

!ANC, PAC
and Azapo
consult on
consumer

boycott

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.

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.

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20 COMMENT
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intrigue |

THE SLIME of South Africaâ\\200\\231s inkath- i

apate has spread more widely sincÃ©
the Guardian first exposed lt last
week, Today we provide further essentlal
evidence. President 2. W. de Kierkâ\\200\\231s gov-
ernment is now shov. â\\200\\2300 have bankrolled
Inkatha â\\200\\224 the or_ o atlon chiefly
blamed for thousands of wnship deaths
. on a much greater scale than already
admitted, Government allacations for its
â\\200\\234geeret Services Accountâ\\200\\235 have actually |
inereased since Mr De Klerk took office, in |
spite of his alleged aim to cut down covert
actlv.ties. The Foreign Minister, Pik Bo-
tha, is implicated, as well as the Ministers |
for Defence and Law and Order, But the |
auditor-general, Peter wronsley, has â\\200\\230
reported that the Cabinet &3 & whole ap- |
proved the secret fund â\\200\\224a decision which |
directly Involves the President. Mr De
Klerk may not have signed the dockets,
but he certainly endorsed the policy.
Yesterday our Forelgn Secretary told l
the House of his â\\200\\234eoncernâ\\200\\235, but said he
accepted the assurances of Mr Botha that
the South African Government had not
been conniving with Inkatha over vio-
lenceâ\\200\\235. Mr Botha, who has prevaricaied s0
blatantly in the past, is not a reliable wit- \\
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â\\200\\224â\\200\\224

ness and should really be preparing 0

resign. The distinction drawi by Mr Hurd

between the financing of Inkatha and sup- 1
port for violence is also unreal It 15 &}
violence-prone organisation, and the evi- |
dence of the white regimeâ\\200\\231s support for it
has long been piling up. Our revelations |
â\\200\\224 and the further disclosures which they |

have inspired â\200\224 provide cenï-\201rmingii
proof. The confours of Mr De Kierk's |
double agenda have also boen easy to
{nfer. Writing in the â\200\234nternational Herald
Tribune, former US undersecretary of
state for human rights, Stephen B, Cohen,

describes them as â\200\234freeing Nelson Man-]

dela, unbanning the anti-apartheid opposi-
tion and dismantling much of apartheid's
legal structure, but at the same time oI~
chostrating violence against the govern-

ment's chief rival, the African National
Congressâ\200\235. The shape of Ink~tha's oWl
bloody agenda, too, has been well charted.

One important effect of the revela-
tions 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 Oc-
tober, when informal initlatives to talk

with Pretoria are likely to be shelved. |

Three weeks Ag0 We argued that, before
Mr Bush had lifted ganctions, â\200\234the evl-
dence of covert government support for
Inkatha in the township violence should
also have been taken into accountâ\200\235. The
game argument is now being heard in

Washington, and gshould bg; taken Y&,

seriously. . -

A second consequence is that it is now
extremely hard to believe in Mr De
Klerk's personal sincerity. The pro-gov-
ernment Citlzen newspaper in Johannes-
burg warned on Tuesday that hils image &3
a â\200\234man of honourâ\200\235 is very much in ques:
tion. Amazingly Mr De Klerk still hoped
yest=-17v to stave off any public stai<-

me: 1] next week. His offictal friends |
pbiv L orticularly those'in Washington {

an. .ndon, should warn him that he has
10 fo. the truth now â\200\224 and if necessavy
face Âf} Â« rousequences.

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ETHEKWINI:-Inhlanga-
no yombusazwe i-African
?atÃ©;)nal Congress
ANC) seyikhiphe imiba-
ndela eyisithupha uHulu-
meni okufanele ahlanga-
bezane nayo kulandela
ukuvezwa kodaba lokusi-
;wa kweNkatha Freedom
arty ngezimali nguHu-
lumeni wakulelizwe.

Lokhu sekubeke ubu-
dlelwano phakathi kwe-
ANC kanye noHulumeni
engozini kulandela isita-
timende esikhishwe yile-
nhlangano futhi esisola
abombutho wezokuphe-
pha kulelizwe ngokuthi
basebenzisa abantu ba-
ngaphandle ukuhlasela
abantu bakuleli ezindlini
zabo kanye nasezitimele-
ni.

Esitatimendeni esi-
khishwe yilenhlangano
ngemuva kokuvezwa
kwaloludaba inxuse
uMongameli wezwe,
uMnuz F.W. de Klerk,
ukuba alugede loluhlobo
Iwezenzo futhi axoshe
uNgqongqoshe wezo-
mThetho kanye noku-
Gcinwa kwawo, uMnuz
Adriaan Vlok, kanye no-
Ngqongqoshe wezoku Vi-

Magnus Malan.

Ibuye yanxusa uMnuz
de Klerk ukuba asungule
ikhomishane ezokwakhi-

kelwa kwezwe, uMnuz

Imibandela
K s 24f07) Yy

ye-ANC ebhekiswe
kuHulumeni

wa yiwo wonke amaqem-
bu ombusazwe ezophe-
?f'a ngokuthinteka kuka-

ulumeni odlameni kan-

ye nasekuhlinzekeni izi-

nhlangano zombusazwe
ngezimali. Yathi kufane-
le agede futhi amagembu

asithekileyo asembu-
lt{hweni wezokuphepha
â\202¬ namaphoyisa.
.m{ANC inxuse ukuba
ivezele umphakathi ngo-
kusebenza kwezimali ezj-
sesikhwameni esifihleki-
leyo okuthiwa sahlENZE-
kelwa ni;oR380m. Yathi
kufanele uHulumeni
angazithatheli izinyathelo
zomthetho izisebenzi ezi-
veza okuthile ngaloluda-
ba. 4

Ithe impendulo ka-
Hulumeni kulokhu eku-
funayo yiyona eyocacisa
ukuthi uzimisele kanga-
nani ngokuxazulula le-
sisimo. Yathi ifisa umhla-
ba wazi ukuthi ukuhoxisa
kwawo unswinyo kune-

ngozi enkulu yathi kufa- -

nele labo asebethathe
izinyathelo zokuhoxisa
unswinyo basicabangisise
lesisinyathelo abasitha-
thileyo. :

Inxuse amalungu e-
IFP abaholi kanye naba-
landeli bayo ukuthi ba-
ngakuvumeli ukusetshe-
nziswa ngumbuso kanye
nobuholi obumbaxambi-
Li.

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u slams FW

â\200\230on IFP funding

â\200\230Stop playing games, demands bishop

CAPE TOWNâ\200\231S Anglican Archbishop
Desmond Tutu has condemned State
President F.W. de Klerkâ\200\231s response
so far to the crisis which has erupt-
ed over Government funding of In-
katha and evidence of Security
Force involvement in political vio-
lence.

Archbishop Tutu said in a statement
yesterday that Mr de Klerk had been
given an opportunity to rehabilitate his
integrity. @5 201 CE dndE

â\200\234He doesnâ\200\231t seem to realise the seri-
ousness of our crisis. He is apparently
playing games and heâ\200\231s playing with
the future of this country.

â\200\234I call on him to act far more decisi-
vely and urgently.â\200\235 .Â«

Archbishop Tutu called for immedi-

ate action on demands-made by South
African church leaders after a meeting
in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

! leadersâ\200\231 den

Adriaan , W' "fmâ\200\230%â\200\230fwihbe Minister
General Magnus Malan.

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN
Political Reporter

B The Government must impose an
immediate ban on all covert action and
an immediate freeze on any use of se-
cret funds. :

| Such a ban should be monitored by
auditors and experts appointed by

agreement with all major political groupings, religious bodies and business groups. _

B 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.

B 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. ! |

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] wut.aÃ©,

: REPER to' your lead
story of July 23, â\200\234Inkatha
lo give back govt cashâ\204¢
and wish to make a per-
sonal statement to correct
any - possible misunder-
standlng which - could.
have arisen from what T~
said. at the Press â\200\230confer-

ence held ar Burgerspark.
Hotcl on Tnesday July 23. -

. Journalists were asking -

' ,why Mr M Z Khumalo,
-Â\$ who admitted receiving
money from the South
African Government and
who had resigned as per-
sonal assistant to the
President of the IFP, had
not been brought to face

journalists at the Press :

conference. . e

I stated that Mr Khu-
â\200\230malo was lo longer an
employee of the IFP and
could not be told what to
do, and I 'said that he was
not in our Imdstâ\200\224â\200\224 he isâ\200\231
not with vs. -

I had earher 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
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~ Inkatha res:gnatlon.

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Felgate explams

be clarified. Mr M Z. Kha-

- malo has not only been a-

loyal, trnsted and faithfil
:servant of Inkatha Free-
dom Party, but he'is held
in the highest esteem by
evcrybody in the party.

He is a very close person-

al friend .of mine and [-

bave nothing but the
greatest admuration for
the noble way in which he

.acted when he realised
-that his misjudgment in

accepting money from the

South. African. Govern--
ment to help hold peace
Â© cent was spent to promote

rallies.

It was his msxstence
that he should resign. He
is still a close friend whom
I still hold in the highest
esteem. It isâ\200\235 because I

- hold him in such esteem

that I afford to him theâ\200\231
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 dOmg \$0.

I will back him in the
he now
makes.

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ADOOW â\200\224 uouraq

I believe that while

speaking personally m
â\200\230what I am saying I reflect
â\200\230very substantially the

suspect his motivation,

and I am quite sure that | .
when "the documents in"â\200\231

which he accounted for
â\200\230the' expenditure of the
R250 000 come to light, it
will be found that every

peace. rallies of which I

and every South African [i

ought to be proud.
We are not ashamed of

what was done with the &

money and â\200\230only say that

Mr Khumalo had no rightâ\200\231

to make a personal deci-;
sion in the matter,

M o . . m-
â\200\230ot

â\200\234view of the IFP. Mr Khu-
maloâ\200\231s error was an errorâ\200\231 :
of not seeking the advice Â\$:
of his president and hisf:
colleagues and taking uni- Â\$ -
lateral action. I do not

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WSEELGATE = |
Central Comm:tee Mem-1
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Inkatha Freedom Pty -
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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 'Ã©

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' FOREIGN QUESTIONS - '

â\200\230Pretoria rumour

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\THE . Government has
expressed its copcern to the
government of South Africa
over Teports suggesting that
Pretoria connived at violence

in the townships, Mr Hurd,

Foreign, Secretary, said

terday. :

He told 'the Commons hie
had spoken for half an hour
| yesterday on the telephone to
Mr Pik Botha, the South Afri-
'll_an Foreign Minister.
â\200\230reports," #r Hurd said. He
\sald that in his talk with Mr
Botha <1 urged that the South
African government shoul

| be clear and â\200\230open about what

'had occurre and for the

| future make it clear that old

policies bad been discarded

and that the policing of the-

| country was lo be poiitiea\ly
i impartial and effective,â\200\235â\200\231

l Mr Hurd was replying, at
| Foreign Questions, 10 sir
| Peter Blaker (C Blackpool 5)
| who asked him about reports
| that the Pretoria government

"] .am troubled by these:

causing concern

By Alan Osboth, Polltical Staff !
â\200\230had been- giving aid to In-

katha at the expense of the
Afiican National Congress.
The Foreign Secretary said
that the financing of Inkatha,
<o far as it had been declared,
â\200\234pelonged to an carlier stage
and was hrought to an end in
the carly part of last year.â\200\235
â\200\230oMuch more Berious in my

view are allegations of con-
niving at violence,'â\200\231 he said.
â\200\234That is why it is crucially
important that the South Afri-
can government should
repeat that they have not con-

nived at such violence,â\200\231: he

aid.

Mr Kaufman, Labour for-
eign affairs spokesman, said
that in the light of the reports
it would be folly for there o
pe precipitate Lifting of sanc-
tions as ONE & the good faith
of the South African govern-
ment remains indoubt.â\200\235 -

The reports had â\200\234ipevitdbly
cast a very worrying light on
the faith of the South African
Government,â\200\235 he said.

BRIEFING

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ROGRESS towards
â\200\234realâ\200\235 negotiations â\200\224 It
- may be difficult to be-

lieve, but we are still in
the â\200\234talks about talksâ\200\235 phase â\200\224
came to an effective standstill
In the first half of this year,

While wrangling over out-
standing â\200\234obstacles" to the con-
vening of a multiparty confer-
ence {the precursor to a new
constitution} was volatile, lead-
ers in both Government and
ANC circles said privately that
real momentum could be ex-

pected 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 organisa-
tion had to be poised to operate
as a political party â\200\224 in fact, if
not in name,

â\200\234In the event, the ANC confor-
mance 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 Ger-
rit Viljoen, while carping about
the tenor of the conference, said
negotiations (what he knew to

start â\200\234tomorrowâ\200\235,

It seemed that intractable
issues such as political prison-
ers and the return of exiles
were closer to resolution, and
that the overarching problem of
the township violence was final-
ly being addressed seriously by
all the key actors simultane-
ously. The scene was set.

