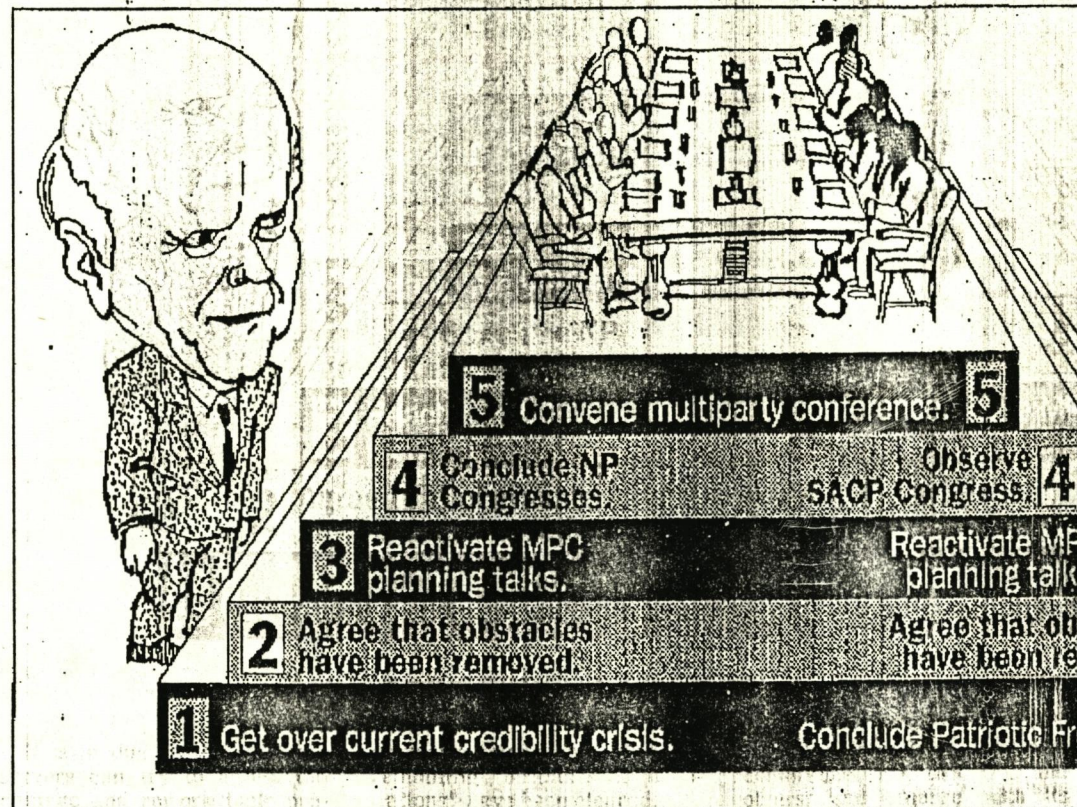
Before July, South Africans were told that real negotiations would get under way once the ANC's conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we appear to be back to square one. Star political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

ment funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so; just as much as the negotiations process relies on the political survival of Mr Mandela, so an unsullied Mr de Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy title in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.



It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC). For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate". Then it must compromise

to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Then the planning talks for the conference must be reactivated — the ANC has been refusing to take part since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the talks can begin and lead, eventually, to elections.

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conclude its "patriotic front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" — the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively.)

The ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. It must reactivate MPC

as trust takes knock



planning talks without losing face; and, finally, it must see through — as an observer — the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the conference.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift — that

is to say, harden or soften — their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC national working committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview with The Star only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government's thinking in some detail. It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Mr Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks — it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about a constitution-making body.

"If the patriotic front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the multiparty conference together. If that is so, one can expect another two or three months to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He belloved, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (NP, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the conference.

Further, Mr Meyer had this to say about the Government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government to super-

vise the transition period: "We will probably have to find compromises, but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government? I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other."

"The idea of an interim government is not on as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing Constitution. We can't do that — it would create a vacuum."

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week. The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC — only days ago Mr Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year — and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to "demote" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive. But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm — and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not predict when and how they will unfold. □

The Citizen 26 July 1991

Struggle at point of no return, says Tambo

Citizen Reporter

THE possibility of a reversion to more "traditional" forms of struggle against apartheid could not be ruled out yet, African National Congress national chairman, Mr Oliver Tambo, warned yesterday.

He was speaking at the Congress of South African Trade Union's (Cosatu) fourth national congress attended by 2,460 Cosatu delegates, representatives of trade unions from more than 20 countries and several diplomats.

Mr Tambo said a challenge which faced the conference in particular was to find ways to proceed "without sacrificing our principled commitment to struggle until we win our freedom".

He said the struggle against apartheid had advanced to a point of no return, as apartheid was continually compelled to retreat along an increasing number of important points.

However, although certain victories could be claimed, he said "returnees from exile and apartheid jails are not returning to freedom and despite the unbanning of our organisations, our people remain voteless."

He pointed out that "as a result of apartheid's impoverishment of our people over the decades, we are not today in the position to take meaning-

ful advantage of opportunities resulting from the repeal of the apartheid's racially restrictive laws".

People did not have the money to enable them to move around freely as they wanted to, to use public amenities of their preference or live in places of their choice, he said.

"Our people remain trapped at the worst end of the chronic housing, educational and social welfare crises that continue to afflict our country."

"Despite the disappearance of certain laws we remain in the majority economically enslaved," he said and called on the conference to address those realities.

In addition, the recent release of convicted criminals, including those who had committed violent crimes, would certainly fuel the violence, he said.

Mr Tambo said the possibility existed that the release of the criminals was to disguise the government's reluctance to release political prisoners by deliberately blurring the distinction between them and ordinary convicted criminals.

"Apartheid may be dying — it certainly seems to be doing so on paper, but on the ground, in practice, its proponents do not seem to be about to concede defeat."

Another speaker at the conference, Mr Clarence

Makwetu, president of the Pan Africanist Congress called on the whole cabinet to resign. "The whole apartheid Parliament must go without delay. The entire racist regime must give way."

"In order to rid the country of scandalous thieves in Parliament, the sooner we vote for a new government of our own, the better. Our country needs a new constitution, and whoever draws that constitution should have a mandate to do so."

Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosam, said in his presidential address at Cosam's fourth national congress in Johannesburg that the violence gripping South Africa was a challenge to the whole of the South African people.

"Whoever is behind this violence, given its timing, cannot have been motivated by any aim other than to stir up apprehension about the prospect of a new South Africa."

Mr Barayi said one of the biggest ironies of our time was that both the "racist regime and employers are beginning to talk about the need to end the poverty that afflicts millions of Black people and to reduce the racial disparities in income and wealth".

"Experience has shown that a secure economic, political and social future can only be built and be made to hold if the masses of the people feel that it is their own," he added.

The Citizen
 26 July 1991

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Still wrong

WE would rather the government admitted that giving R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies was wrong, even if its claim is true that the money was not for Inkatha as a political party — it was not a political party at the time — but to help in the campaign against sanctions.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has always been against sanctions.

Moreover, he has always been on public record as being against sanctions.

Therefore, it was not necessary to give Inkatha any money for the purpose of showing what everyone knew.

In any case, the rallies were not attended by sufficient numbers to make any impact.

The world was not going to pay any attention to what Inkatha said.

The only effective way to counter the ANC sanctions campaign was to do what State President De Klerk did in the end, and that was to do away with the apartheid laws and bring South Africa back into the community of nations.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was adamant yesterday that the State funding of the Inkatha rallies was not for political purposes.

"We funded the rallies because we expected there could have been a number of international media (present).

"Once Inkatha adopted an anti-sanctions stance, we said let us use the opportunity to show the world there are Blacks against sanctions."

The security police officer who asked for the money for Inkatha had a different version of why it was required, suggesting that it was needed to bolster Inkatha's waning image at the time.

But even assuming that Mr Botha's explanation is correct, we doubt whether there was any real justification for financing the rallies. Mr Botha's statement that about R80 million was spent on the anti-sanctions campaign over the past five years will come as a surprise to many people.

We accept that it was necessary to fight sanctions.

They were doing his country and its people, especially Blacks, a tremendous amount of harm.

Although sanctions did not bring this country to its knees, and we managed to circumvent them by under-the-counter sales of our products and minerals, the fact is that the economy was stunted, not enough jobs could be created for people coming on to, or already in, the labour market, and the clampdown on loans and credits had serious effects — and still has.

It would have been remiss of the government if it had sat back and done nothing.

In that context, R80 million over five years is not excessive.

However, while the spending of this money can be justified, it is how the money was spent that is important.

It would be reassuring to know that the money went on projects that really helped to counter sanctions, to create a climate of opinion against these curbs, to keep sanctions from being extended, or hopefully to help get some of the curbs lifted.

The payment to Inkatha is not one of these projects, since it was (a) a waste and (b) could compromise both Inkatha and the government, which is exactly what happened.

Mr Botha's bland assurances will not bring the controversy to an end, but will only add fuel to the fires set by those who believe that the government was helping Inkatha.

