

Telephone (01 1) 474-0128

S was to be expected, there is much  
Aweaving, ducking and diving going  
on over the cash-for-Inkatha  
scandal.

Inkatha says it will refund the cash;  
Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr  
MZ Khumalo, has resigned; Foreign Min-  
ister Pik Botha thunders that the uproar  
is irrelevant because at the time the dona-  
tions were made Inkatha was a cultural  
organisation; and some say it is now fair  
to ask where the ANC gets its cash from.  
All this is smoke, of course, designed to  
hide the real issue. We do not complain  
about that. Any organisation in trouble  
tries to hide the reality.  
But it is important that the reality  
stays clear.

What happened here was wrong. For  
senior men in the Government to have  
denied something which later turned out  
to be true is also wrong.

Of course, it is fair to ask where the  
ANC gets its money from. Over the past  
two years Sowetan has tried to make a  
point of publishing every reported dona-  
tion. We have no doubt that many dona-  
tions have been unreported.

But so far there has been no evidence  
of public money being paid in secret by  
the Government to the ANC in order to  
strengthen its hand against the Inkatha  
Freedom Party.

If there was such evidence we are sure  
the uproar would be just as loud as it is  
today.

And as for poor Mr Khumalo, at least  
he has done (or been forced to do?) an  
honourable thing. Perhaps others would  
be smart to follow his example.

As we have said, we do not object to all  
the steam and other hot air coming from  
the Government and its friends right now.  
That is their democratic right.

It is just that the people should not be  
confused by it all.

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The leader,

thelaCuna

THE COUNTRY is in crisis, and the  
people wait wide-eyed for the lead-  
er to calm their fears. "I shall  
speak to you next week," he says  
with a smile, and the fear gets worse.  
Why has President de Klerk chosen to  
wait so long before pronouncing on the  
scandals which threaten his very credibili-  
ty? Even if it is because he is fully confi-  
dent of being able to offer satisfactory ex-  
planations, he is wrong to stall. The public  
does not know what to make of the hair-  
raising events of the past few days, and the  
international community is fearful that all  
the good that has been done in nudging  
South Africa towards a negotiated settle-  
ment is under threat. What possible reason  
can there be for stalling?

One - and this is being aired in diplo-  
matic circles - is that the Government

simply does not recognise the magnitude  
ti.?

or implications of the Inkatha-funding af- ' fair and the allegations about SADF involvement in train massacres. This is a truly frightening prospect: if the Cabinet is so far removed from reality that it believes it can simply ride this storm without taking firm - not half-hearted - action to clear its name, negotiations are in peril. The ANC will not proceed with constitutional bargaining in the face of such incomprehensible insouciance, and even those who do not much like the organisation will have to concede that they would do no differently under the circumstances.

Another possibility is that the President is waiting to see how much more dirt will be dug up before the week is out, and will then fashion his response. This is crisis management, and equally worrying.

At the very least, Mr de Klerk should have appended to his statement the briefest of pointers. He could have said: "We take seriously these allegations, and we are dealing with them as a matter of urgency."

Or even: "We believe there is no cause for concern, and will shortly tell you why." There was nothing of the sort, and the uncertainty mounts along with each new allegation of official duplicity.

The Government has been hit by an avalanche. It must start digging itself out: the mud is hardening.

2510 7/4!

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Hit back

WE are sorry that State President De Klerk is waiting until Tuesday before he tells the media what is going on about lnkathagate. While the government holds back, the affair snowballs.

Accusations are being made of possible funding of other organisations besides lnkatha. These organisations are mainly sympathetic to the government - or the system, as the ANC likes to describe the present set-up. We have no doubt that even more startling allegations are in the pipeline, since this is not a case of one person stealing secret documents, but a well-planned campaign to discredit the State President and his government.

Whether it had any prior knowledge of the campaign, or whether it had a direct hand in it is not known at this point, but the African National Congress is making use of the allegations to destroy the favourable image Mr De Klerk has achieved abroad and at home. It is also in full cry, demanding the resignation of the government and the setting up of an interim government.

ANC president Nelson Mandela talks customarily with forked tongue, either praising the State President as a man of honour and integrity or implying that he is a man who talks peace, but allows his security forces to kill innocent people in the townships. Now, with Inkathagate, he is taking the gloves off.

Speaking in Spain. he accused the United States and Europe of rewarding lithe man (President De Klerk) who wants to rise into power on the corpses of innocent people". One has the impression that Mr Mandela no longer pretends to be Mr De Klerkis favoured negotiating partner, but intends to blackguard Mr De Klerk and his government wherever he ran.

QSIOSHCH

He is doing so for two reasons..The first is to get sanctions reimposed. Look, he is saying, we warned you that you could not trust Mr De Klerk; lnkathagate has shown his government has secretly funded an organisation that is opposed to the ANC and is engaged in violence that has killed thousands of people. The pro-sanctions lobby in the United States will now hone in on President Bush. hoping that he is sufficiently embarrassed by lnkathagate to change his mind on lifting sanctions.

Similarly, Mr Mandela hopes to put pressure on the European Community either to reintroduce the measures it has lifted or to rescind its decision to lift further curbs. That sanctions should not be reintroduced. because unemployment is soaring, the economy is in severe recession, and business confidence is at a low ebb does not worry him in the least.

To him. sanctions are a symbol of ANC power. Without them, Mr Mandela and the ANC have no cause abroad.

It is disgusting that the country, especially the

Blacks, have to suffer because the ANC has no other international weapon against the government.

There is another reason for the ANC campaign. It is that Inkathagate and other revelations that the ANC or its sympathisers intend to make will badly damage the image of the government, as well as Inkatha and other organisations which may have received government funding. This will increase the power of the ANC.

We do not justify the use of secret funds for any of the purposes so far revealed.

However, we do not think that the ANC is the democratic, principled, holier than thou organisation it claims to be.

The government, if it believes it has a strong case, must fight back, and in doing so it must reveal all it knows about the funding of the ANC by foreign governments, its involvement in the township warfare and its plans for revolution.

This may break down all prospects of negotiation, but the blame will lie with the ANC and its sympathisers.

At least we will have an honest and open 'battle' for the future of the country rather than the phone'y'backslapping we have had ..  
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Until now. - A - . . .

