

The Citizen 23 July 1991

Sack Vlok, Malan — top ANC body

THE African National Congress, in an emergency meeting yesterday, called for the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

In a statement after the meeting, the ANC National Working Committee said disclosures of State sponsorship of Inkatha posed a grave threat to the peace process.

Another NWC meeting has been called for not later than July 31 to discuss the full implications and the government's response to ANC demands.

"The revelations are a clear indication the De Klerk government has been pursuing a twin-

track strategy of posing as committed to peace while waging war against the democratic movement, especially the ANC."

Shocking revelations about the SADF using "foreign mercenaries to massacre South African citizens" were inextric-

ably linked to the multi-million rand special slush fund set up by the government to finance Inkatha to bolster its sagging support, the statement said.

"The NWC rejects with contempt the hollow

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Sack Vlok, Malan: ANC

FROM PAGE 1

double talk offered by Minister Adriaan Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes.

"We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Buthelezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of government funds, channelled through the Security Police to a movement he leads."

The NWC said the expose underscored the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harms Commission of Inquiry.

Apart from insisting on Mr Vlok's and Gen Malan's resignation, the NWC demanded of President De Klerk:

- A multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate the full extent of government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities;
- The public dismantling of all special counter-insurgent forces of the SADF and SAP, including those composed of foreign mercenaries;
- A secret government fund of about R380 million be opened up to scrutiny;
- Guarantees be given to all public-spirited civil servants and other state employees who come forward to tell the truth

about covert operations will remain immune from prosecution and receive protection; and

• All police officers and SADF personnel identified by past commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence be put on trial.

"The ANC and the people of South Africa shall measure the seriousness with which the government regards the present impasse by its response to these demands."

The NWC drew the international community's attention to the danger of lifting sanctions too hastily.

"Those who accepted the bona fides of the De Klerk Government as an agency for political change should seriously

reconsider their position," it said.

"The conduct of the South African Government, accepted by many here and abroad as committed to dismantling apartheid, demonstrates that the covert operations, state murder squads, secret funds to corrupt and buy support and other dirty tricks that became infamous in the days of (John) Vorster and (P W) Botha remain features of the government's arsenal to this day."

The ANC also appealed to members of the security forces and the rank and file members and responsible leaders of Inkatha not to allow themselves to be misused for nefarious political purposes. — Sapa.

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Dhlomo denies desire

to return

THE executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Oscar Dhlomo, has no desire to return to party politics.

He said in a statement yesterday that he was satisfied with promoting multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation.

Reacting to an editorial in the Sunday Times, which urged Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi to resign to make way for Dhlomo to take over, he said: "I have no plans whatsoever to re-enter party politics, let alone Inkatha party politics."

He also denied Chief Buthelezi's allegation at the weekend that he offered to fund the patriotic front.

"According to the charter of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, we are prohibited from funding any project which is not an MPD project.

"The MPD is not a donor agency and all the funds at its disposal are for its own projects," he added. — Sapa.

Dhlomo will stay out

N/m 23/7/9/
By Patrick Leeman

THE executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, says he has no plans to re-enter party politics, let alone Inkatha Freedom Party politics.

Dr Dhlomo, former secretary-general of Inkatha, was responding to an editorial in the Sunday Times stating that, in the wake of the R250 000 provided by the State to fund two IFP rallies, this was the time to ask Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's 'disillusioned former lieutenant' to assume the leadership of the party.

He said he wanted to reassure both Dr Buthelezi and his followers that he had immensely enjoyed working with them for 12 years.

Dr Dhlomo said he was very happy with what he was doing — promoting multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation through the institute.

He said it was ironic that

the personal attacks made against him at the IFP conference at Ulundi during the weekend were apparently triggered by an analysis of challenges facing Inkatha which he had recently written in his column in the Sunday Tribune.

'In that analysis I observed that most journalists have a perception of Inkatha leadership as being intolerant to criticism, hyper-sensitive, autocratic and abnormally defensive.

'If anything, Inkatha's hostile response to my analysis confirms this perception.'

Dr Dhlomo said the IFP president's public allegation that he had offered to fund the Patriotic Front did not besit a person of his standing.

According to the charter of the MDP, the institute was prohibited from funding any project which was not an MDP project, he said.

The Citizen 23 July 1991

US calls on govt to act

WASHINGTON. — The United States yesterday urged the South African Government to take action against people involved in the scandal over covert state funding of Inkatha.

It also said Pretoria should end any practices that undermined reforms initiated over the past 18 months to dismantle apartheid. State Department deputy spokesman, Richard Boucher, said: "We would call on the

government of South Africa to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appro-

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US call to govt

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priate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

He added: "We believe the integrity of the negotiating process requires nothing less."

Mr Boucher declined to say if the United States thought crimes had been committed, saying: "That's not really for me to determine."

Asked if the scandal

had changed Washington's view of Mr De Klerk's sincerity towards reforms, Mr Boucher said: "Not that I'm aware of."

Based on Mr De Klerk's efforts at dismantling apartheid, President George Bush recently lifted economic sanctions against South Africa. Mr Boucher said the scandal would have no impact on this decision. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Dan 23 July 1991

Audits to be kept secret

JONATHAN REES

POLICE yesterday refused to make available copies of audits of funds supplied to Inkatha, after Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's assurance the money had been accounted for.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said the SAP's refusal showed it had something to hide.

Responding to requests for audits of the money, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the Official Secrets Act prohibited detailed disclosures of how the funds had been used.

"The whole project is an official secret ... I am bound by the Act, which discloses what may and may not be revealed," he said.

SHARE prices drifted lower in a lacklustre session of trading yesterday as the market reacted nervously to the political row over the revelations of government funding for Inkatha.

Dealers said investors, who last week took the market to record higher ground, opted to remain on the sidelines.

"People are hanging out to see how the matter will be resolved and what implications it will have for negotiations between government and the ANC," a trader said.

After opening a little firmer, the market was unable to build on the previous week's strong gains despite support from a weaker financial investment unit which eased to R3,21 from R3,18 to the dollar.

The JSE overall index closed with a loss of 17 points to 3 524 as the all gold index shed 23 points to 1 410 and the industrial index gave up five points to 4 042.

Gold offered little help in giving a firmer tone to the market as the metal wavered around the \$370 level and showed no signs of breaking out of its narrow trading range.

With most of the major players out of the market, trading tended to be choppy and desultory with 56 shares tending higher and 84 lower.

Nearly 10 shares managed a volume of more than 100 000 shares with industrial leader RICHEMONT in the early limelight as the shares topped R30 for the first time.

RICHEMONT advanced to a high of R30,25 before easing back to close 30c up at a new closing high of R29,90 with shares worth almost R5m changing hands in 99 deals.

Activity in the shares was a spillover from London on Friday where subsidiary Rothmans was the largest gainer in the FTSE 100 on renewed talk that Richemont could bid for the 27,2% of Rothmans which it does not already own.

Empire

At R30, Richemont has a total market capitalisation of R17bn which includes 522-million listed shares plus the 10% of issued shares which are unlisted.

REMORO, which eased 25c to R24,25, has a market capitalisation in the region of R12,8bn which means the Rupert family empire's interests are now worth close to R30bn — topping the market capitalisation of Anglo American which stands at about R28bn.

ABERDARE rose 250c to a new high of R25 in the electronic sector. The com-

DIAGONAL STREET

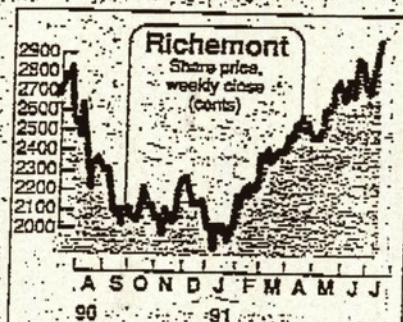
Market holds its breath over Inkatha funds

pany recently withdrew a cautionary that it was involved in negotiations. Market speculation was it was bidding for African Cables but the price was too high.

GENTYRE A shares eased 100c to come off its peak and move in line with the B shares which were trading at R28,50.

Market speculation is that German interests will take a slice of the company as foreign investors attempt to get back into the African tyre market after the disinvestments of Goodyear and Firestone.

MASTERBORE rose 3c to 38c on news the company has won a major contract to drill for oil in Namibia.



Graphic: LEE EMERTON Source: NET

The shares bottomed at 20c in June after falling from a high of 50c a year ago.

On the mining boards, platinum counter LEPLAT, which rose 23% to 500c last week, retreated 20c to 480c after repeatedly trying to recoup part of the loss.

Speculation is that the listing of a new mine could be announced to help raise cash as part of the financing of the Platreef development.

HCI featured in the insurance sector as the shares advanced 50c to another new high of 950c.

The shares have almost doubled from an October low of 500c while subsidiary SAFLIFE has more than doubled from 300c to 610c and was yesterday bid at 625c.

MERVYN HARRIS

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SAAZ

VLOK IS UNLIKELY TO BE SACKED

By Tony Stirling

TOP-level government sources do not believe the head of Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, is going to roll.

They said that the two-day bush indaba which the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is holding with his Cabinet Ministers and their deputies is likely to concentrate on how to limit the damage caused by the Weekly Mail's disclosures of secret funding of Inkatha and its trade

union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa.

It is expected that secret government funding of organisations other than Inkatha will be disclosed before the end of the week.

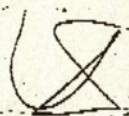
In his initial reaction to the disclosure of the Weekly Mail that Inkatha had received funds totalling R250 000 for two rallies, Mr Vlok said that both overt and covert assistance had been supplied on request to a wide spectrum of people and

institutions in an attempt to combat sanctions effectively.

In an Agenda programme on SABC television on Sunday night, Mr Vlok said the documents which had been used by the Weekly Mail were "stolen" — a strong indication that they came from police files which are missing.

Informed sources believe it probable that The Weekly Mail's informant, whom its editor, Mr An-

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Paper wants guarantee before it helps police

THE New Nation newspaper will not assist police investigating its allegations of SADF involvement in attacks on train commuters before it receives guarantees that the SAP will act on the information.

"We don't want to give out information which could be used in a cover-up," editor Zwelakhe Sisulu said yesterday.

The newspaper is scheduled to meet police investigating officer Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen today, after lengthy discussions with its lawyers yesterday.

Van der Westhuizen was appointed to investigate New Nation's allegations that an SADF special unit, 5 Recce Unit, planned and executed at-

JONATHAN REES

tacks on train commuters. At least 60 commuters have died in attacks on the Reef since September.

Van der Westhuizen recently headed police investigations into the murder of Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA president Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumalo and ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Van der Westhuizen said yesterday he hoped to meet the source of the newspaper's allegations, Sgt Felix Isaias Ndimele, who claimed to be part of the secret SADF unit.

Sisulu said the police investigation highlighted the urgent need for an interim government. It was "grossly

inadequate", he said, to give information to police with a view to them policing themselves.

Sapa reports that the SAP, in a statement issued yesterday, criticised the New Nation's failure to supply information.

Investigations into the so-called "third force" were being delayed "once again and possibly retarded by the failure of the newspaper concerned to make the evidence available" to Van der Westhuizen.

Van der Westhuizen called on the media to supply the evidence to the police "with the same zeal and dedication with which allegations are published".

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Vlok unlikely to be fired

FROM PAGE 1

ton Harber, declined to name, had taken more than one set of documents from police files.

Mr Harber himself hinted at further disclosures.

In another part of Agenda on Sunday night, Vrye Weekblad's Editor, Mr Max du Preez, said that his newspaper might well be in a position to make disclosures concerning National Intelligence Service, Military Intelligence or Police links with Inkatha.

Inquiries by The Citizen yesterday indicated that the funds to Inkatha were not paid into the organisation's bank account directly by the police.

The money was apparently given in cash to a relatively junior Inkatha official, and it was he who deposited the funds.

Yesterday the Democratic Party MP, Dr Kobus Jordaan, conceded that Mr Vlok's statement that the Inkatha trade union, the United Work-

ers' Union of South Africa, had received no more than R1,5 million in secret government funds could be correct.

Speaking from his office in Durban, he said he had no documents which proved payment, but he had received certain information which had been the basis of questions raised by him in Parliament.

"It might have been more, or it might have been less. But the fact the union was being funded was confirmed," he said.

The final instalment of the secret funds to Uwusa — the funding has been carried out over the past five to six years — is to be made at the end of the month.

The Union is believed to have received a monthly tranche in funds from covert funds allocated to the police.

The funding of Inkatha and Uwusa thus came from separate and distinct government accounts — that to the union was

from covert funds of the police, and that to Inkatha from funds earmarked to counter sanctions and controlled by Foreign Affairs.

According to The Citizen's sources, both sets of funds referred to were not only properly accounted for, as stated by Mr Vlok, but the officials concerned had received full authorisation to use the funds for these purposes.

