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Mandela 'not sure' he can trust De Klerk

VALENCIA—Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned South Africa's commitment to talks with the ANC aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the nation's problems.

Referring to the Government's secret funding of Inkatha, Mr Mandela said he was not sure he could trust President de Klerk.

'Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime against humanity called apartheid,' 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 committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

Mr Mandela was in Venezuela as part of a Caribbean-Latin American tour that already has taken him to Jamaica and Cuba and will include visits to Brazil and Mexico.

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez called on the SA Government to accept Mr Mandela's proposal to form an interim government and urged the United States and other nations to keep economic sanctions in place.

'No sanctions should be lifted until the South African people have completely recovered their rights,' said President Perez.

'The most important demonstration that the De Klerk Government could offer to show that it really is truly seeking a definite solution to the problems of apartheid would be to accept the proposal to form an interim government,' he added.

Mr Mandela and his 10-member delegation left Venezuela yesterday to travel to Brazil. — (Sapa-Reuter)

16/1/11

The Age 30.7.91

De Klerk tries to ride out cash row

By CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Johannesburg, Monday

President F. W. de Klerk's Government has apparently decided it can ride out the scandal over its secret funding of the Inkatha movement without suffering much more damage to its credibility or losing control over South Africa's transition to a post-apartheid democracy.

Mr de Klerk has postponed his response to the country's worst political scandal since 1978 until a news conference tomorrow.

'The Citizen' newspaper, which is close to the Government, has said Mr de Klerk would announce an immediate end to secret funding of all political groups and to other payments that would compromise his administration's credibility.

Government officials have said Mr de Klerk will impose tighter controls over the use of the giant slush fund set up to finance covert projects, which was allotted nearly \$133 million (\$A173 million) in the annual budget.

"But he is not expected to dismiss Cabinet subordinates or say who else besides the Zulu-based Inkatha was paid out of the Secret Services Account, which has grown 38 per cent since he be-

came president nearly two years ago.

Mr Willem Kleynhans, an Afrikaner political scientist who has studied the ruling National Party over the years, said the Government learned from the scandal in 1978, when it secretly set up 'The Citizen' and tried bribery and other subterfuge to arrange more favorable news coverage.

While the Government vacillated, the public outcry increased until it forced the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to retire and politically ruined the Information Minister, Mr Connie Mulder.

"So 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 revolved 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 another 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 damaging information before he faced

the nation in a news conference.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Botha, who stepped in to take the heat for Mr de Klerk, contended that 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 'The Weekly Mail', an anti-apartheid newspaper that documented the payments.

Mr Botha acknowledged the Government also gave at least \$35 million to seven political parties opposing the South-West Africa 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 suspicions that the security forces have stirred up political violence between supporters of Inkatha and the African National Congress.

But the scandal has not turned up evidence that the secret funds have paid for the violence.

— New York Times

Market forces alone won't save poor, says Dhlomo

NNM

30/7/91

Development Reporter

MARKET forces alone won't rescue South Africa's poor.

This was said in Durban yesterday by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, when he addressed the Association of Black Accountants 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.

An economic system that would win the day was one that would visibly and effectively redress the socio-economic disparities of the past and deliver reasonably adequate social services such as housing, health, education and jobs to the poor.

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

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.

'It must be recognised 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.'

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.

UK tycoon *The Herald Sun* admits 30.7.91 Inkatha payments

BRITISH millionaire John Aspinall today confirmed he and Australian magnate Kerry Packer made payments to the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, but he denied they were political donations.

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

Mr Aspinall said he and Mr Packer's donations were made in response to the plight of the Zulu people.

"There is no secret trust, they talked about some secret trust, there is nothing secret ... no trust of any sort at all," he said on ABC radio today.

Mr Packer had been a guest at Mr Aspinall's Cape Town house and one of several people he had taken to the homeland of Kwa-Zulu who had "pulled out their chequebooks" to donate money.

"He'd never been there before and he was impressed by the personality of the King, Buthelezi, and particularly by the people and he then remarked to me that they seemed to be very poor," Mr Aspinall said.

The money had been given to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as head of a people fighting for "its life and survival" after most of



● Mr Kerry Packer

their possessions had been wrenched from them while under British rule.

"You don't 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," Mr Aspinall said.

The *Independent* newspaper in London yesterday reported that it had obtained bank records linking Mr Packer and Mr Aspinall to the Inkatha funding scandal which has seen three South African ministers quit.

According to the paper, bank records showed Chief Buthelezi used the fund to repay slush funds channelled to Inkatha by South Africa's white authorities.

The South African Government has claimed the money handed to Inkatha was part of a covert campaign to fight sanctions and was not aimed at bolstering the group's political influence.

Smash all barriers —Dhlomo

20-07-91
Sowetan

SOUTH Africans needed to join an urgent campaign to search for ways of reaching a multiparty democracy and national reconciliation.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy said this in an address in Durban to the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa.

He said black South Africans could dismantle much of the barrier between whites and blacks if they demonstrated they understood the fear and uncertainty at the root of many whites' reluctance to share equally.

"We can travel down the path of negotiated peaceful transition demonstrating by example that a nonracial society holds no terrors for those presently in a position of privilege," he said.

Dhlomo said a post-apartheid South Africa had to be seen to be a more attractive place to live and work in.

He highlighted the need for accountability, saying "recent events

surrounding the Government'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 tolerance 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 Africa's 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 Packer had donated funds to an account set up for the sole discretionary use of the Inkatha president, Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Felgate said there was no mystery about the account. Mr Packer was a "close personal friend of Chief Buthelezi of many years' standing". 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. "I would be amazed if he did not see the chief on these occasions."

