

| Mercury Tuesday July 30 19

*Mandela â\200\230not

sureâ\200\231 he can
AEev~q

trust De Klerk

30/67 /51

VALENCIAâ\200\224Nelsã©n Mandela
yesterday questioned South
Africaâ\200\231s commitment to talks
with the ANC aimed at find-
ing a peaceful solution to the

. nationâ\200\231s problems.

Referring to the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s secret funding of
Inkatha, Mr Mandela said he
was not sure he could trust

President de Klerk.

â\200\230Pretoriaâ\200\231s conduct shows \
that much needs to be done \

before we can trust its inten-
tions and rely on its commit-
ment to co-operating with us
in the struggle to eliminate
that crime against humanity
c;ailã©ed apartheid,â\200\235 Mr Mandela
said.

In his speech, Mr Mandela
accused the SA Government
of fuelling the rivalry between
the ANC and Inkatha while at

- the same time publicly com-
mitting it to negotiations with
the ANC.

_Mr Mandela was in Venezu-
.ela as part of a Caribbean-

Latin American tour that
-already has taken him to Ja-
maica and Cuba and will in-
clude visits to Brazil and
Mexico. R

. Venezuelan President Car-
los Andres Perez called on the
SA Government to accept Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s proposal to form
an interim government and
urged the United States and
other nations to keep eco-
nomic sanctions in place. Â®

â\200\230No sanctions should be lift-
ed until the South African
people have completely re-

covered â\200\230their rights,â\200\231 sai
President Perez. Bl

~ â\200\230The most important dem-
onstration that the De Klerk
â\200\230Government could offer to

- show that it really is truly
seeking a definite solution to
â\200\230the problems of apartheid
would be to accept the pro-

- posal to form an interim gov-
ernment,â\200\231 he added.

Mr Mandela and his 10-
member ,\g,iel'egâ\200\230gtion_ left Ven-
ezuela yesterday to travel to
Brazil. â\200\224 (Sapa-Reuter)

Tk â\200\23106"&30'7â\200\2307' }

De Klerk tries to
ride out cash row

.-,By CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Johannesburg, Monday *

opresident F.W.de Klerkâ\200\231s Gov-
ernment has apparently decided
it can ride out the scandal over its
Secret funding of the Inkatha
â\200\230Movement without suffering
â\200\234much more damage to its credibil-
3'ty or losing control over South
â\200\234Africaâ\200\231s transition to a post-apart-
-heid democracy.

'Mr de Klerk has postponed his
i *response to the country S worst
*Political scandal since 1978 until a
news conference tomorrow.
._â\200\230The Citizenâ\200\231 newspaper, which
g close to the Government, has
said Mr de Klerk would announce
â\200\230an immediate end to secret fund-

ing of all political groups and to Â°

â\200\234other payments that would com-
romise his admlmstratlon s cred-
bility. TS

Government omcxals have said

-Mr de Klerk will impose tighter

controls over the use of the giant -

slush fund set up to finance covert
pro;ects which was allotted near-
\$133 million (\$A173 million) in
t 'e annual budget. ;

â\200\230"But he is not expected to disâ\200\224
miss Cabinet subordinates or say
who else besides the Zulu-based
dmkatha was paid out of the Secret
SÃ©rvices Account, which has
grown 38 per cent since he be-

came presxdent nearly two years
ago

Mr Willem Kleynhans, an Afri-
kaner political scientist who has
studied the ruling National Party
over the years, said the Govern-
ment learned from the scandal in
1978, when it secretly set up â\200\230The
Citizenâ\200\231 and tried bribery and
other subterfuge to arrange more
favorable news coverage.

While the Government vacillat-

ed, the public outcry increased until it forced the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to retire and political-ly ruined the Information Minister, Mr Connie Mulder.

â\200\234So this time they decided they are going to stand firm and say it's best for the country, and damn the consequences = Mr Kleynhans said. -

The current scandal has re-volved around two sets of secret

payments, one of \$87,000 through -

the Department of Foreign Affairs to subsidise two Inkatha rallies in 1989 and 1990, and

"â\200\234another of \$525,000 through the

police to fund the United Workers Union of South Africa, a Zulu union set up by Inkatha.

" Mr de Klerk decided to wait and see whether the news media would publish any more damag-

_ing information before he faced -

- the nation in a news conference.

The Foreign Minister, Mr

vBotha, who stepped in to take the

heat for Mr de Klerk, contended

â\200\234that the payments were merely

part of a well-intentioned campaign to fight Western sanctions,; . which Inkatha and its union oppose.