There are going to be more revelations about the use of secret funds — Mr Botha's disclosure, for instance, that the government funded anti-Swapo parties in Namibia to the tune of R100 million — that the government is going to have to explain to a sceptical country.

It had better get its act — and its story — together in a convincing manner.

As the Info scandal showed, there is no way out unless those responsible for the payment of secret funds can justify their actions and can show that at all times what they did was above board and in the interests of the country.

The Citizen 26 July 1991

General denies media reports

DURBAN. — KwaZulu police commissioner Maj-Gen Jac Buchner yesterday refuted media reports that he had played a "pivotal role" in the secret operations of the South African security forces over the past decade.

Gen Buchner was responding to media reports in which former self-confessed hit-squad leader, Capt Dirk Coetzee, alleged the KZP Commissioner had been involved in planning attacks from

South Africa into Maputo, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

"I deny I played a pivotal role in secret operations. I was a member of the security branch and my task was intelligence gathering," he said telephonically from Ulundi yesterday.

Gen Buchner said he had been involved in operations into Maputo and Lesotho only, and added that his involvement had not been secret. — Sapa.

The Citizen 26 July 1991

R1,5-m was paid to union: Govt audit

Citizen Reporter

THE Auditor General Mr Peter Wronsley, said in Pretoria yesterday the government had paid the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), R1 549 135,12 since September 1987 out of the Secret Services Account and that an audit by his Department had found no irregularities in the grant.

UWUSA was formed in 1986 as an alternative to Cosam and has been linked to Inkatha, although Inkatha has since denied any links with the trade union.

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said on Sunday night his Department had secretly been funding UWUSA as well as Inkatha.

Yesterday Mr Wronsley said his Department had audited all the payments to UWUSA since the 1987-88 financial year, until the cessation of the project in the 1991-92 financial year, and could find no irregularities.

He said the money was transferred from the Secret Services Account to a special account operated by the South African Police which is "Utilised for such services of a confidential nature as the Minister of Law and Order may approve as being in the national interest, and for expenses connected with such services".

The first requisition to transfer funds from the Secret Services Account to the SAP's special ac-

count was approved by Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis on January 22, 1987.

The first approval for the funding of UWUSA from the Special Account was sought by the Commissioner of Police on September 1, 1987, and was approved by Mr Du Plessis on September 18, 1987.

"Similar approvals were sought and furnished in respect of subsequent financial years. The relevant approvals have been verified by audit and found to be in order," said Mr Wronsley.

He stressed that an audit did not question government policy, and criticism levelled at how such funds are used should be directed at politicians.

The Citizen

Friday 26 July 1991

SAP probe theft of secret papers

THE SA police have launched an intensive investigation into the theft of top secret documents which revealed covert government funding of Inkatha.

This was confirmed by Law and Order spokesman Colonel Steve Van Rooyen yesterday.

He said the investigation was essential as the leak had included the theft of secret information which could not be allowed. The Department could not risk the possible leakage of more important documents which could involve national security.

"We are not investigating the matter with a view to covering up information — but because there has been a breach of security."

Col Van Rooyen refused to comment on the nature or number of

the missing documents. He would also not say who had access to the files or whether there had been any breakthrough in the investigation.

The so-called "Inkathagate" scandal was first revealed by the Weekly Mail newspaper last week after it had gained access to the documents.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, a legal adviser and a member of the former security police met Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber on Tuesday to discuss the reports.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber yesterday confirmed the meeting with the police.

Mr Harber and the Weekly Mail's lawyer Mr David Dison met three senior police officers and an SAP lawyer

on Tuesday.

"The police asked us to hand over the documents saying they were investigating a case under the Protection of Information Act.

"We said none of the documents fell within the terms of that Act.

"We sought assurances from them to the effect they would not prevent us from publishing or harassing us or our reporters in any way. The police declined to give those assurances, so we declined to give the documents.

"It would be terribly sad if the police pursued vindictively the person who had done the country such a service by bringing this matter into the open rather than those who had secretly abused the taxpayers' money. These are the real criminals," Mr Harber said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 26 July 1991

Expose 'real terros', ANC tells forces

A CAMPAIGN appealing to security force members to "stand up for peace" was yesterday launched by the African National Congress.

In a message to SAP and SADF members, the ANC said security force personnel should expose the "real terrorists".

The ANC accused certain elements in the government of breaking "their own laws and rules".

Conspiracy

"There is a conspiracy among the highest echelons of government to sabotage negotiations. They are determined to drown the peace process in blood.

"It is time the truth is told. It is time responsible South Africans joined

hands to promote peace and reconciliation," the message said.

Government Ministers were accused in the statement of doing different things in private to what was said in public.

Butcher

"They train and deploy mercenaries to butcher people in cold blood. They supply weapons to these groups and create a situation of anarchy and instability in the country. They fund a party whose members are responsible for raids and murders against communities in the PWV and Natal.

"This is not law and order.

"Even the basic principles of police and army professional work do not allow this."

Police and soldiers were also urged to join security force members who have already exposed the "perpetrators of violence".

Media

"Join them. Pass on information to responsible institutions and personalities: the media, human rights groups, lawyers and others.

"Soon, an independent multi-party commission is to be set up for this purpose. Expose the saboteurs: the real terrorists," the ANC exhorted.

The message called on the security forces to act impartially, respect people's right to free political activity, to take action against illegal arms dealers and to "refuse to be used against the people". — Sapa

The Citizen 26 July 1991

Stop police funding of parties — UK

CAMBRIDGE. — The British Government last night strongly urged State President De Klerk to nullify the main threats now to South Africa's future, which it said were coming from the extreme Left and Right within the country.

Police funding of political parties in South Africa must stop, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker said in Cambridge.

Mr De Klerk also had to ensure the police and security forces upheld the law totally impartially, she said on the opening night of a UK-SA "dialogue" conference being attended by leading politicians, academics and

analysts from both countries.

Commenting on the recent reports of SA Government funding of Inkatha and other parties opposed to sanctions, she said: "The main threats to South Africa's future now comes mainly from those in South Africa, on the extreme Left and extreme Right, who want to use violence or other unacceptable means to impose political control or advance their own ends. Their efforts have to be nullified."

"President De Klerk has a heavy responsibility and a difficult task.

"He must ensure that the police and other security forces uphold the law totally impartially. There must be no more police funding of political

parties."

The comments by Mrs Chalker — an ardent supporter of Mr De Klerk's reforms — were a clear indication the British Government is increasingly concerned at the further revelations involving secret SA Government funding of political parties and groups.

Whitehall sources said the British Government did not want to interfere or prescribe to Mr De Klerk what to do.

Britain's primary concern was that all parties continued the process towards peaceful constitutional negotiations, and that Mr De Klerk was expected, for his part, to take the "correct steps" towards this end. — Sapa.

The Citizen 26 July 1991

DTA: No apology

WINDHOEK — Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said the disclosure yesterday that South Africa contributed to the DTA's election campaign "relieves me and the DTA of the burden of having to keep something secret which to our thinking need not be kept secret".

The DTA, Namibia's main opposition political party, was named by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha as one of se-

ven parties to have received over R100 million to fight Swapo — now the ruling party — in the 1990 independence elections.

"Many countries and organisations support political parties openly," Mr Mudge said.

"The US openly supports Unita, and Swapo fought an election campaign with funds donated by several governments. The United Nations organisation also openly admitted that it supported Swapo."

The DTA had approached various governments, foundations, organisations, compan-

ies and individuals over the past 10 years for funds.

"In those cases where donations could be identified we respected their wishes not to be exposed (including South Africa)," he added.

"The DTA refuses to apologise for receiving financial support from donors wherever they might be."

"We could not oppose Swapo without money while Swapo had millions," Mr Mudge said. "Swapo does not have the monopoly to raise funds outside the country." —Sapa

The Argus 26 July 1991

'Vlok didn't lie'

By Tony Stirling
and Sapa

THE Ministry of Law and Order last night denied an allegation by the Weekly Mail that

Mr Adriaan Vlok lied when he said that funds given to Inkatha and its trade union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa had been properly accounted for.

A spokesman pointed to reports of the Auditor-General, Mr. Peter Wronsley, in respect of payments to both Inkatha and Uwusa, indicating there had been no irregularities.

It was further confirmed that in relation to Uwusa, where payments involving R1,6 million have taken place over the past five years, receipts for payments to sponsor events such as rallies, as well as items funded on a monthly basis, such as offices, cars and telephones, had been given to the Auditor-General.

It is believed that the Auditor-General has prepared statements for the government on all expenditure fed from the government Special Account in case of query in the current crisis.

The Weekly Mail will allege today that Mr Vlok lied when he said on television last Sunday that "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for.

Secret police documents in the hands of the newspaper showed Mr Vlok had been so worried about the money given to Inkatha's union and the

United Workers' Union of South Africa, that he asked for an internal inquiry, the newspaper's editor, Mr Anton Harber, said yesterday evening.

This inquiry found that Uwusa had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said.