The â\200\234goâ\200\235 signal never came,
Out of the blue, secret Govern-

. under

call â\200\234the reat McCoy") could

e Mere 35 Oty 1591

Back to Sstep one as tr

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Before July, South Afrl-
cans were told that reai
negotlatlons would get
way once the
ANC's conference was
over, Now, with the ctlsls
provoked by the Inkatha

funding scandal, we ap- -

pear to be back to square

one. Star political ana-

lysts SHAUN JOHNSON

and STANLEY UYS try to

plck their way through the
rubble,

ment funding for Inkatha was
exposed and â\200\224 in one of the
lronle twists that characterise
South Afrlcan politics â\200\224 it was
lo longer the ANC'S house that
wasg in a shambles, but the Gov-
ernment's, o

This 18 where we are today,
08 the country walts with bated
breath to ses whether Presldent
de Klerk has the will and abillty
to extrfcate himself from the
scandal, I

There is a keen understand-
ing on the part of the Govern-
ment's opponents that he must
do 80 just as mueh a3 the nego-
tiatlona process relies on the po-
litical survival of Mr Mandeta,
90 an unsullied Mr de Klork is a
necessary ingredient to It

Thus the ANC has stopped
well short of saylng it can no
longer do business with the re-
forming President: it is seeking
to exact a heavy tithe in terms

of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate,

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Reactivate MP
planning talk

.. ;. d 1
@ Get over current credibility crisis. . Conclude Patriotic Front

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the

damage and rework their pre-

dictive timetables for how the process might unfold,
Both the Government and the

ANC have a stake to all

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 "Inkatha-

â\200\230gateâ\200\235, Then it must compromise

Uâ\200\230

to secure agreement that the remaining â\200\234chstacles to negotiations" have been cleared. Then the planning talks for the conference must be reactivated â\200\224 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

arough, lts task i3 made more

difficult by â\200\234Inkathagateâ\200\235 â\200\224 the

PAC will be able to criticlse

doallngs with the Governmont

maora effectlvely,)

â\200\230The ANC, too, must cempro-
mise in order to reach agree-
ment on the removal of obsia-
cles, It must reactivate MPC

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. Is to say, harden or soften â\200\224

int meeting, i !

Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

lanning talks without oslng -

ace; and, flnally, it must see
througih â\200\224 as an ohserver â\200\224 the
SA Communist Partyâ\200\231a first in-
ternal congress. At this stage

the ANC wlli also be ready for -

the conference,

Tho question, of course, Is
whether these steps will. be
taken In tandem, The re-estab-
iislzï-\201ent ef trust is fundamental
o this, ;

But wlll rocent developments -

causa elther side to shift â\200\224 that

thelr positions, and thereby
alter the timetable? ~

The key decision-making
bodies, the Cabinet on the ons
hand and the ANC national

*: working committee on the
-, other, are for the tlme being

mesmerised by the unfolding

_ political drama, -

But in an exclusive interview
with The Star oniy days before

. "Inkathagateâ\200\235 broke, Deputy
. Constitutional Development

Ministor Roelf Meyer set out,

- the Government's thinking in

some detail. It 8 a useful
henchmark -against which to

* test possible shifts in the com-

ing months, -

Mr Meyer was upbeat about
the prospects for the timeous
convening of the MPC (â\200\234the last
facet of talks about talks â\200\224 it

could happen before the end of

the year") and its potential as a
forum for bringing about a con-
stitution-making body.

"If the patriotic front takes

place In August,â\200\235 he said, â\200\234then
immediately thereafter [would
guess we would be able to come
together and work out the logis-
ties to get the multtparty con-
ference together, If that is so,
one can expect another two or
three months to arrange the
necessary practicalities.â\200\235

He believed, then, that there
was â\200\234a sort of agreement (be-
tween the Government and the
ANC) that there are three
major players (NP, ANC, In-
katha Freedom Party)â\200\235 as a de-

arture point for deciding at-
tendance at the conference,

Further, Mr Meyer had this
to say about the Governmentâ\200\231s
refection of the ANC enll for an
Interliin government to super-

nock

~ vise the transition period: "Wo ;

pâ\200\224

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will probably have to find com-
promises, but surely we are not
going to give in to the demand
for a constituent assembly orjan
interim government? [I imagine
â\200\230they won't want to give in from
their side. Somewhere we will
have to find each other,
â\200\234The idea of an interim gov-
ernment 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 â\200\224
it would create a vacuum,â\200\235 -
On each of these points, -the
balance of power has shifted in
the last week, The shift certain-

Iy need not be permanent, but
the fluidity of the situation is
palpable,
The Government â\200\230may have
to revise its optimism about a
quick start to the MPC â\200\224 only
3 days ago Mr Mandela said: he
doubted it could happen. This
year â\200\224 and it will certainly
face a campaign from the ANC
to â\200\234demote" Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi from the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s conceptual triumvirate
of key players, 2
And crucially, the ANC's ar-
gument on the Interim govern-
ment issue has been greatly
strengthened by the proof. of
Government one-sidedness | at
least as far as the Inkatha fund-
ing 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 â\200\224 and
the best that politicians or ob-
servers can do is to identify the
essential elements of that pro-
cess, not predict when and how
they will unfold, o

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Staff Reporiers

Organisations naroad in parlia-
mentary questions on d&zdmr
tine Government fonding yes-
terday dismmisseds suggestions
that they raight, like Inkatha,

have ben:zlt:d from the State

coffers.

Democratic Party LM): Kobus
Jordaar disclosed on Tunesday
which organisations he had
named in questions aboui so-
spected secret funding directed
to President de Klerk. Minister
Adriaan Viek azd Minister
Magnus Malan

The :our arganisaiions &re
the United Municipalities of S
(Umsz), the Urkban Cutmcï¬\201s
sociation of SA, the Nald

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- 4 bodles deny beneflts
from State coffers

Forum and the Federal Inde-

peadent Democzarl 111&334,â\200\230:2.
Formear Ums

Baya anj L,rma ,ï¬\201cr'&tar"-gÃ© -

president Jshn

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Bis orgzzmatzun had been spon-

sored by the Government was
an â\200\234ongoing I

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

anted to put the record
str"ghn_

Ueaza and the United
conid not be reached for
ment. :

Mr Jordaan alss referred to 2
parliamentary question asked
by DF caBeague Jarmie Mom-

herg regarding possible finan.

cial assistance to â\200\234cultural or
politica! organisationsâ\204ç in the
homelands. . | .-

Viliers {mrnished de-
& homeiand organmi-
ported by â\200\230the Gov-
ernm v
â\200\234Lou five orgeoisz-
ved ware Worthy

Iv, Inyandzz in sml\gwane, in-
tanda ye Sizwe In Â#wzNdebele
the United P

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rDevel Op"nezt Aid Minister

Former Umsa president Tom'Bo a. el
: suggesnons of covert fundxng ndiculous :

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(fronl & back) sheepshin and
SWMhhsea[comforcaru

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Cu rer â\200\230pr!cc: e

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' THE .. I3

CHEAPEST
I00D STORES

24 HOURS Rt

By Tany Silrling

THE governmentâ\200\231 is
preparing to-fight bnek
amid expectations of
fresh disclosures over
fts usc of secret funds
from the R38C million
special account, It be-
lioves the disclosurcs
are aimed at forcing lts

FINA NCIAL GA ZLâ\200\230??FE '
resignation.

Tha new disclosurcs on
the use of these funds, in-
volving miillions 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 govern-
ment was preparing o

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;5 IDT 2ppointments

! FORMER KaNgwane Chies

! Minister Enos Mabyza aod the
Â\$ Primeipal of the Transkej

i University, Prof Wisernan

3 Nkuhlu, have been appointed
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documents â\200\224 editor
BILLY PADDOCK

EIGHâ\200\224ranl:ing SAP members mer Weekly
Mzil editor Anten Harber gp Tuesdzy in an
S{empt to ger copies of the doenments the
DewsDaper used for irs TEDOrTS on govern-
ments funding of Iokatha.

However, Barper did not hand these
OVer as the policemen refused o give him

â\200\230o .assurances, ng X

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P2PET Or its journalisrs,
Law and Orger Miniszry spokesman
Czpt Craig__Kotze confirmed that he, L

See the documents .
~They said they were invsi~\201galiug a
Case of theft and breach of the Proteetign
of Informatiog Act Bur we argued the
documears ang this ease did not Â£2]] inte
thic CATAEOrT," he naid ;
It was Teported vesterday thay police
believed an Â\$AP member based in Durban

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e Gl ey D Joty 199 |

1 WAS somewhat per-
turbed at the. way I
which Chief Buthelezi
was battled by the Press on
Vs Aoenda last Sunday.

Many viewers with whom
this matter has been dis-
cussed wholeheartedly
COTICUL.

The Western world has
become so intensely ob-
sessed with reverence for
democratic rights, free-
dom of speech, etc, that I
wonder if we are not in
danger of being- condi-
tioned to the point of

aipâ\200\224

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Buth

elezi baitedx

onTV

â\200\234worshippingâ\200\235â\200\231 such man-
made dogmas.

The Bible teaches that
life and. character are
more important than dog-
mas and ritualisms, and in
Chief Buthelezi we have a
man of character: a digzi-
fied, scholarly man who
has gained Western econ-

-Qmic perspectives
through such learned
counsel as Kohl and
Thatcher.

h

He is a leader who,

under the gravely difficult
circumstances of
apartheid system, opted

for the Christian values of

negotaton -and reconci-
fiaton rather tham the
Marxistsâ\200\235 gun-barrel.
Democ:acy and frÂ°Âç
speech have a place in our

@ool

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Lives, but man-made dog- Tar

mas fall into a more bai-

anced perspective when-! â\200\230

Commandments frst.
Mrs E D ROBINSON
Uvongo

â\200\230we put the first of the Ten Â\$ â\200\230

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THE SACP/ANC alliance has been plunged into confusion by the Soviet political upheaval and the subsequent crackdown on the Russian Communist

~ Party, its activities and officials.

Some South African communists are red-

\ faced this weekend after openly supporting the failed coup in the Soviet Union. Others are torn between support for President Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr Boris Yeltsin on the one hand and rejection of the tough action against the party in Russia and other Soviet republics on the other.

For rank-and-file ANC/SACP members and supporters it is more difficult than ever to understand the logic of it all when a communist party is banned in Russia â\200\224 the cradle of communism â\200\224 at a time when the Communist Party in South Africa has been unbanned.

There is also confusion over where the SACP really stands between the hard-line communism of the discredited Soviet coup leaders and the reformist thinking of Mr Gorbachev.

Where does the SACPâ\200\231s â\200\234democratic socialismâ\200\235 fit in and to what extent does its methods differ from the brute force favoured by old-style communists?

The SACPâ\200\231s hierarchy is saying very little about such issues and most of them

arry Gala

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

Frans Esterhuyse

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234courageousâ\200\235 reforms, could not be reached for his reaction to the crack-down 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 â\200\234uncontactableâ\200\235.

SACP media officer Mr Essop Pahad said a statement would be issued after a meeting on Monday â\200\234to review the situationâ\200\235.

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: â\200\234Naturally we are always concerned in a situation where the activities of political parties are curtailed.â\200\235

Emphasising that he was giving his person-

- ALY

al opinion, he said sucl i reaidhe

â\200\234a matter of grave conty Âço usâ\200\235
if there had been a viola :fâ\200\234;,eâ\200\231 ::::

the judicial process would have its course. ;
Asked how the events affected the Mr Pahad said his party was affected â\200\224 â\200\234we said from the be that the SACP remains in favo negotiated solution.â\200\235

If anything, the events in the Sovie

had strengthened the SACPâ\200\231s in regard to democratic socialis
Mr Pahad declined to discuss h SACP's â\200\234democratic socialism in with Soviet thinking, sayi wonâ\200\231t enter into comparisonsâ\200\235.
Communist hardliner in the A

Harry Gwala, whose Natal branch of the SACP came out port of the Soviet coup this was not available to comment. Mr Gwala's family said he was not at

they could not say where he 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 constructive to the socialist objectives.

This stand went directly against the official SACP line adopted by Mr Joe Slovo in criticising the coup, praising Mr Gorbachev's reforms.

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224
Slain ANC lawyer Bheki

Mlangeni was buried in

the Heroesâ\200\231 Arch section

â\200\234of the Avalon Cemetery,
Soweto, d a peace-

ful funeral at the

weekend.)

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

(s)gga rts that the
m at the funeral was
a sombre one, with fam-

members, including

r Mlangeniâ\200\231s wife,
breaking down with
emotions amid militant
speeches by activists.

