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The Daily News

17 SEPT. 1986

Sanctions reality

THERE is a dangerous attitude gaining ground in South Africa, an inclination to take the view that the reluctance of leading nations to apply trade sanctions indicates some kind of support of this country's rulers. It is manifest in the calls to business to rally behind President P.W. Botha and his announced November 7 summit, and it is being graphically illustrated by a booming stock exchange.

The reality is that people like Britain's Margaret Thatcher, America's Ronald Reagan and Germany's Helmut Kohl have a good understanding of the complexity of the South African situation. They also appreciate that sanctions seldom work in the way they are intended to and that there is abundant evidence to show that in South Africa's case they will cause the most hardship to the very

people whom they are supposed to aid. Further, they are also aware that for sanctions to have any real effect, they have to be applied by everyone. In this instance the EEC countries will have to pay a not inconsiderable price to obtain their raw materials while others who are not party to the agreement will make large profits from the situation.

What is also obvious is that despite their appreciation of the South African equation they do not believe the reform process is moving fast enough. If they could push Mr P.W. Botha to move faster they would do so.

The signal to South Africans is that this is not a time to celebrate. It is a time to work even harder towards a just solution to our problems.

Chiefs hold key to Transkei elections

UMTATA — the 75 ex-officio chiefs in the Transkei National Assembly may hold the balance of power after the general elections on September 25.

The ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) will be facing the most serious challenge to its dominance in five general elections and the support of the chiefs may be crucial in determining whether it is to retain power.

Some 90 independents, mostly TNIP rebels, are attempting to usher in a new era in Transkei politics by opposing 69 TNIP candidates in the 26 constituencies to be contested. Also

entering the fray is the leader of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, Caledon Mda.

Six candidates — all members of the TNIP — have been elected unopposed in Elliottdale and Willowvale.

Most of the independent candidates are former TNIP members who failed to gain nomination by the party's district committees after a dispute over nomination procedures. They include Minister of Health Dr Charles Bikitsha, from Butterworth, and Minister of Justice and Prisons

Ramsay Madikizela, from Ngqeleni.

A significant feature of the nomination dispute was that it found the leader of the TNIP, Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima, and his brother, the former State President and ruler of Western Tembuland, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, in opposite camps.

It is not clear what the independents' plan of action would be, should they win a significant number of seats. It is thought unlikely that they will return to the TNIP. More probably, they will form a new party or join the existing opposition.

OWN CORRESPONDENT

BUSINESS DAY - 17 SEPT. 1986

MAGGIE, KOHL THE CITIZEN - 17 SEPT 1986 OPPOSE BANS

BONN. — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday expressed doubts that European Community sanctions against South Africa would have any effect.

Speaking at a news conference mid-way through their summit meeting in Bonn, the two leaders both made it clear they had agreed to join in the EC measures only for the sake of European unity

and not because they supported them.

"I don't believe sanctions will help bring apartheid to an end. They may, however, bring starvation and poverty to many thousands of Black

South Africans," Mrs Thatcher said.

Mr Kohl adopted an almost identical line.

"I have never made any attempt to conceal my

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scepticism about sanctions but we are part of the Community and that means a duty to work together," he said.

EC Foreign Ministers meeting in Brussels yesterday agreed on a set of limited measures against Pretoria to signal the group's anger with the lack of progress towards social reform in South Africa.

They covered a ban on new investments and a ban on imports of iron, steel and gold coins.

West Germany and Portugal blocked a bid by other EC states to include a ban on imports of coal in the package.

Mr Kohl said yesterday that West Germany remained firmly opposed to such a step because it would bring unemployment to thousands of Black miners in South Africa and mean suffering for both them and their families.

The British and West German leaders both said they placed much more faith in the value of positive measures to bring about change in South Africa than punitive measures.

"The most important

point is that we should not let up in our efforts to talk to the South African Government to try to persuade them to bring about a peaceful settlement of the situation there," Mr Kohl said.

Another vital element among the positive measures which could be taken was a major programme to educate and train young South African Blacks, he added.

"I agree that positive steps such as those mentioned by Chancellor Kohl are a more effective way of ending apartheid than sanctions," Mrs Thatcher said.

The West German leader said that in his view sanctions generally offered little more than a golden opportunity for some people to make a fortune out of getting round them.

The two leaders were joined by their Foreign Ministers, Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, after the close of the EC meeting in Brussels and both men reported at the news conference on the course of the debate on sanctions.

Mr Genscher said West Germany would continue to oppose a ban on South African coal at future EC meetings.

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, current Chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, said Pretoria had shown it was not yet ready to take the necessary steps for opening a dialogue with opponents of its racial policies.

Sir Geoffrey, who reported to the Ministers on his failed EC peace mis-

sion to South Africa at the end of July, described the measures as a clear signal to South Africa about the urgency with which the EC saw the need for change.

He said a majority of EC states would have preferred tougher action but added that he had to seek agreement by consensus under the EC rules.

The measures, which do not rule out tougher action by individual states, were coupled with a renewed appeal for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other prisoners as a necessary precondition for dialogue.

West Germany, backed by Portugal, would not go along with the coal ban which would affect an annual trade worth R2,3-billion compared with the R1,2 billion worth of goods affected by yesterday's ban.

Total South African exports to the EC total about R20 billion.

EC diplomats in Brussels said the Netherlands and Denmark were among nations which gave notice they would press the coal ban proposal at every meeting of EC Foreign Ministers until it is finally agreed.

The ban on iron and steel imports will come into effect under the terms of the EC's iron and steel pact on September 27, the expiry date of the deadline set by The Hague summit for progress on political reform in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

University of Cape Town's visiting Irish professor

O'Brien and his

apartheid scenario

DICK USHER
in CAPE TOWN

DIPLOMAT, journalist, politician, author and academic — Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien has crammed a great variety of careers into one life.

A cheerful, precisely-spoken man, his careers have tended to be those inclined towards the disputatious, and his fourth visit to South Africa has been no exception.

Before arriving he was accused by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement of "an act of betrayal" for accepting a visiting professorship to the University of Cape Town.

This he rejects, saying his visit will be "a demonstration of solidarity with the staff and students of UCT and also a gesture of defiance against an intellectually disreputable attempt to isolate what I know to be an honest, open and creative intellectual community".

