

PRESS CUTTINGS
ON THE
CURRENT SITUATION
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NEC: interim govt

vital after scandal

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Political Staff

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday reiterated its demand for an interim government in the light of the Government's funds-for-Inkatha scandal. and said it would review its bilateral contacts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at the national level.

At a press conference in Johannesburg after the NEC's meeting ended late on Wednesday, ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the Government had acknowledged the need for change through negotiations, it had also tried to subvert the process.

uAt the heart of the crisis is the credibility of the De Klerk Government," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

Mr Ramaphosa said President de Klerk's handling of the scandal had raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda". The ANC was committed to reaching that goal through the path of a patriotic-front conference which would lead to an all-party conference.

The ANC leader said the IFP's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence, uncoupled with the woefully inadequate responses of its leadership", had seriously brought into question its legitimacy as an independent political force.

The ANC-led tripartite alliance was therefore conducting an immediate review" of its bilateral contacts with the IFP at the national level.

Responding to the Government's insistence that the ANC 'received funds from abroad, the NEC said financial assistance given to the ANC

was a matter of public record.
In another development,
ANC president Nelson Mande-
la and his delegation, on a
visit to South America. said
the funds scandal had ugreatly
imperilied the peace process,',
warning that Mr de Klerk's
failure to take "hold correc-
tiVe action" had seriously da-
maged the integrity of nego-
tiatiious,.

Deft footwork: AN C says letis
HE African National Con-
gress yesterday put the de-
mand for an interim government
at the top of the country's politi-
cal agenda. unlocking the route
to the All-Party Conference and
constitutional negotiations for a
new South Africa. _

In a piece of fancy footwork, the
e ANC found a way of taking the nego-
tiations forward on its own terms
while keeping the pressure on Presi-
dent FW de Klerk.

Underlying the ANC's strong state-
ment of dissatisfaction with the gov-
?The ANC, while keeping the pressure on the government, has
cleared the way for the All-Party
Conference.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

emment was a positive response to De
Klerk's appeal to help get the confer-
ence started expeditiously.

A statement prepared by a full plen-
ary session of the ANC's National
Executive Committee said the only
way forward was an interim govern-
ment of national unity _- which it de-
scribed as a transitional authority.
with a limited lifespan charged with
the task of preparing the country for a
democratic constitution and governing
the country during this period".

Answering questions at a press con-
ference, ANC deputy president Walter
Sisulu said the ANC would be push-
ing ahead with the process of peaceful
settlement through the All-Party Con-
ference, where the details of the inter-
im government would be negotiated.

Sisulu said that while the ANC
would still call for the removal of the
obstacles to negotiation - which
have blocked the start of substantive
negotiations since February 2 last year
-_ it had shifted its focus to the re-
moval of the government itself.

uWe have become more convinced
than ever that the De Klerk govern-
ment is the obstacle that stands be-
tween us and the installation of a dem-
ocratic government," said ANC
secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.
However, the ANC invited De Klerk
and the government to join discus-
sions with other political groups to
speed up the processes. Ramaphosa
said it would be preferable if the All-
Party Conference were to be called by
a neutral body such as the church-
private sector initiative in getting the
peace talks off the ground.

The NEC, whose meeting was called
to deal with the "llgrave crisis" in the
country, found few nice words to de-
scribe De Klerk's response to the In-
katha scandal.

Reading out a statement prepared
during the NEC meeting. head of the
Department of Information and Pub-

hctty Pallo Jordan said the credibility of the De Klerk government was at the heart of the crisis. ults failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections, after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out Its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa." The ANC, while displaying a tactical ilblilly to drive home its advantage at the governments weakest point following the Inkatha scandal % its cred- It was cool about the demotion of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, and reiterated its demands vis a vis the disutantlin of ceunter-insurgency units and t e establishment of a multi-party commission to investigate state-sponsored violence. The ANC also said it was conducting an immediate review of bilateral contacts with lnkatha at the national level because of that organisationls involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence. tbtllity to oversee the negotiating prOa ccss f at the same time responded posttttvely to the underlying theme of De chrkls speech on 'l'uesilay night. De Klerk said the govcrmncnt had no (lesn'e to be be player and referee at the samettme. He committed himself to transutlional arrangements which would ensure that the government was unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners m the negotiating process. R,

Interim govt high on the agenda

ANC says it

is ready for

all-party talks

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are

close to agreement on a multiparty conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday slammed govern-

ment for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

Government and ANC sources con-

firmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multiparty conference had been 'reached in informal talks between government and ANC representatives over the past two months. The talks concentrated on the mechanics of convening such a conference.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstach to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was prepared to speed up the process and take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity. The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the-Inkatha funding scandal.

In addition to castigating government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkatha and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

It said participation in a multiparty conference was conditional on feedback from allies and regions.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Rama-

ANC

trade union and other groups this month will try to agree on a patriotic front.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were: a presidency of more than one person: a role for the NP: command by the interim authority of "some of the key sectors of the state" and an element of power sharing.

Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the current church-backed peace process could convene the talks.

Earlier this week. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the question of who would convene and chair the conference could be determined in preliminary and informal talks between tithe
PATRICK BULGER

phosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

uWe are more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the resolution of SA's problems. We still want obstacles removed but the best possible way is the

removal of the government itself."

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said there were no real obstacles to ANC participation in a multiparty conference. We will be faced with obstacles until the end of time. Subject to consultation with our allies, we are clearly prepared to move towards an all-party conference and that all-party conference must discuss the creation of an interim government."

The ANC's willingness to enter multiparty talks comes after a statement by President F W de Klerk who said at his international news conference earlier this week: "I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure in a constitutionally accountable manner that the government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in a negotiating process."

The ANC NEC in turn said government's funding scandals had pushed the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda. The NEC said the ANC was aiming to speed up the process leading to 'an interim government through a patriotic front. A conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo,
D To Page 2

:1 From Page-J

more obvious prospective participants". The ANC also called on government to establish a multiparty commission to investigate government involvement in violence and secret funding: to disband counterinsurgency units: to prosecute security personnel identified by commissions as having been responsible for violence against members of the public: and to pay reparations to victims of violence. Sapa reports Viljoen said last night that transitional measures of government should be negotiated at a multiparty conference.

Government was still anxious for such a conference to be held as soon as possible. Any interim structures could result only from agreements reached at a multiparty conference. —

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ANc' makes interim?
 govt ton demand
 THE slush fund scan-
 dal and State President
 De Klerk's resultant
 actions had raised the
 call for an interim gov-
 ernment to the top of
 the agenda. the Afri-
 can National Congress
 said yesterday.
 At a Press conference
 in Johannesburg, its sec-
 retary-general, Mr Cyril
 Ramaphosa, said the
 movement wanted a neu-
 tral body to call an all-
 ANC demands interim govt
 FROM PAGE 1
 the will of the people"
 would convince him to ac-
 cept the idea of an interim
 government.
 Information chief Dr
 Pallo Jordan. said the
 idea. his that the present
 government must resign".
 Details about the struc-
 ture and leadership of an
 interim government
 would be decided through
 negotiation at an all-party
 conference.
 "Those are bridges to
 cross when we get to
 them." Dr Jordan said.
 The ANC was mean-
 while formulating a pro-
 cess of action to put the
 demand to the govern-
 ment to accept the idea of
 an interim government".
 said Mr Ramaphosa.
 "We will engage the re-
 gions and our allies, those
 organisations within the
 patriotic front, to discuss
 the all-party conference
 and how an interim gov-
 ernment of national unity
 can be installed."
 The plan of action
 would be formulated at
 the patriotic front confer-
 ence - the first step on
 the road to an all-party
 conference - scheduled
 party conference. "We
 have deep concerns about
 a De Klerk initiative."
 The ANC called the
 Press conference to re-
 spond to recent disclo-
 sures of secret govern-
 ment funding of Inkatha.
 its trade union wing, and
 political groups in Nami-
 bia.
 "The ANC is more con-
 vinced than ever that the
 De Klerk Government is

the obstacle that stands between us and the instal- for Cape Town later this month.

Consumer boycotts, however, were not part of the planned mass action. "That will be announced in due course." Dr Jordan said.

Addressing Inkathais involvement in the slush fund scandal, the NLC said the party's legitimacy as an independent force had been brought into question.

"Given that reality, the ANC is conducting an immediate review, with its allies, of our bilateral contacts with Inkatha at the national level," the statement said.

"This includes various groups such as the peace process and the Natal peace committees"

The ANC would accept the presence of the IFP, in principle, in an interim government.

"But we have strong reservations about it in the light of Inkatha as an independent political force. The revelations last week cast serious doubt on this," Dr Jordan said.

Asked if the ANC would allow secret funding when it was in government, Dr Jordan quoted the ANC's Bill

Fireball bet (interjection)
Ct' HZJLn
of Riggs- 1
i.

...s, LL, lation of a democratic government, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The revelation of the government's funding "completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa". read a statement by the National Executive Committee.

In the light of the current scandals, and the manner in which he has chosen to address them.

President De Klerk has every person to be as well informed as possible".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC rejected the government-initiated commission of inquiry into the vi-

olence.

nlf the government sets out the terms of reference. like it (lid in the Harms Commission. it can make it (the commission) restrictive and ensure that it does not uncover anything embarrassing.

uThe ANC has no confidence in a commission of inquiry set up by the governmentfi Mr Ramaphosa said.

011 Mr De Klerk's request for people to come forward and give evidence about violence. Mr Ramaphosa said: "He did not offer protection to them".

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's announcement of his intention to establish an advisory committee drawn from the private sector, the NEC appealed to the business community not to permit itself to be part of such dubious schemes?

The retention of Mr Adriaan Vlok and Gen Magnus Malan in the Cabinet was a serious
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raised the issue of an interim government of National Unity to the top of the agenda? the NEC said.

The ANC wanted to speed up the process of consultation towards an interim government and invited Mr De Klerk and his government to join this endeavour.

It had no doubt, however, that the weight and
TO PAGE 2

' 33-.

people towards these two ministers". the NEC statement continued. Their place in the government underlined Mr De Klerk's refusal to acknowledge the crimes of apartheid.

The ANC insisted that the only way to wield the scalpel was to:

0 Establish a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activity.

O Visibly and publically
ly dismantle all SAP and
SADF special counter-in-
surgency units, including
those composed of for-
eign mercenaries.

O_ Ptme cut all secur-
ity personnel tied by
past COHIMTIOHS its im-
plicated in Violence
against members of the
public.

O Pay fair and just
reparation. from govern-
ment funds, to all victims
of state-sponsored viol-
ence.