See it through  
HE scandal over government  
funding of Inkatha has  
grabbed the headlines to the  
extent that even more serious  
allegations - of government in-  
volvement in township killings -  
have been overshadowed.  
Claims of Defence Force involve-  
ment in murders on a township  
train were made by former special  
forces sergeant Felix Ndimene in  
an interview with New Nation last  
week. He said that four highly-  
trained members of 5 Reconnai-  
sance Regiment carried out the raid  
on a train in Soweto last month. in  
which six people were killed and  
many injured.  
Ndimene's story, which went into  
considerable detail, included other  
allegations of indiscriminate  
attacks by SADF operatives in  
Natal and the Transvaal. in which  
the victims included ANC and  
Inkatha supporters.  
The SADF has dismissed the  
claims as rubbish and outright lies.  
But the police, to their credit, have  
appointed a major-general to inves-  
tigate. and he and other police offi-  
cers have interviewed New Nation  
editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.  
Similar probes have fizzled out in  
the past because witnesses have  
been reluctant to come forward.  
either because they believed it  
futile or feared the consequences.  
This time we urge Ndimene and  
anyone else who can support his  
claims to see them through. They  
should be assured of indemnity  
from prosecution so that these  
persistent "third force" allegations  
can be tested in court.

By Tony Stirling

THE government is preparing to fight back; amid expectations of fresh disclosures over its use of secret funds from the R380 million special account. It has been a resignation.

The new disclosures on the use of these funds, involving millions of rands, were expected before the weekend.

Sources at the highest level last night told the Citizen that all the two-lives the disclosures say the government has TO PAGE 2 . are aimed at forcing its Monthly and Tuesday.

(3ch 25/04/41

State President De Klerk and his Ministers reached the conclusion that the government and the State FROM PAGE 1

make a fight of it and carry the attack to those behind the disclosures. The axing of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Mulzin, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriani Vlok, would, in the circumstances, not satisfy those who had been buying for their blood.

Although there has been strong speculation that one or more Ministers would go in the wake of the disclosures that 1 RIM (Nin! nus paid in Ink-uthl to tin) rallies, and up to RLS million to its trade union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWISA), the fact that there would not be sackings of President himself were the ultimate targets of the disclosures.

They said the government was preparing to reiterate to The Nation yesterday.

In a situation where the government was bracing itself for an onslaught to force its resignation, where the government and Mr De Klerk were considered the ultimate targets, the unity of the Cabinet in fighting back was considered essential. The sources said that the organisations behind the disclosures appeared intent on it recking the ne-

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they would hate tn ht-  
w-nlmntvttimei this

We tkiet that the gov  
ernment had a special  
fund for covert projects  
had been known publicly  
because funds were voted  
for it by Ptlr'limueut.

A line the gm'trmntnt

FUNDS ROW: GOVT

HT BACK

Govt Will fight back  
is expected to take is that  
- like many other COIIIF  
tries - it had a right to  
use such funds, and had  
used them in a specified  
manner because it had be  
lieved it was in the inter-  
ests Hi the country (it the  
lime,

Yesterday Democratic

Party MP. Dr Kohus Jot:

damn. who made the in-  
itial allegations concern?  
ing Uwusa and is a former  
civil servant named a  
number of organisations  
which. he said, he also be  
lieved had received funds.

They were the United  
Municipalities Hf South  
Africa (Umsn): the Ur-  
hun ('uuneilsi Association  
at South Africa (Ucziszi);  
the nntinnal Forum. and  
the Federal Democratic  
AllizlneetFidu) - :1" 0!  
them :lCtitC in Black poli-  
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A spokesman fur the  
State President's office  
said Mr De Klerk was not  
going to react to individ-  
ual allegations (IS they  
arose.

The matter would be  
dealt xiith :is he had out-  
lined in Pretoria on Tues-  
day night - firstly by  
means of an Agenda pro-  
gramme and Press confer  
ence today involving the  
Minister of Foreign Af-  
fairst Mr Pik Botho, and,  
secondly. by the State  
President himself next  
'l'uesday. after the normal  
Monday meeting of the  
State Security Council.  
It is believed one of the  
reasons for waiting for  
next weeks State Security  
( 'nuncil meeting would he  
to enable relevant Minis-  
ters to make inputs on the  
new ullegntiuns that zltre  
expected

Bush has reserved judgment on De Klerk

WASHINGTON - President George

Bush's conviction that change in SA was irreversible had not been shaken by Inkathagate. but it was too early to judge whether the same could be said of Bush's faith in President F W de Klerk's government. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said yesterday.

"We are awaiting De Klerk's statement which he has promised for July 30." Cohen told reporters following talks between Bush and Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe.

Urged by Mugabe not to remove "the remaining pressures on SA". Bush had replied that he would make sure that pressures were maintained on both govern-

ment and the ANC to move swiftly towards negotiation. the official said.

Asked when the administration proposed to ease restrictions on SA access to IMF and US Export-Import Bank loans. he said: "We have not set a date or a threshold. we will wait to see what progress takes place in SA."

Although Bush and Mugabe did not specifically discuss Inkathagate - a term Cohen himself used - or its implications. they had agreed that "no purpose is served by any delays in negotiation at this point". said Cohen.

Earlier. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater was asked whether Bush was reconsidering the "kind words" he used to describe De Klerk when he announced his decision to repeal most US sanctions.

"We would withhold comment at this point." the spokesman replied.

Sapa reports Mugabe urged the US to maintain its remaining sanctions against SA until the process to democracy was irreversible.

Mugabe said while Zimbabwe applauded steps taken so far to dismantle apartheid. it was concerned at the pace of events and continuing violence in SA.

US donation must not fuel SA power struggle

WASHINGTON - An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned foreign donors not to meddle in the organisations power struggle. Zille Shandler Associates. in a private report prepared for USAID in May. cautioned that "it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were utilised to build the support base of any party in the contest for political power".

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the 10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to "encourage negotiations" in SA.



USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds. with an upper limit of R12.9m for the ANC and R11.9m for IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party's needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts. it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability. The ANC. in particular. was limited &-\_\_\_\_\_1

SIMON BARBER

ted by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation's capacity to engage in the negotiation process" while the IFP had at least gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7.6m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9,25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches. which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive "in kind", contributions worth \$4.5m and \$2.5m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law. agreement must be reached by September 31. or the funds will cease to be available.

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to ride  
Govt may try  
out  
funding storm  
Law and Order Minister Adriaan  
Vlok and other Cabinet members in-  
volved in the Inkatha funding scandal  
may keep their jobs if government  
decides it can ride out the political  
storm over the issue.  
Senior government sources said yester-  
day that Vlok, who said earlier he was  
reconsidering his  
position, had not  
offered to resign at  
this week's Cabinet  
meeting, nor had he  
been asked to do so.  
The sources said  
Vlok had not acted  
unilaterally in auth-  
orising the alloca-  
tion of government  
funds to Inkatha,  
but was carrying  
out government  
policy. However, he  
was in the Cabinet in-  
at the invitation of . .  
President F W de . DE KLERK  
Klerk and his future within it rested with  
De Klerk.

Indications yesterday were that govern-  
ment has hesitated to act over the Inkatha  
funding scandal because it was unsure how  
much more damaging information might  
soon be published.

