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THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

ANC holds the future hostage

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THE ANC's statements on economic policies this week are a disturbing mix of the provocative and the erratic. It is perhaps unreasonable to expect wisdom from a political organisation excluded for so long, and so unfairly, from the centre of political power. But is it too much to expect consistency?

The ANC and its allies have targeted economic policy as the next major site for political struggle. This may not be so surprising: there is, after all, precious little left to dispute with the government in the run-up to the constitutional talks.

The ANC demanded the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles. It got it. It wanted the ending of statutory discrimination in social and public amenities. Done. It wanted a commitment to negotiate a new constitution. It has it. The ANC wanted joint control of the security forces. The National Peace Accord effectively provided that. The organisation wanted forums to negotiate new systems of local government, education, health. All of these are being established.

Maddened by such easy victories, the so-called triple alliance now moves on to the big one: the right to determine the country's economic policy in advance of, perhaps in spite of, any negotiated political or constitutional settlement.

To achieve this end, the alliance now makes clear, it is prepared to use just about any means. From the armoury of its past it draws the tired weapons of sanctions, boycotts, strikes and "mass action". It glosses them in fresh rhetoric, wrapped in new causes such as the VAT protests. It then proceeds to offer one of the saddest threats of any resistance group in history: do as we say or we will destroy

ourselves. Surely there can be no greater admission of impotence.

The inconsistency in all this lies in the fact that there is a substantial body of opinion in the higher echelons of the ANC that believes the real question is not whether political reform is "reversible", the current shibboleth of the ANC, but whether economic disintegration is now reversible. In the decade of the 70s, more than 70 in 100 new job-seekers found work. Now it is only 13. Senior ANC people are aware that South Africa's greatest priority is growth and only later redistribution — indeed, some say it publicly. They know that the unemployment bomb could well be theirs to defuse in a very few years.

What, then, accounts for the strange utterances this week of Mr Nelson Mandela on nationalisation and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on "re-evaluating" foreign loans after an ANC take-over, this sudden burst of toyi-toyi economics?

It is insufficient to refer to the systemic economic illiteracy of the ANC. Mr Mandela may not know a credit from a debit entry in a ledger but he has in the past shown the capacity to hold his peace on subjects on which he is ignorant. Mr Ramaphosa, meanwhile, is known for his pragmatism.

The reason for the triple alliance's dangerous statements this week lies elsewhere. It is sited in the struggle for political power outside any negotiating framework — everything will be ventured in this pursuit, everything risked, nothing spared.

The ANC insists on being taken seriously. It cannot be, and should not be, until it ceases to hold the country's future economic well-being hostage to its short-term political objectives.

16/1/11

Top ANC post up for grabs

ANC special projects head Tokyo Sexwale has emerged as the front-runner for election as chairman of the PWV area — the biggest and most powerful region in the organisation.

The PWV's second regional congress, which was held in Johannesburg this weekend, will reconvene on Thursday to elect a new regional executive committee and office-bearers.

Former UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, who has also been nominated for the position of chairman, was still deciding whether to stand for election.

It is unlikely that present chairman Kgalema Motlanthe will stand again.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation had to sharpen its wits as it was entering a new phase of multilateralism. It had to interact with the government

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

and organisations like Inkatha, Azapo and the PAC.

He said the Patriotic Front conference aimed to consolidate strategies to bring down the government.

It would fuse the views of more than 50 organisations and reach consensus on negotiations and the principles underlying a

new democratic government.

He said the congress should discuss what an interim government would look like and how decisions should be taken at the all-party conference — by consensus or voting.

The envisaged interim government's function would be discussed with different organisations as it would not be an ANC body, Mr Ramaphosa said.

However, it should be a sovereign body and have complete control of running the country.

The conference also had to discuss how to prepare for constituent assembly elections and how to ensure a landslide victory for the ANC.

He said the ANC should start acting as though a constituent assembly election was being held in January.

Mandela to address the Commonwealth

16/11/11

ANC president Nelson Mandela and his PAC counterpart Clarence Makwetu will address a full sitting of the Commonwealth Conference in Zimbabwe later this month.

Commonwealth officials this week refused to comment, but both ANC and PAC spokesmen said their respective presidents had been invited to give the first-ever addresses by the liberation movements to the conference.

