

**TRIBUNE
COMMENT**

21/07/91

Counting the costs

LEADERSHIP is action, not position. This dictum will hold particular significance for President De Klerk in the threatening crisis created by the Inkatha funding scandal.

And it is an enormous scandal, in spite of the soft-soap explanation by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that the huge donation to Inkatha was "non-party political" and came from a covert anti-sanctions and anti-violence fund, with a benign motivation.

On the contrary, documents suggest the police were blatantly partisan in payouts to Inkatha to ensure its financial independence and help it oppose the African National Congress.

Ironically, the disclosures have given Mr Mandela ammunition for a campaign to have sanctions re-imposed. Suspicion of government forces' support for Inkatha — with sinister "third force" undertones — has been confirmed.

The government and the ANC are on a collision course, and negotiations are in jeopardy. Accusations of corruption, secrecy and deceit are coming in like echoes from the pre-De Klerk era.

It is a sorry mess. Fortunately President De Klerk's integrity is unquestioned by Mr Mandela, but even that could be stretched to breaking point — with disastrous consequences — if the State President does not move swiftly.

So far his response has been a cautious one, implying support for his minister by saying that the funding should be seen in the pre-1990 context in which the country was threatened by sanctions and violence.

His loyalty seems misplaced. In counting the costs of the police action, Mr De Klerk must see that the negotiation process is at stake. So is his credibility, and that of his government. It will be measured by what steps he takes to ensure full and thorough investigation of — and retribution for — the funding scandal.

Mr De Klerk's well-deserved reputation is that of a man of action; now is the time to live up to it.

Sunday Tribune 21/07/91

FW must move

John MacLennan

THE disclosure of the National Party's hidden agenda has confronted President FW de Klerk with the toughest test of his leadership.

All suspicions of Government dirty tricks — worse than the Info scandal — have now been bolstered by the publication of secret documents that prove covert, and possibly illegal, funding of Inkatha. There is also new evidence of security force involvement in massacres.

Trust between the NP and the ANC is now all but destroyed and Mr de Klerk's personal credibility — as the man ultimately responsible for his team

— is in tatters.

He must act soon if negotiations are to be saved. If he heeds Nelson Mandela's call to come clean then he will have to meet conditions including the firing of both Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

He will have to order a judicial probe and disband police and SADF units which have been accused of crimes including murder.

But there is no indication that Mr de Klerk will do anything more in public than stonewall. In private, however, he is expected to call a mini-summit in an attempt to appease the ANC.

Questions about Government funds going to Inkatha and its anti-ANC labour movement, the United Workers' Union of South

Africa (Uwusa), over a 10-year period were first asked in Parliament earlier this year by the DP's MP for Umhlanga, Kobus Jordaan. But Mr de Klerk and Mr Vlok hid behind the Protection of Information Act.

Mr de Klerk did say, however, that it was not Government policy to provide any financial or other aid to any political party or organisation.

What he did not disclose is that the Government, by his own admission this week, only started closing off a number of "covert actions" during the second part of last year following a probe of secret projects.

Then full details of payments to Inkatha totalling some R250 000 were published in the Weekly Mail this week. The payments were apparently made

before the investigation of covert projects was completed.

In an allied development a senior police general has also been appointed to investigate allegations that special SADF units were responsible for political massacres.

Mr Vlok has admitted the secret funding of Inkatha and Uwusa, but claims Chief Minister Buthelezi had no knowledge of it, or that it was meant for anything more than Inkatha's anti-sanctions and anti-violence campaign.

Chief Minister Buthelezi said: "I knew nothing about these transactions. I was never involved in them, I was never informed about them and I had no idea whatsoever that money had been deposited in a Durban Inkatha bank account."

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CUTTINGS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE
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ANC Warns It Will Hit New Targets

By John D. Battersby

New York Times Service

LUSAKA, Zambia — Reacting to the crackdown on anti-apartheid protest inside the country, South African opposition forces plan to step up a low-intensity guerrilla war in a bid to shatter white security and raise the morale of despondent blacks.

"In a situation of armed conflict that is growing and spreading and becoming more intense, there is no way you can avoid civilian casualties," said Oliver Tambo, African National Congress president, in an interview at rebel headquarters.

Guerrilla commanders said they wanted to broaden targets to include institutions and individuals, including some white legislators who are involved in enforcing apartheid laws, and said they intended to take the conflict into white areas.