Other allegations in the Weekly Mail today are that:

- Five Inkatha men knew of the police funding for Inkatha and Uwusa;
- Uwusa was not only funded by the government, but was a joint project launched by the police and Inkatha;
- African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's famous "throw your weapons in the sea" speech was impeded by the security police;

The Citizen 26 July 1991

23 held for train, other attacks

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, announced yesterday that 23 people had been arrested and arms seized by police in connection with train attacks and recent massacres in townships near Johannesburg.

Gen Van der Merwe said in a statement 15 people had been arrested in connection with train attacks at Jeppe, Benrose and Kliptown railway stations in which scores of commuters were killed.

Seven people were in custody suspected of having taken part in an attack on Swanieville squatter camp recently. About 30 people were killed when a rampaging mob swept through the settlement.

Gen Van der Merwe

TO PAGE 2

THE CITIZEN

23 are held

FROM PAGE 1

said one man had been arrested by officers investigating the Sebokeng tavern massacre earlier this month. Four people were killed when attackers stormed the beerhall and sprayed gunfire at patrons.

The police chief said investigations had not unearthed evidence of security force involvement in these killings.

In the beerhall attack in Sebokeng, assailants had been seeking a man apparently to settle a score, Gen Van der Merwe said.

"According to information gleaned thus far, the attackers were allegedly after a specific individual who was seen in the tavern at the time," he said.

He said "ill-feeling" had erupted into violence at Swanieville between squatters and hostel inmates.

"The SA Police was not involved in creating this climate of violence or in the attack," he added.

Gen Van der Merwe's announcement yesterday came in the wake of allegations by former Sergeant Felix Ndimeane who has claimed special SADF units had been responsible for the train attacks and the violence that swept the Transvaal in the past 10 months.

Recent reports say Angolans, Mozambicans and Zaireans had been recruited by the units for the attacks.

Gen Van der Merwe said investigations into the allegations had been hampered by the "disappearance" of the former

sergeant. — Sapa.

• See Page 12.

Agenda presenter, PENNY SMYTHE, chairs yesterday's media conference at which Foreign Minister Pik Botha was questioned about the government's R250 000 payment to Inkatha for two rallies. The conference was screened last night on Agenda.



Oh dear, Mr Vlok, you lied

You said on television that 'each and every cent' of the covert funding had been accounted for. Today we publish evidence that you were so worried about missing money that your department launched a secret investigation ... which failed to trace the cash.

Weekly Mail
26 July - 1 August
1991

A defiant Botha would fund Inkatha again

PIK BOTHA, the South African Foreign Minister, was yesterday defiant, unrepentant and aggressive. He refused to apologise for the government's secret funding of Inkatha and said he would do it again if given the chance.

"I refuse to admit that I financed Inkatha for political purposes," he told a nationally televised press conference, rejecting any link between funding Inkatha and the violence that has pitted the Zulu-based movement against Nelson Mandela's rival African National Congress.

Yes, he said, he had paid out 250,000 rands (£50,000) for two Inkatha rallies in November 1989 and March 1990, but he did it to "let the world see that there are black people opposing sanctions". The funding in no way promoted Inkatha, he added. It was solely to pay for food, banners and chairs.

"If I do it again I will do it again exactly like this. I don't feel sorry for it, and I'm not going to apologise for it."

He, however, did admit the government's image had been damaged, and he was at pains to deny that President F W de Klerk had any knowledge of funding for Inkatha. Still, he said there was nothing to apologise for because the ANC received funds from overseas which "they used to burn people with petrol and tyres".

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

Despite Mr Botha's attempt to blast his way out the scandal, new disclosures were at hand yesterday of security police efforts to undermine support for the ANC and evidence that large sums of money given covertly to an Inkatha affiliated union were unaccounted for.

Johannesburg's *Weekly Mail*, which first printed the secret police memo that started the "Inkathagate" scandal and threw the government into crisis, is to publish more confidential police documents today that reveal the Inkatha trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), kept no financial records and is unable to account for the 1.5m Rand secretly channelled to it over the past six years.

On Sunday, the Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok admitted that the police passed the money to UWUSA but insisted that "every cent" was accounted for. Secret police documents show that he was so concerned about the fate of the cash that he ordered an internal inquiry that established that it could not be traced.

The Government is also expected to be hit with evidence of security police collusion after Nelson Mandela's release with a con-

servative students' union to counter anti-apartheid groups. The security police are also alleged to have organised disruption of speeches by Mr Mandela.

Mr Botha persistently avoided the central issue of links between the security services and Inkatha, and evidence of their joint participation in violent attacks on the ANC. However, he slipped when he tried to assert that the funds had been provided at a time when the ANC and Inkatha were not in confrontation. At the time of the first rally, November 1989, 2,000 people had died in Natal in political violence.

Asked why the government had allocated more toward covert activities this year than in any of the past five years, Mr Botha yesterday said it was to cover expenditure on "ordinary administrative matters, like desks, like rental for offices, etc".

■ LONDON — Britain is profoundly anxious about the situation in South Africa and yesterday John Major took the extraordinary step of sending President de Klerk a message expressing his concern, writes Richard Dowden. At the same time Lynda Chalker, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, telephoned Mr Mandela to express concern and urge him not to abandon his commitment to negotiate with Pretoria.

26/11/90
Independent

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including "LONDON" and "26/11/90".

Liberation movement gets good mileage out of Inkathagate scandal

ANC seeks allies to back its call for interim government

Phillip van Niekirk
in Johannesburg

THE Inkathagate disclosures have given fresh impetus to African National Congress calls for an interim government to be established in South Africa.

The scandal has given the political initiative back to the ANC, which is trying to create an alliance of all anti-apartheid forces to back its demand for an interim government.

"We are now going to dictate terms on the national political scene," a senior ANC official, Patrick Lekota, said yesterday.

Far from using the scandal to slow negotiations, the ANC's officials are pushing for the all-party congress, the launching pad for negotiations, as soon as possible.

The newly elected 26-member national working committee of the ANC issued six key de-

mands this week, including the dismissal of the defence minister, Magnus Malan, and the law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok; a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in township violence; and the opening to public scrutiny of the government's slush fund of nearly £100 million.

If President F. W. de Klerk does not go some way to meeting those demands when he addresses the country on the crisis next Tuesday, there will be strong pressure from within the ANC to break off all contact with the government. An emergency meeting of the ANC's full 90-member national executive committee has been called for next Wednesday.

"The situation has become very urgent," Mr Lekota said. "We in the ANC don't see how we can seriously discuss things with the government until a formula is established that en-

joys the confidence of all. We are going to push for an interim government now.

"The original demand that there should be an interim government was predicated on precisely the fact that the National Party would use its monopoly of power to influence the political process. They have been doing precisely that by funding Inkatha, attempting to turn it into a colossus."

Mr Lekota pointed out that at the same time as the government was funding Inkatha, other homeland leaders — such as General Bantu Holomisa in the Transkei — who took a positive attitude to the ANC were having their funds cut off.

ANC officials say that they are trying to unite all "democratically minded organisations", including white liberal parties such as the Democratic Party, and the black homeland leaders, around the demand for an interim government.

The ANC is offering a general amnesty to those that have participated in township violence and other atrocities if the government encourages them to come clean.

"Let the government guarantee absolute security from harassment and victimisation for those who come forward and tell the nation what's been taking place," Mr Lekota said. "Let them make this offer. The country needs to begin with a new slate."

In contrast to the ANC, Inkatha is facing its most serious crisis and its rank-and-file members expect more resignations, this time from the KwaZulu cabinet.

With a senior assistant gone in disgrace, an internal investigation about covert police funding due to start, and the reputation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as an independent anti-apartheid leader in tatters, Inkatha's morale is low.

Police manipulated student group

Official documents show how agents worked with rightwing youths, Foreign Staff report

SOUTH African government agents tried to manipulate rightwing student organisations in order to counter anti-apartheid student bodies, security police documents obtained by the Guardian show.

According to the documents, the authorities ran Project Jackal, which existed between December 1980 and sometime the following year and included a scheme called Operation Aristotle.

The aim of Operation Aristotle was to manipulate the country's National Students' Federation (NSF), to build links between it and the Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and to counter the activities of the more leftwing National Union of South African Students, Nusas.

On the heels of the Guardian's disclosures about how police donated funds to Inkatha and effectively ran a trade union closely allied with it, the documents suggest that the policy of agents working with Inkatha and

others to prop up apartheid was a comprehensive one.

According to the documents, the NSF was well aware it was being used as a tool of the government, and even requested a code name be applied to it to protect it from exposure.

The documents describe how police instructions were handed out to students given code names, for example, "Source N834 (formerly NG 1306)".

The NSF chairman, Francois Rabe, yesterday denied the allegations. "I assure you it's not true," he told the Johannesburg Weekly Mail.

The documents disclose that local officials of the NSF met police regularly to discuss action.

They plotted together to form a rightwing umbrella body to counter the success of the Mass Democratic Movement, a broad-based organisation formed to campaign against apartheid prior to the un-banning of the African National Congress.

In one case, NSF students working with the security police were instructed by an police officer in Durban to contact the Inkatha Youth Brigade with a view to forming an alliance. The order was apparently carried out, a police report makes clear.