Many whites who elected Mr de Klerk are supporting him in this crisis. In calls to radio stations

_and newspapers, the whites have

blamed the scandal on the press, particularly â\200\230The Weekly Mailâ\200\231, an

_anti-apartheid newspaper that documented the payments.

Mr Botha acknowledged the Government also gave at least

*\$35 million to seven political par-

ties opposing the South-West Afri-

- ca Peoples Organisation 'in the

1979 elections that preceded
Namibia's independence. Again,
he defended the intervention as in
South Africa's national interest.
The evidence of secret help to
Inkatha has increased black suspi-
cions that the security forces have
stirred up political violence be-
tween supporters of Inkatha and
the African National Congress!

- .-But the scandal has not turrfed

up evidence that the secret fu
have paid for the violence. ::

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Market forces alone Wonâ\200\231t

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save poor, says Dhlomo

MARKET forces alone
wonâ\200\231t rescue South Af-
ricaâ\200\231s poor.

This was said in
Durban yesterday by
Dr Oscar Dhlomo, ex-
ecutive chairman of the
Institute for Multi-Par-
ty Democracy, when he
addressed the Associ-
ation of Black Accoun-
tants of Southern
Africa.

He said the State by
itself could not hope to
stimulate economic
growth simply by
owning the productive
means. It had failed to
do this in the Soviet
Union and in Eastern
Europe during the past
74 years. Mot v

An economic system
that would win the day
was one that would
visibly and effectively
redress the socio-eco-
nomic disparities of the
past and deliver rea-
sonably adequate so-
cial services such as
housing, health, educa-
tion and jobs to the
people.

That economy would
have to do this while it
continued to grow, and
it would have to grow
significantly, he said.

Vol 4

Development Reporter

Post-apartheid
South Africa had to be

one in which intolerance was not perpetuated and in which the peaceful co-existence of all citizens was guaranteed.

Those who had been discriminated against should avoid the temptation to exact retribution so that the legacy of racial bigotry, intolerance, mutual suspicion and exclusive privilege could be overcome, Dr Dhlomo said.

SRR O B A» oWl W P G A¥ o0 Y e Yo% o

nised that fear and uncertainty live in the minds of many of our fellow countrymen and lie at the root of their reluctance to share equally the prosperity of our South African society.â\200\231

Dr Dhlomo said South Africa had the opportunity to create a society and regional powerhouse, the growth of which could parallel that of the United States.

BRITISH milli ionaire

John Aspinall today
confirmed he and Aus-

tralian magnate Kerry-
Packer made pay-

ments to the Zulu In-
katha Freedom Party,
but he denied they
were political dona-
tions. 3

A British newspaper re-
port\ says the money was
put into a secret fund and
used to pay back the South
African Government.

Mr Aspinall said he and
Mr Packerâ\200\231s donations were
made in response to the
plight of the Zulu people.

! is no secret trust,
they talked about some
secret trust, there is
nothing secret ... no trust
of any sort at all,â\200\235 he said
on ABC radio today.

Mr Packer had been 2
guest at Mr Aspinallâ\200\231s Cape
Town house and one of
several people he had taken
to the homeland of Kwa-
Zulu who had â\200\234pulled out
their chequebooksâ\200\235 to don-
ate money. . . -

â\200\230Â«He'd mever been there
before and he was impress-
ed by the personality of the
King, Buthelezi, and parti-
cularly by the geople and

.he then remarked to me
that they seemed to be very
r,â\200\235 Mr Aspinall said.
~â\200\234The -mone had been
given to Chie! Mangosuthu

Buthelezi as head of a

people fighting for â\200\234its life
and survivalâ\200\235 after most of

a2 A S N ST

ki b AL

Â® Mr Kerry Pocker | -

their possessions had been
wrenched from them while
under British rule. = 3+
Â«â\200\234you donâ\200\231t advise them
what to do with it, it was up
to him to use the money in
any way that he saw fit for
his own people,â\200\235 Mr Aspi-
~ The Independent NEWS-,
paper in London yesterday
reported that it had
obtained bank rds link-
ing Mr Packer and Mr Aspi-
nall to the Inkatha funding
scandal which has -seen
three South African minis-
ters quit. oot TR
~*According to the paper,
bank records showed Chief
Buthelezi used the fund to

10t aimed at
bolstering -the groupâ\200\231s
political influence. iz -

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SOUTH Africans needed
to join 4&n urgent
campaign 10 search for

ways of reaching a multi-
party democracy and na-,

tional reconciliation.
Dr Oscar Dhlomo, cx-

ecutive chairman of the â\204ç

Institute for Multiparty
Democracy said this in an
address in Durban to the
Association of Black Ac-
countants of Southern Af-
rica.

