

# The Star

19/05/89

## The wasted years since June 1986

IT'S that time of year again. June 10 approaches, and the Government says it is assessing whether or not to reimpose the state of emergency for a fourth year. The state of nationwide "unrest" 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 weeks' time.

However, despite an election pending in which "security" will be a key issue for the ruling party and the ruling white electorate it is courting, a return to more normal politics and the rule of law are essential for the good of the nation.

For the past three years the state of emergency has kept the country in a state of great abnormality, despite any surface appearances to the contrary. Most township unrest was quelled, often by very tough means, but all that was achieved was to clamp a lid on the seething cauldron of discontent.

Besides curbing the riots, emergency rule curtailed the ordinary processes of politics even more. It meant still greater erosion of fundamental rights — the freedoms of speech, of assembly, and the right to liberty. The basic underlying issues could not be

freely debated. Newspapers were further gagged. Thousands were detained without trial. These included a good many who were trying to negotiate an end to local school or consumer boycotts — 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 essential. 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 validity of sanctions probe to be doubted

THE South African Chamber of Mines has just released what purports to be a definitive survey on attitude to sanctions.

According to the study, released simultaneously in Johannesburg and Washington, at least 80 percent of South Africans of all population groups oppose sanctions and disinvestment as strategies for social change.

A 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 conclusions drawn by the polling company Markinor appear to be based on a selective understanding of what the pro-sanctions lobby stands for.

## GUEST COLUMN by EUGENE NYATI

The "either/or" options given respondents on attitudes to sanctions can be restrictive. Studies over the last few years have revealed considerable support of the concept of "selective" sanctions against South Africa. Blacks may consider a foreign investor putting up a factory in Soweto in partnership with local residents while rejecting the same if relocated to a

white suburb. There is no necessary contradiction in this attitude. Besides, even the pro-sanctions lobby have never had anything against continued foreign support for community programmes, even as they advocate for the isolation of the country.

## Good idea

Question five of the survey questionnaire asks whether or not sanctions are a good idea. This is an irrelevant issue. Archbishop 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

weaken the present Government's intransigency and ability to finance the undemocratic status quo and ignore the will of the majority. Such a conclusion comes only from knowledge of South Africa's foreign trade patterns.

An informed judgement on the country's vulnerability to sanctions must be based less on a simplistic issue involved. 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 not always lead to job losses. If Gencor, for example, buys out the American company Mobil the new

## 'Liberation politics is based on sacrifice'

owners would have little reason to dismiss the old and trained staff and hire afresh.

If any job losses did occur, they would 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 profitable, the new owners would retain its staff. It's important to remember that foreign companies are in South Africa less to give jobs than make profit.

Question nine of the survey paints the possible scenario of job losses as a consequence of disinvestment without qualifying it with the observation above. An impression is created that disinvestment is of necessity followed by massive job losses. This is not always the case.

## Subject

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 - disinvestment 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 Cyril Ramaphosa's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

While numbers should not be ignored, South African trade unions

have acquired the effectiveness that they have over the years, less because of their numerical strength than effective link with the broader liberation movement and community. 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 minority 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 vicious and intransigent 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 extra suffering for a cause.

## Scenario

To selectively paint scare scenarios without explaining the socio-political context could be alarmist and fraudulent. Only a politically credible (as opposed to a merely technically trained) pollster could adequately handle this task. There is no evidence of this consideration having been made in respect of the people who conducted the survey.

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 is especially true under the prevailing oppression.

SOWETAN

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**C**OHEN told the committee: "I value this opportunity to exchange views with you and to call upon 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 stimulation 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 opportunities and the creation of new jobs.

- 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 humanitarian problems derived from natural disasters, wars and famine because the American people, regardless of political affiliation and ideologies, will always come to the aid of victims as we have always done in the past.

- Finally, we care about Africa because twelve percent of the American population trace their ancestry to that continent and want their government to reflect their ties of blood, culture and spiritual heritage.