"Contact between the source and the Inkatha member was good and suggested that such an alliance was inevitable," it says. The report discloses that the NSF student "persisted to maintain contact with Inkatha and subsequently met them on numerous occasions".

The security police drew up a programme for the students to carry out in 1990. Police were particularly anxious that the NSF undertake what were called humanitarian activities, to improve its image and promote a "human face". The students were to launch a community project "aimed at attempting to bring relief to violence-stricken areas outside Durban".

But the report goes on to say that the "real aim" of the project was "to gain coverage by the Daily News and Natal Mercury ... Such a community group will serve

as a platform from which to recruit the 'do-gooders' of the campus into their group."

The police and their student co-conspirators planned to engage in debate with the Anglo-American director, Clom Sunter, and what the report described as "two persons who pursue the socialist tradition". In this way, the NSF would "gain publicity as being particularly 'open minded' persons who promote freedom of speech".

The police were apparently well satisfied with the progress of Operation Aristotle. One document refers to the "remarkable capability and commitment" of the students. It notes that the operation at both local and national level "is enjoying success".

The actions of the police in relation to the NSF mirror the activities of the Bureau of State Security (Boss), now known as the National Intelligence Service. In 1980, Boss was discovered to have placed an agent, Craig Williamson, inside the Geneva-based International University Exchange Fund, where he worked as deputy director.

Botha admits anti-Swapo funding

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA'S "slush fund" scandal took a new twist yesterday when Mr Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, said Pretoria had given more than £20 million to political parties in Namibia.

The funds were provided in a failed attempt to stop the South West African People's Organisation from gaining power there, said Mr Botha.

Up to now, South Africa has denied making such payments. Anti-Pretoria activists say the funding contravened a United Nations-sponsored plan for Namibian independence last year.

Mr Botha made the admis-

sion at a press conference he called to discuss the scandal over the secret funds Pretoria provided for the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom party, rivals of the African National Congress.

He refused to apologise for the Inkatha funding. The affair has placed the government's peace talks with the ANC in jeopardy.

On Namibia, Mr Botha said: "Yes, the South African government provided funds to a number of Namibian parties in the 1989 election campaign.... The Cabinet

approved it." Seven parties received funds, he said, but he declined to name them and denied that Namibia's independence process had been subverted.

"We were against Swapo. At times we were at war with Swapo," he said.

The Left-wing Swapo, which fought a 23-year guerrilla war against South African rule in Namibia, won the elections and formed the first independence government.

But the movement failed to secure the two-thirds parliamentary majority required to be able to impose its own constitution.

Mr Botha defended the Inkatha cash, saying it was not for political purposes but to help Inkatha show the world there were blacks in South Africa opposed to sanctions.

He said: "I'm not sorry about it. Given those same circumstances I would do the same thing."

"If the ANC came to me and said they were going to organise an anti-sanctions rally I would give them the same funds, possibly a lot more."

He made clear that no minister intended to resign over the issue and that the govern-

ment intended to face down the furore "and continue just as we are." Mr Botha said he thought it "grossly unjust" that the government was being judged now for what it had done in totally different circumstances 18 months ago.

He said he and his department had been given the responsibility of circumventing sanctions and, where possible preventing them.

To this end, he had authorised payments from a special state fund to provide assistance, such as transport, banners, posters, chairs, portable toilets and soft drinks, for two Inkatha rallies in November 1989 and March last year.

The ANC later criticised Mr Botha's "cavalier" attitude, saying: "Clearly he does not understand the central issue. That is that the government has tried to subvert the democratic process with the use of secret funds."

● South African police said a "number of Inkatha members" had been arrested in connection with a series of attacks in which more than 60 blacks have been killed on commuter trains in the Soweto area in the past year.

In the latest attack, on Wednesday night, 20 armed men killed a woman and injured 14 people.

ALLIANCE + LEICESTER

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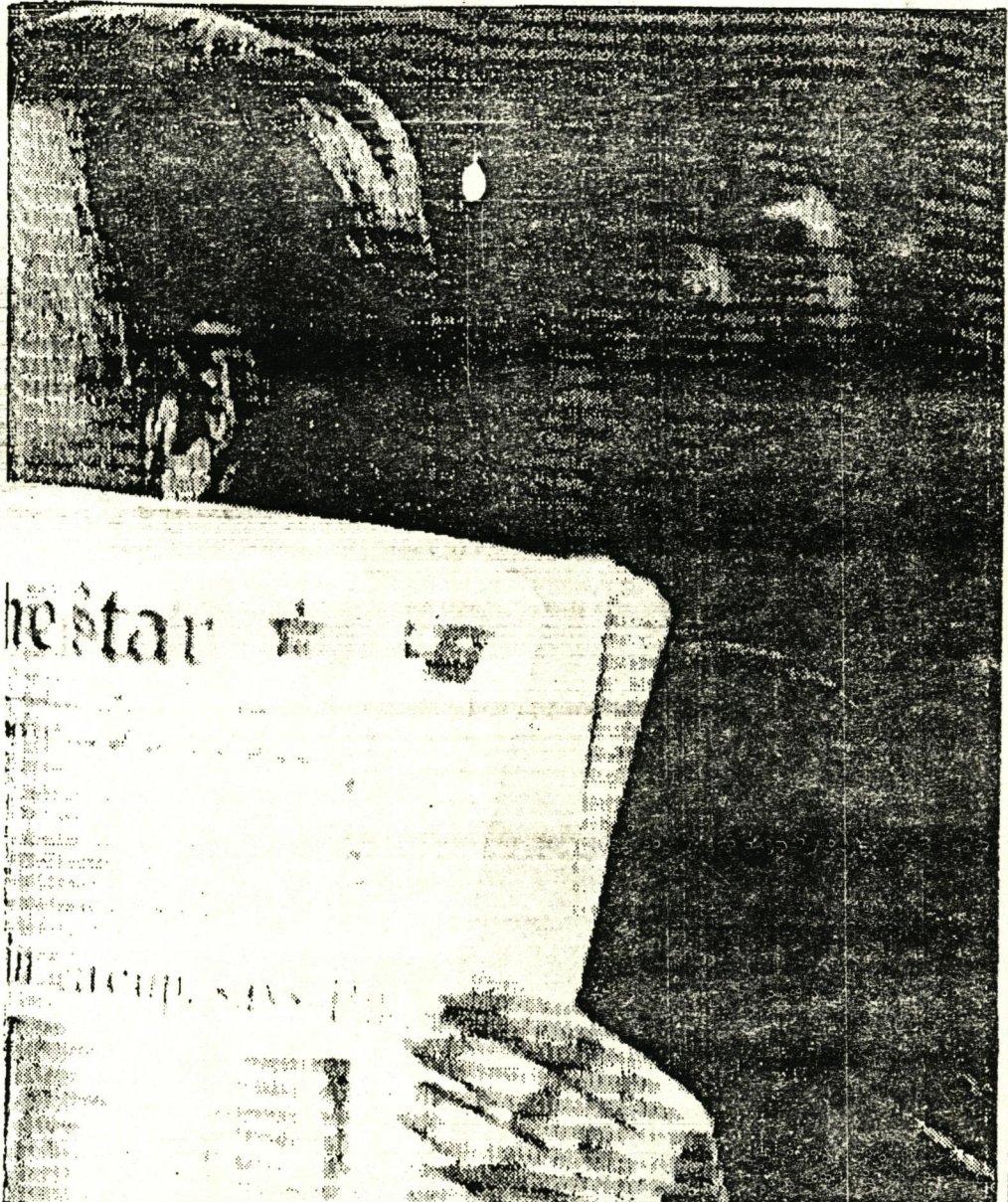
Balances £25,000-£49,999

Annual Interest 11.50% Gross

Plans were announced which have a bloody history fighting that is rapidly turn-

DAILY TELEGRAPH London
26/4/91

g anti-Swapo parties



He speaks on a TV programme about state funding of Inkatha

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP LITTLETON

The document notes that Mr Buthelezi and the minister of justice, Mr Mtshwa, had asked that "thanks and great appreciation for the amount [£20,000] should be extended to those involved in procuring the funds."

Mr Sithabe is cited in several documents as being consulted by police on matters relating to the management of Uwasa.

A secret document from the department of law and order reveals that Mr Woods was asked to investigate Uwasa and prepared a secret report which was put to the KwaZulu government. Mr Woods yesterday denied he knew of the secret government funding of Inkatha.

The leader of Namibia's opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Derk Mudge, admitted last night that his party had received money from the South

African government. "There's nothing wrong with getting money from other countries," he said. "Swapo also received money from other countries. It's history now and I think nobody can complain."

Pretoria had always denied providing such funding, which could violate a United Nations-brokered plan for independence in 1990.

But Mr Botha told a news conference: "Yes, the South African government provided funds to a number of Namibian parties in the election campaign... the cabinet approved it... We were against Swapo, we were at times at war with Swapo."

He said seven unidentified organisations had been assisted "in a quiet way, in secret" with money for education and training

in democracy. He added without elaborating that Germany and the United States had given money too.

