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â\200\224ahe Star 19/os/35

The wasted years
since June 1986

. ITâ\200\231S that time of year again.
June 10 approaches, and the
' Government says it is assess-
ing whether or not to reimpose
the state of emergency for a
fourth year. The state of
nationwide â\200\234unrestâ\200\235 remains
very much below its level of
June 1986 and there is more
talk on all sides of finding
Solutions through negotiation
rather than confrontation, But
only the optimists will believe
that the emergency could be
lifted in three weeksâ\200\231 time.
However, despite an elec-
tion pending in which â\200\234securi-
tyâ\200\235 will be a key issue for the
ruling party and the ruling

white electorate it is courting,

. a return to:more normal poli-
tics and the rule of law are es-
sential for the good of the na-
tion. B :

For the past three years.the
state of Ã©mergency has kept
the country in a state of great
abnormality, despite any sur-
face appearances to the con-
trary. Most township â\200\230unrest
was quelled, often by very
tough means, but all that was
achieved was to clamp a lid on
the seething cauldron of dis-
content. Â\$

Besides curbing the riots,
emergency rule curtailed the
ordinary processes of politics
eÃ©ven more. It meant sti]]
greater erosion of fundamen-

tal rights â\200\224 the freedoms of

Speech, of assembly, and the
right to liberty. The basic un-
derlying issues could not be

freely debated. Newspapers
were further gagged. Thou-
sands were detained without
trial. These included a good
many who were trying to nego-

tiate an end to local school or consumer boycotts â\200\224 another classic case of officialdom shooting itself in the foot.

What the country has experienced since June 1986 is a long political standstill at a

-time when movement was es-

sential. Solution of the real issues has remained in a state of suspension, despite feeble attempts by Pretoria to initiate dialogue with blacks. Meanwhile, the sanctions campaign mounted, the currency plunged and economic growth languished. Underlying black bitterness grew further and South Africa lost still more sympathy abroad.

In recent months that picture has changed a little for the better. Most of the remaining detainees were released (although in many cases only after hunger strikes and escape bids) and the international climate has improved marginally. Yet the country remains beleaguered and politically paralysed.

South Africans can think of normality only once normal internal politics are again possible. Besides releasing key black leaders and scrapping - racist laws, that also means lifting the emergency.

THE South African
Chamber of Mines has
just released what

â\200\230purports to be a

| definitive survey on
attitude to sanctions. |
According to the
study, released simult-
aneously in Johannw-\
burg and Washington, at |
least 80 percent of South |
Africans of all popula-
â\200\230tion groups oppose
â\200\230sanctions and disinvest-
'ment as strategies for
social change. |
â\200\230A close analysis of the
version of the report
printed in the latest
' Chamber of Mines
" newsletter raises puzzling
questions on its validity,
' however. Not only are
{some of the survey
questions obviously
| biased, the answers given
by the respondents could
be subject to different
interpretations. Besides, |
an examination of the .
survey must be within the |
context of the prevailing
state of emergency
restrictions on pro-|
sanctions agitation, a/
' fact that immediately .
| favours those opposed. !

Support

_ Some of the con-
clusions drawn by theâ\200\230
polling company Mark-
inor appear to be based
on a selective under-
standing of what the pro-
sanctions lobby standsJ

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â\200\230The â\200\234elther/or
options given respond- |
ents on attitudes to |
sanctions can be
restrictive. Studies over
the last few years have
â\200\230revealed considerable
support of the concept of
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230selectiveâ\200\231â\200\235 sanctions
against South Africa.
Blacks may consider a |

foreign investor putting
up a factory in Soweto in
partnership with localâ\200\231 |
residents while rejecting

white suburb There is no
| necessary contradiction

. in this attitude. Besides, |

even the proâ\200\224sanctions
lobby have never had |
anything against con-
tinued foreign support
for community pro-
grammes, even as they

. advocate for the isolation

of the country.

t

Good idea -

Question five of the
survey questionnaire asks
whether or not sanctions
are a good idea. This is an
irrelevant issue. Arch-
bishop Tutu and others
support sanctions, not
because they are a good
or bad idea. Rather,
because they - consider
them an effective non-

~violent strategy to

Â£

GUEST COLUMN by
'EUGENE NYATI |

the present

â\200\230weaken
Governmentâ\200\231s intrans-
igency and ability to

finance the undemocratic
status quo and ignore the |

will of the majority Such

a conclusion comes only
from knowledge of South

Africaâ\200\231s foreign trade
patterns.

An informed judge-
ment on the countryâ\200\231s
vulnerability to sanctions
must be based less on a

simplistic issue involved. |

the same if relocated to a | Unless

the survey respondents had reasonable understanding of the subject about which they were being asked, any subsequent conclusion could be seriously flawed.