"The area of Africa that encompasses all of

**Herman J Cohen, President Bush's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, says that apartheid would be a matter of daily concern for him during his tenure. Testifying at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Cohen referred to the racist system in South Africa as "the outrageous human rights catastrophe".**



Herman Cohen ... "Africa continent with enormous problems"

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# Bush's man in Africa speaks

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

"If confirmed, I do not expect a day to go by during which I would not be deeply troubled by the outrageous human rights catastrophe known as apartheid.

"If we do nothing else in Africa during the next four years, we must work

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## FOCUS

every day to promote a negotiated, non-violent transition to a new constitutional system which will guarantee equal political rights, and equal economic and social opportunity for all South Africans regardless of race or ethnic affiliation.

"As I look at South Africa today, I see some new thinking and a new sense of realism among all of the protagonists — a development which gives us some hope that progress toward a democratic solution may be achievable.

"On the side of the South African Government, I see growing understanding of the reality that no new system of government can be put in place that is not first negotiated with the active participation of the black majority.

"Their leaders have the capability of vetoing any unilateral government initiatives, and to a great extent already have the power to influence the future of the white community.

On the side of the black majority, I see a

growing understanding of the reality that the white power system will not collapse in the foreseeable future as the result of a frontal assault on government structures.

"Although the courageous 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 constitutional 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 maintain a significant presence in South Africa, both official and non-governmental.

"We have a major role to play by pushing all parties in South Africa

towards the imperatives of dialogue, negotiation and compromise.

"Our official assistance programs, designed to enhance black political leverage in the period leading to a negotiated settlement, are a key instrument of our policy.

"The American private sector is also doing important work in the areas of economic advancement 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 successful negotiation leading to Namibian independence and Cuban troops withdrawal from Angola, brilliantly mediated by former Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker, American prestige in the region is at an all-time high.

"I believe we should try to build on that success in order to contribute to peaceful settlements of conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and in South Africa itself.

"In that respect, I know that Secretary Baker plans to consult as widely as possible with congressional leadership, and with relevant groups in the United States who have been concerned with southern African issues over the years. I personally look forward to that consultative process because there is a lot of wisdom in the Congress and elsewhere in the United States that is highly worth tapping."



# Boesak dismisses Gallup poll on sanctions

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — 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 researchers to ensure the

poll's validity. The US organisation has allowed its name to be carried on the survey.

Dr Boesak told the newspaper *USA Today*: "People 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."

Asked if sanctions hurt only poor blacks, Dr Boesak said he has "evidence from other polls that more than 70 percent of the blacks supported sanctions."

Only 29 percent of the more than 2 000 people interviewed by Markinor thought Dr Boesak was in favour of sanctions. Only 1 percent named him as the leader they supported most.

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## Challenge to white Boksburg residents

By Lloyd Coutts

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.

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-

cause of their misplaced fears.

"It is also time the effects of the misdirected policies of both the Conservative Party and the National Party must be driven home to whites who seem to remain apathetic while their leaders gamble recklessly with the future of our town.

"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 as the introduction of one town and one town council for all the people of Boksburg, including those in Reiger Park and Vosloorus."

One of the speakers at the meeting was Dr Nico Smit, who said he believed South Africa was heading for disaster and catastrophe unless similar meetings (between black and white) took place all over the country.



# 'Support Swapo or die' threat

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — 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 Swapo's 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 People's 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 "think cautiously to avoid risking your life".

Mr Werner Neef, a member of the CDA executive, 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.

"We presume that members of other parties

have received similar letters," Mr Neef said, "and 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."

The letter says that with independence for Namibia in sight, Swapo is now concerned about which Namibians "are to enter this stage of our struggle with lost souls".

"It 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."

It will be unfortunate, too, the letter says, if the recipient is one of those "planning to pack their things for South Africa." It says he should "think cautiously to avoid risking your life".

It says Swapo expects the recipient, in order to avoid "censure and contempt", should undergo a change of heart and "start forthwith with political mobilisational work".

He should begin with his own followers and make sure that "no-one is going to turn his/her back against Swapo during the election".



