

Every holiday 'costs SA R400-m'

Big business wants public holiday cuts

The STAR
14/06/88

By Michael Chester

Big business has urged the Government to cut the number of public holidays to curb the cost of production losses caused by disruptions in work schedules.

Public holidays are estimated to have cost about R2 400 million so far this year, running at R400 million per holiday, boosted by losses stemming from stayaways and unofficial long-weekend absences.

If successful, the moves will provide far better guidelines to companies and labour forces on their approaches to such dates as June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

One aim is to cut down on mid-week holidays, which often lead to workers taking extra time off for extended weekend breaks.

The SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) seeking to reduce the number of statutory holidays from 11 to four with a sum of three additional paid holidays to be negotiated between employers and employees.

Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry (WCCI) pledged support yesterday for the proposed package.

Cutting hard-core public holidays to only four falls in line with the recommendations of the President's Council (PC) which were submitted to the Government nine months ago but on which the State has yet to act.

There is agreement on three of the statutory core holidays listed — Christmas Day, Good Friday and Republic Day.

But there is disagreement about the fourth. The PC wanted it to be the Day of the Vow (December 16), Saccola and the WCCI think it should be New Year's Day.

Also, while the PC proposes to leave it open to employers and employees to negotiate the selection of another six or seven paid holidays, Saccola's recommendations go no further than mentioning an additional three paid holidays as "a minimum".

The Saccola plan has been submitted to the Ministers of Manpower, of Home Affairs and of Constitutional Development.

● See Page 15.

URGENT!
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LONDON

Tambo defends the use of violence to end apartheid

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Correspondent

Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, yesterday dismissed suggestions that his organization should abandon the use of violence in response to Pretoria's partial reforms, and called instead for a "final push" to force an end to apartheid.

"The South Africans would call it a total onslaught," he said in London yesterday. "The armed struggle is part of our struggle and must be part of this push."

The ANC's refusal to renounce violence has cost it support among white liberal opinion in South Africa and led Mrs Thatcher to call it a terrorist organization. After abolishing many of the restrictions most resented by South African blacks, Pretoria hoped for a reduction in violence.

But Mr Tambo replied: "We know of no precedent where there was a unilateral cessation of hostilities before negotiations were started. Who has been waging armed struggle against us since 1948? We cannot be going bare-breasted in this situation."

But Mr Tambo said the increased violence would not involve indiscriminate killing. "We ought to be very careful bombs, and 99 per cent of the time we are. It is known that we have weapons and (one might think) that we would be going into houses shooting people."

"We don't (do so), because we are guided by certain principles. Our struggle must not be reckless, it must not be uncontrolled, but we must influence a situation which

brings closer the collapse of the regime.

"I think that if the situation got ugly enough, there would be very strong (white) pressure on the Government to talk to the ANC."

He was asked about remarks made by leaders of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) in an interview with *The Times* last week. They wanted to take the war more visibly to the white community.

Mr Tambo replied: "I cannot imagine anyone is saying

refusal to accept further sanctions. "She has been so firm and so solid and everything (she has said) has operated to protect South Africa. If she moved, everything would move," he said.

Mr Tambo's remarks came at the end of a week in which the ANC has used the 70th birthday of its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, to launch an unusually successful information offensive in Britain and other countries.

But in South Africa itself the black leader who has achieved the most publicity in calling

Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia in 1979.

"From the London meeting he (Chief Buthelezi) went off at a tangent and has never turned back and has become very useful to the regime and may have been seen by the regime as a future Muzorewa," he said. "He continues to say he is opposed to apartheid ... (and yet) he continues to make speeches against the ANC."

Mr Tambo also spoke of a split between the Foreign Office and Downing Street on the Government's attitude towards the ANC.

Asked about Mrs Thatcher's comment at a press conference at the Commonwealth heads of government conference in Vancouver last October that the ANC was a terrorist organization comparable with the IRA, he said: "I don't think that the Foreign Office shares common ground with the Prime Minister on the question of who and what the ANC is."

He hoped she was speaking off the cuff, and questioned whether she would repeat the remark now.

He has met Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, and said he spoke at the Foreign Office, but not Mrs Thatcher. She said the Government would not talk to the ANC and that when Sir Geoffrey did so he was acting in his capacity as president of the European Community. But Mr Tambo said: "I was meeting Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary; I was not interested in what suit he was wearing."

Johannesburg — A restriction order on Mr Govan Mbeki, the African National Congress leader released after 24 years in jail on Robben Island last November, has been renewed in a more severe form (Michael Hornsby writes). It now prohibits him from being in the company of more than 10 people at a time.

that we should go shooting our way into white suburbs and killing whites because they are whites. But if, for example ... we attack police stations which are in white suburbs, that would draw the attention of the white community to what is happening."

He said the ANC did not regard ordinary whites as soldiers, even if they and their families kept guns at home and were trained to use them. offensive, he said, was "to persuade the whites that this should be a perpetually worsening crisis".

But Mr Tambo made it clear that he thought it would take a combination of heightened conflict and an increase in international trade sanctions to make Pretoria seek talks with the ANC. The obstacle was Mrs Thatcher's

for Mr Mandela's release has been Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Zulu Inkatha movement and Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Relations between them have long been uneasy, but yesterday Mr Tambo attacked him in unusually strong terms. "He has allowed himself to be used by the regime in a remarkable way. He says all the things that they say, he takes all the positions, they make it easy for our people to see him as something apart."

"He started very well ... but then it drifted, and he has become very remote now." He said that the split followed a meeting between the two men in London, although it had appeared to go well at the time. He compared Chief Buthelezi with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who served as

Government and employers in debate over workers' days off

Public holidays may change

By Michael Chester

Planning the pattern of holiday breaks by South African families may never be the same again if a new debate between employers and the government comes to ultimate agreement.

