

*K SOWETAN 25/7/91*

# ANC, PAC and Azapo consult on consumer boycott

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

A PLAN of action, including the possible boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV area, was being discussed among the ANC, Azapo and the PAC, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa told *Sowetan* that although his organisation's intention was to have the consumer boycott effected from today, this was not possible as consultations were still being carried out with the PAC, Azapo and "various mass formations and democratic structures".

"The climax of this process (of consultation) will be marked by an announcement of a specific programme of action on Monday," he said.

The ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions called for the boycott of white-owned businesses in pamphlets distributed during the past weekend.

They also called for an end to retrenchments and electricity cuts, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Meanwhile, Azapo's Central Transvaal region has distanced itself from the call.

Miss Malebo Rammopo, regional publicity director, said Azapo was not consulted when the decision was taken and therefore did not endorse it.

"We believe that there has not been maximum consultation with all components of the liberation struggle and that this is a very important prerequisite to any mass action by the community.

"If people are going to be called upon to make decisions involving sacrifices, they must be consulted so that they become part and parcel of decisions taken," Rammopo said.

Azapo's Thabong branch yesterday criticised the ANC/SACP/Cosatu call for a consumer boycott in Welkom, saying such action was a useful weapon for black emancipation, but should be preceded by consultation.

"The Thabong branch of Azapo feels the call for a consumer boycott by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance undermines the existence of other organisations such as Azapo, Nactu, PAC, Ministers Fraternal, the Thabong Business Association, Aptocsa, Sapda and the civic association."

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the branch said it had resolved that a joint meeting of all components of the liberation movement should be held to discuss and agree on local demands. - Sapa.

*16/1/14*



# De Klerk

*Guardian London*

## and the web of intrigue

25/7/91

**T**HE SLIME of South Africa's Inkathagate has spread more widely since the Guardian first exposed it last week. Today we provide further essential evidence. President F. W. de Klerk's government is now shown to have bankrolled Inkatha — the organisation chiefly blamed for thousands of township deaths — on a much greater scale than already admitted. Government allocations for its "Secret Services Account" have actually increased since Mr De Klerk took office, in spite of his alleged aim to cut down covert activities. The Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, is implicated, as well as the Ministers for Defence and Law and Order. But the auditor-general, Peter Wronsley, has reported that the Cabinet as a whole approved the secret fund — a decision which directly involves the President. Mr De Klerk may not have signed the dockets, but he certainly endorsed the policy.

Yesterday our Foreign Secretary told the House of his "concern", but said he accepted the assurances of Mr Botha that "the South African Government had not been conniving with Inkatha over violence". Mr Botha, who has prevaricated so blatantly in the past, is not a reliable witness and should really be preparing to resign. The distinction drawn by Mr Hurd between the financing of Inkatha and support for violence is also unreal. It is a violence-prone organisation, and the evidence of the white regime's support for it has long been piling up. Our revelations — and the further disclosures which they have inspired — provide confirming proof. The contours of Mr De Klerk's double agenda have also been easy to infer. Writing in the International Herald Tribune, former US undersecretary of state for human rights, Stephen B. Cohen, describes them as "freeing Nelson Mandela, unbanning the anti-apartheid opposition and dismantling much of apartheid's legal structure, but at the same time orchestrating violence against the government's chief rival, the African National Congress". The shape of Inkatha's own bloody agenda, too, has been well charted.

One important effect of the revelations is that the continuation of sanctions becomes a wide open argument. It will now loom large in the proceedings of the Harare Commonwealth Conference in October, when informal initiatives to talk with Pretoria are likely to be shelved. Three weeks ago we argued that, before Mr Bush had lifted sanctions, "the evidence of covert government support for Inkatha in the township violence should also have been taken into account". The same argument is now being heard in Washington, and should be taken very seriously.

A second consequence is that it is now extremely hard to believe in Mr De Klerk's personal sincerity. The pro-government Citizen newspaper in Johannesburg warned on Tuesday that his image as a "man of honour" is very much in question. Amazingly Mr De Klerk still hoped yesterday to stave off any public statement until next week. His official friends abroad, particularly those in Washington and London, should warn him that he has to tell the truth now — and if necessary face the consequences.



# Imibandela

## ye-ANC ebhekiswe

### kuHulumeni

ETHEKWINI:-Inhlangano yombusazwe i-African National Congress (ANC) seyikhiphe imibandela eyisithupha uHulumeni okufanele ahlangabezane nayo kulandela ukuvezwa kodaba lokusizwa kweNkatha Freedom Party ngezimali nguHulumeni wakulelizwe.

Lokhu sekubeke ubudlelwano phakathi kwe-ANC kanye noHulumeni engozini kulandela isitatimende esikhishwe yilenhlangano futhi esisola abombutho wezokuphepha kulelizwe ngokuthi basebenzisa abantu bangaphandle ukuhlasele abantu bakuleli ezindlini zabo kanye nasezitimele-ni.

Esitatimendeni esikhishwe yilenhlangano ngemuva kokuvezwa kwaloludaba inxuse uMongameli wezwe, uMnuz F.W. de Klerk, ukuba aluqede loluhlobo lwezenzo futhi axoshe uNgqongqoshe wezomThetho kanye nokuGcinwa kwawo, uMnuz Adriaan Vlok, kanye noNgqongqoshe wezokuVikelwa kwezwe, uMnuz Magnus Malan.

Ibuye yanxusa uMnuz de Klerk ukuba asungule ikhomishane ezokwakhi-

wa yiwo wonke amaqembu ombusazwe ezophe-nya ngokuthinteka kukaHulumeni odlameni kanye nasekuhlinzekeni izinhlangano zombusazwe ngezimali. Yathi kufanele aqede futhi amaqembu asithekileyo asebutshweni wezokuphepha kanye namaphoyisa.

I-ANC inxuse ukuba ivezele umphakathi ngokusebenza kwezimali ezisesikhwameni esifihleki-leyo okuthiwa sahlizelwa ngoR380m. Yathi kufanele uHulumeni angazithatheli izinyathelo zomthetho izisebenzi ezi-veza okuthile ngaloludaba.

Ithe impendulo kaHulumeni kulokhu ekufunayo yiyona eyocacisa ukuthi uzimisele kangakanani ngokuxazulula le-sisimo. Yathi ifisa umhlaba wazi ukuthi ukuhoxisa kwawo unswinyo kunge-ngozi enkulu yathi kufanele labo asebethathe izinyathelo zokuhoxisa unswinyo basicabangisise lesisinyathelo abasithathileyo.

Inxuse amalungu e-IFP abaholi kanye nabalandeli bayo ukuthi bangakuvumeli ukusetshe-nziswa ngumbuso kanye nobuholi obumbaxambili.

16/1/11



16/1/20

DN 25/07/91

# Tutu slams FW on IFP funding

## Stop playing games, demands bishop

CAPE TOWN'S Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has condemned State President F.W. de Klerk's response so far to the crisis which has erupted over Government funding of Inkatha and evidence of Security Force involvement in political violence.

Archbishop Tutu said in a statement yesterday that Mr de Klerk had been given an opportunity to rehabilitate his integrity.

"He doesn't seem to realise the seriousness of our crisis. He is apparently playing games and he's playing with the future of this country.

"I call on him to act far more decisively and urgently."

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

The church leaders' demands included:

- The immediate resignation or dismissal of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

**NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN**  
Political Reporter

- The Government must impose an immediate ban on all covert action and an immediate freeze on any use of secret funds.

- Such a ban should be monitored by auditors and experts appointed by agreement with all major political groupings, religious bodies and business groups.

- 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 political groupings and the religious and business communities, full access to Government records relating to such activities.

- The Government must commit itself to a commission of inquiry into security force involvement in the violence on the basis that membership of the commission, its terms of reference and the composition of the team must be established by agreement with major political parties, business and religious groups.



The Citizen 25 July 1991

## Inkatha resignation:

## Felgate explains

I REFER to your lead story of July 23, "Inkatha to give back govt cash" and wish to make a personal statement to correct any possible misunderstanding which could have arisen from what I said at the Press conference held at Burgerspark Hotel on Tuesday July 23.

Journalists were asking why Mr M Z Khumalo, who admitted receiving money from the South African Government and who had resigned as personal assistant to the President of the IFP, had not been brought to face journalists at the Press conference.

I stated that Mr Khumalo was no longer an employee of the IFP and could not be told what to do, and I said that he was not in our midst — he is not with us.

I had earlier asked journalists whether they really thought that Mr Khumalo would want to be there in their midst so that he could parade shame in front of them.

These statements must

be clarified. Mr M Z Khumalo has not only been a loyal, trusted and faithful servant of Inkatha Freedom Party, but he is held in the highest esteem by everybody in the party. He is a very close personal friend of mine and I have nothing but the greatest admiration for the noble way in which he acted when he realised that his misjudgment in accepting money from the South African Government to help hold peace rallies.

It was his insistence that he should resign. He is still a close friend whom I still hold in the highest esteem. It is because I hold him in such esteem that I afford to him the right to appear or not to appear before the Press as he sees fit. He has done the right thing. I am proud of him for doing so. I will back him in the choices that he now makes.

I believe that while speaking personally in what I am saying I reflect very substantially the view of the IFP. Mr Khumalo's error was an error of not seeking the advice of his president and his colleagues and taking unilateral action. I do not suspect his motivation, and I am quite sure that when the documents in which he accounted for the expenditure of the R250 000 come to light, it will be found that every cent was spent to promote peace rallies of which I and every South African ought to be proud.