The NEC reaffirmed
the ANCK commitment
to the success of the pe: tce
initiative undertaken by
religious and business
leaders and to pursuing a
peaceful resolution to
the: krestunatwg yoflthe- .5th ,Africa 5 problems.
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The evils of
secrecy
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E of the many adverse by pro
gets of apartheid has been the use
of taxpayers money for secr_e
projects. Apartheid, in all its e
forms, needs the cover of darkness. Twice
Africa
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' hmagziggritt of secret pohtttal mampulation
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- Cabinet Mmtsters in the name of pa
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Escandal of 1978-79 and now With a
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: information service. There are seere
. tivitiesl' as well as usecret prOjects . 1' re-
i Judging from a background platilpe'ster
leased to the media, Fmance ah ve
iBarend du Plessis would have us tethe
there is nothing extraordtnary abou ret
situation. Total expendtture _on secr is
projects for the current fmancxal yefa ex-
- R4215 million. or only toggdggcent o
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secret activities as dtstmct from seacrits
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1 elg'i'lhgfcrisis of Inkathagate indicates thgt
" there is cause for cencern aboutksegel-
spending. Hence Prestdent tie Klerls cret
i come decision to restrict all specla sele _
, projects to a minimum" and to revtlefwnsg
isolation controlling the use ofsecre u ith
T, Mr de Klerk must be credlted, too, Wthe
: recent changes to the law eancelltng u -
i power of the Minister of Fmancetodseg-
t press information about uneuthonse t'on-
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. al interest or to exclude speetfted amoun
i from the scrutiny of the Audltor-Genexja ted
But to terminate the abuses assocla tal
' with secret projects more fundamen
Lies, half-lies and
political scandal
HE problem with coming half-elean on a
politiml/t'lnancial scandal. as President W
de Klerk did this week, is that you raise as many
questions as answers. The bits and pieces of
infonnntiun that De Klerk released on Tuesday
night were enough only to conflrm that the
secret funding issue is still covered in a web of
: halfstruths. evasions and outright lies.
De Klerk took same important steps to remove the
major obstacles to negotiations, such as sidelining
ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, but not
, enough to put his own credibility above question. He
fell short of the steps needed - such as full disclosure
of previous expenditure and proper control of future

expenditure - to lay the matter to rest. His promises
' and assurances about current and future spending are
no longer enough. The same assurances and promises
made in February last year have been broken.
De Klerk told us that the South African Defence
Force had in fact trained Inkatha members at a camp in
Namibia. The Weekly Mail reported this in September
last year, giving maps and detailed accounts of what
happened in the camp. Both the SADF and Inkatha, in
the most barefaced of lies, denied the report outright.
De Klerk denied that there had been any further
political funding. As recently as Thursday, his office
said they had not given money to student
organisations. But the National Students Federation
has now admitted it received a state subsidy and has
closed shop. More lies.
De Klerk confirmed that two other political fronts,
the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and
United Municipalities of South Africa, had received
state funds, when both had previously denied it.
Major Louis Botha this week suddenly found it to
deny a lot of information he had written in police
reports published in this newspaper over the past two
weeks. In other words, he either lied when he wrote
those reports, or he lied when he denied them. Which
is the case, we want to know, and is any disciplinary
action being taken against him for such behaviour?
Most critical of all is that De Klerk denied all
knowledge of evidence that there had been security
force collusion with Inkatha. The Weekly Mail today
publishes 28 such instances, many of which were put
before De Klerk in memoranda from the Informal
Inquiry into Repression, various legal teams, the
media and the SA Council of Churches.
De Klerk's ostrich approach sounds very much like
the way the government handled the allegations of
secret state funding of political parties: we will deny it
until it is proven, then we will justify it.
The reality is that it may take time, but the truth about
security force involvement in politics and violence
will slowly emerge.
The reality is that it may take time, but the truth about
. change is necessary: white minority rule
' government must give way to a government all
' representative of, and responsible to,
the people of South Africa.
security force involvement in politics and violence
will slowly emerge.
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his foreign minister, Pik
revelations that were threat-
ening their political careers
& and the entire Nationalist
ii Party government.

E In the event, both De Klerk
and Botha seem to have
respective performances.

Il'he majority of the people
whose money and trust was
so recklessly abused are
certainly not amused. The
revelations of the past two
' weeks, while not a surprise
to many, were nevertheless
shattering.

Especially because the De
Klerk myth had led many to
believe that here was a rnan
who at least had the possi-
bility of being honest and
' genuine about his professed
f: intentions of leading the
;2; country to democracy.

3 And yet, without doubt,
1- here is a man who lied to the
nation and tried to distance
his administration from the
dirt associated with it. As far
i as we are concerned, this
5% was FW's last hurrah,
because he has been
ever-it takes to save it.

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E Botha, try vainly to stave off
:35 exposed for what he is - a .

This is not a man who can
take the country through a 2'
period of transformation
That is a task that is now
above and beyond him.

Perhaps the reality wil
dawn on many that the pro-
cess of transformation will
inevitably unearth all the
misdeeds of apartheid.

The removal of Malan and
3- Vick is only the tip of the ice
berg. Even this move is in
itself quite revealing.

It is clear that De Klerk is
unable, not unwilling, to dis-
pose with either minister.

The reason is simple - they
are so deeply involved in the
destabilisation process that
De Klerk cannot afford to
antagonise them because he
knows full well that they can
bring him down.

Their removal must be
, seen as being, in large part,
purely symbolic, because

Q5. we have every reason to
believe that they will remain
central to the security estab-
lishment's agenda of desta-
bilisation.

Both the government and
lnkatha have displayed

, - scant regard to democratic
_. ethics and remain steadfast
in their assertion that what
' they did was in the interest
of the country!

Up till now, De Klerk has
always been given the ben
eiit ot the doubt by many
who believed in him, but 3
now his attempts to mislead
the public make him a mem
ber of the Malan-Vlok mili
tarists. I

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THE CITIZEN,
COMMENT

Neutralised

AFTER the initial concern about Inkathagate. it appears that the United States and other countries have not let the funding scandal affect their decisions to lift sanctions. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Mr Herman Cohen. says that the recent disclosures (meaning Inkathagate) do not lessen Washington's conviction that an irreversible process of Change is occurring in South Africa.

Mr (in)helen welcomes the Cabinet changes. meaning the demotion of Minister of Law and Order A(l)ric van Vliet and Minister of Defence. General Magnus Malan.

We are tempted to tell Mr Cohen that such matters are no concern of his or his government. but we suspect the United States made it clear that their removal from their portfolios was essential if confidence was to be restored in State President De Klerk.

If that is so. more's the pity.

Mr Cohen also says: "We are reassured by his (Mr De Klerk's) full pledge to end all covert funding of political organisations. his full disclosure of past activities. and his reaffirmation that the security forces are not involved in the instigation. promotion or commission of violence".

One can safely assume from that that the White House is not going to reimpose sanctions and regards Inkathagate as a closed book.

What the reaction might be if there are further damaging disclosures of secret funding is unpredictable. but Mr De Klerk has clearly taken much of the sting out of Inkathagate by his frank media briefing.

There is naturally no possibility of a second chance for his government. If his pledges are not observed to the full. the US and other countries will wash their hands of us.

We do not. however. think the government will allow itself to be caught in any kind of scandal again over secret funding.

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The danger. of course. Is that the US will continue to pressure the government by blocking International Monetary Fund loans. inst as it pressured South Africa to meet the terms of the (in)comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act when the sanctions were lifted.

The end of trade sanctions and cultural boycotts will make a tremendous difference to morale. and will normalise trade with the outside world. but loans and capital inflows

in the seas are our most pressing need. Inkathagate may stiffen the opposition to any further US concessions to South Africa.

Nevertheless. South Africa is lucky to have escaped from the mess into which Inkathagate plunged it.

The ANC. as we predicted. does not intend to accept Mr De Klerk's explanations and promises.

Mr Nelson Mandela's delegation to Mexico

put out a statement saying Mr De Klerk's ree

spouse was "woefully disappointing and
gt ax'ely disturbing."

Mr De Klerk's failure to take ltbold corrective
action" had seriously damaged the integrity
of the negotiation process.

The delegation called on foreign governments
to support the ANC's demand for an interim
government.

Foreign governments which ttprematurely"
lifted sanctions should review their policies in
view of the lnkathagate scandal.

The ANC's National Executive Committee
took the same line. adding the suggestion
that a "neutral type of body" should call the
all-party conference.

It warned that ttwe are formulating a process
of action to put the demand to the govern-
ment to aaccept the idea of an interim govern-
ment."

The mass action, which will not include boy-
cotts. will be aimed at forcing the govern-
ment to resign.

lnkathagate has to a large extent been neutra-
lised. but the true battle with the ANC has
mf-

not yet been won.

Anyhmy with is in a state of euphoria over the
present situation should think again.

The toughest months lie ahead.

l And that goes for the government as well.

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his weeks
much-awaited
press conference
by National
Party (NP) leader
FV de Klerk failed to
answer very pertinent ques-
tions about the government's
covert agenda.

In the process. De Klerk failed to
restore trust in his government and
rescue its battered image, which he
conceded had been damaged by
recent disclosures of its underhand
activities.

While he deftly skirted around the
questions. De Klerk's answers
remained unconvincing and only
succeeded in adding to suspicions.
When asked why he had acted
against law and order minister Adriaan
Vlok and defence minister
Magnus Malan on the basis of what
he called "unsubstantiated allegations".
De Klerk denied he had
reshuffled his cabinet or demoted
Vlok and Malan because of the allega-
tions.

Instead, he offered the moot
explanation that the reshuffling was
because of three ministerial res-
ignations.

This may have been plausible had
the reshuffling not resulted in the
effective demotion of Malan and
Vlok from key posts in the cabinet.
But, in the same breath. De Klerk
advanced another explanation for
the removal of the two controver-
sial ministers from their posts. say-
ing that it was important to the
peace process "to ensure that the
security forces must not be contro-
versial".

Conceding that the security
forces had become contro-
versial. he said it was necessary to
take steps to alleviate constant
attacks levelled against the army
and the police.

Implicit in these explanations is
that Vlok and Malan had been
removed from their posts precisely
because of recent disclosures of
security force involvement in covert
operations against the ANC and the
democratic movement. De Klerk,
however, went on to restate his con-
fidence in Malan and Vlok's integri-
ty.

Cosatu said in response to De
President F W de Klerk's much-awaited press
conference this week and the demotion of
ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan
failed to contain the crisis which has erupted
following exposure of security force involvement
in violence and secret government funding of
Inkatha and other organisations. Despite
government moves to restore its credibility,
information hidden from the public eye during
years of dirty tricks and secret operations are

just beginning to emerge.

Klerk's statement this week that his lthlanket assurance that the security forces have not been involved in violence do not square with his demotion of Malan..."

he federation adds that Malan was not directly implicated in the funding of lnkatha. uRecent allegations relating to Malan and the SADF are more serious than the funding allegations. and directly relate to SADF involvement in orchestrating and executing massacres. Yet De Klerk kept a loud silence on these allegations. ltlf they were untrue why was Malan demoted, while Pik Botha. who was directly implicated in the funding scandal, kept his job"?

De Klerk's explanation for Malan's demotion. when examined against his acknowledgement that individuals may have "taken the initiative" and acted on their own in promoting violence prompts a crucial question - is Malan among those individuals?

Equally shallow was De Klerk's response when asked why he had said in parliament on April 9 this year that it was not government policy to directly or indirectly fund political parties, and then admit to funding lnkatha. Fida and Uwusa.

Cleverly avoiding an answer. he said he did not wish to repeat Pik Botha's explanation that the funding was meant to tight sanctions rather than support a political party. The foreign minister's explanation met with widespread rejection last week. But De Klerk, went on to say that Botha had represented the government's position.

De Klerk also failed to respond to suggestions that his government had flaunted the June 1989 New York agreement on Namibia, which set out principles of non-interference in the elections of that country.

De Klerk simply sought to draw - parallels where none existed, saying that funding of parties by governments all over the world was an accepted practice. He made this point against the background of the government's continued rejection of foreign governmental interference in South Africa's affairs.

He carefully avoided the reality that Namibia was in fact a colony of South Africa under his government and the Democtatic Tumhalle Alliance an NP front spawned by his party.

ommenting on the Namibian funding issue. Cosatu said the most disturbing aspect of De Klerk's performance at the press

conference was his defence of government involvement in undermining Swapo.

uDisturbing because it flagrantly violated undertakings which his (De Klerks) government had made to the international community relating to SA's role in Namibia's transition process.

ttWhy should we...believe that the government's conduct in our transition process will not be the same, or even worse?". I

-

Conjureras act wears thin
N the political theatre of tlte past week,
President FW de Klerk reminded one
of nothing so much as the conjuring
FW de Clown creation of Pieter-Dirk
Uys. He again pulled out his bag of
tricks. but the conjuring act is staning
to look a little stale.

After a 10-day wait while the presi-
dent weighed. consulted and rtntinated on
the lnkathagate scandal. we were treated to
vintage De Klerk. First he demoted De-
fence Minister General Magnus Malan and
M inister of Law autd Order Adriaan Vlok in
a dramatic and signiricant cabinet reshuffle
that took everyone by surprise.

Then on Tuesday night there was the usu-
al careful presentation. the open. relaxed.
congenial De Klerk exuding the aura of a
man with nothing to hide - the new-style
Nat that the disclosures of past weeks have
undermined.