When a local company buys out a disinvesting foreign entity, the operation does always lead to job losses.

If Gencor, for example, | â\200\235
' it with the observation

buys out the American
company Mobil the new |

not |
â\200\230Liberation

politics is

based on

sac

owners would have little
reason to dismiss the old

afresh.

If any job losses did |
occur,
presumably be influenced by ordinary profit
logic that would have |

' little to do with the fact of
disinvestment. For as
* long as the business
undertaking was profit-
| able, the new owners
| would retain its staff. Itâ\200\231s
important to remember
that foreign companies |
are in South Africalessto |
give jobs than make
profit. i

Question nine of the
survey paints the possible
scenerio of job losses as a
consequence of disinvest-
ment without qualifying |

. above. An impression is
| created that disinvest-
ment is of necessity

followed by massive job |
losses. This is not always
the case. /

rific

they would|

d V Sg bieci

| and trained staff and hire

While on the subject of
| job losses it may be useful
to correct another
misconception. It has
| been suggested by
| various anti-sanctions
| advocates including
| John Kane-Berman of
the SA Institute of Race
Relations that any job
losses resulting from

disinvestment (which is a '

possibility) would

undermine the power of |

the democratic unions.
| This could be misleading.
' There is no necessary link
between a trade union's
| numerical strength and
its net effectiveness.

Let us suppose that
| post. :- :
. shrinkage were to lead
South African mines to
retrench half its staff.
Regrettable as such a
decision would be, it

| would not necessarily |
weaken the effectiveness of
of Cyril Bamaphosals

National Union of

Mineworkers (NUM).
While numbers should |

not be ignored, South

African trade unions extra suffering for

have acquired the
effectiveness that they

have over the years, less

' because of their numer-
ical strength than
effective link with the
broader
movement and com-
munity.- On the other

hand, despite their considerable membership in Natal, the Inkatha-led trade unions have failed to have much impact precisely because they remain wedded to a dubious political ideology. It may be worth noting that unionised workers remain a numerical majority in this country.

Lobby

The pro-sanctions lobby does not deny that disinvestment and boycotts could lead to some job losses or even suffering. But this is explained as a regrettable and yet unavoidable sacrifice in the process of dislodging a particularly

su | vicious and intransigent disinvestment |

minority government.

The loss of lives or jobs is |

not a political strategy. Rather, a possible consequence of a political strategy.

~ Liberation politics is based on sacrifice. This would have to be explained fully to respondents before asking them whether or not they could endure

a cause

minority in

To select the paint scare scenarios without explaining the socio-

| political context could be

[

Yikerition | alarmist and fraudulent.

Only a politically

credible (as opposed to: nically |

merely to

trained) pollster could

adequately handle this

i

task. There is no evidence
of this. consideration
having been made in
respect of the people who
conducted the survey.

The validity of sanctions probe
to be doubt

It is one thing to speak |

several local languages,
but quite another to be
politically credible

~ enough to elicit honest

responses on issues
political. This
especially true under the

prevailing oppression.

is |

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tunity to exchange views with you and to call upon

COHEN told the committee: "I value this oppor-

the wisdom of the committee members about the
formulation of United States policy towards Africa. " I look

- forward to a continuing substantive dialogue between the
Bureau of African Affairs and interested senators and
members of Congress in the spirit of openness and

frankness.

"If I am confirmed, I hope senators will always feel free to call

me directly for information, advice and opinion. I hope the
senators will reciprocate by communicating with me and members
of my staff in the same spirit. ;

"Africa is a continent with enormous problems and significant
challenges for US policy, but we and the African people continue to
have high hopes for the future. I hope we can work together to seek
solutions to problems, to rise to some of the challenges, and to
fulfill some of the hopes of these courageous hard-working people.

"Africa is important to

the United States in a -

number of ways:

" We are concerned
about development
because the production
of wealth and the stimu-
lation of sustained
economic growth in
Africa will allow the
continent to meet its
potential. The United
States, in turn, will
benefit " for example,
from increased export

" We are concerned
about human rights in
Africa because we cannot
fail to speak out and
work against cruel and

~ inhuman treatment of

people wherever it occurs
in the world. :

" We are concerned
about the Italian

and famine because the
American people,
regardless of political
affiliation and ideolo-

gies, will always come to
- the aid of victims as we
have always done in the
m J il :
Â® Finally, we care about

gg because twelve
P t of the American
~ population trace their
ancestry to that conti-

nent and want their

government to reflect
their ties of blood,
culture and spiritual

â\200\234Tlle area of Africa
â\200\230that encompasses all of

- catastrophe known as

R TR R TR
Herman J Cohen, President
Bushâ\200\231s nominee for Assistant
Secretary of State for African
Affairs, says that apartheid
would be a matter of daily con-
cern for him during his tenure.
Testifying at his confirmation
hearing before the Senate For-
eign Relations - committee,
Cohen- referred to the racist
system in South Africa as â\200\234the
outrageous human rights
catastropheâ\200\235. -

these interests and
concerns more than any
other today, is in the
southern third of that
continent. ;