Mr niâ\200\231s stature
in the ANC and the
South African Commu-
nist Party was under-
scored tîr\201 the high-
nmkinglg cials 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 Mlangeniâ\200\231s mur-
der are examining |
â\200\230bomb signaturesâ\200\231 to try
to connect the walkman
bomb to other hlasts, an
informed source said.

The bomb was
thou%ht to have origin-
ally een intended for
exiled former â\200\230death
squadâ\200\231 policeman Dirk
Coetzee. - {

Two other bomb |
blasts ap, ared to have

similar signatures a a 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
death factory exists in
Rebecca Street, Preto-
ria, and intend in-
vestigate the worksh-

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THE CITIZEN)/

COMMENT |

Hit back

WE are sorry that State President De Klerk is .
wartmg untll Tuesday before he tells the }

mediz what is going on-about Inkathagate.

While the government holds back, the affar f :

-snowballs.

Accusations are being made of possble fond- :

mg of other organisations besidss Inkatha. ;
These organisations are mainly sympatheti

to the governmment â\200\224 or the system, as the qu
ANC likes to describe the present set=np. = i

We have no donbt that ever more startling al- -
legations are in the pipeline, sines this i not
a case of one persom stealing secret docn-

He is doing so for two reasons., The first is to
get sanctions remposed. Look, he is saying,
we warned you that you could not trust Mr
De Klerk; Inkathagate has shown his govern-
ment has secretly funded an organisation that
is opposed to the ANC and is engaged in vi-

olence 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 (0 change his mind on lifting sanctions. . : i

" Similarly, Mr Mandela hopes to put pressure on the European Community either to re-introduces the measures it has lifted or to rescind its decision to lift further curbs.

That sanctions should not be reintroduced, because employment 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 chance 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 -

to discredit the State President and his government. It is that Inkathagate and other revelations. The ANC admits that the ANC or its sympathisers - , Whether it had any prior knowledge of the tend to make will badly damage the image of a campaign, or whether it had a direct hand in the government, as well as Inkatha and other. it is not known at this point, but the African - South African organisations which may have received government funding.

" National Congress is making use of the alleged government funding. This will increase the pressure on the government to destroy the favourable image Mr Mandela has achieved abroad and at home. + ;' We do not justify the use of secret funds for

gations to destroy the favourable image Mr Mandela has achieved abroad and at home. + ;' We do not justify the use of secret funds for

De Klerk has achieved abroad and at home. + ;' We do not justify the use of secret funds for

It is also fallacy, demanding the resignation of any of the purposes so far revealed. of the government and the setting up of an interim government. .- democratic, principled, holier than thou or; 'i

ANC president Nelson Mandela talks constantly - organisation it dares to be. G

aridly with forked tongue, either praising the The government, if it believes it has wronged State President as a man of honour and integrity, must fight back, and in doing so it must

clarity or implying that he is a man who talks reveal all it knows about the funding of the peace, nor allows his security forces to kill ANC by foreign governments, nor involve innocent people in the townships. ment in the township warfare and its plans

Now, with Inkathagate, he is taking the gloves for revolution. !

Spaleo : This may break down all prospects of negotiation -

He Speaking in Spain. he accused the United Nations, but the blame will lie with the ANC and the States and Europe of rewarding the man and its sympathisers. -

17 (President De Klerk) who wants to rise into At least we will have an honest and open government power on the corpses of innocent people and battle for the future of the country rather

It is, One has the impression that Mr Mandela no more than the angry backslapping We' Bavs, had

the young Jonger pretends to be Mr De Klerk's faithful partner. 6 in AR ER WO

favoured negotiating partner, but intends to : A R

blackguard Mr De Klerk and his government wherever he can.

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* Azanyu
â\200\234slams

funding

By THEMBA MOLEFE

. THE Azanian Youth

Unity yesterday siammed
what has come (0 be
known as â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234Inkathagateâ\200\231â\200\231,

Azanyu said the
scandal underscored the
futility of negotiations.

â\200\230â\200\234In view of the
Government-Inkatha
scandal, Azanyu reiterates
its position that negotia-
tions and demands for a
constituent assembly are
counter-revolutionary and
a waste of time.

. â\200\234Neediess 10 say, the
virtual silence of the
â\200\230liberation movementsâ\200\231
on an issue of this mag-
nitude raises extreme
suspicion.

*â\200\234The liberation move-
ments need not only con-
demn the action but must
also be seen 10 be serious
by pulling out of the
circus called negotia-
tions.â\200\235â\200\235

â\200\230DF lomo:

SOWE RN

clear of

THE chairman of the In-
stitute for Multi-Party
Democracy, Dr Oscar
Dhlomo, said there were
â\200\230â\200\230obvious reasonsâ\200\231â\200\231 why
he would not go ahead
and reveal exactly what
he knew about the current
row involving Govern-
ment payments to the In-
katha Freedom Party.

"It is now exactly one
year and cne month since
I resigned from Inkatha
and the KwaZulu govern-

ment.

â\200\2301 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.

â\200\230â\200\230Our ways have parted and the least we can do is to maintain

mutual respect,â\200\235â\200\231 Dhlomo

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i

OSCAR DHLOMO
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.

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Iâ\200\231OW

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
â\200\234*ungrateful for what
Buthelezi has done for
him"â\200\231

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 in-
formation about the

covert Government fund- -

ing, from the organisa- -
Sowetan Cor-

tion. -
respondent.

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Star Burean - .
and Sapa-Reuter

=, . LONDON â\200\224 The South African: j.. ~=r o
1 Government told. Britain yes= } o5 . oo
terday it was not conniving :| -7 -
with Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s political |. -

rivals over the violence that Bas | - thac i
Killed 5000 people in four FeaLs, Â\$ Lo

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A spokesman said. Foreign .
i . Migister Pik Botha gave the as-,
o eurances in 2 telephoge call ni- 4.0 s
el : tiated by Foreign SecrefalÂ¥ . ,.c:
g DouglasHmd. ; > y T VIR sl

â\200\234Mr Botha'assu:;d;ii~\202e.Secgg; ey
tary of State that the .Govern:- . L.

ment had not been conniving. g
with Inkatha over the VHOIRUCEâ\200\235 o pigiop o
Mr Hurd's call followed reve- I aw
lations that Pretoria had=COs5 ki 5k
vertly funded Inkatha.

Later, Mr Hurd, answering |
questions from Lahour-MP-Bob:. { . -
Hughes in the House of Com- |-
mons, said he was, like every> | .
one else, troubled by reporis of |- -
collaboration between the P
and the SA Government .

. He had pressed the Govern- | . .
ment to be â\200\234clear.and openâ\200\235 |. . . . '
about what had occmrred ARG 0. Lot e e
make it clear that old policies. }.'d .=
had been rejected- oo kil '

_ Mr Hurd agreed there had.4 ..
been a setback. in comfic nce;in -} R
the Governmeat and that1f Was.4 = 5 e

. peccessary for Pretoria to rewes gt
tablish confidence.io. the Â£

& - . policing of the commtry..

i : Saying news of Governmen
, _funding had endangered the ne-

& . gotiation process, Mr H};â\200\234gi¬\201gs

. eajd- sanctions should be mainT
tained until the talks.om &.BEF s orow

1 constitutional dispensafion.f..

-4 ; were under way. - ot

<7 Laboarâ\200\231s shadow foreign sec-

Tetary Gerald Kaufran said the ..

revelations had-throÂ¥m ayery b

worrying light on the good faith -

of the SA Government initsBerjo

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o . | gotiations with the ANC.

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Dear Str, LR

THE rovelatitotis about' the' stateâ\200\231s

financlal support of Inkatha Teads

â\200\230one to suspect â\200\234the reagons for lts -

- recognition of the â\200\234rightâ\200\235 of Zulus to

- carry tradltional weapons In puhlic. .

Thare 13 good support for theviow

that violerice 'and saclal instablilty

~ Within * the' eduntry * stil "nhiblt

forelgn â\200\230Inydstors fromy granting the

loans rieved toâ\200\235 estore growth and

pro;gei-â\20215';" A 00 =

* "Traditional ' weaponsâ\200\235 areâ\200\231.sym-

bols of that very violence and have

been wsed In' attacks by Inkatha

groups, and they emphasise outdated

tribal enmities, Their public showin g

raises fears, H not Jeers and sneers,

In the outside civilised world, which

regards â\200\230as contemptible or comic

the assertion that Zal â\200\234mankoodâ\200\235

depends upor the right to earry these

weÃ@apons int publle, â\200\230

I, for one, do not want to advance

Into a future SA In the company of

members of Inkatha chanting war

cries and brandlshing pangas, asse-

gals, axes and knobkerries In a man-

ner of a bygone ora.

â\200\230Review â\200\230traditionalâ\200\231

.. Wk does? Let the government re-

mnin s pelley. bt Dayluid

o4 . - 'HARRY BARKER

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â\200\230Deardr,â\200\235 -)

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. ROBERT Grelg â\200\230Business Day, July

24)raks a nlc"e'rolnt i his letter on

Heathx Mackis's review of poema.

Poem1 shouldâ\200\235 not' be revlewed â\200\234in

termac the poots' ages, skin eolour,
gonderand assumed poiltieal: allgn-

. ment..." If this "4 not substahtlated
- by refience to tho poems". He thon

says 'rooms are performances 'of
lafigusgo and meanings, not exhibl-
tions d the rancom effects of the

oct's ability to celebrate a 40th
{rthde; or his â\200\230o her genealogy".

Perhagt.

Then he goes overboard â\200\224 he
draws 1 paralle! with trying to ox-
plain â\200\231 perfarmances In terms

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Jolburg 20003
Faxt(011). 8360805

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of â\200\234their Belng â\200\234gerlatrld, Negroid,
female and reactlonaryâ\200\235, =~
" If â\200\230the ' post Is wrlting about age,
blackness, famininlty and reactlon, it
does help to know these things, Ezra
Poundâ\200\231s putrid- antl-Semitlsm could,

one sipposes, be regarded as a mat-

S

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ter of pure craft, but It would ba

casior, surely, to understand what he
la'saying if one knows what heis."
Ta be sure Heather Mackieâ\200\231s fail-"
ure to pinpoint exactly whete â\200\234whitoâ\200\230l
male, ilberal . establishment ldess'
are relevant could be held against
her, But this Is a far ery from ex- .
plainlng CEOs' husiness perform-
ances In terms of a%e. raco, gender
and political faith, if only because

weaponsâ\200\231.

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pralon: Â¢

poetry, ed 'belng' "conscl
craftadâ\200\235 ditén liivoives commmnion-

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. ble meanliig swhich'the poet counld
' derfve Irb"i:'ii

ord his age, raee,â\200\230gender and
! polit!cÃ@i"' Aâ\200\230.f:.,-e:r!! ' i
I~ Preoceujations; obsesslonsicatingt

* beswept uader the carpet; Has Grelg -

forgottesn Blliotâ\200\231s I grow old, I wear

; the hattoits of my trousers roiledâ\200\235?
. In the qugh?fâ\200\230;eï¬\201lopgr'flâ\200\230tfgays T am

{ black, biit'co i el il
' â\200\230oo 11-GERSCHOM GREENE
ly Jlohannesburg

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Dear Slr, /!

1 WAS Inviled as an obseryer toâ\200\230at- â\200\230

tend the Inkatha Freedorn Party
conference {ast weokend. I would
like to poini out that at na time was
the storm over the covert funding for
tha IFP allcwed to dominate the an-
nual conference, i

On the contravy, after fssuing a

AN

"â\200\230c&hs:clously

. rÃ©zbriet statement to the Press Chiaf

Buthelezi stated qultÃ© â\200\230clearly that
the conference was not golng to be
distracted froim the important lssucs
at stake.

It was not watll Sunda
when the articles published in the
Sunday Tlmes wers read ona by one,
and tronstated Into' Zulu, that the
matter was handled at the confor-
enca at great length, ' - Â\$

"It was heartening to hear the re-

sounding roars of support that Chief

Buthelezi recelved, .
Chlef Buthelezi invlted Dr Sipho
Mzimela, a formaor ANC momber, Lo
apeak. Ho stated that the conference
had remlnded him of ANC meetings
held many vears ago, i
i -4nd X was struck by the goodwiil

and friendliness that all of us there
received, :

GIL WERNEA

. Wendywood

0 While paeudostyma are sometimes
acceplable, correspondents skould stgn
Toiters end give their names, a sireet ad-

dreas and Â« daytime contaot number. The
Editor reserves the right (o shorten letters,

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~1| Cosatuâ\200\230congress to

3 L / g i"jâ\200\231*â\200\230 '-1â\200\234:'.,.â\200\230".;,) :-

.. |Y'make vital choices

(R Â» i~\202?â\200\231_ ;â\200\230fjâ\200\231;;f AT m voâ\200\234 um . -

| COSATU'S relationship â\200\230with the ANC and

| sACP-will be scrutinised by more than 2500 |

40 â\200\230delegates to â\200\230the federationâ\200\231s-fourtt national

=41 - congress which starts at the Nasrec show-

. grounds near Johannesburg today-

<o b The conference will be attended by delegates

" from 14 affiliated wmions- B

The ANC, SA Communist Party, PAC, SA Coun-

~ il 'of Churches and the SA Catholic Bisbopsâ\200\231

Conference have been invited, as have

. â\200\234guests-frofa trade unions and labonr feder-

ations around the world

A ey isste on the agenda will be the adoption

of 2 workersâ\200\231 charter, to enstre that 2 future

" consÂ@tution will entren â\200\230workers tights

. and gnarantsÂ¢ trade union jndependence.