But something didn't wash this time
and it is that somethint:y that has snarled up
and twisted the political process for a year.
There is just too much evidence of security
force collusion in the violence for De Klerk
to claim blandly that 'tneither the police nor
the military were involved in the instiga-
tion, promotion or commission of vio-
lence".

De Klerk's strategy is three-pronged. He
is attempting to close the book on the past
while promising to play fair in the future
and to separate out the issues of secret
funding from that of the violence.

That latter is the dark alley that lnkatha-
gate takes one down. the small leap of ere-
dulity from security police funding for In-
katha rallies against the African National
Congress to security police collusion with
lnkatha in violence against the ANC.

De Klerk was equally unconvincing on
forgetting the past. The moral and material
rot of what has effectively been one-party
Afrikaner rule for the past 40 years is too
corrosive to be simply wished away.

Disclosure is a minimum demand. For
the country to move bravely into the fu-
ture. the public needs to know what atroci-
ties were committed and by whom and de-
cide how best they should be punished.
On the future, the lnkatha scandal has en-
sured that De Klerk cannot unilaterally
generate trust. The reality is that distrust
has to lay the basis for the negotiations.
People don't negotiate about power be-
cause they are well-meaning. but because
it would be in their best interests to achieve
a certain end.

That marks the crucial significance of the
interim government - wltether one calls a
spade a spade or a transitional arrange-
ment. It is precisely because the ANC and
other parties would not trust the govem-
tnent with a monopoly of power during the
transition. and panieularly not after the In-
katha scandal. that an interim formula has
to be sought.

It has to satisfy the govenmmentis fears of

sacrificing sovereignty and the other parties' fears of being co-opted # and provide genuine joint management of the country's affairs. That is where real negotiations begin. The demotions of Malan and Vlok were not moral imperatives but the removal of obstacles to negotiation. De Klerk himself made it clear that these were political decisions, not admissions of wrongdoing. Again, it revealed the De Klerk style, the powers of persuasion. In Malan, he seems the scandal has shown one can't expect FW de Klerk to generate trust on his own. But that may get negotiations on track.
By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

to have succeeded in convincing a hawkish cabinet minister given to belligerent and anachronistic statements to accept a humiliating demotion to minister of water affairs and forestry. Presumably Malan was kept in the cabinet in line with that old Lyndon Johnson maxim that it's better to have him inside the tent pissing out than outside pissing in. Malan on the loose outside the government would be a potential rallying point for rightwingers and disaffected military men. Vlok must have been easier to convince. A De Klerk loyalist and frankly a lightweight in the cabinet, he still keeps the portfolio of prisons where to all intents and purposes he is out of harm's way. The new appointments are probably the most significant developments of the past week. Roelf Meyer, 3 reformer who will be sorely missed in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, is important because for the past quarter of a century the defence portfolio has been held by hawks who have represented first and foremost the military. Now a politician gets to have a say over the military - and he has to have a very large broom to sweep the South African Defence Force clean. It is an institution ripe for reform. Foremost among Meyer's tasks will be to dismantle the counterinsurgency machine, create a totally depoliticised professional army, and merge Umkhonto weSizwe Leis: c0. 1C-3'n1) we it to the military (a feat that Malan believed would only happen over his dead body) while retaining the loyalty of the generals. As much as one examines the individual cases - aside from new Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel - the cumulative impact of the reshuffle is that the verligte new Nats are now at the top of the Nation Party. t Piet Marais. Sam de Beer and Leon Wessels represent a new generation of Afrikaners born not to dominate power but to share it. Inkathagcotte, by splitting the key black participant in what would have been an

anti-ANC alliance. has limited the NP'S options to a probable coalition with the ANC in the post-apartheid era. Ambitious younger Nats will have taken note. But the cabinet reshuffle signified other things. Stoffel van der Merwe moves into the new marketing and negotiating post to deal with a fundamental problem of the negotiation process -- bringing the constituency along with the party as the country makes its leap into democracy. This is a propitious moment. The NP has been shorn of the arrogance re-acquired after 18 months when it could do no wrong. The securocrats are on the defensive. Whatever the rhetorical slanging over the Inkatha scandal. both the ANC and the NP recognise it to be in their best interests to move towards an All-Party Conference. The National Peace Initiative - where a negotiating forum has already been created on the violence with the ANC. the government and Inkatha _ offers a way forward, a launching pad for the conference. The start to a real negotiated settlement can yet be salvaged out of the mess.

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. Patrick Laurence looks at the balance sheet on the Inkatha funding scandal
Reversal of fortunes for F W
HE STORM precipitated by
the secret tunnelling of
money from State coffers to
Inkatha is not yet over; it
has, however, abated enough for a
preliminary assessment of its im-
plications.

The past fortnight has seen. at
the least, a temporary reversal in
the fortunes of the De Klerk ad-
ministration and the African Na-
tional Congress, its chief adversary
in the political iield.

The disclosures have forced
President de Klerk to surrender
the moral high ground which he
had won so painstakingly with the
reform rogrammc he initiated
with his grave decisions to remove
the legal shackles on the 'tlibera-
tion movements" and to tree their
jailed tenders, notably the ANC;
Nelson Mandela.

Hardly more than two weeks ago
Mr de Klerk's ruling National
Party looked astonishingly strong.
Having captured a major propor-
tion of the white liberal constitu-
envy, it seemed poised to expand
by recruiting members in the col-
oured. Indian and even black com-
munities.

The once ludicrous prospect of
rule by an NP-centrod alliance in
post-apartheid South Africa could
no longer be dismissed out of hand.
Apart from opinion polls point-
ing to support tor tlp NP outside
the ('(mlines Of the white minority,
two developments loomed as aus-
picious signs lor the NP and dan-
ger signals for the ANC: the detec-
tion of coloured MP5 to the NP
and the admission in the report of
the ANC secretary-general that the
movement's low impact in the mi-
nority white, coloured and Indian
communities was cause for con-
corn.

The ANC. in contrast, looked in-
creasingly vulnerable to assault by
a NP-led alliance as it battled to
slow down the crumbling of the
international sanctions campaign,
dramatically symbolised by Presi-
dent George Bush's decision to re-
scind the Comprehensive Anti-
Apartheid Act.

Stripped of its mystique as an
outlawed resistance movement, it
was the target of a spate of arti-
cles focusing on its organisational
detects. and the divisions and ri-
valries within its upper echelons.
The election at its July confer-
ence of a large number of commu-
nists to its national executive -

about half the 50 popularly elected committee members are communists -- classified it in the minds of many observers as an anachronism in a world where communism had suffered decisive defeats. Inkathagate, however, changed that: it forced President de Klerk on the defensive, infused the ANC with new confidence and validated its much criticised April 5 ultimatum to Mr de Klerk to sack his Ministers of Law and Order and Defence.

President de Klerk, after retreating to a secret and secluded venue for a three-day Cabinet meeting and conferring with security chiefs at a meeting of the State Security Council, took two steps to limit the damage.

His first move was a Cabinet reshuffle. He demoted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan to politically less important portfolios and replaced them with younger men more in tune with the reticism espoused by his administration.

His second response was to address the nation directly at a televised press conference attended by 250 local and foreign journalists and scores of diplomats.

He presented the payment of R250 000 to Inkatha and the payment of R1.5 million over five years to its trade union auxiliary, the United Workers's Union of South Africa (Uwusa), as temporary measures demanded by the exigencies of the guerilla war and the international sanctions campaign which had threatened South Africa.

But President de Klerk asserted his administration was serious about creating an "equal political playing field" for all the contestants for power.

To prove its bona fides he undertook to amend legislation to ensure that no further clandestine payments were made to political organisations, to ensure tighter control over extant secret projects, and to invite a committee of select businessmen to advise him on the remaining covert stratagems.

Mr de Klerk admitted that his purpose was to restore lost trust in his administration, thus acknowledging that the disclosures had hurt it and called his reputation as a "man of integrity" into question.

"The Government has nothing to hide," he proclaimed boldly. "We do not have a double agenda and it is untrue that we have a strategy to disrupt our opponents."

Mr de Klerk's case, however, rested on his word that he was unaware of the payment of money to Inkatha (and, by implication, to Uwusa), a deposition repeated by the Minister of Finance. Barend du Plessis, in a briefing document given to journalists.

But Mr de Klerk was asking the public and, more particularly, his political toes to accept an improbable proposition,

The money tunnelled to Inkatha passed through the hands of two top men in Mr de Klerk's team, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the most senior man in the Cabinet after Mr de Klerk, and Law and Order Minister Vlok.

The payments were made in November 1989 and March 1990, as President de Klerk was embarking on the dramatic change in course in the long history of National Party rule.

It stretches credulity beyond breaking point to think that as Mr de Klerk was freeing ANC leaders - the process began in October 1989 with the release of Mr Mandela's co-accused at the Rivonia trial of 1963-64 - Mr Botha and Mr Vlok were financing Inkatha rallies without telling their leader about it.

To have done so surreptitiously would have taken them perilously close to deliberate sabotage of Mr de Klerk's reformist initiative and merited dismissal from the Cabinet.

The thought of Mr Botha and Mr Vlok acting on their own initiative on so delicate a matter becomes even more implausible when one considers the De Klerk administration's *modus operandi*.

Its hallmark, and indeed President de Klerk's, has been thoroughness and attention to detail.

One need only think of prolonged think-tank sessions at secret venues of the President and his men.

where they carefully consider the decisions before them and debate the implications in minute detail.

It defies the laws of logic even to contemplate a situation where so vital and so controversial a question as bolstering Inkatha and Uwusa would not be appraised critically by Mr de Klerk and his lieutenants

One further point needs to be made: Mr de Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Vlok are all members of the State Security Council where the security situation is assessed microscopically; it is manifestly preposterous to envisage that the council neglected to debate the

pros and cons of the donations to Inkatha, precisely because they were paid from the special anti-sanctions fund.

Mr de Klerk may have gone some way to reducing the credibility gap which opened up after the lnkathagate disclosures; he has not. however, closed it.

Critical questions have not been convincingly answered. If Mr de Klerk has been less than frank about the secret payments, it is a gap that could grow into a chasm big enough to swallow him.

In the meantime. Inkatha is gasping for breath while the tactical. it not strategic. advantage lies with the ANC. D

The WMTs'slush fund expose:

The story behind the story

T began with a phone call. tTGo to your fax machine. I'm sending you some documents."

The call came from the office of The Guardian in London. The minute Weekly Mail reporters saw the documents, it was clear they were sensational and, if authentic, would cause a major political outcry.

The Weekly Mail had for some weeks had a team of reporters working on the "Third Force" story. This newspaper, and a number of others, had published bits and pieces of evidence of a security force hand in recent violence, suggestions that there was an organised force behind Renamo-style attacks on trains and even of an illicit relationship between the security forces and Inkatha.

The infomtation, however, was circumstantial and fragmented. There was not enough to nail anyone. None of it crossed the borders of udcniability".

Until the brief telephone conversation on Wednesday afornightago.

Immediately we discussed with our Guardian colleagues how to verify the papers and put together a learn of reporters to do the legwork.

Neither The Weekly Mail nor The Guardian knew enough about the source to rely solely on his word, so over the next 24 hours reporters in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town pursued every detail of the allegations in the documents.

They ascertained that the policemen mentioned were where the documents said they should be. A reporter who phoned one of the numbers. was greeted with, "Hello. security branch." When it was pointed out that the security branch was supposed to have been dismantled months ago, the police said: ttAg, llm always forgetting. I mean CCl." Never mind, it was the right policeman in the right place.

To check the bank accounts, reporters had to deposit money. Inkatha got R50 from The Weekly Mail -- the only way we could get the bank to check the existence and name of the account.

The reporters confirmed that meetings had happened when the documents said they were supposed to, that Major Louis Botha was in close contact with Inkatha at the relevant time and that the telex numbers in the papers were actually police numbers.

Every detail was checked, and. remarkably, every single one backed up the story. By Thursday morning, it was clear that the documents were genuine. We agreed with The Guardian that both papers would run LDcct-(ld WW miag/ql

It was a story that rocked the nation. ANTON HARDER describes how it unfolded - and why The Weekly Mail handled it the way it did the story simultaneously on their front pages the following day.