â\200\234If confirmed, I donot
expect a day to go by |
during which I would not
be deeply troubled by the
outrageous human rights

apartheid. :
â\200\234If we do nothing e

in Africa during the next

four years, we must work

Africa

Sewwatan "G â\200\2240g-Â¥S

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every day to promote a negotiated, non-violent
â\200\230transition to a new
| constitutional system
| which will guarantee
| equal political rights, and
' equal economic and
~ social opportunity for all
' South Africans regard-
â\200\230less of race or ethnic
_affiliation. -

â\200\234As I look at South Africa today, I see some new thinking and a new sense of realism among all of the protagonists â\200\224 a development which gives us some hope that progress toward a democratic solution may

- be achievable.

â\200\234On the side of the

' South African Govern-

ment, I see growing

â\200\234understanding of the reality that no new

system of government

can be put in place that is

of the black majority.

â\200\234Their leaders - have the capability of vetoing any unilateral govern-ment initiatives, and to a great extent already have the power to influence the future of the white community.
On the side of the

growing understanding of the reality that the white power system will â\200\224are a key instrument of

not collapse in the foreseeable future as the result of a frontal assault on government struc-
â\200\234Although the coura-geous challenge to governmental authority from 1984 to 1988 rocked the white community considerably, and stimulated the new

realism I just mentioned,
it is increasingly clear to
the black leadership, in
my view, that constitu-
tional change will have to
come through a process
of negotiation in which
there will be no losers.-

In the current fluid
environment, I feel it is
very important for the
United States to main-
tain a significant
presence in South Africa,
both official and non-
governmental.

â\200\234We have a major role
to play by pushing all

black majority, I see a

parties in South Africa -

* towards the imperatives
_ of dialogue, negotiation
_and

promise. -

â\200\234Our official assis-
tance programs, design-
ed to enhance black
political\lcveragc in the
period leading to a
negotiated settlement,

our policy.

â\200\234The American pri-
vate sector is also doing

impo work in the
areas of economic
adv ent and social

responsibility, and we
should be encouraging
American companies
and non-governmental
groups to remain and
continue their efforts.

As "a result of the
â\200\234successful negotiation
leading to Namibian
independence and Cuban
troops withdrawal from
Angola, brilliantly
mediated by former
Assistant Secretary
Chester Crocker, Ame-
rican prestiges in the
re on"â\200\230?sâ\200\234â\200\230eÃ©i anzail-time
high. .

try to build on that
success in order to

contribute to peaceful
settlements of conflicts in
Angola, Mozambique
and in South Africa
itself BELIE o
â\200\234In that respect, I
know that Secretary

widely as possible with
congressional leadership,

have been concerned
with southern African

personally look forward
to that consultative
process because thereisa

Congress and elsewhere
in"the United States that

{ is highly worth tapping.â\200\235â\204ç

â\200\234] believe we should -

Baker plans fo consult as -

and with relevant groups -
{ in the United States who

issues over the years. I |

lot of wisdom in the |

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: The Star Bureau Tf)â\200\231&

WASHINGTON â\200\224 World Council of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak has dismissed a recent Gallup poll of South Africans on the sanctions issue as the work of a white South African commercial concern.

Dr Boesak is one of three clerics visiting the US in a bid to step-up sanctions.

The Gallup survey, released in Johannesburg and Washington this week, found a majority of all South Africans were opposed to sanctions.

The poll was commissioned by the Chamber of

Mines and conducted by Markinor, an affiliate of

Gallup. The Gallup organisation of the US sent one of its most senior mwmhm to ensure the

sak dismisses Gaï¬\201lgï¬\201) po%l

pollâ\200\231s validity. The US organisation has allowed its name to be carried on the survey. :

Dr Boesak told the newspaper USA Today:
â\200\234People must be aware that the poll carries the name Gallup, but it is not the same Gallup corporation of the US, but a white South African commercial concern.â\200\235 A !

. Asked if sanctions hurt only poor blacks, Dr Boesak said he has â\200\234evidence from other polls that more than 70 percent of the blacks supported. - sanctions.â\200\235 i% .10 ot B o (1 e

Only 29 percent of the more than 2000 people interviewed by Markinor thought Dr Boesak was ..

_in favour of sanctions. Only 1percent named him as the leader they supported most. -

The Star Friday May 19 1989

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- By Lloyd ts

White residents of Boksburg have been challenged to show their opposition to Conservative Party politics in relation to the consumer boycott and by attending protest meetings.