The sources said that, given the collective responsibility style of the government of State President De Klerk, it could be taken that the continuance of funding to Uwusa after Mr De Klerk assumed office had been sanctioned either at the highest level or by the Cabinet.

The funding to Inkatha — which was at the time not yet a political party — had been done when, in the first instance, the ANC was still itself acting covertly, and in the second instance, in March 1990, one month after the

ANC's unbanning, at a stage before the government and the ANC had entered any agreements or dialogue.

The Citizen's sources considered that while the disclosures had been damaging to both Inkatha and the government, the crisis within government was not as serious as it was being made out to be in sections of the media.

While Mr Vlok had offered his resignation if it was deemed in the interests of negotiations, the sources believed it unlikely that his head would roll after the two-day Bushveld indaba which Mr De Klerk began with his full Cabinet team and their deputies yesterday.

Sources confirmed that the disclosures would enjoy priority at the indaba, but attention was likely to focus on how to limit the damage which had been caused — and which could come from further expected revelations — rather than action against individual Ministers.

B/Day 23 July 1991

State aided reign of terror against us, claims Cosatu

COSATU alleged yesterday that government had financially backed a "reign of terror" waged by the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) against Cosatu members.

In a statement, Cosatu said disclosures "of government funding to Uwusa and Inkatha proved that government had been involved before and after February 2 last year in funding and supporting efforts to undermine and destabilise the ANC and Cosatu."

The exact amount of government funding was unimportant. "What is clear is that the government has been backing and financing the reign of terror which Uwusa has been conducting against workers, particularly Cosatu members, in the factories, hostels, communities and trains."

Cosatu members living in hostels in the PWV area had repeatedly told

VERA VON LIERES

the federation since last July that they had been forced to resign from Cosatu and the ANC and join Uwusa and Inkatha.

Uwusa members had taken over the KwaMadala hostel in the Vaal Triangle, which was being used as a base to attack non-Uwusa hostel dwellers and neighbouring communities, Cosatu said.

In PWV factories and industrial areas, Uwusa vigilantes had since the beginning of the year demanded that workers produce their membership cards.

Cosatu said Numsa last week reported that members who were voting on strike action in the metal, vehicle assembly and tyre industries, had been harassed and attacked by Uwusa.

Numsa northern Natal regional

secretary Mike Mabuyakhulu said yesterday large-scale intimidation had recently taken place in the townships of Enfeleni and Nqwelezane.

He claimed the Transport and General Workers Union had experienced a 20% drop in membership through Uwusa intimidation.

Efforts to reach Uwusa yesterday for comment were fruitless.

Cosatu also claimed that Uwusa was implicated in train attacks.

"Available evidence clearly points to collaboration by the security forces in these attacks."

The federation called for an independent judicial commission of inquiry into "government involvement in violence and destabilisation of anti-apartheid organisations".

Cosatu also demanded the public disbanding of all special counter-insurgency units and "death squads" of the SAP and SADF.

B | Day 23 July 1991

'White Zulu' to still give cash

KIM BENTLEY

LONDON — One of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's wealthiest foreign supporters, millionaire zoo keeper and self-styled "white Zulu" John Aspinall, said yesterday he would continue to fund the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Aspinall said he disapproved of the clandestine way in which Inkatha received funds from the SA government, but this did not affect his support for the mainly Zulu organisation.

"The ANC are awash with cash. Inkatha probably has one percent as much money as the ANC.

"I fully endorse the Zulu nation. I am still proud to be a white Zulu."

Aspinall has bought extensive properties in the Cape and Natal, allowing him to develop his relationship with the Zulu chief.

B/Day 23 July 1991

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration yesterday demanded that Pretoria take all necessary steps to restore the "integrity of the negotiating process" following disclosures of government funding to Inkatha.

"We call upon the government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said.

Pretoria must also "take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts".

Asked whether the administration's confidence in President F W de Klerk's integrity had been shaken, Boucher replied:

Washington tells FW to come clean

"Not that I'm aware of."

The disclosures would have no impact in terms of the recently lifted Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act sanctions, Boucher said. But he did not say how they might affect administration thinking on other measures still on the books.

The Africa subcommittee of the House foreign affairs committee has scheduled hearings for next week on the sanctions issue. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen is expected to come under heavy attack for having agreed to lift sanctions prematurely.

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Washington

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The disclosures are focusing the attention of pro-sanctions Democrats on ways to stiffen the Gramm Amendment which places conditions on US support for SA's access to IMF credit facilities.

A measure drafted last year by House banking committee members could be revived and attached to other pending legislation, including the administration's request for funds to increase the US's contribution to the IMF and World Bank.

A Bill offered by the then chairman of the panel's subcommittee on international finance, Congressman Walter Fauntroy,

but which was never brought before the full House of Representatives, would have amended the Gramm Amendment to make it more watertight: It would require the US representative on the IMF board to vote against SA under all circumstances, leaving it up to Congress when the restriction could be removed.

Under present circumstances the administration is free to decide if an SA credit request meets certain anti-apartheid criteria, and it need only notify Congress of its decision before voting in favour of the application.

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Covert projects cost taxpayers over R1,5bn

GOVERNMENT has spent more than R1,5bn in taxpayers' money on covert projects in the past five years.

The allocation has shown a steady year-on-year increase. It rose from R198,2m in 1987/88 to R220,8m in 1988/89, R275,2m in 1989/90, R327,2m in 1990/91 and R380m in the current financial year.

The money is allocated to the Secret Services Account, attached to the Finance Department which provides at least four other government departments with money to be spent in the "national interest".

The account was established in 1978, in the aftermath of the Information scandal, to remove the funding of covert projects

PATRICK BULGER

from the special defence account to one controlled by the Finance Minister.

In its first year of operation, the fund was allocated R29,5m for "services of a secret nature determined from time to time by the Finance Minister and such other Minister as being in the national interest and for expenses incidental to such services".

The Secret Services Account Act provides for payments to be made to special accounts of several government departments, among them Defence, Law and

Order and Foreign Affairs.

In terms of the SA Police Special Account Act, established in mid-1985, the money in the account is to be used for services "of a confidential nature" approved by the Minister of Law and Order.

A Foreign Affairs Special Account — which dates back to 1967 — is for spending on "services of a confidential nature... in the national interest".

Although the general account and its subsidiary accounts are audited, there is no breakdown of what each account gets.

Allocations from the fund have to be agreed by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of the department concerned.

Setback dealt to foreign investment

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE news that government had secretly funded Inkatha would set back — if not reverse — prospects of international investment in SA, American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) executive director Wayne Mitchell said yesterday.

US investors would "sit tight", he said. Despondency had replaced the euphoria which followed termination of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act 10 days ago.

Mitchell said SA's government was credited with scrapping apartheid, but the links between the Law and Order Ministry and Inkatha showed there were still "hidden agendas" at work. This would fuel the US pro-sanctions lobby's sentiment that sanctions had been lifted too soon.

Mitchell said Amcham had hoped to see US companies "engaging with SA business organisations within the year". Although that was still possible, the climate had changed dramatically.

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut executive director Joe Poolman said yesterday that while he was surprised and disappointed by the revelations, their effect would be felt more keenly inside SA than out.

The action government had taken to dismantle apartheid outweighed any damage caused by evidence of police financing of Inkatha. Sanctions had been lifted because government had met specific conditions.

However, Poolman warned that foreign governments might be more wary of lifting sanctions denying SA access to international finance.

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THE TIMES TUESDAY JULY 23 1991

Pretoria tries to limit damage as Vlok admits £370,000 gifts to rivals

Need to claim moral high ground faces wounded de Klerk

FROM GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

AFTER three decades of ruthless political skulduggery, it is not surprising that a few skeletons should tumble from the cupboard of South Africa's ruling National party. That fresh meat has been found clinging to some is the revelation which has undermined both President de Klerk's reformist government and the transition to multiracial democracy.

One of Mr de Klerk's first actions after wresting power from P.W. Botha two years ago was to curtail the influence of a shadowy security establishment which had effectively governed the country under his imperious predecessor. To universal acclaim, he restored the authority of a civilian rule and pledged a new era of open government.

It is now clear that the "dirty tricks" brigade, with senior ministerial approval, has been pursuing its covert activities with vigour. "We have always had a good relationship with Inkatha, and it was easy to pay money into a bank account," Adriaan Vlok, the minister of law and order, told the nation this week.

The scandal is being compared with a similar one in 1978 which brought down the government of John Vorster and hounded Connie Mulder, the information minister, out of the party. Contrary to explicit assurances given by parliament, it was discovered that vast sums had been spent on buying the goodwill of politicians and prominent personalities in Europe and the United States, and acquiring a local newspaper for propaganda purposes. Amid allegations of personal corruption among senior officials, Vorster was forced to resign and Dr Mulder lost the opportunity to succeed him as prime minister.

The implications of the present furor, however, are more far-reaching. In the late 1970s, the hegemony of Afrikaner nationalists was not threatened, and the conflict was between personalities rather than parties. Today, the stakes are higher, with the nationalists striving to retake a grip on power in an uncertain post-apartheid era.

The consequences are that Mr de Klerk has lost the moral high ground which he gained with his reform initiatives, and that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, has lost all credibility as an independent political leader. The position of Mr Vlok, as



Vorster: similar scandal prompted his resignation

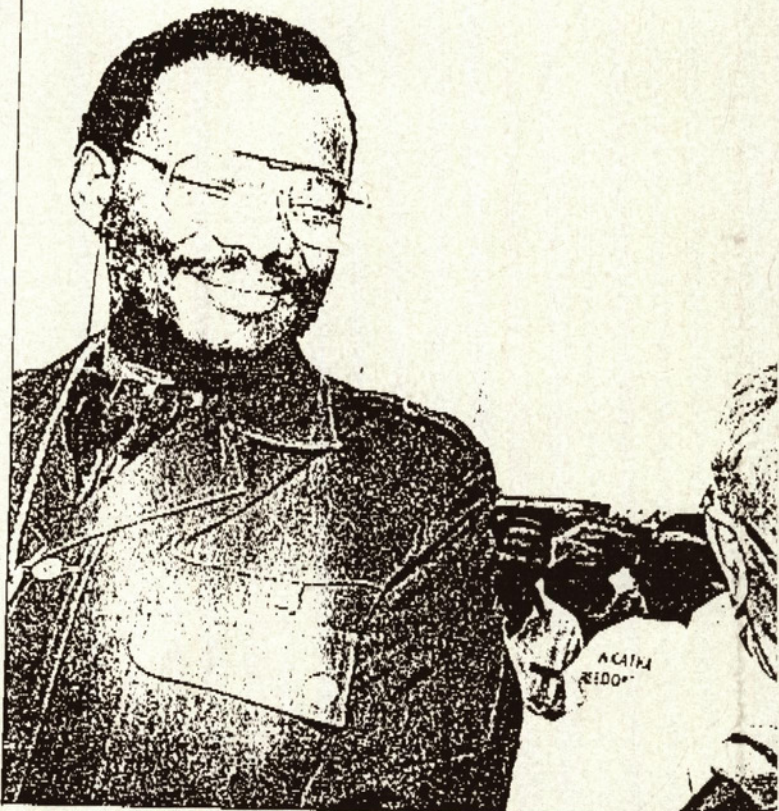
head of the ministry whose security police acted as the conduit for the covert funding, has become untenable. General Magnus Malan, the defence minister, is equally vulnerable to increasing allegations that members of his security forces have been colluding with Inkatha in its murderous power struggle with the African National Congress.

Even R. F. "Dik" Botha, the popular foreign minister, has exposed himself to danger by disclosing that the funds came from a special foreign affairs account. In attempting to

deflect criticism from his colleagues, Mr Botha has joined the list of ministers being called upon to resign. The Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, commented yesterday: "Mr Vlok and Mr Botha now offer the same defence as Dr Mulder, patriotism, and the need to adopt unconventional means in unusual times. They must now take the same path as Dr Mulder and resign." Most damning is that the debacle is perceived to have cost lives. An Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 last year, for which the government contributed more than £30,000, was followed by a week of strife in which 160 people were killed and more than 20,000 people, mostly ANC supporters, were made homeless.

When the covert funding was exposed last week, Mr Vlok initially denied knowledge of the fighting and said that Inkatha leaders had called for peace at the rally. "No violence followed, at least not as far as I know," he said. On Sunday night, he conceded that "a few hundred incidents of violence" had occurred in Natal during March. Such clumsy attempts to gloss over the consequences of government actions are deemed to require Mr Vlok's dismissal.

The restrained response of Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, indicates that moves towards constitutional negotiations will continue, but it is assumed that the government will have to pay a price for its subterfuge. *Business Day*, a financial newspaper, said: "President de Klerk, having lost the high ground which he held for so long, has no option but to rid himself of incompetent ministers who have made him hostage to the securocrats... if he is to fight back, he must begin by restoring government's integrity."



Strained alliance: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha president, with Adriaan Vlok, the order minister, last December. Their political futures are in doubt after revelations of state donations.