Sach 2 â\200\230Â¢harter would incinde the right to

_ _strike, orgauise, belong to 2 union and the

_ .| â\200\234â\200\234right to'a democratic government. -

+ : Congress delegaies would consider whether Co-

: " satu should play & direct role in the pegotia-

* tion process, Cosatu generzl secretary Jay

Loafeie Naidoo told-2 news briefing last wesk

Â@ Y- Cosahi's tripartite alliance with the ANC znd

| .. SA Communist Party will also come mmder

< â\200\234igeroting. Naidoo Saidâ\200\235 discussions would be

aimed-at strengthenfng the alliance.

1 Deleâ\200\230ga%wmdisâ\200\231amhowtheissueof overlap-

- â\200\234ping unmnandpdhĩ~\201mlleadersh;p in the

| aniance can bÃ@ regulated to ensure that it

~does â\200\234B0t comproimise- the federationâ\200\231s

independence. '

â\200\234Delegates are likely to support.a broader strat-

| = egy for peace and will disenss self-defence.

. Theywill alsa focus on adopting an econom-

| icpolicy with the emiphasis on a tmion role in

â\200\234*â\200\234economie ard Indnstrial planning to create

-3 - jobsandm?etbasicsoda}needsâ\200\230

26/07

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e cap,

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Civil servant totals

- in the homelands will

7 of the governments of non-independent homelands.
...1 Jands rose to record levels this year de-

e "guide official policies to reduce the size of
e public sector.

. Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures
show employment in the six self-governing ter-
ritories reached 198 447 in March, more than
23, 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 pro-
cess 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. s -

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

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

The TBVC states, the public sector employ-
ment figures of which are not included in these
CSS statistics, are also in the process of finan-
cial adjustment.

Richter said continuous unfinanced govern-
ment deficits often triggered the realisation

that structural adjustment was needed

to the role of the public sector, with emphasis

. emphasis on longer term planning

Financial adjustment programmes have -

* development process, he said
greater certainty .

-will prevail for states to take up loans from

" were being rationalised, as there was

Â£ GRETA STEYN â\200\224a

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. Y

Structural adjustment paid special attention

on making better use of scarce resources.
Budgeting procedures were overhauled with

g
The efficient employment of large budget allocations was analysed in detail even when they seemed justified, 25 with education.

Credibility -

Richter regarded the ad hoc nature of budgeting encountered in some homelands as & â\200\234legacy of apartheidâ\200\235.

He insisted the bankâ\200\231s credibility was not threatened by helping these governments.

Refusing to deal with them would retard the

â\200\234One of the reasons for the bankâ\200\231s involvement in the programmes is that they bring that a continuous capacity

fuelling, agenda' such as the bankâ\200\235 Richter
sal

Development structures in the homelands
a multi-
tude of development corporations QwaQwa
alone had five development corporations.

| the Pretoria oï¬\201c::s of the 3\ specify â\200\234the #â\200\234other- evi- i¬\201sbmpn
t had all butfold="|

â\200\234 sation accusing agemsofr, ses\$0 _â\200\230many South.
i¬\201:cstare " of spylng on it. % 'i¬\201-,e De.-Kletk:. ngmr Afnmnsw&mbtthem- g

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discovered

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Alternative fo:'_SA, (ldaâ\200\224 Â£
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velopment constituted i in.Ã© g

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\234of â\200\234the. Nanoual
d_director â\200\234Mr IWor Jcnhnsâ\200\230â\200\224â\200\230a;â\200\231,m pohncal discussio
n . Pmy I wc e 10 pursue-
in 4 -statement â\200\234said 'the % . the conrsÃ© 'of democracy
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ging ?aiwâ\200\230ycâ\200\230Ã©sf thâ\200\234:kt::g E:g â\200\230It also posed the â\200
\230ques- . - meed â\200\234concreteâ\200\235; i

e 3 non of â\200\230why it was qc@ss-".z-

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Itâ\200\230:â\200\230.neguh.auon proces
could get an unexpect
shot in _the . next
month if. the ANC se-
cures condifional sup-
ports-for.-its pro-alks .
stance from black politi- .
cat tions which
to date have gvoided en . Azapo = enjoy their.
gaging government. - from
Leadbrs -+of the - C' ' â\200\230organisations to-amend
| PAC, Azapa and & rumber thmmceâ\200\230mm
of ChUrcd, comuuuity 2n and - "Added faetors â\200\230are the

Pragma

prÃ@parad * t0 Compromise.
Fand the flexihility they â\200\224
pzhmlzrlv the, PAC and

p mmm;ll:y, â\200\230and "support
ferenceâ\200\235 â\200\224 the frst major - which d egates to the con- -
meeting between major ferwzemml lend â\200\230to their
wnsnzp polifiÃ@al players - !
since government un- :: The conference will also
Sagned them last year- be -attended by Gesatn;
.While sanctions and poh- "Nact, the SA Comuorumist -
deal violence will be dis- Party, the â\200\230SA Council-of

sess of the comference will, - Olympic Committee of SA;
be judged by the extent to - the SA- Council-on . Sparts
which the parties involved -andethers. | .. 5w
reach . agresment ou the

thorny issue of eonstxtnbon- be, crucial-if the impasse:
il pegotiations. . - . between the ANG; PAC=nd
-Last month the ANC con-" Ampo istobe broken. .

ference salidly supported Coptrary to

~omtimued negutlatmusthh Iief, Cosatu and SACP back-
fovermmnt,. while im De- Ing . does: not - necessarily
~ember the PAC and Azapo .give the ANC dominance .

nrmaï~\202y rejected talks In- gver the PAC and Azape, Â@
tathz is onlikely-to parhc:â\200\224 which have close Iinks with -
sate In the conference. â\200\230Nactn zod the New Unity â\204ç.

Given -theseâ\200\231 conflicting
mandates, . -the .consepsus:
reached will be decided by
how much the leaders are -

Movement, . and. Workersâ\200\231.
Organ!smon for Sodalist

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â\200\224-â\200\224Leadmg biack organ@uons wul focus xhelr.a:.ernon on
- sanctons and township violenca. at<a. hxghâ\200\224level conference in Cape i
Town on August. 23â\200\22425.,THAMI.MAZWAI,.,bu5lnem edrmr of the__
Sowetan, who-is currently â\200\230on. secondmeÃ@nt to Business .Day, looks at Â¢

â\200\234some of the |ssues involved, 'and why. the ANC-may.get suppo:â\200\230t to -
i â\200\234gontinue with â\200\230talks with*govenment:- -7 Â¢ o 27

negouatlons,

TS}

{themselves â\200\230from spectiï-\201câ\200\231
mssed at-length the sue- - Churches, the Nationak

Their pïï-\201ïï-\201dpaïï-\201mvwm:_fgïï-\201m of the ANC, PAC 'enjoys It draws its support

popnlar-bei â\200\231

Â»wiIldo:ounprmd,ple.

Prmuples aud pragmz.__

ave .PAC and Aza italsou-â\200\224ble-Prnnmg their rhetoric, ;
S have = betterâ\200\235 chines PO M e M
d is that talks with gavâ\200\231. :

of sneceeding â\200\230at this con- Jaysthesuppo:tofmoreorâ\200\224r.- Jall
ferepce â\200\234than any - -other, ' tions.

*_similar meeting because of .. The PAC e.njoys consld *r ernment are premature
the determined stand by ..ersble community iïï-\202nsstage as
yimions Effiliated to Nactu Â°.because of: its radicalism + Miïï-\202yhONSïïï-\202IItheam
~and - Cosatn â\200\230to-disasoceiate ~ and its land-otientated ap-
proach_ 6 - the Iibemtwtu

Klerk enr-

at -

Hence their demand fora , b
democ.ratxcally â\200\230elected

political organisations. â\200\234â\200\230struggle. It is-also respect:
.-For instance the. Ccsatn edforlts consistency. <<

conference which begite to- > â\200\230GAzapo.has fought +hard
will be- addressed by="1~fox" the: recognition it .now

Azaposfor=the - first+ largely from the 1976 gen-
tinde. The SACC, cultural, Å»-eration and-in some areas
community- and sports as- ; hzsa,hxggerfbnmqthm
soaahomarenowtal:inga â\200\234thePACand ANC. .:., .o
moreâ\200\231 independent lipe.â\200\231 -Azapoand the PACe.moy
â\200\234They. will do their best not . anlnĩ\202ummovertthemc
" to side with any of the three â\204ç â\200\230which would -appear to
â\200\234on'the basis of ideology,. bu: -outweigh . their, . numerieal
" strength- *This' was borne
. Nonetheless, the ANC's .- out by the Harare confet
size, resourees and.higher - encexnwhlch ap]
profile -locally and .infer-:: ~PAC sentimerits og sevexat
mationally gives itz deĩ\201-- â\200\230issues won theday. i
-nite advantage over .the . . -Despite - its relamre

MET-'LMANCzsunlikeE-
ly to jgnore other organisa-.

tionsâ\200\231 objections to negotia-
â\200\230Hops. Instead it sees this
| conference as an opporim-

. ity to win support for talks
from =5 wide & range of ar-
ganisations .as possible. It
clont with government.
.| More importantly, it will
3 need credible allies should
| government prove an un-.

compromising opponext. -
. The PAC and-Azapo will
' be forced to be more prag-
i matie because-of their fail-
o = me to wage an'eĩ\202eci\201ve
R vy namamnegatutwns_ i
ip=r i Inaddihnn,thePACand
& ;3 Azapoknawthatwhnemp-
i DA T port for negotiations has
7o oo | flagged somewhat after the
com o | ANC's frustrations - with
= ... | government, blacksâ\200\234as a
whoiewanth]kgwhmhap-
pear to preroise normality
for their conflict-ravaged
e oty "' .n,n;

ps the d in
factor is that the::Cape
4 Town indaba. comes: after
dspzrabeappealsfarun;ty
Iniaction from the: blackâ\200\231
cuunnumtyâ\200\230even:fnzsat

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| zmd meansi¬\202cmud.wri¬\202:- .
out viable options, is likely |
to_payfur-this'in terms uf '
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gotiations, - they *are;flexi:

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VOS I F P

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BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, July 25 1991 Â°

for ANC govt talks

constituent assembly. They
t the pombers in the
community to restore
alance of power be-
tween government and its

5lack negotiating partners. .

Only theq, they argue, will
aegotiations hold some pro-
:msefor blacks.

What may then happen at
he conference is that the
ANC will reach an accom-

nodation with other or-
zanisations if it agrees that -

â\200\230e election of 2 constituent
:ssembly must be the basis
â\200\230or all talks, The ANC is

likely to go along with this
position, as a counstituent
assemnbly has also been
among its demands. .

While general support
for pegotiations from the
conference will strengthen
the ANC's position in the

'townshlps, it will find that

it has less room for man-
oeuvre in talks with gov-
ernment,

Accepting anything less
than the constitnent assem-

bly 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 re-

. jected the assembly, saying

it will lead to a \200\234wmmner
takes all\200\235 solution

The conference will pat

-on the backburper the

ANC's hesitant demand for
an interim government,
and government's willing-

.Dess to disenss the issue.

The PAC and Azapo, and
many elemeaqts in the ANC,
mamt.am that an interim

government is 2 de facto
acceptance of De Klerk's
legifimacy while they insist
his goyernment is illegit-
imateâ\204ç

Also, they argue, De
Klerk would dominate an
interim government as the
army, police and eivil ser-
visee would remain loyal {o
bim rather thay the interim
structure. |

For the rest of the cop-
ference agenda, .the three
groups agree inter-orgami-
sational viclece must be

rednced and the sanchions
ca.mpa:gn_cvnhnn&
Pressures will, however.
be brought to bear on the
ANC over its vacmahdculng
policy on the sports and cul-
turzl boycotts While the
ANC conference called for
the maintenance of all
sanctions, officials have

\200\230gone abroad to help dis--

mantle the the sports and
cultural boyeotts.

There is no doubt that the
patriotic eonference is go-
ing to cÂçhagge the face of
polifics ju'this couniry.

Its most important resnit
is likely to be a strengthen-
ing of the ANC's position on
negotiations, thus giving
the process a vital boost.