He said black South
Africans could dismantle
much of the barrier be-
tween whites and blacks
if they demonstrated they
understood the fear and
uncertainty at the root of
many whitesâ\200\231 reluctance
to share equally.

â\200\234We can travel down
the path of negotiated
peaceful transition
demonstrating by exam-
ple that a nonracial
society holds no terTors
for those presently in 2
position of privilege,â\200\235â\200\235 he
said.

Dhlomo said & Dost-
apartheid South Africa
had to be seen to be 2
more attractive place to
live and work in.

He highlighted the
need for accountability,
saying â\200\230â\200\230recent events

surrounding the Govern-
ment's abuse of public

funds underline the importance of accountability

in any democracy worthy of the name

Democratisation demanded South Africans unlearn all the experiences of past decades, with the country's leaders showing the way.

Those leaders who are not prepared to reach out to erstwhile enemies or to make compromises in search of a win-win solution to our socio-political problems, will fail to make the transition

to post-apartheid South

Africa.

" Dhlomo ascribed much of the violence in the country to the absence of a democratic culture conducive to political (clearance and freedom of association.]

He hoped the time would come when South African leaders would realise that their failure to promote and encourage political tolerance had become one of the biggest stumbling blocks to democracy. - Sapa.

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Evans supports
Packer s right @
to fund Inkatha

Palikir, Federated States of ~
Micronesia, Monday.

The Australian Foreign Minister,
Senator Evans, today supported
the right of the media magnate Mr
Kerry Packer, who is alleged to
have funded South Africaâ\200\231s
! Inkatha Freedom Party, to bank-
roll any political cause he chose.
Senator Evans spoke as the
Zulu-based Inkatha organisation
threatened to take more than
\$1.5 billion in business away from
' a South African bank, following
the disclosures of donations from
Mr Packer and other millionaires.
ROSS DUNN reports from
Johannesburg: An Inkatha central
committee member, Mr Walter
Felgate, confirmed that Mr Pack-
er had donated funds to an ac-
count set up for the sole discre-
tionary use of the Inkatha
president, Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Felgate said there was no

mystery about the account. Mr
Packer was a â\200\230â\200\234close personal

friend of Chief Buthelezi of many -

yearsâ\200\231 standingâ\200\235. He said the chief
had told him that Mr Packer had
contributed to the account.

Mr Packer had made a number
of visits to South Africa over the
years, Mr Felgate said. â\200\234I would
be amazed if he did not see the
chief on these occasions.â\200\235

Senator Evans, attending the
South Pacific Forum in Palikir,
said Mr Packer was free to spend
his money as he wished. â\200\234Mr
Parker is a wealthy man in his
0 right and heâ\200\231s thoroughly
entitled to make his own judgment
and his own decisions as to who he

supports where â\200\230He must be woï~\201-

dering, in the light of recent reve-

lations, whether he spent â\200\230it

wisely.â\200\235

The South African Governmei\202t
recently admitted giving moneyio
the Inkatha Freedom Party, thÃ©
main rival to Mr Nelson Mande-

" laâ\200\231s African National Congress for
black political power.

A spokeswoman for Mr Pack
erâ\200\231s Consolidated Press Holdlngs
refused to comment.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawlie,
and the Communications Minis-
ter, Mr Beazley, also refused ip
comment. The Opposition spokes-
man on communications, Mr War-
wick Smith, was overseas. ThÂ¿
Labor chairman of the House of

- wiasen sm S Â® e e oasae

Representatives transport agd -
communications committee, MÂ¥ -

Neil Oâ\200\231Keefe, said he had â\200\234fb .,
- comment until I'm across itâ\200\235. =

~Another Inkatha central com-
mittee member, Mr Musa Myerti;

â\200\230'said South Africaâ\200\231s First National
Bank should investigate the leaR-

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e g

ing of confidential details of its !

clientsâ\200\231 accounts. il

He was responding to reports .

that Inkatha had repaid \$125,000
in secret Government funding fof

two rallies from a \$650,000 ac- -

count set up for Chief Buthelezj's
personal use by a British gam-
bling entrepreneur, 'Mr John

â\200\230Aspinall, and Mr Packer. =~ T

First National, which gets \$15Â° |
billion in deposits a year through
dealings with the "Inkatha-con-
trolled KwaZulu Homeland Gov-
ernment, has denied leaking any
personal accounts.