Born in Dublin in 1917, he read modern literature and modern history at Trinity College and entered the Irish diplomatic service.

His resignation in 1961 ended an appointment as United Nations special representative to



Dr CONOR O'BRIEN
Demonstration of solidarity

Katanga which he had taken up at the request of then Secretary-General, Mr Dag Hammarskjöld, during the turmoil of the province's secession from the newly independent Congo.

This was followed by a spell as vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana, four years at New York University and eight years in Irish politics in Parliament, first in opposition and then in Government.

Following his defeat in the 1977 election, he became editor-in-chief of the Observer the following year, later returning to

academic life as visiting professor at Dartmouth in New Hampshire.

In between he wrote books, including one on his Congo experiences. The latest is *The Siege: the Saga of Israel and Zionism*.

While here he will lecture in the department of political studies on the politics of siege societies, primarily those of Israel and Northern Ireland — but he does not exclude South Africa.

"Certainly there are cross-comparisons that can be made between the position of the Afrikaners in particular and the Protestants of Northern Ireland and the Jews of Israel.

"All three are perceived by their neighbours as settlers of different outlook in many ways, all three are Biblical peoples and all three are outnumbered in the regions where they are established," he said.

He is now a contributing editor for *The Atlantic* in Boston and a visit last year was the basis for an article, *What can become of South Africa?*

"I then formed quite brief and pessimistic views that things were likely to get worse not better, that the violence would not go away, that the Government would become more repressive and the role of the security forces would become more salient.

"They were beginning to operate more or less on their own and I thought that would grow and would tend towards the type of repression brought to Algiers in 1956, and South Africa would become more isolated and more subject to international action."

On the evolving role of the military, his impression was that the armed forces were increasingly the judges of what security should be and how it should be implemented.

"I don't know that there is any great division of opinion between them and the civilian leadership, but if there were it is more than clear that it couldn't be the civilian leadership which would prevail," he said.

Dr O'Brien sees the final scenario for the abolition of apartheid taking shape through superpower action, possibly sparked by trouble between South Africa and Angola, when the United States would either have to see the region falling under Soviet domination, make an unpopular move to warn off the USSR, or take part in combined action to force the end.

But he is far from seeing the end of a white role in South Africa, pointing out that there are complex tendencies and interest groups which make up the society, some of which could find common cause with whites in an emerging nation.

Hint of top-level talks on SA future

DAILY NEWS - 17 SEPT. 1986

Foreign Service

WASHINGTON: A United States senator has proposed that a team of high-level Western envoys start talks between black and white South Africans on the country's future.

Senator Nancy Kassebaum, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, said yesterday: "We in the West must provide a forum for the kind of dialogue that must be started in South Africa."

State President Mr P.W. Botha had said repeatedly he was willing to enter discussions with blacks, she said. "Unfortunately, he has insisted on controlling the entire process. The result has been that no credible, responsible black leader has been willing to begin such talks."

Addressing the National Press Club, Senator Kassebaum said she, like many of her colleagues, had reservations about the sanctions Bill Congress had approved. It did, however, send an important message to Mr Botha.

"After years of quiet diplomacy, and good-faith efforts to encourage peaceful change, our patience is wearing thin. If President Botha prefers intransigence to co-operation, he will pay an increasingly stiffer price."

In a sense, sanctions were a diversion from the real issue; and Pretoria hoped to make them the primary issue rather than let attention focus on its own actions.

Sanctions could themselves not solve the problems. "We cannot impose an external solution on South Africa, and we run a serious risk of total failure if we try to do so," she warned. The real goal of US policy was peaceful change.

A transition to recognising the rights of blacks required a move beyond sanc-



Nancy Kassebaum

tions, focusing on what lay beyond apartheid and white power.

Senator Kassebaum proposed a team of special, high-level envoys from the US, Great Britain and West Germany to start discussions with all groups in South Africa on the future, to find out if there was broad agreement on what should follow apartheid. Such talks would have to include the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and banned political groups.

On an planned visit to South Africa by the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, Senator Kassebaum said he should try to visit Nelson Mandela.

COMMENT

Sanctions disunity

THE difficulties of making economic sanctions work have been repeatedly cited as an argument against them. The Rhodesian experience showed that there will always be maverick traders and nations ready and able to profit from the enforcement of sanctions.

South Africa, which has been the target of sanctions of varying intensity for decades, has also seen evidence of this. Despite a United Nations arms embargo introduced in 1977, for example, something like a quarter of our arms needs are still imported — while this nation has also become an important exporter of weaponry.

Less well observed up to now, however, are the difficulties of even getting off first base. The inability of the European Community to agree on a basic sanctions package provides further evidence that the battle to impose them will be a long and arduous one.

While every additional measure is capable of doing harm, it may be years before the Europeans are able to agree on a programme with real bite.

And some unity among the Europeans is critical if sanctions are to mean anything. It would be totally pointless for one or two European nations to apply sanctions unilaterally — except as a salve to their own consciences.

Denmark, which has already enforced a ban on South African

coal, and others which may want to take similar unilateral action, will put their own power generating industries at a comparative disadvantage to those of other European countries which still buy lower-priced SA coal.

Either they will have to abandon sanctions or they will have to live with a constant reminder of the cost of their policies.

Though one should avoid making the mistake of over-estimating the effect of this disunity, it is good news for South Africa. The sanctions which now seem likely to go through the European Parliament will exclude coal, the most important ingredient of the original package.

One must caution, too, that disunity in Europe will not necessarily be duplicated in the United States, which has different political parameters and greater messianic zeal.

But it will certainly justify the refusal of other nations — notably in the Far East — to climb on the bandwagon. It will cause people to stand back and reassess an approach which has been pushed by the radical pro-sanctions lobby with little concern for the consequences.

Without doubt, South African business must be taking heart. It doesn't mean that there will be no further sanctions, but the fear of imminent disaster has now receded. The strengthening of the rand in the last few days, surely, must reflect this.

THE STAR 17/9/86
100 years ago

From The Eastern Star

Visitors returning from England inform us that the representations made by telegraph and otherwise as to the excellence of the arrangements and general effect of the Cape Court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London are most inaccurate and untruthful.

