

Pagesfd

-

)HN;

Al

APlaga F_ Âç i

mm

Tutu

'IHE Anglican Church is outraged by the restrictions which the Minister of Law and Order has placed on the Natal president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town said in a statement yesterday.

The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu said.that for more than 18 months, Natal and national church leaders had been trying to bring to an end the con-

flict between political rivals in the province.

â\200\234During this period the government has

acted

IRAS sk

Outragedâ\200\231 by

only to hinder the process, never to help it. It has refused to contemplate an independent inquiry into the causes of the violence and it has imposed restriction orders affecting one of the parties to the talks.â\200\235

Archbishop Tutu said last week a fresh peace initiative involving Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alli-

â\200\224

ance appeared to be bogged down in a dispute

over a venue for talks.
â\200\234Our churchâ\200\231s Provin-
cial Synod sent a delega- -
tion of bishops to talk to
both sides and, minutes
before the synod ended
last Thursday, we heard
of aqh apparent break-

â\200\234throug

â\200\234Now, two days after

the Release Mandela |

Campaign.

They also restrict him
from talking to the Press,
addressmg public gather-
ings, and helping to pre-
pare any material for pub-
lication.

Mr Gumede is also re-
stricted to his house in
Clermont between 8pm
and Sam. Sapa.

talks about peace were to
have started, Mr Adriaan
Vlok has restricted the ac-
tivities of Mr Gumede,
one of the strongest
voices for peace in the re-
gion. We cannot interpret
this as anything other
than a deliberate attempt
on Mr Vlokâ\200\231s part to per-
petuate the divisions
which have caused such
frightful bloodshed in Na-
tal.

â\200\234It is essential that the
government abandons its
partisan approach to the
violence in Natal as a
matter of the utmost urg- |
ency. Mr Vlok has shown
in negotiations over hun-
ger strikers that he is
amenable to reason. If he
does not display this qual-
ity now, history will judge
him and his colleagues
very harshly indeed for
their contribution to the
terrible killing, maiming
and destruction taking
place in Natal,â\200\235 the state-
ment said.

Mr Gumede, was
served with restriction or-
ders on Monday.

The ord were
served on Mr Gumede at
his home in Clermont, |
Durban. -

The orders were served
on Mr Gumede at hisy
home in Clermont, and
prohibit him from playing
any part in the UDF and

]

\$'8U MNGAD! reports from Durban
TOWNSHIPS and villages in Natalâ\200\231s trou.
bled Midlands are fraught with tension as
tomorrowâ\200\231s three-day protest by the Cosa-

. Year.

ner klilers

Worn
iBWyers

of ber

- o Yivuhha li
25 B0 {Dan

More than 1 300
people have been killed
in the province this
About
hoiness have been de-
stroyed, leaving close
to 100000 people
homeless during the
Past two years,

Responding to g
UDF-Cosatu letter and
their objections to
ilund! as & venue, Ine

. Yutha's Chief Mango-

ta/UDF alliance in Maritzburg dmvr clos:

b M e s e ardiospheres that 8 sightâ\200\235

L her Imbali, Mzri

Jpseriously injured.

provocation could trigger the bloodiest fighting -
the province's four years of political violence has

ssen. : ;
The

protest was called in the wake of this week's...

W Trofti 30 percent burns of Niimsa shopsteward

Jabu Ndlevu in & Â¢ & gunand arson attack on

burg home last week: -0
Her husband labulani and their daughter Nobuhle;
13, died in the attack. Her nephew Thahane, 24, was

Also infuriating residents of the
attack on two women on Friday
men armed with guns paty

t, by & grotp of"
r2's Slangs-

pruit village, Both wome injured.
eMeanwhile, the mach raldey pegee salks P b, I
W Cotitd U R f add 18%2 Dok suds

peided following an impasse over the venue for the
tatks. Neither party is prepared to budge. s
{ wants it rivals to come {o.its Ulundi-

whilswbhe tworailiss prefer g TEutral o o% il

s

<oÂ¥ a tyrmgbudl and comproe

ns little or no hope that the psace

region wae the

sÂ¢ In the near future. et

Â\$ Snug after Cosstt awd lty sacomd Wï¬\201â\200\234â\200\230 ;
e â\200\230;"suâ\200\230i 10 S P4
! g orde

ces were equally visibly actiy
ighout the pravinge,

Ty

0 T

=,
5 g
<

agsinag the Qâ\200\230%- W
fires SWRNE lnfg' = i, %

R T Tk e

iree

R R

- his

1 -genisetign -

Bilthu Huthetes) invited
UDF and Cosaty lead-

Als e, Archle Cwmede

and Elfjah Barey!, lo
nddress ' the Inkaths
Central Committes on

the need for a different

Buthalez! has alg
Introduced o new 4
inension 1

3 #ysd =}\200\230F

dela, 4

He recently read a
letter to & gathering st
KwaMekhuths written
by Mandela,"and said:

