

ANC may come up empty again

Jowet an

4/10/91

FOCUS

IN ONE of the great moments in bad political timing, the ANC at its consultative congress in December last year resolved to maintain sanctions rigidly until a new constitution is in place.

As if to mock this King Canute-like posture, the EC on the very same day resolved to repeal its ban on new investments in South Africa, as the first step in a phased lifting of sanctions.

The ANC fumed and blustered but learned from its embarrassing mistake.

At its national congress in July this year ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned that, if the ANC wanted to retain the sanctions' weapon, it would have to show flexibility and imagination - or be left with "an empty shell".

In Washington the Congress was persuaded to adopt a policy of phased lifting of sanctions, the first stage of which called for people sanctions - sports tours, visa restrictions, tourism, cultural and academic exchange - to be lifted once obstacles to negotiation such as the political prisoners' issue had been removed.

The second stage would be for all remaining trade and investment sanctions except the arms and oil embargoes to be lifted if the Government accepted an interim government.

The oil and arms embargo would go only when a fully representative government was established.

Is the ANC succeeding in this new policy of tactically retreating from the forward trenches before they are overrun, in order to hold rear positions?

At first glance, no.

The sanctions weapon has been badly blunted with the collapse of EC sanctions and US federal trade and investment sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

This triggered a steady erosion of other trade and investment restrictions, the granting of overflight rights to SAA, Japan dropping its trade quotas and many others.

Even the Commonwealth - one of the strongest international bastions of ANC support - is set to lift "people" sanctions such as visa restrictions and the cultural and academic boycott, at its heads of government meeting in Harare this month.

And the SA Government opened a significant breach in the crucial wall of financial sanctions last month by raising a R650-million loan in Germany.

Yet there have also been contrary signs that sanctions are not going out as inexorably as the tide.

Even the landmark EC decision of December last year has been contradicted by Denmark.

A host of expected visits by heads of state to SA at the time of this month's Commonwealth summit has not materialised.

Specifically, visits by Australian premier Bob Hawke and Canadian premier Brian Mulroney were called off at the last minute because of a perceived slackening in the

pace of reform.

The apparent breakthrough into the world sports arena has become bogged down with local sports bodies blocking the way.

And in the US, 26 states, 24 counties and 88 cities are still applying sanctions - a powerful armada of financial weaponry which is deterring business from investing in SA in any sizeable amount.

And, perhaps most important of all, the Gramm Amendment - the US legislation which effectively denies SA access to IMF loans - remains on the statute book, a bulwark against the vitally needed inflow of international credit.

Does this all mean that the ANC has succeeded in using its new policy to manipulate sanctions and boycotts by giving up non-essentials better to defend essentials?

Most diplomats and other observers agree that, by becoming flexible the ANC has helped to extend the life of crucial sanctions like the IMF ban and that it still has some control over US and Commonwealth sanctions.

But most would also agree that the ANC can do little more than slow the erosion of sanctions - and cannot do what it would most like to do: use sanctions to pressure the Government to adopt specific ANC policy.

Since its July congress the ANC has increasingly telescoped its sanctions policy to concentrate all its energies on one objective - an interim government.

The first phase of sanctions has merged into the second phase for this purpose and this week the ANC said that all sanctions except the mandatory arms embargo could go if an interim government were in-

stalled.

Most of all, the ANC would like the IMF ban to stay until an interim government is in place.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden believes this is a forlorn hope and that America will resist any ANC attempts to "black-mail" it into doing what it wants.

He predicts that the IMF ban will be lifted early next year.

Even the Commonwealth - though more sympathetic to the ANC than most - is unlikely to kowtow to the extent of using its sanctions policy to press for an interim government.

At Harare the Commonwealth leaders are expected to endorse the recommendation by their foreign ministers that people sanctions should be lifted.

The next phase is that trade and investment sanctions should go once all South African parties are participating in "transitional arrangements".