Troubled cabinet goes into

By GAVIN BELL

THE South African government went into a three-day conclave at a secret location yesterday in an attempt to find a way out of the most serious crisis facing the ruling National party in recent history.

The extended cabinet, including deputy ministers and administrators, is under intense pressure to provide a satisfactory response to a covert funding scandal which threatens several senior ministers, as well as the turbulent reform process.

Demands for ministerial resignations, an emergency session of parliament, and a judicial investigation gained momentum across the political spectrum after Adriaan

Vlok, the minister of law and order, revealed that Pretoria had secretly donated almost £370,000 to black political rivals of the African National Congress over a period of six years.

The amount was seven times that which Mr Vlok initially admitted had been provided to the Inkatha Freedom party and a trade union affiliate as recently as March last year. His latest disclosure came in a televised debate, in which he was questioned about claims that the security police had channelled more than £1 million to the small United Workers' Union (Uwusa). Mr Vlok said the figure was "way off the mark".

In response to calls for his resignation, Mr Vlok said he would reconsider his position if he were deemed to be an obstacle to the reform process, and that he would be discussing the matter with President de Klerk. However, even the minister's departure is unlikely to satisfy the government's vociferous critics.

Peter Wronsley, the auditor general, said yesterday that Mr de Klerk and Barnd du Plessis, the finance minister, were obliged by law to sign audit reports disclosing the use of secret funds. "If the requisite signatures are there, that satisfies the auditor. The purpose to which the funds are put is something which would

Pretoria tries to limit damage

Need to claim moral high ground faces wounded de Klerk

From Gavin Bell in Johannesburg

AFTER three decades of ruthless political skulduggery, it is not surprising that a few skeletons should tumble from the cupboard of South Africa's ruling National party. That fresh meat has been found clinging to some is the revelation which has undermined both President de Klerk's reformist government and the transition to multiracial democracy.

One of Mr de Klerk's first actions after wresting power from P.W. Botha two years ago was to curtail the influence of a shadowy security establishment which had effectively governed the country under his imperious predecessor. To universal acclaim, he restored the authority of civilian rule and pledged a new era of open government.

It is now clear that the "dirty tricks" brigade, with senior ministerial approval, has been pursuing its covert activities with vigour. "We have always had a good relationship with Inkatha, and it was easy to pay money into a bank account," Adriaan Vlok, the minister of law and order, told the nation this week.

The scandal is being compared with a similar one in 1978 which brought down the government of John Vorster and hounded Connie Mulder, the information minister, out of the party. Contrary to explicit assurances given by parliament, it was discovered that vast sums had been spent on buying the goodwill of politicians and prominent personalities in Europe and the United States, and acquiring a local newspaper for propaganda purposes. Amid allegations of personal corruption, Vorster was forced to resign and Dr Mulder lost the opportunity to succeed him as prime minister.

The implications of the present furor, however, are more far-reaching. In the late 1970s, the hegemony of Afrikaner nationalists was not threatened, and the conflict was between personalities rather than parties. Today, the stakes are higher, with the nationalists striving to retain a grip on power in an uncertain post-apartheid era.

The consequences are that Mr de Klerk has lost the moral high ground which he gained with his reform initiatives, and that Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, has lost all credibility as an independent political leader. The position of Mr Vlok, as



Vorster: similar scandal prompted his resignation

head of the ministry whose security police acted as the conduit for the covert funding, has become untenable. General Magnus Malan, the defence minister, is equally vulnerable to increasing allegations that members of his security forces have been colluding with Inkatha in its murderous power struggle with the African National Congress.

Even B. F. "Pik" Botha, the popular foreign minister, has exposed himself to danger by disclosing that the funds came from a special foreign affairs account. In attempting to

deflect criticism from his colleagues, Mr Botha has joined the list of ministers being called upon to resign. The Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, commented yesterday "Mr Vlok and Mr Botha no offer the same defence as I Mulder: patriotism, and they need to adopt unconventional means in unusual times. They must now take the same path as Dr Mulder and resign. Most damning is that the debacle is perceived to have cost lives. An Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 last year for which the government contributed more than £30,000, was followed by a week of strife in which 160 people were killed and more than 20,000 people, mostly ANC supporters, were made homeless.

When the covert funding was exposed last week, Mr Vlok initially denied knowledge of the fighting and said that Inkatha leaders had called for peace at the rally. "No violence followed, at least not as far as I know," he said. On Sunday night, he conceded that "a few hundred incidents of violence" had occurred in Natal during March. Such clumsy attempts to gloss over the consequences of government actions are deemed to require Mr Vlok's dismissal.

The restrained response of Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, indicates that moves towards constitutional negotiations will continue, but it is assumed that the government will have to pay a price for its subterfuge. *Business Day*, a financial newspaper, said: "President de Klerk, having lost the high ground which he held for so long, has appointed a number of incompetent ministers who have made him hostage to the securocrats... if he is to fight back, he must begin by restoring government's integrity."

(2)

The Citizen 23 July 1991

Inkatha to refund cash

FROM PAGE 1

toria
Inkatha officers Sue Vos, Walter Felgate and Musa Myeni were at the Press conference, but journalists expressed their displeasure that Mr Khumalo was not on hand to answer questions.

"I state that I knew that the money came from the South African Government. Two deposits amounting to R250000 were made by me to cover payments for the costs of transport, placards and banners and such things associated with rallies," Mr Khumalo's statement said.

"I accounted fully for the expenditure of the money to the officer who had handed over the funds to me.

"Every cent from the South African Government that was deposited was spent on the promotion of peace through these rallies and on nothing else.

"These two rallies were held at a time when Inkatha was actively fund-raising to promote peace and to continue its long hard fight against sanctions. Therefore anonymous donations were welcomed."

Because he had worked under Chief Buthelezi for the last 15 years, he knew Chief Buthelezi would have rejected the funding out of hand.

He had not informed Chief Buthelezi because he knew Chief Buthelezi would have immediately dissociated himself from the scheme and would have exposed Mr Khumalo.

"I wish to appeal to every South African out there who has the interests of our country at heart to assist in undoing the damage and organisational hardship which the refund now going to be made by the IFP President of R250 000 to the Department of Foreign Affairs from IFP funds will cause the party."

Asked at the conference at the Burgerspark Hotel whether the United Workers Union of South Africa would refund R1,5 million in government donations as well, Mr Myeni said the union would not.

pendent trade union. Inkatha had no relationship with Uwusa and the union would have to explain the issue itself.

Ms Vos said it was unusual for only one Inkatha official to know about such large amounts as R250 000 because large amounts often went through the account into which it had been deposited.

Mr Khumalo had held a senior position and was able to take initiatives.

Mr Myeni said the two amounts totalling R250 000 were the only secret government funds Inkatha knew about, but because amounts were deposited anonymously, the organisation did not always know where the money came from. The account was public knowledge and its number had been published in newspapers.

Asked about Mr Khumalo's absence at the conference, Mr Felgate said: "He's resigned today. He is no longer in our employ. We don't want him in our midst. He is not with us."

for you to seek and find him if you want that but we can't sit with him."

He added, "If he did not resign, we would have dismissed him, but he has denied us that opportunity. So what other punishment can we meet out?"

The Star

Only FW can save us

THE GOVERNMENT suddenly finds itself facing a profound crisis of credibility, but this should not be a source of pleasure — even to its opponents. The stark reality is that if President de Klerk cannot rescue his administration's tainted image, there is little chance of trust being re-established between this country's key putative negotiators, and therefore little chance of real negotiations getting under way in the foreseeable future.

At the same time, the prospects of international reacceptance of, and reinvestment in, South Africa fade frighteningly quickly. US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, who last week stuck his neck out very far in endorsing the Government's integrity and even-handedness, must be horrified by the performance of his informants in Pretoria.

A big crack has appeared in our window of opportunity: we are all of us paying for the Government's sins.

The uncontested proof that State funds were channelled via the SA Police to Inkatha and its labour adjunct, Uwusa, is deeply damaging — and, as a corollary, strengthens the ANC's case in demanding an interim government to ensure neutrality during transition. Even worse, though, are the allegations of SADF involvement in heinous train massacres. If that charge sticks, there would be no hyperbole involved in saying that Mr de Klerk might never regain his former stature.

All who support a negotiated settlement as the only desirable solution to our problems should now look to Mr de Klerk to take decisive and immediate action. The ANC has been remarkably measured in its response to the revelations — it does not want, according to its leaders, to threaten either the anti-violence initiatives or the negotiating process. But there is no question of its getting on with real bargaining until the current crisis is resolved to its satisfaction.

Mr de Klerk faces some very tough choices. Heads must surely roll, but he has some latitude in how he goes about the exercise. The summary sacking of Minister Vlok (with General Malan and even Pik Botha not far behind?) would probably do it, but this is most unlikely. He could shift Mr Vlok to another portfolio, and that might help. But at the very least, he should institute an urgent and uncircumscribed commission of inquiry into all the allegations — more will certainly be forthcoming — and he should bind himself to acting upon its recommendations. Chief Justice Corbett, or someone like him, would be a good choice for dealing with a matter of this magnitude.

Mr de Klerk has to reassure his own people as well as the international community. It is his most urgent task, and he must succeed in it. Because if he fails, we as a people will have failed to grasp a historic opportunity for redemption.

COMMENT

Limit the damage

PRESIDENT de Klerk's immediate concern about the Inkatha funding scandal has to be damage limitation, not simply for himself and his Cabinet but for South Africa as a whole. Fortunately a seriously compromised Adriaan Vlok has offered to resign as Minister of Law and Order if he is in the way of negotiations. De Klerk must take up that offer. Vlok's performance on national television Sunday evening left many believing his version of the truth to be unreliable.

Sadly Inkatha lacked the spine to accept Mangosuthu Buthelezi's comparable offer to step aside. But that was before an obviously rattled Buthelezi had come up with the implausible excuse that he was personally unaware the government had channelled state funds to Inkatha and its surrogate union. And his defence eventually slumped into a blustering and racially offensive attack on the newspapers which had exposed his organisation.

South Africans need to be concerned about Buthelezi and Inkatha. They have the indisputable ability to put impis on the streets. That goes whether or not the predominantly Zulu party is backed by a now avowedly non-partisan police force. Buthelezi's tragedy is that unless he steps aside, disclosures of government funding will help marginalise him and his organisation.

Which serious black opposition group would now join forces with an Inkatha stained by government slush fund receipts? The excuses that the money was provided to support anti-sanctions activities or

used for refugee relief are insultingly frivolous. It was provided to strengthen a conservative and seemingly tractable Buthelezi-led Inkatha against other, legitimate black opposition groups.

Vlok has promised that the police will become non-partisan. Achieving that would be facilitated if De Klerk were to axe him in a welcome reinstatement of the concept of ministerial responsibility.

De Klerk's other problems are what to do with his personable Foreign Minister Pik Botha — a man of considerable charm but also an instigator of the payments to Inkatha — and what to do with Gerrit Viljoen, the party theoretician who devoted considerable time at Inkatha's weekend rally attempting to justify the secret payments.

The taint appears to run deeply through the Cabinet and the question of De Klerk's own involvement must inevitably be raised. For the present, a cynical expediency might dictate that the President's involvement is not probed too deeply — the success of the negotiating progress depends heavily on him personally and his relationship with Nelson Mandela and other leaders. But that does not mean full disclosure of the secret funds is not required. Where are the records which Vlok claims show Inkatha did not misuse the slush funds? And where are the authorisations by government to give our money to Inkatha?

Vlok is clearly a major liability in negotiating this country's future. President De Klerk should replace him with someone all sides trust.

The Citizen 23 July 1991

Resign, call an election: Dr T

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday demanded that the whole National Party Cabinet resign and a general election be called.

This follows the Inkatha funding scandal in which the government admitted that it had granted at least R1,5 million in secret state funds to Inkatha

and an affiliated organisation, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

Dr Treurnicht said in a statement in Pretoria that in terms of the principle of collective responsibility, the Cabinet should resign and voters be given the opportunity to react to the matter in a general election.

Granting tax money to political movements and trade unions was undemocratic, unethical and an inexcusable offence

against all norms of a civilised and orderly government.

"The grant is in principle unacceptable regardless of the fact whether it was made before or after February 2. Suggestions by Mr Vlok that irregularities which took place before this date should be forgiven must be rejected," Dr Treurnicht said.

He accused Mr Vlok of disloyalty to the police by

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Resign: Dr T

FROM PAGE 1

allowing them to become involved in politics.

Mr Vlok's excuse that their involvement was necessary to combat sanctions was unconvincing. It was a misrepresentation according to the testimony of the police officer concerned.

Mr Vlok's admissions concerning the R1,5 million was a damning conviction of the government, said Dr Treurnicht.

It also confirmed that State President De Klerk had misled Parliament on April 9, when he had indicated the opposite when answering a question in this regard. Dr Treurnicht

concluded.

Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, called on the State President De Klerk to convene a special session of Parliament to discuss the crisis.

Dr De Beer said it was essential that a full public debate about the issue take place. Although the tricameral system was "inadequate and unrepresentative", it was all that was available at present.

The disclosures and events of the past few days had created a crisis of credibility involving the National Party Government and had placed the whole process of negotiation at risk, the DP leader said. — Sapa.

B/Day 23 July 1991

AS THE reeking edifice of apartheid collapses, those at its core are starting to emerge like woodlice from a burning log to seek redemption by telling of what went on inside.

They cannot be stopped, nor should they be. Rather, the process of confession and atonement should be institutionalised. If South Africans are to have a decent future, they must now be exposed to the full horror of their past. The ghastly arcana of the 40-year National Party imperium must be laid bare remorselessly if history is not to repeat itself under new management.

All South Africans must see, in every last harrowing detail, what autocracy breeds; the corruption, the lies, the arrogance, the immoral alliances, the squandering and theft of national treasure, the destruction of lives, and yes, the terror. Let full, dispassionate disclosure become a national project.

And let the secrets of the opposition phalanx be known also, for those too will be an object lesson in how the placing of ends over means, both by the state and its enemies, have debased and corrupted even the most saintly. The fruits of extremism, by whomever practised, must be made plain that all may see and recoil.

The alternative is to let the truth seep out drop by drop. The disclosures of police funding for Inkatha may be followed by tomorrow's headline news that a respected clergyman in the anti-apartheid movement participated in kangaroo courts that effectively sentenced men and women to death.

Piecemeal revelations by a Press whose new-found freedom may be only temporary are not enough. At best, the public will grow laured and cynical, persuaded by the daily drumbeat of sensation that what has been happening for so long is standard operating procedure and that there is no better way. To despair is to succumb to more of the same.

Dispensed in little bits, often without proper context, the truth is also subject to politicisation and readily packaged as hate-inducing propaganda for one undemocratic faction

All in SA must come clean about horrors of the past

SIMON BARBER in Washington

or another. The ANC has every right to express outrage at the latest disclosures and to accuse the government of lying through its teeth. It is entirely justified in wondering whether the government is sincere about negotiation. But it has no right to demand that its own atrocities be overlooked in the process. Reconciliation requires that all come clean.

The movement is clearly overjoyed that it has been able to capture the "moral high ground". From its new vantage it believes it will be able to exercise more leverage over the government in negotiations while discrediting a principal dissenter and his following. Tactically speaking, it is probably correct in this analysis.

The exposure of the state's mendacity and double dealing, and the discrediting of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (though why did Inkatha need the money for rallies if, as is constantly alleged, it had always been in Pretoria's pay?) are hugely embarrassing to many who have risked much to stand up for De Klerk and what they believe to be the best interests of a future SA democracy.

President George Bush has been made to look a fool for having determined that the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had been met. If half the stories now appearing are true, the

government's "good faith" in agreeing to negotiate must be seen as highly questionable; the contention that it has opened up the political process to full and free participation is unsustainable. Glasnost is not compatible with dirty tricks, let alone with lethal ones.

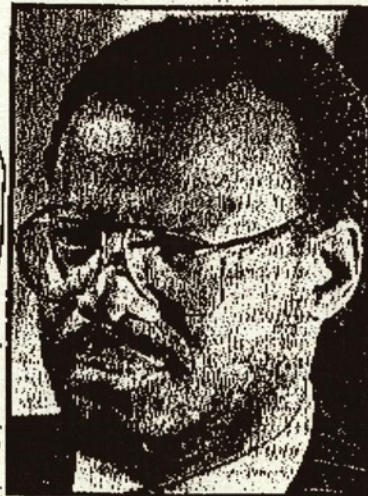
Foreign Minister Pik Botha's admission that his department had a shush fund to counter sanctions renders imbecile Bush's assertion that the dismantling of formal apartheid thus far had less to do with sanctions

than with the government's enlightenment. There is nothing enlightened about turning an apparently sincere opponent of sanctions into the political equivalent of a streetwalker.

From this and more the ANC can only benefit in its pursuit of power. The kindness that the Bush administration and Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, recently showed Buthelezi is now meaningless. Washington was at last beginning to understand that there were more than two sides to the SA equation and to grant official recognition to a third. Now we will be lucky if the majority of congressmen listen to more than one.

The more Americans see of the crude, "subterranean" gangsterism that operates within the SA government, the more they will simplistically heed the blandishments of the "victim" ANC, ignoring the grim potential that lurks in its ranks as well. Those who have had the guts to worry about the SACP alliance, the thugery of the comrades or the unholy sources of some of the ANC's own income, will sour away. Who can complain about township defence units under present circumstances?

As for the notion that the ANC and Inkatha should benefit equally from the \$10m Congress set aside last year to "promote democracy", forget it. If last week's agreement between House Africa sub-committee chair-



BUTHELEZI

man Mervyn Dymally, and his Republican counterpart Dan Burton has not already been tossed down the memory hole, it soon will be.

Liberty flows from sound economics. Having run the SA economy into the ground over the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into the ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be an empty shell.

Burnt on the repeal of sanctions, Bush will unlikely feel in much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support an SA credit application. The administration's commitment to the Gramm Amendment, which obliges the US to veto such an application unless it meets certain conditions, was until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctioners to help them get over the demise of the CAAA. Today, it is much more binding. If the ANC says no IMF loans to Pretoria, the Congress will concur and with Congress not only the president but the international financial community as well.

SA's economic recovery will have to wait until the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own political reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than heretofore. The prospects for the 40-million unemployed will not improve, further fuelling the violence.

There is no point competing to get back the "moral high ground". De Klerk's hands may be clean, but that is little consolation if the rest of the world has lost confidence in the government he leads. Better to begin by admitting that in SA there is no such thing as "moral high ground" any more. The place has been reduced by years of gross misrule and abuse of power to a vast moral swamp in which common criminals cannot even be identified as such any more but are let loose to rampage.

The swamp can be cleared only by opening the record on all sides so all may see and learn from what has happened, and perhaps forgive, understanding at last that the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius

Pressure mounted yesterday on the Government to come clean on the Inkatha secret funding scandal — and calls were made on President de Klerk to reconvene Parliament for an emergency session, to immediately appoint a commission of inquiry into the covert State funding and to sack two Cabinet Ministers.

The ANC's national working committee (NWC), which held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the repercussions of the scandal, again called for the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The ANC said disclosures of secret State funding of the

More reports — Pages 2, 18

Inkatha Freedom Party had jeopardised the entire peace process.

And the United States yesterday urged Pretoria to take action against people involved in the scandal.

State Department deputy spokesman Richard Boucher said: "We call on the Government of South Africa to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990, and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts."

In its own hard-hitting statement, the ANC said: "The NWC reflects with contempt the hollow double-talk

offered by Minister Adriaan Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes.

"We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Buthelezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of Government funds channelled through the security police."

The NWC said the expose underscored the need for an interim government.

The NWC said the ANC would not be fobbed off with another version of the

Harms Commission, and demanded the institution of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate the full extent of the Government's involvement in violence and secret funding.

Referring to renewed claims of security force involvement in the township violence, the ANC said the shocking allegations about the SADF using foreign mercenaries to massacre South African citizens were inextricably linked to the multimillion-rand slush fund set up by the Government to

finance Inkatha.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer called on President de Klerk to convene a special session of Parliament to discuss the crisis following the Government's admission that it had paid R250 000 for two Inkatha rallies and R1,5 million to Inkatha's trade union.

The emphasis of the scandal shifted yesterday to Mr de Klerk, with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht saying the President had misled Parliament in April when saying the

Government was not giving any financial support to any political organisation.

And following Mr Vlok's indication that he might resign after the exposure of police involvement in channelling funds to Inkatha, security sources said the Minister was not more responsible than any other Cabinet member — including Mr de Klerk — and did not deserve to be made the scapegoat.

Sources speculated that the Cabinet would choose to make a full declaration of all Government donations to po-

litical organisations.

The two leading Afrikaans newspapers hinted broadly that Cabinet members should be sacked.

In Cape Town, the ultra-loyalist Die Burger advised Mr de Klerk to carefully consider whether the "casting" of his Cabinet could not be "improved".

In Johannesburg, Beeld said the retirement of Cabinet members might help to "rescue the situation" but that even this would probably not be enough to completely repair the damage done.



Police try to discover who let cat out of bag

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The police have launched a full-scale investigation to find out who leaked the top-secret document regarding Government funding for Inkatha.

The disclosure of the police funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party to stage two big rallies in Durban caught the Government and senior SAP officers unawares.

Informed sources said a top-level investigation was launched late on Thursday.

Senior police had learnt that The Guardian and The Weekly Mail were in possession of the documents and bank deposit slips containing details of secret meetings between Inkatha officials and senior police officers as well as a R250 000 sponsorship for Inkatha's rallies.

Captain Craig Kotze of the Minister of Law and Order's office said the SAP had nothing further to add to Minister Adriaan Vlok's statement at the weekend.

Captain Kotze refused to confirm whether the SAP had started an investigation to find out who leaked the documents.

Several policemen told The Star's correspondent they were certain that a "rogue" policeman must have leaked the document.

"These type of documents are known to very few people and it is obvious that someone within the SAP who had access to the files must have leaked it out," said one.

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Minister may resign in wake of scandal

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — The government sought Monday to contain a scandal over funding of a black political party, and Nelson Mandela pressed for the resignation of senior security officials.

One of the officials, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, hinted he might quit after weekend disclosures that the white-led government gave about \$700,000 to the conservative Inkatha Freedom Party, the bitter rival of Mandela's African National Congress.

"If I am an obstacle on the road to negotiations and the future of this country, I will reconsider my position," Vlok said.

President F.W. de Klerk's Cabinet began a three-day meeting Monday to discuss the crisis, one of the most serious for de Klerk since he came to power two years ago.

Mandela, on a visit to Spain, reiterated demands that Vlok and Defense Minister Magnus Malan resign as a condition for talks among the government and black leaders on a new constitution.

"If the government is seriously committed to the peace process it must dismiss them," the daily *El Independiente* quoted the ANC president as saying.

The ANC has repeatedly accused government security forces of assisting Inkatha in black township fighting that has claimed about 6,000 lives in the past five years.

ANC headquarters in Johannesburg said the government was "pursuing a twin-track strategy, of posing as committed to peace while waging ruthless war against the democratic movement."

Criticism of the government came from across the political spectrum. "The whole Cabinet should resign on the basis of collective responsibility," said Andries Treurnicht, leader of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party.

S. Africa paid rivals of Mandela

Revelation threatens power-sharing efforts

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The government admitted Sunday an additional \$600,000 in secret funds were channeled to a black political group, broadening a scandal that threatens to disrupt efforts to end apartheid.

The latest disclosures came two days after officials said \$100,000 in aid had been given secretly to the Inkatha Freedom Party, the main rival of the African National Congress.

The revelations of the funding operations could hurt the credibility of Inkatha and President F.W. de Klerk's 2-year-old government, which has taken strides to end white-minority rule. Inkatha's leader on Sunday again insisted the organization did not know of the government contributions.

The announcement Sunday also indicated the clandestine funding occurred under the government of President P.W. Botha, who refused to legalize the ANC and opposed drastic reforms in apartheid laws.

Some of the sharpest criticism has been lodged by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who said his group could break off relations with the government and call off plans for talks on power sharing between black and whites.

The ANC and Inkatha have waged a power struggle for leadership of the anti-apartheid movement since the mid-1980s, and clashes between supporters in black townships have claimed 6,000 lives. The ANC has often alleged the government secretly aided Inkatha, a charge the government and Inkatha had denied.

There has been no proof that the security forces directly assisted Inkatha in specific attacks against ANC backers.

On Sunday, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said during an interview on state-run television that the government channeled \$600,000 to Inkatha's trade union movement over a six-year period. He did not give any additional details, such as when the funding ended or what Inkatha did with the money.

Earlier Sunday, *The Sunday Star* newspaper quoted Parliament member Kobus Jordaan claiming he had proof the government paid Inkatha's union movement \$2 million.

Jordaan said the money flow to Inkatha began before De Klerk succeeded Botha as president in August 1989. De Klerk removed the ban on the ANC last year.

Vlok said Friday that the government provided Inkatha with \$100,000 in 1989 and 1990 for rallies to protest the international sanctions.

He said the payments have been halted.

Compliments of
Cliff Boszney

The Star 23 July 1991

Pik denies and confirms cash aid

Political Staff

Last month Foreign Minister Pik Botha lambasted the Australian government for funding the ANC — and said “it was totally and utterly untrue” that the South African Government gave financial support to Inkatha.

“Not only is it totally untrue, I can prove that it is untrue,” he told journalists at Jan Smuts Airport after the departure of Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

Only two days ago, Mr Botha confirmed he had authorised the channelling of State money to Inkatha.