There was one major problem. Normal practice would have been to put the information to both the police and Inkatha for comment. Both organisations, however, have a history of trying to prevent The Weekly Mail from publishing sensitive information about them. The police closed the paper down for one month in 1988 and have twice seized all copies from the streets. They have used restriction orders, detentions and threats to try and stop this kind of reporting.

In 1986 Inkatha flew an entire team of cabinet ministers, attorneys and advocates from Durban to try and get an interdict to stop The Weekly Mail from publishing a Cosatu report that made grave allegations against them (ironically, accusations now made much more credible by last weeks revelations). We had made the mistake of asking Inkatha for comment - and they had abused our goodwill to try and stop our paper from hitting the streets. That couldntt be allowed to happen this time. There was an overwhelming public interest in getting the information into print.

A compromise was found. The Guardian would put the story to the police and Inkatha for comment and pass their statements on to The Weekly Mail.

In the end, neither the police nor Inkatha responded in time for publication, though both were given the opportunity.

Fears about the police reaction were borne out after the SABOTVTS A genda programme on Thursday night, tipped off about our story from an interview on Radio 702, decided to rejig their programme to allow a debate on the issue between Weekly Mail, the police and Inkatha. Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze took one look at an early copy of the paper and asked to use a telephone in the studio. Within five minutes, the producer came through and told us her decision to run on our story had been overridden.

Kotze, it turned out, had phoned Vlok who phoned the SABCTs Christo Kritzinger. Kritzinger made a snap decision to drop the programme on the basis that the police had not been given fair wanting. By that time both the police and Inkatha were in a tizz. They clearly wanted to know what evidence Weekly Mail had before they started continuing or denying, because policemen worked through the night checking our story.

The next day was a tense one. Without pressure from the rest of the media, would the government try to brush the story aside? We waited to see whether other press would pick up the story. The Star on Friday treated the story as a minor issue, leading on uMom forgives killer child"; only Radio 702 and the foreign media seemed to take it seriously.

We waited all day for a response from the government. At 5pm reporters were told Kotze was in the state president's office and a statement was imminent. When it

came, we cheered: the government admitted it all, only contesting the reasons for giving money to Inkatha.

Besides the public encounter with Law and Order Minister Vlok on Sunday night's Agenda, there was a second, less public meeting last week. Kotze, two senior mlieemen and a lawyer met The Weekly Mail to ask to see its documentation. In return, the newspaper asked for guarantees that neither the newspaper nor its staff would be harassed or persecuted in any way and that the police provide further information on the matters raised in the documents.

Police declined. So did The Weekly Mail. This, however, did not stop Kotze saying on Friday, after we had published our second round of allegations, that we had broken an agreement".

There was no such agreement — only an undertaking on our behalf that we would follow the normal journalistic practice of putting everything relevant to Kotze for comment. We had done this on Thursday, keeping a running supply of documents, articles and other material on the fax to Kotze and Inkatha most of the day. In the end, neither responded to the details of the story.

Another wait ensued. This time we had called Vlok a liar — and we knew that he either had to sue or he was in serious trouble.

There was no response on Friday and for most of Saturday. Eventually, in the afternoon, he issued a statement — simply a denial that he had lied. When Vlok went on television that night, it was clear that the SABC had not recovered from his previous appearance. This time there was no debate — just simple questions from a tame SABC reporter.

Now The Weekly Mail has to deal with all the other fallout — a flood of letters, telegrams and phone calls, some abusive, some complimentary, but enough tip-offs to keep a team of journalists following up meslorY. .at..v1..1 A..

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H Ow Boss-

kept a
hand in

I nkatha

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By EDDIE KOCH: Lusaka

RETORIAiS intelligence

services meddled in 2qu

3:, politics from the early

19703 with sophisticated

pmjects -- which included

direct support for lnkatha

and its leader, Mangosuthu Bu-

thelezi - designed to cultivate

conservative black leaders capable of :.

countering the African National Con- i

gress.

This is according to Martin Dolin-

chek, a senior otlicer in the now de-

funct Bureau of State Security

(Boss), who this week told The

Weekly Mail his intelligence service

setupan oflicein Empangeni, notfar

from Ulundi, in 1974 with the object

of providing direct security and sur-

veillanua services to Inkatha.

The Boss agent, speaking in his fast

interview with the press since defect-

ing to the ANC in 1986, said the Boss

office maintained direct contact with

Buthleziis office via a telex line ca-

pable of scrambling covert rmssages

between the security service and In-

katha.

The decision to bolster Inkatha was

pmmpted by radical changes sweep-

ing through southern Africa and a

ITO PAGE 2

OFrom PAGE 1

renaissance of ANC popularity in-
side the country in the early 1970s.

"The government (of prime minister
John Vorster) at the time realised that

Chief Buthelezi needed credibility

among the black populacef he said.

lnkatha was established as a Zulu

cultural movement in 1974. Boss

functioned as the governments pri-
mary intelligence service until it was

downgraded and replaced by the cur-

rent National Intelligence Service.

Direct support for Buthelezi at the

time came out of the Boss oflice in

Empangeni. run by senior intelli-

gence officer Charles Scoombe. ttWe

didnlt want to establish an otiice in

Ulundi because it would be either too

suspicious or not very diplomatic to-

ward lnkathaji said Dolinchek.

ttlt was staffed by three people and

this was later increased to nine. They

w ere basically a liaison oll'ice be-

tween Chief Buthelezils Ulundi ot'-

the and the Pretoria oll'tce ol' Boss.

'l'hey undemmk any investigation of

an intelligence nature which emanat-

('I from (Zhief Butheleziis otTieeJi

There is no evidence. however. that

Buthelezi was aware lnkalha was

dealing directly with Boss, rather

than another government depart-

ment. lloss often used government departments as fronts.

Repeated ell'ons to contact ollicials from Butheleziis ollice in Ulundi for comment on Dolinchekls claim were unsuccessth yesterday. lnkatha representatives in the organisations of- liees in Johannesburg were unat aila- ble for comment. Efforts to contact lnkathais media representative Wal- ter Felgate, were also unsuccessful. The existence of a Boss office in Empangeni at this time has been con- lined by a source who worked in the security establishment until the mid- 19805. This source believes the of- l'lce engaged in a range of counter- insurgency activities, as it was locat- ed on a route between Swaziland and Durban that would have been used by

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iEx-agent tells of secret office the ANC, rather than being dedicated to support. for Buthelezi.

According to Dolinchek, Boss ini- tiated other, more subtle, projects to inllate the credibility of Buthelezi as a black nationalist leader capable of matching the reputation of the ANCis Nelson Mandela.

()ne of these involved discrediting Chief Charles Hlengwa, a Zulu chief from southern Natal whom Boss had also supported, in the early 19705 as an opponent of both the ANC and Buthelezi.

According to Dolinchek, Boss pro- vided Hlengwa with money to form an organisation called Umkhonto ka- Shaka after the chief had indimted he was opposed to Buthelezi and would support the South African govern- ment in retum for being granted an in- dependent Zulu homeland.

After propping up Hlengwa as an opponent of Buthelezi. Boss decided to withdraw support for the chiel'aml deliberately linked reports to the local press. including Durbanis Daily News, about a secret Volkskas bank account. ttWe also said lllengwa was being backed by the security police. not military intelligence Buthelezi was then able to stand up and say t'lhe gm'ernment is interfering with my administration. I have to deal with people like Hlengwa, with Boss and with the security police?

The strategy, said Dolinchek, was successful in turning Buthelezi into an elfective bulwark against the ANC - an African nationalist leader who appeared to be the victim of Pretorias security establishment while collabo- rating closely with an arm of the se- curity services.

Dolinchek served as a high-ranking ollieer l'or Boss until he was captured (luring Mike Hoareis abortive inva- sion of the Seychelles, which had been set up by Boss, in 1981. He was

incarcerated for six months on the island and returned to South Africa before del'eting to the ANC in 1986.
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How the
states
money
moved to
Inkatha
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By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

and DREW FORREST

TEVEN Sithebe, kwaZu-

lu's powerful Minister of

the Interior. was the se-

"l l curity policeis pointman

in the KwaZulu cabinet

Through an extraordi-

nary web of subterfuge.

security police used Sithcbe and the

allegedly independent Inkatha Insti-

tute to probe the chaotic affairs of the

covert SAP trade union project. the

United Workers' Union of South

Africa.

This is continued in a highly confi-

dential lll-page report of a com-

mission of inquiry into Uwusa.

which has come into the possession

of The Weekly Mail. Originally or-

dered by Law and Order Minister

Adn'aan Vlok. the inquiry was en-

trusted by Sithebe to Inkatha Insti-

tute director Gavin Woods. ,

The Weekly Mail has addtuonal ev-

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The key link-man in Inkatha, S even Sithebe,

idcnce in secret police documents of

Sithebels dealings with the secunty

police.

The inquiry report explodes Law

and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's

claim this week that each and every

cent of taxpayersl money was ac-

counted for.

Police documents make it clear that

the original initiative for the inquiry

came from Vlok, who was con-

cerned that a covert police project

should risk exposure by accumulat-

in g such massive debts.

Vlok confirmed at the weekend that

he had ordered the inquiry into

Uwusals viability to consider

whether police should continue

funding the union.

He. J

Police then contacted Sithebe. who

appointed Woods to head a one-man

probe.

The documents stress that police

involvement in the funding should

not be mentioned in the commis-

sion's report and the report studi-

ously avoids such mention. refer-

ring instead to uoutside funding"

and anonymous ltbenefactors".

In his faxed authorisation of the

commission. a copy of which appears in the report. Sithebe says he will pay Woods R26 200 for the task of conducting the inquiry. The Weekly Mail is in possession of a police message sent shortly after the completion of the report confirming that R26 200 had been paid right, appointed the Woods Commission out in respect of Uwusa and that the original receipt had gone to the kwaZulu government.

The report was submitted to the kwaZulu government in August 1989. and was later passed on to the Law and Order Ministry. Vlok has stated that based on its findings. it was decided to Stop the funding of Uwusa.

A few weeks after the report was completed. Woods was summoned to a meeting with Major Louis Botha of the Durban security branch at the Bluewaters Hotel in Durban. where pressure was placed on him to rework the conclusions.

The report makes clear the ideology-
ITo PAGE 3

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How state cash got to Inkatha ical rationale for continued police support for Uwusa. It states that Cosatu had clearly emerged as the vanguard of the Mass Democratic Movement with ureal organisation. real resources. real power and real intent".

ttTheir political principles pose a threat to the political positions of Uwusa (and of Inkatha) and therefore they need to be given the degree of competition in the labour field that will force them to get back to the real issues of that field." it adds.

The report shows that:

-Four of Uwusals 10 regions were unable to produce monthly records of income and expenditure.

-Because of a struggle for control between the general sccrctary and the unionls regions. no regions maintained proper cash books for their bank accounts and that monthly bank reconciliation exercises were not imdertaken.

IFrom PAGE 1

-Legally required annually audited financial statements for Uwusa were not presented in 1987, 1988 and 1989. Having failed to secure the union's co-opcration. the original auditors resigned in 1988 and their successors had difficulty in obtaining financial records from which to complete an audit.

-At the time of the inquiry. Uwusa had no books of account, incomplete records and no budgetary or cash now control systems.

The introduction to the report refers to tlstories of corruption. dishones-

ty, personality clashes. political in-lighting and resident spies."

According to Vlok. the commission reported that it would require a large sum of money to make the union viable. and on that basis decided to stop the funding. The sum of money. the report reveals. was R1,3-million.

Commenting on the skills of Uwu-sals general secretary. Dumisani Dlodla. the report says he had no appropriate management or administrative experience. no knowledge of trade union theory and practice, no understanding of the uworkerist" concept (despite Uwusa's claim to follow this line), no appreciation of the importance of servicing members and atlvague understanding'l of collective bargaining.