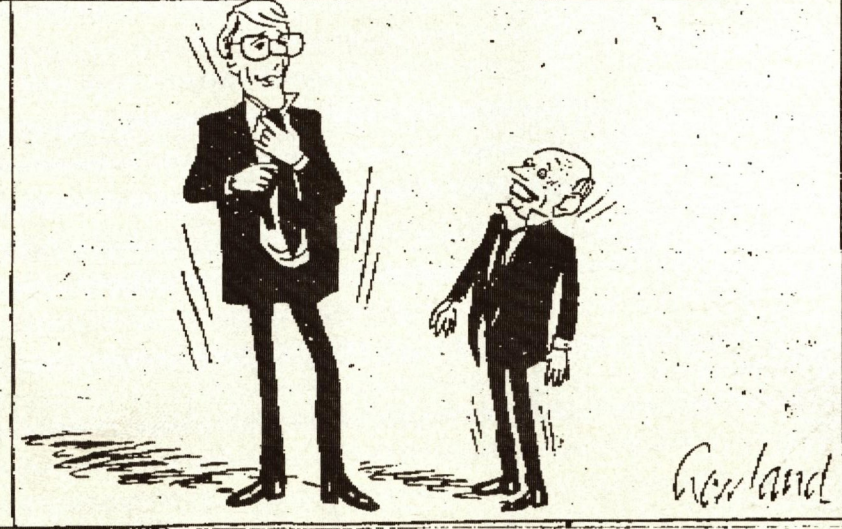
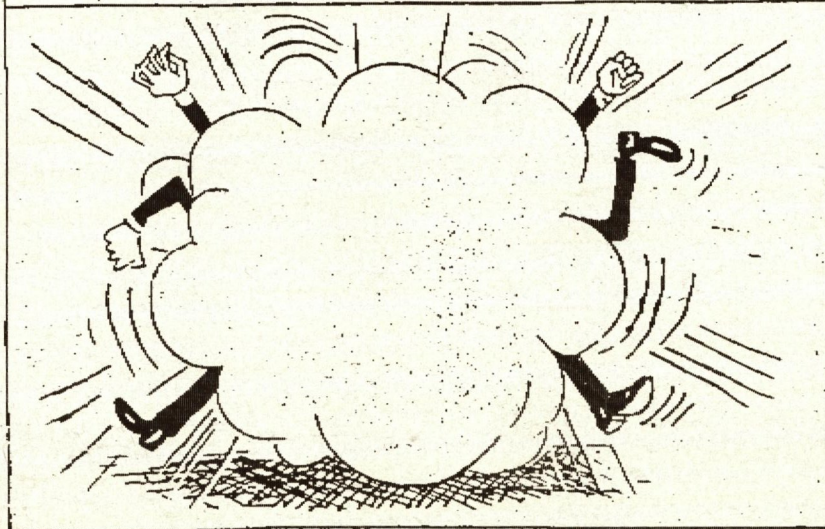
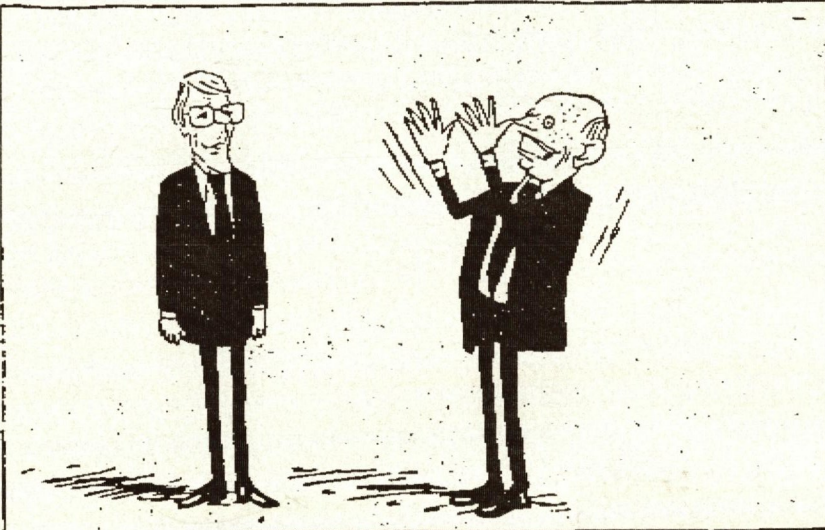
We are not ashamed of what was done with the money and only say that Mr Khumalo had no right to make a personal decision in the matter.

**W S FELGATE**  
Central Committee Member  
Inkatha Freedom Party  
Ulundi



PAGE 2 OF 2  
25/7/91  
LONDON

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH





DAILY

TELEGRAPH

25/7/91

London

## FOREIGN QUESTIONS

# Pretoria rumour causing concern

By Alan Osborn, Political Staff

THE Government has expressed its concern to the government of South Africa over reports suggesting that Pretoria connived at violence in the townships, Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, said yesterday.

He told the Commons he had spoken for half an hour yesterday on the telephone to Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister.

"I am troubled by these reports," Mr Hurd said. He said that in his talk with Mr Botha "I urged that the South African government should be clear and open about what had occurred and for the future make it clear that old policies had been discarded and that the policing of the country was to be politically impartial and effective."

Mr Hurd was replying, at Foreign Questions, to Sir Peter Blaker (C Blackpool S) who asked him about reports that the Pretoria government

had been giving aid to Inkatha at the expense of the African National Congress.

The Foreign Secretary said that the financing of Inkatha, so far as it had been declared, "belonged to an earlier stage and was brought to an end in the early part of last year."

"Much more serious in my view are allegations of conniving at violence," he said.

"That is why it is crucially important that the South African government should repeat that they have not connived at such violence," he said.

Mr Kaufman, Labour foreign affairs spokesman, said that in the light of the reports "it would be folly for there to be precipitate lifting of sanctions as long as the good faith of the South African government remains in doubt."

The reports had "inevitably cast a very worrying light on the faith of the South African Government," he said.



# Back to step one as trust

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

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

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

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

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

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

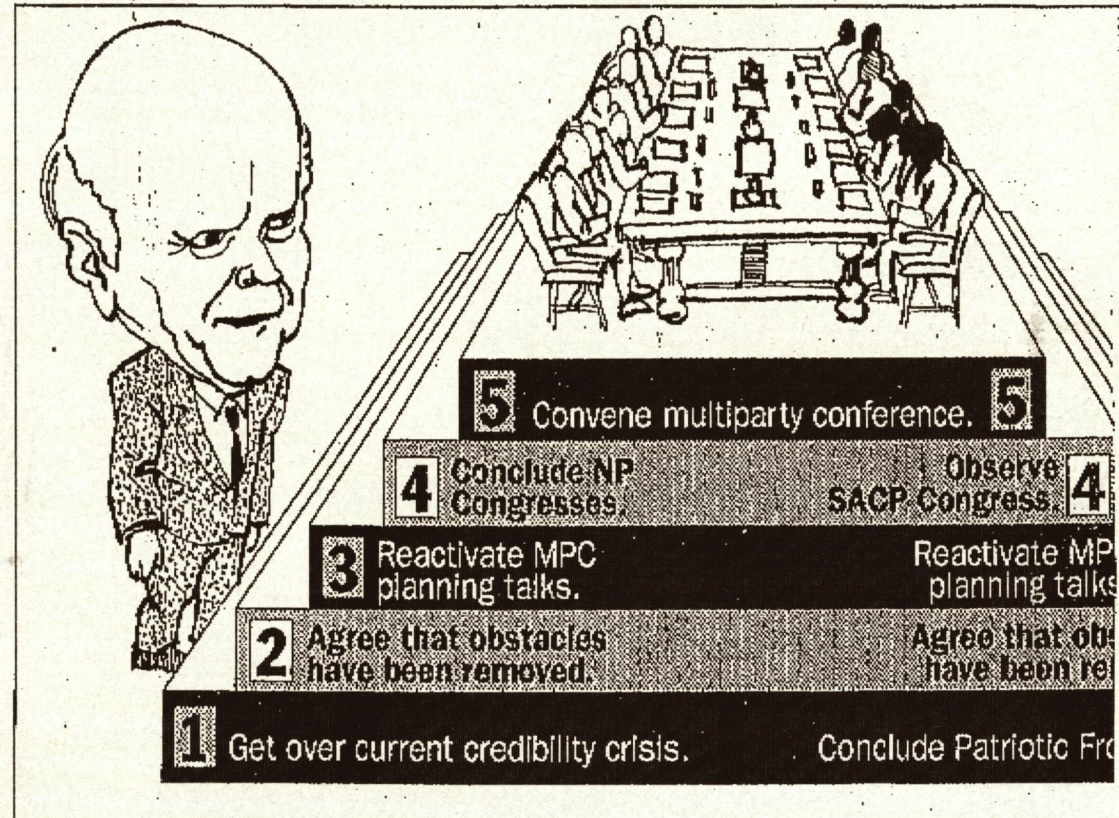
The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Govern-

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

For its part, the ANC must

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

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



Back to step 1  
as trust (2)

# takes knock



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

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

But will recent developments cause either side to shift — that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



*The Star 25 July 1991*

#### 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 disclosed on Tuesday 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 SA (Umsa), the Urban Councils Association of SA, the National

## 4 bodies deny benefits from State coffers

Forum and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance.

Former Umsa president Tom Boya and former secretary-general Solly Rammala issued a joint statement yesterday rejecting the allegations.

Federal Independent Democratic Alliance president 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.

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 organisations supported by the Government, but said Mr Jordaan did not mention five organisations he believed were worthy of investigation.

They were the Ximoko Progressive Party in Gazankulu, Inyandze in KaNgwane, Intanda ye Sizwe in KwaNdebele, the United People's Front in Lebowa and Dikwankwetla in QwaQwa.

Yesterday, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Nelson Ramodike, dismissed claims that his political organisation, the United People's Front, could have received covert Government funding.




Fida president John Gogotya ... wants to put the record straight.



Former Umsa president Tom Boya ... suggestions of covert funding 'ridiculous'.



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# THE CITIZEN

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# FUNDS ROW: GOVT WILL FIGHT BACK

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 believes the disclosures are aimed at forcing its

resignation.

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

Sources at the highest level last night told The Citizen that at the two-day bushveld Indaba Monday and Tuesday,

State President De Klerk and his Ministers reached the conclusion that the government and the State President himself were the ultimate targets of the disclosures.

They said the government was preparing to

**TO PAGE 2**



B/Day 25 July 1991

**IDT appointments**

FORMER KaNgwane Chief  
Minister Enos Mabuza and the  
principal of the Transkei  
University, Prof Wiseman  
Nkulu, have been appointed  
additional executive directors  
of the Independent  
Development Trust



B/Day 25 July  
1991

# No assurances, no documents — editor X

BILLY PADDOCK

HIGH-ranking SAP members met Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber on Tuesday in an attempt to get copies of the documents the newspaper used for its reports on government's funding of Inkatha.

