

The Age

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Mandela in threat to pull out of peace talks

By ROSS DUNN,
Johannesburg, Tuesday

Mr Nelson Mandela attacked the President of South Africa, Mr F. W. de Klerk, today over a secret funding scandal, and threatened to pull out of peace negotiations with the Government.

"We have to decide whether to continue discussions with a Government which is negotiating with us in bad faith," Mr Mandela, who is president of the African National Congress, said in Mexico City.

He linked Mr De Klerk to a scandal over secret state funding of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, which he said had fostered death-squad killings between rival black groups in South Africa's townships.

The scandal should strengthen international sanctions against South Africa, Mr Mandela said. Sanctions have steadily weakened after Mr De Klerk's reform of the apartheid system.

"When the international community says that they are raising sanctions in order to reward success, they are rewarding De Klerk for killing, for murdering innocent blacks in South Africa," he said.

After his dropping of two senior ministers from their Cabinet portfolios, Mr De Klerk prepared today to address the country on the funding scandal.

His options were considered to be a judicial inquiry into "dirty tricks" allegations against the Government and legislation to tighten control over secret funding.

The Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, were demoted to relatively minor portfolios.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who admitted channelling the secret funds to Inkatha through the police, emerged unscathed and kept his portfolio.

The reshuffle is believed to include the transfer of the Government's military manufacturer, Armscor, from the defence portfolio to the economic coordination and public enterprises portfolio.

General Malan was pushed into Water Affairs and Forestry to make way for Mr Roelf Meyer, the Deputy Constitutional Development Minister. Mr Meyer is highly regarded as a negotiator and progressive thinker in National Party circles.

His appointment should also boost the Government's plan to give the defence force a neutral image.

General Malan said he accepted his demotion in the belief that "the cause is always greater than the person". He pledged to support Mr Meyer and pursue his new job with devotion. He said jokingly: "I have beaten the reds (the communists). Now I join the greens."

Mr Vlok was replaced by the Minister for Planning, Mr Hernus Kriel.

The reshuffle was made possible by the resignations of three ministers, the Education Minister, Mr Piet Clase, the Water Affairs Minister, Mr Gert Kotze, and the Education and Training Minister, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, who is leaving the Cabinet to spearhead the National Party's preparations for constitutional negotiations.

The departure of Mr Clase may signal a greater push to the integration of black and white education systems under his replacement, Mr Sam de Beer.

The shake-up, which is effective from 30 August, is seen as proof of the seriousness with which the Government regards the damage to its credibility over the secret funding revelations.

Mr De Klerk's reshuffle can be seen as a tactic to head off more criticism in future with the likelihood of increased evidence linking the defence and police forces to Inkatha in township violence against the ANC.

● Inkatha spent \$A94,000 of the \$A112,500 of covert Government funds on bus hire to carry supporters to rallies, according to expense accounts submitted to the Foreign Ministry. It also paid for banners, pamphlets and brooms.

— with Reuter



Mr Mandela: Government is "negotiating in bad faith".

INSIGHT/CABINET SHAKE-UP

FW in a stronger position

DAILY NEWS
Old PW Cabinet finally shaken off as two trusted lieutenants are moved into vital portfolios

A USEFUL skill to have in politics is to be able to turn possible defeat into victory.

President F.W. de Klerk has, in recent days, been on the receiving end of a hiding over the Inkatha secret funding row and revived allegations of South African Police and Defence Force hit squads.

But he has emerged in a stronger position, having used the attacks to put two of his most trusted lieutenants, Mr Hernus Kriel and Mr Roelf Meyer, in charge of the vital portfolios of Law and Order and Defence.

President de Klerk has finally shaken off Mr P.W. Botha's Cabinet, which he always wanted to do — it was only a question of timing.

Critics of the National Party who think they have won a victory in having their calls for an end to Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan answered, are misleading themselves.

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk, in sacking two of the top men in the Cabinet and replacing them with two of his most trusted lieutenants, has finally shaken off former President P.W. Botha's men, emerging in a stronger position after what looked like possible defeat. But how long has he wanted to do this? The Daily News Political Correspondent MARTIN CHALLENGER reports.