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Tutu criticises FWâ\200\231s
- response to scandal

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Angli-
can Archbishop Desmond
Tutu yesterday strongly
criticised the response on
Tuesday by President De
Xlerk to the crisis over
government funding of
Inkarha and evidence of
security force involve-
ment in violence.

Archbishop Tutu called
for immediate action on
demands made by South
African church leaders
after a meeting in Johan-
â\200\230nesburg on Tuesday.

The church leadersâ\200\231 de-
mands included:

: Â® The immediate res-
ignation or dismissal of
Mr Adraan Vlok and
General Magnus Malan;

. Â® The . government -

must impose an immedi-
ate ban on all covert ac-
tion and an immediate
freeze on any use of se-
cret funds; such a ban
. should be monitored by
auditors and experts ap-
â\200\230ointed by agreement
with all major political

groupings, religious bod-
ies and business groups.
Â® The government
must act immediately to
provide full disclosure of
all past -covert activities
and to give independent
auditors and lawyers
trusted by the major pol-
itical groupings and the
religious and business
communities full access to
government records relat-
ing to such activities; and,
e The government
must commit itself to a

- tes, business and relig-

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commission of inquiry
into security - force in-
volvement in the violence
on the basis that mem-
bership of the commis-
sion, its terms of refer-
ence and the composition
of the team must be es-
tablished by agreement
with major political par-

ious groups.

in addition, a panel of
foreign jurists needs to be

invited to participate in
proceedings. 200/224 Sapa.

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Dl Cheen 5 ng LY R i

â\200\235 gore sldiers
want to speakâ\200\231.

FORMER sldiers trying | â\200\234People. in the system
to exposc alleged â\200\234dirty | want to come out with
tricksâ\204ç by the South Afri- | what they kmow, but
Gan army said yesterday | they're hesitating becagse - L
thar disaffected troops they're scaredâ\200\235 said Mr- e
still in the service wanted | Angelo -Cottola of the -
lo speak out but feared .} Soldiers of P :
for their safety. : co Bassc:iu a, a for- ;
=g â\200\224 ' mer major in military m-
telligence and the jeadar:
of Soldiers of Peace-â\200\224an-
anti-apaytheid gromp
formed eardier this month

â\200\224 has been .meetingâ\200\235

police mvestigatinig alle--

gations that soldiers have

been invoived in recent

masszcres of African Nat-

t4 â\200\230 ional Congress support-
ers. el -
j of army io-'-
volvement were levelled
last week by Mr Felix _ 5
Ndimene, a former.ariny ; e
sergeant now in hidmg at
an mndisclosed venue pro-
vided by Soldiers for |
Peace. . * . â\200\230
Mr Basson is bemg -

prosecnted by the army i
under the Protection of - 3
; Ioformation Act for 5
brezking his oath of se- . o et [â\200\231;
crecy earlier this year, . : e
when he publicly acensed s
the army of destabilising =
Black townships using b
paramilitary foress and
propaganda methods it _ HE

bad previously deployedâ\200\231 , it
against neighborring ;s

SABC TV news last
mght screened extracts
from 2 video tape con-
taining allegations that
South African Defence -
Force urmits had been re-

nsible for townshin vi-
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- ANC Youth say
govt must quit A

EXPOSURE of' covert Â¢ that faflure by- Mr De
â\200\230state fonding of Inkatha Â¢ - .
* indicated the time had ar-{ fgzi¬\201stohi¬\201ndmjmr PE'&r%in

nived for President De Â¢ 'tha, Law and Order Mi- -
- Klerk to accept his gov- /Â¢ prerren Adriaan Viok apd -

ermment could not be'i 'Defence Minister :
insted with the custody s . Malan would â\200\234dennde the
of South -Afticaâ\200\231s periodâ\200\231 pesotiation process of any
of trapsiion to true credibility". . :

democracy... | . ,

This was said yesterday The government should
by the ANC's Youth step downimmediately in

League, which warned favour of an intetim gov-

ernment, the league said.
. â\200\224 Sapa_ _

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d) 0)

LONDON. â\200\224â\200\224 sSontn eiepbuviics Cocsign Min: jrpa =1) â\200\230
Africa - has - assured IStET Pik Botha yestercay â\200\2341 urged thÃ@tmc South |2 s
e has bes _ â\200\230morpig tÂ@ express con- | Aficm overnment 1
By there 8% D Priley - ar. Pretariaâ\200\231s 867 should e clear and 0pen il
no official conry clisioie hkgda?tgc_ig'ed seerer fund- sbout what ad oceeded |

o 0 VIGIERED byBâ\200\234?â\200\230CL'S ine of the Black caonservas - and for the future ma
ke i

3y WSS-&?@â\200\230S*:fBï¬\202mnâ\200\234" Gve Jokatha mOvemedl, Qear that old policies had

\ Toreign & Secre@Tyi and to urge the govern- " beea â\200\230discarded and th2!
% Dougla.s.Hurd;Sa;d ves- * ment to make â\202¬ ear thet - the policing of the cour- |
- terday " T Pergrh new, on -police, 3Â¢ _-Try. was lo be polideally |:

3 Tt : v

He told I scifarment B dons would be polideally impardal-and eFecave.â\200\235 |}

dons WOWIE 2 I3 Ms Hurd said.

win reply, Mr Bots :

geve me 21 assurance that

there hzd besn n0 conni-

'-wcrbyâ\200\224{beâ\200\230â\200\224s.a;â\200\224:hâ\200\224;Ã@:i-r +

â\200\230can Government in viol- ot

ence g the townships |o â\200\230

originared by Inkatha OF g

- eavbody else.â\200\235

Â@1Â° -in the past four yeam. P

about 5 000 Blecks heve

dled m clashes berwesn

SUppOrteTs of the Inkath2

Fresdom Party and M#

Nelson Mandel2's Afri-

can Nztonal Congress.

Mr Mzpdela hi2s 2cCus-

cd South Afrdeaâ\200\231s security

forees of siding with inkz-

tha.

â\200\230Mr Hurd said he be-

tieved the weekend revel-

adogs that the Sout

" Afrieen Government had

fnapced some Inketha

~ â\200\234Much mor= serious in scgvides belonged O 20

my view are (the ANCS) eariier stage in South &

â\200\230allegations ' of (offical) " 1 Africaand was brought lo n

conniving at violence,â\200\235â\200\231 | iz Ã@nd i the early pars of

Mr Hixd said. â\200\234Tt is cru- lastyezr. : 3o

cally important thar the Mr Botha hes acknowl-

policmg of the county edged awhorising DeY- 2

<ould be in a differcmt ment of R230 000 for 7o F

rradition from that which | Inkathz rellies, The gov- :

! State President F'W de : erament conmbuted R1.5

â\200\230Klerk inherited.â\200\235 â\200\224Sapa- " â\200\230

e B

vinsters could still keep posts

Govt may try

to ride

k)

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan
Vlok and other Cabinet members in-
volved In the Inkatha.funding scandal
may keep thelr jobs If government
decides It can ride out the poll:ical
storm over the Issue. gl

Senior government sources sald yester-
day that Vlek, who sald earller he wag
reconsidering hls 'z sz
position, had not Â\$iedf
offered ta resign at s
this weekâ\200\231s Cablnet -
meetlng, nor had he *
been asked fto'do so. {

- The sources said

Viok had.nat, acted

unilaterallydn auth- 32!

orising Â«the: alloca- 2

tlon. of government â\200\230

funds; to Tnkatha,

" but was icacrylng. &

-Out government

policy. However, he

was In the Cablnet !

at the invitatlon of i i
President FW de ..) DE KLERK
Klerk and hls future withln it rested it}
De Kleck.

Indleatlous yesterday ware that govern-
ment has hesltated to act over the Inkatha
{unding scanda] becausa It was unsure how
much more- damaging Information might
soon be published,

The Inkatha revelations were only part
of a larger amount of top secret documen-
tatlon to which newspapers might lave
had access. Dotly the Weekly Mail, which

broke the Iukatha story last Friday, and
Vrya Weekblad have promised more ro-
elatlons this week, " G
my . > o e .

BILLY PADDOCK 7]
. The sources said.this was why De. Klerk
had postponed ihis. formal reaction until

Tuesday, The State Secyurity Council, which-
meets on Monday, could then assess how i

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 Viok, Foreign Minister Plk

Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Ma-

lan keep their Cabinet posts, .

Botha, who authorised the payments, to
Iokatha. from s, department, secret

(funds, briefed diplomats, yesterday, ey .
-, Indications of government circles were

that: Botha would repeat his explanation

that, Inkatha, was not a political party, at
the time, and that diplomats there had been
no further payments, to, Inkatha since
Marehe last year. Botha addresses a news
conference today, vopniy o
deanwhile -British . Foreign Secretary
Douglas. Hurd said Botha yesterday as-
sured him there had been no connivance in
violence by the SA government.

Hurd said he spoke on the phone to Botha
and urged that government to clarify 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 negotia-
tions with the ANC,

It would be folly to lift sanctions precipi-
tously while the good faith of government

0 To Page 2

2 " business pay,

day, July 38 1901

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 Funding = /. -
 remained in doubt, he said, R
 Meanwhile, the Financial Mail (M) dis-
 closed yesterday that.Â\$AÂ\200\231s ambassador to
 Franca Marc Burger, had masterminded
 another â\200\230secret project, to fund the con-
 struction of a mafor harhour for the Turk-
 Ish goverament,) .gio s da e S
 Burgor i3 a former Foreign Affalrs chief
 director and controlled the department's
 seeret funds. â\200\224 the same fund used-to
 channel R250 000 to Inkatha for two rallles,
 Last year Foreign Mlnister: Pik Both

prevallled upon the magazing not.to publis
 details of the project at that stage..The FM
 veported. that Botha said publicieity. on. goy-
 ernment's - lnvoivement In - the . project
 would have crippled SA's coal exports, It
 didâ\200\231 not elaborate on how such publloity
 would have affected the exports,

Botha had saild the project had been -

abandoned after careful conslderation and
 premised he would go public once the dan-
 go)) of sanctions had subsided,

jfaw and Order spokesman Captain

8

0 F;Qm Page 1

Crhaig Kotre sald the R1,6m contributed to

the Inkatha-affiHated United Workers
 Union of SA (Uwusa} had come from the
 Specjal Police Fund. He did not know it
 this was a separate amount from Lhat dis-
 closed in the M as having been controlled
 by Bucger, : .
 Ho sald, Vlok had authorizsed the R1,6m
 apÃ@n:}lng on Uwusa since 1986 to "combat
 labour unrest, intlmidation and other li-
 legal acts on the labour frpnt. The Minister

wanted to cultivate a culture of respect for the law", s :

. Uvusa 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 60 000 people to the rally,

ST-Lo

86T&ç VIv 2

dd I soA:

e GAgen s 2%61 (99 |

Govt will fight back "%x

f FROM PAGE 1

mpke a fight of it and
carry the attack to those
. behind the disclosures,

The axing of the Minis- .

~ ter of Defence, General
Magnus Malan, and the
Minister of Law and Or-
der, Mr Addann Viek,
would, in the' ciccum-
stances, not satisfy those

their blood. â\200\230

. Although there has
been strong speculation
that onc or more Minis-
ters would go in the wake
of the disclosures that
. R250 000 was paid to Ink-
~ otha for tve rallies, and

up to R1,5 million to its

trade - -union - arm, " the
United Workersâ\200\231 Ustion
.of South Africa (UWI-
SA}, the fact that thers
â\200\230would nat Be sickings was

who had been baying for"

reiterated to The Citizen
yesterday,

_ln asituation where the

government was bracing
itself for an onslought to
force its resignation, and

where the government.

and Mr De Klork were
considered â\200\230 the ultimate
targets the unity of the
"Cabinet o fighting back
was considercd esscntint.

â\200\230The sources said (hat
the organisations behind
the disclosures appeared

Intent on wrecking the negotiation process, * and they would have to GLe

" 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.:-."

DR)) s

L A 2.y > '_. ' ll"' ;. y.\"
o A e ll!;: government

i

Is expected to take Is that
a\200\224 like many other. countries a\200\224 it had & right toÂ°
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. :

a\200\234Yesterday Democratic Party MP, Dr Kobus Jordasn, who made the initial allegations 'concerning Umnisa 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 a\200\231 Association of South Africa (Ucasa); the national Forum, and the Federal Democratic

:Alliance (Fida) a\200\224 all, of , them active in Black poli- .

IREREE

'gâ\200\230m. EREAS L R R A R

- A spokesman for the State President's office said Mr De Klerk was not going to react to a\200\230individual

-ual allegations as a\200\231 they

gross;; . o

The matter would be

denied with as he had out-a\200\231

held in Pretoria on Tuesday

" day night a\200\224 firstly by

Jneans of an Agenda programme and Press conference today. involving the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botlia, and, secondly, by ' the State President himself * next Tuesday, after the normal Monday meeting of the State Security Council. [tis 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 now: allegations dhitt, are

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Q1â\200\234- %i-â\202w AR

I REFER to your. lead .