However, Harber did not hand these over as the policemen refused to give him assurances that they would not restrict, harass, bring interdicts or subpoena the paper or its journalists.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lt-Gen Louwrijie Erasmus, the Crime Investigation Services CO, a legal adviser and a Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the security police) member met Harber and the paper's legal adviser at the Law and Order Ministry offices in Pretoria.

He said the purpose of the meeting was to obtain access to documents held by the Weekly Mail "in good time so that we could give proper and informed comment" on stories the paper would publish tomorrow.

Harber said the police were desperate to see the documents.

They said they were investigating a case of theft and breach of the Protection of Information Act. But we argued the documents and this case did not fall into this category," he said.

It was reported yesterday that police believed an SAP member based in Durban had stolen the documents and had then disappeared.



The Citizen 25 July 1991

## Buthelezi baited on TV

I WAS somewhat perturbed at the way in which Chief Buthelezi was baited by the Press on TV's Agenda last Sunday. Many viewers with whom this matter has been discussed wholeheartedly concur.

The Western world has become so intensely obsessed with reverence for democratic rights, freedom of speech, etc, that I wonder if we are not in danger of being conditioned to the point of

"worshipping" such man-made dogmas.

The Bible teaches that life and character are more important than dogmas and ritualisms, and in Chief Buthelezi we have a man of character: a dignified, scholarly man who has gained Western economic perspectives through such learned counsel as Kohl and Thatcher.

He is a leader who, under the gravely difficult circumstances of the apartheid system, opted for the Christian values of negotiation and reconciliation rather than the Marxists' gun-barrel.

Democracy and free speech have a place in our lives, but man-made dogmas fall into a more balanced perspective when we put the first of the Ten Commandments first.

**Mrs E D ROBINSON**

Uvongo



Daily News  
25/07/91

## SACP / ANC ALLIANCE IN CONFUSION



Harry Gwala

could not be contacted yesterday.  
SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, who praised  
Mr Gorbachev earlier this week for his

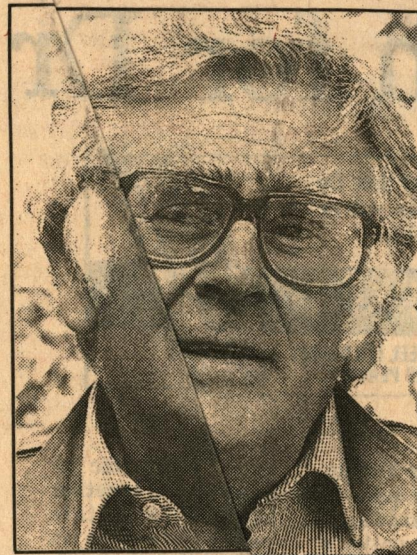
Frans Esterhuyse

"courageous" reforms, could not be reached for his reaction to the crackdown on the Russian Communist Party and the toppling of the statues of former leaders such as Lenin and Felix Dzerzhinsky, founder of the hated secret police, the KGB.

Mr Slovo was said to be "uncontactable".  
SACP media officer Mr Essop Pahad said a statement would be issued after a meeting on Monday "to review the situation".

The latest developments in the Soviet Union were also expected to be discussed next weekend at a meeting of an internal leadership group of the party.  
Mr Pahad was reluctant to discuss the latest events.

Asked to comment on the action taken against the Russian Communist Party, he said: "Naturally we are always concerned in a situation where the activities of political parties are curtailed."  
Emphasising that he was giving his person-



Joe Slovo

al opinion, he said such action would be "a matter of grave concern to us", but if there had been a violation of the law

the judicial process would have its course.

Asked how the events affected the Mr Pahad said his party was affected — "we said from the beginning that the SACP remains in favour of a negotiated solution."

If anything, the events in the Soviet Union had strengthened the SACP's position in regard to democratic socialism. Mr Pahad declined to discuss how the SACP's "democratic socialism" in with Soviet thinking, saying it won't enter into comparisons".

Communist hardliner in the ANC, Harry Gwala, whose Natal Midlands branch of the SACP came out in support of the Soviet coup this week, was not available to comment. Members of his family said he was not at home and they could not say where he could be contacted.

The Midlands branch warmly welcomed the coup that temporarily ousted Mikhail Gorbachev.

The reason given for this stand was that "his government could have been more constructive to the socialist objective". This stand went directly against the official SACP line adopted by party leader Mr Joe Slovo in criticising the coup. Praising Mr Gorbachev's reforms,

16/1/11



16/1/11

*Mercury* 25/02/91

## Top ANC men at lawyer's funeral

JOHANNESBURG—  
Slain ANC lawyer Bheki  
Mlangeni was buried in  
the Heroes' Arch section  
of the Avalon Cemetery,  
Soweto, during a peace-  
ful funeral at the  
weekend.

Mr Mlangeni was kill-  
ed last week by a parcel  
bomb hidden in the  
headphones of a cas-  
sette player.

Sapa reports that the  
mood at the funeral was  
a sombre one, with fam-  
ily members, including  
Mr Mlangeni's wife,  
breaking down with  
emotions amid militant  
speeches by activists.

Mr Mlangeni's stature  
in the ANC and the  
South African Commu-  
nist Party was under-  
scored by the high-  
ranking officials present  
at the funeral, including  
Mr Nelson Mandela, Mrs  
Winnie Mandela, SACP  
chairman Joe Slovo,  
ANC director of interna-  
tional affairs Thabo  
Mbeki, internal leader  
Walter Sisulu and his  
wife, Albertina.

Our Johannesburg  
correspondent reports  
that investigators prob-  
ing Mr Mlangeni's mur-  
der are examining  
'bomb signatures' to try  
to connect the walkman  
bomb to other blasts, an  
informed source said.

The bomb was  
thought to have origin-  
ally been intended for  
exiled former 'death  
squad' policeman Dirk  
Coetzee.

Two other bomb  
blasts appeared to have  
similar 'signatures' — a  
television bomb that ex-  
ploded in Harare in 1987  
and a parcel bomb that  
blew off the hand of  
Zimbabwean priest Mi-  
chael Lapsley in May  
last year.

Investigators say they  
are aware of allegations  
made in the Sunday  
Star that an S A P  
'death factory' exists in  
Rebecca Street, Pretor-  
ia, and intend investi-  
gating the workshop.



25 July  
1991

## 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 Inkathagate.

While the government holds back, the affair snowballs.

Accusations are being made of possible funding of other organisations besides Inkatha. 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 "the 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 Klerk's favoured negotiating partner, but intends to blackguard Mr De Klerk and his government wherever he can.

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; Inkathagate 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 Inkathagate 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 phoney backslapping we have had until now.



## Azanyu slams funding

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Azanian Youth Unity yesterday slammed what has come to be known as "Inkathagate".

Azanyu said the scandal underscored the futility of negotiations.

"In view of the Government-Inkatha scandal, Azanyu reiterates its position that negotiations and demands for a constituent assembly are counter-revolutionary and a waste of time.

"Needless to say, the virtual silence of the 'liberation movements' on an issue of this magnitude raises extreme suspicion.

"The liberation movements need not only condemn the action but must also be seen to be serious by pulling out of the circus called negotiations."

# Dhlomo steers clear of row

SOWETAN 25-07-91



OSCAR DHLOMO

THE chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said there were "obvious reasons" why he would not go ahead and reveal exactly what he knew about the current row involving Government payments to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"It is now exactly one year and one month since I resigned from Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

"I sincerely ask Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept that, in as much as he does not owe me an explanation about how he conducts his personal and public affairs, I also do not owe him an explanation.

"Our ways have parted and the least we can do is to maintain mutual respect," Dhlomo

Following the IFP's thinly veiled suggestions there that Dhlomo was responsible for blowing the whistle on the covert Government funding to the IFP there is increasing speculation that the IFP is scared that Dhlomo could reveal information that could be damaging to the organisation.

KwaZulu Minister of Health Dr Ben Ngubane said that Dhlomo was "ungrateful for what Buthelezi has done for him".

Dhlomo came in for a bashing on Sunday, the last day of the conference, in what is believed to be the IFP's attempts to deflect the damaging information about the covert Government funding, from the organisation. - Sowetan Correspondent.

said.

Dhlomo refused to disclose what he might or might not know about Government funding to the IFP.

He resigned from Inkatha two months after the March 1990, IFP rally which was funded by the Government.

Dhlomo was speaking yesterday following damaging attacks on him at the weekend's IFP national conference at Ulundi.



*The Star**25 July 1991*

## UK assured Govt and IFP not conniving

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 5 000 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.

Later, 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 SA 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 SA Government in its negotiations with the ANC.



B/Day 25 July 1991

## Review 'traditional weapons' policy

Dear Sir,  
THE revelations about the state's financial support of Inkatha leads one to suspect the reasons for its recognition of the "right" of Zulus to carry traditional weapons in public.

There is good support for the view that violence and social instability within the country still inhibit foreign investors from granting the loans needed to restore growth and prosperity.

"Traditional weapons" are symbols of that very violence and have been used in attacks by Inkatha groups, and they emphasise outdated tribal enmities. Their public showing raises fears, if not jeers and sneers, in the outside civilised world, which regards as contemptible or comic the assertion that Zulu "manhood" depends upon the right to carry these weapons in public.

I, for one, do not want to advance into a future SA in the company of members of Inkatha chanting war cries and brandishing pangas, assegais, axes and knobkerries in a manner of a bygone era.

What does? Let the government reconsider its policy.

HARRY BARKER  
Parktown

Dear Sir,  
ROBERT Greig (Business Day, July 24) takes a nice point in his letter on Heather Mackie's review of poems. Poems should not be reviewed "in terms of the poets' ages, skin colour, gender and assumed political alignment..." If this is not substantiated by reference to the poems". He then says "poems are performances of language and meanings, not exhibitions of the random effects of the poet's ability to celebrate a 40th birthday or his or her genealogy". Perhaps.

Then he goes overboard — he draws a parallel with trying to explain CEOs' performances in terms

of their being "geriatric, Negroid, female and reactionary".