Mr Botha is today deeply implicated in the scandal surrounding police secret funding for Inkatha and its



Pik Botha ... 'untrue, I can prove that it is untrue'.

labour adjunct, Uwusa.

At the media conference on June 13, Mr Botha criticised the Australian government's R4.4 million grant to the ANC because he said it

would cause other political groups to feel left out and could result in violence.

“This creates a feeling of being left aside, pushed aside, it creates emotions, and emotions create violence,” Mr Botha said.

He said Pretoria had told Canberra it was making a mistake in its partisan support of the ANC, which stoked tensions between the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and other groups.

Mr Botha admitted at the weekend that he had authorised the passing on of R250 000 of State money — from a special Government anti-sanctions slush fund — to Inkatha.

At the media conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Botha said: “I sincerely be-

lieve that (Australia's) one-sidedness and partiality creates in other parties like Inkatha, the PAC and others, an impression that the Australian government is taking sides.

“And I believe the Australian government should not take sides.

“We would never dream of entering Australia and donating a specific sum of money to an individual party opposing another party because of the reasons that I've mentioned to you.”

“There is in this country an Auditor-General, as there is in Australia, that goes through the books and the funds of every ... administration of this country, applying very strict financial control,” Mr Botha said.

Bush is embarrassed

By Hugh Robertson
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has been embarrassed by disclosures that the South African Government has secretly funded Inkatha, although its first official response was limited to a terse statement today calling on the Government to take action against those responsible.

What has caused the embarrassment is the fact that

the disclosure has come so soon after President Bush's lifting of sanctions and after public assurances from the White House and the State Department that they were convinced the South African Government was committed to negotiations “in good faith”.

The Inkatha funding disclosure has also coincided with allegations of complicity in massacres and other acts of violence by members of the security forces.

What does the public think?

It is being billed as a national disgrace on a par with the Info Scandal — secret Government funding for Inkatha while F W de Klerk's administration insists it is dealing in good faith with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's arch-rival, the ANC.

But what does the man in the street think?

- Should Minister Vlok quit?
- Or is his statement that the payments were made to

The Star
702
secret
cash poll



Inkatha as part of an anti-sanctions drive an acceptable explanation?

The Star and Radio 702's Eyewitness News have commissioned Media Market Research to find out what the public thinks of the secret funding row.

Don't miss The Star and Radio 702 Eyewitness News for the results tomorrow.

The Star, 23 July 1991

US urges Govt to act on scandal

The United States last night urged the SA Government to take action against people involved in the scandal over covert State funding for Inkatha.

A spokesman for the State Department, Richard Boucher, said in Washington: "We would call on the SA Government to take action to terminate all activities which undermine the open political system created by the reforms initiated since February 1990 and to take appropriate action against all persons found responsible for illegal acts. We believe the integrity of the negotiating process requires nothing less."

Asked if the scandal had changed Washington's view of President de Klerk's sincerity towards reforms, Mr Boucher said: "Not that I'm aware of."

He said the scandal would have no impact on President Bush's recent decision to lift economic sanctions.

Meanwhile, Hugh Robertson of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the revelations could obstruct South Africa's access to a multibillion-rand loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Aides to some congressmen who support sanctions, confirmed that they had been requested to review the Gramm amendment, which restricts US support for IMF loans to South Africa, in order to tighten its provisions.

Mike Silama of The Star's London Bureau reports that the covert funding of Inkatha yesterday continued to attract British media attention.

The Guardian called on the international community to review recent decisions to relax sanctions.

Pressure was also building on the British government to review its policy towards Pretoria in the light of claims that the SA Government was implicated in fomenting political violence in the townships.

The Guardian, in a lengthy editorial, said: "The credit given to President de Klerk for recognising the overwhelming imperative for change should certainly not be a blank cheque."

"(He) still presides over a regime with a long history of dirty tricks, destabilisation and covert thuggery, whose current behaviour now requires much more critical attention."

The Guardian added that the disclosures "provide the first hard proof of suspicions that the South African Government has been trying to construct an anti-ANC alliance which exploits tribal rivalries and encourages a climate of violence".

Referring to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's denial of the source of the funding, The Guardian said: "How can a man who now appears to be naive as well as devious retain any credibility with those (including the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd) who have spoken so highly of him?"

Mr Hurd's office was reluctant to comment on reports of collaboration between Pretoria and the IFP. A spokesman said the Foreign Office regarded the issue as an internal matter.

'Not acceptable'

The Film and Allied Workers Organisation has complained to the SABC for cancelling last week's Agenda debate on Government funding of Inkatha. Fawo said the cancellation indicated clearly that the Government "still has a privileged relationship with the SABC which is unacceptable". — Sapa

B/Day 23 July 1991

Businessmen parted with R100 000 to sponsor rally

Business Day Reporter

BEACON Sweets and Chocolates chairman Arnold Zulman said yesterday he and a group of businessmen had donated R100 000 to Inkatha for the rally government sponsored to the tune of R150 000.

Zulman said he arranged for the money to be deposited into the Inkatha "peace fund" through which government's money was channelled.

The money was collected from 16 or 17 businessmen, said Zulman, a personal friend of Buthelezi.

He said a Buthelezi staff member told him he was concerned about the cost of hiring a stadium and equipment for the rally. The staff member put the costs at R100 000. Zulman said the donation was not solicited on the basis that the rally would have a strong anti-sanctions message.

He said he was surprised to learn on his return from abroad at the weekend that he was not the only major sponsor.

As a precaution he checked the signatories of the account and was "satisfied with the names". Buthelezi was not among them.

Zulman also said he had paid about R20 000 towards the costs of the high-level meeting in January between Inkatha and the ANC in Durban.

"I and many businessmen can identify with the chief minister's commitment to peaceful change in SA and a free enterprise system, and as such there has been a willingness to assist," Zulman said.

The Star 23 July 1991

'Assistance given to many'

CAPE TOWN -- Both overt and covert assistance had been supplied on request to a wide spectrum of persons and institutions in South Africa in an attempt to combat sanctions effectively, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Mass gatherings by an organisation such as Inkatha would have made a significant contribution to the fight against sanctions, he said.

However, he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with Chief Buthelezi.

The funds Inkatha had re-

ceived had not come from the Special Account of the South African Police, but from funds earmarked by the Government for combating sanctions.

The financial support to Inkatha for gatherings in November 1989 and March 1990 had related to an anti-violence and anti-sanctions campaign.

"This funding was not aimed at promoting partiality or political activism of any group ... but was for visual anti-sanctions banners, advertisements, transport, hire of stadiums, and other facilities." — Sapa.

The Star 23 July 1991

Police deny squatter claim

By Gien Elsas
and Brian Sokutu

Police have denied that they escorted Inkatha supporters to Mshenguville, Soweto, to attack squatters at the weekend.

Lieutenant Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said a man carrying dagga was arrested by police in a Casspir on Saturday.

He offered to show where he had bought the dagga, in Mshenguville.

When the police arrived in Mshenguville, the shack in which the man said he had

bought the dagga was aflame.

Colonel Halgryn said no groups of people had been escorted to the camp and no one had been attacked at the weekend.

But Mshenguville residents claimed they saw policemen in a Casspir "delivering" armed Inkatha supporters to the area, where Lucas Kgama (38) was hacked to death on Sunday.

Inkatha youth leader Themba Khoza said none of his supporters had been in the area, and that members who had not gone to Ulundi for the Inkatha conference had been attacked by ANC supporters.

The Star 23 July 1991

Row casts a cloud over Games

By Edward Owen

MADRID — The scandal concerning Inkatha's finances yesterday clouded Nelson Mandela's official visit to Spain — and threatens to keep South Africa out of the Olympics.

"The decision by Mr Vlok to resign will be a welcome one, but not enough," Mr Mandela said in Madrid before flying to Barcelona to meet International Olympic Committee officials at the site of the 1992 Games.

The Spanish government made it clear yesterday after meetings with Mr Mandela that it will recommend to the European Community that no sanctions be lifted until South Africa has a democratic system.

During talks with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Mr Mandela stressed that the total eradication of apartheid still hung in the balance, especially after the Inkatha finance scandal.

Mr Mandela told Mr Ordonez that if one man one vote was not permitted at the next elections, gains by conservative elements could endanger the process of change.

Mr Ordonez said that as well as financially supporting the ANC office in Madrid, the Spanish government has so far given 600 million pesetas (about R15,8 million) in aid to the ANC for health and education programmes.

In Barcelona, Mr Mandela met representatives of the IOC, headed by vice-president Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal.

The meeting was crucial for South Africa since the IOC is due to send out its official invitations to participating countries tomorrow, July 25, exactly a year before the Games open in Barcelona.

Mr Mandela, especially in the wake of the Inkatha scandal, opposes South African participation.

The Star, 23 July 1991



Peter Wronsley . . . audited Govt payments to Inkatha.

Auditor-General: I was misquoted

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Auditor-General Peter Wronsley has denied saying that President de Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis must have authorised the Government's donation of R250 000 to Inkatha.

Mr Wronsley said he was misquoted on a radio news report last night.

He had only said that the two payments to Inkatha totalling R250 000 — which came from Foreign Affairs' secret account — were properly authorised because they were signed by the relevant Cabinet Minister, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Wronsley said he had audited these payments.

But he stressed that although the payments were authorised in terms of the Auditor General Act, this did not necessarily mean that he approved of the political purpose for which they were made.

"If the whole world feels that paying the money to Inkatha was a bad idea, that is not my problem. That is for the politicians to sort out."

Mr Wronsley explained how such a misunderstanding had arisen.

He said he had told the radio reporter that the State President, the Minister of Finance and himself had to decide together what he could report on the accounts of the Government's six secret accounts.

This had nothing to do with the authorisation of payments.

It proves Govt can't be trusted

By Esmaró van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Inkatha secret funding scandal had proved that the Government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to a democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret State funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party underscored the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

And, also in response to the scandal, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday cancelled talks with the IFP on the formation of a patriotic front.

The ANC "challenged President de Klerk and his Cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be fobbed off with a second version of the Harms Commission or some other cover-up."

It said Mr de Klerk should comply with six demands to prove his commitment to cleansing his administration and keeping the peace process on track. He should:

- Dismiss Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who "bear direct ministerial responsibilities for the crimes that have been committed".
- Institute a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate "with the utmost rigour" the full extent of Government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities.
- Publicly dismantle all the special counter-insurgency forces of the SADF and the SAP, "including those composed of foreign mercenaries".
- Open up to public scrutiny the secret fund, in the region of R300 million, that had been budgeted by the Government.
- Give guarantees that all civil servants and other State em-



Centre of the controversy... leading British daily The Guardian yesterday questioned the credibility of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the light of his denial of any knowledge of the source of the funding. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok (seen with Chief Buthelezi) reaffirmed that he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with the KwaZulu leader. Picture: Reuter



The Star 23 July 1991

ployees who came forward to tell the truth about these covert operations would be immune from prosecution and receive protection.

● Charge and put on trial all police officers and SADF personnel who had been implicated by past commissions of inquiry.

"The ANC and the people of South Africa shall measure the seriousness with which the Government regards the present impasse by its response to these

demands."

The ANC's full national executive committee would meet before the month-end to discuss this response and the repercussions of the funding scandal on negotiations.

The ANC also said it wanted to alert the international community to the danger of lifting sanctions too soon.

"Those who accepted the bonafides of the De Klerk Government as an agency for politi-

cal change should seriously reconsider their position."

Brian Sokutu reports that PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday ruled out any future contact between his organisation and the IFP.

"Inkatha must choose either to be part of a CCB as a destabilising agent, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Moseneke said.

He said the scandal and Inkatha's rejection of a constitu-

ent assembly and formation of a patriotic front "left the PAC with no option but to withdraw from the intended meeting with Inkatha on the patriotic front". It was scheduled for August 16.

The PAC condemned the use of public funds for the furtherance of party-political programmes and said it would "reconsider the value" of the coming church-sponsored peace conference, in which the Government would take part.

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The Star 23 July 1991

Editor to see police about SADF unit

By Montshiwa Moroke

Police investigations into inter-racial violence had been unsatisfactory and New Nation newspaper wanted police to promise they would act on information implicating the SADF in such violence, editor Zwelake Sisulu said yesterday.

Sisulu is to meet Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, head of special investigations in Pretoria today.

The general will be investigating allegations that members of an SADF special unit murdered civilians and attacked train commuters, including such attacks as the one on the "ijikeleza" train on September 13, in which 26 were killed.

The general said he hoped the newspaper would make available all the information the police needed, so that he could meet a claimed member of one of the SADF Special Forces units — Sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene, alias Bob Dickson, who alleged that much of the violence had been planned by an SADF Special Forces unit.

B/Day 23 July 1991

Pressure mounts on De Klerk

Calls for full disclosure of slush funds

POLITICAL and investor attention focused yesterday on the Cabinet's three-day meeting and how President F W de Klerk would deal with the biggest crisis of his presidency.