S : T ; .. a .-) L. = 5

| story of Tuly 23, â\200\230Inkathaï-â\202F N Pox t e I

mom iy 2 e I GIZAt exXpialils
malo has pot only been aâ\200\235
â\200\230loyal, trusted and faithfulâ\200\231
1 - servant of Inkatha Free-
&aid at the Press confer- ~ dom Party, but he'is held -
ence held at Burgerspark i the. highest esteem by -
â\200\234Hotel on Taesday July 23; 7:everybody in the party..-

Journalists were asking -He isa~very close person-
why Mr M Z KhumaloÂ« â\200\230al friend-of mine and I

and wish to make 2 per-
sonal statement tO correct
amy . possible. misunder-
standing = which - couldâ\200\235
have arisen from what

| who admitted rÃ@ceiving' "h

African Government and the noble way m which he

who had mgnedaSpeT-aï-â\201dÃ@d when â\200\234he realised -

conal assistant fo thÃ@ â\200\230that his misjudgment in
President of the IFP, had accepting money from the
not been brought to face - South African Govern-
journalists at the Press - â\200\230ment to Eelp hold peas

cooferece. - e rallies. LD e

1 stated that Mr Khu- It was his insisteuce
malo was no longer ap- -that he should resign. He
employee of the JFP and: - isstilla close friend whom
could not be told what to ** stll â\200\230hold in the highest

do, and I said that he was â\200\230esteern: It is because I

not in our mudst â\200\224 he is -hold him in such esteem
not with ns. b !
I had earlier asked-.right to appear or not o

journalists whether â\200\234they ' appear before the Pressas . -

really thought that Mr ' hesees fit He has.dome
Khumalo would want to ~ the right thing. I am

be there in their midst so - proud.of him for doing so. -

that he could parade I will back him in the
shame in front of them.

. These statements must m?.kes_ â\200\230

~Jateral action. I do not
- suspect his. motivation, |
-when: â\200\230the - documents in R
which he accounted for }

" that I afford to him the â\200\224Mr Khumalo had no right

â\200\234â\200\234choices that - he now:

. 3â\200\235&) 199 |
| Inkatha resignation:

speaking personally i

â\200\230what I am saying I reflect |
very substantially the Â\$
* view of the TFP- Mr Khu-
.maloâ\200\231s erTor was am errorâ\200\231

-of not seeking the advice
of his president zmd hisÂ\$
colleagues and taking uni- Âf

1. believe that while'}

and I am quite sure that

the expenditure of the
R250 000 come to light, it
will be found that every

- ceat was speat to promote -

- rallies of which I ;
and every South African
ought to be proud.

We are not ashamed .of &
what was dope with the
money and only say thatf
to make a personal deci-;
sion in the matter. i

WS FELGATE -

. Central Committee Mem-
ber -) '
Inkatha Freedom Party |,

Ulundi:

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 state-:
ment In Johannesburg

said it was formulating a
programme. of . petition
that will express the out-
rage at the, ungoverned State-
sponsored, violence and

manipulation of the political .

process by the in-
cumbent 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 In-
katha scandal, flow-
ing . from the govern-
ment's admission it had
secretly provided Inkatha
and other organisations
with taxpayers' money.

What we regard the
secret funding of Inkatha

i-\'201mm?

ond Uwusa , . . s 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. â\200\230We 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,â\200\235 The = manipulation of Inkatha had to be seen in the wider framework of â\200\234q considered destabilisation policy by successive

â\200\231 'nprthmd governments, B

' including that of President

deat (F W) De Klerkâ\200\235. .

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.....

â\200\234Wa, ... doubt that. he could have been unaware of so generous a donation and its source.â\200\235

Reacting to reports that a witch hunt had been launched for the donor who lapsed from the government's funding of Inkatha to a Johannesburg newspaper,â\200\230 the

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vsi--v-. g .4.(1

"Freeze fundsâ\200\231)

EROM PAGE 1.

ANC siid it was disturbed

the_authortles regarded .
\" the disclosure as the prob-. .

lem, instead of tho docu-

) mentâ\200\231s contents. *

â\200\234On allegntlons l!mt tho

SA Defence Force or-
" chestrated much of the re-

cent township - violence,

which has claimed thou- -

sands, of Black lives, the
ANC said it was becom-
ing increasingly clear the
SADF â\200\234and foreign mes-
:cenacies in its employâ\200\235

wore' directly invalved in
ongding massacres and vi-

oleace.

The organisation also

+ y gafled, on .the, SARBC to.

â\200\234â\200\234Grhndeast. on Wl lis "IV

*chaninels a " viden*of â\200\230the ' ANCsdid,'s ..Sapa -; .

...-----.-

testimony of l'ormcr
SADF cpecml Forces

" member, Spt .Felix Ndi-

mano, who claimed he
was party. to & SADF
team \hat plnned and
pm(nc:putcd killlng
sprees in Blnck townsl:ips
on the Witwatersrand. .,

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

The SADF and De-
fence Minister Gen Mag-
nus Malan remained re-
sponsibie for establishing
and deploying death
squads und other covert

activities on a grand
scale, resulting in wide-
spread loss of life both by
specific assassinations and

Tandom juii-ings", i) the

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VOS I F P

DEMOCRATIC Party
spokesman for law and
order, Mr Peter Gas-
trow, yesterday called
for a broad-based com-
passion of inquiry,
chatred by the Chief
Justice, to investigate
allegarions relating to
AN MASSACTeS, 2SSas-
smations mnd the
Stateâ\200\231s covert fonding
.i of organisations.

He said the commission
should pot be a ope man
affair if the public was to
â\200\230bzve any confidence in its

â\200\234The composition of the
commiission of mquiry
shonld reflect that South
Africa was iy trapsition
and bad put the legacy of
the P'W Botha era be-
hind. -

â\200\234Public amdety, revul-
sion and loss of coofi-

" depee has reached such

i depths . .. thar half

measnres by President De
Klerk will exacerbate the
. fesling that we are all to-
able to escape from an

ongoing rot.â\200\235
The commission of in-

qmry should bave the fp!â\200\224

lowmgamfbnns:

e It should consist of
bc.rwegni~\202 four to ejght
commissioners and be
cinnedbythccmeplusâ\200\224

oTbcothermeam-
missioners should consist
of senior legal -meun or

â\200\230women who are pot di- |

involved im
politics apd who have the

confidence of the broad spectrum of our population.

Â¢ Each major group should nominate a commissioner, or the commissioners be negotiated between the government, African National Congress, Inkatha, the legal profession, unions and

and appoint its own investigators.

Â¢ It must be able to provide protection and,

3+ CM

_ZM 19\200\234-.

DP calls for inquiry

under certain - circumstances, indemnity to witnesses who testify.

Â© 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. \200\224 Sapa.

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229 CM

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chu., a//cbw Thursday 25 July 1991

EIIV6Y controlled slush |
claim kel

SQUTH Afbdeaâ\200\231s Am-

bassador to France and. -

former Foreign Affairs
chief director, Marc
Burger, was the person
who controlied the For-
eign Affairs slush fimds,
the Financial Mzd al-
leged yesterday.

Forvign Affaits Mi-
mster Pik Botha had
also been warned by
two of his senior offic-
jals of the political dap-
gers a stosh fund could
create for kim, the FMâ\200\231s
cxrrent affairs editor,
Eddie Botha, wrote in
the latest FML

The FM lcarnt last
year that one of the de-
partmentâ\200\231s projects was
a top secret plan to frmd

funds:

the construction of 2
mzjor harbour for the
Turkish. government.
Mr Burger was also
the middleman from
whom the SA Police re-
quested R250000 to
nsor two Inkatha ral-
Ties as well as R1,5 mil-
Hon for Inkathaâ\200\231s trade

mion wing, Uwusa. -

When the FM madc.

â\200\234mformal inquiries about

the Tarkish project, the,

magazine was called to
Pretoria by Minister Bo-
tha. â\200\234During the inter-
view Botha admitted
the project had been in

the planning stages but
that it was cancell

after careful considerat- |

fon* |

" The Foreiga Mipister Â\$

~ added the disclosure of
the project at that stage
would have been ex-
tremely harmfol o
Sonth Africa, specifical-
ly its coal exports.

â\200\234The FM delayed pub-
lication of the report
with 2 promise by Mi-
pister Botha that he
would personally go og
record when the danger
of sanctions had sub-
sided. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

â\200\224 .

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A g o

R Atk e e

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recovering at Paragwan-
atp Hospital told The
Star this Orming

y imjur
| the atiack by about 20
Zuluâ\200\224spgak'lng men

Mr Zondo said the men
carried }mobkeri-~\201oi-~\201Aand
rifles. ,

The woman died when
she jurpped off the trainâ\200\231
in an apparent bid to es-
cape the atrackers, ac-
cording to Soweto Police
spokesman Captain Jo-

o444 3198

od the traip at Johanues-

burg, said: Â«When the

train reached Mzimh-
lophe Station, 2 Âfroup of
about 20 inkatha sup-
grters, srmed with
kpobkerties, 1

were up t0

â\200\234They were all
and never spoke to a0y~
one before dividing
themselves into two
coaches, attacking
everyone.

Â¥as.1 PP

portersâ\200\231

sack, one ook out a rifle

Â«1 had no alternative
but to throw myself from
the train while it was

{ . moving. ' thapkful to

e

Thankful to be. ative . . -
Patric Zondo-

uThere were SCreams,

people being stabbed and

beaten. They turned oo
me and beat me on the
pead with @ knobkertie.

And when 1 waved my.

be aliveâ\200\235
Bara

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 allega-
tions made to New Nz-
tion by Sergeant Felix

" Ndimene Who claimed he

served in SADF'S special
unit which earried out
several train attacks.

doog

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o â\200\224 f

Staff Reporters .

Merciless train- attackers,
whose brutal and impro-
voked rampages on Reef
commuter trains have
claimed more than 100 lives.
since last September, struck

2gain last night killing one

woman and injuring 14

The latest fatality was a
woman who leapt from 2
Soweto-bound train when 20
thugs armed with guns,
gas and knobkerries ran

off in
a commuter car-

Passengers were
hacked and battered. The
" The attack came as the
..â\200\230:â\200\230-.I'DF vehemently denied a
claim that members of the
Special Forces were behind

-nha

attacked, including the Sep-

From Page 1
were taken to the Bara-
nath Hospital.

Nine are in a serious
condition. :

Colonel Halgryn ap-
pealed to Witnesses to
come forward so identi-
fies could be compiled.

The latest attack came
amid controversy over
the identity of attackers
after claims in the New
Nation newspaper by
Felix Isaacs Ndimene,
who alleges he was a
sergeant in an SADF
special unit which car-
ried out 2 pumber of
Reef train attacks.

New Nation gave the
SABC a video recording

of an interview with Ser-

geant Ndimene. Ex-
cerpts were screened
last night. R

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sas CN

Woman dies, 14 injured in trai nhaitai:k%'

Attackers board train
=t ivzimhiape station
during evening rush hour

A TR
b LA s

as train heads for
| Phomolong station

â\200\234rain at Mzimhlope station.
this stationâ\200\235and Phomelong

The train was packed with
commuoters znd the stations
were very Busy.

Although we khave police
maanning the stations around :
the clock it is impossible to :
search every comrauter for:'
weapons when there are hun--

~dreds of people atl Tush:
honr,â\200\235 Colonel Halgryn said. &

The artackers suddenlyâ\200\231
started hacking 2t the com- -

tember 1990 train massacre

. which claimed 26 lives.

_AEd in 2 confidential
briefing to diplomats in Pre-

toriz, a police colonel yesterday said a number of Inkatha members had been arrested.

The sergeant alleged that Phalaborwa-based Five Reconnaissance Regiment (3 Recce) had trained foreign mercenaries who then carried out attacks on civilian targets.

The 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 2 spokesmen for Soldiers of Peace (SOP), the organisation

which is hiding

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

of context.

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

Woman dies < another train attacked

murders with pangas and other weapons. The body of two unidentified women was later found next to the railway line.

'Eight men and six women'

202 To Page 2

The attack started between : at 6.45 pm.

Diplomats in Pretoria were yesterday briefed on allegations of SADF involvement in township

violence by Ministry of

d . Law and Order spokes-

man Captain Craig
Kotze and 2 colomel in
charge of the special in-

vestigation team into .

violence, particularly

violence op rains.
The colonel said two of

- the three men believed -

to be responsible for 2
train attack at Jeppe
station last year bhad
been arrested. - â\200\231
Three men had been

arrested ino 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 in-
volvement in violence on
the trains.

Police mazde 2 break-
through yesterday in
their investigation of an
early morning attack on
al ohanpesburg-bound
irain in which six people
were killed several
weeks ago.