The controversy over the selection of which holidays should remain fixed on the calendar, and which ones may be open to negotiation, has been stirred afresh by a holiday package proposed by the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs.

Agreement has also been reached that the number of hardcore, permanent and immovable statutory holidays should be reduced from a current crop of 11 a year to only four.

One issue on which both sides agree is that three particular holidays should be regarded as sacrosanct: Christmas Day, Good Friday and Republic Day.

But even on a decision on the fourth date there is immediate division. The President's Council, in its own recommendations to the Government, insists that it must be the Day of the Vow (December 16). The employers' committee insists it must be New Year's Day.

Again, there is agreement that elbow room should be allowed for additional holiday dates — as long as they are ones selected in negotiations between employers and employees.

But how many of them? And when?

Choice of six or seven

The President's Council recommendations, culled from an exercise undertaken by its Economic Affairs Committee, leave them the choice of six or seven — though without saying which six or seven.

The committee also falls short of being specific, talking only of a minimum of seven public holidays in all: the four hard core ones, plus three (or more?) that companies and their employees should be able to choose themselves.

The 1988 calendar of public holidays gives an indication of the choice of anniversaries they can pick from:

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| ● New Year's Day..... | January 1. |
| ● Good Friday..... | April 1. |
| ● Family Day..... | April 4. |
| ● Founders' Day..... | April 6. |
| ● Workers' Day..... | May 6. |
| ● Ascension Day..... | May 12. |
| ● Republic Day..... | May 31. |
| ● Kruger Day..... | October 10. |
| ● Day of the Vow..... | December 16. |
| ● Christmas Day..... | December 25. |
| ● Day of Goodwill..... | December 26. |

Yet to be resolved is what happens in future to newer anniversaries that have crept into the South African calendar — such as Sharpeville Day (March 21) and Soweto Day (June 16).

That's not all. The Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which yesterday promised full support to the employers' committee package, is also concerned about the precise timing of holidays — whichever ones are selected.

Chief executive Mr Marius de Jager makes a special plea that wherever possible holiday shut-downs should stay away from mid-week dates and affix themselves to weekends, as Workers' Day has been.

Disruptive mid-week

"So, apart from Christmas Day and New Year's Day, we would like to see all other holidays that fall on a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday to be recognised on that day but in fact celebrated on either a Friday or Monday.

"If any of the core holidays fall on a Sunday, they should be celebrated on the following Monday."

Consensus had been reached inside SACCOLA on the basis that the four core holidays selected were the ones widely celebrated in the western world.

"Its committee," added Mr de Jager, "is aware that for historical and other reasons more than seven holidays are celebrated in certain industries. It stresses that any decision in this regard should be left for the negotiating table, where factors such as the annual leave granted in a specific industry, working hours and other pertinent details can be taken into consideration."

The plea focuses on what the holiday debate is really all about: the economic cost of shut-downs and disruptions to work schedules.

The President's Council, in its own studies, has estimated the daily cost of productivity losses of each public holiday at no less than R400 million.

With the present total of public holidays at 11 a year, that in itself implies annual costs of R4 400 million.

Then there is the cost of unofficially extended long week-ends.

This has occurred several times so far this year as seen in the weekend holiday traffic flows that were easily linked to mid-week dates such as Founders' Day, Ascension Day and Republic Day.

There are the new political anniversaries such as Sharpeville and Soweto Day — aside from events like the three-day stayaway last week at an estimated cost of R500 million.

The President's Council report on holidays said the number of days that the black community was demanding was already 32.

Labour Update

Protest aftermath:

MORE dismissals resulting from last week's protest against the Labour Amendment Bill were yesterday reported in different sectors.

In Soweto, workers employed by Mzamo Moleko Enterprises claimed they were dismissed after failing to report for duty during the three-day protest. These workers said the dismissals had led to the temporary closure of the company's three liquor outlets in Dobsonville, Diepkloof and Moletane.

Mr Jackie Motlogeloa, a director of the company, could not be reached for comment yesterday.

- A spokesman for the National Council of Trade Unions said dozens of the federation's members were fired and others threatened with dismissal.

He said 97 members had been dismissed and 655 others given final warnings.

- At least 75 members of the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers who took part in the protest have lost their jobs in Tzaneen, reports MATHATA TSEDU.

Sixty-eight of them were fired on Friday by Hunt Leichers and

Dismissals on the increase

By LEN MASEKO

Hepburn (HLH). The other seven are from Hickson Timber Preservation.

An HLH spokesperson yesterday confirmed that 68 workers had been dismissed for not reporting for work from Monday to Wednesday last week. The spokesperson said any dismissal had the potential of "negative repercussions." He said the company was in touch with the union.

A spokesperson for Nactu, Mr Phosakuwa Mashele, said many other firms that were affected by the protest had given workers last written warnings. He said some had refused to sign them. More than 3 000 workers are estimated to have lost their jobs as a result of last week's protest which was called by both the Nactu and the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu).

Meanwhile a strike by more than 300 bus drivers in the Maritzburg area has been resolved, a spokesperson for their union said.

The bus drivers, who belong to the Transport and General Workers Union, had embarked on a strike in protest against

the dismissal of their colleagues employed by Sizanani KwaZulu Transport. These workers were dismissed for staying away from work during last week's protest.

A spokesman for the TGWU said the strike was called off after the bus company reinstated all workers dismissed after the stayaway.