At a crowded meeting of coloured and white residents at the Colgate Palmolive headquarters in the town, a spokesman called on whites to use the buses which ferry consumers to neighbouring towns to do their grocery shopping on Saturdays. 3

The Save Boksburg Committee said it had been mandated to "take the black struggle against the re-introduction of apartheid measures ... to the white community". A spokesman said the committee was now ready to engage the white community in the campaign. :

"It is time they, the white voters, must realise we are no longer prepared to suffer be-

It took place

Challenge to white "faenge (ammter

cause of their misplaced fears...

"It is also time the effects of the misdirected policies of the Conservative Party and National Party must be driven home to whites who seem to remain apathetic while their lead-

ers gamble recklessly with the future of our town. . OW's

12 SO,
Tidgeey

"Our demands are clear: The scrapping of the CP Town Council's racist decisions regarding public amenities, the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act~.

the Group Areas 'Act and ;all
apartheid legislation as well @asÂ»
the introduction of one town.andi.
one town council for all the pgo: ;
ple of Boksburg, including those
in Reiger Park and VosloorusJ Â¥

One of the speakers at 'thÃ©
meeting was Dr Nico Smit, who'
said he believed South Africa:
was heading for disaster and Â¢4-
tastrophe, unless similar meet"
ings (betWï¬\201;l black and white)

all over the country.â\200\235"

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he Starâ\200\231s Africa News Se! :}9.03.â\200\234, im0

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WINDHOEK â\200\224 A senior member of the Christian Democratic Action Party (CDA) has received a. letter from Swapo threatening him with retribution, possibly death, unless he switches his support to Swapo, the CDA said yesterday.

The letter, produced by the CDA, is on a printed letterhead identifying it as coming from Swapoâ\200\231s department of defence, whose address is given as a post box number in Lubango, Angola. It is unsigned, but it has a stamp reading Office of the Chief Political Commissar of Plan.

Plan stands for the Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation Army , of Namibia, which is the name of the Swapo

armed force. In calling on the recipient to start working for Swapo in the Namibia independence

election, the letter urges him to â\200\234think cautiously to avoid risking your lifeâ\200\235.

Mr Werner Neef, a member of the CDA execu- i

tive, said the letter, dated March 18, was posted in Oshakati in Owambo on April 9. He declined to identify the recipient, saying this might put him at risk of retribution by Swapo.

â\200\234We presume that members of other parties _bers of Koevoet.

The Administrator-General of ed Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

By Jon Qwelane,
The Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service

WINDHOEK â\200\224 The Attorney-General of Namibia has decided to prosecute four soldiers on charges of assault and malicious damage to property. Details of the pending trials, which will be heard in the Ondangwa District Court in northern Namibia early next month, were conveyed yesterday to the United Nations special repre-

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â\200\231 threat
3 â\200\230jâ\200\230M [

r letters,â\200\235/Mr Neef said,
â\200\234and we therefore ask all the political parties participating in the Resolution 435 exercise to

join us in condemning this type of intimidation in the strongest terms possible.â\200\235

~ The letter says that with independence for Namibia in sight, Swapo is now concerned about

which Namibians â\200\234are to enter this stage of our struggle with lost soulsâ\200\235.

â\200\234It would be painful if (the recipient) is one of the few Namibian die-hards who are to opt for an everlasting collaborating stance with the enemy of our nation.â\200\235

It will be unfortunate, too, the letter says, if the

recipient is one of those â\200\234planning to pack their things for South Africa.â\200\235 It says he should â\200\234think cautiously to avoid risking your lifeâ\200\235.

- It says Swapo expects the recipient, in order to avoid â\200\234censure and contemptâ\200\235, should undergo a change of heart and â\200\234start forthwith with political mobilisational workâ\200\235.

He should begin with his own followers and make sure that â\200\234no-one is going to turn his/her back against Swapo during the electionâ\200\235.

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Louis Pienaar â\200\230perturbedâ\200\231 at allegations of cruelty

The Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service

WINDHOEK â\200\224 The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar is said to be â\200\234very perturbedâ\200\235 about allegations of horrifying acts of cruelty committed in northern Namibia by former mem-

The allegations were published by The Times of London. A spokesman said Mr Pienaar would not hesitate to remove the highest officials from duty if such allegations were found to be true. A statement issued here said: â\200\234Mr Pienaar is very perturbed about these allegations, and appeals to all members of the public to - make them known to the police so that they can be fully investigat-

;â\200\230ThÃ© â\200\230public could also come forward to make sworn statements.â\200\235

A-G of Namibia to prosecute four soldiers

sentative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Two of the soldiers are attached to 61 mechanised battalion and the other two to 101 battalion. No further details were released.

It was also disclosed yesterday that the member of the South West Africa Police who was arrested at the weekend after the fatal shooting of a Leonard Nenghama (16) in the village of Oma-

henene, has been charged with murder. -

Sadly, South Africa occupies a probably unique position today in that it bases its entire constitution, legislative system and many other phases of public and private life on the differential treatment of different sections of its population.