Pressure was mounting yesterday for a full disclosure of the vast secret slush funds; a judicial inquiry into the scandal; the resignations of Ministers involved in giving funds to Inkatha; and the reconvening of Parliament for an emergency session.

By last night there was no indication from the Cabinet meeting whether any ministerial heads would roll because of the Inkatha funding row.

On Sunday Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was considering resigning and would discuss his position with De Klerk. He said he would resign if he was an obstacle to the negotiation process.

Some foreign diplomats said words were no longer good enough and it was time for De Klerk to act.

He now had the opportunity to break from the P W Botha era of securocrats and the policy of total onslaught, one said. Another believed De Klerk had to act speedily



• VLOK

BILLY PADDOCK

and effectively to restore his personal credibility.

A third diplomat said the "hasty reaction" by the Bush administration in lifting sanctions had caused the administration "a certain amount of embarrassment and strengthened the hands of the pro-sanctions lobby in Congress".

The Nationalist newspaper Beeld speculates today that De Klerk will have to recall Parliament because of the damage done to government's credibility.

The ANC made a new call yesterday for the dismissals of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. After an emergency meeting of its national working committee, the organisation said disclosures of state sponsorship of Inkatha posed a grave threat to the peace process.

Another NWC meeting has been called for not later than July 31 to discuss the full implications and government's response to ANC demands.

"The revelations are a clear indication the De Klerk government has been pursuing a twin-track strategy of posing as committed to peace while waging war against the democratic movement, especially the ANC."

The statement said that shocking revelations about the SADF using "foreign mercenaries to massacre SA citizens" were inextricably linked to the special multi-million rand slush fund set up by govern-

□ To Page 2

Funds

ment to finance Inkatha to bolster its sagging support.

The NWC said the exposé underscored the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harms Commission.

Revelations of government's covert funding of Inkatha coincided with renewed claims of security force partiality and dirty tricks to destabilise the ANC.

The pro-ANC newspaper New Nation claimed it had evidence of a special security force unit, Recce 5, that used people from Mozambique to carry out attacks on the Reef, including many train massacres.

The SADF has denied these claims but the Inkatha scandal has cast a shadow over official statements, including government denials that it favours Inkatha over the ANC. Police will meet New Nation editor

□ From Page 1

Zwelakhe Sisulu today to discuss the evidence.

Following the report the DP, CP, ANC and certain church leaders also called for the resignation of Gen Malan.

De Klerk's spokesman Casper Venter said there had been no indication whether there would be a government statement on the crisis.

Diplomats said the scandal raised questions about political dirty tricks, raised fears of a state cover-up and prompted the question: "What did De Klerk know and when did he know it?"

They said if he did not know of the clandestine operations, then his control over his government must be in doubt.

• See Page 4

• Comment Page 8

B/Day 23 July 1991

Brain drain a big danger — study

A QUARTER of a million South Africans were considering emigrating within the next five years, a recent survey has found.

The Market Research Africa (MRA) poll conducted in September last year found that 200 000 urban whites could see themselves living overseas in five years' time and 70 000 believed they would be living elsewhere in Africa.

"There is a clear danger that the unfavourable economic climate and unsettled political climate could result in a massive loss of crucial skills," MRA chairman Clive Corder said yesterday.

The highest potential brain drains were from Natal and Transvaal where most township violence had occurred, he said.

About 9% of people surveyed in each of these areas considered leaving the country, compared with about 4% in the Free State.

The survey found the younger generation was most unsettled, with about 15% of people in the 16 to 24 age group considering leaving SA.

In a similar poll conducted in 1987, when military conscription was a more significant issue, only about 9% of this age group were considering emigration.

TANIA LEVY

Between 7% and 9% of people surveyed in the 25 to 49 age group were considering leaving SA in the next five years.

Among people over 50 years, only 3% saw themselves living in a country other than SA.

In total, 8% of the urban white population wanted to leave SA, compared with 5% who wanted to leave in 1987.

Income

MRA found that plans to leave the country were related to income and home language.

About 10% of English-speaking South Africans saw themselves living outside SA in five years' time, compared with 7% of Afrikaans speakers.

In 1987 only 2% of Afrikaans speakers were contemplating leaving the country.

The latest MRA survey found that about 10% of people earning more than R5 000 a month were considering emigrating in the next five years, compared with 5% of those earning less than R1 000 a month.

Whites not so rich, says poll

ABOUT 20% of SA's urban white population has a net worth of under R10 000.

And, says Market Research Africa (MRA), more than half the white population has net assets of under R100 000.

Its 1990 Sociomonitor survey also shows that, excluding the farming community, only 6% have assets in excess of R500 000 and about 1,7% are rand millionaires.

"There is just not sufficient capital in the hands of whites to make any material difference to the millions of people from other racial groups who would like to improve their standards of living by the simple process of sharing the country's private wealth," MRA says.

MRA chairman and CEO Clive Corder said: "The uncomfortable reality, which has to be faced by those politicians who believe they can relieve the poverty of their supporters by a redistribution of wealth, is that SA is a relatively poor country.

"A fair proportion of the population is extremely materialistic and likes to display its well-being, even though in many cases the cars they drive, the houses they live in and the boats they sail are not their own property but belong to the institutions which provided the finance." — Sapa.

B/Day 23 July 1991

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The Star 23 July 1991

Cosatu to review backing for talks

Cosatu, which forms part of a tripartite alliance with the ANC and SACP, will review its support for negotiations at its congress this weekend in the light of the exposure of the police role in Government payouts to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Revelations of police collusion against the ANC and its allies were "entirely consistent" with information gathered by these organisations over a period of time, according to Cosatu. — Political Staff

B | Day 23 July 1991

Dhlomo 'did not know of funds'

FORMER Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo has asked Business Day to correct any impression in a report yesterday that he might have been aware of government funding of the organisation.

DP MP Kobus Jordaan was quoted as saying he had spoken to Dhlomo, who had encouraged him to pursue questioning on the matter. Dhlomo said yesterday that while he may have told Jordaan, and it was his right to pursue the matter, this did not mean he (Dhlomo) knew about any government funding. In fact, he was unaware of such funding.

The Star 23 July 1991

Anti-boycott body 'got no Govt cash'

An international organisation that has campaigned against sanctions since 1986 said yesterday that it had never accepted, nor been offered, funding from the South African Government.

Duncan Sellers, international chairman of the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation, said he could not

reveal the identity of the IFF's donors.

However, he said the South African Government had never funded the IFF.

Mr Sellers said the organisation had also never accepted anonymous donations. — Staff Reporter.

Vlok and Buthelezi are not being unfairly treated, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

Politicians must take the pain

SOUTH Africa is in the throes of — indeed, is perhaps just at the beginning of — a major scandal that reaches to the top echelons of two of this country's most important political groups, the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi face pressure as never before; if the temperature was red hot by the end of the weekend, it will be white hot before this week is out.

Early indications are — and this can at the moment be judged only by the responses received by the SABC and various newspapers to the extraordinary "Agenda" programme broadcast on Sunday night — that many South Africans have been shocked by the vigour with which Minister Vlok and Chief Minister Buthelezi came under attack. There is a strong feeling that both were somehow

unfairly treated, or the victims of an orchestrated campaign. It would seem that this feeling exists among many who are not necessarily devotees of either Mr Vlok or Mr Buthelezi.

This response is, in my view, the product of two important factors — among others. Firstly, South Africans are simply not used to seeing — on national television — top-level "in-system" politicians being grilled mercilessly. There are countless examples of, say, the African National Congress coming in for hostile treatment, but Ministers and Chief Ministers have been treated, traditionally, with kid gloves. Because of the history of control over broadcasting in this country, we do not assume — as Americans and Britons do — that exposure to hard questioning comes with the job of being a top politician.

It is late in the day, but the

SABC deserves praise for having arranged for these top politicians to face the kind of probing interviews that, for example, Mrs Thatcher regarded as normal from the BBC. Willy-nilly, Messrs Vlok and Buthelezi found themselves embroiled in an important political scandal; it is unusual — but should be commonplace — that they faced up to it almost immediately, and in public.

If the SABC wants to (and is allowed to) pursue this policy of event-driven, no-holds-barred coverage of political developments, we can fully expect the ANC and other groups to find themselves in the hot seat when they deserve to be there. Perhaps then the information-starved television-viewing public will see that the sword cuts both ways, and the result is good for the democratic process — and all of us thereby.

The second factor underlying the initial shock which greeted the

rough time received by the two men is, I believe, a lack of understanding regarding the wider importance of the specific allegations of Government/Inkatha collusion. It goes far beyond a quarter of a million — or indeed five or 10 or a 100 million — rands of taxpayers' money being used for this rally or that, that campaign or this.

The issue of police funding for the IFP has absolutely profound implications for the entire negotiations process, and the future of this country — which hangs on that process.

Negotiations only got under way because two far-sighted men, the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the National Party's FW de Klerk, reached a point at which they could say to their followers that they could do business with one another. There was no meeting of political minds — both will fight tooth and nail to sell differ-

ent policy positions to the voters — but there was fundamental trust in each other's integrity. When negotiations were first mooted, the breakthrough resided in the fact that both sides committed themselves to a fair fight.

Thus the significance of the Weekly Mail's unanswerable revelation that well after February 2 1990 — the day the new rules were declared — a branch of the Government committed a foul.

No matter how hostile one might be towards the ANC, there can surely be no question that the organisation is within its rights to halt the game until the offender is disciplined — and real assurances are given that the incident will not be repeated.

The Government wants to "manage" the process of transition right up until elections are held; can the ANC be blamed for being angry when mismanagement is exposed? And can the

media be blamed for giving no quarter when two Government Ministers have themselves confirmed the principal charge? Major Louis Botha and his chequebook threatened the entire negotiations process. That, purely and simply, is why the Government and Inkatha are having such a rough ride.

The individuals — Mr Vlok and Mr Buthelezi — are not at all the issue here. There was no mean-spirited attempt to "go for them" personally. They hold high office, they wield tremendous power, and they shoulder extraordinary responsibility. Along with all other politicians of whom that can be said, they have a duty to answer when accused — and both the Minister and the Chief Minister deserve praise for having accepted that duty.

Politics is not always pretty. The politicians know that. It is time the public realised it too. □

The Citizen

23 July 1991

Mandela gets small measure of support

BARCELONA — African National Congress President, Mr Nelson Mandela, won a small measure of support from Spain yesterday in his campaign to preserve some international sanctions against South Africa.

But Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said Spain would honour its obligations as a European Community member to remove import barriers against South African iron, steel and gold coins.

Mr Mandela said Mr Fernandez Ordonez and Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez promised Spain would not act unilaterally to lift sanctions aimed at pressuring South Africa to complete the process of black enfranchisement.

"We have been given the assurance that the support Spain has given us all along will continue and that Spain itself will not lift the sanctions," Mr Mandela said after meeting with regional leaders in the Catalan capital.

But Mr Fernandez Ordonez said Spain would not join Denmark in blocking execution of the April 15 EC decision to end sanctions on import of South African iron, steel and gold coins.

"We support the EC stance on South Africa," he said. "But we are also the only European country which contributes financially to sustain the local ANC's offices."

After meeting with Mr Gonzalez and Mr Fernandez Ordonez, Mr Mandela headed for Barcelona, where he visited the site of next year's Olympics and attended a rally in his honour by local anti-apartheid groups. — Sapa-AP.

The Citizen 23 July 1991

Govt must give way to interim govt — Cosatu

Citizen Reporter

THE only way to save the negotiations process would be for the government to declare its preparedness immediately to give way to an interim government, a spokesman for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) said yesterday.

"It is not enough that Ministers Vlok, Malan and Botha resign because the entire government is deeply implicated in this scandal," the spokesman said.

He was referring to revelations that the government had secretly funded two Inkatha Freedom Party rallies, something which both Mr Vlok and Mr Botha had admitted.

He said the only way in which to save the negotiations process would be for an interim government to be formed which was broadly acceptable to the

people of South Africa and which could preside over the transition process.

"The government has clearly disqualified itself from this role," he said.

Cosatu called for the formation of an urgent judicial commission of inquiry, broadly acceptable in its functioning and composition to investigate all aspects relating to government involvement in violence and destabilisation of anti-apartheid organisations.

"Furthermore we demand the public and verified disbanding of all special counter-insurgency units and death squads of the SAP and SADF.

"Those engaged in these criminal activities, right up to the level of Ministers, and if necessary the State President, should be prosecuted, the spokesman said.

Cosatu also appealed

urgently to the international community to step up pressure on the South African Government.

The entire peace process and negotiations were now in jeopardy unless the government could be forced to abandon its present course.

At its fourth National Congress, starting on Thursday, Cosatu would determine whether it should continue to support negotiations with the government in the light of the government's continued double agenda of talking while undermining and terrorising Cosatu members, he said.