Reaction to Tutu's overseas campaigns heartening

IT is heartening to note that more and more Blacks are actively reacting against sanctions and disinvestment. When Archbishop Tutu returned from his most recent visit from overseas where he again pleaded for more drastic steps against South Africa, placard-carrying Blacks demonstrated against his propagandistic campaigns abroad at Jan Smuts Airport.

A few days later a larger number of Blacks, belonging to a widely-supported religious group, demonstrated peacefully in the streets of Pretoria with the same object in view.

At an Inkatha gathering, addressed by Dr Buthezi, a substantial number of the crowd carried posters to express their dissatisfaction with the archbishop's apathy towards the well-being of local Blacks.

For the latest in PE where an angry, 500-strong multitude of demonstrators awaited Archbishop Tutu, it would suffice merely to quote Mr Linda, co-president of the United Conciliation Party. He said that Tutu "is responsible for a bitter attack against the country and the people and hides behind a religious toga". (The Citizen, June 10).

Even in the USA prominent American community leaders have launched a nation-wide campaign called Operation Heartbreak aimed at alerting Americans to the suffering of Black South African children caused by sanctions.

Blacks in South Africa should keep up and intensify their opposition and should even be encour-

aged to extend their demonstrations in ever widening circles. One of the targets should be the United States embassy in Pretoria. In Washington our ambassadorial personnel have been harassed by misinformed and indoctrinated demonstrators for years running. Why should we tolerate this without hitting back at the unreasonable Americans who refuse to support the South African Government in dismantling apartheid and bringing about power sharing, while at the same time blocking the ANC from establishing a communist dictatorship similar to so many totalitarian systems in the rest of Africa where human rights and economic stability are practically non-existent?

BLOW FOR BLOW

Pretoria

Tina Natal
Witness

Tutu

14/06/88

Suspected traffic offenders, especially 55-year-old women, should not be sworn at or handcuffed to doorhandles. If this is the way the Johannesburg traffic department deals with people then its methods need to be publicised, as they have by the alleged harassment of Mrs Leah Tutu. One version has it that the mistreatment became worse after officials discovered their captive to be the wife of the Archbishop of Cape Town.

The Johannesburg incident seems to be an extension of the open season on Tutu declared by the government and the SABC. If Tutu were to lead a placard demonstration at an airport and if his target were a government minister, there would be swift police action and television coverage would be carefully restricted. The four anti-Tutu displays at airports in the last few weeks have been given extensive footage on SATV, and on Saturday the only person taken into custody was reported to be a supporter of the Archbishop.

We disagree with Tutu's views on sanctions and disinvestment, but dislike the methods being used to discredit him.

sangoma also has a comprehensive knowledge of herbal medicines. She is apprenticed to a qualified *sangoma* for several years.

- Faith healers (*umthandazi*) are professed Christians who work within the independent churches. They do not always undergo a period of training as a healer.

The most common medical treatments administered by indigenous healers are infusions, hot and cold; powders which are rubbed into parts of the body where incisions have been made; poultices, lotions and ointments. Healers also prescribe vapour baths, enemas and emetics to flush out impurities. University of the Witwatersrand history lecturer and author of several books on the Pedi, Dr Peter Delius, said in the 1860s the Pedis were inoculating themselves against smallpox — taking fluids from a person who had the disease and administering them to others by making scratches on their arms. "It's a strong example of how folk medicine had made enormous strides in technical know-how and healing," Delius says. "Some of the treatments are particularly dangerous. It would be very difficult to say in general traditional healing is a good thing. But they have a kernel of folk wisdom and an understanding of social responses."

There are reports of traditional healers achieving miracle cures on mentally ill people, and even on cancer patients. Wits psychology professor Len Holdstock, who has campaigned for the recognition of tribal healers for years, believes these cures can be ascribed to holistic treatment of the patient "incorporating aspects of healing Western doctors are unfamiliar with". Motlana, in a graduation address to Wits students at the end of last year, said African health professionals had argued, correctly, "that the scientific bases for traditional medicine had not been established, that most of it is based on superstition, meaningless pseudo-psychological mumbo-jumbo ... often positively harmful". He cited examples where people suffering from tuberculosis were told to avoid hospitalisation and injections. The "gogga lurking in their chests" was treated with a course of enemas and emetics.

The Medical Association of South African (Masa), which is opposed to of-

ficial recognition of "medicine men and herbalists" whose practises "could be detrimental to the public's health", said: "Because of their unscientific diagnostic methods, cases treated by medicine men and herbalists could not be evaluated scientifically." But Chavunduka says it is precisely these unscientific aspects of traditional medicine that must be retained. "It is modern medicine which must widen its analytical framework and conceptions and learn from the holistic approach of traditional medicine," he argued in a paper delivered at the Cape Town convention on holistic health.

He said in Zimbabwe, where traditional healers were officially recognised and had their own association and council, research into traditional medicine tended to ignore the spiritual aspects of the work of traditional healers. "We can no longer continue to ignore research into parapsychology and psychic phenomena, nor to continue treating witchcraft and exorcism, for example, as figments to be studied purely sociologically," Chavunduka said.

Holdstock says the more he "got in touch with Africa" the more he found Western psychology was closely affiliated to African healing. But while Western psychology talked theories, African psychology acted on them. "For years indigenous healers have incorporated the psychological, societal, cultural, inter-personal and spiritual facets into their treatment."

Motlana said those who practised indigenous healing should be prosecuted under the Anti-Witchcraft Law "to protect the ignorant". Masa has recommended a less severe course of action. Since traditional healers "play a traditional role in the cultures of many people, the medical profession should therefore attempt to minimise their influence through patient education rather than regulation," according to the chairman of Masa's federal council, Dr Bernard Mandell. Sher, however, believes traditional healers do have a role to play. "A lot of diseases are psychological, and it is a role they have played for years and years. Who are we to say they must stop?"