Every aspect of life has come to be dominated by the thought: to what group does that person belong? It is, I believe, more true of South Africa than of any other country, that race is destiny.

The whole pattern of every individual's life from the cradle to the grave is circumscribed by his race. The idea of race has become a national neurosis of the obessional variety.

Study of race

A scientist who has made a special study of race has, I believe, a social obligation to make known the facts about race.

To say nothing about race would be the simple way out, for it is easy to drift with the current and it is difficult to swim against the tide.

It may be unhealthy to point out, for example, that the assumptions underlying racism and apartheid fly in the face of the scientific truth about race.

What are the presuppositions that

Excerpts from an address by PROFESSOR PHILLIP TOBIAS, head of the Department of Anatomy and Human Biology at the University of the Witwatersrand, to a graduation ceremony at the University of Durban-Westville.

underpin racism? Whether explicit or tacit, there are at least four assumptions:

① That races or ethnic groups are pure and distinct entities and that racial purity is something desirable and healthy;

② That members of a racial group look alike and think alike;

③ That how one behaves depends entirely or mainly on one's genes;

④ That some races are better than others and that some fall right outside the magic circle of love and brotherhood, because they are considered to be inferior.

There is no evidence that any of these assumptions is justified. The myth of the pure race has been thoroughly refuted, nor is there any evidence to support the idea that purity of race is a desirable thing.

Science has not so far validly demonstrated that there are any genetically determined differences in the kinds of nervous system or patterns of behaviour among the races. In a word, biological research powerfully repudiates racism.

Effort and resources must now be

expended on the expunging of racial stereotypes from the minds of South Africans of all groups. A corresponding measure of teaching and preaching and practising must be devoted to the liquidation of racial prejudgments from the thinking of the people of this land.

Free of racism

Opportunities must be provided for schoolchildren and college and university students to study together, play together and live together, so that a generation may be nurtured whose minds may be as free from racialism as it is possible to become.

Only by such a crash programme

will the envisaged, post-apartheid structures, non-racist constitutions

and bill of rights have a chance of working.

Massive re-education to undo the racial polarisation generated by the past is absolutely essential.

Re-orientation on the meaning of race and on the invalidity of the concepts underlying racism must be

.change. And what is change? As Lu

Race â\200\224 a natlpnal neur

an ineluctable component of such a programme.

Education is a major key to th future and it must be education fo!

cretius said, in â\200\234De Rerum Na-
turaeâ\200\235 over two thousand years ago:
â\200\234Change is the death of that which
was beforeâ\200\235.

I vividly recall the day when I re-
ceived my first degree, over 40
years ago.

It was only four years after
Franklin D Roosevelt had formulat-
ed the four freedoms of the Atlantic
Charter (January 1941) â\200\224 freedom
of speech and expression; freedom

of religious worship; freedom from,_/
want; and freedom from fear.

In his inspiring graduation ad-
dress, the chancellor of Wits uni-
versity, Jan Hofmeyr, proposed to
add a fifth freedom to the four free-
doms of the Atlantic Charter â\200\224
freedom from prejudice.

He called on South Africans to
throw off their dominant mentality,
which he desribed as a Herrenvolk
Mentality, a master-race obsession.

He reminded us that, a long time
ago, Thomas Jefferson had de-
clared: â\200\234I have sworn upon the altar
of God Eternal hostility against
every form of tyranny over the
mind of man.â\200\235

â\200\234Here in South Africa,â\200\235 Hofmeyr

Professor Philip: Tobias . . .
ploding race myths.

concluded, "the greatest evil of all
is the tyranny of prejudice."

The need of those Five Freedoms
is as great today as when they were
propounded.

Some would consider them the
very cornerstone of what we refer
to "sometimes a little too jocular-
ly" as civilisation.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who,
when asked what he thought about,

Western civilisation, replied
thought it would be 2
idea. :

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' WASHINGTON          In one of the strongest calls so far for Mr George Bush to move away from his cautious responses to the new Soviet Union, Mr Robert McNamara, a veteran anti-communist strategist and champion of capitalism, has urged the President to . throw out            the mindset and the paranoia of Soviet - aggression           that he says has affected America           vision of the world for the last 40 years.

Mr McNamara also said he foresaw a time, perhaps by the year 2000, when there would be no short-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Mr McNamara           remarks came as a new poll ~ indicated that two out of three Americans now say Moscow no longer poses an immediate military threat to the United States, and nearly three out of four consider nuclear war unlikely. \

An increasing number of Americans also see Mr Mikhail Gorbachev as radically different from his predecessors in the Kremlin.

In testimony on Capitol Hill, Mr McNamara, who once ran the Ford Motor Company and the World .