To Dlodlals tender mercies Vlok entrusted R1,5-million of taxpayers, money, subsequently claiming that this money was lhot wast

Sithebe was involved with security police as far back a the early Seventies in moves to neutralise Inkatha head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez'

Repeated attempts to obtain comment from him met with no success yesterday.

MW Nial'wh
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espite W
de Klerk's
assurances
that it was
not the gov-
ernment 's policy to
manipulate political
organlntions. orchestrate
violence and abduct for-
' eign nationals to serve in
its entry. it emerged this
week that:
O the Bureau for State
Security (Boss). the
National Intelligence Ser-
vice's (NlS) predecessor.
had propped up Chief Gat-
sha Buthelezils lnkatha
since its inception irt 1974.
O the SADF's Special
Form had established hos-
tel-based support units for
its death squads to help in
attacls agaimt train com-
muters and township resi-
dents.
O the United Nations.
the Portuguese govenmmatt
and the Mozambican gov-
emment had either inter.
vrned or protested to the
South African government
over cm border raids and
abductions.
What has also become
clear is that close links
exist between the 5 Reece,
which has been implicated
in violence. and the state
security apparatus.
Evidence
Evidence of
co-opetation between the
National Intelligence Ser-
vice (NIS). formerly the
Bureau at State Security
(BOSS) and 5 Recce go as
far back 1974 when the
government bolstered and
nurtured lnkatha into an
altemative to the ANC.
According to former
NlS agent Martin
Dolinchek, the CIA and
South African intelligence
groomed lnkatha from its
inception more than 16
yeats ago.
Dolinchek was among a
group of mercenaries who
were involved' in an
abortive coup attempt in
the Seychelles in Novem-
ber 1981. Arms for the
group were supplied by the
SADFls Reece 5.1 unit.
Centtal to their plan was
the establishment of a rival
organisation. Umkhonto

kaShaka. which was
spawned by BOSS and
that deliberately discredi-
f

INKATHA: NEW

SHOCK DETAILS

ed to boost Butheled's and
lnkatha's image.

Dolinchek says he was
assigned to the task of set-
ting up the infrastructure
for Umkhonto kaShaka
and its leader. Charles
Hlengwa. who had offered
his services to the govern-
ment if he would be
allowed to become had of
his own homeland

Recognising the oppor-
tunity to exploit Hlengwa's
dislike for Buthelezi. the
State Security Council
under the leadership of the
then prime minister John
Vorster. drew up a plan for
the rival organisation.

Dolinchek says he ran
the organisation for BOSS
from an office in Durban.

"We printed their member-
ship cards. we bought them
a Volkswagen minibus we
ran their bank accounts."

Strategic leaks about
Umkhatto kaShah's oper-
ations, including details
about its bank accounts.
sunk the organisation a
year after it was launched
Boost

This translated into a
major boost for Buthelezi
and lnkatha. But BOSS'S
involvement in the opera-
tion did not stop there. An
office was set up in
Empangeni. specihcally to
service Buthelezi. BOSS
also provided a scrambled
telex service for Buthelenl

Messages telexed from

Inkatha to BOSS included

SECRET AGENT: Former BOSS Igont, Martin

Dolinchek. says the CIA and South African intelligence
groomed lnkathl since its inception 16 years ago

requmts for help in dealing
with political opponents.

The association with
state security continued
after BOSS was disbanded
and replaced hv NLS.

Buthelezi w-as also in
regular contact with the
CIA's man in Durban.

Edward Fugitt.

Evidence linking securi-
ty forces to hostel-based
units on the Reef has also
surfawd in the last week.

These units. used in a
supponive capacity by

members of the 5 Reece commandos during operations against civilians. are known as "friendly forces" in security force circles. They are also deployed to gather intelligence. which is then used in the planning of attacks.

Members of 5 Reece are also believed to have found employment :5 waiters in hotels around Johannesburg, from where they gather intelligence for special operations

Foreigners

It has also emerged that De Klerk was either misinformed. that he lied or skillfully covered up when he said the SADF had not abducted foreigners and then forced them to serve in the army.

De Klerk was responding to a question by NEW NATION at a press conference this week as to how long South Africa planned to keep foreign soldiers in its army, some of whom had been abducted.

Abduction:

But Mozambican officials say they had informed SA about the raids and abductions. The abduction of Ndimene in particular had received extensive coverage in the Mozambican press at the time. Members of the Ndimene family corroborated evidence relating to the abductions.

Director of the Centre for African Studies in Mozambique. Brigadier Sergio Vieira said: "President De Klerk is telling the lie or does not know what was happening.

"I personally contacted South African Minister P. W. Botha and the director general of foreign affairs. Brandt said about the abductions and the killing of three people including a Portuguese national - Antonio Figueiredo - who was working on an agriculture project." said Vieira.

Commandos

Evidence of the abductions also appears on page 318 of the 198 Yearbook of the United

Nam which stats: "In
letter of August 27
Mozambique enclosed
communication from i
ministry of foreign affair
stating that on Augtm 22
youp of abotl 50 SA om
mandos had enter:
Monmbican territory n6;
Namaacha, killed thrt
people. kidnapped lhl't
others and destroyed prot
erty."

A Portuguese embas
spokesperson in Pretor
also confirmed the abdu
lions saying that his go
emment had intervent
over the killing of thueir
do.

Paper alleges
lnkatha-
security force
collusion
THE Weekly Mztil
would today publish
proof of collusion be-
tween the lnkathu
Freedom Party and se-
curity forces. the news-
Newinath

FROM PAGE 1

lnkatha official ttfmmted
for payments from police
to Uwusa (the lnkatha-af-
filiated United Workersl
Union of SA) and is di-
rectly implicated in at-
tempts to cover up the
policcel hum link.

The Weekly Mail was
also in pOSSchiun of u (luv
tailed report showing that
Uwusa was llin a com-
plete financial mess" and
a recommendation that
the trade union required
about R1.5 million to
make it xiuhle.

l'Ve publish details of
papers editor, Mr An-
ton Harber, said yes-
terday afternoon.

Mr Hurber said his
newspaper would also
publish evidence of "a list
of 23 incidents which pro-
vide evidence of security
for'ce-lnkatha collusion".
Mr De Klerk had earlier
asked for such evidence.

w.

and Order. the KwaZulu
Cabinet and (lnkatha
president) Chief (Mango-
suthu) Buthelezi him-
sellf Mr Harber said.
Chief Buthelczi hm der

TO PAGE 2

toaayls edttlon Of the
Weekly Mail would con-
tain revelations of un-
ther political organisa-
tion secretly funded b)
the government. but
which was not mentioned
by Mr De Klerk when he
made public a list of lnur
political groups that re-
ceived covert State
money.

The newspaper would
also carry allegations by
former National Intelli-
gence Service agent. Mar-
tin Dolincheck, that the
MS was closely linked to
lnkatha at the time of the
Zulu movementls forma-
tion, and the name of a
KwaZulu Cabinet Mem-

ber and senior Inkatha Official who was the organisation's police link.

Mr Harber said the

a claim

nied any knowledge of secret government funding for his organisation or the covert state grant of R155 million to Uxusa.

_Sapa.

CLHZJJ) sz'S/C11

the report which was sent ,
to the Ministry of Law

SAP PROBES LEAK

TO WEEKLY MAIL

By Tony Stirling

'IAHE police have initiated 2m imxcsligutiun against the Weekly Mail with 21 view to bringing possible charges against the newspaper under the Protection of InformationAct.

In recent iwuw the newspaper hats highlighted information from top secret documents, in purliculzu the disclosure ml the funding of two Ink-;tthu rallies by the government.

The infurlmttion on which these reports was based was obtained from allegedly stolen Security Police documents.

A police spokesman said yesterday that in terms of the law, the police had no choice but to conduct an investigation into the leakage and publication of top secret documents.

Since the newspaper had not disclosed its

TO PAGE 2 '

1 Mail probe

FROM PAGE1

sources of information, it was likely that subpoenas under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act would have to be issued against members of the newspaper to force them to disclose their sources. On completion of the investigation, it would be up to the Attorney-General to decide whether or not any cha'rges should be brought agztinxt the neww paper,

It was emphasised that the police were under a legal obligation to conduct an investigation.

The police spokesman said further revelations from the Weekly Mail were expected in its edition today.

This was confirmed in a statement put out by its editor, Mr Anton Harber.

Iastnight. ? . . "

Ohm whim

ALLEGATIONS of security force complicity in attacks by Inkatha members on African National Congress-supporting communities have become at weekly :tttuirt

In some cases the South African Police or Defence Force are accused of turning a blind eye to the presence of . :ttned Inkatha groups. neglecting to disarm them. or escorting them to ttnd from their hostel buses. In other cases they have been accused of more direct forms of support.

Security force representatives routinely deny these allegations - often in the face of eye-witness testimony. In . most cases no one is tt'tested because of "lack of evidence".

Many of the allegations have involved the KwaZulu police (KZP). currently headed by Major General Jacob Bhehner. who until 1989 headed the SAP's security police in Natal. 'The KZP has effectively operated as an extension of the SAP and falls directly under the control of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Bhehner admitted last month that the KZP were biased "to a certain extent" in favour of ' Inkatha.

Over the past four months there have been scores of incidents of reported police complicity in Inkatha attacks ttnd arms training. The 23 incidents listed below are by no means exhaustive. include only cases. reported in the Reef area and Natal. Lnd do not include allegations involving the SADF. REEF

1 On March 24 police opened fire on a crowd which was being tinned to protect Daveyton residents against a possible Inkatha attack. Twelve ANC supporters and 21 policemen were killed.

The Daveyton Crisis Committee condemned the police for not honouring an agreement between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). the police and the local civic association, prohibiting Inkatha members from marching to and from the stadium and providing for police to disarm Inkatha members.

2 At least 15 people were killed in Alexandra when Zulu-speaking men. armed with automatic rifles. started people at a Vigil for 11 Violence victim in the early hours of March 27.

Earlier a 200-strong group was seen in the area and police were asked to protect those at the vigil. The police came twice. but were not seen again-until an hour after the killings. Police acknowledged this. but said that when they arrived the group was not in sight so they moved on. Eight men were subsequently arrested and are expected to be charged with murder.

This incident followed two weeks of

violence in Alexandra in which there were scores of allegations of police ii; ,

Thokoza, August 14 last year. An a e n33-

4 1:5 at&v-zwi awe

)- :

ing. Ahead of them, an tesoort' of two police trucks leads the procession tmed Inkatha group moves through town'during'a

j s._

dey 6i heavynght-

WMVBALUZI

A random list of 23 claims

about tblind-eyedl police

support for Inkuthtt. On March 17. for example. eight people were killed following un lnkatha rally. The police were accused of not adhering to an undertaking not to allow Inkutha members to take weapons to the event.

3 According to a document handed to the SAP by the ANC. on April 22 three curs were seen delivering weapons to the Mzimhlope Hostel. The next day a group of white policemen in a Cussptr moved large bugs into the No 1 Hostel in Alexandra. Soon after the police left and three groups of men emerged from the hostel carrying guns.

4 Also on April 23. three white men and a group of black men delivered a further consignment of rifles to the Alexandra hostel.

5 At the same time the ANC said that nightly weapons training was taking place at lnhlazane Hostel. Once a week white men. travelling in a Japanese-made white sedan. would deliver weapons. These arms deliveries were followed by widespread violence in the area.

6 Violence erupted in several areas of the Reef on May 1, leaving at least 58 dead during and after May Day celebrations. In several separate incidents. township residents accused police of

The State President says

therels no evidence of l

police-Inkatha collusion

in violence. Ifso, he

should investigate the

following 23 cases, all

during the past four

months, all reported in

the press

By PAIL m

3!! GAVIN EVANS

partiality - allowing lnkatha mem-

bers to keep their weapons while ANC

members were disanned and standing

by white lnkatha members went on the rampage.

7 On May 5. in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. a large Inkatha group went on the rampage after a rally in which IFP foreign affairs chief Musa Myeni threatened to unleash 250 000 trained fighters on Transvaal townships. The group came across AN C supporters in the bush and fighting followed.