The Inkatha revelations were only part  
of a larger amount of top secret documen-  
tation to which newspapers might have  
had access. Both the Weekly Mail, which  
broke the Inkatha story last Friday, and  
Vrye Weekblad have promised more rev-  
elations this week.

BILLY PADDOCK

The sources said this was why De Klerk  
had postponed his formal reaction until  
Tuesday. The State Security Council, which  
meets on Monday, could then assess how  
much government should disclose and the  
full implications any disclosures would  
have for "internal and national security".  
De Klerk's statement next week will  
show whether Vlok, Foreign Minister Pik  
Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Ma-  
lan keep their Cabinet posts.  
Botha, who authorised the payments to  
Inkatha from his department's secret  
funds, briefed diplomats yesterday.  
Indications in government circles were  
that Botha would repeat his explanation  
that Inkatha was not a political party at  
the time, and tell diplomats there had been  
no further payments to Inkatha since  
March last year. Botha addresses a news  
conference today.

Meanwhile British Foreign Secretary  
Douglas Hurd said Botha yesterday as-  
sured him there had been no connivance in  
violence by the SA government.  
Hurd said he spoke on the phone to Botha

and urged that government be clear and open about what had occurred. and that it be made clear that the old policies had been rejected.

Labour's shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman said the revelations had thrown a very worrying light on the good faith of the SA government and its negotiations with the ANC.

It would be folly to lift sanctions precipitously while the good faith of government

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remained in doubt. he said.

Meanwhile. the Financial Mail (FM) disclosed yesterday that SA's ambassador to France Marc Burger had masterminded another secret project. to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

. Burger is a former Foreign Affairs chief director and controlled the department's secret funds - the same fund used to channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallies.

Last year Foreign Minister Pik Botha

I prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. 'IPhe FM reported that Botha said publicity on government's involvement in the project would have crippled SA's coal exports. It did not elaborate on how such publicity would have affected the exports.

'Botha had said the project had been abandoned after careful consideration and promised he would go public once the danger of sanctions had subsided.

:gLaw and Order spokesman Captain

El From Page 1

Craig Kotze said the R1,5m contributed to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) had come from the Special Police Fund. He did not know if this was a separate amount from that disclosed in the FM as having been controlled by Burger.

He said Vlok had authorised the R1.5m spending on Uwusa since 1986 to "combat labour unrest, intimidation and other illegal acts on the labour front. The Minister wanted to cultivate a culture of respect for the law".

Uwusa was launched on May Day 1986 in Natal, allegedly with the help of government funds. amid widespread fears of violence following the banning of Cosatu May Day rallies in the province.

Security police Maj Louis Botha. who wrote the memorandum requesting funds for Inkatha, was present at the launch. Free buses and 17 trains were arranged to transport 80 000 people to the rally.

Magazine names controller of secret slush fund  
South Africa's Ambassador  
to France and former Foreign Affairs chief director  
Marc Burger was the person  
who controlled the Department of Foreign Affairs:  
slush funds, the Financial Mail (FM) revealed yesterday.

A spokesman at Foreign Affairs said last night that Foreign Minister Pik Botha would deal with the contents of the article at a press conference in Johannesburg today. This was confirmed by SA's embassy in Paris. Mr Botha had also been warned by two of his senior officials of the political dangers a slush fund could create for him.

The magazine's current-affairs editor, Eddie Botha, wrote in the latest edition:

"Foreign Affairs sources have told the FM that Botha had been warned by his director-general. Neil van Heerden, and senior deputy D-G Herbert Beukes. of the political perils that a slush fund could create for Botha."

The magazine learnt last year that one of the department's projects was a top-secret plan to fund the construction of a major harbour for the Turkish government.

Mr Burger was also the middleman from whom the SA Police requested R250 000 to sponsor two Inkatha rallies as well as R1.5 million for Inkatha's trade union wing, Uwusa.

When the FM made informal inquiries about the Turkish project, the magazine was called to Pretoria by Minister Botha. During the interview Botha admitted that the project had been in the planning stages but that it was cancelled after careful consideration."

He said disclosure of the project at that stage would have been extremely harmful to South Africa, specifically its coal exports.

The FM delayed publication of the report with a promise by Mr Botha that he would personally go on record when the danger of sanctions had subsided. - Sapa.

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By Esther Waugh  
An unrepentant Pik  
Botha yesterday told diplomats at a confidential briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that the Government would not apologise for fighting sanctions in the manner that it had or for funding the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Foreign Minister said it was the Government's job to circumvent and fight sanctions. The funding to Inkatha, he said, was used for food, buses and banners.

Mr Botha revealed that police had consulted the Auditor-General about funding for the IFP, but were referred to the Department of Foreign Affairs, which authorised the payments.

Asked whether the Government was funding organisations outside the country, Mr Botha said: "Not to my knowledge."

Diplomats also asked Mr Botha whether IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew about the payments.

He replied: "I don't know."

I met him six or seven times during that time. I would have expected him to thank me, but he never did."

Mr Botha added that he did not raise the issue with Chief Buthelezi.

A senior IFP Cabinet Minister was yesterday scheduled to hand Mr Botha a cheque for R250 000.

Asked about the ANC demand for the resignations of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Mr Botha said the Government had never asked for the resignation of Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani, nor said that SACP leader Joe Slovo could not "come along".

"Why are they doing this to us?" he asked.

Mr Botha said that "for the life of me" he could not see why the secret Government funding

would create a major obstacle to negotiations.

He said the Government would have to give the ANC of Inkatha.

and the public assurances that it was serious about the

peace process.

Diplomats were also briefed about allegations of SADF involvement in township violence by Ministry of Law  
More reports -

See Pages 2, 24 and 25  
and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and a colonel in charge of the special investigation team into violence, particularly violence on trains.

Captain Kotze outlined problems police experienced in gathering evidence.  
The colonel said two of the three men believed to be responsible for the train attack at Jeppe station in September had been arrested.  
Three men had been arrested.  
Unrepentant . . .

Va  
Plk Botha will address a press conference today on arrested in connection with the attack on a train on September 13 and police were looking for a further three men.  
All those arrested were members of the IFP, he said, and the court cases would dispel allegations of SADF involvement in violence on the trains.

The colonel also revealed that police yesterday arrested two men in connection with the attack on a train on June 25. Firearms were confiscated and had been sent for ballistic tests.

Mr Botha was further asked why the Government did not respond immediately to the "Inkathagate" scandal. He reiterated President de Klerk's statement that it was necessary to first convene yesterday's Cabinet meeting and a State Security Council meeting on Monday.