- With acknowledgements to the Weekly Mail.

Sangomas and

by Jo-Ann Bekker

medicine

To most doctors, traditional healing remains mumbo-jumbo. But there are some who believe that it is modern medicine which needs to learn from "the holistic approach of traditional healing".

MOVES to obtain official recognition for traditional healers have sparked a bitter debate between medical practitioners, who either revere them as holistic healers or denounce their vocation as "pseudo-psychological mumbo-jumbo". Sowetan doctor Dr Nthatho Motlana heads the attack, suggesting South Africa follow Mozambique's example and send "sangomas, herbalists, witchdoctors" to a detention farm for re-education. Zimbabwean sociology professor Gordon Chavunkuka, head of the Zimbabwe National Healers Association, has spoken on many South African platforms about the holistic approach of indigenous healers and the benefits of close co-operation between the two systems of medicine.

In the middle ground, academics point to the severe shortage of qualified medical practitioners in the rural areas — Lebowa, for example, has a ratio of 25 000 people to every doctor — and suggest collaboration with traditional healers could improve health care. Liaison between traditional and modern medical practitioners is effectively outlawed in South Africa. The South African Medical and Dental Council forbids anyone — doctor, dentist or psychologist — registered with the council to collaborate in any way with non-registered healers.

Even the Board of Associated Health Service Professionals — which represents alternate healers such as homeopaths, naturopaths and chiropractors and is still battling for recognition in the medical world — may not co-operate with those not registered with the board, including traditional healers. But, unofficially, there has always been contact between the two medical systems and in recent years these contacts have increased.

Firstly, there are the one-sided contacts where the Western experts inform traditional healers of the symptoms of diseases like Aids and cancer which must be referred to hospitals for testing. Dr Ruben Sher, head of the South African Institute for Medical Research's Aids Research Unit, met about 150 traditional healers last year. "We



Ladysmith sangoma Gremma Mutambo flanked by two apprentices.

talked to them about Aids in the hope that they would recognise and refer cases to us." In response every week traditional doctors arrive at the Institute's Johannesburg offices claiming to have a cure for Aids. "We have to protect patients from overnight cures which might cause greater harm," Sher says.

And secondly, there are a few examples of a more mutual co-operation — if not cross-fertilisation. Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital subscribes to the Medical and Dental Council's policy of non-cooperation with non-registered practitioners, according to chief superintendent Chris van den Heever. He said there had been no consultations with traditional healers. However, Johannesburg traditional healer Horatio Zungu, who is national secretary of the South African Traditional Healers Council, says he was called to the hospital recently. Zungu says a surgeon had to operate on a sangoma who had been injured in a car accident. "He was advised to get a healer to speak to the ancestors with the ideal of blessing the operation," he says. "I was pleased to see they respect our culture."

Cape Town psychologist Michael O'Brien, convenor of the National Con-

vention on Holistic Health and Healing held in Cape Town in April, says he has been involved in attempts to get Groote Schuur cancer specialists to "open up their treatment patterns" to include liaison with traditional healers. O'Brien, Zungu and others estimate 80 percent of black South Africans consult traditional healers before and after they see Western doctors. Traditional African medicine is closely tied up with traditional religion, where people communicate with the Supreme Being through their ancestors. According to popular belief, people are most vulnerable to sorcery, causing illness, if their ancestors are "facing away". They go to healers to be instructed in the appropriate rituals to placate the ancestors and ensure good faith.

Although the role of traditional healers differs slightly in different areas, broadly there are three types of healers:

- Those who specialise in herbal treatments or natural treatment methods (*inyanga* in Zulu). The *inyanga* — usually a man — apprentices himself to a practising healer for at least a year.
- Diviners (*isangoma*) who use supernaturally-orientated diagnostic methods — throwing bones, a mirror, dreams, trances. Usually a woman, a

McAlvany's solution

DONALD McAlvany is a slim American with neatly combed fair hair, a grey suit and the ability to talk non-stop for periods up to, and quite possibly exceeding, three hours. His business is keeping the western world safe for democracy and out of the hands of godless Marxists. And you'd be surprised where these Marxists pop up. The American State Department is riddled with them, as are the U.S. Congress and Senate.

Mr McAlvany doubtlessly sees himself as a fiercely loyal patriot and as such his chief concern is for his country. At the same time, though, South Africa has been targetted by the Soviet Union as a stepping stone in its grand strategy for world domination and if Mr McAlvany can help stem the tide here, he feels, he'll be doing both us and his own country a favour.

One way in which he might be able to check the relentless march of communism, Mr McAlvany told an audience at a city hotel last Friday, was by holding up the progress of the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendment Bill. This might be achieved, he thinks, by persuading not the politicians of

America (the Senate and the Congress are populated almost, but not entirely, by idiots), but their sponsors.

Cut off the funding, says Mr McAlvany, and you'll cause the politicians pain. And that's the only thing to which they'll pay any attention. It goes almost without saying that American politicians don't understand reason, logic or anything else.

Mr McAlvany believes he and his supporters have a 50-50 chance of halting the passage of the sanctions bill. But, and here's the catch, he needs 300 000 dollars. And so it seems the clear and patriotic duty of South African businessmen to supply those 300 000 dollars.

So who is this Mr McAlvany and why is he asking South African businessmen for this money? Those who keep up on this sort of thing will know that Mr McAlvany is the editor and publisher of *The McAlvany Intelligence Advisor*. He is billed as "one of America's foremost authorities on global geopolitical strategy, monetary development and precious metals and predicted, three months in advance, the U.S. stock market crash." (Their emphasis).