According to the ANC and Radio

tempt to stop the Inkztttha group and art'-
ter the fighting started opened tire on
squatterecamp residents. killing seven
people and injuring four. The police
dented reports that they httd taken
sides.

8 On May 12. 28 Swunievillle squatter-
cztmp residents were killed during an
attack by 900 Inkatha supponers.

At ttbout 3am. steeping residents
were woken by rifle fire. Children and
adults were shot at 2lnd hacked with
pangas and spears. shacks were blown
up with grenades and property was
looted. Witnesses said they saw white
policemen who were' armed with shot-
guns arrive when the attack was under
way.

Ittkathu accepted responsibility for
the attack. claiming it was in response
to the kidnapping of two Inkatha hos-
tel-dwellers the night before. The po-
lice escorted the attackers back to their
hostel.

Lawyers for Human Rights said it
was astounding that not a single per-
son was arrested immediately and add-
ed that the subsequent arrest of t'only
six persons when several hundred per-
sons had been involved in the attack
makes a mockery of our criminal-

702 reporters, the police made no at- justice system."
TV)?

9 The same day, squatters at Sowettfs Power Plant camp said police used a silver-grey minibus and a Hippo to drop llwarriors" at the camp shortly before an attack by a suspected lnkatha group. Three squatters were shot dead by the group which. they said. inclutl- ed whites.

10 On May 26, the Alexandra branch of the ANC Youth League issued a statement condemning the police deci- sion to re-arnt lnktttha members with traditional weapons (including spears and sharpened irons) which had been confiscated a week earlier. They said the retum of the weapons affirmed the view that "the searching and diszu'ming of lnkztthu members in Alexandra hos- tels last month was a public-relzttions exercise aimed at proving tlte impur- tiality of the police".

1 1 On May 29. armed vigilttntL-s hacked 22 people to death and intured hundreds in Meztdowlands 2lml Cht- awelo after the funeral of murdered Diep-kloof mayor Moses Khttmtlr). Before the funeral, police told report- ers there was no law which alowed them to confiscate non-tradttional weapons from armed supporters. Af- terwards a large group of heavily armed men moved into the townships smashing windows, looting and kill- ing.

Residents accused the police ot standing by ztnd doing nothing. Police countered that had it not been for their presence and prompt action. the death toll would have been much higher.

12 Police allegedly stood by tttttl watched while it 300-strong group at- tacked residents at Boiputong, netu Vttnderbijlpurk. on the night of July IS. The suspected lnkztthtt attackers were armed with AK-47s, pangas, spears and knobkieries. At least one man was killed. but police made no ar- rests.

Afterwards witnesses said police. travelling in tltree Hippos and a white minibus escorted the attackers back to their base at a township hostel. The next moming - 10 hours after the at- tuck - senior Vztztl police officer Piet van Deventer told The Wevkh' Mail he szs not aware olizmy such attack.

NATAL

13 On April 14. lnlnxnthu members marched into Gamalztke township brandishing firearms. The SAP and SADF, who escorted them into the township. said they could not confis- cate the weapons as they had been li- censed and issued by Ulundi to guard government property. Three were killed in the shootings which fol- lowed.

1 4 On June 23. Inkathzt representative Peter auf der Heyde admitted kwaZulu police were issuing fireann permits for rifles and pistols to Inkatha supporters

in the homeland. The Durban Legal

.To PAGE 4

wew

Resources Centre said the G3 automatic rifles and other guns were being issued to chiefs and headmen and were being carried by Inkatha supporters at rallies and marches.

15 On May 24, two ANC supporters were shot dead and another injured in Ndztleni, near Richmond, by the occupants of an approaching vehicle. The Richmond ANC branch accused police, who were standing nearby, of failing to stop the attackers, whom they identified as Inkatha members. The district commissioner of police, Brigadier Chris Jonker, said these allegations were being investigated.

16 On June 23, families of victims of violence in Ndaleneni said police were part of a vigilante group which attacked them on the eve of a peace meeting between the Richmond branch of the ANC and local IFP members. The families said the attackers, who left 16 dead, were transported by riot squad members. Affidavits stating at least one man in camouflage uniform was among the attackers were submitted to the SAP. The Midlands police denied involvement in the attack.

17 The same day, Emzomusha township, near Inanda, was also attacked. Windows and doors were smashed, property looted and residents attacked.

In affidavits, residents said members of the KZP and the SAP

chased and shot them while Inkatha supporters, armed with guns, spears and axes, attacked. The attackers, who were bused in from nearby Lindelztni, the kwaMashu Mens Hostel and Duff's Road, were escorted by the police, the residents said.

18 Sixteen Richmond residents were killed during the weekend of June 25 by men who said they were Inkatha members. ANC members alleged police helped transport the attackers and were responsible for some of the deaths.

19 At least 50 Inkatha supporters attacked people and houses at Enhlalakahle on June 26. Democratic Party MP Pierre Cronje accused the police of collusion in the violence. ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala said the SADF was also heavily involved in the incident and aided the attacks by dropping off vigilantes.

20 A Natal Supreme Court judge ordered an investigation after he heard evidence that a senior Pietermaritzburg security policeman,

identified by City Press newspaper as Warrant Officer Wolfgang Warber, bought 24 .38 Special revolvers on behalf of Inkatha. One of the guns has been identified as the murder weapon in at least 10 political

killings.

21 On April 25, Sipho Mdlala confessed to assassinating Chief Mhlambuzima Maphumulo, ex-chairman of the .Congress of South African Traditional Leaders and long-standing opponent of Inkatha. Mdlala said he was an agent of military intelligence and had acted under orders. He identified security policeman Wolfgang Warber as the mastermind behind the assassination. Police spokesmen dismissed Mdlala's claims, saying an internal investigation revealed no evidence to support them.

22 The Legal Resources Centre in Durban has affidavits which allege the Amasinyora gang of K-Section 17 in KwaMashu was supplied with arms and ammunition and trained in tactical warfare by the KZP, the SADF and the SAP. Former members of the gang, which continues to conduct war against comrades in the township, said they had joined Inkatha as a guarantee of immunity from prosecution.

23 On July 7, three people were killed when ANC members were returning from a rally by train to KwaMashu. Despite numerous warnings about the impending attack from the rally organisers and though it took place in sight of SAP and SADF vehicles, the police did not intervene.

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77'

23 claims about the

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THE National Student Federation has disbanded following the disclosure by its president that the organisation received government funding.

In a Press statement NSF president Mr Danie Kriel, said he had informed the NSF's executive committee and the chairmen of all affiliations on Wednesday night that he had received a subsidy from the State on behalf of the NSF during his term of office.

He had been told that six of the 10 NSF's affiliates had dissolved from the organisation as a result of the subsidy.

Some of the NSF's main sponsors had also withdrawn their support because of the State funding.

Mr Kriel said it was a dark day for the student community and for South Africa that the only "classical liberal" organisation had dissolved.

But he added that

FROM PAGE 1

while the organisation had dissolved, the cause for which it stood would be sustained in the hearts of thousands of students.

He believed and trusted that the principles of the organisation would form the cornerstone of a new South Africa, because they are the same principles that have made the great Western democracies so great.

The Federal Independence Democratic Alliance (Fida) said yesterday although unaware it had received funding from the government, it had no objections to the use of government money to help fight "genocidal" sanctions.

Fida's only regret is that the government did not see fit to inform the party of its funding as Fida would not have been ashamed to accept

it." Fida's executive committee said in a statement in Johannesburg. The party's financial statements and other related documentation were investigated thoroughly by the British Embassy and by an unnamed senior South African journalist. They could find no evidence of government funding."

The executive committee of Fida has learned with surprise that it had also been funded by the government. "The Fida executive can only draw conclusion that such government funds could only have been given to it through anonymous donors. However, the executive committee wishes to state that it had, or has, no objections to the government's use of government funds to help fight genocidal sanctions and other suicidal national actions on the part of organisations that do not care about the plight of the nation."

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However, the executive committee wishes to state that it had, or has, no objections to the government's use of government funds to help fight genocidal sanctions and other suicidal national actions on the part of organisations that do not care about the plight of the nation. The National Student Federation (NSF) said yesterday that its disbanding followed the disclosure by its president that the student organisation had received Government funding. President Danie Kriel said he had informed the NSF's executive committee and all affiliates on Wednesday night that he had received a subsidy from the State on behalf of the NSF during his term of office. He had been told that six of the 10 NSF affiliates had disaffiliated from the organisation as a result of the subsidy. Some of the NSF's main sponsors had also withdrawn their support because of the State funding; - Sapa.

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Fida did not have access to unlimited foreign funding to assist in its campaign on behalf of the silent majority" of

moderate South Afri-
cztnsi

The national ex-
ecutive reaffirmed its-
"complete confidence"
in Fida president John
Gogotya.

The National Union
of South African Stu-
dents (Nusas) said the
failure by State Presi-
dent De Klerk to dis-
close government fund-
ing of the National Stu-
dent Federation
brought into question
whether covert state in-
tervention in university
life would CCHQC.

ttOnly the formation
of an interim govern-
ment with full control of
all state spending and of
the security forces will
reassure us that our uni-
versities are no longer
subject to this kind of
interference." publicity
officer. Mr Mike Briggs
said. - Sapa.

TATE President FW de
chrk misled the public when
he claimed secret state fund-
ing was limited to four or-
ganisztions;

The National Student Fed-
eration _ the conservative,
overtly political and anti-Afriean Na-
tional Congress group working on
white campuses _ was secretly fund-
ed by the state. its president Danie
Kriel admitted yesterday. The NSF
has now officially disbanded as 21 re-
sult of the scandal.

Kriel said in a statement yesterday:
uFollowing information lzom recent
media reports, the NSF executive
eomttiittee met in Runtlburg yester-
day. During the meeting I informed
the chairmen of all the affiliates that
during my lemt as president the NSF
received a subsidy from the state."
thte yesterday afternoon Kriel told
The lllckly Mail that he. would refuse
to disclose how much money the NSF
had received from the state or which
department it had come from.
ttl do not think it will be in anyone's
interests for me to reveztl this," he
said.

At his press conference on Tues-
tlzty night Dt- Klerk admitted that lnkzt-
tlut, Uwuszt, the Eagles 2lnd the lieder-
ul lmlepentlent Democratic Alliance
hml received stztte funds but specifi-
cally denied that any otlwt gzlonp ltntl
lwrtt ztssix'leil in this way.

"e'xtmrl l'mtn these iht'itlt-hts. there is;
im lllitttttl'illlttttl (tvztilultle tr-l' .uiy politi-
cal pull) or organisation lutxinx re-
ceived any money horn secret lnnxls,"
his ollieial press statement said.

Yesterday 'I'hc lllt'ckly Mail :tsked
the state presidents spokesman Cas-
ltar Venter whether the NSF hnd re-
ceived any secret or other state funds.
His reply was as follows: uThe state
president made public the names of
those organisations which had been
funded. Thc NSF was not one of the
organisations listed and l have no in-
formation on them receiving funds
whatsoever. If they were not listed
then obviously they were not fund-
ed.n

The same question was put to the De-
partment of Finance, where spokes-
man Pctcr Dominey said: "Why
should we be able to give you an an-
swer'W He added that if the NSF had
been funded, it would have been
through the Department of National
Education.