If the poet is writing about age, blackness, femininity and reaction, it does help to know these things. Ezra Pound's putrid anti-Semitism could, one supposes, be regarded as a matter of pure craft, but it would be easier, surely, to understand what he is saying if one knows what he is.

To be sure Heather Mackie's failure to pinpoint exactly where "white, male, liberal establishment ideas" are relevant could be held against her. But this is a far cry from explaining CEOs' business performances in terms of age, race, gender and political faith, if only because

poetry, besides being "consciously crafted" often involves communicable meaning which the poet could derive from his age, race, gender and politics.

Preoccupations, obsessions cannot be swept under the carpet. Has Greig forgotten Eliot's "I grow old, I wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled"? In the Song of Songs it says "I am black, but comely".

GERSCHOM GREENE  
Johannesburg

Dear Sir,  
I WAS invited as an observer to attend the Inkatha Freedom Party conference last weekend. I would like to point out that at no time was the storm over the covert funding for the IFP allowed to dominate the annual conference.

On the contrary, after issuing a

brief statement to the Press Chief Buthelesi stated quite clearly that the conference was not going to be distracted from the important issues at stake.

It was not until Sunday morning when the articles published in the Sunday Times were read one by one, and translated into Zulu, that the matter was handled at the conference at great length.

It was heartening to hear the resounding roars of support that Chief Buthelesi received.

Chief Buthelesi invited Dr Sipho Mzimela, a former ANC member, to speak. He stated that the conference had reminded him of ANC meetings held many years ago.

And I was struck by the goodwill and friendliness that all of us there received.

GIL WERNER  
Wendywood

While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

REVIEW



B1 Day 25 July  
1991

## Cosatu congress to make vital choices

VERA VON LIERES

COSATU's relationship with the ANC and SACP will be scrutinised by more than 2 500 delegates to the federation's fourth national congress which starts at the Nasrec show-grounds near Johannesburg today.

The conference will be attended by delegates from 14 affiliated unions.

The ANC, SA Communist Party, PAC, SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference have been invited, as have guests from trade unions and labour federations around the world.

A key issue on the agenda will be the adoption of a workers' charter, to ensure that a future constitution will entrench workers' rights and guarantee trade union independence. Such a charter would include the right to strike, organise, belong to a union and the right to a democratic government.

Congress delegates would consider whether Cosatu should play a direct role in the negotiation process, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo told a news briefing last week.

Cosatu's tripartite alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party will also come under scrutiny. Naidoo said discussions would be aimed at strengthening the alliance.

Delegates will discuss how the issue of overlapping union and political leadership in the alliance can be regulated to ensure that it does not compromise the federation's independence.

Delegates are likely to support a broader strategy for peace and will discuss self-defence. They will also focus on adopting an economic policy with the emphasis on a union role in economic and industrial planning to create jobs and meet basic social needs.



B/Dam 25 July 1991

## Civil servant totals in 'homelands' swell

THE number of people employed in the governments of non-independent homelands rose to record levels this year despite official policies to reduce the size of the public sector.

Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures show employment in the six self-governing territories reached 198 447 in March, more than 2% higher than the previous year and almost 8% up on the same month in 1989.

The salary bill was R754m, almost 13% up on a year ago.

Development Bank GM Deon Richter said the civil service in the homelands functioned as an employment safety net in many cases.

The bank, in its financial adjustment programmes in these territories, hoped to curb the rapid growth in bureaucracy.

"But we do not expect to see an actual reduction in staff numbers, at least not in the near future."

Financial adjustment programmes have been implemented in only two of the six self-governing territories, Lebowa and Gazankulu.

The bank expects to help implement further financial adjustment programmes in at least some of the other homelands during the course of its current financial year.

The TBVC states, the public sector employment figures of which are not included in these CSS statistics, are also in the process of financial adjustment.

Richter said "continuous unfinanced government deficits" often triggered the realisation

GRETA STEYN

that structural adjustment was needed.

In some cases, deficits of up to 45% of GDP were reported.

But he added that in some of these territories, government spending accounted for virtually the entire GDP.

Structural adjustment paid special attention to the role of the public sector, with emphasis on making better use of scarce resources.

Budgeting procedures were overhauled with emphasis on longer term planning.

The efficient employment of large budget allocations was analysed in detail even when they seemed justified, as with education.

### Credibility

Richter regarded the ad hoc nature of budgeting encountered in some homelands as a "legacy of apartheid".

He insisted the bank's credibility was not threatened by helping these governments.

Refusing to deal with them would retard the development process, he said.

"One of the reasons for the bank's involvement in the programmes is that they bring greater certainty that a continuous capacity will prevail for states to take up loans from funding agencies such as the bank," Richter said.

Development structures in the homelands were being rationalised, as there was a multitude of development corporations. QwaQwa alone had five development corporations.



*The Citizen 25 July 1991*

## 'Bugs' found in Idasa office

TWO electronic eavesdropping devices were discovered this week in the Pretoria offices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) resulting in the organisation accusing "agents of the state" of spying on it.

Idasa's Pretoria region director Mr Ivor Jenkins in a statement said the discovery of the two bugging devices, "along with other evidence, points to the fact that agents of the

state have spied on our organisation".

The statement did not specify the "other evidence", but said the development constituted interference in the free political process, "and puts the De Klerk Government's commitment to open political discussion under question".

It also posed the question of why it was necessary to continue spying at a

time when the government wanted 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. If we are to pursue the course of democracy together, we are going to need concrete examples of the good faith."



B/Day 25 July 1991

NEWS FOCUS

# Pragmatism key to support

THE negotiation process could get an unexpected shot in the arm next month if the ANC secures conditional support for its pro-talks stance from black political organisations which to date have avoided engaging government.

Leaders of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and a number of church, community and labour organisations meet in Cape Town from August 23 to 25 for a "patriotic conference" — the first major meeting between major township political players since government unbanned them last year.

While sanctions and political violence will be discussed at length, the success of the conference will be judged by the extent to which the parties involved reach agreement on the thorny issue of constitutional negotiations.

Last month the ANC conference solidly supported continued negotiations with government, while in December the PAC and Azapo formally rejected talks. Incautha is unlikely to participate in the conference.

Given these conflicting mandates, the consensus reached will be decided by how much the leaders are

prepared to compromise and the flexibility they — particularly the PAC and Azapo — enjoy from their organisations to amend their stance on talks.

Added factors are the relative strengths of organisations in the black community, and support which delegates to the conference will lend to their positions.

The conference will also be attended by Cosatu, Nactu, the SA Communist Party, the SA Council of Churches, the National Olympic Committee of SA, the SA Council on Sports and others.

Their participation will be crucial if the impasse between the ANC, PAC and Azapo is to be broken.

Contrary to popular belief, Cosatu and SACP backing does not necessarily give the ANC dominance over the PAC and Azapo, which have close links with Nactu and the New Unity Movement, and Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Principles and pragmatism have a better chance of succeeding at this conference than any other similar meeting because of the determined stand by unions affiliated to Nactu and Cosatu to disassociate themselves from specific political organisations.

Leading black organisations will focus their 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 get support to continue with talks with government.

For instance the Cosatu conference which begins today will be addressed by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo for the first time. The SACC, cultural, community and sports associations are now taking a more independent line. They will do their best not to side with any of the three on the basis of ideology, but will do so on principle.

Nonetheless, the ANC's size, resources and higher profile locally and internationally gives it a definite advantage over the

PAC and Azapo. It also enjoys the support of more organisations.

The PAC enjoys considerable community support because of its radicalism and its land-orientated approach to the liberation struggle. It is also respected for its consistency.

Azapo has fought hard for the recognition it now enjoys. It draws its support largely from the 1976 generation 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 conference in which apparently PAC sentiments on several issues won the day.

Despite its relative strength, the ANC is unlikely 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 uncompromising 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 black community, even if it is at the cost of some organisations. Any organisation that takes an uncompromising and unrealistic stand, without viable options, is likely to pay for this in terms of lost membership.

While Azapo and the PAC appear unlikely to enter negotiations, they are flexi-

ble. 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



*Pragmatism key to support to  
ANC, govt talks*

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, July 25 1991

9

# for ANC, govt talks

constituent assembly. They want the numbers in the community to restore the balance of power between government and its black 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 position, as a constituent assembly has also been among its demands.

While general support for negotiations from the conference will strengthen the ANC's position in the townships, it will find that it has less room for manoeuvre in talks with government.

Accepting anything less than the constituent assembly will be seen as stabbing its allies in the back and

reneging on the resolutions of the patriotic conference.

This spells problems for government, which has rejected the assembly, saying it will lead to a "winner takes all" solution.

The conference will put on the backburner the ANC's hesitant demand for an interim government, and government's willingness to discuss the issue.

The PAC and Azapo, and many elements in the ANC, maintain that an interim

government is a de facto acceptance of De Klerk's legitimacy while they insist his government is illegitimate.

Also, they argue, De Klerk would dominate an interim government as the army, police and civil service would remain loyal to him rather than the interim structure.

For the rest of the conference agenda, the three groups agree inter-organisational violence must be

reduced and the sanctions campaign continue.

Pressures will, however, be brought to bear on the ANC over its vacillating policy on the sports and cultural boycotts. While the ANC conference called for the maintenance of all sanctions, officials have gone abroad to help dismantle the sports and cultural boycotts.

There is no doubt that the patriotic conference is going to change the face of politics in this country.

Its most important result is likely to be a strengthening of the ANC's position on negotiations, thus giving the process a vital boost.



*The Citizen 25 July 1991*

## Tutu criticises FW's response to scandal

CAPE TOWN. — Anglican 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 involvement in violence.

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

The church leaders' demands included:

- The immediate resignation or dismissal of Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan;
- The government must impose an immediate ban on all covert action and an immediate freeze on any use of secret funds; such a ban should be monitored by auditors and experts appointed by agreement with all major political

groupings, religious bodies and business groups.

- 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 political groupings and the religious and business communities full access to government records relating to such activities; and.

- The government must commit itself to a

commission of inquiry into security force involvement in the violence on the basis that membership of the commission, its terms of reference and the composition of the team must be established by agreement with major political parties, business and religious groups.