While some Commonwealth countries may interpret this to mean an interim government, most seem likely to accept a multiparty (or allparty) conference as sufficient condition.

They agree that the retreat from sanctions is increasingly becoming something of a rout - with the ANC frantically adapting its policy to suit the changing reality rather than influencing reality with its policy.

In the words of Van Heerden: "Sanctions represent an unquestionably outgoing tide".

By putting all its sanctions eggs in the interim government basket, the ANC is taking a grave risk of once again emulating King Canute, who thought he could make the tide turn back. - Political Correspondent

16/1/11



NADINE GORDIMER and her husband, Reinhold Cassirer, in New York after yesterday's announcement of her Nobel Prize triumph.

Gordimer to use Nobel money to boost black writing

Daily News 10/10/91

Daily News Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG: Nadine Gordimer, the South African author who has been awarded this year's Nobel prize for literature, intends to spend a portion of the R3 million award encouraging South African — particularly black — writing.

Speaking from New York where she has been lecturing, she said she hoped that by winning the prize she would help the racially divided country develop a post-apartheid culture and encourage black writers.

"I would use the attention the prize brings to me as a South African writer to promote the country's writers in general and black South African writers in particular," she said.

She did not know how she would use the money but added that one thing that she wanted to do was raise funds to help black writers develop their talents and get published.

In particular, Gordimer said, she wanted to aid the predominantly black Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) of which

she is an executive member.

Nadine Gordimer is South Africa's leading writer, in terms of awards — but not sales.

She has won the CNA Literary Award four times, as well as Britain's prestigious Booker prize.

The Parktown, Johannesburg-based author, who is married to Reinhold Cassirer, grew up in Springs, the daughter of Jewish immigrants from England and Latvia. She has three children.

She has been an unwavering critic of apartheid and an outspoken advocate of black majority rule.

She is the first woman to have won the prize since the East German Nelly Sachs in 1966. She is the first South African and the third African writer to have won the prize.

■ State President F.W. de Klerk last night congratulated her on her award, saying it was an honour to South Africa.

"It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Nadine Gordimer on this exceptional achievement which is also an honour to South Africa," Mr de Klerk said in a statement. —Sapa

Deserved reward: Page 3

Viewpoint

MERCURY

4/10/91

Leon Marshall

What economic plans does the ANC have?

ONE keeps wondering what the ANC plans doing to the economy one day.

How seriously should they be taken when they talk about nationalisation?

Questions like these shot to the fore again this week, for after a notable silence on nationalisation, it was raised quite out of the blue by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Surprisingly it happened at practically the same time that he expressed severe concern at the inroads which the Nationalists were making into the coloured and Indian minority groups.

His main concern was about the black ethnic composition of the ANC's top leadership. Doubtless the election as ANC western Cape chairman of Dr Allan Boesak, who until recently had severe reservations about the communist influence on the ANC, was directly aimed at winning over coloured support.

Nobody doubts that the econ-

omy will have to change. It will have to change every bit as drastically as the political system if it is to survive and meet the demands of a new non-racial order.

Unlike the political system, however, it will not be able to rely on a properly negotiated set of rules enshrined in a theoretically inviolable document. It will have to look to that document — the constitution — for basic protection and from there on make its own arrangements as best it can.

Whatever changes the economy will have to undergo, it will have to enjoy sufficient protection to sustain the new political order. It is giving that support which is its ultimate challenge, and one would have thought that would also be its best safeguard against rash ideological pronouncements and political exploitation.

So why then talk about nationalisation when communism's spectacular collapse in

Eastern Europe and socialism's pathetic disintegration in post-colonial Africa have been there for all the world to see?

Does anybody in the ANC, or in any other party for that matter, believe that such talk will help boost the economy and invite the foreign investment which this country so desperately needs? It is bound to do the opposite.

It is often said that whites overreact when parties like the ANC talk about nationalisation, whereas they were quite content with the Nationalist Government's socialist policies and the considerable degree of nationalisation it, too, brought about during its forty years' reign.