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letter

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ashington NHGWâ\200\230\R il

UBA IS our second

home,â\200\235 Mrs Winnie

Mandela enthused in
Havana on Friday. â\200\230We feel we
have always belonged here.â\200\231
Her husband, the ANC Presi-
dent, waxed if anything more
lyrical. The Cuban revolution,
he opined, was â\200\230a source of in-
spiration for all-freedom lov-
' ing peopleâ\200\231. For good mea-
sure, he then took a swipe at
l the â\200\230vicious imperialist-or-
chestrated campaign to de-
stroy the revolutionâ\200\231s
impressive gainsâ\200\231.

Is it any wonder that the Us
Congress is loath to contrib-
ute to the ANC'â\200\231s coffers?

Unlike the majority of the
islandâ\200\231s population, the cou-
ple presumably did not have
to queue for basic foodstuffs
and simple amenities like
soap and matches in the
course of their three-day so-
journ as Fidel Castroâ\200\231s
honoured guests.

Nor, in their air-conditioned
limousine, would they have
had to worry about the strict
gasoline rationing that has
obliged most Cubans to travel
by foot or bicycle. Impressive
gains, indeed.

If the Mandelas were not
struck by the sullen empti-
ness of the streets as they
were shown around Old Ha-
vana behind a phalanx of
plain-clothesmen, they may
at least have noticed an im-
posing fortress across the har-
bour mouth. It is called La
Cabana. One can only hope
that their enthusiasm was
based on ignorance of what

went on there in the years
211ft5er Castro seized power in

959.

Armando Valladares knows.
La /Cabana is where he was
taken in January, 1961. He
was 23 and. would spend al-
most as many years again be-
hind its walls and in a variety
of concentration camps.

valladares had a job in the
Ministry of Communications
in the early days of the revolu-
tion. This was a period, as the
SACPâ\200\231s Jeremy Cronin re-
minds us in the May issue of
Work in Progress, when Cas-
tro was portraying his 26 July
Movement as a â\200\230patriotic
front embracing a diversity of
forcesâ\200\231 with an agenda that
was â\200\230neither communist nor
capitalistâ\200\231.

Castro soon peeled off his
democratic mask. Valla-
daresâ\200\231s best friend in the min-
istry was fired for making
anti-Marxist statements. His
own offence came shortly
thereafter as Castroâ\200\231s propa-
ganda machine was preparing
the country for the final shift
to Stalinism.

Posters sprang up all over
the island declaring: â\200\230If Fidel
is a Communist, then put me
on the list. Heâ\200\231s got the right
idea.â\200\231 Valladares was asked
by his superiors to sign a card
bearing this slogan. He re-
fused. Several weeks later, he
woke up with the muzzle of a
submachine-gun pressed to
his temple.

For Valladares, a young ide-
alist and poet who had wel-
comed the overthrow of the
Batista rÃ@gime, this was the
start of an ordeal which, with
respect, makes Mandelaâ\200\231s
look somewhat mild by com-
parison and which only ended
when Franceâ\200\231s socialist Presi-
dent Francois Mitterrand pre-
vailed on Castro to release
him in 1982. One might ven-
ture a guess that his book, Be-
yond All Hope, in which he
describes what he saw and

suffered in the Cuban gulag,
was not on the Mandelasâ\200\231
nightstand as they prepared

for their latest journey.

Had it been, and were he a truly honourable man, Mr Mandela might perhaps have gazed on La Cabana and recoiled. He might have heard the screams, the ragged rifle fire and the dry cracks of the coups de grace that echoed across the harbour every evening in the early 60s as the revolution ate thousands on thousands of its own in the fortress moat. Or he might have conjured Clodomiro Miranda, former commander of Castro's army, his destroyed legs seething with maggots, being dragged to the place of execution and crying, with all the breath left in him, down with Communism! before being ripped apart by bullets.

For Valladares such scenes were only the beginning. He was tried, but unlike Mr Mandela, had no benefit of counsel. The sole evidence brought against him was that he had many connections with

priests and had been to a

Simon Barber

ife in Winnie's second home

Catholic school. For this, he was convicted as an enemy of the revolution who had committed crimes of public destruction and sabotage.

The rest of the book is not for the squeamish. Valladares describes how friends and fellow prisoners were reduced to Auschwitz-like ghosts, forcibly submerged in pools of human and animal faeces, smashed to death in forced-labour fields and quarries; how wom-

en were beaten and degraded,

men mutilated by having their genitals shot away, or their fingers hacked off with a machete all in the name of

" political re-education.