Bank and was Secretary of Defence under Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, was asked why he thought President Bush was being so cautious. \            ; He replied:            I think for 40 years we             have had a mindset that has been shaped by the fear of Soviet aggression. Our people have been, and are today, addressing the world           problems through eyeglasses and mindsets that have been affected by that paranoia, it           not going to change quickly.

             But we should throw out that mindset.          

In a separate event at Harvard University, Mr McNamara (72) said he did not mean that the US should throw caution to the wind, but that the opportunities presented by Mr Gorbachev              may save us from ourselves, he           drawing us along          .

In stark contrast to Bush administration officials,
: THE STRR.) Tlos)

The United States appears, at last, to be losing

its              Soviet paranoia                          , writes PETER PRINGLE.

he said he did not think that Mr Gorbachev was fighting a propaganda war,

It r to save his own society,           he said. -

â\200\234I'm not so naive as to suggest that we will face a peaceful world, we won't, but we should probe the

extent to which the opportunity to reduce confronta- -

tion between East and West is real.â\200\235

Mr McNamara did not excuse himself from being

a victim of the paranoia of Soviet aggression.

â\200\234I was part of the administration that was in

- power when the Bay of Pigs event took place,â\200\235 he

told the Senate foreign relations committee.

The new poll, conducted by CBS and The New York Times, showed that Mr Gorbachev has been easing peopleâ\200\231s minds about the Russians.

When he took over as Soviet leader in 1985, 47 per- :

cefit of Americans considered him a real departure from past Kremlin leaders, but today that figure has leapt to 79 percent.

The number of Americans who believe that Moscow would start a war has dropped from 69 percent in 1985 to 57 percent, but 50 percent still think the Soviet Union seeks â\200\234world dominationâ\200\235.

On the disputed matter of whether the US should open talks with Moscow on short-range nuclear weapons in Europe, two-thirds of those polled said such talks would be a good idea.

One of the most interesting trends shown by the poll was that 60 percent of the 1073 respondents calling themselves conservatives now predict, along with a similar majority of liberals, important changes in life for the ordinary Soviet citizen in the next decade or so. â\200\224 The Independent.

Mr Robert MacNamara |

- .. hawk into dove on }

â\200\230the Kremlinâ\200\231s motives.

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON â\200\224
has invited the co-
Democratic F
visit the Un

so been asked to meet the president of
Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Marlin Fitz-

George Bush
of the United
Albertina Sisulu, to

National Congress,
White House pr'
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South Africa
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_ Archbishop Des-
â\200\230and the Rev

Abhorrence

Mr Fitzwater
dent Bush shared

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ishopâ\200\231s abhorrence of

Â«The president promise
opposition in every way possible.
â\200\234The US administration will be looking
American pr
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Africa. It W
Mr Fitzwater.

Mr Bush did not discuss sanctions

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ice and equa
as a very good

with Archbishop Tutu.)
" On the invitation to Mrs Sisulu, Mr Fitzwater
said no date had been set. :

He described her as a patroness of the principal
black opposition group in South Africa.

Her husband was in jail and the group was
banned in South Africa/ "

Dr Boesak said ina television interview yester-

day that he had asked Mr Bush to meet Mr Tambo, so that he could see for himself what kind of man he was. ks

Dr Boesak said Mr Bush gave no indication whether he would invite Mr Tambo or not.

«But my feeling is that whichever way it goes, |
once President Bush has met with Mr FWde
Klerk, then the question will arise, how can you
meet with the leader of the minority white gov-
ernment in South Africa and you are not willing
to meet with the acknowledged leader of the
organisation - m(ith -
Africa i i id. g
@ The White House earlier this week confirmed
National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk would be |
invited to visit the YS! bt et

He would meet the Secretary of State, Mr
James Baker, before the genera_lj?'election in Sep-
tember. & L A A s

There were no plans for Mr Bush to meet Mr de
Klerk, the White House said. e ekt !

Tutu's peace plan for GERMANY:

Senator Ted Kennedy jokes with Archbishop Tutu and Dr
Boesak when entertained them to dinner this week.

tions would inflict on the poorest and weakest South Africans.

It is also not impressed with the so-called viable alternative to sanctions - economic empowerment of the black people, a concept frequently bandied about among moderates and conservatives in Washington.

This much was clear when about 90 prominent Americans who spearhead the sanctions drive in the US gathered this week to hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu's new peace plan for South Africa. . : /

It turned out there was no peace plan, but rather a debate for more sanctions.

The only difference of opinion was whether the strategy should be to go for a full set of comprehensive sanctions, which would be difficult to achieve given the Senate and the Bush administration's opposition to such overkill, or whether a tactical move of incremental sanctions would be more successful.