Such an argument suggests that Nationalist rule and its impact on the economy were not as bad as these same critics would claim it to be.

It might be the emotions about the VAT issue which gave

rise to the renewed suggestions about nationalisation this week, for during some of the protest marches there also rang out that other embittered cry, from the PAC, about "one settler, one bullet."

Perhaps the best indication of the ANC's intention came from another of its top officials, Mr Trevor Manuel, who took up the nationalisation issue on television.

First he said, without a hint of embarrassment, that it was not communism but capitalism that had failed, as proved in the United States. No wonder the other participants in the debate were struck temporarily wordless.

Then, explaining the ANC's nationalisation policy, he said in so many words that it was being used as a "weapon."

The conclusion to be drawn from it was that they might not be as serious about it as they seem, that they are using it either to frighten whites (as if they

are not frightened enough already) or to bolster their standing among the black masses.

It is significant that another leading ANC member, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, was responsible for another financial scurry this week with his statement that a future democratically elected government would have a moral duty to re-evaluate international loans to this country.

It has already been said that the campaign over the VAT issue is largely politically motivated. Mr Mandela admitted it was a good tax system, but he objected to the way the Government went about implementing it, without properly consulting the ANC.

The same might apply to the threats about international loan repayments, and also to Cosatu's withdrawal from the Manpower Commission. As with the threats about nationalisation, these might all be intended as political weap-

ons to prevent the Government from reaping the accolades for the political changes taking place and for possible improvements in the economy.

There is some hope to be taken from such a scenario. It could mean that those talking about nationalisation are playing politics, even if it means setting back the economy for the moment.

What the ANC clearly wants is to be in on the decision-making even before a new constitution is put in place. It wants its share of the credit for improvement in the country's international standing and for improvement in the economy. It cannot stand by watching the Government winning international favour and loans — and the Nationalists making inroads into other minorities.

Hopefully this is so. The country and the economy need every reason not to take the ANC seriously when they talk about nationalisation.

11/1/91

16/1/20

SACC promotes hatred, says IFP

Journal 4/10/91

THE South African Council of Churches was not playing a reconciliatory role in a conflict situation, Inkatha Freedom Party regional secretary Mr Humphrey Ndhlovu said yesterday.

"All it (the SACC) does is promote hatred and conflict," he said.

He claimed the church body was biased in favour of the ANC and that some SACC "senior officials are card-carrying members of that organisation".

The IFP had suffered many casualties, he said,

By JOE MDHLELA

but the SACC had never condemned these killings as they would with ANC fatalities. This behaviour by the SACC was worrying.

"The only conclusion one has to reach is that the SACC is biased in favour of the ANC at the expense of IFP. The Christian ministry of reconciliation is lost to the SACC.

"Our members have died in their hundreds. Not once did the SACC

rebut the actions of the killers.

"But the opposite is true when the SACC is dealing with the ANC. Press statements by top SACC officials are issued to pay homage to the ANC dead."

SACC spokesman Dr John Lamola said the secretary-general of the organisation, the Rev Frank Chikane, was not available for comment on the allegations.

"We will issue a response at an appropriate time," he said.

A deserved reward

Nadine Gordimer's Nobel Prize widely applauded

IT has been on the cards for at least the past 10 years or so. She was nominated several times, and on several occasions there was speculation that she would win.

And this year, at last, literary virtue has been rewarded. Nadine Gordimer, author of 10 novels, two books of criticism and more than 200 short stories, and winner of many awards, has at last won the ultimate literary accolade, the Nobel Prize — a decision which has been widely applauded, not only by other writers.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, himself a former Nobel prize winner, South African premier F.W. de Klerk and the ANC — as well as several left-wing organisations — last night issued statements praising the decision.

And yet she has never been popular in South Africa, at least when judged in terms of sales. Why?

The citation from the Royal Swedish Academy, which judges the awards, provides a clue: Gordimer "writes with intense immediacy about the extremely complicated personal and social relationships in her environment. At the same time as she feels a political involvement — and takes action on that basis — she does not permit this to encroach on her writings".