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



The Citizen 25 July 1991

## 'More soldiers want to speak'

FORMER soldiers trying to expose alleged "dirty tricks" by the South African army said yesterday that disaffected troops still in the service wanted to speak out but feared for their safety.

"People in the system want to come out with what they know, but they're hesitating because they're scared," said Mr Angelo Cottola of the Soldiers of Peace group.

Mr Nico Basson, a former major in military intelligence and the leader of Soldiers of Peace — an anti-apartheid group formed earlier this month — has been meeting police investigating allegations that soldiers have been involved in recent massacres of African National Congress supporters.

Charges of army involvement were levelled last week by Mr Felix Ndumene, a former army sergeant now in hiding at an undisclosed venue provided by Soldiers for Peace.

Mr Basson is being prosecuted by the army under the Protection of Information Act for breaking his oath of secrecy earlier this year, when he publicly accused the army of destabilising Black townships using paramilitary forces and propaganda methods it had previously deployed against neighbouring states.

SABC TV news last night screened extracts from a video tape containing allegations that South African Defence Force units had been responsible for township violence. — Sapa



*The Citizen 25 July 1991*

## ANC Youth say govt must quit

EXPOSURE of covert state funding of Inkatha indicated the time had arrived for President De Klerk to accept his government could not be trusted with the custody of South Africa's period of transition to true democracy.

This was said yesterday by the ANC's Youth League, which warned

that failure by Mr De Klerk to dismiss Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan would "denude the negotiation process of any credibility".

The government should step down immediately in favour of an interim government, the league said.

— Sapa



*The Argus 25 July 1991*

# 'No connivance' Pik assures UK on violence

LONDON. — South Africa has assured Britain there has been no official connivance in violence by Blacks against Blacks, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said yesterday.

He told Parliament he

telephoned Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday morning to express concern at Pretoria's acknowledged secret funding of the Black conservative Inkatha movement, and to urge the government to make clear that from now on police actions would be politically

impartial. "I urged that the South African Government should be clear and open about what had occurred and for the future make it clear that old policies had been discarded and that the policing of the country was to be politically impartial and effective," Mr Hurd said.

"In reply, Mr Botha gave me an assurance that there had been no connivance by the South African Government in violence in the townships originated by Inkatha or anybody else."

In the past four years, about 5 000 Blacks have died in clashes between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Mr Mandela has accused South Africa's security forces of siding with Inkatha.

Mr Hurd said he believed the weekend revelations that the South African Government had financed some Inkatha activities belonged to an earlier stage in South Africa and was brought to an end in the early part of last year.

Mr Botha has acknowledged authorising payment of R250 000 for two Inkatha rallies. The government contributed R1.5

## Assurance by Pik

### FROM PAGE 1

million to an Inkatha-aligned trade union.

"Much more serious in my view are (the ANC's) allegations of (official) conniving at violence," Mr Hurd said. "It is crucially important that the policing of the country should be in a different tradition from that which State President F W de Klerk inherited." —Sapa-Reuters.

### TO PAGE 2



# Govt may try to ride out funding storm

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and other Cabinet members involved 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 yesterday 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 authorising the allocation of government funds to Inkatha, but was carrying out government policy. However, he was in the Cabinet at the invitation of President F.W. de Klerk and his future within it rested with De Klerk.

Indications yesterday were that government 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 documentation to which newspapers might have had access. Both the Weekly Mail, which broke the Inkatha story last Friday, and Vrye Weekblad have promised more revelations this week.



• DE KLERK

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 P.W. Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan 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 assured 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

□ To Page 2

2

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, July 25 1991

## Funding

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 P.W. Botha prevailed upon the magazine not to publish details of the project at that stage. The FM reported that Botha said publicly 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.

Law and Order spokesman Captain

□ 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.

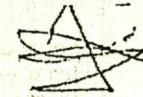
Security police Maj Louls Botha, who wrote the memorandum requesting funds for Inkatha, was present at the launch. Free buses and 17 trains were arranged to transport 80 000 people to the rally.



The Citizen 25 July 1991

(2)

## Govt will fight back



### 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 Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, would, in the circumstances, not satisfy those who had been baying for their blood.

Although there has been strong speculation that one or more Ministers would go in the wake of the disclosures that R250 000 was paid to Inkatha for two rallies, and up to R1,5 million to its trade union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWISA), the fact that there would not be sackings was

reiterated to The Citizen yesterday.

In a situation where the government was bracing itself for an onslaught to force its resignation, and 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 wrecking the negotiation process, and they would have to be confronted over this.

The fact that the government had a special fund for covert projects had been known publicly because funds were voted for it by Parliament.

A line the government

is expected to take is that — like many other countries — it had a right to use such funds, and had used them in a specified manner because it had believed it was in the interests of the country at the time.

Yesterday Democratic Party MP, Dr Kobus Jordaan, who made the initial allegations concerning Umtsa and is a former civil servant named a number of organisations which, he said, he also believed had received funds.

They were the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa); the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa (Ucasa); the national Forum, and the Federal Democratic Alliance (Fida) — all of them active in Black politics.

A spokesman for the State President's office said Mr De Klerk was not going to react to individual allegations as they arose.

The matter would be dealt with as he had outlined in Pretoria on Tuesday night — firstly by means of an Agenda programme and Press conference today involving the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and, secondly, by the State President himself next Tuesday, after the normal Monday meeting of the State Security Council.

It is believed one of the reasons for waiting for next week's State Security Council meeting would be to enable relevant Ministers to make inputs on the new allegations that are expected.



The Citizen 25 July 1991

## Inkatha resignation: Felgate explains

I REFER to your lead story of July 23, "Inkatha to give back govt cash" and wish to make a personal statement to correct any possible misunderstanding which could have arisen from what I said at the Press conference held at Burgerspark Hotel on Tuesday July 23.

Journalists were asking why Mr M Z Khumalo, who admitted receiving money from the South African Government and who had resigned as personal assistant to the President of the IFP, had not been brought to face journalists at the Press conference.

I stated that Mr Khumalo was no longer an employee of the IFP and could not be told what to do, and I said that he was not in our midst — he is not with us.

I had earlier asked journalists whether they really thought that Mr Khumalo would want to be there in their midst so that he could parade shame in front of them.

These statements must

be clarified. Mr M Z Khumalo has not only been a loyal, trusted and faithful servant of Inkatha Freedom Party, but he is held in the highest esteem by everybody in the party. He is a very close personal friend of mine and I have nothing but the greatest admiration for the noble way in which he acted when he realised that his misjudgment in accepting money from the South African Government to help hold peace rallies.

It was his insistence that he should resign. He is still a close friend whom I still hold in the highest esteem. It is because I hold him in such esteem that I afford to him the right to appear or not to appear before the Press as he sees fit. He has done the right thing. I am proud of him for doing so. I will back him in the choices that he now makes.

I believe that while speaking personally in what I am saying I reflect very substantially the view of the IFP. Mr Khumalo's error was an error of not seeking the advice of his president and his colleagues and taking unilateral action. I do not suspect his motivation, and I am quite sure that when the documents in which he accounted for the expenditure of the R250 000 come to light, it will be found that every cent was spent to promote peace rallies of which I and every South African ought to be proud.

We are not ashamed of what was done with the money and only say that Mr Khumalo had no right to make a personal decision in the matter.

**W S FELGATE**  
Central Committee Member  
Inkatha Freedom Party  
Ulundi



The Citizen 25 July 1991

# Freeze secret funds

## — ANC

THE ANC yesterday demanded that the government's secret projects' budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R1,5 billion over the past five years be made public.

The ANC in a statement in Johannesburg 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 it had secretly provided Inkatha and other organisations with taxpayers' money.

"While we regard the secret funding of Inkatha

and Uwasa... as totally unacceptable, it is but a small part of the R1,5 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 manipulation of Inkatha had to be seen in the wider framework of "a considered destabilisation policy by successive apartheid governments, including that of Presi-

dent (F W) De Klerk".

The ANC said the confession of Inkatha official, Mr M Z Khumalo, that he had accepted government funding without Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's knowledge did not diminish the responsibility of the Inkatha leadership and the IFP president.

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

Reacting to reports that a witchhunt had been launched for the culprit who leaked proof of government's funding of Inkatha to a Johannesburg newspaper, the

TO PAGE 2

## 'Freeze funds'

### FROM PAGE 1

ANC said it was disturbed 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, which has claimed thousands of Black lives, the ANC said it was becoming increasingly clear the SADF "and foreign mercenaries in its employ" were directly involved in ongoing massacres and violence.

The organisation also called on the SABC to broadcast on all its TV channels a video of the

testimony of former SADF Special Forces member, Sgt Felix Ndlimeno, who claimed he was party to a SADF team that planned and participated in killing sprees in Black townships on the Witwatersrand.

A video recording of the testimony had been provided to the SABC, the ANC said.

The SADF and Defence Minister Gen 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 killings", the ANC said. Sapa.



The Citizen 25 July 1991

## DP calls for inquiry

DEMOCRATIC Party spokesman for law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, yesterday called for a broad-based commission of inquiry, chaired by the Chief Justice, to investigate allegations relating to train massacres, assassinations and the State's covert funding of organisations.

He said the commission should not be a one man affair if the public was to have any confidence in its investigation.

The composition of the commission of inquiry should reflect that South Africa was in transition and had put the legacy of the P W Botha era behind.

"Public anxiety, revulsion and loss of confidence has reached such depths . . . that half measures by President De Klerk will exacerbate the feeling that we are all unable to escape from an

ongoing rot."

The commission of inquiry should have the following attributes:

- It should consist of between four to eight commissioners and be chaired by the Chief Justice.

- The other two commissioners should consist of senior legal men or women who are not directly involved in party politics and who have the confidence of the broad spectrum of our population.

- Each major group should nominate a commissioner, or the commissioners be negotiated between the government, African National Congress, Inkatha, the legal profession, unions and other political groupings.

- The commission should have powers to subpoena and to search and appoint its own investigators.

- It must be able to provide protection and,

under certain circumstances, indemnity to witnesses who testify.

- The terms should be broad enough to enable the commission to deal with all allegations of improper involvement by the State agencies in the security and violence arena, including covert funding. — Sapa.