Nico Basson, who worked as a major for South African military intelligence in Namibia during the elections said in a statement: "Foreign minister Pik Botha's statement that just more than 100 million rand was spent by South Africa in Namibia in 1989 is also a half truth. Hundreds of millions were spent."

Police announced yesterday they had arrested 15 people in relation to train attacks that killed scores of commuters. A police colonel reportedly said on Wednesday all those arrested were Inkatha members.

Police manipulated student group, page 8

ment 1/19/91 26/7/91

Botha admits funding

Phillip van Niekerk
in Johannesburg

THE South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, last night admitted his government paid more than £20 million to at least seven political parties in the former colony of Namibia to oppose the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) in the run-up to elections in 1989.

Mr Botha made the fresh disclosures at a press conference called yesterday to answer questions on what has become known as the Inkathagate scandal. He justified the expenditure on the grounds that South Africa was at war with the liberation movement at the time.

The scandal was sparked by the disclosure last week of covert government funding to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Putting a brave face on the damage, which he admitted had "dented the credibility of the government", Mr Botha said: "My conscience is not bothered because I had to fight against sanctions, to get jobs for black people."

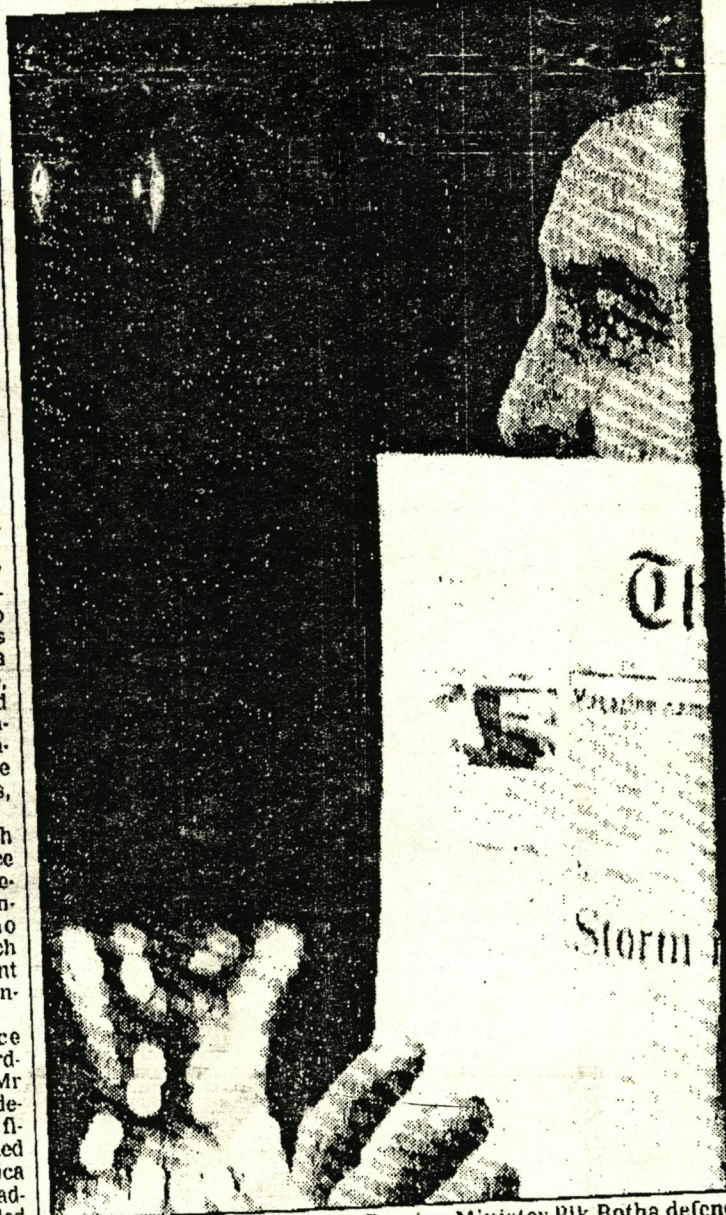
The government faces fresh embarrassment over evidence that directly contradicts a statement by the law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, who claimed last Sunday that "each and every cent" of money spent by the government in the scandal was accounted for.

Documentary evidence reported in yesterday's Guardian, which originated from Mr Vlok's own law and order department, showed that the financial affairs of the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — which Mr Vlok admitted the government funded to the extent of at least £300,000 — were in such a parlous state that a commission was ordered to investigate them.

Gavin Woods, the director of the Inkatha Institute, who was chosen to conduct the inquiry into Uwusa, said yesterday he was unable to investigate the union's financial affairs "because — and this will be borne out by the auditors of Uwusa — the books hadn't been done since inception, and there was no way I could reconcile their books or even their bank account."

"There were no books of account and half of their receipt books were lost," Mr Woods added. "There were no asset records of their vehicles and I just ran into a brick wall."

The Guardian disclosed yesterday that Uwusa, a key element in the scandal, was a joint security police and In-



Papering over the cracks... Foreign Minister Pik Botha defended

katha project. The commission was ordered because Mr Vlok was concerned about the huge debt burden that Uwusa had piled up, which "could possibly expose the involvement of the ministry of law and order" in the Uwusa project.

Leaked South African security police documents also appear to show that at least five Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) officials knew of the secret government funding to Inkatha projects, despite denials by the party leadership.

They are the president of the IFP, Chief Buthelezi; the minister of interior in the KwaZulu homeland, Stephen Sithebe; the minister of justice, the Rev Jeffrey Mketwa; Gavin Woods; and Mr Buthelezi's personal assistant, M. Z. Khumalo. Mr Khumalo is the only one to have

admitted responsibility. He resigned his position this week.

Chief Buthelezi has denied "that he spent one cent of government money on undermining the ANC". He said he did not know public money had been used to fund his rallies.

A top secret document dated November 19 and drawn up by Brigadier J. A. Steyn, deputy security police commissioner for Natal, includes the comment by Major Louis Botha of the Durban security police, on Chief Buthelezi's response to the payment by police to help fund an Inkatha rally on October 19, 1989.

"Chief Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was handed to him. He could not say thank you enough and said that he had not expected it."

Botha insists cash for Inkatha had no link to violence

FROM GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

THE South African government has firmly rejected charges that its covert funding of a conservative black organisation was politically motivated, saying it was aimed purely at combating sanctions.

R.F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, said in a televised debate last night that it was "a pity" that political violence in black townships was seen to be linked with the secret payments to the Inkatha Freedom party, but that Pretoria could not be held responsible for the strife.

A few hours earlier, however, it was learned that the attorney-general of Natal is investigating reports that a security policeman purchased 24 revolvers for Inkatha supporters, and that some of them were subsequently used in political murders.

Judicial sources said the investigation could yield the first documented evidence of police complicity in violence between Inkatha and supporters of the African National Congress, which has claimed

an estimated 5,000 lives in the past four years.

Defending the government before a sceptical studio audience of local and foreign media, Mr Botha said: "I refuse to admit that I funded Inkatha for political purposes ... no government department spent money on Inkatha so that Inkatha could destroy, or fight, or participate in violence," he said.

Insisting the aim had been to avert sanctions and minimise their effects, he said: "I pay tribute to my staff, and I pay tribute all South Africans who assisted us to circumvent sanctions, and if I had to do it again I would do it again." He admitted that "a series of extremely unfortunate, if not reprehensible, incidents" had tarnished the image of the police. "Certain individual incidents of police work gave rise to the suspicion that the police were indeed partial in taking sides in favour of Inkatha against the ANC ... the violence came to be linked up with the funding."

The minister said President de Klerk had not been aware of the Inkatha funding, "but the system did not require him to be aware". None of the substantive issues in the transition to multiracial democracy had been affected, and the government had done nothing to compromise the "new" South Africa, he said.

Mr Botha disclosed that Pretoria had secretly funded about seven political groups opposed to the South-West Africa People's Organisation in pre-independence elections in Namibia two years ago. "We were against Swapo, we were at war at times with Swapo ... and then Swapo won the election and we accepted that. We congratulated them and then we said the time had come to reconcile and work for peace."

● Havana: Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, began a three-day tour of Cuba yesterday with a warm personal welcome from President Castro. It was the first time the two men had met. (Reuters)



Forced move: a woman dragging away her belongings in a bag as municipal workers demolish shacks under police protection in the Ivory Park squatter settlement at Midrand, 19 miles north of Johannesburg, yesterday. Five people were hurt when the South African police opened fire with shotguns and rubber bullets to disperse a group of squatters, police said. The incident occurred near the Transvaal provincial

administration buildings where officials have been tearing down shacks since Tuesday. Police said that the squatters were armed with dangerous weapons. On Wednesday, police fired tear-gas and rubber bullets at squatters who tried to prevent municipal officials from destroying their shacks. The squatters had occupied a tract of land that has been earmarked for a housing project. (AFP)

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Friday 26 July 1991



THE INDEPENDENT

Threat to De Klerk as

Unless the South African government hangs together, its members may hang separately for colluding with Inkatha, writes Richard Dowden

WHEN PRESIDENT FW de Klerk takes the chair at Monday's State Security Council meeting he will be seeking way out of the worst mess his government has faced since it took office. And, for the first time since he released Nelson Mandela, his own political career is on the line.