B (41T Â¢ tieme in
the 26 vears in which
DF Mendels has been
incarcerated - thet he
has written from prisen

Â¢ to maKe g demund on

his countrymen which
is MioFe {Anm F demand
through his own or-
the
ANCYÂ»
Meanwhile, = the
Qourpiaings - sdiudios:
hoard == get up
â\200\234through a peace accord
by lakaths sid Cosaty
= has been rendered
useless,
wiÂ® far, it has lssueg

ne report in which it

{ Fepremended [nketha
f for breach of the wo-

. S g RRE Â¥ G e

6000 |

ARLED

@ Â® @ 0 vovar s

L ~ i e M %
. ;ï¬\201-ï¬\202â\200\230 a_fortarsivrmgs
when 8 withess tes

.fï¬\202ï¬\201â\200\230 ahot the avurder
an Imbail aotiyist wag
himself kitied,

i
i
!

Â»

P

An Inkathg member Â¥
_has since Appeared in

dourt in 5

cumented evidence
npmice'compllÃ©k'y :
violence 2nd refecte
oalls for Â» comm!ï¬\201â\200\230 ;
of Inquiry inta the vig-
ience and the alieg
Ejssconduct of yag
Torces. . eï¬\201ï¬\202ty
Listeud

| cised the

Batu alffdtice of perbe;;. Â¥
trathng the siolence,
Promising ta

| â\200\234iron flstâ\204¢

Stpay, June 4, 1989

E %ewMMmuâ\200\235oï¬\201t lEommu/cowums 81

OUTL.OORK

Commenpt.

ind Opinion

Andy Young Wasnâ\200\231t Alone

A USS. Ambassador Says He Met the PLO 35 Times

By Lally Weymouth

job as U.S. representative to the United Nations for violating American policy not to engage in diplomatic contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organiza-

I n August 1979, Andrew Young lost his g
tion. But new evidence has emerged that .

Young wasn't alone in talking to the PLO at that time.

John Guather Dean, former U.S. ambassador to Lebanon, says that during the same year, he held frequent meetings with

senior PLO officials 'in Beirutâ\200\224with au-

thorization from then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Indeed, in a series of recent interviews, Dean revealed that while heading the U.S. Embassy i Lebanon between October 1978 and June 1981, he held 35 officially sanctioned meetings with PLO officials. b

Lally Weymouth writes regularly about foreign affairs for The Weshington Post.

Dean claims that among his PLO contacts was Yasser Arafatâ\200\231s top aide, Khalil el-Wazir, This official, knowm as Abu Jihad, was in charge of PLO military operations and he was a special enemy of the Israelis (who assassinated him in Tunis last year). But. Dean sees him differently. He describes Abu Jihad as â\200\234a soldier and a well-trained officer who kept his word with me and was helpful to the U.S.â\200\235

Dean recently left the State Department after serving as ambassador to five Thailand and Lebanon. He says he decided to make public his PLO contacts because the credibility of the PLO is in question and he wants to bolster it by showing from his personal experience that there is an other side to the PLO. ,

The Dean contacts add a new chapter to the saga of America's secret relationship with the PLO during the 1970s and early '80s a period when the United States maintained an official policy of refusing to

See DEAN, B3, Col. 1

(Y]

DEAN, From Bl

recognize or negotiate with the guerrilla organization. Dean's revelations also help explain why Israel is so wary of American assurances in the current peace process. There's a fear in Jerusalem that new Amer-

ican guarantees like the old policy of no

contact with the PLO may prove unreliable.

" Cyrus Vance confirms in an interview that he authorized Dean's meetings with the PLO in Lebanon and says the purpose of the meetings was to discuss embassy security in Beirut and release of U.S. hostages in Iran but not to discuss political or diplomatic issues. Thus, argues Vance, the Dean meetings were not a violation of the pledge made to Israel by Henry Kissinger in 1975 not to negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist, since there were no political discussions and it was political discussions that were banned. There was a loophole, says Martin Indyk, head of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. These contacts were

Andy Young wasn't Alone

going on on security grounds. Indyk explains that successive American administrations looked on the 1975 Kissinger pledge as a restriction on their room to maneuver and tried continuously through various intermediaries to get the PLO to accept Kissinger's terms for U.S. recognition a process that finally culminated last December when Arafat publicly accepted U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 and Israel's right to exist.