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World media just waiting to pounce  
Staff Reporter

World attention will focus on  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
i Pik Botha today at a much-  
awaited press conference in  
Johannesburg to explain his  
role in the Government's se-  
cret funding scandal.

Mr Both: will face scores  
of local and foreign journal-  
ists at a press conference at  
the SABC head office.

It will be screened on  
TV1's "Agenda" programme.

Mr Botha, whose explana-  
tions of the clandestine slush  
fund controversy have been  
met with much scepticism.

will be the second Cabinet  
Minister to face the press.

On Sunday, Minister of  
Law and Order Adriaan Vlok  
was grilled over the SAP's  
role in the covert operations.

Press inquiries at the De-  
Kartment of Foreign Affairs  
ave all been referred to Mr  
Botha's private secretary,  
Awie Murals.

Mr Marnie said yesterday  
that the ministry had been  
inundated with hundreds of  
inquiries from journalists on  
allegations similar to the  
R1,75 million IFP scandal.

He said they would have  
the chance to put their in-  
quiries to Mr Botha per-  
sonally, but he would proba-  
bly ive "one global reply"  
to al the questions.

Among the issues which  
could be raised are:

OWhich organisations. such  
as trade unions. cultural and  
political groups. churches  
and academic institutes. had  
been paid from the slush  
fund?

OHow much money had  
been paid to organisations  
which had benefited? And  
was the funding still continu-  
ing?

OWhich Cabinet Ministers  
and civil servants were  
aware of the slush fund?

0 Did Foreign Affairs Direc-  
tor-General Neil van Heer-  
den repeatedly warn Mr  
Botha that the exposure of  
the secret fund would have  
major repercussions?

OWas present ambassador  
to France Marc Burger the  
middleman who controlled  
the slush fund?

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Staff Reporters

Organisations named in parliamentary questions on clandestine Government funding yesterday dismissed suggestions that they might, like Inkatha, have benefited from the State coffers.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan on Tuesday disclosed which organisations he had named in questions about suspected secret funding directed to President de Klerk. Minister Adriaan Vlok and Minister Magnus Malan. . \_

The four organisations are the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), the Urban Councils Association of South

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Four bodies deny receiving funds Africa (Ucasa), the National Forum and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance. However, former Umsa president Tom Boya and former secretary-general Solly Rammala yesterday issued a joint statement rejecting the allegations.

Mr Boya and Mr Rammala said the suggestion of covert Government funding was ridiculous as Umsa had serious differences with the authorities on the formation of the National Statutory Council.

'At no stage did Umsa request or receive any funding  
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from Government sources."  
they said.

Federal Independent Democratic Alliance president Dr John Gogotya said the allegation that his organisation had been sponsored by the Government was an "ongoing rumour" and he wanted to put the record straight. .

He said his organisation's books had always been open for inspection and he had, in the past, invited journalists to look at them.

"Let Mr Jordaan present the facts or let him keep quiet," he added.

Ucasa and the United Forum could not be reached for comment.

Mr Jordaan also referred to a parliamentary question asked by DP colleague Jannie Momborg regarding possible financial assistance to "cultural or political organisations" in the homelands.

Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers furnished details of some homeland organi-



sations who had been supported by the Government. but said Mr Jordaan did not mention five homeland organisations he believed were worthy of investment. v

They were the Ximoko's Progresswe Party in Gazanku- i lu. Inyandza in KaNgwane. In- tanda ye Sizwe in KwaNdebele the United People's Front in Lebowa and Dikwentla in QwaQ- wa. ,

Yesterday the Chief Minister of Lebowa. Nelson Ramodike. dismissed claims that his pentr- cal organisation. the United Peoples Front. could have re- ceived covert Government funding. .

Lebowa had never received such Government funding, Mr Ramodike said, adding that he would welcome an invatiga- ' tion.

Township groups deny receiving govt funds CONSERVATIVE township poli- tical organisations yesterday de- nied suggestions that they re- ceived money from government to promote their activities.

Spokesmen for the United Munici- palities of SA (Umsa) and the Urban Councilsl Association of SA (Ucasa), which both represent township coun- cillors. said they were self-funded. And the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) contin- ued to deny it had received R1,5m as claimed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok,

Uwusa national publicist Duke Senagkomo would only say yesterday that the trade union did not have the R1.5m Vlok said it received. The national executive would meet next week to prepare a response to the funding allegations, he said. However, a Law and Order spokes- man said last night Vlok was on re- cord as saying the money went to Uwusa. "He obviously has evidence for saying this."

t Ucasa national organiser Prince Mokoena said his organisation had requested money from the TPA to %

l PATRICK BULGER I

help councillors protect themselves against attack. but had received no money. Nor had government given or offered Ucasa financial assistance. Umsa president Henock Ngakane and former Umsa president Tom Boya similarly denied having re- ceived government money.

Pressure

Umhlanga DP MP Kobus Jordaan, who earlier alleged he knew of R5m given to political organisations. said

he believed Umsa. Ucasa. the National Forum and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) might have received covert funding. Spokesmen for Fida and the National Forum were not available for comment yesterday.

Meanwhile. political groupings continued to put pressure on government to come clean on the issue. The ANC said its national working committee was engaged in formulating a programme of action to protest against state-sponsored violence and demanded the budget allocation of R380m for covert projects be frozen. The ANC Youth League said government was bent on playing down the funding crisis and said secret funding of Inkatha confirmed that there was a devious campaign of terror against the ANC.

Transkei military ruler Bantu Buthe said funding for Inkatha was against political reconciliation. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu criticised government's response to the funding crisis and called for the dismissal of Vlok and Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan.

The Muslim Youth Movement of SA also criticised government for funding Inkatha. Azanian National Youth Unity movement publicity secretary Mayaya Molefi said the funding showed that government had proved it was in control of negotiations, Sapa reports.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramanoko dismissed allegations that his organisation. the United Peoples Front. received covert funding.

Reveal secret  
spending,  
urges ANC

The ANC has demanded that the Government's secret-projects budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R15 billion over the past five years be made public. In a statement in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said it was formulating a programme of action 'that will express the outrage at the ongoing State-sponsored violence and manipulation of the political process by the incumbent Government and its security forces'.

The organisation did not say what form the programme of action, to be formulated with 'democratic forces throughout the country', would take.

The decision was taken during a two-day meeting of the ANC's national working committee on Tuesday and yesterday, called to discuss the 'Inkathagate' scandal flowing from the Government's admission that it had secretly provided Inkatha and other organisations with taxpayers' money. While we regard the secret funding of Inkatha and Uthusa as totally unacceptable, it is but a small part of the R15 billion that has been spent over the past five years on secret projects. We demand a full, public account of how all this secret funding has been allocated and that the current budget allocation of R380 million be frozen," the ANC said.