He is also an adherent of the conspiracy school of world politics, a familiar feature of the American far right which theorises the existence of the Illuminati and the New Age Movement. These shadowy, faceless groups are alleged to control the political and economic systems

Columnist at large



of the world for their own ends. They start a war here, bring a government down there and allow stock markets to crash rather in the fashion of a game of global Monopoly.

Mr McAlvany, too, follows the traditional conventions of conservative America. He's opposed to birth control ("the condom is replacing the eagle as the symbol of America") and abortion and wants prayers read in American schools.

As an orator, Mr McAlvany isn't in the Eugene TerreBlanche, or even the Denis Worral class. But what he lacks in inspiration, he makes up with detail. On Friday we were given the three-hour version of the threat to the Western world. He said he didn't have time to deliver the eight-hour talk. I don't think he was joking.

Indeed, if Mr McAlvany does have a sense of humour, it wasn't readily apparent on Friday. He says he found the shooting down of a plane carrying six Soviet generals in Angola amusing — the point of the joke being that it was the Cubans who brought the plane down — but that was the extent of his levity.

As for the thoughts of Mr McAlvany, the present American administration under Ronald Reagan has plunged to the left; Reagan himself is a tri-

umph of behavioural engineering placed in power by the liberal eastern establishment; Nancy Reagan eats nails for breakfast and pulls Ronnie around on a very short leash, that is when the two of them aren't consulting astrologers for guidance; the disarmament talks amount to a unilateral abdication of her responsibilities by America; and there are 4 000 KGB agents actively working within the American media.

Also, it doesn't really matter who wins the presidential election later this year, because the plunge to the left will continue unchecked (although were he asked to place a bet on it, Mr McAlvany seems to fancy the Democratic candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis).

His views on Africa are not dissimilar to those propounded on *Network* night after night by people such as Cliff Saunders and General Magnus Malan, although he can't understand why South Africa does not afford the same support to Renamo as it does to Unita.

And his message to South Africans is to stand even firmer and more vigilant against the threat. Oh yes, and if we can come up with those 300 000 dollars, he might halt the sanctions bill for us.

Peter Robinson

Daily News 14/06/88

BOTHA'S BAD BOYS

THAT'S WHAT SOUTH AFRICANS WILL BE CALLED IF THE U.S. DEMOCRATS WIN

Jesse's hate-list

- ☐ Iran
- ☐ Syria
- ☐ Libya
- ☐ Cuba
- ☐ S.Yemen
- ☐ N.Korea
- ☐ S.Africa?

Neil Lurssen, Foreign Service
Washington Bureau

THE United States Government has rejected a policy decision by the Dukakis and Jackson presidential campaigns that South Africa should be labelled a "terrorist state".

The decision — likely to become a lively topic in the final stages of the US election from now on — has been dismissed too by the Republican presidential candidate, Mr George Bush, who told an interviewer that South Africa was a racist state but not a terrorist state.

A State Department spokesman said that however abhorrent the South African practice of apartheid, its manifestation did not meet the definition of international terrorism.

Nor did South Africa's cross-border raids warrant placing the country on the official American terrorism list.

"But we are keeping the situation under constant review," the spokesman said.

At the White House, President Ronald Reagan's chief spokesman, Mr Marlin Fitzwater, said the president disagreed with the judgment that South Africa should be branded terrorist.

"We believe the best way to influence policy in South Africa is to stay engaged — and



Jackson: put pressure on Dukakis

therefore we would not follow that route," Mr Fitzwater said.

At the goading of the Rev Jesse Jackson, who has the support of nearly all black voters in the US, the advisers of the Democratic candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, agreed at the weekend that South Africa's inclusion in the list — along with Iran, Syria, Cuba, North Korea, South Yemen and Libya — should be part of the party's 1988 presidential platform.

Their decision is seen here as an effort to defuse a potential area of conflict between Mr Dukakis and Mr Jackson who has demanded that part of the price of black support for Mr Dukakis must be a tougher approach toward South Africa — an approach

that goes beyond support for stiffer economic sanctions.

Presidential candidates are not bound to party platforms, but Mr Dukakis would be severely criticised by black voters if he reneged on his promise should he win the election in November.

The State Department's prepared statement said: "We regard racial discrimination as a repugnant and wholly unacceptable principle on which to base a civilised society and we are committed to doing all that we can to bring about its abolition in South Africa."

"But apartheid, however abhorrent its manifestation, does not meet the definition of international terrorism."

"We have expressed serious and repeated concern to the SA Government about acts of cross-border violence directed against alleged operatives of the ANC and we are closely monitoring the SA Government's behaviour in this regard."

"At this time, the extent of such behaviour that we are able to document does not warrant placing South Africa on the terrorism list, but we are keeping the situation under constant review."

In his interview, Mr Bush said he was looking for ways in which American moral influence could change the situation in South Africa, and he was not in favour of breaking diplomatic relations.

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Eglin seems to have lost patience with 'togetherness'

Opposition unity as far off as ever

Daily News 14/06/88

THE ideal of getting the parliamentary opposition groups left of the Government together seems to be as far off as ever.

Some are not interested at this stage because they are trying to operate on a wider level. Others seem to be watching to see how the support of their potential allies is developing.

All agree to the concept of not fighting one another at the cost of opposition to the National Party. With varying degrees of enthusiasm they say they want to draw support also from Nationalists, that they are not interested only in "rearranging the opposition furniture", as Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, has put it.