*The Citizen*

Thursday 25 July 1991

## Envoy controlled slush funds: claim

SOUTH Africa's Ambassador to France and former Foreign Affairs chief director, Marc Burger, was the person who controlled the Foreign Affairs slush funds, the Financial Mail alleged yesterday.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha had also been warned by two of his senior officials of the political dangers a slush fund could create for him, the FM's current affairs editor, Eddie Botha, wrote in the latest FM.

The FM 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 the project had been in

the planning stages but that it was cancelled after careful consideration."

The Foreign Minister added the 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 Minister Botha that he would personally go on record when the danger of sanctions had subsided. — Sapa-AP.



The Star 25 July 1991

## Survivor blames 'Inkatha supporters'

By Brian Sokutu

The armed men who last night attacked commuters on a Soweto-bound train were "Inkatha supporters", Patric Zondo (40), one of the survivors recovering at Baragwanath Hospital told The Star this morning.

One woman was killed and nine people were seriously injured during the attack by about 20 Zulu-speaking men.

Mr Zondo said the men carried knobkerries and rifles.

The woman died when she jumped off the train in an apparent bid to escape the attackers, according to Soweto Police spokesman Captain Jo-

seph Ngobeni.

Reacting to Inkatha's alleged involvement in the attack, the organisation's spokesman Suzane Vos said: "This is particular sinister coming at this time. We're just as shocked as anyone else."

Mr Zondo, who boarded the train at Johannesburg, said: "When the train reached Mzimhlophe Station, a group of about 20 Inkatha supporters, armed with knobkerries, rifles and pangas, entered.

"My heart was pumping. I could see the men were up to something.

"They were all adults, and never spoke to anyone before dividing themselves into two coaches, attacking everyone.



Thankful to be alive ...  
Patric Zondo.

"There were screams, people being stabbed and beaten. They turned on me and beat me on the head with a knobkerrie. And when I waved my

sack, one took out a rifle. "I had no alternative but to throw myself from the train while it was moving. I'm thankful to be alive."

Baragwanath Hospital spokesman Sengnet van Vuuren said five people were admitted, one was in a serious condition and two were "stable".

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

More than 60 people have been countrywide on trains during the past 12 months.

● The SADF yesterday rejected recent allegations made to New Nation by Sergeant Felix Ndimene who claimed he served in SADF's special unit which carried out several train attacks.



The Star 25 July 1991

## Woman dies, 14 injured in train attack

Staff Reporters

Merciless train attackers, whose brutal and unprovoked rampages on Reef commuter trains have claimed more than 60 lives since last September, struck again last night killing one woman and injuring 14.

The latest fatality was a woman who leapt from a Soweto-bound train when 20 thugs armed with guns, pangas and knobkerries ran amok in commuter carriages.

Passengers were shot, hacked and battered.

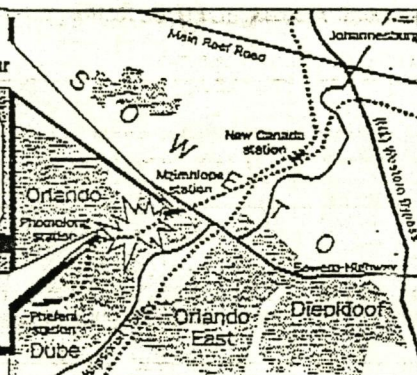
The attack came as the SADF vehemently denied a claim that members of its Special Forces were behind attacks, including the Sep-

Attackers board train at Mzimhlope station during evening rush hour



Passengers attacked as train heads for Phomolong station

Graphic by Liz Warner



tember 1990 train massacre which claimed 26 lives.

And in a confidential briefing to diplomats in Pretoria, a police colonel yesterday said a number of Inkatha members had been ar-

rested in connection with train attacks.

Describing the latest atrocity, Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Sowero police today said a large group of attackers boarded a

train at Mzimhlope station. The attack started between this station and Phomolong at 6.45 pm.

The train was packed with commuters and the stations were very busy.

"Although we have police manning the stations around the clock it is impossible to search every commuter for weapons when there are hundreds of people at rush hour," Colonel Halgryn said.

The attackers suddenly started hacking at the commuters with pangas and other weapons. The body of an unidentified woman was later found next to the railway line.

Eight men and six women

● To Page 2

## Woman dies as another train attacked

● From Page 1

were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. Nine are in a serious condition.

Colonel Halgryn appealed to witnesses to come forward so identikit could be compiled.

The latest attack came amid controversy over the identity of attackers after claims in the New Nation newspaper by Felix Isaias Ndimene, who alleges he was a sergeant in an SADF special unit which carried out a number of Reef train attacks.

New Nation gave the SABC a video recording of an interview with Sergeant Ndimene. Excerpts were screened last night.

The sergeant alleged that Phalaborwa-based Five Reconnaissance Regiment (5 Recce) had trained foreign mercenaries who then carried out attacks on civilian targets.

Sergeant Ndimene has demanded indemnity from President de Klerk.

He also wants Mr de Klerk to guarantee his and his family's safety, according to a spokesman for Soldiers of Peace (SOP), the organisation which is hiding him.

The SADF yesterday rejected Sergeant Ndimene's allegations that 5 Recce was involved in attacks against civilians as "totally wrong and out of context".

Diplomats in Pretoria were yesterday briefed on allegations of SADF involvement in township violence by Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and a colonel in charge of the special investigation team into violence, particularly violence on trains.

The colonel said two of the three men believed to be responsible for a train attack at Jeppe station last year had been arrested.

Three men had been arrested in connection with the September 13 train massacre which claimed 26 lives.

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.

Police made a breakthrough yesterday in their investigation of an early morning attack on a Johannesburg-bound train in which six people were killed several weeks ago.

Three men were arrested and three firearms, believed to be those used in the attack on a coach full of praying people in Soweto, were confiscated.

Anyone who can help police is asked to telephone (011) 980-3312 during all hours. Captain Okkie Vermaak is the investigating officer.



The Star  
25 July 1991

2 The Star Thursday July 25 1991



Middleman ... ambassador  
to France, Marc Burger.

## Controller of money uncovered

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

A spokesman said last night that Minister of Foreign Affairs 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 Mr 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.

In an interview on Radio 702 yesterday, Eddie Botha also revealed that private companies in SA had been involved in the



The Star

25 July 1991

## Idasa discovers 'bugging' devices in Pretoria office

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).

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.

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, be-

cause we haven't checked all the lights."

The discovery constituted interference in the free political process "and puts the De Klerk 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?"

"If we are to pursue the course of democracy together, we are going to need concrete examples of the good faith of the State and explanations for this kind of behaviour."

Mr Jenkins added that Idasa was planning legal action against the State







The Star 25 July 1991

### **Paper alleges union 'control'**

LONDON — The police and Inkatha appeared to have jointly managed and controlled the United Workers' Union of South Africa, The Guardian newspaper alleges.

In a front page lead today, the newspaper quotes new top secret documents leaked to it, including one that complains about the large debt the union had accumulated, demanding to know how "a project under the control of the SAP was allowed to develop in such a way".

The Guardian claims the source of the document is Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok's department.  
— Star Bureau.



(1)  
The Star 25 July 1991

Unrepentant . . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who faces the media today, says the Government has nothing for which to apologise.

## No apology likely, but stringent new controls expected

# FW to curb slush funds

By Peter F. . .  
and Esther . . .

President . . . is expected to announce a major overhaul of the policy and management of the Government's secret funds and the role of the security apparatus in politics.

Government sources indicated today that this would be the gist of his announce-

ment when he faces the nation on the Inkatha slush fund scandal on Tuesday.

Although the Government is now unlikely to make any apologies for the specific funding of Inkatha in the past, sources indicated measures would be introduced to ensure this sort of thing did not happen again.

Some reports suggest Mr de Klerk may place the ultimate supervision of the secret funds under a multiparty parliamentary committee,

but this could not be confirmed.

Senior Government sources confirmed that the scandal was "taken very seriously" at this week's three-day extended Cabinet "bush indaba", and would produce appropriate action.

They claimed the reason for Mr de Klerk's controversial delay in reacting to the scandal was to enable him to prepare his new approach thoroughly and to ensure that he "did not get his facts

skewed".

One source stressed that his reaction would not be "ad hoc", and needed to be prepared thoroughly.

Although some reports still speculate that Cabinet heads will roll, senior sources say this is unlikely unless dramatic new facts emerge. Further disclosures, potentially damaging to the Government, are expected in the press within days.

On the specific issue of the Inkatha funding, it is now

emerging the Government will try to brazen it out.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who faces the media on the issue today, told foreign ambassadors at a briefing in Pretoria yesterday that the Government did not feel it had to apologise for fighting the sanctions.

Sources today confirmed that Mr Botha's view was consistent with that of his Cabinet colleagues.

They said there was no evidence of irregularity in

the past handling of secret funds to counter sanctions. The main thing, they said, was that government was now working towards levelling the political playing field in the light of the "different era" which the country was now in.

An unrepentant Pik Botha yesterday told diplomats at a confidential briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that the Government would

● To Page 2



(2)  
The Star 25 July 1991

## FW move likely on slush funds

● From Page 1

not apologise for fighting sanctions in the manner that it had or for funding Inkatha.

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

Mr Botha revealed that police had consulted the Auditor-General about Inkatha funding and 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. The IFP has handed back the R250 000.

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

"Why are they doing this to us?" he asked, referring to the ANC demand.

Mr Botha said that "for the life of me" he could not see why the secret funding of Inkatha would create a major obstacle to negotiations, but the Govern-

ment would have to give the ANC 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 and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and a colonel in charge of the special investigation team into violence.

The colonel said two of the three men believed to be responsible for the train attack at Jeppe station in September had been arrested.

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.

● Slush fund scandal  
— Pages 24, 25



# Resolute De Klerk sits out the Inkatha slush

THE TIMES THURSDAY JULY 25 1991

1991

## -fund storm



De Klerk: turning a deaf ear to chorus of protests

PRESIDENT de Klerk's decision to stall for time in the covert funding scandal has infuriated his critics, but illustrated his resolve to weather the storm with an implacability fostered by decades of National party hegemony.