The manipulation of Inkatha had to be seen in the wider framework of 'la considered destabilisation policy by successive apartheid governments, including that of President de Klerk'.

The ANC said the confession of Inkatha official Zakhele Khumalo that he had accepted Government funding without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's knowledge did not diminish the responsibility of the Inkatha leadership and IFP president.

"We doubt that he could have been unaware of so generous a donation and its source."

Reacting to reports that a witch-hunt had been launched for the person who leaked proof of Government funding of Inkatha to a newspaper, the ANC said it was disturbed that the

authorities regarded the disclosure as the problem. instead of the document's contents.

On allegations that the SA Defence Force orchestrated much of the recent township violence, the ANC said it was becoming increasingly clear that the SADF "and foreign mercenaries in its employf' were directly involved in ongoing violence.

The orgamsation also called on SABC-TV to broadcast a video of the testimony of former SADF Special Forces member Sergeant Felix Ndimene, who claimed he was party to a SADF team that planned and took part m killing sprees in Witwatersrand townships.

The SADF and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan remained responsible for establishing and deploying death squads and other covert activities "on a grand scale. resulting in widespread loss of life both by specific assassinations and random killingsl', the ANC said.

- Sapa.

925(0 #41

Pro-Inkatha groups I  
being probed in US  
By Hugh Roberto!)

Star Bureau

WASHINGTON - Inquiries  
were being made by black civil  
rights groups in Washington  
yesterday into the South Afri-  
can connections of several  
quasi-religious groups which  
appear to be raising funds and  
support for Inkatha.

Among those heading the in-  
quiries are TransAfrica, the  
American Committee on Africa  
and senior aides to members of  
the congressional black caucus.  
They are focusing on two  
quasi-religious groups which  
have recently sprung to promi-  
nence in the US.

One is a group calling itself  
International Relief for South  
Africa Incorporated (Irsa).  
It has canvassed prominent  
Americans in commerce and in-  
dustry for funds to assist blacks  
in South Africa said to be the  
victims of ANC violence.

In a newsletter it has eulo-  
gised Inkatha and Chief Man-  
gosuthu Butheiezi.

Inkatha is portrayed as a  
peaceful, Christian group which  
supports the free-enterprise  
system while the ANC is den-  
ounced as a violent group which  
burns down churches, disap-  
proves of religion, supports  
Sim?

abortion and plans to national-  
ise banks and businesses.

Irsa claims to support the  
Church Alliance of South Africa  
which represents more than  
10 million people and is the only  
grouping of churches to openly  
oppose and contradict the South  
African Council of Churches  
and its theology". ' i

The other religious group  
whose links to South Africa and  
Inkatha are being investigated  
is the World Commonwealth.

Foundation. Its objective, it  
says, is to raise money to bring,  
black South African ministers  
to speak in the US. It, too, eulo-  
gises the great Zulu nation"  
and alleges that the "godless,  
are killing Christians in South.  
Africa". L

A right-wing group that  
helped to organise Chief Buthe-  
lezi's visit to the US last month.  
the Jefferson Education Foun-  
dation, yesterday denied it had  
been paid for any of its ser-  
vices.

And chairman David Barron  
said it had not disbursed any

funds to Inkatha.  
He confirmed he had sent letters asking companies to help defray the cost of the visit, but Inkatha had declined assistance.  
QanQx

Govt gives  
Holomisa the  
cold shoulder  
By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau  
The Government has refused to respond to Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa's request for South Africa's help in the interrogation of several top South African officials - including Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha - in connection with last year's attempted coup in the homeland. However, the Department of Foreign Affairs was shocked by General Holomisa's disclosure yesterday that a South African national, Vulindlela Mbotoli, had been interrogated by the Transkei police.

In a diplomatic notice issued by General Holomisa yesterday, it was stated that after the interrogation of Mbotoli, names of several top South African officials emerged in connection with the coup attempt in the homeland last year. He asked for South Africa's help in arranging interviews for the purposes of an investigation of the 24 people mentioned. The note said questions asked by the Transkei government would relate to the funding of the coup attempt, the circumstances leading to it and the origin of the weaponry used - which, according to General Holomisa, bore South African markings.

"In view of the fact that these investigations will spill over to one independent state with whom South Africa has diplomatic links and a strong leverage, and a self-governing territory, Transkei requests South Africa to make possible the carrying out of investigations in these areas".

The 24 names mentioned included Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Zofo. General Holomisa said his government had compelling reasons to believe that Chief Buthelezi and Brigadier Zofo had a vested interest in the change of Government in the Transkei "which would facilitate their aims of flushing out their political rivals in the Transkei".

Suzanne Vos, spokesman for Chief Buthelezi, simply replied: "How ridiculous".

Other names were of three top SA security policemen, businessmen and two members of SA Military Intelligence. SABC journalist Danie Malan was also mentioned.

A statement from the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday said that after Mbotoli "disappeared" from his home - while he was waiting for the outcome of a petition to the Chief Justice against a severe sentence handed down by a court - the State President asked General Holomisa if he knew of Mbotoli's whereabouts. General Holomisa had responded that he did not.

"Transkeils request must be looked at against this background," a Foreign Affairs Department statement said.

Government sources said yesterday that there was evidence that Mbotoli was abducted from his Johannesburg home in April this year.

On June 26. the Commissioner of Police in Umtata acknowledged his detention in the Transkei.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the Government's position in this matter was clear and that Mbotoli should be returned immediately to South Africa. Mbotoli's interrogation in Transkei had been totally contrary to common and international law as well as legal precedent. he added.

South African courts had also taken a firm position in cases of abduction and kidnapping.

In addition, the suggestion that Mr Botha and senior foreign affairs officials were in any way implicated or had any prior knowledge of the attempted coup was totally unfounded. the spokesman said.

N



Tutu criticises FWis  
response to scandal  
CAPE TOWN. - Angli-  
can Archbishop Desmond  
Tutu yesterday strongly  
criticised the response on  
Tuesday by President De  
Klerk to the crisis over  
government funding of  
Inkatha and evidence of  
security force involve-  
ment in violence.

Archbishop Tutu called  
for immediate action on  
demands made by South  
African church leaders  
after a meeting in Johan-  
nesburg on Tuesday.

The church leadersi de-  
mands included:

- 0 The immediate res-  
ignation or dismissal of  
Mr Adriaan Vlok and  
General Magnus Malan;

- 0 The government  
must impose an immedi-  
ate ban on all covert ac-  
tion and an immediate  
freeze on any use of se-  
cret funds: such a ban  
should be monitored by  
auditors and experts ap-  
pointed by agreement  
with all major political  
groupings religious bod-  
ies and business groups.