At the same time, some of these groups to the left of the Government basically want little to do with one another, but they are not saying this too loudly in public.

Mr Eglin seems to have lost patience with the way in which efforts have been made to bring together elements of what has also been described as the "creative" opposition.

He said the PFP was appalled at the political fragmentation of those people who shared the same basic liberal values.

He said that in last year's general election the PFP stood back for the Independents. The party had a working arrangement with the Labour Party and it recently welcomed two Indian MPs into its ranks.

The PFP has had informal talks with Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Move-

Tos Wentzel

Political Correspondent

ment and Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party.

It appears, however, that these efforts have been vague and inconclusive.

In the light of this Mr Eglin believes that, while the PFP door remains open to those who are serious about opposition unity, the PFP has held off for long enough.

It can no longer sit back and wait while others who talked about opposition unity set up duplicate opposition structures and canvassed support and money in traditional PFP areas.

Contact

It must get down to work.

Dr Worrall denied that an election war between the IP and the PFP was looming. The IP had repeatedly emphasised the importance of working out a basis of co-operation within the creative opposition.

On the other hand, Dr Worrall said he believed his party was drawing Nationalist support while the PFP had not done so.

There has been regular contact between some PFP leaders and Dr Worrall. Mr Eglin said Dr Worrall at some stage asked for a delay in any public discussion while he tried to get a separate political party off the ground.

Now a letter has been sent to him, again setting out the PFP viewpoint.

To the National Democratic

Movement, getting together parliamentary opposition groups with a similar approach is no priority at this stage.

Its leader, Mr Wynand Malan MP, said the party's first aim was to make contact with political groupings across the political spectrum.

The party was not thinking in terms of playing a role only in parliamentary "system" politics.

"We have decided initially not to join in what has been described as "fish bowl" politics, operating within the one system to the exclusion of the other."

It was against this background that the movement had decided not to take part in the October elections.

At present the NDM's priority was to try to communicate across the political spectrum.

Referring to the PFP, Mr Malan said there was obviously a role and place for it in South African politics, which was acknowledged by the NDM. The same was true of Dr Worrall.

The NDM, however, had a clear other identity and against this background it did not regard talk about a "united opposition" as a high priority.

Once the group had achieved communication and involvement across the political spectrum, this need would in any case fall away.

The political environment would then change with the result that there would be broader possibilities of not only uniting the opposition to the so-called left of the Government within the parliamentary system, but of a total realignment in South African politics.

WHERE will the Afrikaner be in the year 2038, the second centennial of the Great Trek? asked Professor Lourens du Plessis in an article in **RAPPORT**.

That, he said, depended on what the Afrikaner was prepared NOW "to place on the altar of a new society". There were three possible scenarios:

Firstly, one in which only a few Afrikaners were left in Africa, the rest having emigrated because of worsening circumstances;

Secondly, the situation in which the Afrikaner had become "a neurotic minority... living in island within their fatherland clinging to what they believe to be their own"; or

Thirdly, a vision of Afrikaners, although a minority, fully integrated into and unmistakeably part of the wider South African nation.

The final option, he said, was the most desirable — even though it might seem the most difficult to achieve. It could be achieved only if:

1. The Afrikaner spent less time and effort on protecting what he had and more on seeking ways of sharing with other groups; and
2. The Afrikaner realised that he was irretrievably an African and learned to accept other people in Africa as part of the assets of the continent.

STAYAWAY action organised by Cosatu and others was vociferously criticised.

BEELD said the protest had been "futile" and that "no one had benefited". It pointed out that an estimated R500-million had been lost in wages by tens of thousands of workers, most of whom had wanted to go to work in any case but had stayed away out of fear and intimidation.

There was no justification for it, said **DIE VADERLAND**. It was designed to disrupt the economy so severely that the country would become ungovernable. The paper called on the Government to take firm steps and expressed the hope that the private sector would show solidarity by refusing to pay those who did not go to work. "This will show the ordinary worker that he has to pay for the political ambition of

AFRIKAANS PRESS

Jonathan Hobday



July News 14/06/88

The future: three options open to Afrikanerdom

the trade union bosses."

DIE TRANSVALER said it was clear that "the majority of workers were not prepared to be intimidated and had gone to work, however difficult it was to get there". South Africa should be grateful to these workers.

■ ■ ■

CUBAN troop advances closer to the SWA/Namibian border were "nothing less than provocation", said **BEELD**. However, it cautioned against any retaliatory action "because everything must be done to keep the momentum of the peace initiative going", including agreeing to move the venue for talks to Europe, if necessary.

The intensified call-up was justified, said **DIE BURGER**. Welcoming the assurance by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that there was no need for panic, it added that it was nevertheless necessary to take account of "every eventuality".

DIE TRANSVALER said that Cubans were playing "a foolish game". Neither they nor the Angolans were militarily or economically in a position to wage a conventional war against South Africa. The fact was that Cuba needed to keep its troops in Angola because it was "a vital industry".

■ ■ ■

WITH Dawie de Villiers pocketing a silver medal in the Comrades Marathon, **BEELD** satirist Lood wondered in his "Praaitjies" whether he should not be referred to as "Doctor", "Minister" or "Comrade".



How cartoonist Fred Mouton of **DIE BURGER** viewed the Cuban troop build-up in southern Angola.

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Intimidation must stop

SIR — My black employees informed me that if they had not observed the stay-away they would have had their houses burned down and their family members would have been murdered.

This kind of intimidation is intolerable in a civilised society. Those liberals who believe that things would get better under a power-sharing system of government with the blacks are totally ignorant.

It is a pity that the innocent have to suffer with the guilty but the only way of dealing with this kind of wrongful protest is by refusing to pay the wages of

workers who stay away and/or dismissing them.