The exhibit of Cape wines is a small circular pyramidal stand, such as might be seen in a chemist's shop. The exhibit of Oudtshoorn tobacco is made to stand at the entrance something like a Punch and Judy box, from which visitors to the court are assailed by vendors of tobacco, represented as Oudtshoorn but in reality American, importuning them to buy.

The exhibits of furniture are said to be badly displayed, many smaller items sent for exhibition are hidden away, or not shown at all; the photographs and water-colour sketches are hung upon the walls of a pokey alley which no one goes down; and even the diamond washing and the models of the mines, great as has been the prominence given them, attract no attention beside the specimens of odoriferous native humanity sent from here.

★ ★ ★

The Herald" says the gold news from the neighbourhood of Pretoria is not encouraging to investors. There is absolutely no justification for the recent excitement as to these fields, the yield of which is said to be only one ounce to the ton. The Kimberley men are returning home, some of them having been "stuck".

This time, listen

THE STAR - 17 SEPT. 1988

IN PRINCIPLE it is no bad thing that President Botha should call the country's business leaders together for another economic conference. The title "Forward with Confidence" pinpoints a crucial need. Yet if anything is to come of it, all the participants will mutually need to clarify just what is on the agenda.

Most businessmen will approach the November 7 meeting in a mood of extreme wariness. They remember all too clearly what became of the ringing rhetoric of the Carlton and Good Hope conferences. Reform duly emerged, but then so did its severe limitations — and Mr Botha's true motives. Apart from enlisting the development expertise and resources of the private sector, he wanted to co-opt it politically behind "total strategy".

If he means to try that again it will not work — even if he

uses the emotive rallying-cry of fighting sanctions. The times have changed greatly. Recession, mass unrest and political paralysis are the main features of the local scene; internationally there have been the collapse of the rand and foreign investment, and now sanctions. Painfully business has come to realise to what extent these are the direct result of Government policies.

Since 1981 businessmen have moved strongly into the political arena, often far ahead of official policy. They have had precious little encouragement from Mr Botha. Indeed, in recent times, he has treated concerned emissaries from the business sector with brusque disregard. If the Pretoria conference is to be productive he must be prepared to listen as well as talk.

Brutalised, bitter and beyond control

The scene was a Dar es Salaam hotel and after an hour's conversation about the situation in South Africa the ANC official brought a sudden silence to the group.

"I really fear a bloodbath," he said. "They're making animals of some of our people there."

The ANC man was speaking from personal experience. He is involved with a reorientation centre in Tanzania where most of the young people who flee the black townships in South Africa eventually wind up. They are interviewed, assessed and finally sorted into different categories.

Some are sent for military training. Others go to a school which the ANC runs in Tanzania. Yet others go on to training institutions in Scandinavia, Holland and East European countries which offer scholarships to black South African refugees.

It has been going on for a long time, but what the man in the hotel was saying is that some of the young township refugees he is seeing now are different from any that have turned up there before.

They have been brutalised to an extent that shocked him and made him worry about what was going to happen back in South Africa.

It was a concern I was to hear repeated by other ANC people in other parts of the Frontline states.

Oliver Tambo expressed it at the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare when he spoke at a Press conference about how the ANC disapproved of the "necklace" killings but was

powerless to stop them because of the depth of bitterness caused by security force action in the townships.

In Lusaka, I questioned ANC leaders about the recent bombings in shopping centres, restaurants and hotels. It is still stated ANC policy that civilians will not be deliberately selected as targets.

Since a crowded Wimpy Bar at lunchtime can hardly be regarded as a military target, I asked, surely that meant the policy had been changed?

No, they said, the policy still stood. Yes, I was told, ANC headquarters accepted that its units had planned the attacks. The units were under orders to assess the situation inside the country day-to-day and make their judgments accordingly.

Impression

It sounded like an evasion, and though no one would admit it I was left with the impression that, like the "necklaces", some underground operators are now acting beyond the control of the ANC leadership.

Putting all this together, the implication is that a Khmer Rouge element is emerging in the black townships of South Africa that is beyond anyone's control, an element so brutalised that it now seeks only to kill and burn in blind revenge.

This happens when situations of violence and repression become endemic with no prospect of a political solution in sight. A bloodlust takes over and violence becomes an

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

end in itself. The world has seen it happen in Northern Ireland, Vietnam, Kampuchea and elsewhere. Now it is beginning to happen here.

It is an alarming development with frightful implications for our future. Yet the authorities seem blind to what has caused it or what it portends.

Mindlessly they even try to turn it to political advantage, using it to label the ANC leaders as monsters and so discredit the businessmen and others who have met them and report otherwise.

It is the result of a grotesque misreading of what is happening in our society. Stubbornly the Government refuses to recognise that there is a pervasive sense of grievance and anger running right

through the black population.

It clings to the belief that the unrest of the past two years is all the work of Moscow-controlled agitators, who are infiltrating the country from outside and stirring up trouble by exploiting a few local grievances and intimidating the mass of the people.

It is this hopeless misreading of the crisis facing South Africa that has committed the Government to seeking a military, rather than a political, solution.

For if you don't believe there are any serious political grievances that the existing programme of token reforms can't take care of, then you will see no need to change the programme.

Strategy

If the trouble is caused by infiltrators from outside, then the solution is a security one. Declare a state of emergency, seek out the agitators who have already infiltrated the country, mount external raids on those still in bases beyond our borders, and the trouble will subside.

The basically decent, moderate black population will breathe a grateful sigh of relief, respond to the token reforms, and all will be well. Then the world will at last accept that we have changed and forget about sanctions. All the while a National Party government and a National Party president remain firmly in power.

That is the strategy the Government is following. And as it

tries, month after month, to seek out and stamp out the "infiltrators" it is succeeding only in brutalising the black community on a mass scale.

When I hear Oswald Mtshali, the poet headmaster of Pace School in Soweto, talk about how he was pushed around and humiliated by security forces in front of his own students, I am both sickened and made fearful of the future.

Never mind Moscow and the Communist Party and the agitators from outside. Who needs them when we are destroying ourselves so effectively?

The young blacks of today are the third generation to grow up under apartheid. They refuse to accept it. White minority rule has been eliminated everywhere else in Africa.