- 0 The government  
must act immediately to  
provide full disclosure of  
all past covert activities  
and to give independent  
auditors and lawyers  
trusted by the major pol-  
itical groupings and the  
religious and business  
communities full access to  
government records relat-  
ing to such activities: and.

- 0 The government  
must commit itself to a

'-'  
CA" 21221

commission inquiry  
into security 0fforce in-  
volvement in the violence  
on the basis that mem-  
bership of the commis-  
sion. its terms of refer-  
ence and the composition  
of the team must be es-  
tablished by agreement  
with major political par-  
ties. business and relig-  
ious groups.

In addition. a panel of  
foreign jurists needs to be  
invited to participate in  
proceedings. - Sapa.

2onqx

Govt not  
conniving  
with IFP,  
UK told  
Star Bureau  
and Sapa-Reuter

LONDON - The South African Government told Britain yesterday it was not conniving with Nelson Mandela's political rivals over the violence that has killed 5000 people in four years. the Foreign Office said.

A spokesman said Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave the assurances in a telephone call initiated by Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

"Mr Botha assured the Secretary of State that the Government had not been conniving with Inkatha over the violence."

Mr Hurd's call followed revelations that Pretoria had covertly funded Inkatha. The Foreign Office spokesman refused to say whether the covert funding was discussed in the call.

Later in the day, Mr Hurd. answering questions from Labour MP Bob Hughes in the House of Commons, said he was. like everyone else, troubled by reports of collaboration between the IFP and the Government. He had pressed the Government to be "clear and open" about what had occurred and to make it clear that old policies had been rejected.

Mr Hurd agreed there had been a setback in confidence in the Government and that it was necessary for Pretoria to re-establish confidence in the future policing of the country.

Saying news of Government funding had endangered the negotiation process. Mr Hughes said sanctions should be maintained until the talks on a new constitutional dispensation were under way.

Labour's shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman said the revelations had thrown a very worrying light on the good faith of the Government in its negotiations with the ANC.

Back to step one as trust takes knock  
 HOGRESS towards  
 tTeal" negotttions - it  
 may be dill:ult to be-  
 lieve. but wtare still in  
 the "talks about tals" phase A ,  
 came to an effective standstill  
 in the first half of ttis year,  
 While wranglim over out  
 standing "obstacle." to the con-  
 vening ot a multiiarty confer-  
 ence (the precursr to a new  
 constitution) was Ioluble. lead-  
 ers in iboth Goxernment and  
 ANC circles said privately that  
 real momentum could be ex-  
 pected only once the ANC had  
 its own house in (rder. i  
 The leadership of Nelson  
 Mandela and hiscolleagues had  
 to be ratified lemocruticully.  
 binding' policis had to be  
 thrashed out art! the organisa-  
 tion had to be poised to operate  
 as a political party w in tact, it  
 not in name.  
 in the event, the ANC confer-  
 ence came and went, and the  
 conditions were tullilled. ANC  
 leaders spoke with a measure of  
 anticipation (t getting down to  
 the real busimss ot the political  
 horseetrading which would  
 shape our future.  
 Constitution Minister Dr Ger-  
 rit Viljoen. while carping about  
 the tenor of Lie conference, said  
 negotiations (what he likes to  
 call "the real McCoy") could  
 start "tomorrow".  
 it seemed that intractable  
 issues such as political prison-  
 ers and the return of exiles  
 were closer to resolution. and  
 that the overarching problem of  
 the township violence was (inal-  
 ly being addressed seriously by  
 all the key actors simultaneous-  
 ly. The scene was set.  
 The ugo" signal never came  
 (hit of the blue. secret Govern-  
 Before July, South hl-  
 cans were told that eat  
 negotlatlons would get  
 way once the  
 ANC's conference was  
 over. Now. wlth the lsls  
 provoked by the Intitha  
 fundlng scandal, wrap-  
 pear to be back to Siare  
 polltlcalana-  
 lysts SHAUN JOHSON  
 and STANLEY UYSry to  
 plck thelr way throlh the  
 under  
 one. Star  
 rubble.  
 \_\_.\_\_\_\_-d-'\_  
 ment funding for Initha was  
 exposed and A in :e of the  
 ironic twists that (Iraqterlse

South African political - It was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles. It the Government's.

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

There is a known understanding -

ing on the part of the Government - that they must

meet the opposition. It is in this context that they do so: just as much as the negotiations process lies on the political survival of Mr Mandela; so an unsullied de Klerk is necessary in due time to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short (saying it can no longer do business with the forming president: it is seeking to exact a heavy price at sacking commissions of inquiry and demonstrable poisoning. certainly. but it still wants to negotiate:

advisers can try to assess the damage and rework their own dictative timetables for how the process might unfold

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

— 'BRIEFING' —

Get over current credibility crises to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

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

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

The ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agree-

ment on the removal of obstacles it must reactivate MIT Graphic: GAIL IRWIN planning talks without losing face; and, finally, it must see through -- as an observer at the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the conference. ' The question, of course, is whether these Steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift that the State: 17 July 1991 is to say, harden or snitch their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

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

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

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

"It is the patriotic front takes place in August," he said. "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the multiparty conference together, it that is so. one can expect another two or three months to arrange the necessary practicalities," He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (NP, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the conference.

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

vise the transition period. HWe will probably have to find conipromises, but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government? i imagine they won't want to give in (mm their side Somewhere we will have to find each other.

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

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

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

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

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

POLITICAL scandals

share many characteristics

- among them the fact that

one murky disclosure tends

to lead to many more.

But rarely have two scandals

borne such a fraternal resem-

blance to one another as the In-

katha funding scandal and a

messy business which has

plagued the United States for

more than four years - the Iran-

Contra Affair.

They may be more closely re-

lated than most people think and

as each unfolds, some of the

same personalities might make

their way through the probing

limelight of both - for that is a

possibility that presents itself as

progress continues in the US in-

vestigation.

Sources involved in the in-

vestigation, for instance, have

disclosed that one of the cir-

cuitous routes used by elements

in the US security establishment

to funnel illegal arms to Iran and

switch the proceeds back to the

Contra rebels in Nicaragua, ran

through South Africa.

Scandals

So far not much has emerged

publicly about the South African

connection, but the morsel that

has emerged suggests that for

the South African route to have

been effective the South African

security establishment must have

been in the know. and also must

have approved it all.

And even though the world is

familiar with the chronic defects

of sight and hearing which af-

flict so many members of the

South African Cabinet. such a

traffic in arms and money proba-

bly could not have taken place

t without their knowledge too.

What is striking about both

scandals is the involvement of

By HUGH ROBERTON

Washington Bureau

the security establishment in

both countries. As was the case

in South Africa, the US initiative

to secretly fund a political group

in order to manipulate the politi-

cal life of a country came from

the National Security Council

and, as the latest confessions

have shown. from the Central In-

teelligence Agency.