The Dean meetings, says Indyk, appear to be the first case in which you have strong reason to believe [State Department officials] were maneuvering around the assurances. A source close to Kissinger puts it this way: They [the State Department] were always maneuvering themselves around the agreement, into a position of contact with the PLO. (The CIA maintained its own secret contacts with the PLO on security issues during the 1970s, through a separate intelligence channel.)

Dean speaks about the PLO's role in pro-

tecting him as U.S. ambassador to Lebanon as if he were describing a friendly foreign government, rather than a terrorist organization. Yet according to anti-terrorism ex-

perts, it was Arafat's group that just a few years earlier had murdered the American ambassador to Sudan, Cleo Noel, on March

2, 1973.

"When I wished to travel through Lebanon to support orphanages [and] old-age homes, I worked with every faction including the PLO," says Dean. He recalls that he would tell the PLO where he wanted to go and they'd advise whether this was safe or not and send an armed escort.

The Dean channel played an important role after the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was seized in November 1979 and American diplomats were held hostage. Vance says he told Dean to get the message to Arafat to help us get our hostages out. Arafat, eager to gain diplomatic credit for releasing hostages, soon went to work.

Since the PLO was helping provide security for Ayatollah Khomeini at the time, it was not irrelevant to be talking to them," says William Quandt, a former member of President Carter's National Security Council staff. Harold Saunders, who was assistant secretary of state for the Near East and South Asia during the Carter years, also confirms that there were meetings between U.S. officials and the PLO to discuss the hostage crisis.

The PLO had helped provide security for Khomeini's people in Paris and there was a senior PLO official in Tehran," says Saun-

ders. He adds that the State Department informed the government of Israel as to what we were doing. He says the hostage discussions were within the scope of the 1975 Kissinger commitment.

With Arafat's help, says Vance, "we got 13 hostages out. The group, including five women and eight blacks, was released Nov. 19 and 20. Recalls Vance: "I sent my thanks to Arafat. I am very grateful we got 13 out. Saunders adds that after the 13 hostages were released, the Carter administration continued to communicate with the PLO in regard to [the remaining] hostages.

Dean says that Abu Jihad was deeply involved in the effort to release U.S. hostages in Iran. This humanitarian role was galling to some American and Israeli officials, who knew of Abu Jihad's role supervising Fatah's military and clandestine operations against Israel. According to Israeli sources, for example, Abu Jihad directed an attack against the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv in 1975

in which 11 Israelis were killed and an attack on a bus near Tel Aviv in March 1978 in which 33 Israelis died. He also controlled the PLO network on the West Bank and Gaza and the flow of PLO money to those regions.

Dean says he was not the first American

ambassador to deal with the PLO. "There

had been cooperation before I came, especially in finding out about the assassination

of Ambassador Meloy," he says. (Francis Meloy Jr. was serving as U.S. ambassador to Lebanon when he was killed on June 16, 1976, by a radical Palestinian faction, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.) According to Dean, Arafat's Fatah operatives helped recover the body.

An important difference between the Dean contacts and Andrew Young's meeting with the PLO in New York, says Vance, was that the Young meeting wasn't authorized by the State Department, and that Young initially lied about it. "You can't have your own people not telling you the truth," says Vance.

But Rep. Mel Levine of California takes a more critical view of the Dean contacts in Beirut. "You don't have 35 meetings that are not viewed as negotiations," he says, adding that when you have an explicit policy on which a number of other assurances are based, people have a right to assume you are adhering to the policy. This [the Dean meetings] contravenes the policy of the U.S. government."

An Israeli official questions whether the U.S.-PLO meetings even accomplished their goal of helping help American security. "The value of American commitments is rather low," this official says. "Hypocrisy and diplomacy are traditionally European staples. The U.S. public wants straight talk and straight actions."

: 1093!'.3 :
â\200\230Pressed on the need for
black labour in a CP-con-
trolled South Africa, Dr
Treurnicht said: â\200\234We ac-
cept the interdependence
in the economic sphere.â\200\235
He-said he believed the
CP already had the ma-
jority of white support in
the Transvaal and the
â\200\234prospects are very good
for an overall majorityâ\200\235.
Dr Treurnicht leaves
London on Tuesday for
Paris and Geneva. His
itinerary here had been
shrouded in secrecy, pre-
sumably to foil anti-
theid activists.
reurnicht's trip is
irently aimed at
ting him to voters
in dnternational
man. -

e e e e â\200\224 B e SRR o

&

By Chris Whittfield

LONDON: Britain was

given a rare taste of

South African Conserva-

tive Party politics yes-

terday when it heard Dr

Andries Treurnicht sayâ\200\224

ingWHeRS O RETHGE infe-

rior â\200\234but they are differ-

entâ\200\235,

In his first live inter-
view here the CP leader
told radio listeners the
â\200\234main thingâ\200\235 in Soutr -
Africa was the â\200\234"self de-
termination of various
peoples and the rights af
people to protect their
own community lifeâ\204ç

Dr Treurnicht arrivesd
here on Friday on a 14-
day sweep across Europ<
and immediately piunges

into a series of private meetings. Early yesterday he was in the BBC Radio 4 studio.