Durban writer Ari Sitas summed up: "She was explicit in her politics (she is a member

The awarding of the Nobel Prize for Literature to South African Nadine Gordimer has been greeted with jubilation by writers and activists here. **PAUL HOTZ**, author and journalist, reports.

of the ANC); subtle in her aesthetics and characterisation."

Reading her, one always admires her relentless honesty. She never simplifies, never exonerates any of her characters, never allows anyone to sit entirely comfortably. She points out the contradictions in the lives of all of us, left and right, black and white.

And such honesty, during the age of apartheid, the age of lies, when we were told that workers were units of labour, when the Government dreamt of an all-white country, was such a powerful corrective, such a powerful antidote to the official myths that two of her novels — *The Late Bourgeois World* and *Burger's Daughter* — were banned. Such honesty has not always been popular here.

Menan du Plessis, one of South Africa's best woman writers, commented: "I hope that now at last she receives the widespread recognition that she deserves here in South Africa. People here — especially the whites, have a colonial mentality and assume that the best things must happen abroad, and many were put off by her politics.

"Nadine is someone who has always been deeply conscious of the right thing to do," commented Lionel Abrahams, a writer and a personal friend, "and somehow, even at considerable cost to herself, she has always done it."

Aside from her literary talent, her generosity and approachability have made the award an extremely popular one.

The president of Cosaw, (Congress of South African Writers) Professor Njabulo Ndebele, commented: "Despite her stature she has always been willing to make herself available to young and inexperienced writers."

And, now, through her award, the work of other South African writers is likely to benefit from world-wide attention.

Her South African hardback publisher, David Philip, speaking from London en route to the Frankfurt Book Fair, said: "I believe the prize is being awarded not only for her writing, but for her general encouragement to black writers."

David Philip will be publishing a volume of short stories by Gordimer at the end of October, entitled *Jump and Other Stories*.

■ Gordimer is the third African writer to win the award (the previous ones were Wole Soyinka and Naguib Mahfouz), the third South African (after Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu, both of whom won the Peace Prize) — and the first woman in 25 years to win the award.

Incwadi kaNelson Mandela

× Isuka ekhasini 1 ×
lume ngezwi elilodwa
futhi babambisane emi-
zamweni yabo. Noma yi-
siphi isenzo noma isitati-
mende, noma ngabe si-
vela kuphi esingase sida-
le noma sibhebhethekise
ukwehlukana, kulesisimo
esikhona kwezombusa-
zwe, siyisiphosiso okufa-
nele sigwenywe noma ka-
njani.

"Kudingeka ulwazi
oluningi kunalolu engi-
nalo njengamanje nga-
phambi kokuba ngisole
noma yiliphi emaqenjini
athintekile kulokhu uku-
lwa okudabukisayo
okwenzeka eNatal. Kho-
na kunjalo, kuyicala elibi
kithi sonke ukuthi asi-
kwazi ukuhlanganisa imi-
khakha ukuze kuqedwe
ukubulawa kwabangena-
cala. Umzabalazo uyi-
mpilo yethu futhi, ngi-
sho ngabe ukufezeka

kwamaphupho ethu esi-
wathanda kakhulu ku-
ngenzeka kungabiseduze,
nokho singawenza um-
zabalazo ubenesigqi no-
ma ekwehlulekeni kwalo-
kho ubeyinhlekelele.

"Empilweni yami jike-
leleke kwezombusazwe
zimalwa izinto ezingida-

lela usizi njengokubona
abantu bakithi bebulala-
na njengoba kwenzeka
manje. Njengoba wazi,
impilo yomphakathi
kulezizindawo ezithinte-
kile isixakazeko kakhulu,
kwasala inzondo nama-
gqubu okungase kusihlu-
phe njalo eminyakeni
eminingi ezayo. Wudaba
lolu olufuna ukunakwa
ngokukhulu ukushesha
yibobonke abantu kuleli-
zwe. Ayikho into eyongi-
jabulisa ngaphandle ko-
kwazi ukuthi ukuphathe-
ka kabi kwami nesicelo

kuwela ezindlebeni
ezizwayo.