South African government representatives have not been invited to attend the 50-nation summit which opens in Harare on October 15.

The meeting will be opened by Queen Elizabeth during her first visit to Zimbabwe in 12 years. Security will be tight after rumours of an IRA-PLO plot to sabotage the conference, a recent bomb blast in a Harare hotel and the uncovering of a stash of dynamite in the city.

Crucial

Sanctions against South Africa are likely to top the agenda. Heads of state are expected to ratify a package for the phased lifting of sanctions proposed by Commonwealth foreign ministers in New Delhi last month.

The plan is similar to that proposed by ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki at a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Nigeria in June.

The outcome of the meeting is crucial for South Africa — it will send a signal to the rest of the world and serve to indicate future attitudes towards it.

A softening on sanctions would also clear the decks for African countries to engage South Africa more openly and would pave the way for more visits to African countries by President FW de Klerk, observers say.

Figures

Two key members of the Commonwealth from the African arena are Nigerian Premier Ibrahim Babangida, also the chairman of the OAU, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who chairs the organisation of Frontline States. Both are believed to be pushing for the relaxation of sanctions.

The strongest proponent of sanctions is Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe — despite his country's flourishing economic relationship with South Africa.

For the first time in 12

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

years Mrs Margaret Thatcher will be absent. While her successor, Mr John Major, is noted for his less aggressive manner, his objectives on South Africa remain similar to those of Mrs Thatcher's — the lifting of most sanctions and the changing of sterile thinking on South Africa.

While Britain would not formally endorse the proposal for a phased lifting of sanctions, it would not oppose it, well-placed sources said.

PAC spokesman Benny Alexander said his organi-

sation would ask the Commonwealth to define when the process of change would become irreversible. He said the PAC would reiterate its call for all sanctions to remain until elections had been held for a constituent assembly.

ANC international affairs spokesman Mr Yusuf Saloojee said the ANC would insist that key sanctions be maintained.

"We will also ask the Commonwealth to endorse the National Peace Accord and to have no truck with any party which has not signed it or violates it," he said.

16/1/20

Sunday Tribune 6/1/81

Christians can't belong to the SACP, says Tutu

Carolyn McGibbon

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu says a Christian cannot be a member of the Communist Party.

On the eve of his 60th birthday, the Archbishop of Cape Town said in an interview that classical, traditional communism is atheistic and it is therefore contradictory for a believer to belong to the party.

This is not a change of heart for one of the leading figures of the anti-apartheid movement, and does not imply a rethink following the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. He made similar remarks to students last year, after he told priests that the could not belong to any political party.

"The South African Communist Party claims that it is peculiar in that it believes in religious freedom, but our whole position vis a vis classical communism is that there's no way a Christian can be a member of a communist party."

This did not imply that the church would not co-operate with the SACP or for that matter, people of different faiths, or non-believers, in striving against injustice, and he regarded the SACP as an ally in the struggle.

He pointed out that for many black people, the first whites who had treated them as equals had been communists, "which says something about white South African Christianity".

The Archbishop said he felt no embarrassment at having friends who were communists.

"The West had no problems co-operating with the Russians in their opposition to Nazism." Asked whether he feared the suppression of religious freedom if the SACP came to power, he said he would passionately op-



pose the restriction of freedom of worship. People were entitled to their beliefs, under whatever regime they lived.

"That was part of our opposition to the South African Government. They were behaving as if they were non-Christians in their treatment of fellow Christians."

"That is what upset black people — that they suffered under apartheid, not from pagans and non-believers, but at the hands of fellow Christians who read the same Bible and claimed to belong to the same body — the body of Jesus Christ."

He said although many believers had been persecuted under communist regimes, many Christians had also been persecuted in South Africa.

Most people who were banned and detained without trial were believers. Steve Biko was a Christian.

"Being persecuted by a government that specifically claimed it was Christian — THAT is scandalous."

16/1/20

No reds in Church - Tutu

6/10/91 CPN

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu says it is not possible to believe in God and at the same time subscribe to Communist Party views.

In an interview Tutu said classical, traditional communism was understood as being materialistic and atheistic.

"On that basis, we in the Anglican Church say you cannot be a person of faith and one of no faith."