A stenior spokesman of the Depart-
ment of National Education, who
asked not to be named, said: the
(litln't fund ztny organiwtions within
education at all,"

The Weekly Mail last week pub-
lished details of security police docu-
ments revealing that affiliates of the ill hotne._Tlte'only sign Of WC W35 :1

NSF were last year effectively run by kombi Wllll stickers saying: uNSF --
Yes, we are funded,
say students as
they close the
operation down
Last week we said the National Student Federation
was funded by the state. This week they admitted
they were. GAVIN EVANS reports
the. security police through a secret
project, codenamed uProject Jackal".
NSF leader Francois Rabe categorical-
ly denied the allegations.
On Monday Kriel issued a lengthy
statement in which he said: tlln line
with our commitment to free market
principles, the NSF is dependent on
funds from individuals, organisations
and trusts. In line with generally ac-
cepted practice, the accounting records
of the organisation are audited annual-
ly by independent auditors." He made
no mention of state f unding.
However. he called the chairmen of
the 10 NSF affiliates together on Wed-
nesday and informed them that the
NSF had indeed being receiving secret
state funds - at least since 1989. All
of the chairmen Claimed ignorance of
this fact, and six of the H) affiliates
immediately disalliliztted, leading to
the collapse of the organisation.
Kriel called a press conference in
Melville for I(lam today, but when
The Weekly Mail arrived, no one was
Maul)
Wee 4 a
ozioqlql
We Can Crack It" and "Unity Opens
Ears _ NSF?
A few hours later Kriel faxed a press
release containing the admission about
receiving state f unds, and added that
private donors' were now no longer
prepared to continue supporting the
organisation.
Amon g the private companies which,
according to the NSF, provided the
student organisation with financial as-
sistance were the Anglo American
Chairmanls Fund, the Free Market
Foundation, Pick 'n Pay, Anglo-
Alpha, Everite and The Financial
Mail.
NSF Natal regional organiser Stuart
Comings yesterday said he had no
idea the NSF had been receiving gov-
emmmnt f unds. He said Kriel had not
told them which state department the
money came from or how much was
received.
The NSF was launched in 1984 at a '
Carlton Hotel banquet opened by the
thcn-statc president, PW Botha. In its
initial years it was headed by student
rightwinger Russel Cryslcl, currently
a South African representative of the
US-based International Freedom
Foundation and a member of the Na-
tional Puny.
In November 1986 the then-vicc
chancellor of the University of the

Witwatersrand. Professor Karl Tober,
said the NSF umade the Ku Klux Klan
look like. a heavenly choir". However
in the lane 10808 it adopted a libertari-
an, lree market approach and ztbutl-
(lOHctl its overtly right wing rhetoric.
The NSF has always been an openly
political student organisation, whose
main function was to serve as a con-
servative counter to the National Un-
ion of South African Students.

now a Democratic Party (DP) member, this week called for the opening of the parliamentary standing committee to all political parties, including extra-parliamentary groups. Former Lieutenant-General Bob Rodgers, who retired from the Air Force in 1979, said this would ensure that the activities and functions of government structures could not be used against the interests of tax-payers. . . .

He was commenting on the controversial activities of security forces which led to the demotion of defence minister general Magnus Malan and law and order minister Adriaan Vlok. . . .

Rodgers said the security forced lack of credibility was tied to the two ministers. It was necessary to remove them to indicate to members of their departments that the state president means business. -

The sacking of the two ministers would have had a much stronger effect.

But the move he has taken shows that he has confidence in them as officers, said Rodgers. . . .

The state president's move to set up a Judicial commission of inquiry was also very important. But the commission should not consist of government appointees only. To have credibility among all South Africans, Rodgers said, it should represent all constituencies across the political spectrum and should be led by a judge. I

A retired SA Defence Force (SADF) officer, Mei; Mariana

ment (5 Reece) member Carlitos

Joao Maria this week disputed that the SA Police could be trusted to investigate the activities of the SA Defence Force.

Maria was reacting to reports that a former 5 Reconnaissance Regiment senior policeman had been appointed to a , head the investigation into allegations he I and his colleague; Felix Ndimene, had made.

In an account of his experience of the relationship between the police and the military, Maria recalled an incident in 1987 while he was driving a Russian-made military vehicle from Namibia to Pretoria.

I was already in Krugersdorp when I was arrested by the police. I was assaulted and thrown into the back of a police van and taken to the police station.

I had with me a telephone number - 012 711471 - which I had been given by a certain colonel and advised to give it to the police whenever police confronted me.

"But I was warned not to give it to a junior policeman. When I produced the number in the police station in Krugersdorp, after I had been arrested, one of the policemen phoned and spoke Afrikaans - I could not hear what he was saying.

A few minutes later, I was given a cup of coffee and, afterwards, two cops travelling in their own vehicle were ordered to pick me up from Krugersdorp until Halfway House on the N 1 road between Pretoria and Johannesburg," he said.

Ndimene has also disputed police credentials to investigate the army.

He said one day he and his colleagues

were travelling in a minibus from Phalaborwa to Durban, via Ermelo. In Ermelo they were stopped by cops and taken to a police station. The police investigated the vehicle and found that the registration number belonged to a trailer.

ilBut after we had explained and given them telephone numbers to contact our seniors, we were allowed to go." said Ndimene. adding that whenever they were involved in an operation. they took more than two registration plates for each vehicle."After an operation, we would use a different registration number on our return to base " he said. I ,

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No regrets
over funds,
says alliance

Although unaware it had received funding from the Government, the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) said yesterday it had no objections to the use of Government money to help fight "genocidal" sanctions.

"Fidals only regret is that the Government did not see fit to inform the party of its funding as Fida would not have been ashamed to accept it."

the organisations executive committee said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

The party's financial statements and other related documentation were investigated thoroughly by the British Embassy and by an unnamed senior South African journalist.

"They could find no evidence of Government funding.

ltThe executive committee of Fida has learnt with surprise that it had also been funded by the Government."

the statement added.

uWe can only conclude that such funds could only have been given to it through anonymous donors.

llHowever, the executive committee wishes to state that it had or has no objections to the Government's use of funds to help fight genocidal sanctions," it said. - Sapa.

Slush money tused to indoctrinate UK MP5?

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

A member of the British House of Lords, in Johannesburg as a guest of the ANC, said yesterday that he believed Government slush funds were used to drive the antl-sanctions movement among British MPs.

Lord John Hatch, who was banned from South Africa in 1959 and only allowed to return last year, was speaking at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg offices. He said he believed the Government had used slush funds to indoctrinate British MPs who took an active stand against sanctions.

ul want to know how many British MPs have benefited from the practice of inviting people here, giving them free tickets. in order to put the National Party's case to them."

He also said of the Inkatha

funding scandal: uIt is one thing for a political organisation to get funds, but totally different for a party inside the political process to fund another party."

He believed the onl reason the Government ha funded Inkatha was to set up a National Party-Inkatha alliance.

xThe beneficiaries

HE Eagles Youth Club (EYC), which President FW de Klerk this week admitted had been funded by the government, was notorious in the Orange Free State. The group, which operated in townships surrounding Bloemfontein, was involved in a series of attacks on "ttcomrades".

According to Dr Ian Phillips of Natal University's Political Science Department, the Eagles formed part of an "anti-comrades movement" in alliance with vigilantes and police.

The group was first established in 1981 in Mangaung with a membership of 40 people. After four years, 58 Eagles Clubs with a membership of about 16 000 had been established throughout the Free State.

Based mainly in Department of Education and Training schools, the clubs also recruited unemployed and other township youth.

Youth were enticed to the organisation by free picnics, sport and cultural activities and trips to places such as Durban and Kimberley.

Phillips said the Free State Administration Boards controlled the clubs through white co-ordinators and supervisors. This formal relationship fell away with the dissolution of the Development Boards in 1986, but their close relationship with government structures and policies remained.

On outings, EYC members also received courses and lectures on issues such as Christianity and communism and the history of the ANC and the

Targetting

the youth

PAC.

In his findings, Phillips said the lecture notes identify the enemy as the ANC, the PAC and organisations such as the UDF, Azapo and Cosas. Members were encouraged in some of the lectures: to serve as government agents and to work with state structures, particularly the police and the SADF.

They were encouraged to report "terrorists" to the SAP and SADF and warned against "people who are trying to tell you bad things about SA".

"Comrades organisations" in the townships were also part of the "enemy" and Eagles members were told that they should organise against and in confrontation with those groups, said Phillips.

While the EYCs are identified... as operating hand in hand with police and security forces and as disruptive elements in the work of community organisations concerned with issues such as high rents and school fees Eagles members themselves claim a relative freedom of movement and action within the townships, claiming a degree of official indemnity."

Unlike other political activists, they were not harassed by police.

When the state of emergency became effective, EYC activities - including the targeting of the activists and their homes - expanded.

According to Phillips, the EYC and vigilante activity or sheer thuggery tended to merge from time to time during this period.

In one incident in Brandfort during 1985, youth at the home of Winnie Mandela - who was banned at the time - were attacked by Eagles backed by police.

That year Mandela's house was gutted and a

clinic at the house damaged. The building was .
again iirebombed in 1987.

Those were just some of the events associated
with the EYC. For Free State communities, the
revelation that the govenmment had funded the
group came as no surprise.

Meanwhile, 35 members of the Wl'hree Million
Gang", which also allegedly received funds from
the police, are due to appear in court this month on
charges related to murder and violence.

Former gang member Daniel Tsholo revealed
in January that the police supplied the gang
with firearms and two-way radios.

The gang was also linked to lnkatha. Maokeng
councillor and Inkatha organiser Petrus Lenkwane
revealed in May that the gang had joined his organ-
isation following calls that former law and order
minister Adriaan Vlok should take action against
them. I

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Africa (Uwusa), which police funded, purportedly to promote its anti-sanctions image, has instead killed and injured scores of Cosatu members in factories and on the mines. In some cases, employers have been implicated in the violence through their support for Uwusa. Although Uwusa has been known to use intimidation and violence to undermine Cosatu structures since the union's launch in 1986, this low intensity war has in the past year taken on the proportions of a fullscale orchestrated reign of terror".

In factories On the Reef, Uwusa members have in recent months demanded Uwusa membership cards from workers. Where workers fail to produce these, they have been assaulted and even killed.

Only three weeks ago, National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) members who were battling the United Workerst Union of South

N 99x1

Uwusa's

reign of terror K

loting for strike action over wages were harassed and attacked by Uwusa members in the Driehoek industrial area on the East Rand. Workerst bags were searched for ballot forms and they were told to resign from Numsa.

claims made at the time that police were disarming everyone except Uwusa members takes on an added significance against the disclosure of police funding for Uwusa to the tune of R1,5-million.

These are just some of the attacks by Uwusa members on Cosatu workers that have been reported by various affiliates:

- Chemical Workers' Industrial Union - July 1991, workers at Indian Ocean Fertilisers in Natal (Matron 0 2,03) quit are forced to resign and join Uwusa.

- Numsa - Threats and attacks reported at Alusaf in Newcastle; attacks on workers at Haggie Rand early last year in which six workers were killed; numerous attacks in Isithebe, where nine workers were killed last year; open fights at Scaw Metals and MacSteel on the East Rand, Iscor, Wispeco and at Eskom.

- Food and Allied Workers' Union - Between July 1990 and July 1991, at least six attacks on Fawu members are reported.

- National Union of Mineworkers - Between 1987 and September last year, one official and 18 workers were killed in five attacks, mainly in Northern Natal.

In one of the first attacks on the union in June 1986, Uwusa members killed NUM members. The attack occurred just as striking workers were preparing to return to work at the Vryheid Colliery. , I

XPOSED: Capriti ba se where SADF officers gave lessons in guerrilla tactics
Inkatha 5 secret training base ..
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The Weeldy Mail reported In September last year that Inkatha fighters were trained by the
SADF
ySADF-trained Zulus: The story
that was denied now confirmed
RESIDENT FW de Klerk
handed a slap in the face this
week to senior army officers
when he admitted that the
South African Defence Force
had backed Inkatha by training an
elite unit of 150 iiZulu! fighters in
1986
He directly contradicted earlier de-
nials from the military that they were
involved in this form of collusion
with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's
political movement.
The presidentis statement eonfums
3 Weekly Mail report last year, which
provided details about the army's se-
cret training base for Inkatha and lo-
cated it in thc Caprivi Strip. It also
contradicts official denials from the
office of Buthelczi about the training
base.

De Klerk this week released a memorandum outlining details of secret projects funded by the government. It mentions grants paid to Inkatha for two rallies as well as the Inkatha labour union. Uwusa, and adds: "The only other activity which may be considered to training by the SADF in 1986 of some 150 Zulus with a view to security and VIP protection."