The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

## Louis Pienaar 'perturbed' at allegations of cruelty

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar is said to be "very perturbed" about allegations of horrifying acts of cruelty committed in northern Namibia by former members of Koevoet.

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: "Mr 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 investigated."

"The public could also come forward to make sworn statements."

## A-G of Namibia to prosecute four soldiers

By Jon Qwelane,  
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — 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-

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 Omenene, has been charged with murder.



# Race — a national neurosis

THE STAR 19/05/89

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 obsessional 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:

- That races or ethnic groups are pure and distinct entities and that racial purity is something desirable and healthy;
- That members of a racial group look alike and think alike;
- That how one behaves depends entirely or mainly on one's genes;
- 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

an ineluctable component of such a programme.

Education is a major key to the future and it must be education for change. And what is change? As Lucretius said, in "*De Rerum Naturae*" over two thousand years ago: "Change is the death of that which was before".

I vividly recall the day when I received my first degree, over 40 years ago.

It was only four years after Franklin D Roosevelt had formulated the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter (January 1941) — freedom of speech and expression; freedom of religious worship; freedom from want; and freedom from fear.

In his inspiring graduation address, the chancellor of Wits university, Jan Hofmeyr, proposed to add a fifth freedom to the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter — freedom from prejudice.

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

He reminded us that, a long time ago, Thomas Jefferson had declared: "I have sworn upon the altar of God Eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

"Here in South Africa," Hofmeyr



Professor Phillip Tobias ... exploding 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 jocularly — as civilisation.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who, when asked what he thought about Western civilisation, replied thought it would be a idea.



## Call for a new US vision in Gorbachev era

THE STAR 19/05/89

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's 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's 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've had a mindset that has been shaped by the fear of Soviet aggression. Our people have been, and are today, addressing the world's problems through eyeglasses and mindsets that have been affected by that paranoia, it's 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's drawing us along".

In stark contrast to Bush administration officials,

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's a war to save his own society," he said.

"I'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 confrontation between East and West is real."

Mr McNamara did not excuse himself from being a victim of the paranoia of Soviet aggression.

"I was part of the administration that was in power when the Bay of Pigs event took place," he told the Senate foreign relations committee.

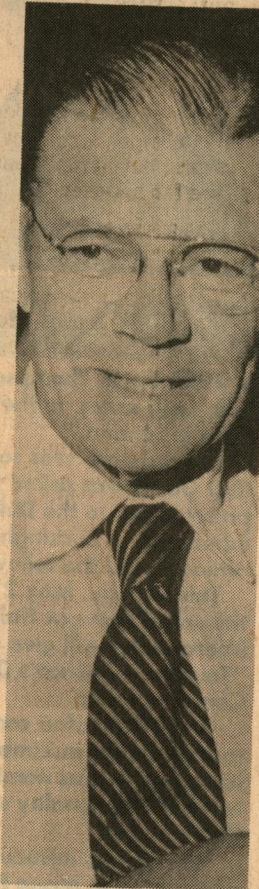
The new poll, conducted by CBS and *The New York Times*, showed that Mr Gorbachev has been easing people's minds about the Russians.

When he took over as Soviet leader in 1985, 47 per cent of Americans considered him a real departure from past Kremlin leaders, but today that figure has leapt to 79 per cent.

The number of Americans who believe that Moscow would start a war has dropped from 69 per cent in 1985 to 57 per cent, but 50 per cent still think the Soviet Union seeks "world domination".

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 per cent of the 1 073 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. — *The Independent.*



Mr Robert MacNamara  
... hawk into dove on  
the Kremlin's motives.



Offer to Mrs Sisulu after talks with clerics

# Bush invites UDF leader to visit US

THE STAR  
19/08/89

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President George Bush has invited the co-president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, to visit the United States.

He has also been asked to meet the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

White House press secretary Mr Marlin Fitzwater made an announcement about Mrs Sisulu's invitation shortly after Mr Bush met three South African church leaders — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude.