He said the South African Communist Party claimed it believed in religious freedom, but the position of the Church on classical communism was that a Christian could not be a member of the Com-



HARD LINE ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

munist Party.

However, that did not mean a Christian could not co-operate with non-Christians

"We have been ready

to accept as allies whoever subscribes to our views on injustice. Many blacks were treated as human beings for the first time by whites who were almost all communists, which says something about South African white Christianity."

He said he was not embarrassed at having communists or non-believers as friends.

"I feel no embarrassment about co-operating with them to achieve our aims in our fight against injustice."

The West had co-operated with the Soviet Union in fighting Nazism during World War II. - Sapa



Vlok ... Security Branch to play a cardinal role in fire-arm recovery units.

By **CHARLES MOGALE** and **Sapa**

THE ANC has dismissed the government's crackdown on illegal firearms as a veiled attempt to disarm the organisation.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced this week the establishment of special police units to track down unlicensed firearms and substantial rewards for information leading to the recovery of weaponry.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the causes of crime in the country were broader than the government seemed to perceive.

"The issue of AKs or of any weaponry belonging to the ANC is part of the discussions of the (ANC-government) working group. We

ANC hits at police firearm crackdown

C.P. 4/1/91

are hoping that Vlok is referring to gunrunning. The problem should be addressed from a broader perspective. You have to talk about the disarming of the population in general," she said.

South African whites had about five guns to a family, making the country one of the most highly armed in the world.

Vlok said the new measures would form part of the police's anti-crime drive.

He announced a reward of R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK

47 rifle or any machinegun.

The police would in addition pay rewards ranging from R800 for a handgrenade to R5 000 for a radio-controlled explosive device.

Vlok said the availability of AK 47 rifles was a source of great concern.

"I am convinced the removal of this type of weapon from the community would lead to a great reduction in violent crimes," he said.

Firearm-recovery units would be established wherever needed, countrywide. One such unit would be formed

immediately in Soweto.

Because of their knowledge and experience, members and former members of the Security Branch would play a cardinal role in these units, he said.

Vlok revealed that an alleged robber - armed with an AK 47 - who died during a robbery attempt at the Voortrekker Road Cash Butchery in Pretoria on December 23 last year, had been a trained PAC "terrorist", Ephraim Lebakwe.

Vlok said police had also formed three "tourism sup-

port units" in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban to protect people against thieves.

Other elements of the anti-crime blitz, dubbed "Operation Sentry", include the following:

■ A campaign to recruit at least 10 000 more cops;

■ Civilians would, where possible, replace police members performing administrative duties; and

■ Vehicle and foot patrols would be extended and temporary crime-reporting centres opened.

Vlok said former Koevoet members, employed temporarily as civilians by the SAP, had tracked down as many as 115 000 stolen head of cattle and slashed the theft of Eskom powerlines from R3-million to R600 000 a month.

16/1/11

It's time for the ANC to get real

THERE is little that could have been better calculated to damage the long-term economic interests of South Africa and all its peoples than two recent pronouncements by ANC leaders.

First, ANC president Nelson Mandela reverted to the stand on nationalisation which most observers, both here and abroad, believed the ANC had wisely decided to shelve.

Then secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa suggested that foreign loans contracted by the present government might not be honoured by future "democratic" (read ANC) rulers.

One does not have to repeat the arguments against nationalisation and the sort of collectivist economics of which it is an integral part. All sensible people all over the world — including most recently the Swedes — have rejected these dated, worn, discredited notions of a collectivist Utopia on earth.

Nonsense

Those systems just do not work. Trevor Manuel, the ANC's economic planner, stated in a television debate with me last week that those policies "don't always destroy economic growth". Well, cancer doesn't always kill, but who needs it?

It is sad to see a man of Mandela's stature and abilities talking such trite nonsense. It would be less sad if the consequences of these foolish remarks were not so seriously damaging to confidence in the long-term future of South Africa. Mandela confesses he knows little of economics. What is

STEPHEN MULHOLLAND argues that the ANC is out of touch with economic reality *S. Times 6/10/91*

evident is that those he listens to also know very little.

Ramaphosa's statement sent shivers through the capital markets, knocking billions off the value of these bonds. Perhaps Ramaphosa enjoyed this; he considers markets to be nothing but glorified casinos anyway.