Apartheid is discredited worldwide. Yet it remains built into their educational system, the thing that most vitally affects their future, that they believe is locking them into an inferior status forever.

Not all the threats and detentions and teargas canisters and shotgun blasts in the world are going to make those kids accept that system. All that massive over-use of force can do is brutalise them, turn them into a Khmer Rouge.

Sixty percent of the black population of South Africa is under 16. That is the size of the Khmer Rouge we are creating. A year ago they stopped listening to Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Now the ANC is losing control over them. Tomorrow they could be ruling over us.

THE STAR 17/9/86 In dispute with Malawi

Shortly after Malawi's independence in 1963 President Kamuzu Banda put down a rebellion with the help of a group of Portuguese commandos led by a man named Orlando Cristina.

Cristina, who was many years later to become secretary-general of the Mozambique National Resistance movement, was the right-hand man of the Portuguese millionaire Jorge Jardim, who is said to have been one of the financial backers of the MNR and who had close relations with Dr Banda.

He was later appointed Malawi's consul-general in Beira.

However, at the time of Mozambique's independence in 1975, Mr Cristina was arrested by the Malawian authorities but was later released.

The connection between Malawi and the Portuguese colonial rulers continued to bedevil relations between independent Mozambique and Malawi.

President Samora Machel and his Frelimo Party never had the support of Malawi during the guerilla war against the Portuguese and the new Mozambican rulers often accused President Banda of being "a stooge" of the colonialists, an accusation that President Machel repeated last week.

Immediately after independence tensions between Malawi and Mozambique rose over a territorial dispute involving the islands of Chisumulu and Likoma in Lake Malawi.

The two islands are in Mozambican territorial waters, but belong to Malawi due to a colonial agreement between Portugal and England.

Mozambique also gave its support to the exiled Socialist League of Malawi which aimed to overthrow President Banda.

Territorial disputes with Malawi

In October 1984 Mozambique and Malawi signed a non-aggression treaty but now, almost two years later, Mozambique is threatening to take military and economic action against Malawi. JOAO SANTA RITA, of The Star's Africa News Service, recalls that relations between the ruling Mozambican Frelimo party and President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi have never been good.



The headline on the front page story which appeared in The Star last Friday.

had started well before Mozambique's independence and also involved Zambia and Tanzania, both now fellow members with Mozambique of the Frontline group.

In 1967 a boundary dispute erupted with Tanzania over Malawi's claims to ownership of the whole of the northern half of Lake Malawi, including the shores directly bordering Tanzania.

Ambitions

The following year Dr Banda had suggested that Malawi's natural boundaries extended well into Zambia and Mozambique.

These Malawian territorial ambitions are behind reports that the Malawians were supporting a new Mozambican exiled group, UNAR (Uniao Nacional Africana da Rombezia), which allegedly aims at creating a sovereign state in Mo-

zambique north of the Zambezi River.

It is also known that representatives of another new Mozambican organisation, CONIMO (National Committee for an Independent Mozambique), which was formed by exiled Mozambicans recently, visited Malawi this month.

Two CONIMO members, Mr Carlos Reis and Mr Jorge Rajab Costa, met representatives of Dr Banda.

The MNR's links with Malawi are believed to have been forged in 1982, shortly after Zimbabwe became independent and when the MNR leaders were already receiving the support of South Africa, which enjoys privileged relations with Dr Banda's Government.

Mozambique first accused Malawi of allowing the MNR to attack Mozambique from Malawian territory in October 1982, when the

rebels were still led by Mr Cristina.

The Mozambican Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Sebastiao Mabote, reportedly visited Malawi that year and threatened President Banda with retaliation.

When Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa in March 1984, the MNR guerillas quickly expanded the war to other areas of Mozambique.

The northern provinces of Tete, Niassa and Zambezia, which border Malawi, were soon attacked by large numbers of MNR guerillas.

In October 1984 President Machel made his first official visit to Malawi and signed a co-operation agreement and non-aggression pact. Each country pledged not to allow its territory to be used for attacks against the other.

For a few months Mozambican criticism against Malawi was silenced, but in December 1985 Mozambique again protested against alleged MNR attacks into Tete province from Malawi.

Zimbabwean troops then moved to Mozambique to protect trucks travelling from Malawi into Zimbabwe through Tete province.

Hostages

Portuguese hostages taken by the MNR and later released said that MNR guerillas often crossed into Malawi to buy and exchange goods.

There are presently about 20 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi and this connection makes it difficult for the Malawians to control possible links with the MNR.

Last May when President Samora Machel visited Japan he told a Press conference that Malawi was being "used by South Africa to infiltrate armed bandits into our territory".

In June, Mr Mabote said Malawi was aiding the MNR "materially, logistically and to the extent of giving travel documents and airport access for MNR members to move around the world".

Last month reports published in Johannesburg said that Frelimo troops had entered Malawi and planted mines on roads near the border to stop rebels from infiltrating into Mozambique.

One Portuguese citizen, Mr J Quintino, was killed when the car he was driving detonated a land mine.

Sources close to the MNR later said Mr Quintino was "a contact" for the MNR in Malawi.

DAILY NEWS - 17 / 09 / 86

Arson probe after fires on Minister's Zululand farms

CAPE TOWN: Police are investigating possible charges of arson following a major fire on Zululand farms of the Natal National Party leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

There are fears in National Party circles that the fire, which started under suspicious circumstances, could be linked to increasing threats of violence from white right-wingers.

Mr Botha would not comment on the cause of the fire today apart from saying that the police had been asked to inves-

tigate.

The fire, which started yesterday afternoon, burnt out more than 1 000 hectares of grazing as well as destroying a borehole and extensive cattle water facilities with kilometres of PVC piping worth thousands of rands.

The full extent of damage was not known early today as the fire was only brought under control late last night.

BRUCE CAMERON

Political Correspondent

A cattle count still had to be taken and it was not known how much wild game — of which there were large numbers — had been killed.

Suspicious about the fire were based on it having started on the southern boundary of two adjoining farms owned by Mr Botha with a strong southerly wind blowing.

Its position was exact enough to prevent dam-

age to surrounding farms.