Effectively ignoring a chorus of demands for the dismissal of senior ministers, an emergency session of parliament and a judicial inquiry, Mr de Klerk announced that he would not make a full statement on the affair until next Tuesday.

R.F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, is due to address a press conference today on his role in the secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom party, but South Africa will just have to hold its collective breath for a fuller account from the president next week.

A cabinet meeting yesterday, which followed a two-day government conclave at a secret location in the northern Transvaal, produced no further public statements. Mr de Klerk has scheduled a meeting on Monday

South Africa is waiting anxiously to hear the president's account of secret funding for rivals of the African National Congress, Gavin Bell reports from Johannesburg

with the state security council, which may signal a review of covert activities. The president said last week that some actions were being continued in the "broad national interest". The current budget allocates £80 million to a secret services account for such projects.

The controversy over clandestine activities has deepened with the discovery of two electronic bugging devices in the Pretoria offices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), an independent reform pressure group. Ivor Jenkins, the regional director, said he had other evidence, which he declined to specify, that state security agents were spying on the organisation.

Mr Botha has been drawn deeper into the scandal by a

report in the weekly *Financial Mail* which identified Marc Burger, a former chief director of the foreign affairs department, as the man who controlled the "slush fund" from which Inkatha was paid. Mr Burger is presently South Africa's ambassador to Paris.

The foreign minister's convoluted attempt to justify an evident untruth over the funding — he stated categorically last month that Pretoria had never financed Inkatha — has placed him in the firing line of vituperative editorials. Accusing Mr Botha of a "breathtaking lie", *Business Day* commented: "He has but one honourable course, and that is to resign."

Mr de Klerk's refusal to bow to such pressure so far drew a sharp



## Rosolute De Klerk sits out the Inkatha slush-fund storm

rebuke from the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who accused him of "playing games" with the country's future.

Inkatha yesterday repaid to the government the 250,000 rands (£52,000) at the centre of the scandal. In another development, the African National Congress demanded the government account publicly for the total 1.5 billion rands spent on clandestine state projects in the past five years.

An indication of the political damage inflicted on the National party emerged from a poll by a local newspaper and a radio station which showed that more than half of its supporters believed that Adriaan Vlok, the minister of law and order, should resign. Some 63 per cent said the government should not have funded Inkatha, and 80 per cent were convinced that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha president who has denied all knowledge of the funds, was aware where they came from. The majority also

believed that the police force was biased towards Inkatha.

The collective style of leadership introduced by Mr de Klerk implies that the law and order minister is no more responsible for covert funding than senior colleagues such as Barend du Plessis, the finance minister. If Mr Vlok is to be faulted, it is for his failure to control rogue elements in the police. On this issue, there is no more reason for him to resign than before. Rather, his apparent popularity in police ranks may be invaluable in inculcating political neutrality. He is in an unenviable, but not impossible, position.

He has survived repeated calls for his resignation over dubious police conduct in township violence over the past year, and there are indications that President de Klerk is not prepared to sacrifice him now.

Sympathetic Western governments, notably the Bush administration, are equally dismayed. American diplomats admit pri-

vately they are embarrassed by the scandal emerging so soon after Washington lifted sanctions, and say it is now unlikely that restrictions on IMF loans for Pretoria will be removed.

Meanwhile intelligence agents believe they have identified the "deep throat" who leaked incriminating security police documents to South African and British newspapers. The suspect is said to be a policeman based in Durban, who has disappeared with secret files. It is understood the documents, with copies of bank accounts and receipts, were released in London last week.

● **Train killing:** a woman was killed and nine people were wounded when assailants wielding knives and clubs attacked a commuter train in Soweto yesterday, police said. They boarded a train at a township station, attacked commuters and escaped at the next station. (Reuters)

Parliament, page 7  
Leading article, page 15

25/07/91



23/7/91 London  
 Page 1 of 2  
 Page 1 of 2  
 Guardian

Secret Project Omega document

# SA police and Inkatha 'set up union jointly'

Phillip van Niekerk  
 in Johannesburg  
 and David Beresford

**T**HE South African secret police and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement appear to have jointly run one of the country's labour organisations, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), according to security branch documents obtained by the Guardian.

The disclosure comes in the face of Inkatha denials that the organisation was involved in police funding of Uwusa. The documents, marked Top Secret, indicate there was in fact close collaboration between the police and Inkatha in the management and control of the union.

The political crisis in South Africa, precipitated by the Guardian's publication last week of security branch reports detailing covert funding of Inkatha, continued yesterday with speculation that the foreign minister, Pik Botha, may be forced to resign.

Mr Botha, who has admitted that his department authorised at least part of the funding of Inkatha, was fighting for his political life last night, however, with briefings to diplomats in which he attempted to justify the secret operations.

Police funding of Uwusa is a key element in the scandal which is now being referred to in South Africa as "Inkathagate". After the Guardian's initial disclosures last Friday, South Africa's minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, admitted that his government had funded the union to the tune of 1.5 million Rand (about £350,000) over a six-year period.

An MP of the moderate Democratic Party, Kobus Jordaan, has also claimed he has evidence that the union received closer to £1 million and that this was only the tip of the iceberg.

Following the Guardian's disclosure last week that the security police had paid R250,000 to fund Inkatha rallies, Chief Buthelezi said: "I swear before the Lord God that I am not aware of the police ever depositing money into Inkatha's ac-

count." However, according to a top secret security branch memorandum, a copy of a receipt for the money was given to him by Major Louis Botha of the security police. In his report to a superior officer Major Botha says that Chief Buthelezi was "very emotional" and "couldn't thank him enough" for the money.

Yesterday the Inkatha chairman, Frank Mdlalose, repaid the R250,000 to Mr Botha in Pretoria.

Uwusa, which its leader claim has over 100,000 members, was launched in May 1986 six months after the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) leftwing labour federation which subsequently moved into an alliance with the African National Congress. The formation of Uwusa was followed by a horrific wave of violence on the shop floor. There was suspicion — now emphasised by the Guardian's disclosures — that it was a calculated effort to destroy Cosatu with what its officials have described as a reign of terror.

According to one of the secret documents obtained by the Guardian, the collaboration between Inkatha and the security police in the management and control of Uwusa was codenamed "Project Omega". The document complains about the large debt which the union has accumulated and demands to know how "a project under the control of the South African police was allowed to develop such a way" and "how it is intended to manage the project from now on".

It is understood from a source that supplied the documents to the Guardian that the memorandum originated in Vlok's own department.

The document says that inquiry had been set up to examine the union's declining fortunes, including its dwindling membership.

A commission had been pointed "after consultation with minister [of the interior, Stephen] Sithebe of the KwaZulu government," and "its report has been put before the KwaZulu government."

In a separate top secret document dated February 7, drawn up in the office of Mr Botha, the security police

nts give details of long-term collaboration to defeat ANC's allies



Pik Botha (left), South Africa's foreign minister, has admitted paying over some money to Inkatha but says the affair poses no crisis for the government. Adriaan Vlok (right), the law and order minister, is first in line for the sack

## THE GUARDIAN

### Bank deposit slips and police reports confirm long-standing suspicions of secret links S African police cash went to Inkatha

David Beresford

**T**HE South African police have secretly been funding the political activities of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, according to a top secret security branch memorandum, a copy of a receipt for the money was given to him by Major Louis Botha of the security police. In his report to a superior officer Major Botha says that Chief Buthelezi was "very emotional" and "couldn't thank him enough" for the money.

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In a separate top secret document dated February 7, drawn up in the office of Mr Botha, the security police

#### Friday's Guardian headline that precipitated South Africa's government crisis

close plans to prevent the Mass Democratic Movement from holding a rally on February 25 at the Kings Park Stadium in Durban.

Concern was expressed that on the same day, Mike Gating's rebel English cricket team would be playing only a mile away. It was felt that confrontation and damage could be caused by supporters of the movement and that a poor spectator turnout would harm the Gating tour.

The security police hatched a plan to protect the tour by en-

suring that Kings Park would not be available for the MDM rally. It was decided that Uwusa would make an application to use the stadium on the same day.

The plan was that the union would secure the right to use the stadium but that on the day before, they would inform the management that they had decided to hold their meeting on another date — to be decided by Mr Sithebe.

The plan was to be discussed with the secretary general of the union and Mr Sithebe. Ac-

cording to the document: "The [union] secretary general has already given his approval, but this has to be implemented by [KwaZulu] minister Sithebe."

The subterfuge never came about in this instance, however, because the Gating tour was called off after widespread demonstrations against it.

Yesterday, a Cosatu spokesman cited a number of cases where members of the Inkatha union were involved in violence and intimidation against its members.

These included men living in

hostels in the Johannesburg area who were forced to rush from Cosatu and join Uwusa and further large-scale intimidation in northern Natal.

Mr Pik Botha told Western ambassadors last night that the revelations posed "no crisis for the government."

Asked if Chief Buthelezi knew of the funding, Mr Botha replied: "Well, I've met him many times and he's never thanked me."

Heat off Danes, page 11;  
 Leader comment, page 20



# R100-M FOR ANTI-SWAPO PARTIES

*The Citizen 26 July 1991*

## Pik: I won't resign

By Sapa and  
Erik Larsen

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

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

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

Mr Botha said the

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

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

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

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

TO PAGE 2







THE INDEPENDENT

London 25/7/91  
Denials over the Inkatha slush fund have failed to convince even De Klerk's supporters, Chris McGreal writes from Johannesburg

# SA Cabinet attempts to tough it out

THE government cannot even convince its own constituency, increasingly white English, as opposed to Afrikaans-speakers, of the veracity of its denials that it is conducting a co-ordinated campaign to undercut support for the African National Congress, according to an opinion poll.

Yesterday Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, phoned his South African counterpart, Pik Botha, to seek an assurance that the government has not colluded with the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party over the township violence. The ANC refused to accept any such assurance, and issued a demand that all covert government funds be frozen and a full account of the 1.5bn Rand (£300m) spent over the past five years on secret operations be made public.