No-one mentioned the possibility of lifting some of the existing sanctions. 4 :

Archbishop Tutu was careful to point out on a number of occasions he was not obsessed with sanctions, and that the measures he and his brother clerics now proposed should not be seen as punitive measures but rather as carefully selected items designed to achieve the main objective: forcing the South African Government to the negotiating table.

At one point, talking about rolling over South Africa's foreign debts, he said the emphasis need not be on refusing to

WASHINGTON - The pro-sanctions lobby in the US is not in the least bit concerned about the economic hardship its

sanctions please

BY DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

Ninety prominent Americans who spearhead the sanctions drive in

the US gathered this week to hear Archbishop Desmond

Tutu's new peace plan for South Africa, but there was no - peace plan, rather a debate for more sanctions.

extend repayments unless something was done. It could be on granting new loans in return for something being done.

For the archbishop, apparently, this was a subtle shift in

his approach on sanctions, implying that there could be room for more flexibility on the issue. - i

Emotions ran so high that even conservative Democratic Senator David Boren, who until now has been leaning away from a fresh round of sanctions, enthusiastically endorsed the church leaders's carefully selected financial sanctions.

These are banning any further rolling over of South Africa's foreign debts, a complete severance of all air links with South Africa, and embargoes on South Africa's gold and coal exports and its oil imports.

The church leaders believe that if America implements these sanctions, and if it can persuade the rest of the Western world to do likewise, the South African Government can be brought to its knees.

They argued that the only reason why South Africa negotiated a settlement in Namibia and Angola was because of the pressure of sanctions.

More sanctions would force South Africa to its own domestic negotiations table.

ike Siluma,
Labour Reporter
e much-awaited weekend
lks between the Congress of
SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), In-
katha and United Democratic
Front (UDF) affiliates â\200\224 to end
political fighting in Natal town-
ships â\200\224 are in jeopardy, be-
cause of Inkathaâ\200\231s insistence
that they take place in Ulundi.
Following a proposal by In-
katha president, Chief Mangos-
uthu Buthelezi, that the talks be
held in the kwaZulu capital of
Ulundi, leaders of Cosatu and
the UDF affiliates yesterday
suggested that the meeting take
place in a neutral venue.
In a joint statement, Cosatu
and the UDF affiliates said they
_were committed to the talks,

tal peace talks in jeopardy

but were â\200\234regrett';lyâ\200\235 unable
to accept Ulundi as a venue.
â\200\234We believe that it is essen-
tial that a non-controversial and
neutral venue be found. We are
prepared to meet ... at another
mutually acceptable place,â\200\235 the
organisations said.

They believed that all parties
serious about initiating a peace
process in Natal should not â\200\234let
the issue of a venue degenerate
into an insurmountable obstacle
that creates any further delay to
this meetingâ\200\235.

Chief Buthelezi said he was
â\200\234sorry that (UDF and Cosatu
leaders) have problems about
coming to talk to me where I
am locatedâ\200\235.

He said other prominent fig-
ures involved in the peace pro-

cess â\200\224
and the Rev Athol Jennings â\200\224
were prepared to meet him in
Ulundi.

Â«It is for you to prove, by
your conduct, whether you were
serious at all about being in-
volved with me and Inkatha in
the peace initiatives ... I have
no intention of going to Durban
or anywhere else in order to ful-

fil your wish to meet me,â\200\235 said
Chief Buthelezi. f

He added he would continue
with his own efforts to secure
peace in the area.

The proposed meeting comes
after more than 1000 residents
died in fighting between the fol-

lowers of Cosatu, UDF and In-

Kkatha in recent months.

Congresses say

A by CARMEL RICKARD

A FIVE-person

Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses returned last night from a visit to India they described as "historic".

The TIC and NIC delegates were accompanied by an official of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and said it was the first such delegation to India since the 1947 visit of Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Dr Monty Naicker.

Addressing a news conference in Durban last night, delegates said they had met the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and other ministers and that a number of significant agreements had been reached.

These included an undertaking by

Mr RAJIV GANDHI

to lead a five-person

delegation from the

India will

relax cultural boycott

and will discuss with Gandhi -

the Indian government that the cultural boycott would be applied more flexibly. There are to be a number of immediate indications of this more flexible approach. - :

It has been agreed that a Telegu linguist will be allowed to come to South Africa to assist the Telegu-speaking cultural organisations.

The Indian government has also agreed to allow a priest to come to South Africa following a number of attempts by the Pietermaritzburg-based Veda Dharma Sabha to obtain a priest for the organisation's 80th anniversary celebrations this year.

The only proviso is that the "broad democratic movement" should agree to

take this step.

The Indian government also agreed to be more flexible in allowing people from India to visit relatives in South Africa. Applications for visits such as this would in future have to be vetted by the TIC and NIC to ensure that the requests were â\200\234genuineâ\200\235.