He outlined the CP's separate development policies and its support for the 'national states'.

He denied a suggestion that his party would remove millions of blacks from white areas. 'These people have settled in certain areas and we are forced to admit they are there and to give them their own local government. Maybe even up to city status.'

And he said the CP would not necessarily bring back apartheid in post offices, cinemas and restaurants.

Asked why, as the turn of the century approached, he felt it necessary to separate people. Dr Treurnicht said: 'Because even in the year 2000 there will be separate peoples. There will be Afrikaner people in South Africa. a broader white community. there will be Zulus in Zululand. QwaQwa ...'

A!andlz: gâ\200\230.'Ã© a ssuâ\200\230mvm"e" .
Secret deal to
free Mandela

Â® Margaret Thatcher is on
the verge of concluding a
secret deal for the uncondi-
tional release of Nelson
Mandela, reports The Sun-
day Express,

It says that the deal, which
comes after months of in-
tense behind-the-scenes
pressurc from Britain, will
free the jailed nationalist
leader in September.

It adds that the South Af-
rican government, which has
refused to release Mandela
until he formally rencunces
violence, is desperate (0 re-
gain international respect
ability and has agreed to
drop its pre-condition,

However, it says, Mandcla
has apparently given his
assurance that he will do all
he can to prevent an explo-
| sion of violence.

{IKATHA

Z4178

81453

z

43

[
-
T
-
)
=]
T
o

g

by

<
b-â\200\2240 6~

i

Sy

â\200\231_zâ\200\230I'_)____(e.
Â£9

Londa.

: MRS THATCHER is

on the verge of one of

the most stunning
_ diplomatic triumphs
- of her career, with the
. conclusion of a secret

deal in South Africa to
release Nelson Man-
dela unconditionally
in September.

The deal, which comes
after months of intense
behind-the-scenes pres-
sure from Britain,
involves Mandela,

National Pearty leader fa

o e e e .

FOREIGN NEWS and WEATHER

Britain in secret deal
to release

by MICHAEL TONER in London

and JOHN MacLENNAN â\200\230Z}r*:?,.mpwsî¬\201 Town

that Mandela must formally
renounce violence

With the proml~ e of uncora
ditional release, Mandela has
apparently assured Mr de
Klerk that he will do all he
can to prevent an explosion of
violence in the townships if
he is freed.

Crucial
Once he is allowed home he
has told the National Party
leaderâ\200\224who takes over from
P. W. Botha as State Presi-
dent in Septemberâ\200\224that he
will issue a statement calling

F.W. de Klerk and Zulu | | for calm and national recon-
- leader Chief Buthelezi.
Last weekend Mr de Klerk Â¢

told Chief Buthelezi pri-
vately that the decision to
free Mandela had already
been made.

The South African Govern-
ment, desperate to regain
international! respectability,
is ready to drop the condition

cxlxatlon

Though this is not a condi-
tion of the release it ls the
crucial factor which could
allow Mr de Klerk to fend off
attacks from his Right-wing
critics.

Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s part in the

deal, which could transform
the South African political
scene, will be underlined

m ek

when Mr de mem *Â«rm't.s Bri-
tain later this montt

The Prime M;mwrr will be

the first world leader to be
told officially of the laneâ\200\235
which is still being iept

firmiy under wraps in South
Africa itself.

Mr de Klerk is refusing to
answer any fuestions on the
subject. Last week he told a
TV interviewer that he wished
to discuss the matter with
Mrs Thatcher â\200\234one to oneâ\200\235
pefore he made an announce-
ment.

Government sources in
South Africa think it vital Mrs
Thatcher should throw her
weight publicly behind the
new initiative.

Mr de Klerk will also be
seeking support from Presi-
dent George Bush before seri-

ous talks open between the .

apartheid regime and black
parties.

The lmpendlng break-
through will be seen in White-

andel

o Shehasbeenlsolatedmthe

European Community in her

a
hall &s a trivmphant vindica-
tion of Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s lonely

stand against worldwide eco- |

onomic sanctions being
imposei on Pretoria.,
Weight

Commonwesalih and in the

conviction that the South
Africans should be persuaded |
rather than bullied into

change.