"Ngiyaphinda futhi,
ngiyakubonga wena, iSilo
neNkatha ngomyalezo
wenu onginika intshise-
kelo. Ngikufisela okuhle
noMndlunkulu.

"Owakho ngeqiniso
Madiba."

EPHAWULA ngalencwa-
di nomyalezo ewupqu-
kethe, uDr. Buthelezi
uthe inomyalezo okufa-
nele ufafazwe kubantu
akukhathalekile noma
bangamalunga eNkatha
noma qha.

UDr. Buthelezi uthe:
"Ngicabanga ukuthi
ungomunye wabaholi
ababalulekile lona okhu-
lumayo. Ukhuluma nje-
ngomholi olithanfdayo
izwe lakhe futhi oyindo-
dana yeqiniso yase-
Afrika. Akagxeki uhla-
ngothi oluthile kepha
usinxusa sonke njenga-
bafowabo nodadewabo.
Akazami ukwehlulela.
Nginothando olujulile
ngoDr. Mandela. Ungu-
mfowethu emzabalazwe-
ni. Lomyalezo awuthu-
melayo kubobonke aba-
ntu bethu udala uthando
nokumhlonipha."

16/1/11

Sentence imposed on burned youth angers ANC, lawyers

PIETERSBURG. —

The ANC has reacted angrily to the sentence imposed on a badly burned 16-year-old youth sentenced to juvenile prison for stealing a TV set worth R750.

The boy was sentenced in the Magistrates Court on Wednesday to be kept in an institution for juveniles until he turned 21.

The youth, who cannot be named because of his

age, was welded to a steel table, doused with petrol and set alight by Messina farmer, Johan van der Westhuizen, in 1989.

He was found to have broken into a house near Messina in 1989 from which a television set was reported missing.

"I cannot understand why a young boy who already has undergone a

traumatic experience such as this, should be subjected to yet another ordeal," said ANC regional media officer Mr Stanley Motimele yesterday.

"The whole matter has racist connotations and it seeks to deviate the attention from the brutality done against the boy."

Van der Westhuizen was fined R5 000 (or two years) and received a sus-

pending sentence of five years.

The youth was awarded R40 000 damages.

In a later statement, Lawyers for Human Rights said the organisation was appalled by the sentence and appealed to Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok to order the youth's release immediately.

LHR said Mr Vlok had the statutory power to order the boy's release "and we urge him to put it to good use".

The youth's mother said yesterday she feared her son would die in jail.

Mrs Johanna Lefoka of Venda said her son had suffered from asthma since the assault.

"He is always coughing and cannot walk long distances. Now he must be taken away from me."

She said she was not told where her son would be held or the length of the sentence.

"What sort of sentence is this?"

Her life had been changed by the assault on her son, and a probation officer said in court that "she was an arm's length from being an alcoholic". She had left the farm where her son had been assaulted, and where she had worked as a domestic servant.

"I live for him. Now they are taking him away from me. My son lived through hell and only mothers will understand what I'm talking about."

Mrs Lefoka said she had been informed that Azapo had approached a lawyer to appeal against the sentence. — Sapa.

16/1/11

16/1/11
Mandela's nationalisation remark jeopardising foreign investment

Germany warns ANC over policy

A / News 4/10/91
Daily News
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC has been bluntly warned that its recent spate of remarks about nationalising industries and reconsidering the honouring of foreign loans was jeopardising investment in this country.

This rebuke came yesterday from German Deputy Economic Co-operation Minister Michaela Geiger.

She said during an interview: "This is not a good way if you want capital to come into your country. You must not say these things."