National Party sources say they would not be surprised if the fire had been deliberately started to coincide with today's by-election in Klip River where the National Party is in a two-way fight with the Hestigte Nasionale Party.

They pointed out that the National Party and its members had increasingly been the target of extreme right-wing white violence.

Kassebaum suggests team of envoys to lay foundation for talks

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An American senator has proposed that a team of high-level Western envoys start talks between black and white South Africans on the country's future.

Senator Nancy Kassebaum, head of the Senate foreign relations sub-committee on Africa, said yesterday: "We in the West must provide a forum for the kind of dialogue that must be started in South Africa."

State President P W Botha had said repeatedly he was willing to enter discussions with blacks, she said.

"Unfortunately, he has insisted on controlling the entire process. The result has been that no credible, responsible black leader has been willing to begin such talks."

Addressing the National Press Club, Senator Kassebaum said she, like many of her colleagues, had reservations about a sanctions Bill Congress had approved. It did, however, send an important message to Mr Botha.

INTRANSIGENCE

"After years of quiet diplomacy, and good-faith efforts to encourage peaceful change, our patience is wearing thin. If President Botha prefers intransigence to co-operation, he will pay an increasingly stiffer price."

In a sense, sanctions were a diversion from the real issue and Pretoria hoped to make them the primary issue rather than let attention focus on its own actions.

Sanctions could themselves not solve the problems. "We cannot impose an external solution on South Africa, and we run a serious risk of total failure if we try to do so," she warned. The real goal of US policy was peaceful change.

TRANSITION

A transition to recognising the rights of blacks required a move beyond sanctions, focusing on what lay beyond apartheid and white power.

Senator Kassebaum proposed a team of special envoys from the US, Britain and West Germany to start discussions with all groups in South Africa on the future.

This would determine if there was broad agreement on what should follow apartheid. It would also deliberately give black leaders an opportunity to join the debate.

Such talks would have to include the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and banned political groups.

This dialogue was a crucial first step in moving beyond the present stalemate.

On an impending visit to South Africa by US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, Senator Kassebaum said he should try to visit Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I would urge him to meet with everybody he can and that includes a wide range of people."

CAPE TIMES

SEPT 17 1986

focus

Peace activist Jane Jackson from California has brought a special gift for Archbishop Tutu. She told FIONA CHISHOLM about it.

US activist wheels in hi-tech gift for Tutu

AMERICAN peace activist Jane Jackson has brought a state-of-the-art wheelchair as a gift for her "friend and fellow-Anglican" Archbishop Desmond Tutu, whose enthronement she came from California to attend.

"It is the latest in wheelchairs," says Jane, who is confined to one because of Menier's syndrome, a defect of the inner ear which controls balance.

"The wheelchair for Desmond weighs only 33 lb (about 15 kg) and the wheels can come off. I want it to be given to a young black who would otherwise be able to lead a normal life if he could walk."

The airline would only allow Jane to bring one wheelchair, so her gift for Tutu travelled as her luggage, which meant she brought little personal clothing.

Fighter for rights

But then she's only been wearing black since President Reagan got the US involved covertly in Nicaragua. "It's awfully boring . . .," she says.

Jane is a fighter: for peace, justice and for human rights. There is a Tutu badge on her chest with the slogan *Wage Peace*, and she has written two letters to Reagan in her fight for the rights of the disabled.

"There are 39 million Americans who are handicapped, and a serious injury or disease could add a new name to that statistic.

"Handicapped people are fighting not so much for handicapped rights as for human rights for the handicapped. The level of denial of those with disabilities is so high and it is based on fear. We must reduce this fear as it is this which keeps us apart."

Mrs Jackson, mother of two and a grandmother, has had incurable Menier's syndrome since childhood.

"The inner ear is the human gyroscope. As mine doesn't work, I fall over, although everything else works," she says crossing her legs and swinging her arms to show off her mobility and the capabilities of her reclining wheelchair.

"The only way to control the imbalance is to recline and, as the world is not set up for people who have to lie down, I bring my bed out in public.



Jane Jackson with her Desmond Tutu badge and *Wage Peace* slogan . . . a fighter for various rights.

"As you know, Archbishop Tutu had tuberculosis as a child and he knows about confinement. I know about it too, as I spent five years in bed before I acquired my chair."

Mrs Jackson corresponded with Archbishop Tutu for several years before they met.

"We are both activists and Anglicans. I fasted for 70 days on lemonade to fight for the rights of the disabled.

"For the first two weeks it was water only. Then I switched to a mixture of lemon juice, maple syrup and cayenne pepper as the cleansing agent.

First meeting

"My aim was to convince Reagan that he should not attempt to rewrite the legislation that gives disabled people full civil rights."