Three men were ar-
rested and three fire-
arms, believed to be
those used in the attack
on 2 coach full of pray-
ing people in Soweto,
were Com ed

Anyone who caxn help

olice.is asked to tele-
phoune (011) 980-8312 dur-
ing all hours. Captain
Okide Vermaak is the in-
vestigating officer-

â\200\224

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?__ The Star Thursday July 25

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.Middleman ... ambassador
. =fto France, Marc Burger.

Controller

| Spiith Africaâ\200\231s, Ambassador to
-France and former Foreign Af-
| fairs. chief director Mare

â\200\234Rurger is the person who cot-
_trolled the Department of For-

eign Affairsâ\200\231 slush funds, the Fi-
.nancial Mail (F'M) revealed yes-
~ o4& spokesman said last night
â\200\234that Minister of Foreign Affairs
â\200\234pik Botha would deal with the
. contents of the article at a press
â\200\230conference in Johannesburg
â\200\230today..This was confirmed by
_SAâ\200\231s embassy in Paris. .

- ".Mr Botha had also been
warned by two of his senior of-
. ficials of the political dangers a
" sTnsh fund could create for.him.

[~ -The magazine's current ai-
HEis editor, Eddie Botha, Wrote
|.in, the latest edition- â\200\234Foreign
K irs sources have told, the
|['â\200\231EM that Botha had been warned
| by, his director-general, Neil
| van Heerden, and senior deputy

â\200\234D-G Herbert Beukes, of the po-
| Htieal perils slush frmd
cpuld create for Botha.â\200\235
1...The magazine learnt last
I'year that one of the depart-
1'tnentâ\200\231s projects was a top-se-
.cret plan to fund the.coostruc-
A-iqp of a major harbour for the

__â\200\231;gâ\200\230rÃ©;rish government. .

â\200\234*â\200\234\$fr Burger was 2lso the mid-
| dleman from whom the SA Po-
1.Iice requested K250 000 to spor-
1 sof two Inkatha rallies as well
1 tfade nnion wing, Uwusa-
q._.Â«When the FMM made mformal
Vinquries about the Turkish
_pxoject, the magazine was
|: called to Pretoria by Mr Botha
â\200\234â\200\234â\200\234=During the interview, Botha
itted that the project bad
J been in the planning stages batâ\200\231
| that it was cancelled affer care-
â\200\234fn] consideration.â\200\235. ;

.| --He said disclosure of the-
â\200\234|.project. at that stage would
| â\200\230have been exiremely harmfni to
â\200\234"SÃ@uth - Africa, specifically .its
coal exports. v Sii RS

| â\200\224In 2n interview on Ragio 702
yesterday, Eddie Botha also re-
Vealed that private companies
= SA had been involved m the

ISR PN) Canna

va *

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9-as R1,5 million for Inkaihaâ\200\231s '

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Qe A

SR e

Tdasa discovers â\200\230buggingâ\200\231
devices in Pretoria office

By Helen Grange cause we havenâ\200\231t checked 2il.
Pretoria Broreall the i ght.s." .

The discovery constituted in-
terference in the free political
process â\200\234and puts the De Klerk

â\200\230Two electro

devices have the
Pretoria offices Gwemmant's,cpmmtment to

for 2 Democrat _poljïr\201gïr\201i discussion under
for SA (Idasa)- A qu&st;â\200\231qu â\200\234Mr Jenkins said. -
Tvor Jepkins, Tdasaâ\200\231s Pretoria â\200\234Why is it necessary to con-
regional director, s2id the dis- tneue spying at 2 tme when the
covery of the bugs last week(Government wants everyone lo
â\200\2343lapg with other avidenceâ\200\235, in- " pelieve â\200\230the secarity establish-
dicated that agents of the State ot had all but folded?
bad spied on the organisation. ursue the

Mr Jenkins said members of
the seenrity police had come
into Idasaâ\200\231s offices oâ\202r mght,
and affidavits bad been drawn explapations for
up fvâ\200\230,fdmm 'f i gdâ\200\230rhtg insidenf- ; this kind of behaviour.â\200\235

o foudp the bugs on top Of M Jenkdus added that Tdasa.

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fice ... There may be mMore, be- aguinist the State d :

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- South Afri

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By Mike Silmma -
Star Burean

LONDON â\200\224 Lisciosares that
Hhent 85 African Govern.
ing the Inkatha Freedom
Party have seriously da-
maged the image of Presj.
dent de Elerk in Britain,
The seriousness with
Wwhich the matter is being

. taken was shown by Foreign
Secretary Douglas Hurd's

decision to telephone his
ican counterpart,
Pik Botha, yesterday, effec-
tively nrging Preforia to
come clean.

And Fleet Street, ip Spite
of a huge international bank-

ot kÂ¥ â\200\224

Ing-scandal in its own back- . |

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yard, has given prominence
to the disclosures of Pre-
torizâ\200\231s underhand dealinge
wilh (he IFP,

The Guardian, which
Helped Lok loae BLUY St
week, observed that â\200\234Poli.
tically, the revelations pro-
vide the first hard proaf of
suspieions that the Sputh
African Government has
been frying to construct an
anti-ANC alliance which ex-
ploits tribal rivalries and en-
courages a climate of vio-
lenceâ\200\235 4 e

The Independent saig:
â\200\234There is little doubt that

(Mr de Klerk) knew that
â\200\230Government money had
been channelled to the (IFP
-- In effect, an ostensihbly

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s image damaged %

even-handed â\200\230reformist gov-
ernment has been helping -
nance a bitterly ry-
posed to xt%aÃgef negoti-.yaï¬\201lgg
parfers in the ANC~ A
The Financral Lhoes suid
it was now â\200\234diffienlt to avoeid
the conclusion that the links
(between the Government
and the IFp
ernment complicity in the
ip violence, which has
cost thousands of lives, and
which, by intimidating ANC
Supporters, has benefited In-
kathaâ\200\235..

Even the traditionally
Sympathetic Daily Tele.
graph conceded that the
scandal was seriously da-
the South African
President.

) extend to Gov- }

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â\200\230Paper alleges

union â\200\230controlâ\200\231
LONDON â\200\224 The police and

Inkatha appeared to have
jointly managed and Å¢on-

trolled the United Workersâ\200\231 |

Union of South Africa, The
Guardian newspaper alleges.

In a front page lead today,
the newspaper quotes pew

top secret documents leaked |!
to it; including ope that com- [

plains about the large debt
the union had accumulated,
demanding to know how â\200\234a
project mnder the control of

the SAP was allowed to de-

velop in such a2 wayâ\204¢. -

The Guardian 'claims the -

sonrce of the docmmnt is

Minister of Law and.Order-
Adriaan VIoKâ\200\231's department.

â\200\224 Star Bureaw

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SEE, . S e bR e

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_,Jogy llkely, but strmgent new controls expected

trlanl when !:Ã© faces the na-
tion op the Inkatha slush

"+ fund scandal on Tuesday.

pected td announce"
-major overhau!l of the
poliecy and management
of â\200\230the Government's se-
cret funds and the mle of
the security apparalus in
polltlcs

â\200\230Government sources indi-
cated today that this would

be the gist of lus annunce- .

. {gnow unlikely to make any
-.apologits for the speciflc

unding of Inkatha in the
est, sources Indicated mea-
sures would be Introduced to
ensure this sort of thing dld
nct happen agalin, ;
Some reports suggest Mr
de Klerk may place the ulti-
mate supervision of the se-
cret funds under a multipar-
ty parliamentary committes,

but thi-â\202s Ã©ould not be con-
firmed, e

24 â\200\230:euloa iGgvernment
~ ~Although the Governmen#! *}sourees â\200\230econfirmed that the
seandal was' â\200\234taken ;yery

seriously' g this welk's
threa-day ex ended Cablnet
â\200\234bush indaba", and would
produce appropriate actlon,

- They claimed the reason
for Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s controver-

sial delay in reactlng to the -

scandal was to enalile him to
prepare his new approach
thoroughly and to ensure
that he "did not get his facts

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CTNG S Mï-â\201â\200\234ï-â\201? 199 |

skewedâ\200\235,

One source stressed that his reaction would not be as dramatic as he appeared 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 bring 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 following 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 -

. field in the light of a different era which the coun-

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

the past handling of secret funds to counter sanctions. The main thing, they said, was that government was now working towards leveling the political playing

field as now,

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

: .ToPugazir\202' :

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FW move likely on

@ I'rom Page 1

not apologise for fighting sanc-

" tlons in the manner that it had

Â¢

â\200\230to circumvent and fight sanc--

or for funding Inkatha.

It was the Governmont's job

tions, The Inkatha funding, he

| - sald, was used for food, buses

and banners.)

Mr Botha revealed that po-

â\200\230lice had consuited the Auditor-

General about Inkatha funding

and were referred to the De-

partment of Foreign Affairs,

which authorised the payments.â\200\235

Asked whether the Govern-

ment was funding organisations

outside the country, Mr Botha

sald: â\200\234Not to my knowledge.â\200\235

Diplomats also askad -Mr

Rotha whether IFP leader Chief

*4yMahgosuthu Buthelezl knew

ahout the payments. .

- He replled: â\200\234I don't know. I

met him six or seven times dur-

ing that time, I would have ex-

pected him to thank me, hut he

never did.â\200\235 g

Mr Botha added that he did

not ralse the lssue with Chief

Buthelezi. The IFP has handed

back the R250 000, RN

Asked about the ANC demand

for the resignations of Adrlaan

Viok and Magnus blalan, Mr

Botha sald-the Government had

naver asked for the resignation

* of Winpie Mandela and Chris

Hani, nior %aid SACP leader Joe

Slavecould not â\200\234come along'. -

I *Whs\ ara- they - doing this to

#s?â\200\235 he â\200\230psked, refÃ©iring to the

ANC demand,

Mr Botha said that â\200\234for the

life of meâ\200\235 he could not sea why

the secret funding of Inkatha

would create-a major obstacle

to negotiations, but the Govern-

ment would h;ia\200\230{e_ o give the â\204ç

ANC and the pulbiie }assurances

that lt was serlcw: fabout the â\200\231
peacs process. W

Diplomats were' also
briefed about allegations of
SADF Involvement in township
violence by Ministry of Law

* and Order spokesman Captain

Cralg Kotze aund a enlonel in
charge of the special }avestiga-
tion team Into vlolence.

The colonel sald twp of:the.
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three men belleved toy
gponsiblo for the traind
at Jeppe statlon In Sepiir
had been arrested. e .1

Al those arrested were e
bers of the IFP, he sald, at

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courl cases woulc dispel-aifega- .

violence on the trains.
@ Slugh fund seandal !
â\200\224 Pages 24,25

_ tlons of SADF involyement in =â\200\231

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Resolute De Klerk .ts out the Inkatha slush

PRESIDMNT â\202¬& Å¥l s decisian
lo stali for tme in the covert
funding scandal has imfuriated bis
critics, but illustrated Dis resolve
to weather the storm with an

South Africa is waiting anxiously to hear S
the presidentâ\200\231s account of secret funding for
rivals of the African National Cor â\202¬sS,

Gavin Bell reports from Johann:

THE TIMES THURSDAY JULY 251

vâ\200\230 â\200\230 chrk toyrni
ear o chorus of protests

implacability fostered by decades
of Mational party ERETRONY.

Effectively ignoring 2 chorus of
demands for the dismissal of
senior minisers, an emergency
session of parliament and @

iR Mr de Klerk
he would not
statement on the
affair until next Tuesday.

R.F. â\200\234Pikâ\200\235 Botha, the foreign
minister, is due to address a press
conference oday on his role in
the secret funding of the Ionkatha
Freedom party, but South Africa
will just have 10 hold its collective
heeth for a fuller account from
the preside i nexl week,

A cabinet meeting yesterday, which followed a two-day government conclave at a secret Jowcation i ibe northern Transyvaal, produced oo further public statements. Mr dr ier has scheduled a meeung, " Monday

iIg

with the state security council, which may signal a review of covert acuvities. The president caid last week thal some actions were being, continued n â\200\234hroad national interestâ\200\235. The current budpet allocatles Â£80 mil-Hon 10 @ Secret services account for such projects.

The conUOversy Over clan-destine activities has decpened with the discovery of two clec-wronic bugging devices in the Pretoria offices of the Institute for a Demeocratic Alternsave {Idasa), an independent reform pressure group. Ivor Jenkins, the regional director, said he had ather evi-dence, which he dechined lo specify, that state security age were spying on the OIEADISAUICT.

wir Botha has been drawm deeper lnio the scandal by a

report in the weekly Financial Mail which widentified Marc Burger, a former chief director of the joreign affairs department, as the man who controled the â\200\234sjush fundâ\200\235 from which Inkatha was paid. Mr Burger is presenily South Africaâ\200\231s ambassadoer 10 Paris.