They said the Indian government was adamant that the â\200\234black listâ\200\235 would stay. This is a prohibition on visits to India by anyone who participates in the tricameral Parliament or any other organ of government. A strong official Indian government warning was relayed through the delegates that â\200\234collaboratorsâ\200\235 should not attempt to travel to India.

Ethiopia

b

ANGER about a long-running civil war is at the root of a coup attempt by top military officers in Ethiopia, diplomats in East Africa said this week.

Army morale is low and diplomats said many teenage conscripts on the frontline are retreating in the

face of attacks by rebels in northern Eritrea and Tigray provinces.

President Mengistu .

Haile Mariam, increasingly concerned about discontent in the army and the capital, announced a series of military promotions this month in an attempt to move loyal officers into key positions. Several colonels were promoted to brigadier and at least three brigadiers became major generals, said one diplomat.

The military revolt was the first serious

bid to overthrow Mengistu

since he became head of state in 1977. It

is a logical assumption -

that this came about

' because the army is

tired of fighting, one Western diplomat said by telephone from Addis Ababa.

Mengistu is also believed recently to have transferred general headquarters to the presidential

from the ministry of defence building. I think it would have got a lot further if Mengistu hadn't taken these steps, said another Western diplomat.

The Ethiopian Government

has been fighting secessionist guerrillas in Eritrea for 28 years and the rebel Eritrean People's Liberation

Front (EPLF) now controls all of northern and eastern Eritrea. Its ally, the Tigray People's Liberation

palace

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Front (TPLF), has driven virtually all government forces out of the neighbouring Tigray following a major battle in March. Ethiopian state radio said armed forces Chief of Staff Major General Merid Nigusie, a one-time commander of Ethiopian

forces in the northern

battlefields of the civil war, and air force commander Major General Amha Desta were shot dead at the defence ministry while resisting arrest after the bid to topple the government on Tuesday.

The broadcast said several other generals linked to the coup attempt had been detained. Diplomats said

it was unsettling that the chief of staff, a well-regarded professional with no history of opposition to Mengistu or

President Mengistu Halle Mariam

the war. He moved to overthrow the regime.

But they said it is not the first sign of rebellion in the army. The EPLF reported that three army brigades mutinied in the besieged Eritrean garrison town of Keren in March, but the uprising was crushed. The commanders were arrested after Mengistu himself arrived to investigate the incident.

Some diplomats reported protest demonstrations in Addis Ababa two weeks ago, some of which turned violent as officials attempted to draft city youths to form a new Fifth Army to fight the northern Wounded veterans of the fighting had earlier taken to the streets of the capital to protest their treatment by the

rebels.

by David Ress

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& ETHIOPIA
Addis
Ababa

government, they added.

Diplomats said a year ago Mengistu had one general shot and another demoted after a rebel offensive captured most of western

Eritrea. A third was
jailed for complaining
that the army was de-
moralised.

Mengistu was one of
the leaders of the revo-
lution which overthrew

.Emperor Haile Selas-

sie in 1974. He survived
at least nine assassin-
ation attempts before
becoming head of state
in 1977. He consoli-
dated his power
against challenges
from radical student
organisations and
other military factions
with a campaign of
summary arrests and
executions of sus-
pected opponents over
the next two years. â\200\224

Sapa-Reuter.

"â\200\224-â\200\224--'1"'.'...ï-\202

Plans for weekend
peace talks collapse

by CARMEL RICKARD

PLANS for joint talks this weekend about a new peace initiative for Natal collapsed yesterday over the question of 'a mutually acceptable venue.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisted that, for symbolic reasons, the talks should take place in his headquarters of Ulundi. However, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions said they believed a â\200\234neutral venueâ\200\235 would be more appropriate for an initial meeting.

On Wednesday the UDF and Cosatu wrote to Mr Buthelezi, saying they were unable to agree to meet in Ulundi and asking him to let them know by noon yesterday whether he would meet them elsewhere, so that they could arrange to fly their delegates to the new venue,

The Cosatu and UDF position is that while they accept talks would at

some stage take place at venues â\200\234traditionally associated with either Inkatha or Cosatu or the UDFâ\200\235, the first meeting was different and should be held at a more neutral venue,

However, Mr Buthelezi replied yesterday that he had â\200\234no intention of going to Durban or anywhere else in order to fulfil your wish to meet meâ\200\235. He added, â\200\234I am sorry about this but this is where the matter rests at present.â\200\235

The doors were not completely closed on the possibility of future talks, however, as Mr Buthelezi added, "I promise in the meantime

* to consult with my colleagues as to

whether they would countenance that I should move out of where I am located for an initial meeting requested by yourselves.â\200\235

Mr Buthelezi also said with the collapse of the proposed discussions, he would be continuing with Inkatha's own peace initiative.

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