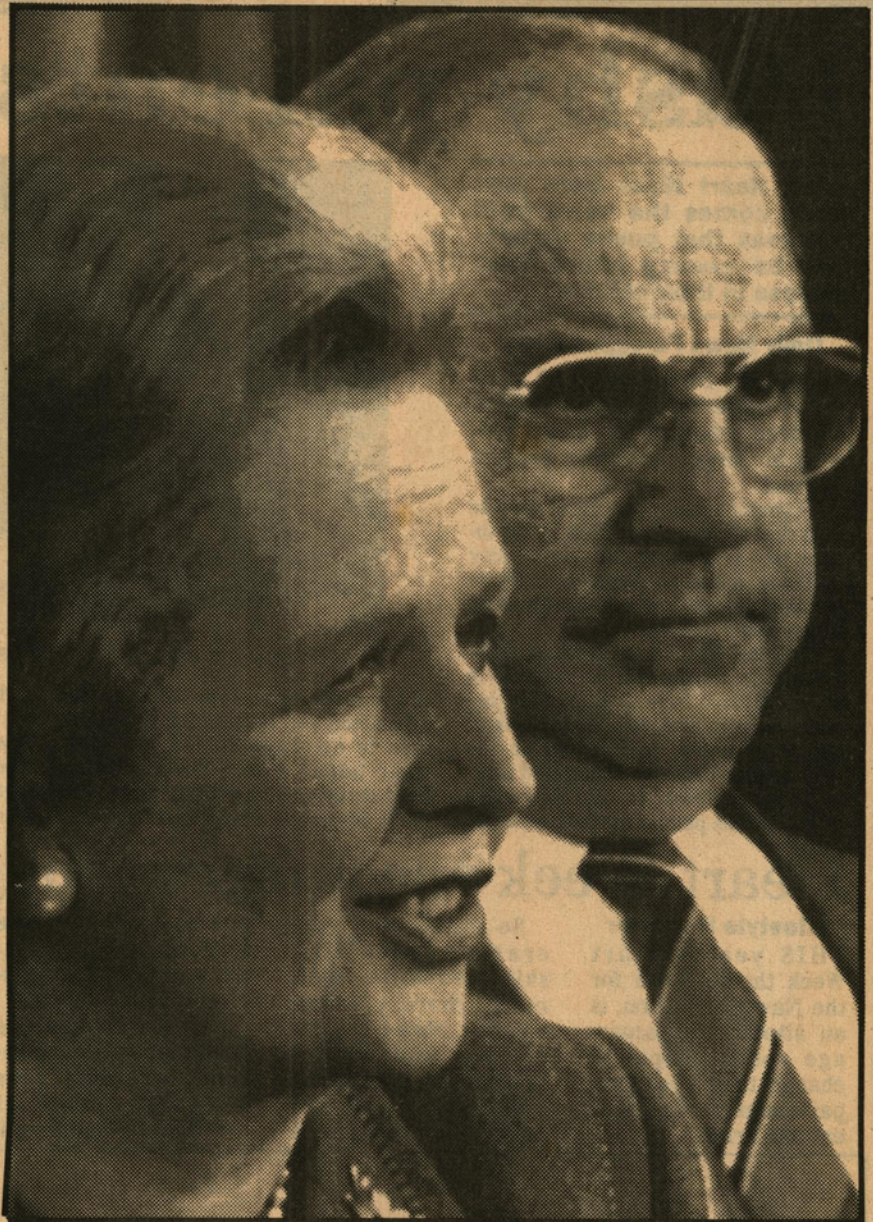
Her face shines when she recalls the memory of her first meeting with Archbishop Tutu in 1982 at a major national conference of the Anglican Church.

Because of a problem about transporting her wheelchair, Jane had been forced to wait at the airport from Friday afternoon till Sunday morning.

"When I finally made it to the conference I was taking a drink from a little water fountain. Suddenly a hand touched my shoulder and a voice said: 'You must be Jane Jackson.'

"It was Desmond Tutu. And in my excitement the water went everywhere . . ."

BACKGROUND/SANCTIONS



PRIME Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn.



Dr Robert Runcie

Get tough with Botha —Runcie

LONDON: The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, has criticised his government for "appearing to temporise" with Pretoria. He wants a tougher British line on sanctions.

Dr Runcie has just returned from the enthronement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town.

In a letter to Mrs Thatcher, Dr Runcie, writing as president of the British Council of Churches, said they were gravely concerned that South Africa was continuing in its "denial of basic human rights to the majority of its people" on the basis of race.

His letter is supported by leaders of the Church of Scotland, the Baptist Union, the Methodist Church, the Church of England, the United Reformed Church, the Moravian Church, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Quakers, and Presbyterians and Independents in Wales.—Foreign service

Cape academics in talks with ANC in Lusaka

Citizen Reporter

CAPE TOWN. — A delegation of academics and students from the Universities of Cape Town and Western Cape are due to return late tonight from talks with the banned African National Congress in Lusaka.

Sources close to the ANC yesterday claimed that talks had taken place, but this could not be confirmed by authorities at the universities.

Professor J V O Reid, deputy vice chancellor at the University of Cape Town, confirmed that a delegation, including UCT's vice chancellor, Dr Stuart Saunders, had visited Lusaka at the invitation of the University of Zambia.

He told The Citizen: "They went on the invitation of the vice chancellor of the University of Zambia, for talks on educational matters which affect all universities.

"If the ANC wished to have talks with them, the delegation was going to be open to do that.

"It was the first chance that UCT has had to share experiences with an African university," he said.

According to the ANC source, the two delegations discussed the education crisis in South Africa.

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The UWC delegation included the principal-elect, Professor Jakes Gerwel, while the UCT delegation included Professor James Leah (acting vice chancellor), Professor Charles Villa Vicencio (Department of Religious Studies), Dr Mamphele Ramphele (Department of Social Anthropology), Mr John File (planning officer).

Horror fire sears trail of death

170 dead in mine

2 DAILY NEWS

17 SEPT. 1986



Mr KOBUS OLIVIER
General manager

Daily News Correspondent

EVANDER: At least 170 miners have been killed and 240 injured in a fire that scorched through four levels of the Kinross Gold Mine yesterday — South Africa's worst gold mining disaster.

Today, rescue teams were still battling to find 14 more miners still missing in the fire — started by a flame cutting-torch and gas cylinder 1,6 kilometres down on the 15th level of the Eastern Transvaal mine.

Hopes were fading for the missing 14 — toxic fumes and smoke have blanketed half the mine's total underground area.

About 150 mine rescue team members, working in two-hour shifts since

before noon yesterday, had managed to bring 2 410 men to the surface, said a mine officer.

Of the dead miners, 165 were black migrant workers and the other five were white.

The whites were two surveyors, one shift boss, and two miners. Their names will be released soon, as their families have been told.

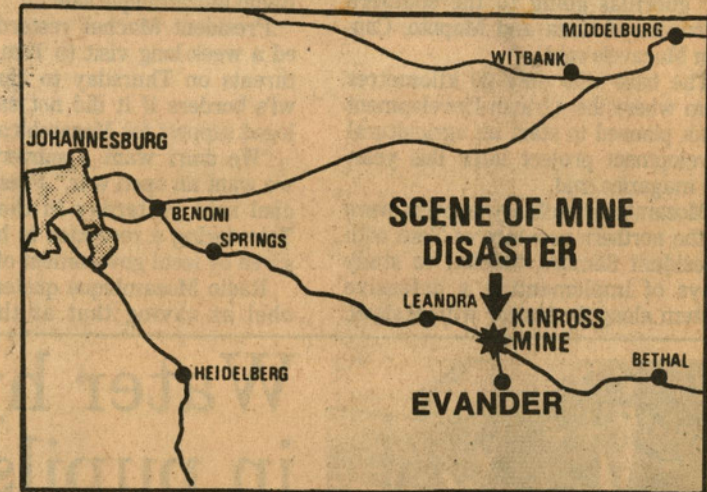
Mine spokesmen said it would not be as easy to inform families of the migrants, many of whom came from Botswana.