MICHAEL MOORE, Durban

COMMENT

BUSINESS DAY

World symbol

14/06/88

ABOUT half a billion television viewers round the world saw the Nelson Mandela birthday concert at Wembley on Saturday. The effect on perceptions of SA can be imagined and it can be taken for granted the country's image has worsened considerably.

The concert has been a tremendous coup for the Anti-Apartheid Movement, particularly among young people. Cult heroes have identified with Mandela and the mass support for the concert must have stirred awareness of the "freedom struggle" against entrenched white rule. It also brought in a great deal of money for the anti-apartheid organisations.

While there may be something in the argument that the BBC overstepped the mark in allowing a pop concert to convey a political message, this is missing the point. It is for the BBC to decide on its own affairs and whether it is risking contraventions of its charter. Nor is there any point in banning the BBC from SA. That might satisfy a sense of pique, but it would only make matters worse.

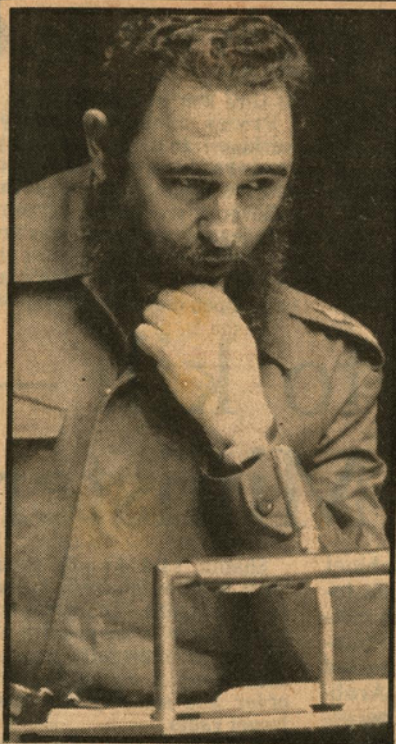
What has to be accepted about the concert is that it conveyed the extent to which Mandela has become a symbol around the world. Great entertainers gave their services free, as they did for the starving children of Africa in the last event on this scale. And the 72 000 at Wembley were not the only people to show their support for Mandela over the weekend. Fifty thousand gathered in Amsterdam to mark his 70th birthday and 30 000 marched in Glasgow.

Many of these opponents of racism no doubt have a hazy knowledge of the situation in SA. They will not read the SA government's advertisements stating that Mandela has only to renounce violence to gain his freedom and that the ANC is committed to an armed struggle. For them, Mandela has become the symbol of the black people's struggle for justice, not a terrorist leader. That is the perception.

Government will not free Mandela in the face of this sort of pressure. That is not its way. And it has a dilemma now that it has set conditions for his release. But sooner or later President Botha might feel compelled to make the move. He must realise the chances of progress unless he does so are slight because the black people, including moderates like Mangosuthu Buthelezi, are not going to negotiate without Mandela being freed, if not present at negotiations.

The effects of Mandela's release would be dramatic. In freeing him unconditionally, while stressing its own commitment to peaceful change and an end to racial discrimination, government would take the first major step towards reconciliation and place the onus squarely on the ANC to respond. The next move would be up to Mandela.

There would be grave risks, of course. But in weighing up its options we hope government may also take something else into consideration: Nelson Mandela is an old man and he has been in jail too long. Enough is enough.



□ CASTRO ... pondering his next move?

Why Fidel I Castro is *BUSINESS DAY* showing off *14 / 06 / 88* in southern Angola *X*

SIMON BARBER in Washington

THE MOST important point that emerged from the talks between Dr Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Adamishin at the Moscow summit is that peace in Angola is not within the superpowers' gift.

It may be true, as Crocker observed last week, that after Afghanistan, Southern Africa is "logically the next candidate for urgent attention". But this begs the question of what such "urgent attention" might achieve.

"There are — indeed, there have to be in the modern world — limitations on what superpowers can do," Crocker went on in answer to the begged question. "They have roles, they have influence, but we are not talking about colonies, but countries which, albeit in varying degrees, are independent."

The Americans had hoped, on the basis of their earlier discussions in London and Lisbon, that the Soviets would be prepared to make a formal statement calling for reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita while privately agreeing to use a little muscle on Luanda to prod it in that direction.

Adamishin, quite understandably, demurred. Being seen to bully a long-standing protege is bad for business. One betrayal — that of Afghanistan's Najibullah — is quite enough for the time being, however much, privately, the Soviets would like to see the MPLA and Unita reconciled.

The only vaguely muscular point that Adamishin was prepared to make for the record (in an interview with the New York Times) was that the Angolan government, its coffers depleted by weak oil prices, was now paying "not a kopek" for its Soviet arms. He added: "Of course, it's not cheap."

Whatever menace these words might contain the Minister had already diluted. "Suppose the Luanda government sets forth its programme of national reconciliation, we shall consider it. But as for inventing a programme in their place or forcing a programme on them, that's a very delicate matter, and I wouldn't take the liberty to do it."

If the Soviets do not feel they can push around the MPLA, what then about Cuba?

There can be little question that Fidel Castro is showing off in Southern Angola, where he began deploying new forces in late February, early March. There can also be little question that his bravado is fully calculated. His African adventures have, however, long been rather more independent of Moscow than has often been recognised.

There is, for example, a respectable body of opinion holding that Castro's decision to rush substantial new forces to the MPLA's side in 1975 — there had been a 100 or so

Cuban advisers in Angola for some 10 years previously — took even the Kremlin by surprise. Since independence, Havana has frequently taken different sides to Moscow in MPLA factional disputes.