Mrs Geiger was referring to ANC president Nelson Mandela's remark last Friday that the ANC was still considering nationalising mines and financial institutions and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's statement this week that the ANC would "not be keen" to honour foreign loans granted to the apartheid government.

The ANC last night showed further signs of being in a muddle on its official stance on the loans issue.

A statement issued by its department of information and publicity said: "The national working committee of the ANC wishes to reaffirm that the secretary-general's statements on the issue of loans accurately reflects the ANC position."

Several ANC officials have, however, said that Mr Ramaphosa's view did not reflect official policy.

The deputy head of international relations, Stanley Mabizela, said a new government would have no choice but to honour foreign loans granted to the National Party Government.

In its statement last night, the ANC claimed Mr Mabizela "was expressing a personal view which does not reflect policy".

Mrs Geiger said she hoped that Mr Ramaphosa's remark would not discourage other German and foreign banks from making loans. She believed they would investigate the ANC's position further before making decisions.

"But what is worse is (Mr Mandela's statement about) nationalisation. That's already had a negative effect. If you want the economy to grow you must create the right climate for investment."

Mrs Geiger said, however, that Mr Ramaphosa had explained to her that Mr Mandela's remarks were not the ANC's final position on nationalisation.

She said she told Mr Ramaphosa that nationalisation had been the policy pursued by eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia and Poland "and all of them had gone bankrupt".

"He understood that word, even in German."

Asked if she had made any decision about further German Government development aid for South Africa, Mrs Geiger said she had a problem because the Republic was not officially defined as a developing country and her Ministry was only responsible for development aid.

16/1/11

Freedom of Boksburg for Mandela 'laughable'

Sapa and Citizen Reporter

IT was "not only laughable but sickening" that the Save Boksburg Committee (SBC) could grant Mr Nelson Mandela the freedom of the town, Mr Andries du Toit, CP chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council, said yesterday.

Reacting to reports that Mr Mandela would receive the freedom of the town at a function in Reiger Park on Monday, Mr Du Toit said the SBC

"is just trying to get publicity and have no mandate whatsoever in Reiger Park".

A spokesman for the SBC insisted that they were acting on behalf of the majority of Boksburg residents, and that the gesture was "not a gimmick" but rather "a sincere attempt to honour one of our country's most popular leaders".

"How can they think they have the authority to give anyone the freedom of the town?" Mr Du Toit

said.

"They haven't even got one representative on the local government of Boksburg".

"If the SBC can act in this manner, then it should also be possible for me in my capacity as chief whip to grant the freedom of Reiger Park to President De Klerk."

Boksburg's mayor, Mr T J Ferreira, accused the SBC of "trying to create more antagonism in Boksburg through this unofficial act".

16/1/11

Press got it wrong, says Ramaphosa

Journalist 4/10/91

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has accused reporters of misinterpreting remarks he made at a news conference on Tuesday.

This follows reports that he said an ANC government would not necessarily honour loans inherited from the present Government.

In his denial he said: "I emphasised the right and moral duty of any future democratically elected government to re-evaluate loans that the apartheid regime entered into and the conditions under which they have been obtained," he said.

The ANC's deputy head of international relations, Mr Stanley Mabizela, was more emphatic - a new government would have no al-

ternative but to honour such loans.

The furore surrounding the organisation's economic policies first erupted last Friday, when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told the Western Cape Regional Congress in Somerset West that an ANC-led government would nationalise key private enterprises to correct the imbalances created by apartheid.

This immediately elicited cries of "foul" from business leaders who condemned Mandela's statements as old-fashioned.

In a bid to quash growing criticism from the business sector, the ANC said Mandela's remarks were merely intended to draw attention to socio-economic imbalances.

On Tuesday night, Mr Trevor Manuel, head of the

ANC's economic planning department, attempted further "damage control" when he told SABC-TV's Agenda the organisation was not wedded to nationalisation.

It merely viewed the concept as an option.

Ramaphosa reignited the debate when he warned a future democratic government "would not be keen" to honour loans granted to the apartheid government.

- Sapa