At least 240 people received hospital treatment and 55 white miners were admitted to the Evander Provincial Hospital where their condition was described early today as good.

About 185 black miners are being treated at the nearby Winkelhaak Mine Hospital in Leander.

The Kinross mine, owned by Gencor, is 150 kilometres east of Johannesburg.

The mine's general manager, Mr Kobus Olivier, said the fire and subsequent toxic fumes



disaster

and smoke covered 50 percent of the mine's total underground area.

Mr Olivier said the fire, that broke out at 9.30am was started by a flame-cutting torch. An acetylene cylinder was also involved.

"The fire and CO and CO2 gas spread quickly underground."

Some of the smoke and gas came to the surface.

The fire broke out between the mine's number one and number two shafts and spread through levels 15-18.

It took almost eight hours for proto teams in gas masks to extinguish the fire, and the last of the gas and smoke had been pumped out of the mine by late last night.

Earlier rescue efforts were hampered by thick clouds of toxic smoke from smouldering plastic materials and electric cables.

Mr Olivier said many of the men rescued owed their lives to pockets of oxygen in the tunnel.

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, was to visit Kinross gold mine at midday.

Mr Steyn said he as "shocked" at the news and expressed sympathy with families of those killed.

South Africa's worst mining accident was in 1960 when a massive cave-in killed 437 miners at the Coalbrook North colliery.

The most serious gold mining catastrophe was in 1900, when 152 workers drowned in a flooded mine. More recently, a fire at Vaal Reefs gold-mine killed 41, and three years ago 68 workers died in a gas explosion at a colliery.

17/09/86



AMBULANCES arriving with injured miners at the Evander Provincial Hospital after the disaster at the Kinross Gold Mine yesterday.

17/09/86

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

EC bans

WE are relieved that coal has not been put on the European Community sanctions list, since if it had been, Japan would have felt obliged to follow suit.

And there would have been a severe loss of coal markets, with the jobs of 30 000 Blacks in jeopardy.

However, a coal ban still remains on the agenda for further discussion, and you can be sure that the countries that favour sanctions will keep up the pressure for such an embargo.

Some people will say: But ah, the latest sanctions are not bad at all.

Why, iron and steel exports to Europe last year were worth only R777-million, and that's not much in terms of our total trade with Europe.

They will also note that the sanctions affect only R1,2-billion worth of South African exports to the EC out of a total of R20-billion a year.

And by not having a ban on coal, which earned South Africa R2,3-billion in European sales last year, we've been let off the hook on one of our major exports.

However, although we are pleased that coal has escaped an embargo for the present, we deplore the rest of the package, consisting of a ban on new investment and embargoes on imports of steel and iron.

For we do not believe that any sanctions are justified — and all bring about serious problems. We need investment to create new jobs, and 50 000 may lose their jobs in the iron and steel industries if embargoes on these products are effective.

Besides, each set of "limited" sanctions leads to another — and each set is worse than its predecessor.

Thus the EC sanctions of last year were relatively mild.

They are followed now by a further round of "limited", but more damaging sanctions.

Next time round — and we can be sure there will be a next time as more and more impossible demands are made on us — we will face even worse "limited" measures against us.

And finally — unless there is a miracle — the pressures for mandatory sanctions will grow enormously.

What worries us is that countries that oppose sanctions on principle, because they do not think sanctions will be effective and because sanctions will harm Blacks, tend to cave in under pressure.

Britain has done so. It opposed sanctions last year, but agreed to the measures decided on by the EC. It opposed sanctions again this year, but bowed once more to the pressure of the EC and the Commonwealth.

It took West Germany and Portugal to stand resolutely against an embargo on coal — West Germany because it believes that an embargo would result in Blacks losing their jobs, it needs South Africa's quality coal, and it feels that unless Japan also banned imports a European boycott would not be really effective.

Portugal supported West Germany, but in its case it did not want sanctions to be so tough that they would cause an exodus back to Portugal of Portuguese now living in South Africa.

In the next few days, President Reagan will have to decide whether to veto a Congressional measure which goes beyond the EC bans and includes a ban on SAA landing rights in the US.

To avert the tougher sanctions proposed by Congress, he may introduce a few "limited" measures of his own, just as he did last year when he faced a similar problem.

Meanwhile, South Africa is preparing to defend itself against sanctions, as it did in the case of the arms and oil embargoes.

By escaping harsher measures, we have gained a bit more time to get our sanctions-busting organisation into operation before the next round.

But, more importantly, we have gained a bit more time to bring about the changes that are necessary in our own domestic situation. We dare not fail to resolve our internal problems, for only by doing so can we survive and make this a great country for all its people.

By MARTIN NESIRKY

NEELTJE JANS ISLAND, Netherlands.

When a savage gale whipped up the North Sea and drowned nearly 2 000 people one winter's night in 1953, the Dutch resolved to tame once and for all the water they rely on.

Now, after 30 years' work, fierce debate and over R3 billion, they are putting the finishing touches to a major flood protection system which they say will guard the Netherlands against similar disasters for centuries.

The ambitious delta project called for dams across all but one of the estuaries of the Rhine. Maas and Scheldt in the country's southwest Zeeland Province. Planning began in 1954.

The dams were to supplement 1 000 km of coastal dykes, without which half of this sea-faring country would be inundated twice a day as the tide washed over low-lying land.

By 1956, work had begun on the barriers. But in 1976, the government bowed to pressure from environmentalists and



Queen BEATRIX... will inaugurate system.

fishermen in Zeeland and scrapped plans for the final dam across the widest, 9 km estuary, the Eastern Scheldt. The other six went ahead.

Protesters had argued that completely sealing the delta would devastate the oyster and fishing in-

dustries and upset the delicate ecological balance.

The result was a typical Dutch compromise that safeguarded people and wild life: A three-part storm surge barrier with movable gates linking two artificial islands in the estuary.

On Neeltje Jans, one of the islands, engineers proudly survey the site where thousands have worked on the 3 km barrier, the final part of the whole plan.