In September last year The Weekly Mail ran a report that an elite unit of Inkatha fighters had been trained in counter-insurgency warfare at a base called Hippo in the Caprivi Strip in 1986. The expose was based on affidavits by dissident Inkatha members who had been trained at the base and by a member of the SADF.

Last year The Weekly Mail reported that the SADF had trained a Zulu unit. The security forces denied this. Now De Klerk says it's true.

By EDDIE KOCH
the time by the SADF's public relations headquarters in Pretoria as well as senior officials in the Ulundi office of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Asked to explain the apparent false denial, SADF liaison officer Commandant Riaan Louw this week told The Weekly Mail: "We have nothing to add to the president's statement. Why didn't you ask him for the details yourself at his press conference? De Klerk's office, in turn, referred request for clarity on the matter back to the SADF's public relations office, which merely repeated that it had nothing to add to the president's statement."

Officials in Buthelezi's office were not available for comment yesterday. But Inkatha members trained at the base state in affidavits that their course at Hippo lasted for about seven months and included lessons in urban and guerrilla warfare. They acknowledge that some members of the group were trained as special security officers for KwaZulu ministers but add that others were trained as offensive fighters.

The Inkatha men were trained by SADF officers to use AK-47s, RPG7 rocket launchers. G3 sub-machine

The report was vigorously denied at guns, Browning machine guns and anti-personnel mines.

After training was completed the group was divided into four divisions called "offensive", "defensive", "ministers' aides" and "counter-mobilisation intelligence".

The Inkatha/SADF training base fell under the control of the SADF's Chief of Staff intelligence (CSI) and was located at a place called Hippo on the banks of the Cuando River in the Ca-

privi Strip some 80km west of Kati-
mo Mulilo.

The SADF of iieer in charge of train-
ing was Major uJakes" Jacobs who
was assisted by a lieutenant, a ser-
geant and another officer.

A training base for Unita fighters, an
administrative centre for CSI and a
military airstrip were located some
10km south of Hippo. Personnel at
these centres were not allowed into
the lnkatha camp

CSi is the same branch of the mili-
tary that took control of Mozam-
bique s rebel movement Rename
after it had been set up by white Rho-
desia' 5 Central Intelligence Organisa-
tion. CSI also directed South Africa 5
support for Unita.

This confirms reports by Martin Do-
linchek, former officer in the Bureau
for State Security that clandestine
support for lnkatha was conceived at
the same time that military intelli-
gence began to back Renamo and
Unita tn the mid- 19705.

De Klerk said the training for Inka-
tha security officers had ended before
Yhe assumed the office of president
and that the trained members had been
incorporated into the kwaZulu Police
Force in June 1989.

doubts have been raised over the government's commitment to investigating the role of the security forces in violence following president FW de Klerk's press conference this week.

De Klerk said at the press conference that security personnel would be investigated only if evidence is presented, failing which, they should be assumed innocent.

According to sources within the police, no security force members are being investigated for collusion in the Violence.

Cosatu this week accused De Klerk of making untrue claims and said the government "lacks the will" to investigate allegations on the role of security forces in the violence.

De Klerk's claim that no-one has come forward with evidence regarding the role of security forces in violence is untrue," said a statement issued by Cosatu.

The statement added that it Cosatu, the ANC and other forces have repeatedly placed such evidence before the government.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Peter Motlale said that the government showed "no sign of remorse or appreciation of the seriousness of these allegations."

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR) revealed that, in September last year, the board had presented police investigator General Ronnie van der Westhuizen with between 30 and 40 signed statements in which the security forces were implicated in the violence.

IBIR spokesperson Chris Orr expressed concern that, since then, there had been no progress in investigations.

Documents from the IBIR cite a number of incidents where police failed to pre-empt violence or to heed calls for protection from victims of the violence.

- On March 26, 15 people were killed in a massacre during a vigil in Alexander township after police failed to heed calls for protection and delayed to heed calls for help during the attacks.

- IBIR lawyers collected a statement from Christina Nzondo, who alleged that Ngxekwa, a migrant worker from Transkei who was killed in Kagiso, was gunned down by the police. Nzondo showed the lawyers the bullet-ridden blanket which he had been wearing at the time.

- The IBIR established that the Seheke police were notified at least three days before an attack at the vigil of Mandla Nkomo on January 12.

- The IBIR, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies obtained several statements from the victims of the Swaziland massacre of 27 people on May 12. The police had failed to disarm Inkatha members and stood by whilst Inkatha attacked squatters, according to IBIR documents.

- The IBIR has statements from the first major incident of violence in Seheke on August 22 last year. The violence, which broke out after an Inkatha rally, left 21 people dead and 50 injured. Police accompanied the marchers, but, apparently no attempts were made to disarm them. I

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Congressional team heads for SA -
WASHINGTON - A team of Congressional staff members is heading for SA this weekend to brief the ANC on a massive multilateral aid strategy designed to form the foundation of US policy towards SA for the next decade.

The SA Democracy Aid Initiative is outlined in a letter Congressman Stephen Solarz is preparing to send to President George Bush once he finishes collecting signatures from a bipartisan coalition. It calls for the US, the Europeans and Japan to commit themselves to a kind of Marshall Plan for SA involving "development assistance, as well as trade benefits and investment incentives" as soon as a new government is elected.

The multibillion dollar package would also be made conditional on the new government adopting policies characterised by commitments to economic liberalisation and growth of the private sector". In the interim, the US would take the lead in establishing an SA Development Bank to serve as a credible vehicle, through which the industrialised democracies would provide direct assistance. The bank would make clear by its actions and policies that private investment and entrepreneurial initiatives can increase equity and opportunity so that all South Africans can have a stake in SA's future.

Also in the near-term, the US would expand its existing aid programme which concentrates on education to help meet black housing shortages.

The letter notes that the House foreign affairs committee has already asked the Agency for International Development to "allocate substantial funding" over the next two years to "the development, construction and financing of low-cost housing" through non-governmental trusts. Solarz helped formulate a similar initiative for the Philippines after the overthrow of President Ferdinand Marcos.

Transmission of the proposal is being hampered by the ANC, even though Solarz says it has been greeted with enthusiasm by individual leaders, including its president Nelson Mandela and such key NEC members as Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani. Solarz told ANC US representative Lindiwe Mabuza on Wednesday that "never in my 17 years in Congress" had he been confronted by a political movement that did not jump at the prospect of obtaining billions of dollars for its country. Mabuza protested that the ANC needed more time to "deliberate", even though, as

Solarz pointed out, she and the ANC leadership have known of the plan since at least April, when Solarz broached it at the Aspen Institute conference in Cape Town. Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the ANC had no immediate re-

sponse yesterday to the charges that it was dragging its heels.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan said he was not sure what had become of the proposal. "It would have gone through our international department. We are checking with Washington DC."

A Foreign Affairs Spokesman said he could not comment on the proposal.

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ANC dithers as America offers billions j,

By Hugh Robertson

Star Bureau

WASHINGTON - The

United States Congress is discussing a multibillion-dollar, internationally backed aid package for South Africa, described as big enough to finance a historic turning point in the country's development. This was confirmed yesterday by Congressman Stephen Solarz of Michigan. after a blistering argument over the plan with Randall Robinson, executive director of Trans-Africa, a United States anti-apartheid lobby. at a hearing convened by the Africa Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives.

During their angry exchange, Mr Solarz accused Mr Robinson of holding up the plan, and he criticised the ANC for dragging its feet in responding to a formal proposal contained in a letter sent to the organisation more than a month ago.

"What is so difficult about saying yes to billions of dollars in aid, especially if it is going to be channelled to a post-apartheid government?" he asked.

In an interview afterwards, Congressman Solarz revealed that the proposal had been under discussion in both Houses of Congress for several months" and that extensive consultations had already taken place between members of Congress, leaders of the ANC and other interested groups.

"The objective is to initiate in the US Congress a multinational, multibillion-dollar aid package which will be made available to South Africa after a new constitution has been agreed to and after free elections have brought a new government into power," Mr Solarz said.

He refused to name the targeted amount. but said: "It is C) 73-4. (

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large, very large enough to make an historic difference to South Africa."

Mr Solarz, who has been one of Pretoria's strongest critics for more than a decade, stressed that no funds would be made available to the pres-

ent National Party Government.

He revealed that during an international conference in Cape Town this year he had discussed the matter informally and in general terms with ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani. All three were enthusiastic and had given the plan their approval in principle.

But he expressed frustration and bewilderment at the failure of the ANC to respond so far to a formal letter.

In an informal exchange after the meeting with the ANCTs chief representative in the US, Lindiwe Mabuza, Mr Solarz said: 'tllve never come across a situation before where an organisation would turn down the Opportunity to make a truly historic decision and to accept billions in aid . . . that could be a great turning point in the history of a country."

But Ms Mabuza said the ANC had not turned down the offer.

0 Snarling and clawing over yesterday's issue - Page 9

Ramaphosa courts business

BUSINESSMEN need not pack their bags and leave SA in fear of future ANC policies, the organisation's secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa told the SA Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) yesterday.

In one of the most conciliatory speeches ' on economic policy delivered by an ANC leader, Ramaphosa said that economic success in SA depended on the commitment of the business community.

He said the ANC's economic philosophy would be finalised before the end of the year and the business community would be pleased with the results.

Ramaphosa ruled out blanket nationalisation and punitive measures against big business as a means to redistribute wealth.

But he added that some nationalisation of private companies was inevitable as the

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DARIUS SANAI

ANC "would still need to respond to the needs of the people to restore peace and harmony in SA".

He said that the ANC's economic policy would be the "fairest, the most just and the most equitable" system available to SA, geared to continue the economy's position as the most successful in the region.

The ANC and its allies had learnt from the mistakes of eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and other African countries, and the resulting economic framework would be unique to SA, he said.

He criticised the "economic treachery" of Anglo American and other companies which were exporting capital, saying the SA economy needed all its assets.

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r SECUROCRAT KRIEL NO SOFT OPTION I

By GAVIN EVANS

HERNUS KRIEL, the new minister of law and order, is a tough securocrat who has been a member of a cabal of cabinet ministers opposed to President FW de Klerk's liberalisation moves.

This is the view of Democratic Party Claremont MP Jan van Eek, who shocked parliament in March with revelations about a filthy column of senior MPs and state officials who had been part of PW Botha's inner circle during his presidency.

Van Eek, who said his information came from reliable sources within the state, said he had since received further confirmation that this group existed with the aim of promoting anti-African National Congress forces, while at the same time professing to badt De Klerk to the hilt.

He said the group was formed after Barend du Plessis, the ostensibly verlig but pm-smuoa'at finance minister, lost his bid for the state presidency to De Klerk.

He said his state sources told him the cabal was headed by Du Plessis and included (former minister of defence) Magnus Malan, Kriel, National Intelligence Service head Dr Niel Barnard, former South African Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen and presidential assistant Dr Jannie Roux.

Van Eek said he was sure of his sources although Kriel had later spoken to him, denying he was a member of this group.

In March, he told Van Eek he had not been picked as the next law and order minister. Kriel, who served on the National Party's law and order study group, is a toughie who, unlike Adriaan Vlok, has the respect of the police generals, Van Eek said.

Vlok was ignored and isolated by the South African Police, and was given information which was patently untrue. With Kn'el they will know who is in charge. It is a man who likes to stick to the letter of the law, but whether he will be willing to control the police is another matter?

A former state prosecutor, businessman and advocate, he joined the NP more than 30 years ago, served three years on the Cape Divisional Council followed by seven on the Provincial Council, the last three as an MEC. He was elected MP for Parow in 1984 and leapfrogged over the heads of senior deputy ministers to become planning and provincial affairs minister in 1989. Kriel, who is 49, is considered to be on the centre-right of the NP. In an 1988 interview he cited .lohn Vorster as the father of political reform in South Africa, and said the basis for a political settlement lay in the recognition of race groups and the entrenchment of individual rights within a group.

In 1989 he told reporters if blacks wanted to negotiate with the NP for the end to the Group Areas Act, they must be willing to give up something valuable to themselves like the lobola system.

Earlier this year he announced the formation of "demolition squads" to remove

squatters on privately owned land.