Security

For all practical purposes,

elements in the security estab-

lishments in both countries were

surreptitiously calling the tune in

foreign and domestic policy.

But it is here that the simila-

rities come to an abrupt and

revealing end. In the US the security establishment knew that they could not obtain the political and constitutional approval they needed for their manipulative scheme. but daringly went ahead without it.

In South Africa they had no such problems. Political support for an equally manipulative secret scheme was all too readily given by the politicians at the top. The South African politicians were willing accomplices; desperate men who saw political advantage in a squalid deception of the country and the world. The US scandal broke, and within weeks it was under intensive scrutiny by the elected representatives of the people. Within months the first prosecution. - of Colonel Oliver North - began in public.

And for more than four years  
gevaaiu-n

the matter has been probed by an independent investigator with full judicial powers, as well as by a federal grand jury.

And now, as President Bush attempts to get an apparently honourable and capable man, Mr Robert Gates, appointed as head of the CIA, the Senate is to probe the matter yet again following a CIA subordinates confession to having had knowledge of the Iran-Contra tradeoff. His confession, in court, apparently does not implicate Gates. But so protective is the Senate of the constitutional powers of the people, and so wary is this energetic democracy of those who wield secret powers on its behalf, that the Senate has elected to question Gates anyway - if for no other reason than to quell public doubt

Probing

It is in this exhaustive probing by three separate bodies that the South African link to America's scandal seems likely to emerge more fully; a link inevitably between the security services of two very different countries.

One takes the rights of its citizens and the integrity of its constitution seriously and is willing to act forcefully to prove the fact to all who may doubt it. The other is headed by a government which proclaims its desire to negotiate "in good faith" a constitution that would guarantee fairplay and uphold high standards of government -



but which. in those secret moments when it thinks it can act unseen, is willing to sacrifice both for its own devious ends. How is the one country now to approach the other? What are

2576 :r/ql  
PRESIDENT BUSH

(Foreign Minister) Pik Botha's political peers to make of him when next he comes here proclaiming his love for constitutional democracy? What is President Bush to say when he is asked again to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi? What way should the Congress vote if there is a bid to toughen the remaining sanctions against South Africa? How seriously should President de Klerk's commitment to negotiations in good faith" be taken in America?

To the imperious (Law and Order Minister) Mr Vlok, the matter might now be closed. But to a great many Americans - including many of the movers and shakers in Washington - it has probably just begun.

ONE woman was killed and nine people were seriously injured when a group of armed men attacked commuters on a Soweto-bound train yesterday evening.

Police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said last night that a group of about 20 men armed with guns, spears and pangas boarded the crowded train at Phomoieng station at 6.30pm and attacked the commuters, who were on their way home from Johannesburg.

The woman was killed when she jumped off the train in an apparent bid to escape the attackers. Ngobeni said. All the other injuries were sustained. One killed, nine injured in train attack

g DARIUS SANAI  
at the hands of the attackers.

One woman was shot and the eight other people had hack and stab wounds.

More than 60 people have been killed countrywide in attacks on trains in the last 12 months.

Last night's attack was the first since the end of June.

No arrests had been made after last night's attack. Ngobeni said.

He added it was not yet known whether there was a political motive for the attack.

State spied

on us,

says Idasa

By Helen Grange

Pretoria Bureau

Two electronic eavesdropping devices have been found in the Pretoria offices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

An angry Ivor Jenkins, Idasa's Pretoria regional director, said the discovery of the bugs last week, "along with other evidence", indicated that agents of the State had spied on the organisation.

Expanding, Mr Jenkins said members of the security police had come into Idasa's offices one night, and affidavits had been drawn up outlining the incident.

"We found the bugs on top of the fluorescent lights in the office. There may be more. because we haven't checked all the lights."

The discovery constituted interference in the free political races: "and puts the De la Rourke Government's commitment to open political discussion under question". Mr Jenkins said.

"Why is it necessary to continue spying at a time when the Government wants everyone to believe the security establishment had all but folded?"

"It is this kind of double agenda which causes so many South Africans to doubt the integrity of the National Party."

Stiu QSIC )v/(jl

\_\_-\_\_L\_\_NEWS Foch

THE negotiation process  
i'tluld get an unexpected  
shot in the arm next  
month it the ANC se-  
riires conditional sup-  
port for its prn-talks  
stance from black politi-  
(':il organisations which  
in date have avoided en-  
i:.izing government.  
Leaders at the ANC  
PAC. Aupo and a number  
n! church. community and  
labour organisations meet  
:n Cape Town from August  
23 to 25 (or a "patriotic con-  
ference" - the lirst major  
meeting between maior  
township political plnvers  
since government une  
banned them last year.  
While sanctions and nolie  
tical Violence will be dis-  
cussed at length. the suc-  
cess of thr cnnterence will  
be judged by the extent to  
which the parties involved  
reach agreement on the  
thorny issue 0! constitution-  
al negotiations.

Last month the ANC con-  
ference snlidly suppiirted  
continued negotiations wtth  
government. while in De-  
cember the PAC and Alapo  
lnrmally rejected talks ln-  
ltatha is unlikely to partici-  
pate In the tionlerence.

Given these conflicting  
mandates the consensus  
reat'hed WI" be decided by  
liuw murh the leaders are

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, Juty 25 '95! 5

Pragmatism key to support for ANC, govt talks

prepared to n-t-inproinisv

and the flextbilitv tliev

particularly the PAP and

'tiapo - eiiiov lrum "Il'll'

nrganisatitins to inner"!

Ihi'ir staiire on tzilks

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relative strengths ht tir-

gan'isaiions tn the black

t-ummunty. and support

which delegates in the row

tt'rence WI" lend to their

piiSitions

'l'he conterence will also

be attended by Ifosatii.