Mr de Klerk's government stands accused of pursuing a two-track policy on race. On the one hand it has promised to build a "new South Africa" based on democracy and constructed by negotiation with the African National Congress (ANC). On the other hand it has been funding, arming and training the Inkatha movement to undermine the ANC. Last week the government admitted that it had funded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party but denied that it has helped organise the township killings. The admission about funding, however, has led to further revelations.

FW de Klerk, who has been in the South African cabinet since 1978, had a reputation for being on the right of the National Party when he was elected its leader in February 1989. He was expected to move slowly, if at all. But within a year he had moved rapidly and decisively.

5 January 1990: Walter Sisulu and other senior ANC members released.

8 February: Mr De Klerk unbanned the ANC and other political parties and promised to release Nelson Mandela. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has come, he said.

11 February: Mr Mandela released. Mr de Klerk set about removing apartheid laws: this year the last of them — the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act — were repealed. The world has hailed him as the saviour of South Africa — a man who had worked his way up through a narrow conservative establishment to emerge as an enlightened radical. Mr Mandela described him as a man of integrity and committed the ANC to creating a climate in which negotiations could take place.

4 May: The government and the ANC

met at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, and agreed "a common commitment towards resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations". They established a working group to define political offences and discuss timescales for the release of prisoners.

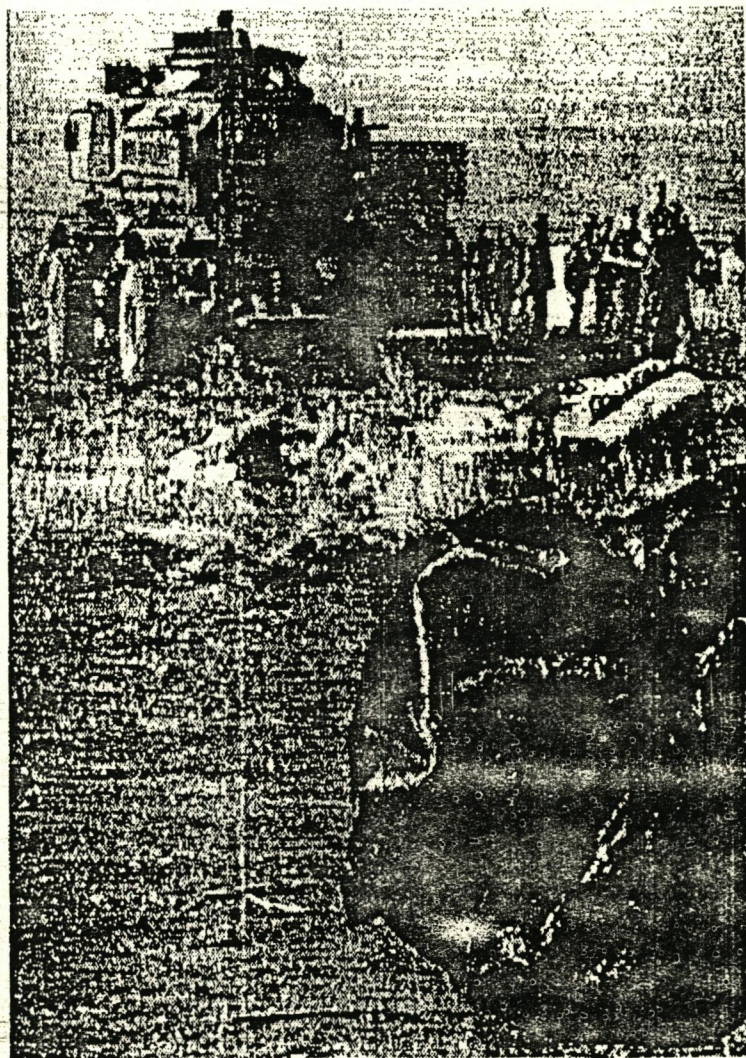
7 June: State of emergency lifted, except in Natal.

6 August: After a second meeting the two sides agreed the Pretoria Minute, which they described as "a milestone on the road to true peace". The ANC agreed to suspend armed actions and both sides expressed great concern about violence, intimidation and unrest, especially in Natal. "They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solved through negotiations."

But the violence continued — violence described by the government as "black on black", involving supporters of the ANC and the Zulu Inkatha movement. Between 22 July and 1 September last year, 600 people in townships around Johannesburg were killed. By October the violence had claimed the lives of 4,000 since it began in 1987.

Mr de Klerk joined Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi in decrying the violence but little was agreed in analysing its cause. Officially it remained "black on black violence". More and more people who had witnessed it in the townships became convinced that it was organised by Inkatha members and carried out by the Zulu inhabitants of the single-sex hostels. The police appeared to stand by and watch. Sometimes Zulus bearing "traditional weapons", such as clubs and spears, would rampage through non-Zulu areas killing and looting. There was also a more sinister type of attack — the sudden, apparently random massacres by disciplined groups carrying AK-47 assault rifles.

4 September: 42 died in Sebokeng



Conflict continues between the government and black people seeking a place to live in shacks in the Ivory Park squatter settlement in the Johannesburg area, leaving 11

when the army fired on ANC supporters in conflict with Inkatha members.

13 September: 26 killed in a planned attack on a commuter train near Johannesburg.

12 February 1991: 47 reported killed in Natal when a bus was ambushed.

27 March: 13 people died when Zulus attacked a funeral in Alexandra township.

31 March: 19 people died in clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal.

12 May: at Swanesville near Johan-

nesburg at least 27 died in a raid on Zulu hostel-dwellers.

The ANC consistently blamed the police and demanded that the government act to end the killings. It boycotted its meetings with Mr de Klerk but was forced to talk to Chief Buthelezi, thereby granting him a status it hoped to deny him. Evidence of collusion between the state and Inkatha was not easy to establish, however, and was vehemently denied by both.

Then on 10 June a former South Af-

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*** FOREIGN NEWS 11

Dirty deeds emerge



In the latest crackdown, municipal workers under police protection yesterday demolished a woman to drag away her belongings in a sack. Photograph: Greg Marinovich/AP

can Defence Force major, Nico Basson, said that the army had funded and given guns to Inkatha as part of a dirty tricks strategy. Soon after, others involved in killings in Natal spoke out and gave details of Defence Force involvement in fomenting violence in the townships. Last Friday *The Independent* and *The New Nation* of Johannesburg carried an interview with Felix Isaias Ndimene, a former Special Forces Sergeant who said he had been ordered to carry out the massacre on a Johannes-

burg commuter train last September. On the same day *The Weekly Mail* of Johannesburg and *The Guardian* carried documentary evidence that the government had channelled money to Inkatha. On Tuesday *The Independent* and the BBC carried more evidence that the security forces had planned and ordered attacks in the townships and had worked hand in glove with Inkatha. The government admitted it had funded Inkatha and on Monday the Auditor-General said that for the pay-

ments to be legal, the President would have had to know about them.

In South Africa the payments to Inkatha are giving the government a greater headache than the evidence of collaboration in plotting violence. This is partly because there is indisputable documentary evidence and the government has admitted it is true. Because of the "Muldergate" scandal in 1978, when the government was caught funding newspapers to peddle its propaganda, slush funds are a sensitive subject among the white South African electorate. In the long run, the allegations of collaboration in fomenting township violence are far more damaging.

The ANC has demanded the resignation of Adriaan Vlok, Minister for Law and Order, and Magnus Malan, the Defence Minister. But since it is clear that Mr de Klerk almost certainly knew about the payments, to sack them as scapegoats would be an admission of guilt which might backfire. If Mr de Klerk knew about the payments, the likelihood is that he knew about the collaboration between his security forces and Inkatha. If he did not, it was because he did not wish to know. Political observers conclude that either he turned a blind eye because it helped him politically, or he authorised it.

So the government must hang together or its members will hang separately. Mr Vlok and Mr Malan represent the security forces in cabinet. Were they to be sacked, Mr de Klerk might have difficulty holding that vital constituency within the government consensus. If they then abandoned the National Party and joined its rival, the Conservative Party, armed with the dirt on Mr de Klerk's government, Mr Malan and Mr Vlok could do immense, perhaps fatal damage.

If Mr de Klerk comes clean and tells the world about the relationship between the government and Inkatha, it may destroy Chief Buthelezi, perceived as a vital ally in the future, and may lose the President his reputation as "Mr Peace". His hope is that the ANC will recognise that there is no alternative to negotiations and will not boycott them indefinitely. Thus the storm will simply die away. It may be a vain wish. The evidence of the past week is that there are many people who have done the government's dirty deeds and are anxious to tell the world about them.

BEHIND THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

Police 'plotted with student body'

AFFILIATES of the National Students Federation, a right-wing body formed to counter the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), were effectively run last year by security police, according to official documents.

NSF local officials and police met regularly to discuss strategy, tactics and programmes of action for the organisation. The officials were given agents' code numbers by the police and acted on their orders.

They also plotted together:

- To form a right-wing umbrella body that would act as a counter to the Mass Democratic Movement.