But there was worse even than that. By the early seventies, Valladares and others who refused to crack found themselves subjected to forms of biological and psychological experimentation matched only by the likes of Josef Mengele.

Assisted by doctors and psychologists from the Eastern bloc, Castro's jailers tried to develop a systematic method of forcing recalcitrants to recant. At a camp called Bon-

iato, a series of tiny "black

"out" cells were built. In these

prisoners would be held for months at a time, forced to lie festering in their own filth while their diet was carefully manipulated to test the effects on the human will of various wasting diseases.

At intervals, victims would be hauled out for medical exams. This is no fantasy. It has been corroborated by scores of other survivors and is accepted by many of the very same groups â\200\224 Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, for example â\200\224 to whom the ANC itself looks to verify its own claims against Pretoria. ty

Furthermore, the obscentiv- goes on. Human rights ag-re- ists inside Cuba, newd the leased prisoners anheld â\200\224 families of those still t at con- all of whom speak ouiemselves siderable risk to tlport mid- — continue to resure, beat- night arrests, torf- judicial ings and extratry Mandela killings. The soci'is one whose so richly praises ecifically de- constitution specognised civ- nies all legally anyone deemed. il liberties to : â\200\230decision of the hostile to thee to build social- Cuban peopl ismâ\200\231. the wife of an im-

Last year tivist said she had prisoned as by her local com- been toldr the Defence of the mittee fation â\200\224 entities Revolius to the ANCâ\200\231s town- analagefence units â\200\224 that she ship di be sent to a psychiatric

% would'and her child committed

turan orphanage unless her busband stopped complain- ing.

Jose Antonio Sanz got more than a warning. Arrested for selling mangoes, he was killed {rr=pelice custody and his body taken to a hospital where a pathologist pro- nounced he had hanged him- self. A second physician brought in by the family found that he had in fact died as the result of multiple blows skillfully delivered to avoid marking the corpse.

Sounds familiar, doesnâ\200\231t it? Of the survivors and of the friends and families of the dead, Mr Mandela had this to say last week: â\200\230Who are they to call for the observance of human rights by Cuba? They kept quiet for 42 years when human rights were being at-

tacked in South Africa ...
Who are they to teach us
about human rights?

Politics may be an expedi-
ent business but morality is-
n't.

Morality means recognising
evil wherever it is present,
whether it is in tÅe apartheid
struggle, M. . C.
shipsdfangaroo court or in the
totalitarian hell that is Cuba.

But the Mandelas and the

ANC would rather turn a
blind eye, even on those who
have suffered everything they
have and more besides.

President F W de Klerk,

however much his credibility
may have been stained by
Inkathagate, has at least
made some effort to recognise
the wickedness of his Govern-
ment's past. The ANC has not
even begun to examine its
conscience. Its leaders accept
medals from Castro and mon-
ey and human rights awards
from Libya's Muammar Gad-
dafi. Its rank and file cheers
the representative of Iraq's
Saddam Hussein, an unre-
pentant butcher of his own
population.

If that is the moral compass:
the movement sails by, which
can trust it when it talks of
democracy and a mixed econ-
omy and the preservation of
individual rights. Castro offered
just the same pitch
when he took power.

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~Mandela must verify

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THE Ministry of Law and
Order on Saturday chal-
lenged ANC President
Nelson Mandela to verify
his claims that police were
training and recruiting
people to conduct acts of
gangsterism.

Opening the ANC'â\200\231s
Western Cape conference
on Saturday. Mr Mandela
charged that the police
had also broken the spirit
of the National Peace
Accord.

â\200\234The police are recruit-
ing and arming people

bl 1y

under false pretences and
then sending them out on
acts of gangsterism . . .
killing innocent people
and leaving evidence that
it has been done by the
ANC . . . that is what is
happening throughout the
country,â\200\235 said Mr Mande-
la.

Law and Order Minis-
try spokesman Captain
Craig Kotze said he was
surprised by the _allega-
tions.

â\200\234The allegations sound
completely unfounded.

~â\200\224 Sapa.

2 remark on gangstersâ\200\231

We urge Mr Mandela to
make the r

available to the
rapidly as possible

the veracity of his claims
can be established.

â\200\234The SA Police is abso-
lutely committed to the
letter and spirit of the â\200\230

National Peace Accord,
and intends implementing
its provisions as rapidly as
possible. A task-force has
already been formed to
implement the provision
of the accord, and agree-
ment has already been
reached with the Minis-
ters of police of the self-
governing territories on
co-ordination in this res-
pect,â\200\235 Capt Kotze said.

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