The spokesman attacked the Inkatha-affiliated trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) for disrupting a National Union of Metalworkers strike ballot last week and said Uwusa members had assaulted people found to be carrying ballot posters.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Move quickly

THE crisis over Inkathagate deepens.

The African National Congress, seizing the opportunity which has been offered to it on the proverbial plate, is trying to drum up support abroad for the reimposition of sanctions.

At home it is not satisfied with the heads only of Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and Defence Minister, Gen Magnus Malan, but wants a judicial inquiry and an interim government.

The Conservative Party wants the government to resign, and a general election to be called. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, adopts an "I didn't know" stance, though it is difficult to see how amounts like R250 000 or R1,5 million could go unnoticed.

What the government must surely know is that Inkathagate has damaged its credibility not just in South Africa but abroad.

One would have thought it would have learnt the lesson of Info not to use secret funds.

It is thus disconcerting to know that in its anti-sanctions campaign, the Department of Foreign Affairs not only assisted Inkatha to the tune of R250 000 from secret funds, but that it assisted the private sector, academics and several organisations in their efforts to fight sanctions, according to Minister Pik Botha.

Now that the lid has been lifted on the Inkatha and United Workers' Union of South Africa payments, we can expect the newspapers involved in the exposé to publish details of other payments to organisations besides Inkatha.

Somebody has stolen confidential files, or gained access to them, and has fed the information to these papers.

It is clearly going to be a replay of Info.

However, much more is at stake this time.

State President De Klerk has achieved a great rapport with world leaders, who respect him as a man of honour and integrity.

Inkathagate, unless he can act decisively and convincingly, will tarnish that image.

We doubt that it is in the interests of the ANC that President De Klerk is weakened by Inkathagate.

The ANC needs him as much as the government needs ANC president Nelson Mandela, if the negotiation of a new South Africa is to proceed.

The head of Mr Vlok is being demanded in the Inkathagate affair, but we cannot see how Mr Vlok could disburse all that money without the knowledge of other Ministers; the same thing applies to Mr Pik Botha.

The temptation to sacrifice this Minister or that Minister will not solve anything — as Muldergate showed.

Nor will it satisfy those critics of the government who will read more sinister implications into the payments than merely helping to bolster the anti-sanctions campaign.

They will want blood — and they will want the blood of Mr De Klerk as well.

There are three reasons why urgent action must be taken to end the crisis:

The first is that Mr De Klerk's credibility is more important than the money expended. He must convincingly demonstrate that he is not financially backing Chief Buthelezi, or arming Inkatha, or playing Inkatha off against the ANC.

Secondly, it is necessary to clear up the scandal satisfactorily if the negotiation of a settlement is to get off the ground.

Thirdly, world leaders must be shown that Mr De Klerk remains a man they can respect and with whom they can do business, otherwise all the great successes Mr De Klerk has had abroad will be destroyed.

The disclosure of all government funding of organisations, as well as a totally independent probe into allegations of SADF involvement in the train massacres, is absolutely essential.

And for Heaven's sake, whatever happens now, let the government abandon its secret funds and play open cards with the nation and the world.

It is the only way to repair the tremendous damage caused by Inkathagate.

1/4-million Whites plan to emigrate — researchers

RESEARCH figures released yesterday revealed that more than 250 000 White South African adults saw themselves as potential emigrants in the next five years.

Market Research Africa's Omnipoll said: "Over a quarter million urban White adults see

themselves as living overseas (200 000) or elsewhere in Africa (70 000) within the next five

years. "The intention to leave is strongly related to age, and it is clear that it is the younger generation that is the least settled.

"As many as 15 percent of 16 to 24 year-olds are considering emigration, up from 9 percent in 1987," it was revealed.

"It is clear that the changes taking place in the country are cause for concern to both (White) language groups," Market Research Africa said.

The poll's results are based on interviews with 1 000 urban White adults.

"There is clearly a danger that the unfavourable economic climate and the unsettled political situation could result in a massive loss of crucial skills which are vital to the development of South Africa," said chairman and managing director of Market Research Africa, Mr Clive Corder.

"... Combined with the declining White birth rate this could result in a far greater reliance on Black perience in a long time. Five suspects were arrested. — Sapa

20pc of urban Whites worth under R10 000

ABOUT 20 percent of South Africa's urban White population has a net worth of under R10 000.

And, says Market Research Africa, over half the White population has net assets of under R100 000.

Its 1990 Sociomonitor survey also shows that, excluding the farming community, only six percent have assets in excess of R500 000 and about 1,7 percent are rand millionaires.

Capital

MRA says: "There is just not sufficient capital in the hands of Whites to make any material difference to

the millions of people from other racial groups who would like to improve their standards of living, by the simple process of sharing the country's private wealth between the total population."

Uncomfortable

Expanding on the findings of the study, MRA chairman and CEO Mr Clive Corder says: "The uncomfortable reality, which has to be faced by those politicians who believe they can relieve the poverty of their supporters by a redistribution of wealth, is that South Africa is a

relatively poor country.

Materialistic

However, a fair proportion of the population are extremely materialistic and like to display their well-being, even though in many cases the cars they drive, the houses they live in and the boats they sail, are not strictly speaking their own property, but belong to the institutions which have provided the finance.

"This overdisplay of wealth leads to the impression that all Whites are well-off and have surplus assets. This is simply not true. — Sapa

LETTERSThe Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000**Should prosecute
source of leak**

IN the last few years the Communist dominated ANC has received untold millions of rands from overseas countries hostile to the South African Government as well as from foreign revolutionary organisations.

This organisation is alleged to have assets of R600 million outside the RSA.

In addition, the government has allegedly helped this organisation with the repatriation of exiles and the housing of the families of terrorists killed in the campaign of violence.

Furthermore, R1,8 billion of taxpayers' money is given annually to the Transkei which makes no secret of its support for the Communist-dominated ANC.

Thus even if, as alleged, R5 million was given to Inkatha, it is a drop in the ocean compared to the massive foreign, financial support enjoyed by the Communist-dominated ANC.

Our government should therefore not hesi-

tate to say that they were acting in the best interests of our country.

People who steal top secret government documents and give them to the Press, not only betray the trust placed in them but are guilty of the basest form of despicable treachery as well as treason and must be immediately prosecuted in terms of the Official Secrets Act.

Furthermore, newspapers should not be allowed to shelter their source, when there is reason to believe that the source has committed a criminal offence — or intends to do so by procuring and leaking further top secret Government documents.

As loyal patriotic South Africans, we demand that an immediate inquiry be held into the motives for the persistent and ongoing attempts to denigrate our security forces

and Cabinet Ministers.

If a newspaper in Britain published a top secret government document supplied to it by a treacherous renegade concerning measures to counter a "liberation" organisation, in this case the IRA, how would the British Government react in terms of the Official Secrets Act?

If, a correspondent of a South African newspaper in Britain was directly or indirectly concerned in publishing such a document, how would the British Government react?

Will some of the British newspapers please attempt to answer these relevant questions.

South Africans we hope that our Cabinet Ministers will not even consider resigning.

J R LAMBSON
Chairman
University Freedom of
Speech Association
Sandton

The Citizen 23rd July 1991

Funds row shows govt can't be trusted: PAC

By Sapa and Citizen Reporter

A SCANDAL surrounding the government's funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party with taxpayers' money fully justified the PAC's longstanding insistence that the "racist regime" could not and should not be trusted, the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday.

The PAC condemned the use of public money for the furtherance of party political programmes, adding that the government's admission that it had pumped funds into the IFP only strengthened

the demand for a constituent assembly to guide South Africa toward democracy.

The scandal had also caused the PAC to reconsider its participation in a planned peace conference, but a final decision in this regard would be made after consultations with church leaders, among others.

It was inconceivable that the government should sit down with other political groups to discuss peace after it had been exposed as a protagonist of violence, said the organisation's deputy

president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

"The current scandal clearly shows an interest on the part of the state to destabilise the African communities."

The PAC had previously warned that President De Klerk was not prepared to enter serious and constructive dialogue with a view to ending White minority rule, he said.

The scandal also vindicated the PAC's call to the international community that the process of transformation was not irreversible and that it was premature to reward Mr De Klerk by lifting sanctions.

"We call upon and urge the international community to maintain the pressure against the present regime until a democratic constitution and government are in place," Mr Moseneke said.

He also said the Inkatha Freedom Party would not be participating in a planned "patriotic front" conference in Cape Town next month, having "excluded itself" by voicing its disapproval of the formation of such a front at its annual congress during the weekend.

Mr Moseneke said the IFP openly rejected a constituent assembly and the formation of a patriotic front, which it regarded as a "ganging up of the PAC and ANC against Whites and that the front represents politics of 10 years ago".

Businessmen slam govt

PIETERMARITZBURG. —The Pietermaritzburg Chambers of Commerce and Industry yesterday came out against the government's covert funding of Inkatha.

Mr Richard Hawkins, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr Rowly Waller, director of the Chamber of Industry, said "covert funding of any kind was not acceptable", no matter what the reasons.

Mr Hawkins raised business' concern about the State President's impartiality in the negotiation process. — Sapa.

B/Day 23 July 1991

Move on Alex, Marlboro ties

WILSON ZWANE

THE Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) says it is seeking closer links with the neighbouring Indian community of Marlboro to stave off "attempts to sow racial tensions in the area".

ACO official Mzwanele Mayekiso told a news conference in Alexandra yesterday that the occupation of 32 empty Marlboro houses by the Alexandra Civic Association (ACA) last Tuesday was an attempt to "create a racial flare-up between Africans and Indians".

"This act is also condemned because it is designed to undermine Alexandra's legitimate and democratic structures and the Alexandra Accord," he said.

The accord is an agreement signed by the ACO, the TPA and the Alexandra town council in February.

"We believe that the accord, which aims at creating a non-racial local government in this sub-region, exactly addresses the

housing crisis facing our people," Mayekiso said.

He said Marlboro residents had resolved to form an area committee which would liaise with ACO on problems facing the Alexandra and Marlboro communities.

Mayekiso said the ACO would hold a mass meeting within two weeks at which the Alexandra Accord would be explained at "great length" to the people.

ACA chairman Mike Beea could not be reached for comment but he is on record as saying the ACA would not allow destitute families to remain without houses while there was vacant ground nearby.

The houses occupied by the ACA were recently sold by the House of Delegates as part of a batch of 100 houses priced at between R25 000 and R35 000 each to buyers on a waiting list.

8 002002

IFP funding: Entire govt responsible, says Mandela

MADRID. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he held the whole South African Government responsible for the secret state funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, said on Sunday he was considering resigning because of revelations that the government had made covert payments to the IFP.

"The decision by Mr Vlok to resign would be a welcome one, but it would not be sufficient," Mr Mandela said during a four-day visit to Spain.

"Although we have demanded his resignation, and that of the defence

minister, the political party to which he belongs must be responsible for what is happening."

Mr Mandela said the only way to avoid such events would be to give all South Africans, an equal vote in parliamentary elections.

"We feel the people of South Africa should therefore vote to put in power a party free of corruption," he said. "Until that happens we will continue to have this kind of corruption."

Mr Vlok said about R1.5 million had been spent on supporting Inkatha and an allied trade union in a six-year period.

About 5 000 Blacks have been killed in clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC in the past four years.

The ANC has accused the government of having a R380 million slush fund to finance "dirty tricks" and has demanded a full inquiry into secret state spending.

Speaking to reporters after talks with the Spanish Foreign Minister Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordóñez, Mr Mandela warned that countries which lifted sanctions against South Africa could face a boycott of their interests in the country.

"There is a large constituency that is demanding action against governments that have lifted sanctions," he said. "We are resisting this, but our people are very much against the decisions by the European Community and United States."

COMMENT

Pretoria coup

NOW one suspects that South African President F W de Klerk wants an apartheid-free South Africa, though riven with bloody disputes among Blacks funded by the Whites. He implicitly acknowledged what has been confirmed by his Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that "police had secretly paid for two Inkatha rallies in 1989 and 1990". The simple equation is that the police work under Vlok and Vlok works under de Klerk, thus the government is undeniably responsible for fanning the fire of discord among the Blacks, resulting in the death of some 5,000 people.

The disclosure that a government agency paid at least 250,000 rands -- about \$90,000 -- is as old as all other colonial era practices: It's simply the rejuvenation of the dirty divide-and-rule policy. Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's denials notwithstanding, the "devastating" underhand-dealing is probably going to change the whole situation thus far considered encouraging.

According to the *Weekly Mail* expose of the deal, the payments were made to counter the euphoria that resulted with the release of Nelson Mandela from a record 27-year imprisonment. Buthelezi may say whatever he likes, but he was worried for being thrown to the winds, while the de Klerk government feared the "radical" the African National Congress claiming power if democracy was really the aimed of de Klerk for South Africa. And both of them found an eager accomplice in the other. The result is another defeat for South Africa's freedom.