President de Klerk is not the kind of man to give in to pressure from other people.

The commonly-held perception is that Mr Vlok lost Law and Order because of the row over Inkatha funding. However, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis played probably a bigger role in deciding to authorise the secret funding, yet they keep their jobs.

Mr Kriel and Mr Meyer are credited as being foremost reformers. But Mr Vlok and General Malan often stressed the necessity for reforms.

Indeed, with all the questioning of how committed the members of the SAP and SADF are to reform, placing such prominent reformers at

the helm may not be the wisest thing to do.

Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, has said that Mr Meyer was one of the few people in Government he could trust.

The reason for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan thus boils down to the old-fashion desire of a new head of government to put his own men in place.

President de Klerk probably now feels he has more control over the police force and defence force.

President de Klerk felt he could not rush to remove them earlier while he was enacting his reforms as General Malan was superficially credited with enjoying the confidence of many whites.

President de Klerk



PRESIDENT de Klerk: a question of timing.

saw a need to keep them in their posts for the past 23 months to foster notions of stability and to pre-empt any backlash from SAP and SADF members against the reforms.

Being of suspicious nature, South Africans will in the weeks to

come start asking if the Press disclosures on secret funding and renewed allegations about SAP and SADF hit squads just fell out of the sky at this time, or if they were engineered by some intelligence organisation to create the right atmosphere

among the white public to allow President de Klerk to bring in his own men.

All the same, President de Klerk has given Mr Kriel and Mr Meyer almost impossible jobs: removing any doubts that the SAP and SADF want and will protect the new South Africa.

There is a feeling today that some members of the police force are out of control, or lack the will to do their jobs.

There is a feeling that some sections of the SADF are trying to derail negotiations.

The groundwork for SAP hit squads was laid back in the 1970s in the face of widespread student uprisings when police were given licence to act as they liked.

This continued as MK became more active.

Indeed, when Mr Vlok took over as Minister of Law and Order in December, 1986, inheriting a state of emergency, he was quite unpopular within the force as he ensured that erring policemen were prosecuted and convicted for

crimes they committed.

If Mr Kriel acts to vigorously expose and remove hit squads and dirty tricks, there is a chance that police officers could gang up to protect themselves.

Out of the Botha Cabinet of August, 1989 have now gone: Mr Chris Heunis, Dr Willie van Niekerk, Mr Greyling Wentzel, Mr D.W. Steyn, Mr Stoffel Botha and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Only Mr Pik Botha and Mr Kobie Coetsee have kept their jobs.

There have been portfolio changes for Dr Gerrit Viljoen, General Magnus Malan, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Mr Gert Kotze, Mr Eli Louw and Mr Barend du Plessis.

Dr Wim de Villiers has died.

President de Klerk has brought in Dr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Hernus Kriel, Dr Piet Welgemoed, Mr Sam de Beer, Dr Rina Venter, Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Piet Marais, Mr Eugene Louw, Dr Org Marais, Mr George Bartlett, Mr Jacob de Villiers and Mr Louis Pienaar.

Herald Sun 31. 7. 91

HEADS ROLL IN FUND ROW

JOHANNESBURG — South African President F W de Klerk has demoted two senior ministers in a bid to smother a scandal which threatens negotiations for a non-racial South Africa.

Mr de Klerk, plunged into crisis by a row over secret state funding of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, moved to appease Nelson Mandela's African National Congress by replacing Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok with two committed reformists.

Mr Malan, an outspoken critic of the ANC, was moved to forestry and water affairs, housing and works.

And Mr Vlok, whose police have been accused of bias by the ANC, was put in charge of prisons.



● Demoted by President de Klerk (right) are ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan.

Resignation of Mr Malan and Mr Vlok was a key demand of the ANC, which alleges security forces are in collusion with its rival Inkatha in township wars that have killed 2000 blacks in a year.

Mr Mandela, now touring Latin America, demanded the resignations when the "Inkathagate" slush fund scandal broke 12 days ago.