"We must make apartheid expensive in terms of financial resources and in terms of lives," said Martin Thembisile Hani, 45, chief of staff and deputy commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC military wing. "We want to make apartheid costly and very painful and bitter for whites."

He said that judges, white policemen and black collaborators were all possible targets.

Mr. Hani said SM-7 anti-aircraft missiles, found by police for the first time last month, would be targeted at military, but not at civilian, planes.

"We are not about to shoot down a Boeing 707," he said. "These missiles are intended for use against military planes, against fighter planes, helicopters and military transport planes."

Mr. Tambo said that the ANC's military activity was likely to benefit from the February crackdown by Pretoria, which restricted the United Democratic Front and 16 other anti-apartheid groups, and placed the major trade union federation, the Congress of South Afri-

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can Trade Unions, under political restrictions.

"We must meet that offensive by strengthening our own attack and in that context we would want Umkhonto We Sizwe to step up its activities," Mr. Tambo, 71, said.

A series of interviews with ANC leaders indicated that the two-year-old nationwide emergency, culminating in the February crackdown, has strengthened the position of military hard-liners like Mr. Hani.

While the organization's military wing is preparing its estimated 8,000 guerrillas for the next phase of fighting, the political wing is putting the finishing touches to post-apartheid constitutional guidelines.

If endorsed by the ANC rank-and-file, the guidelines would implant freedom of expression and association in a multi-party democracy. A bill of rights would be adjudicated by an independent judiciary.

But Mr. Tambo held out little prospect that the ANC would endorse participation in government structures, a proposal recently debated by liberal Afrikaners and congress officials in Frankfurt.

During the past five weeks, more than a dozen bomb attacks have rocked Johannesburg and Pretoria, killing four civilians, black and white, and injuring more than 25.

The most serious attack, on Friday, which killed three blacks and a white woman in the Johannesburg satellite town of Roodepoort, appeared not to be related to any military or police target. The bomb was exploded in an area where civilians were vulnerable.

Mr. Tambo said the attacks of the last few weeks, particularly the one in Roodepoort, were not typical. "I have asked for a report. We want to watch the pattern," he said. "We have got to control it. The Roodepoort bomb is not typical," he said.

But guerrilla commanders, admitting responsibility for the recent spate of bomb attacks, defended what they called "armed propaganda" in city centers.

"The bombs were to tell the whites: We are able to creep and crawl next to you," Mr. Hani said. "Be careful. We are developing and

we will be able to do something big within your areas."

Steve Tshwete, Umkhonto political commissar, who left South Africa in 1985, said in an interview that war was the language that whites would finally understand.

"Once everyone realizes there is a war going on in the country," he said, "Botha will start thinking, because he will have been nudged by his own people. They will realize: apartheid is no longer protecting us. It is killing us. It has been killing blacks for the past 40 years. But it is beginning to kill whites, too, now."

Two recent blasts in Soweto have been directed at specific targets, one at a railroad line and one at a black politician advocating participation in local council elections in October, in which all racial groups will vote on the same day for racially segregated councils.

Both military and political leaders have emphasized that the ANC seeks to make it impossible for black candidates to run.

"We shall use political pressures," Mr. Hani said. "We shall mobilize our people against them but we shall also use revolutionary violence and forceful persuasion to stop blacks from collaborating."

But he ruled out the use of the "necklace" method, in which a gasoline-soaked tire is placed around a victim's neck and set afire.

"We think the necklace is not the right method of dealing even with your worst enemies," he said. "We don't think you should have a spectacle where you roast a human being."

"It's not nice even to kill him, but in the interests of the struggle in our country, we have been forced to kill them."

Leaders of the organization's political wing insisted that the ANC had not embarked on a terrorist war of indiscriminate bombings against civilians.

"There is no question of us launching into a terrorist campaign," said Thabo Mbeki, director of information and publicity.

"Our own people would come out against us if they thought we were being indiscriminate, if we were reckless and looked like killers," he said, conceding a degree of tension between the organization's political and military wings.

Mr. Hani also called for stepped-up action against blacks who collaborate with apartheid institutions, and for the assassination of Zulu "warlords," tribal chiefs who command private armies in Natal province's conflict between traditionalists and anti-apartheid groups.