More than half of the people questioned in an opinion poll, organised jointly by *The Star* newspaper and Radio 702, said funding Inkatha was wrong. Perhaps most importantly, 62 per cent said they believe the police support one political group over another.

That one figure is probably the most damaging for the government, as the public gives credibility to the revelations of security force complicity in factional violence. It reinforces the view that at the very least some elements of the government have followed a

two-pronged strategy to undercut the ANC's negotiating position: finance and murder.

The questions posed to the government are no longer about whether there was and is a policy to use Inkatha and other groups to counter the ANC, but who knew of the strategies and when did they know? What the government does not want to do is publicly address the security forces' complicity in murder and violence. But, as the evidence seeps out, that is becoming increasingly difficult.

In the meantime the government intends to brazen it out. Mr Botha met foreign diplomats yesterday and gave them the message that no heads will roll. His own is among those on the block, after he was shown to have lied blatantly last month when asked if the government gave funds to Inkatha.

The ANC has said that the Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, and the Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, must go before the negotiating process can continue. But after it was disclosed that President de Klerk either knew or should have known about the transfer of funds to Inkatha, dismissing Mr Vlok for simply

passing them on would leave him looking the scapegoat. To dismiss him on other grounds, namely because the ANC has accused his ministry of complicity in political violence, would be an admission of guilt.

If Mr Vlok, or anyone else, is sacrificed it will only strengthen questions about Mr de Klerk's own role. Did he know or was the campaign run behind his back? The public supports the ANC on the dismissal of Mr Vlok. The opinion poll revealed six out of 10 residents of the Johannesburg conurbation think he should go.

To one Democratic Party MP, Kobus Jordaan, evidence of government support for Chief Buthelezi's political campaign against the ANC reinforces accusations that the security forces back Inkatha's more effective violent attacks. That the funds passed to Inkatha should have been funnelled through the South African Police (SAP), the body most frequently accused of siding with Inkatha, is particularly damning.

The government rarely comes straight out and denies those charges. Instead, interest is allowed to wane under the guise of

an official investigation. Revelations in *The Independent* last week of the South African Defence Force's involvement in last September's train massacre in which 26 people were murdered as part of an anti-ANC terror campaign, are being investigated by the SAP. The policeman conducting the inquiry, Colonel Niels van Loggenberg, said yesterday that he expected the accusation to be disproved, "as they always are". He has only questioned one individual, a black South African newspaper editor who also published the detailed account by a former soldier of SADF involvement in the killings.

The government's attempt to brazen it out might yet leave the cabinet intact, but its credibility and strategy lie in tatters. It is questionable how much more use Mr de Klerk can make of Inkatha. In the opinion poll, 80 per cent said they did not believe Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's denial that he knew of the funds passed to Inkatha. His party's credibility as an independent alternative to the ANC is probably ruined.

■ A woman was killed and nine people were wounded when assailants wielding knives and clubs attacked a commuter train in South Africa's Soweto township yesterday, but the attackers escaped before any arrests could be made, *Reuter reports*.



# For heaven's sake - this is South Africa not Hampstead

NELSON MANDELA was said to feel humiliated by the National party's duplicity. President de Klerk acknowledged that mistakes had been made, promised they would be investigated, and never repeated. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Zulu Inkatha leader, let it be known he knew nothing.

These public responses to news of the covert funding of Inkatha amount to a typically rich mix of southern African fibs. Buthelezi's will probably prove to be the most brazen, but Nelson Mandela surely takes the prize for disingenuousness. The scandal is the ripest plum to fall into the ANC's lap since it was legalised 18 months ago. Suddenly, Mr de Klerk has surrendered the moral high ground to the ANC, and Mr Mandela's urgent warnings to western governments that the Afrikaner leadership cannot be trusted have, after all, to be taken seriously.

Or do they? Mr Mandela's discovery that the leader of a political party that kept him in jail for 27 years is in fact a bit of a political roughneck can scarcely be ranked as one of the most startling revelations of our time. Mandela is no fool, and one must be sceptical when he protests that his profound trust in Mr de Klerk has been cruelly abused.

However embarrassing this episode may be to Mr de Klerk and to his western supporters, it should be kept in perspective. The several hundred thousand pounds spent by the South African government on boosting Inkatha is small change against the millions of kronor and dollars that have poured into ANC coffers in recent years from well-meaning Scandinavians and Americans. The idea that South African political parties have ever abided by neat western rules, with minutely audited accounts, is laughable.

The only novel aspect to these revelations is that for the first time the government has been forced to ad-

mit what everyone has known for years that the National party sides with the anti-sanctions, conservative Zulu movement against the pro-Marxist African National Congress. The Weekly Mail, the plucky left-wing newspaper which broke the Inkatha story, receives foreign funding, but that does not discredit every political story it publishes.

What has added spice to the scandal is the coincidence that on the same day the government was forced to come clean on the funding allegation, the pro-ANC New Nation weekly published the latest in a long series of far more serious allegations about security force complicity in township murder squads. In Europe and America the two stories were reported as if they were directly linked, as though the government were pleading guilty to both. Artfully crafted ANC statements have reinforced that perception.

Certainly, there is such a welter of evidence of police complicity with Inkatha in the township carnage that the routine official denials are now unconvincing. But that is a different matter from suggesting Mr de Klerk had ordered it (least of all admitted to it), and is therefore disqualified from acting as chairman of future constitutional negotiations. Mr de Klerk never held a security portfolio before he became president, and has many enemies within the police and army who would like the negotiating process to crash.

Two unpalatable truths loom over the negotiations. First, Mr de Klerk has only three years left of his con-

stitutional mandate. Secondly, the ANC, whose national executive committee is top-heavy with members of the South African Communist Party, is likely to win the first majority general election.

From a distance of 6,000 miles, the grandfatherly figure of Nelson Mandela might appear presidential; we chuckle indulgently at the ANC's quaint sub-Marxist jargon, reassured that Mr Gorbachev has more pressing concerns than a strategic toe-hold in the foot of Africa. But that is of little comfort to white South Africans, nervously awaiting Zambian-style command control of key sectors of the economy.

NATIONAL party supporters might be justifiably angry were the government not doing all it could to keep the ANC out of office. Where did Mr Mandela go this week to recover from his humiliation at Mr de Klerk's hands? To Cuba.

Part of the problem is that the negotiation process has become overpersonalised. We look on the two leading figures — de Klerk and Mandela, patriots of goodwill, well packaged by their image-makers — to work to save their country from catastrophe. It is five minutes to midnight, but by golly they will give it their best shot.

But behind the good natured handshakes, a deadly serious African power struggle is under way, concealed for the most part by a thin veneer of western-style procedure. Last week the veneer cracked, and it

will do so again before the parties negotiate a new constitution.

It is Chief Buthelezi who will suffer most from the revelations of government funding, but to suggest that he is finished exaggerates the political sophistication of his constituency of rural Zulus. Buthelezi is a notoriously difficult man: a few years ago, a small-circulation liberal magazine in Johannesburg published an article of mine in which I argued that for all his faults, Buthelezi was not an irrelevant stooge, though I mentioned, en passant, that many of his supporters seemed overly jealous in their love of the assegai Buthelezi sued for libel, virtually bankrupting the magazine.

Buthelezi is anathema to the liberal inhabitants of Johannesburg's northern suburbs because he reminds them that their country will never be Hampstead. The ANC hates him because, as he prances around in leopard-skin accessories, he destroys the ANC's dreamworld of a democratic, non-racial political future where tribal origin will be irrelevant. There is a certain amount of wish-fulfilment in the political obituaries now being written. Buthelezi represents a phenomenon that cannot simply be wished away.

The government has bungled so badly in its cack-handed attempts to boost Inkatha that it deserves its current embarrassment. But this incident must not be allowed, in itself, to destroy the negotiating process. If Mr de Klerk is clever, he may even be able to use it as a cover to root out the elements in his security forces which condone or actively encourage the township killings. He is still working with virtually the same cabinet he inherited from his predecessor, P.W. Botha, and a reshuffle is long overdue. The suspicions about the death squads are the true cancer in the South African body politic; a row over a few hundred thousand pounds is a sideshow.

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PAGE 1 OF 2



GUARDIAN

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London

## SA scandal takes heat off Danes

Hella Pick, Diplomatic Editor

**I**n light of the political crisis in South Africa, the European Community is taking the pressure off Denmark to withdraw its veto against the scrapping of EC sanctions against Pretoria.

The Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, had intended to lead a posse of his colleagues at next Monday's EC foreign affairs council, to impress on the Danish government that it could not continue much longer to thwart the EC's move towards normalising trade relations.

But British sources acknowledged yesterday that the disclosures of secret payments to Inkatha, and allegations of government connivance in violence, had a "knock-on" effect on the sanctions debate. It would not be timely to argue the case for abandoning sanctions at next Monday's meeting of the EC foreign ministers.

British hopes for an "easy run" on the sanctions issue at October's Commonwealth Conference have also been dashed.

The Foreign Office yesterday described the situation as the worst crisis to confront South Africa since the effort to dismantle apartheid began. "The situation is seriously troubling," an official said.

Mr Hurd is urging the South African government and the ANC to keep their sights on the goal of negotiations and constitutional reform.

During a long telephone conversation with the South African foreign minister, Pik Botha,

closure by Pretoria of its payments to Inkatha and the facts about alleged connivance at violence in the townships. He also pressed for assurances of impartial and effective policing.

Mr Hurd told the House of Commons he had urged that "the South African government should be clear and open about what had occurred and, for the future, make it clear that old policies had been discarded and that the policing of the country was to be politically impartial."

In another case of factional violence, a woman was killed and nine people wounded when assailants wielding knives and clubs attacked commuters on a train to Soweto township yesterday evening. Police said the gang escaped when the train pulled into the next station.

Britain has also been in contact with the president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, arguing that the crisis should not be allowed to spoil the goal of constitutional change.

There has apparently been no contact with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi since the disclosure of secret payments to Inkatha. But British officials gave the impression yesterday that they were still prepared to believe his claims to know nothing of the payments.

Arriving in Jamaica yesterday at the start of a tour of the Caribbean and Latin America, Mr Mandela made no reference to the scandal. But he called for the continuation of the sporting boycott unless South Africa could prove the various sports were non-racial.