## Abhorrence

Mr Fitzwater said that after the meeting President Bush shared the archbishop's abhorrence of apartheid.

He said: "The president promised to press his opposition in every way possible.

"The US administration will be looking at ways to best use American pressure, influence and leverage to bring about justice and equality in South Africa. It was a very good meeting," said Mr Fitzwater.

He said Mr Bush did not discuss sanctions

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 in a television interview yesterday that he had asked Mr Bush to meet Mr Tambo, so that he could see for himself what kind of man he was.

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 FW de Klerk, then the question will arise, how can you meet with the leader of the minority white government in South Africa and you are not willing to meet with the acknowledged leader of the organisation that represents by far most South Africans, white and black," he said.

● The White House earlier this week confirmed National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk would be invited to visit the US.

He would meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, before the general election in September.

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



# Tutu's peace plan for SA: more sanctions please

THE STAR

19/05/87



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

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

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

BY DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

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.

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' 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.



# Natal peace talks in jeopardy

By Mike Siluma,  
Labour Reporter

The much-awaited weekend talks between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), Inkatha and United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates — to end political fighting in Natal townships — are in jeopardy, because of Inkatha's insistence that they take place in Ulundi.

Following a proposal by Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu 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,

but were "regrettably" unable to accept Ulundi as a venue.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-controversial and neutral venue be found. We are prepared to meet ... at another mutually acceptable place," the organisations said.

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

Chief Buthelezi said he was "sorry that (UDF and Cosatu leaders) have problems about coming to talk to me where I am located".

He said other prominent figures involved in the peace pro-

cess — Archbishop Denis Hurley and the Rev Athol Jennings — were prepared to meet him in Ulundi.

"It is for you to prove, by your conduct, whether you were serious at all about being involved with me and Inkatha in the peace initiatives ... I have no intention of going to Durban or anywhere else in order to fulfil your wish to meet me," said Chief Buthelezi.

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

The proposed meeting comes after more than 1 000 residents died in fighting between the followers of Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha in recent months.





Mr RAJIV GANDHI

## Congresses say India will relax cultural boycott 'Historic' talks with Gandhi

by CARMEL RICKARD

A FIVE-person delegation from the 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

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

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 "genuine".

They said the Indian government was adamant that the "black list" 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 "collaborators" should not attempt to travel to India.

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## Ethiopia

by David Ress

# Military anger boils over

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THE NATAL WITNESS

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.

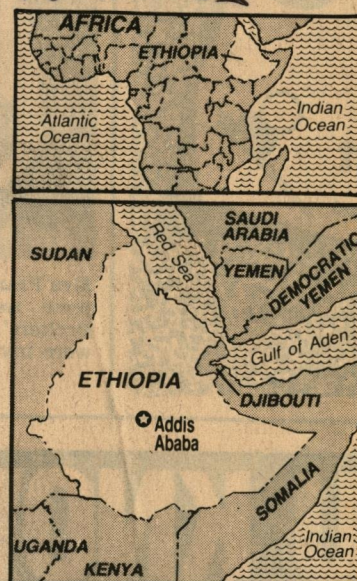
The military revolt was the first serious bid to overthrow Mengistu's Marxist government since he became head of state in 1977. "It is a logical assumption that this came about because the army is tired of fighting," one Western diplomat said by telephone from Addis Ababa.

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



President Mengistu Haile Mariam



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 Negusie, 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

the war effort, 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 rebels. Wounded veterans of the fighting had earlier taken to the streets of the capital to protest their treatment by the

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 demoralised.

Mengistu was one of the leaders of the revolution which overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. He survived at least nine assassination attempts before becoming head of state in 1977. He consolidated his power against challenges from radical student organisations and other military factions with a campaign of summary arrests and executions of suspected opponents over the next two years. — Sapa-Reuter.



Chief Minister's information

## 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 "neutral venue" 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 "traditionally associated with either Inkatha or Cosatu or the UDF", the first meeting was different and should be held at a more neutral venue.

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

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."

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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