Apparently inspired leaks from the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Havana at the start of this month, credibly suggest that Castro is telling the Soviets that his decision to pull out will be his and his alone. This accords neatly not only with his past behaviour, but also with his moves towards the Namibian border.

By all accounts, there was a serious difference of opinion between Moscow and Havana on the strategy for last year's offensive. The Soviets won the argument, convincing Luanda to let them lead the ill-fated thrust towards Jamba that was blunted at Mavinga and finally degenerated into a stand-off at Cuito Cuanavale.

The Cubans had argued for what they are doing now. After the debacle at Mavinga, the MPLA, which had in any event begun to wound Castro's pride by accusing him of not letting his troops take a more active role in the fighting, decided to let him have his go. All right, they seem to have said, you may have been right. Now put up or shut up.

Castro has evidently put up — to the tune of 11 000 new men by American counts — in a manner that may be somewhat more than the Angolans themselves had bargained for.

He does not appear adverse to a

settlement. Indeed, he has made significant compromises, most recently dropping the termination of US support for Unita as a condition for withdrawal. It would be simplistic to view him as taking a harder line than the MPLA.

He is, however, determined to leave as an acknowledged victor. For that he needs more than the triumphal parade in Luanda that has

already been raised as a possibility (by the Americans, no less); he needs to demonstrate that he has cowed Pretoria. Such a demonstration Pretoria may have already afforded him by mobilising some reserves.

In addition, of all the actors on the Angolan side, Castro seems to have been the most concerned about

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Swapo. The MPLA, which is after all fighting for its own territory, has long given the impression that Swapo's fate was not its principal worry and might even under the right circumstances be negotiable.

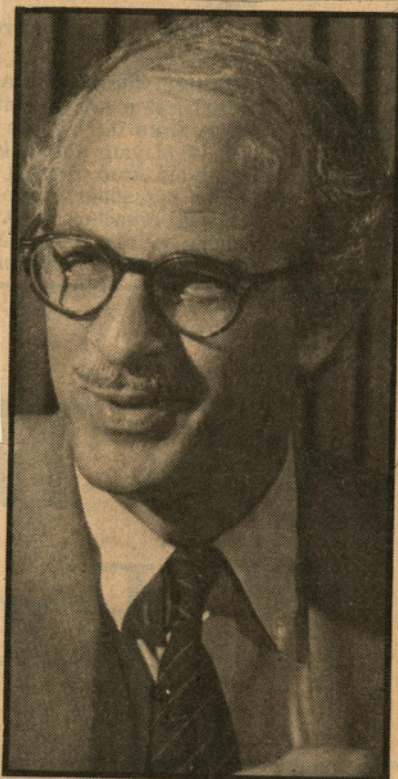
Castro, by contrast, is an internationalist devoted to putting his sort of people in power wherever he can. If this aggravates the chewing up of Angola, that is a price that he, if not the indigenes, is prepared to pay.

Thus, he is using his sweep south to re-establish Swapo in the border areas from which the SADF has spent the last 10 years sweeping Swapo. Only now, his troops and their superior air power and defences will be there to protect them.

This is a sound strategic move because, unlike the Soviet-led drive on Unita, it presents the SADF with a stark pair of choices that cannot easily be put off.

One is to roll the dice and go on the attack, which could prove extremely costly in South African lives, would have no guarantee of success and would quite likely commit Pretoria to another generation of Operation Proteas and Askaris.

The other is to accede, finally, to Resolution 435 and get the whole business over and done with.



□ CROCKER . . . "we are not talking about colonies, but countries which are independent"

A further indication that this is what Castro has in mind may be found in the fact that it was the Cubans who first suggested setting September 29, the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council endorsement of 435, as the target date for agreement on a settlement package. The idea is to help Pretoria concentrate.

Implicit here is the notion that Castro would not object to his troops staying on indefinitely if the SADF chose the first option. This is what has the MPLA, and the Americans and Soviets for that matter, slightly uneasy about the approach.

Under their interpretation, and by "their" we must include the Americans as at least tacit partners, the Cuban move south should by now at least have begun to have the effect of focusing Pretoria on the second option, rather than on the faintly spurious vanity-driven question of the venue for the next round of talks.

Furthermore, there is always the possibility that the Cubans might go too far — or, perhaps more to the point, that Swapo might take the opportunity to launch a major operation across the border, leading to the inevitable SADF response.

Luanda, meanwhile, has other anxieties, not the least of which is Jonas Savimbi's trip to Washington later this month, during which he will be visiting President Reagan.

Now it may be the case that there can be a settlement with only SA, and not the US, promising to cease support for Unita. But there are limits. The American effort to wean Unita from SA and move its centre of gravity to the north-east closer to supply routes through Zaire, whose President Mobutu was himself in the White House last week, is not encouraging the MPLA to be reasonable.

Nor does it help when Reagan and Mobutu are reported as expressing undying admiration for Savimbi. The White House now says that spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, not knowing much about the subject, misquoted the two leaders who actually only expressed support for reconciliation. Even so, the MPLA can be forgiven for feeling a little *angst*.

Indeed, it may well conclude that the safest course would be to wait for the next administration — especially since Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis is promising to recognise Angola and cut off Savimbi for free.

For his part, Crocker says this should not be a factor. The current framework, he observes, is the only one that makes sense, and is only "going to be around for a few more months being pursued by people who know how to pursue it". He adds quickly: "That is not me talking. I am having that echoed back to me by the parties concerned."

Crocker has a point. Now if only the parties would do a little more than tell him how useful he is as a facilitator and do what the superpowers want them to do.