- For the NSF or its affiliates to undertake humanitarian activities to improve its image.

NSF chairman Francois Rabe yesterday denied any links between the organisation and the police. "I assure you, it's not true," he said.

However, police documents show they ran what they called Project Jackal, under which fell an operation called Aristotle, in existence from December 1989 to 1990.

Secret documents detailing 'Operation Jackal' show security police interference in a right-wing students' organisation.
Weekly Mail reporter

NSF and some of its affiliates are repeatedly mentioned in the document, though there is a request from NSF for a code name to be used in order to protect it.

In the report to headquarters for this period, it is clear that NSF local officials have police code names. The police were handing out instructions, for example, to "Source N834 (formerly NQ1306)".

The NSF was instructed by Durban security policemen to make contact with the Inkatha Youth Brigade with the hope of building an alliance.

"Contact between the source and the Inkatha member was good and suggested that such an alliance was inevitable." There was, however, some opposition from within the NSF to this.

"However, on advice of this office he persisted to maintain contact with

Inkatha and subsequently met them on numerous occasions."

The security police report sets out the priority of the organisation for 1990: "not a major recruitment drive, but rather one of promoting a human face."

To do this, the organisation or its affiliates would launch a community project "aimed at attempting to bring relief to the violence-stricken areas outside Durban".

"The real aim," it said, "is to gain coverage by the *Daily News* and *Natal Mercury*."

"Such a community group will serve as a good platform from which to recruit the 'do-gooders' of the campus society into their group."

They also planned together to arrange a debate with Anglo American director Clem Sunter, a person from "Groundswell" and "two persons who pursue the socialist tradition".

Members would "gain publicity as being particularly 'open-minded' persons who promote freedom of speech". It would also help NSF members, since it was generally agreed that their members "are not politically mature enough to ensure vic-

tory against the experts within the ranks of the left in a debate".

The police and NSF local officials also plotted to counter the anti-conscription campaign on campuses by promoting the idea of a professional army rather than conscription.

Police handlers and their agents in the student movement planned "a workshop from 1990-03-02 to 1990-03-04 at suitable premises". The purpose was to assess the student organisation's failings and strengths and formulate initiatives and plans for the coming year.

The document adds that because of their agents' "remarkable capability and commitment ... maturity and solid understanding of the free market system and libertarianism", the "operation on a local level (and indeed nationally) is enjoying success".

Rabe yesterday denied that the organisation or its branches were run by the security police. "I have no knowledge of this," he said.

He said NSF had a normal working relationship with Inkatha in Durban. "We have a very good relationship with them," he said.

R100-M FOR ANTI-SWAPO PARTIES

(1)

The Citizen 26 July 1991

Pik: I won't resign

By Sapa and
Erik Larsen

STATE President De Klerk would most probably introduce legislation to plug loopholes in the administration of secret funds, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference televised late on SABC-TV's Agenda programme, he was adamant he would not resign over the scandal caused by the government funding of Inkatha.

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could have been a number of international media. Once Inkatha adopted an anti-sanctions stance, we said let us use the opportunity to show the world there are Black people against sanctions."

Mr. Botha said the

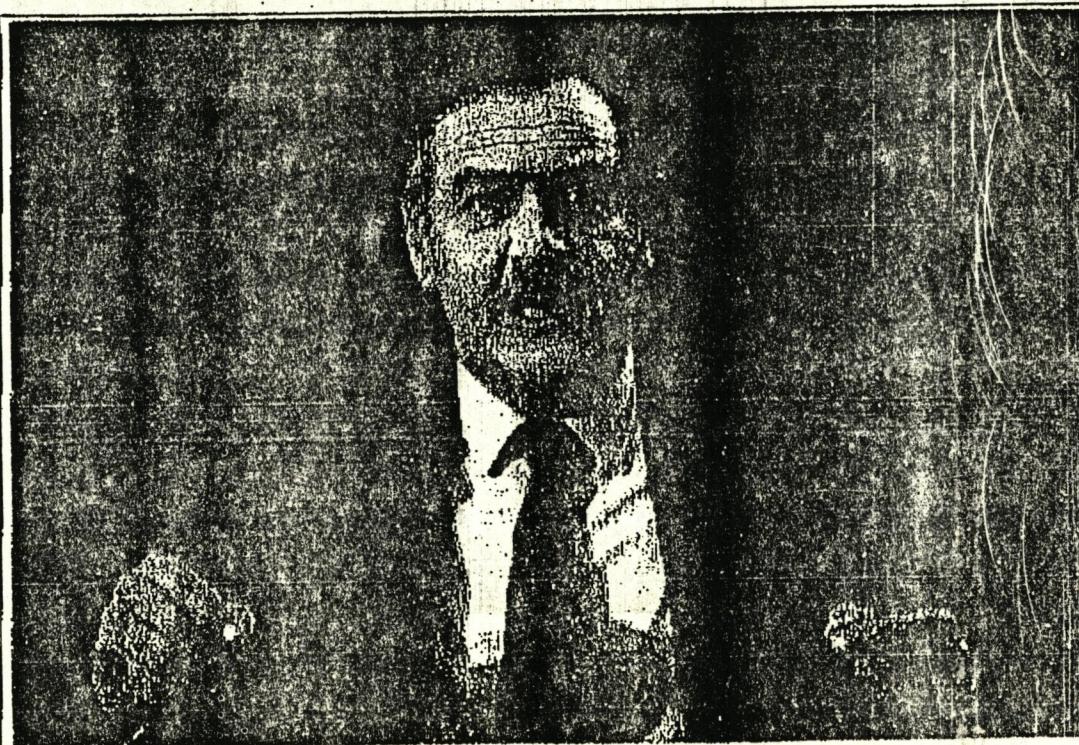
SOUTH Africa gave R100 million secretly to political parties opposed to Swapo in the Namibian pre-independence elections supervised by the United Nations. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha admitted in Johannesburg yesterday.

He also disclosed that the government had spent R80 million on its anti-sanctions campaign in the last five years.

He did not name the Namibian parties, but said he thought about seven political groupings benefited from the South African money.

"We were against Swapo, we were at war at the time with Swapo," Mr Botha told a media conference.

TO PAGE 2



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(2)

R100-m for anti-Swapo parties

Namibia parties funded

FROM PAGE 1

"And then Swapo won the election and we accepted that, we congratulated them and then we said the time had come to reconcile and look at Southern Africa in a wider spectrum and work for peace."

Mr Botha said South Africa's funding of the election campaigns of certain political parties did not subvert the UN-supervised peace process in Namibia.

Swapo, which now governs Namibia, had millions of rands at its disposal and South Africa had given possibly only one-tenth of that figure to other Namibian political groupings he added.

Namibia gained its independence on March 21 last year after more than two decades of bush fighting by Swapo's military wing against South African control of the country.

The Democratic Turn-

halle Alliance became the official opposition after the Namibian elections. Namibia's United Democratic Front won the third most votes in the elections.

The funding was approved by the Cabinet.

The money given to Namibian parties had not jeopardised the South African Government's relations with Swapo.

After Swapo won the election, "we went out of our way to help get Namibia on the road to recovery."

Mr Nico Basson, who worked as a major in South African military intelligence in Namibia during the election campaign, said after Mr Botha's remarks that Pretoria gave the anti-Swapo Democratic Turnhalle Alliance party R65 million during the campaign.

"What about (UN resolution) 435, what about the Namibian settlement agreement?" Mr Basson asked.

"They stipulated that Namibia's parties should be left to fight their own fight."

Namibia's transition to independence after seven decades of South African rule was governed by a United Nations-sponsored regional peace accord linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Also speaking in reaction to Mr Botha's comments, Mr Colin Eglin, a senior spokesman of the Democratic Party, said:

"It's totally against the spirit of 435 and the concept that South Africa was occupying a neutral position during an election period."

But Mr Eglin said the Namibian funding was less serious than the Inkatha scandal.

He called for the South African Government's secret accounts to be opened to scrutiny. The Namibian funding could be forgiven if there was total disclosure, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen 26 July 1991

Pik: I won't resign

By Sapa and
Erk Larsen

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Speaking at a Press conference televised late on SABC-TV's Agenda programme, he was adamant he would not resign over the scandal caused by the government funding of Inkatha.

The State funding of Inkatha was not for political purposes.

At the time the funds were channelled to Inkatha, South Africa was far from a phase where, by sanctions could be lifted.

"I refuse to admit I funded Inkatha for political purposes. We funded the rallies because we expected there

could have been a number of international media. Once Inkatha adopted an anti-sanctions stance, we said let us use the opportunity to show the world there are Black people against sanctions."

Mr Botha said the funding included training for democracy, food purchases, the hiring of chairs and similar items.

South Africa's Ambassador to France, Mr Marc Burger, was head of the department dealing with combating sanctions "but he did not control funds".

TO PAGE 2

FROM PAGE 1

"I pay tribute to Mr Burger... and to all South Africans who combated sanctions."

Mr Botha said Mr De Klerk had already cut back projects from secret funds while Mr Botha's department was not spending one tenth of the money it was spending 10 years ago.