One engineer, Jos Geluk, called it "the world's most difficult water construction scheme".

Marching away into the distance are 65 enormous concrete pillars, each weighing 18 000 tons, between which sit 62 steel flood gates, ready to be lowered into position should the high water alert sound.

Such elaborate compromises are not cheap, and successive governments have been embarrassed by having to bear spiralling costs while urging spending restraint in other sectors.

The barrier alone has cost R5,67 billion. The delta works as a whole are expected to cost R3,45 billion by the time roads are finished across the top of the barrier next year.

Shipping can still reach the sea through the open Western Scheldt, locks

and the Rotterdam waterway.

Effects

As the work nears completion, Zeeland officials and scientists are discussing what the effects will be on the province's islands, now joined to the mainland, and on the water. The coastline will have been effectively shortened by 700 km.

Zeeland spokesman, Jan Lelieveldt, said most locals were pleased to be safe from the sort of floods that swept over the area in 1953. "But the main concern now is what the other benefits and problems might be," he said.

A tenth of the province's economy is based on tourism, and better links could boost that figure. But at the same time, many local construction workers will be unemployed.

Environmentalists believe the reduced tidal flow in the Eastern Scheldt — the barrier cuts it by 25 percent — could still harm oyster beds and upset rare migratory birds.

They hope the authorities will close the barrier only in dire emergencies, not more than once a year. Experts do not expect greater use, except to keep out pollution.

While the environmentalists and locals ponder the effects, designers and engineers are wondering what to do with millions of rand worth of specialised construction equipment and where next to employ their skills.

As scrap?

"Of course, we'd like to sell the cranes and special vessels, but it's not every easy. They could end up as scrap," said delta spokesman Leo Kneepkens.

There has been talk of using them in similar work in the Ganges delta, but it is unlikely the vessels could make the journey and that funding would be available.

Some designers and workers have shifted their thoughts from defensive to offensive work and were expecting to be engaged on a project to drain a part of the IJsselmeer, a huge Dutch lake.

Once an arm of the sea, it was dammed in 1932 and portions have been drained to add to the crowded country's land area.

But last week, the government shelved the plan, saying it could not justify another costly scheme at a time of cutbacks in education and health care.

That announcement should not stop the delta work force savouring the moment when Queen Beatrix stands atop the barrier to inaugurate the whole network of defences on October 4 before an expected crowd of 25 000. — Sapa-Reuter.

Victims angry as quake anniversary nears

By PHIL DAVISON

THE big quake began with an eerie silence and grew to a thunderous roar, unleashing the energy of 3 000 Hiroshima-size atomic bombs.

When it ended, 3½ minutes later, buildings had toppled and thousands of people lay dead among the rubble. Tens of thousands were injured. Hundreds of thousands were homeless.

As the first anniversary of the September 19 earthquake approaches, Mexicans are recalling the horror of the moments that changed their lives and the face of their capital city.

Shortly after 7 am that day, a hazy sun filtered through the trees on the central Reforma Boulevard, children were walking to school and hundreds of thousands were on their way to work.

At 7:19, the earth started shaking in a quake that measured 8,1 on the Richter Scale, making it one of the strongest quakes in history.

Estimates vary, but anywhere between 4 000 and 45 000 were killed, 30 000 were injured, including thousands pulled from rubble up to 10 days later, 100 000 families were left homeless, 4 000 buildings collapsed and more than 50 000 were damaged beyond repair.

Survivors were medically in a state of shock, rescuers and others directly involved were too busy or exhausted to pon-

der, while those whose families, homes or offices were not affected were traumatised by the very shaking of the earth.

As the anniversary nears, there is a feeling that pent-up emotions, including anger over what many feel is inadequate Government help for the victims, may come to the surface.

Some fear violence if rival anniversary marches arrive at the same time at their stated destination, the city's central Zocalo Square. President Miguel de La Madrid's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has organised an official march and rally.

But the leading victims' group, the Sole Committee of quake Victims (Cud), says its people will march to Zocalo on Friday despite a government ban. Its leader, Cuauhtemoc Abarca, said that the official March would be a "grotesque carnival" with the ruling party "merely trying to steal the show."

Abarca and his group accuse the Government of doing little to help the victims, while spending millions of dollars on radio and TV ads saying how well Mexico coped with the Quake and its economic problems.

"Not one peso "of the million of dollars of post-quake foreign aid has gone to housing the homeless, according to Abarca, who is a medical doctor.

His group has organised a series of events to mark the anniversary, including photo exhibitions and forums on such issues as the psychological effects, as well as concerts, rock bands, folk dancing, and a road race through quake-stricken areas for victims, rescue workers and others who were involved.

The idea of the music, culture and sporting events was to take victims' minds off the tragedy and help them to look forward, Abarca said.

He showed reporters a poster designed for the anniversary which portrayed a shifty-eyed De La Madrid sweeping earthquake rubble under a pavement.

But the Government says it is doing its utmost. Government officials say R1 800 million, half of it in foreign aid, is being used to build dwellings for the homeless.

However, officials say that twice or three times that figure may be needed to provide new housing or repair existing homes for the several hundred thousand affected families.

The Minister in charge of the housing programme, Manuel Camacho Solis, said last week that the Government had provided housing for more than 13 000 families under its emergency housing programme.

By the end of Septem-

ber, 23 626 families would have been housed, but he conceded that this was just over a quarter of the total homeless figure.

Modulos

Abarca said 100 000 families lost their homes in the main quake and a lesser tremor the following day, and of those, only 5 200 had received housing under the Government's reconstruction programme.

Of the rest, about half expected to receive Government credits for new houses. About 50 000 families had been completely ignored by the Government.

A tour of the quake-hit areas of the Mexican capital shows that thousands of families are still living on the streets, mostly in "modulos" — windowless corrugated-iron shacks without toilets or water. Each family's shack is about four meters square, occupied by an average of six people.

The rows of modulos, mostly thrown up by private aid groups or Opposition political parties, resemble rough army camps, crammed into street corners or on pavements in front of the sites of the displaced families' destroyed homes.

Water comes from communal street taps and toilets are boxes on street corners where the stench is almost unbearable. — Sapa-Reuter.