The foreign ministerâ\200\231s convoluted atterapt to justify an evident untruth over the funding _ he stated categorically last month that Pretoria had never financed Imkatha â\200\224 has placed him in the firing line of witu-perative editorials. Aocu g Mr Qoika of a â\200\234breathiado of Heâ\204ç, Business Day commentod: â\200\234He has but one honourable COURSE, and that is to resign.â\200\235

Mr de Klerk's refusal to bow lo

such pressure so far drew & stoap

~-fund storm

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rebuke from the Anglican Arch-
bishop Desmond Tuto, whiy ac-
cused hite of â\200\234playlng gamesâ\200\235
with the country's future.
Inkatha (

government the 250,000 rands
Â£52,000) at the ceotre of the
scandal. In another development,
the African National Congress
demanded the povernment ac-
count publicly for the total 1.5
billion rands spent on clandestuoe
state projects in o past five
YEATS. e

An indication of the political
damage inflicied on the National
party emerged from 2 poll by a
local newspaper and a radio
station which showed that monc
than haif of its supporicrs be-
lieved ihat Adraan Viok, the
minister of law and order, should
resign. Some &3 per cent said the
government 10 not have
funded [no !, and 80 per cent
were conviice.d that Mangosuthu
Buihelezi, the Inkatha presideornt
who has denied all knowledge of
the funds, was aware where they
came from. The majority also

belicved that the police force was
biased towards [nkatha.

The collective style of leader-
ship introduced by Mr de Klerk
imphees 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 Viok is to be faulted, it is for
his failure to control rogue ele-
ments 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 nectrality.
He is in an unenviable, but not
impossible, position.

He has survived calls
for his resignation over dubious
police conduct in township vi-
olence over the past year, and
there are indications that Presi-
dert de Klerk is not prepared o
sacrifice him now.

Sympathetic Western govern-
ments, notably the Bush admin-
istration, are oqualy disrnaved.
American diplomats admit pri-

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kjez) (_ S(lâ\200\231tg Qert Lâ\200\235'e?

vately they are cmbasrass sect by
the scandal e 50 SOON
after Washington lified sANCT 005,
and say il is nOW unlikely that
restrictions on IMF loans or
Pretoria will be resmoved.
Meanwhile intelligence agents
believe they have identified the
â\200\234deep throatâ\200\235 who leaked in-
criminating security police docu-
African and

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: & woman Wwas
killed and nine people were
wounded when assailants wicld-
ing knives and clubs attacked a
commuter train in Soweto Yoo

terday, police said. They boarded
a train ai a township staticn,
attacked commuters and escaped
at the next station. i Reiter)

V\'c_&"hâ\200\231/\e, iâ\200\231u(i/,,_

fevs) Sdomcmn

Phillip van Nickerk
in Johannesburg
and David Beresford

g 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 Work-
ers 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 man-
agement and control of the
unions.

The political crisis in South
Africa, precipitated by the
Guardian's publication last
week of security branch reports
detailing covert funding of In-
katha, continued yesterday
with speculation that the for-
eign 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 po-
litical 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 the Inkatha-

gateâ\200\235, After the Guardian's initial disclosuresâ\200\231 last: Friday, South Africaâ\200\231s minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, admitted that his government had funded the union to the tune of 1.5 million Rand (about Â£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 Â£1 million and that {his 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.â\200\235 However, according to a top secret security branch memorandum, a copy of 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 â\200\234very emotional [and] ... couldn't thank him enoughâ\200\235 for the money.

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

Uwusa, which its leader claims 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 suspicionâ\200\224 now emphasised by the Guardian's disclosures â\200\224 the 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 Umtata was confirmed. The document named "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 in such a way and how it is intended to manage the project from now on.

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

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

A commission had been appointed after consultation with Minister [of the interior] Stephen Sithole 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 M

Botha, the security police

pik Botha (left), South Africa's foreign minister, no crisis for the government. Adriaan Vlok (right),

Ly

has admitted paying over the law and order minister,

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50 million money

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katha but says the affair posa
is first in line for the sack

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Mangovibu Butbeleri's la-
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Bank deposit slips and police reports con

S African police cash went lo I

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The document repOrts mis-
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nancial problems fuced by
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Migistry of (uw and Orderâ\204ç,
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Zulu And ferocipusly antago-
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National Congress ~ in the
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nuthe LD :hr Aulho Janyuagr)

UWLUSA could

â\200\234tnkathe/

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 Gatting's rebel English cricket team would be playing only 4 mile away. It was [clt that confrontation and damage could be caused by supporters of the movement and that a poor spectator turnout would harm the CGatting 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 â\200\224 to be decided by Mr Sithabe,

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

cording to the document: â\200\234' The [union] secretary general has already given his approval, but this has to be implemented by [KwaZulu] minister Sithabe.â\200\235

The subterfuge never came about in this instance, however, because the Gatling 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

firm long-standing suspicions of secret links

nkatha

breach was allegedly shut down and Bowyer Alis 33 the Criminal Investigation Unit But 4 1 widely brought to the attention of the police at Durban police headquarters referred

to Mares this war. b i

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

Mr Pik Botha told West African ambassadors last night that the revelations posed a "no crisis" for the government. !

Asked if Chief Buthele knew of the funding, Mr Bol replied: "Well, I've met him many times and he's never thanked me." 235

Heat off Danes, page 11; . Laador comment, page 20

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" I |

By Sapa and

: Erlk Larsen :

STATL President De Kierk would moSEprob-
ably introduce Jegislation to plug loopholes in
the administration of secret funds, the Minis-
ter of Foreign Alfnirs, Mr Pik Botha. said vy
terday.

Speaking at a Press could have been Âç s
conference | televised ber of intermntionai
Inte on 54 V% medin,d Onco Inkatha
Agenda programme, he adopted oo anti-sanc-
s addamant e would tlops stanco, we swicd fot
not resign over the seas- â\200\224 wy use the opportnity
dal caused by tho pove lo show the world there
emnmont funding of Ink- e Black peoplo st
ath, sanetions,â\200\235 :

State. funding of Mr. Hotha smid the

Mkatha uag et fore mel

SOUTH Africa gave |

RIOO million secretly
to political partics op-
' posed to Swapa in the
Namibian * pre-inde-
pendence elections su-
pervised by the United
Nations, Foreign Af-
fairs Minisier Pik Bo-
tha admitted th Johan-
nesbirg yesterday.

He also disclosed that
the povernment had spent
REO million on s antl-
snmetions campaign in the
last five yoars,

Ho ddid not name the

wiian porties, but
Sand e thonght about se-
ven palltical proupings
benefited from the South
Alrican money,

"We wore apaingt Swi-.

pe, wo were nt war it the
time with Swapo,â\200\235 Mr

Botha told a media conference,

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Denials over the Inkatha slush fund have failed to convince even

De Klerkâ\200\231s supporters, Chris McGreal writes from J ohannesburg

SA Cabinet attempts to

THE government canpot 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 Alrican 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 Ireedom Party over the township violence. The ANC refused to accept any such assurance, and issued 2 demand that all covert government funds be frozen and a full account of the 1.5bn Rand (Â£300m) spent over the past five 4TS On secret operations be ade public.

More than half of the pcopie uestioned in an opinion poil, organised jointly by The Star newspaper and Radio 702, said funding nkatha was wrong. Perhaps most

portantly, 62 per cent said (licy

lieve the police support one po-
tical group over another.

That one figure is probably the

ost damaging for â\200\230the govern-

cot, as the public gives credibil-

10 the revelations of security
reÂ¢ complicity in factional vip-
nce. It reinforces the view that at

e vety lcast some clements of

Â¢ government have followed a

tough it out

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

The questions posed to the gov-
ernment "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 ad-
dress the security forcesâ\200\231 complic-
ity in murder and violence. But, as
the evidence seeps out, that is be-
coming increasingly difficult.

In the meantime the govern-
ment intends to brazen it out. Mr
Botha met foreign diplomats yes-
terday and gave them the message
that no heads will roll. His own is
among those on the block, after he
was shown {o have liced blatantly
last month when asked if the goy-
emment gave funds {o inkatha,

The ANC has said that the Law
and .Order Minister, Adriaan
Viok, and the Defence Minister,
Magnus Malan, must go before
the negotiating process can con-
tinuc. But after it was disclosed

that President de Klerk either

knew or should have known about
the transfer of funds to Inkatha,
dismissing Mr Viok for simply

passing them on would leave him
looking the scapegoat. To dismiss

. him on other grounds, namely be-

cause the ANC has accused his
ministry of complicity in political
violence, would be an admission

of guilt, s

If Mr Viok, 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 Viok. 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 Buthe-lezi's Rhetoric 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 recently 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 Nicols 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 es-

caped before any arrests could be
made, Reuter reports,

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" For heavenâ\200\231s sake â\200\224this ils

to feel humiliated by the
Nationa! partyâ\200\231s duplicity.

â\200\230NEL.SON MANDELA was said

: President .de Klerk acknowledged

that mistakes had been made, prom-

* ised they would be investigated, and

never repeated. Chief Gatsha Buthe-

. lezi, the Zulu Inkatha leader, let it
: be known he knew nothing.

These public responses to news of

the covert funding of Inkatha
â\200\234amount to a typicelly rich mix of
" sputhern African fibs. Buthelezi's
will probably prove to be the most
- brazen, but Nelson Mandela surely

takes the prize for disingenuous-
ness. 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 reckoned as one of the most startling revelations of our time. Mandela is no fool, and one must be sceptical when he pro-

tests 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 Ameri--

cans. The idea that South African political parties have ever abided by the western rules, with minutely audited accounts, is laughable.

The only novel aspect to these rev--

elations is that for the first time the government has been forced to ad-

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Mr de Klerk's government has secretly funded Inkatha, and there is outrage. But it is really surprising, asks STEPHEN ROBINSON, in the

context of the white

struggle for survival?

With 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 fund-

ing, 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 presi-

dent, and has many enemies with

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.

ANC party supporters
4\] might be justifiedly angry.

It were the government not

doing all it could to keep the ANC
out of office. Where did Mr Maadelaâ\200\231
go this week to recover from his
humiliation at Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s hands?
To Cuba. it :

Part of the problem is that the
negotiation process has become
overpersonalised. We lock on the
two leading figures â\200\224 de Klerk and
Mandela, patriots of goodwill, well
packaged by their image-makers â\200\224
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 hand-
shakes, a deadly serious African
power struggle is under way, con-
cealed for the most part by a thin

_veneer of western-style procedure.

Last week the veneer cracked, and it

â\200\230South Africa not Hampstead

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

It is Chief Buthelezi who will suf-
fer most from the revelations of
government funding, but to suggest
that he is finished exaggerates the
political sophistication of his con-
stituency of rural Zulus. Buthelezi is
a notoriously difficult man: a few
years ago, a small-circulation liberal
magazine in Johannesburg pub-
lished an article of mine in which I
argued â\200\230that for all his faults, Buthe-
lezi was not an irrelevant stock,
though [mentioned, en passant, that
many of his supporters seemed
overly zealous in their love of the
assegai Buthelezi sued for libel, vir-
tually bankrupting the magazine.

Buthelezi is anathema to the lib-
eral 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 origins will be
irrelevant. There is a certain amount
of wish-fulfilment in the political
obituaries now being written. Buthe-
lezi represents a phenomenon that
cannot simply be wished away.

The government has bungled so
badly in its cack-handed attempts to

boost .nkatha that it Jdeserves its
currenti embarrassment. But this in-
cident must not be allowed, in itself,
to dest-oy the negotiating process. If
Mr.de Klerk is clever, ke may even
be ableto use it as a cover to roct out
the elements in his security forces
which condone or actively encour-
age the township killings. He is still
working with virtually tie same cab-
inet he inherited from his predeces-
sor, P.W. Botha, and a reshuffle is
long overdue. The suspicions about

.the death squads are the true cancer

in the South African body pelitic; a
row orer a few hundred thousand
pouad: is a sideshow.

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heat off Danes

Halla Pick, Diplomatic Editor

in South Afriea, the Euro-
pean Community is taking
the pressure off Denmark to
withdraw its veto against the
scrapping of EC sanctions
â\200\230against Pretoria.
. The Foreign Secretary, Doug.
| las Hurd, had intended to lead a
i posse of his colleagues at next
Monday's EC foreign affairs
| council, to impress on the Dan-
{sh government that it could
|not continue much longer to
ithwart the EC's move towards
normalising trade relations.
But British sources acknowl-
edged yesterday that the disclo-
sures of secret payments to In-
katha, and allegations of
government connivance in vio-
lence, had a â\200\234knock-onâ\200\235 effect
on the sanctions debate. It
would not be timely to argue
the case for abandoning sanc-
tions at next Mondayâ\200\231s meeting
of the EC foreign ministers.
British hopes for an â\200\234easy

I N light of the political crisis

October's Commonwealth Con-
ference 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,

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run" on the sanctions issue at

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 Mangosuthy 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.

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