"We are being judged in July 1991 on circumstances now prevailing. Some people seem to forget how cold the winter was now that summer is approaching and what we did to make the country survive that winter."

The Minister said about R80 million had been spent on the anti-sanctions campaign over the past five years.

Mr Botha was adamant that no government department had spent money on Inkatha to foment violence.

"No funds flowed to Inkatha as a political party to keep its political purposes going."

The first rally was funded in November 1989 and there was no rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC at that time.

The position then was "certainly not the same as it is today", he said.

Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had never mentioned the funding in all the discussion, private and public, they had.

If the ANC was prepared to stage a rally with an anti-sanctions theme, he would provide the ANC with the same amount, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha strongly denied that any money had gone towards deeds such as the bombing of Cosatu House and similar actions against anti-government organisations.

"I have tried my best to bring about reconciliation to this country. But when you talk about sanctions, I am unrepentant. I am dead against sanctions. And I will use rallies of Inkatha, the DP — not the AWB — to fight sanctions," he said to laughter from journalists.

On the question of whether he would agree with an ANC demand that all covert funds be frozen, Mr Botha said irrespective of which government was in power, they would need money to fund anti-espionage activities.

Mr Botha refused to say outright the funding of the Inkatha rallies "was a mistake".

"I am not feeling sorry for it and I am not

apologising for it. The ANC received millions and used the money to burn people with tyres. Over all these years we had to prevent the question of sanctions.

"Bishop Tutu went around the world telling them all Blacks were in favour of sanctions. We had to combat this as it was not the truth."

"It has never bothered my conscience to fight against sanctions, to get jobs for Black people."

"I have not considered resigning for this reason."

The government had not even given 0,1 percent of the money the ANC had received — some of it from major world powers.

Mr Botha lashed out at organisations, including the ANC, which had questioned President De Klerk's integrity.

He also slated various newspapers for the coverage they had given the events and strongly denied the government had been involved in dirty tricks.

Mr Botha said that President De Klerk had not known about the funding of Inkatha. "President De Klerk was not aware (of the funding), but the system did not require him to

be aware."

"I believe President De Klerk's integrity to be above reproach."

He rejected claims that the police had sided with Inkatha on numerous occasions and that the Defence Force was behind the violence on trains.

Mr Botha acknowledged that the government's image had been dented and said they would try to repair the damage by "continuing to do the work we have been doing".

CP call

THE Conservative Party has called for a President's Council debate on the government's covert funding of political parties and organisations.

The CP will propose the following motion for debate:

"The President's Council condemns the unethical and immoral abuse of taxpayer's money by the National Party Government through the funding of political parties and/or movements."

"The Council demands that the government resign and call a general election so that the voters can deliver their judgement on the matter."

Sapa

BEHIND THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

THE scandal over secret state funding for Inkatha has developed rapidly into a make-or-break situation for President FW de Klerk, undermining his relationship with black leaders and threatening the prospects for negotiations.

The make, says Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), is that De Klerk has been afforded the opportunity to rid his government of the security hawks who have no intention of surrendering to black rule.

The break, he adds, could be that De Klerk is personally so contaminated by the scandal that it leads to a fresh lapse into repression by the National Party.

A week ago De Klerk was riding the crest of a wave. American trade and investment sanctions had been lifted, South Africa was readmitted into the Olympic movement and other international bodies controlling sporting codes, and the government appeared to hold the initiative against the African National Congress.

This week De Klerk and his cabinet were hunkered down at a secret venue in the Transvaal veld, considering ways of extricating themselves from a scandal that seemed to have struck them like a bolt of bushveld lightning.

The Sunday Times called last Friday "the day the bubble burst".

A huge change has occurred in a matter of days. Western governments are reconsidering their generous appraisal of De Klerk as a true reformer who deserves their support.

Time for FW to show his integrity...

Revelations of secret government funding of Inkatha have undermined President FW de Klerk's image as a reformer — and may jeopardise the negotiations process, reports
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

With De Klerk's international game plan in the balance, much depends on how he responds to the crisis and whether more revelations follow.

The US government is privately embarrassed that the scandal broke a week after President George Bush lifted sanctions. Commonwealth nations are holding off a decision on whether to lift sanctions, and the visits of three Western leaders — Canada's Brian Mulroney, Britain's John Major and Australia's Bob Hawke — are in the balance.

Despite Foreign Minister Pik Botha's claims to ambassadors this week that there is no crisis, public opinion has been shaken.

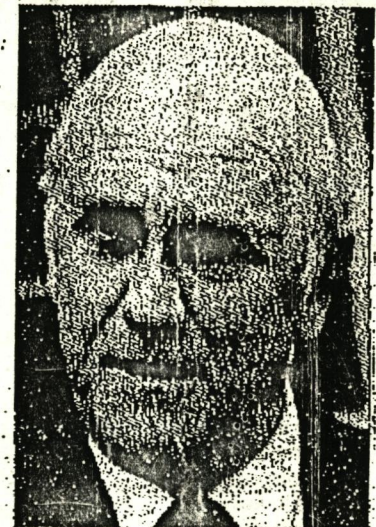
Until Friday the government's denials

of collusion with Inkatha in the violence were belied by the public, at home and overseas. The publication by *The Weekly Mail* of internal security police documents pushed the long-standing allegations of security force/Inkatha collusion into a different category. Put simply, the government was caught red-handed.

The all-important question is how much De Klerk knew. The Inkatha scandal is not just about the misuse of taxpayers' money, as several observers have pointed out. It is about trust. That trust, which the ANC has bestowed on the NP, is critical for the success of negotiations.

If De Klerk personally authorized and knew about the expenditure of money for Inkatha to counter the ANC and Co-satu, he would have done it within days of Nelson Mandela emerging from prison and graciously declaring him to be a "man of integrity".

Whatever the facts of De Klerk's involvement — and the ANC has not called for his resignation — the presi-



FW de Klerk... make-or-break situation
dent has a huge job on his hands to recoup the goodwill and trust that he had established in the past 18 months.

There have been a number of calls for De Klerk to act speedily and fire some of his most senior cabinet colleagues.

The jobs of at least three senior ministers are on the line: Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, whose security police were responsible for the secret funds; Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who bears responsibility for the death squads; and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who authorised the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha.

If the scandal results in a purge of the hawks, it will have served a hugely beneficial purpose. If it takes De Klerk down with it, the entire peace process could be jeopardised.

... and for the ANC to run with the ball

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKÉRK

THE Inkatha scandal has given fresh impetus to African National Congress calls for an interim government, and the movement is intent on building an alliance of all anti-apartheid forces around the call.

The scandal has passed the political initiative back to the ANC which is already running hard with the ball towards the National Party's goal line.

"We are now going to dictate terms on the national political scene," said ANC National Working Committee (NWC) member Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

However, far from slowing the negotiations, ANC officials want to push to get an all-party congress, the linchpin in the negotiations, moving as soon as possible.

The newly elected NWC, at its first meeting this week, issued a list of six demands, including the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok; a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence; and the opening to public scrutiny of the government's R380-million slush fund.

If President FW de Klerk does not go far towards meeting these when he makes his statement on the crisis on Tuesday next week, there will be

strong moves at an emergency meeting of the full National Executive Committee next week to break off all contact with the government.

"The situation has become very urgent," says Lekota. "We in the ANC don't think we can continue seriously to discuss these things with the government. A formula must now be established that enjoys the confidence of all. We are going to push for an interim government now."

"There can be no continuation of the process of negotiation without the establishment of an interim government."

"The demand that there should be an interim government was predicated on precisely the fact that we were concerned that unless there was an interim government, the National Party would use its monopoly on power as a leverage to influence the political process in the country."

"They have been doing precisely that by funding Inkatha, turning it into a colossus on the political scene. They made it impossible for anyone to proceed without Inkatha. These revelations have in fact punctured that whole situation."

Lekota points out that at the same time as the government was funding Inkatha and its supporters, there were other homeland leaders who took a positive



Common alliance ... National Working Committee member Patrick Lekota

attitude towards the ANC, for which they were penalised by being denied monies from Pretoria.

"Transkei's a case in point. While the government was squeezing those ones who don't agree with its policy, it was in fact channelling huge sums of money in the direction of those that supported it."

He said there was also the suspicion that the government was involved in

supporting killer squads such as the Three Million Gung in Kroonstad with both arms and money.

"The question is, how much money was fed into those instances?"

Lekota says it is the ANC's view that the all-party congress should get moving as soon as possible.

"Nationally, all democratically minded organisations should move towards a common alliance, at least around the principal demand that there should be an interim government and make the demand a non-negotiable principle now."

Other ANC sources said the hope was that this alliance would include liberal groups such as the Democratic Party and the homeland parties, with which the movement has been in contact.

Though these parties do not support a constituent assembly — the demand around which a patriotic front conference has been called — the uniting of forces around the demand for an interim government is likely to be much broader and will take a higher priority at this point.

The ANC has, meanwhile, offered an amnesty to people who participated in township and other atrocities if the government is willing to make a call on them all to come forward and come clean.

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