Senator Evans, attending the South Pacific Forum in Palikir, said Mr Packer was free to spend his money as he wished. "Mr Packer is a wealthy man in his own right and he's thoroughly entitled to make his own judgment and his own decisions as to who he

supports where. He must be wondering, in the light of recent revelations, whether he spent it wisely."

The South African Government recently admitted giving money to the Inkatha Freedom Party, the main rival to Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress for black political power.

A spokeswoman for Mr Packer's Consolidated Press Holdings refused to comment.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Communications Minister, Mr Beazley, also refused to comment. The Opposition spokesman on communications, Mr Warwick Smith, was overseas. The Labor chairman of the House of Representatives transport and communications committee, Mr Neil O'Keefe, said he had "no comment until I'm across it".

Another Inkatha central committee member, Mr Musa Myeni, said South Africa's First National Bank should investigate the leaking of confidential details of its clients' accounts.

He was responding to reports that Inkatha had repaid \$125,000 in secret Government funding for two rallies from a \$650,000 account set up for Chief Buthelezi's personal use by a British gambling entrepreneur, Mr John Aspinall, and Mr Packer.

First National, which gets \$1.5 billion in deposits a year through dealings with the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu Homeland Government, has denied leaking any personal accounts.

Life in Winnie's 'second home'

CUBA IS our second home,' Mrs Winnie Mandela enthused in Havana on Friday. 'We feel we have always belonged here.' Her husband, the ANC President, waxed if anything more lyrical. The Cuban revolution, he opined, was 'a source of inspiration for all-freedom loving people'. For good measure, he then took a swipe at the 'vicious imperialist-orchestrated campaign to destroy the revolution's impressive gains'.

Is it any wonder that the US Congress is loath to contribute to the ANC's coffers?

Unlike the majority of the island's population, the couple presumably did not have to queue for basic foodstuffs and simple amenities like soap and matches in the course of their three-day sojourn as Fidel Castro's 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 emptiness of the streets as they were shown around Old Havana behind a phalanx of plain-clothesmen, they may at least have noticed an imposing fortress across the harbour 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 after Castro seized power in 1959.

Armando Valladares knows. La Cabana is where he was taken in January, 1961. He was 23 and would spend almost as many years again behind its walls and in a variety of concentration camps.

Valladares had a job in the Ministry of Communications in the early days of the revolution. This was a period, as the SACP's Jeremy Cronin reminds us in the May issue of *Work in Progress*, when Castro was portraying his 26 July Movement as a 'patriotic front embracing a diversity of forces' with an agenda that was 'neither communist nor capitalist'.

Castro soon peeled off his democratic mask. Valladares's best friend in the ministry was fired for making anti-Marxist statements. His own offence came shortly thereafter as Castro's propaganda machine was preparing the country for the final shift to Stalinism.

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

For Valladares, a young idealist and poet who had welcomed the overthrow of the Batista régime, this was the start of an ordeal which, with respect, makes Mandela's look somewhat mild by comparison and which only ended when France's socialist President Francois Mitterrand prevailed on Castro to release him in 1982. One might venture a guess that his book, *Beyond All Hope*, in which he describes what he saw and

suffered in the Cuban gulag, was not on the Mandelas' 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

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 women 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 — Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, for example — to whom the ANC itself looks to verify its own claims against Pretoria.

Furthermore, the obscenity goes on. Human rights activists inside Cuba, new to the leased prisoners' anhedonism — families of those still at con- all of whom speak outwards considerable risk to report mid- continue to return, beat- night arrests, tort-judicial ings and extrajudicial Mandela killings. The soci is one whose so richly praises ecifically de- constitution specognised civi- nities all legally anyone deemed. il liberties to 'decision of the hostile to thee to build social- Cuban peopl

the wife of an im- Last year, aivist said she had prisoned a by her local com- been toldr the Defence of the mittee fotion — entities Revolus to the ANC's town- analagefence units — that she ship di be sent to a psychiatric woutr and her child committed for an orphanage unless her husband stopped complain- ing.

Jose Antonio Sanz got more than a warning. Arrested for selling mangoes, he was killed in police custody and his body taken to a hospital where a pathologist pronounced he had hanged himself. 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, doesn't it? Of the survivors and of the friends and families of the dead, Mr Mandela had this to say last week: 'Who are they to call for the observance of human rights by Cuba? They kept quiet for 42 years when human rights were being attacked in South Africa ... Who are they to teach us about human rights?'

Politics may be an expedient business but morality isn't.

Morality means recognising evil wherever it is present, whether it is in the apartheid state, an ANC camp, a township kangaroo 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 everthing 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 Government's past. The ANC has not even begun to examine its conscience. Its leaders accept medals from Castro and money and human rights awards from Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. Its rank and file cheers the representative of Iraq's Saddam Hussein, an unrepentant butcher of his own population.

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

THE CITIZEN 30/07/91

'Mandela must verify remark on gangsters'

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

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

"The police are recruiting and arming people

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," said Mr Mandela.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said he was surprised by the allegations.

"The allegations sound completely unfounded.

We urge Mr Mandela to make the information available to the SAP as rapidly as possible so that the veracity of his claims can be established.

"The SA Police is absolutely committed to the letter and spirit of the 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 agreement has already been reached with the Ministers of police of the self-governing territories on co-ordination in this respect," Capt Kotze said.

— Sapa.

16/1/11