Speaking from Mexico City yesterday, he slammed Mr de Klerk again and threatened to pull out of the delicate peace

negotiations with the white-led government.

"We have to decide whether to continue discussions with a government which is negotiating with us in bad faith," Mr Mandela told a packed meeting.

Mr Mandela argued the scandal was a reason to strengthen international sanctions against South Africa, which have steadily weakened after Mr de Klerk's reforms to the apartheid system.

"When the international community says that they are raising sanctions in order to reward success, they are rewarding De Klerk for killing, for murdering innocent blacks in South Africa," he said.

Mr Malan is being replaced by Roelf Meyer, who as deputy minister of constitutional development has been involved in drafting proposals for a non-racial South Africa.

And Mr Vlok's replacement is Hernus Kriel, known as a rising star and a reformist.

— REUTER

White business target of ANC protest over funding

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg and AP

THE African National Congress called yesterday for a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses to protest against the Government's covert funding of a rival black group, the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC requested that the boycott begin last night in Johannesburg and surrounding areas.

"The clandestine funding ... has brought the Government's credibility to an all-time low and has obliged us to act," the ANC said.

The congress, which demanded the resignations of former defence minister General Magnus Malan and former law and order minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in April, said Cabinet changes announced yesterday by President De Klerk were "not enough".

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, said: "The removal of guilty parties from the Cabinet is what we demanded ... that does not mean shifting them around from pillar to post."

The ANC issued its demands after revelations that the Government gave money to Inkatha. The demands also included the freezing of money earmarked for secret government projects, and immunity from prosecution for government workers or security force members who wan-



General Malan



Mr Vlok

ted to "come clean" on secret projects.

The revelation on July 19 that the Government secretly donated 250,000 rand (\$112,000) to Inkatha in 1989 and last year supported the allegations, the ANC said.

Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is also reported to have received money from businessmen, including Australian Mr Kerry Packer, but that has not been confirmed.

Although Mr Vlok and General Malan insisted they had done nothing wrong, Mr De Klerk apparently decided they were a liability to the image of the "new" South Africa.

General Malan, who has

held the defence portfolio for 11 years, has been considered a stumbling block to reforming attitudes within the South African Defence Force.

The South African Defence Force has been conditioned for more than four decades to enforce apartheid laws. With the end of legal apartheid, radical changes in attitude and in the thrust of SADF activities are considered necessary.

There have been allegations that the SADF and the police (under the ministry of Mr Vlok) have worked at cross-purposes with Mr De Klerk's reform program, frequently standing aside when violence erupted and on occasion even promoting violence.

De Klerk demotes Malan, Vlok

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Mandela said at a packed meeting in Mexico City.

He said the scandal was a reason to strengthen international sanctions against South Africa.

The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, yesterday welcomed Mr De Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle.

"It is an important recognition by the South African Government that something has gone fundamentally wrong in terms of accountability and credibility, and that is a very useful concession to

be on the table," Senator Evans said at the South Pacific Forum at Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia.

Mr De Klerk has made Mr Roelf Meyer — the former deputy minister for constitutional development — Minister for Defence and Information.

Mr Hernus Kriel, a relatively unknown former planning, provincial and national housing minister, has been made Minister for Law and Order.

Both newcomers have been described as reformists.

A third Cabinet member, the

Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was not affected by the reshuffle.

Mr De Klerk has also moved Armscor, South Africa's large weapons manufacturing and development arm, from under the Defence Ministry's supervision to that of the Ministry of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises.

The Cabinet reshuffle came with the announcements that three ministers were resigning, apparently to make room for the changes sought by Mr De Klerk.

Mr De Klerk was to make his first public statement on the scandal early today.

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9th St 31 July 1991

Andrew Kenny exhorts democrats to speak out against anything that threatens freedom.

We are being silent cowards

SOUTH Africa might now be enjoying a brief golden age of free speech between the dark oppression of the past and the dark oppression of the future. Those who love liberty would consider it a rebuke to the lesson of the scandal over the Government's secret payments to Inkatha.