Evidently the de Klerk government played its game shrewdly. The disclosure came at a time when the Pretoria regime has already won its greatest battle in the West. The powers that were always reluctant to impose effective sanctions against South Africa are already rushing to lift them. The US has already withdrawn them and many others are in line to do the same. Pretoria knows that the covert deal with Buthelezi cannot be regarded in the West as another manifestation of apartheid; it will be rather taken as an "evidence" of White and Black cooperation -- and therefore Pretoria

faces no threat of reimposition of sanctions.

What goes in full accord with the past century's inhuman Western practice is that the de Klerk regime succeeded in having two major Black forces collided headlong so as to delay the transfer of power to South Africa's rightful owners. From the viewpoint of modern politicking, the deal with Buthelezi is a "civilised act" so long as it helps project the South African Blacks as "uncivilised" and "beasts" going after one another's throat. The ongoing blood feud between the Inkatha and ANC followers will thus be construed as "law and order problem" making the situation "unsuitable" for granting universal franchise.

Mandela has reacted sharply over the nasty deal. Charging the government with "criminal operations", he said it was "doubtful" for the ANC to "avoid a complete breakdown in relations" with the regime. However, even if he decides to break talks with de Klerk and resumes armed struggle, freedom for South Africa is admittedly more distant now than it appeared during the past couple of years. This was the whole game and the de Klerk regime must be elated, for a mission is accomplished perfectly.

Nevertheless, the Buthelezi coup clearly shows to all Africans that South African independence struggle could not have received this rebuff if tribalism collectively and personal ambitions individually were not allowed to have been masterly made use of by Pretoria. As a politician Buthelezi's worries were certainly not unfounded. Yet he neglected the fact that in a free country where every individual citizen enjoyed the right to vote, he could defeat Mandela and his ANC through the democratic process. He agreed to be at the receiving end and this is nothing short of an Inkatha defeat.

Mandela, too, has to amend his posture and policies. Despite the international stature he has gained, he could not rise above tribal considerations. He could -- and should -- endeavoured to be a leader of all South Africans once it became clear to him and others that tribalism was being used as a weapon against his compatriots.

Uphosa inselelo kwabe-ANC ngokusetshenziswa kuka-R15m

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI: Ilungu lomGwamanda weNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), uMuz Musa Myeni, ngolwesiBili unxuse i-African National Congress (ANC) ukuba idalule ukuthi imali ebalelwa ku-R15m eyayinikezwa nguHulumeni waseSpain okuthiwa iqondene nokuthuthukisa imfundo kanye nezempilo kulelizwe iyisebenzise ngani futhi kanjani.

Ekhuluma ezinhlelweni zezindaba zethelevishini ngesikhathi somhlangano wezintatheli eGoli lapho bezizochazelwa ngalokho osekutholakele mayelana nemali eyanikezwa i-IFP nguHulumeni wakulelizwe okuthiwa kwakuqondwe ngayo ukugqugquzela umhlangano owawuseThekwini ngasekuqaleni konyaka odlule uMuz Myeni unxuse ukuba loludaba lungasetshenziswa ngendlela yokulimaza izingxoxo zekusasa lezwe.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje ongqongqoshe baHulumeni wakulelizwe okunguNgqongqoshe wezangaPhandle kulelizwe uMuz Pik Botha kanye noNgqongqoshe wezomthetho nokuGcinwa kwawo uMuz Adriaan Vlok sebevumile ukuthi iqembu le-IFP lanikezwa lemali enguR250 000. Baveze ukuthi okuyisona sizathu esenza ukuba uHulumeni anikele ngalemali ngukuthi wayehlose ukuba isetshenziswe ekulweni nomkhankaso wonswinyo.

UMuz Botha ubuye

wakugcizelela ukuthi lemali yayikhishelwe ukuba kwenziwe amalungiselelo omhlangano we-IFP owawuzoba seThekwini ngoMarch 25. Zazikhishwa ngenxa yokuthi umhlangano wawuzobu-ye ugqugquzele ukuhoxiswa konswinyo obelubhekiswe kulelizwe. Uthe babengaqondile ngalemali ukugqugquzela ukwesekelwa kwe-IFP.

Kulomhlangano uMuz Myeni ubuye wanxusa uHulumeni ukuba aveze ukuthi yimalini ayisebenzisa ekukhokheleni izikhulu ze-ANC ehhotela ngesikhathi zinomhlangano noMongameli wezwe uMuz F.W. de Klerk eGroote Schuur eKapa.

Ephawula ngokudaluleka kodaba lokunikelelwa kwe-IFP nguHulumeni, uMuz Myeni uthethe kube yisinyathelo esihle nesemukelekayo ngoba i-IFP beyingeke ibenolwazi ukuthi kukhona izimali ezangena kuyo ngandlelathize ivela kuHulumeni. Uthe lokhu kuyisizile yakwazi nokuphenya ngakho.

Nokho uthethe akufanele

loludaba lusetshenziswe ngendlela yokuthi lulimaze ikusasa lakulelizwe. Wathi ukusetshenziswa kwalo ngendlela yehaba ngeke kulimaze ikusasa le-IFP kepha kuyolimaza ikusasa leSouth Africa yonkana.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje inhlangano yamaBandla kulelizwe iSouth African Council of Churches (SACC) ibenomhlangano nezikhulu ze-ANC lapho kuboniswa khona ngaloludaba lwemali. Nge-muva kwalomhlangano zikhiphe isitatimende esihlanganyelweyo lapho zizwakalise ukuphatheka kabi ngemiphumela yaloludaba mayelana nokwakhiwa kweSouth Africa entsha.

Ngaphambi kwalomhlangano iSACC inxuse uHulumeni ukuba axoshe uMuz Vlok kanye noGen. Magnus Malan ezikhundleni zabo. Nokho izingqapheli kwezombusazwe zithi lokhu okufunwa yi-ANC kanye neSACC mayelana nokuxoshwa kongqongqoshe ababili baHulumeni mancane amathuba okuthi kuphumelele.

Ilungu 23/07/91

16/1/11

16/1/77

Govt must give way to interim govt — Cosatu

CITIZEN 23/07/91

Citizen Reporter

THE only way to save the negotiations process would be for the government to declare its preparedness immediately to give way to an interim government, a spokesman for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) said yesterday.

"It is not enough that Ministers Vlok, Malan and Botha resign because the entire government is deeply implicated in this scandal," the spokesman said.

He was referring to revelations that the government had secretly funded two Inkatha Freedom Party rallies, something which both Mr Vlok and Mr Botha had admitted.

He said the only way in which to save the negotiations process would be for an interim government to be formed which was broadly acceptable to the people of South Africa and which could preside over the transition process.

"The government has clearly disqualified itself from this role," he said.

Cosatu called for the formation of an urgent judicial commission of inquiry, broadly acceptable

in its functioning and composition to investigate all aspects relating to government involvement in violence and destabilisation of anti-apartheid organisations.

"Furthermore we demand the public and verified disbanding of all special counter-insurgency units and death squads of the SAP and SADF.

"Those engaged in these criminal activities, right up to the level of Ministers, and if necessary the State President, should be prosecuted, the spokesman said.

Cosatu also appealed urgently to the international community to step up pressure on the South African Government. The entire peace process and negotiations were

now in jeopardy unless the government could be forced to abandon its present course.

At its fourth National Congress, starting on Thursday, Cosatu would determine whether it should continue to support negotiations with the government in the light of the government's continued double agenda of talking while undermining and terrorising Cosatu members, he said.

The spokesman attacked the Inkatha-affiliated trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) for disrupting a National Union of Metalworkers strike ballot last week and said Uwusa members had assaulted people found to be carrying ballot posters.

16/1/11

Mandela: Why we want interim govt

CITING 23/6/91

THE ANC had called for an interim government ahead of negotiations because it wanted to begin the reconstruction of a law-abiding society as soon as possible, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela told the Johannesburg Press Club last night.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, so long shall we be condemned to endure this steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the dangers that it entails," Mr Mandela said.

The most effective means of building a law-abiding society, he added, was to cultivate respect for the law.

"The law in our country will only be deserving of respect to the extent that it serves the ordinary citizen and ceases to be a club wielded by the authorities to bludgeon us into submission or deprive us of our rights.

"This relates directly to the issue of the legitimacy of the incumbent government and its administrative arm. When we say that the incumbent government has no moral right to govern, we say this not to heap insults or offense to anyone."

Obedience to the law should not be based on fear, but rather on respect for the law as the expression of commonly-held societal values and shared

goals.

Of his election as one of the two Newsmakers of the Year, Mr Mandela said: "It is a sign of the times our country is passing through that this year this prize is shared by two people, who trace their respective political ideals to opposing poles on our national political spectrum."

The award signified the growing and visible consensus that has begun to emerge among the overwhelming majority of South Africans, Mr Mandela said.

This consensus was cutting across racial and political affiliations, he added.

"(But) this consensus has to be built up slowly

and we have finally arrived at it by a route that was extremely painful and costly to our national resources, among which we must count human lives lost or broken."

The majority of South Africans were compelled under pain of imprisonment to reside in the urban areas, and the right to life would be meaningless if it did not translate into an accessible, dependable and free health service.

South Africa also required a system of equitable, free primary and secondary education and training as well as a system of tertiary education, backed up by strong State support, he said. — Sapa.

Dhlomo denies desire

to return

THE executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Oscar Dhlomo, has no desire to return to party politics.

He said in a statement yesterday that he was satisfied with promoting multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation.

Reacting to an editorial in the Sunday Times, which urged Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi to resign to make way for Dhlomo to take over, he said: "I have no plans whatsoever to re-enter party politics, let alone Inkatha party politics."

He also denied Chief Buthelezi's allegation at the weekend that he offered to fund the patriotic front.

"According to the charter of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, we are prohibited from funding any project which is not an MPD project.

"The MPD is not a donor agency and all the funds at its disposal are for its own projects," he added. — Sapa.



Tuesday, July 23, 1991

our readers write

Rehash of propaganda

RE: ANC Information Officer, Saki Macozoma's reply to my letter (both published *Natal Witness*, July 15).

I stand by everything I stated re: written evidence of Mandela's allegiance to SACP — which is contained in a 62-page document in N.M.'s own handwriting entitled "How to be a good communist" — which was among the exhibits seized by the police and handed in at the Rivonia trial. Macozoma's attempt to discredit this evidence is simply a rehash of SACP propaganda at the time preceeding the Rivonia trial when an unsuccessful SACP attempt was made alleging that various documents were faked by the State, etc. . . .

However — in order to dispel such charges by the ANC/SACP — each accused (Mandela being No. 1 accused) who went into the witness box was invited to point to any document or exhibit submitted by the State which was contended to be faked, fabricated or falsified, which they were all unable to do — and all accused admitted that the documents, many of them in their own handwriting, were indeed genuine. (See page 29/30 of the book "Rivonia — Operation Mayibuye" — (A review of the Rivonia trial by the Hon. H.H.W. de Villiers) Judge of the Supreme Court of SA 1944-1955).

Macozoma's intimidatory insinuations referring to me as a witch will nevertheless prove difficult if not impossible to confirm without written evidence — anyway I seem to be in pretty good company with fellow "witches and wizards" from editors of virtually all newspapers here and abroad and many other leaders such as Alex Boraine of IDASA — and even dear old Alfred Nzo — Macozoma's deposed colleague on the ANC NEC! All of us dismissed by Ramaphosa, and now Macozoma, as a chorus of red-baiting McCarthyite inquisitors and witch hunters.

'Nuff said . . .

TERESA MILLIN
Dorpspruit

P.S. The court records of the Rivonia trial — now in the court archives — are a public record and as such are available to the public for inspection. This was confirmed per telephone by the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg. (Tuesday, July 16, 1991).

Dhlomo will stay out

N/im 23/7/91
By Patrick Leeeman

THE executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, says he has no plans to re-enter party politics, let alone Inkatha Freedom Party politics.

Dr Dhlomo, former secretary-general of Inkatha, was responding to an editorial in the Sunday Times stating that, in the wake of the R250 000 provided by the State to fund two IFP rallies, this was the time to ask Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's disillusioned former lieutenant to assume the leadership of the party.

He said he wanted to reassure both Dr Buthelezi and his followers that he had immensely enjoyed working with them for 12 years.

Dr Dhlomo said he was very happy with what he was doing — promoting multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation through the institute.

He said it was ironic that the personal attacks made against him at the IFP conference at Ulundi during the weekend were apparently triggered by an analysis of challenges facing Inkatha which he had recently written in his column in the Sunday Tribune.

In that analysis I observed that most journalists have a perception of Inkatha leadership as being intolerant to criticism, hyper-sensitive, autocratic and abnormally defensive.

If anything, Inkatha's hostile response to my analysis confirms this perception.

Dr Dhlomo said the IFP president's public allegation that he had offered to fund the Patriotic Front did not benefit a person of his standing. According to the charter of the MDP, the institute was prohibited from funding any project which was not an MDP project, he said.