Nactui the SA ('nmmunist

Party, the SA (iounvil ol

('hurches. the National

Olympic Committee 0! SA.

the SA Cnunt'il on Sparta

and others

Their participation will

be cruCial it the impasse

between the ANC. PAC and

Azapo is to be broken

('iintrarv to popular he-

liel, (Zosatu and SM's back-  
 ing does not necessarily  
 give the ANC dominance  
 over the PAC and Azapo.  
 which have close links with  
 Nartu and the New Unity  
 Movement. and Workers  
 Organisation for Socialist  
 Struggle  
 Principles and pragma-  
 tism have a better chance  
 at succeeding at this con-  
 ference than any other  
 South African meeting because of  
 the determined stand by  
 unions affiliated to Nartu  
 and Zosatu to disassociate  
 themselves from specifi-  
 c political organisations  
 For instance the Cosatu  
 conference which begins to-  
 day will be addressed by  
 leaders at the ANC. PAC  
 and Azapo for the first  
 time. The SACC. cultural.  
 community and sports as-  
 sociations are now taking a  
 more independent line  
 They will do their best not  
 to side with any at the three  
 on the basis of ideology. but  
 will do so on principle  
 Nonetheless. the ANC is  
 size resources and higher  
 profile locally and inter-  
 nationally gives it a deli-  
 cate advantage over the  
 Leading black organisations will focus then attention on negotiations,  
 sanctions and township violence at a high-level conference in Cape  
 Town on August 23-25 THAMI MAZWAI, business editor of the  
 Sowetan, who is currently on secondment to Business Day, looks at  
 some of the issues involved. and why the ANC may (39) support to  
 continue with talks with government.  
 PAC and Azapo it also en-  
 joys the support of more or-  
 ganisations  
 The PAC enjoys consid-  
 erable community support  
 because of its radicalism  
 and its hard-orientated ap-  
 proach to the liberation  
 struggle. It is also respect-  
 ed for its consistency  
 Azapo has fought hard  
 for the recognition it now  
 enjoys, it draws its support  
 largely from the 1976 gen-  
 eration and in some areas  
 has a bigger following than  
 the PAC and ANC  
 Azapo and the PAC enjoy  
 an influence over the ANC  
 which would appear to  
 outweigh their numerical  
 strength This was borne  
 out by the Harare confer-  
 ence in which apparently  
 PAC sentiments on several  
 issues won the day  
 Despite its relative  
 strength. the ANC is unlike

ly to ignore other organisations' objections to negotiations. Instead it sees this conference as an opportunity to win support for talks from as wide a range of organisations as possible. It knows this will increase its clout with government. More importantly, it will need credible allies should government prove an unpromising opponent. The PAC and Azapo will be forced to be more pragmatic because of their failure to wage an effective armed struggle. Their alternative to negotiations in addition, the PAC and Azapo know that while support for negotiations has flagged somewhat after the ANC's frustrations with government, blacks as a whole want talks, which appear to promise normality for their conflict-ravaged communities. Perhaps the determining factor is that the Cape Town indaba comes after desperate appeals for unity in action from the harkle, Pruning their rhetoric, all that they have actually said is that talks with government are premature at this stage as De Klerk currently holds all the aces. Hence their demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly. They want the numbers in the black community to restore the balance of power between government and its hitherto negotiating partners. Only then, they argue, will negotiations hold some promise for blacks. What may then happen at the conference is that the ANC will reach an accommodation with other organisations if it agrees that the election of a constituent assembly must be the basis for all talks. The ANC is likely to go along with this proposal. It is a constituent assembly has also hit its demands. While general support for negotiations remains the ANC's strength in the townships, it will find that it has less room for manoeuvre in talks with government.

Accepting anything less  
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SOWETAN Thursday July 25 t

Come join the  
CISKEPS military  
ruler Brigadier Oupa  
quzo has launched a  
new political party,  
the African Demo-  
cratic Movement  
which, he said, would  
be open to everyone  
except communists.  
Brigadier quzo, the  
newly elected interim  
leader of the ADM. said  
the movement would  
ensure those who wanted  
to destroy Ciskei were  
removed from positions  
of power.

ltWe are going to  
clean up Ciskei." he said.  
the announcement of  
the formation of the  
ADM, at the Ciskei  
House of Assembly in  
Bisho, put to rest a  
month-old rumour that  
quzo was preparing to  
launch an Inkatha-linked  
"Ciskei Fmdom Party".  
quzo said the ADM  
rejected "a unitary state  
and nationalisation be-  
cause it is dictatorial and  
not democratic ' '.

Mouthpiece

Wl'he ADM will be a  
mouthpiece of the silent  
majorities in Southern Af-  
rica. lt believes that there  
is no other political move-  
ment that represents the  
majority on a realistic and  
moderate basis.

"The ADM will ac-  
commodate all peace  
loving people who do not  
wish to be intimidated. or  
involved in violence.

"You can choose to be  
cowards and allow your-  
selves to be intimidated  
and manipulated, or you  
can choose to follow a  
peaceful route of change  
and democracy.

llTrue democracy  
means the freedom to  
choose."

but

notyou  
commies

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He said the new move-  
ment was against  
violence, intimidation and  
the armed struggle,  
believed in the free  
market system and was  
not confined to a single



population group.  
He said the movement supported unity of the people through common objectives and fundamental core values such as freedom of association, religion and economy, "responsible" freedom of speech. a bill of rights. an independent judiciary and the right to equal opportunity and education. However the exact name of the movement was elusive to the end. as various speakers at the function to launch the party recently gave it three different names. Officially announced as the African Democratic Movement. the Rev GT Hopa. who gave the opening prayer, preferred to call it the African Independent Party. quzo himself referred to it as a cultural movement.

Ciskeils foreign minister Mr MS Manzi told the assembled crowd: "We are witnessing a decline in moral values and it is time to say no! "

He said: "We have chosen Brigadier quzo as the interim leader of our ADM. because he has demonstrated himself to be a man of action not just words. a Christian. a diplomat and a mentor. a

bWe are terrorised by kids. My own grandchildren are meting out corporal punishment to us. , man with moral values.

uWe believe that we are the only political movement that offers us membership as Africans first and foremost, dissolving our individual differences and forging a common identity."

All the speakers were at pains to explain that the idea did not come from quzo but from them.

VW Mati, chief organiser of the founding committee. said they went to quzo to ask: "Canlt we go to the silent majority. as Africans we suffered under conditions that cannot be disclosed."

Referring to ANC-

aligned structures in the region he said "when they talked of the Ciskei Freedom Party they were heating our footsteps' '. The elderly AB Hala-

hoya, of the adult's section of the ADM. said:

uAs an old man I have endured the pain and felt thorns in the flesh. "We are terrorised by kids. My own grandchildren are meting out corporal punishment to us.

Market

"Our things have been broken. Mdantsane is like a varkhok (pig Sty).

uThese are words forced on us by Soviet and communist ideologies. We will not be dictated to by foreigners. with their transparent double agendas. on how to conduct our African lives."

He said the ADM believed in the free market system and was not confined to a single population group. li(It) believes in a multiparty democracy for the new South Africa. and that no single movement of party can claim the presumptuous right to be the sole representative of the black and white majority." said guzo.

He said the ADM was usolidly built on discipline, a work ethic, obedience to law and order and a shared vision of the future '.

Interests

The movement would "address the real needs of the people and serve their real interests and would not tolerate power plays in political corridors, neither will it endorse the personal gains of its leaders".

l'Most imponant of all the ADM is based on sound Christian principles. values and ethics, and acknowledges God as the creator and true leader of us all," said guzo. -

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