The "Agenda" debate, in which various newspaper editors confronted the then Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and senior Inkatha members, was the most vetting piece of television I have seen, and must mark a new high for the SABC's recent conversion to free speech. Such open debate is unknown in the rest of Africa.

During the programme, a presenter asked an editor, "What do you support?" This question was quite irrelevant to the uncovering of the scandal.

The reason why a free market economy works so well for the common good is that it does not rely on people having noble motives. A shopkeeper provides a

good service to his customers in order to make profits for himself. Similarly the market of free speech does not rely on the good nature or political leaning of editors. It allows any editor, regardless of his bias or lack of it, to publish what he wishes and thus freedom benefits the common good.

The Weekly Mail is a committed newspaper which supports the African National Congress and opposes Inkatha. That is its right. Its editor, by exposing the scandal and then by drawing admissions of corrupt practice from Mr Vlok in public debate, both furthered his own pro-ANC cause and performed an invaluable public service. The Weekly Mail has given South Africa a textbook example of the cleansing power of free speech.

During the debate, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezzi complained of media bias against Inkatha. He is quite right. The media in the Western world, which constitute a new international ruling class, are

dominated by a small, wholly unrepresentative group of middle-class people drawn almost entirely from the liberal arts.

These are the people who run the BBC, the New York Times and the Guardian. These are the people who were loud with moral outrage in 1980 when 62 black people were killed at Sharpeville but silent in 1972 when quarter of a million black people were killed in systematic racial slaughter in Rwanda. These are the people who howl at every atrocity of Inkatha but look the other way from every atrocity by the ANC.

There is no conspiracy here. The media bias is not the fault of those who air their views but those who fail to air their views. Liberals — by which I mean people who hold liberty as the highest good, and believe in free speech, free elections and free enterprise — have shamed themselves in recent times with their cowardice and laziness.

They can claim no credit for the collapse of Communism, which

happened because of the fundamental idiocy of Marxist theory and the brave resistance of the people suffering under it.

As we gazed at the ruined countries of eastern Europe, we see that the only people in the West who are wholly vindicated are the extreme conservatives at whom we all used to jeer for exaggerating the evils of Communism. They were the only ones who spoke the truth.

We liberals shuffled our hands and averted our eyes.

And now, given this precious hour of free speech in South Africa, we are being silent cowards again.

The ANC and the South African Communist Party are today so closely entwined that they constitute one single entity, and it is safe to assume that, if an ANC member refuses to say whether he is a communist or not, he is a communist. If the communists come to power in South Africa, they will extinguish liberty as surely as they have done in every

country on earth they have ruled.

Yet we seem more afraid of being called McCarthyites than we do of losing our liberty, and we are still averting our eyes before the torture camps of the ANC, the crimes of Winnie Mandela, the terror of the Comrades, the ruthless economic theories of the Communist Party and the militant atheism of Marxism (which is the exact antithesis of Christianity).

An even greater danger than communism, itself, is that if civilised men do not oppose it with words there are uncivilised men only too willing to oppose it with force, and then we shall be back in darkness, blacker than before.

Chief Buthelezzi, whom I respect, must stop whining and litigating. It is true that the deck is stacked against him. Inkatha, unlike the ANC, does not own hundreds of millions of rands worth of assets abroad, nor receive huge sums of money from foreign governments, nor hear the applause of the international cocktail circuit.

But Chief Buthelezzi has a proud record of resistance to apartheid and a strong sense of champion. He must seek out and sever every link with the South African security forces who have abused him and Inkatha must use the weapon of a free press to fight his case and expose the crimes of its opponents.

In the newspapers I read euphoric headlines about South Africa's glorious future but among the ordinary people I meet I hear nothing but the most profound forebodings.

In this time of unprecedented liberation, there has never been greater peril.

Democrats must use this hour to speak up against every man and every ideology that threatens freedom. They must speak loudly and they must speak now, before it's too late.

Andrew Kenny, a South African engineer and writer, has been a frequent contributor to Frontline magazine and The Spectator.