But has he not considered, or been advised, that the confidence of bankers and investors is fragile and that, once lost, it becomes most elusive? When he's in government and seeking foreign loans, he might learn just how useful markets are for mobilising capital.

And surely he is being disingenuous to suggest that the De Klerk government is raising foreign capital for apartheid ends?

What apartheid ends? The whole thrust of government spending is towards black welfare. The government should challenge Ramaphosa to provide evidence that it is raising funds for apartheid ends.

There is no denying the ham-handedness — as in the VAT debacle — of our treasury and its leadership. Perhaps a clearer statement of the aims of foreign fund-raising with a clear commitment to concentrate such funds on social upliftment to help redress the manifest evils of apartheid would have been helpful.

On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly clear that the ANC is hopelessly out of touch with economic reality. For all its faults and the cruel legacy of apartheid, this country does have Africa's only proper market economy. It is, in African terms, a sophisticated industrial, financial and commercial giant. Its economy has the potential to provide a better living for more people than any other in Africa.

This is not to say that a reasonable case cannot be made for deconcentration in the private sector — particularly, for example, in the case of the media.

Yet the ANC seems to be possessed of some self-destructive urge which causes it to fight against the great tide of history now sweeping the world, a great tide on which millions of ordinary people, once prisoners of collectivism, are being swept on to new freedom and prosperity.

This week the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity referred to "the hare-brained social engineering of successive white governments". This is absolutely correct; National Party rule since 1948 was based on an evil racist doctrine descended directly from Adolf Hitler, a social engineer matched in his own depravity only by Josef Stalin.

Those National Party rulers were unfit to govern. They must answer to history for the evil they visited on innocent South Africans of colour. And we need a growing and vibrant economy to help us redress the deprivations of apartheid.

There is overwhelming evidence before us that market economies generate growth while collectivist economies are, everywhere and always, disasters.

If it seeks to be fit to govern — which is different from seeking to govern — then the ANC must take a crash course in the *realpolitik* of economics.

Touch

It must get in touch with the real world and drag itself out of that intellectual time warp in which it is believed that governments have the answer for everything, can provide for all of man's needs, knows better than we do what is good for us and can manage to generate growth while destroying investor and lender confidence.

The ANC could start by consulting the prime minister of Mozambique, Mario Machungo, who I met in Maputo.

"What," I asked him, "would you say to the ANC if it asked for your advice?"

"I would tell it," he replied, "that central planning and nationalisation do not work. They fail to produce growth. I can tell you. We have tried them."

□ Stephen Mulholland is the managing director of Times Media Limited.

ANCHINTS AT

C/press

6/10/91

HARDER LINE

CP Reporter

THE PWV regional conference of the ANC is taking a hard line on two issues – the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The feeling among delegates to the conference – which ends today in a Johannesburg hotel – is that too many concessions have already been made to the government, informed sources said.

The ANC must now clearly spell out the line it will take in negotiations with the government.

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, however, raised hopes yesterday for an early political settlement, suggesting an all-party conference could be held before the end of the year.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would make an announcement soon on talks with the National Party.

'Leaders must spell out stand on talks'

Although the conference was held behind closed doors, it was learnt delegates demanded that ways be found to speedily consult ANC branches to avoid "the ANC being outmanoeuvred by the government" in negotiations.

Talk in the hotel's corridors was that popular MK commander Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale was tipped to become the new

PWV regional chairman – underlining the region's hardline stand. Chairman Kgalema Motlanthe may not stand for re-election.

During the recent MK congress in Venda, there were strong rumours that Sexwale could step into the shoes of Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff.

Ramaphosa said the ANC still had to define what an interim government should look like and how decisions should be taken in the all-party conference – whether by consensus or by voting.

Consensus could retard progress because decisions could be vetoed, Ramaphosa said.

He said the ANC was considering different options for an interim government.

An interim government would be able to eliminate violence, reconcile all South Africans and restore the people's confidence in orderly government, Ramaphosa said.

He urged the conference to back the two-day strike initiated by Cosatu to protest the introduction of value-added tax (VAT).

Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted to give president FW de Klerk "one last nightmare" by bringing the country to a halt. It emerged at a VAT meeting last weekend that De Klerk dealt with South Africa's people with great contempt, he said.

16/1/11