That stand~undertaken at
some political cost to Bri-
tainâ\200\224has meant that the
Prime Ministerâ\200\231s advice has
carried real weight in the
South African Government's |
efforts to get itself off the |
hook. :

After last weekâ\200\231s talks
between Mr de Klerk and
Chief Buthelezi, the scene is
now set for & major negotia-
tion on South Airicaâ\200\231s consti-
tutional future, beginning
before the end of the year.

Neither Buthelezi nor any
other significant black leader
could possibly enter talks
with Mandela still held.

S â\200\224â\200\224 .
i

*

SR ; el
4.Â¢.%5

(MR s s 0 B Uiy T 8T ns W -

FW about_-turn over Natal

A FIRST major ste towards . | On May %4, Mr Heunis re-

what could be a reglons! sof { unday Times 205 e KwaZinn demand

tiement i3 Natal - ayen : . ioF & maorstorium on the | |

&long the lines of the Kwe. I8ter of KwaZulu, who also introduction of R8Cs, which |

Zulu/Natal Indaba - has praised M; F 3 e Klerk, Inkatha hae ronsistently op

been taken, with the Govarn. new NP leader, for his conoli. possd,

ment backing off from earif- iatory line. , Chief Buthelez! digelosad

ar policies, Chief Buthulez! diselaged { when he and Mr De

This wesk, Natal MEC in & speech vesterday thataix Kierk mo: he Kiined the im. | :

Peter Miller annouiosd thse days after hiz May 27 meer. pression that Mr De Klerk i

the Government would be Ing with Mr De Kierk, the â\200\234really did want (o talkâ\200\235
and | ' ,

suspending the Intreduction latter kad backag oif from wanteg te move !waz'd::

of the can roversial Regional the Governmentâ\200\231s [nsistance meaningful negotiations,
4

Services Councils in Natal that it would implemaent â\200\234That is progress in any-
The intention was 10 re. RSCa in Nara] tmmediately. pogy's langusge " ne zaid,

i;lance thern with Metromali. Speaking to a meeting of He asked, fiowever, whe-

an Services Boards ne otia- tha Inkaths Centra) Commit- ther one swallow made &

ed at the (KwaZquzsdata,) te2 in Ulundl, Chief Butheles! BuMmer

Joirt Executive Authority. stopped short of saying Mr Chief Buthelezt sald he { &
The move has been warm- De gleerk had overruled M- might maet Mr De Klerk | al

Iy applauded by Chiaf Man- Heunie, tha outgoing conat- 8gain â\200\234in the not-toc-dlgin
nt |

Besuthy Buthalesl, Chief Miy. tutiona! affafys minister, fuiureâ\200\235,

=34

-4

)

i

o

i

118

27

18: 839 YOS KWRZULL GOYT

Govt may free Ma

John MacLennan

THE Government has accepted that Mol
Mondets must be released unconditi
in order to start talks with real black lead-
ers, and it is ready to do so,

This has emerged from secret
talks between NF leader Mr W de Klerk
and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelesi,

In the best, a meeting. called at Mr de

Klerk's request, the man who will be the
next State President is being released.
He will meet with the most important black leader
out of prison and agreed on guidelines for
further talks.

- These major developments have been dis-
cussed at both NP conferences and Cabinet
and provide a chance where Mr de Klerk could
play before the September elections,

A senior NP source said the Cabinet
would weigh various factors, ranging from
the state of the economy to the election
developments, in setting a release date.

It is expected that Mr de Klerk will
make a general and qualified statement of
intent and that the party will use this as the
main part of its campaign to show the
Government really can and will deliver
on reform. Mandela is likely to be released

earliest AN BOTONARCL ALY G S T i

'y

Just after the election,

Pritne Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to be ol the full game Plan wien she meets My de Klerk in London later this mrocih. The same yessage will be conveyed to Vresident Georpe Bosh if the NP feader can Seeure a roecting with him,

For oow Mr de Klek s refuging to answer questions an the subject. Fle told an interviewer for (fe Christian Science Monitor television service he wanted 40 discuss the L5500 â\200\234one lo o wilh Mrs Thatches flrst,

His meetings with Mrs Thateher and [OS sibly Â¥ evident Bush and the pubilic reaction af hese Lwy most impertant Western lead ers will also provide e NP with thye o joT electioneering fillip i needs to drewn oriti-

sm- that it bas failed to get talks going, thal H is ruining fhe So0nomy s cannot o0t gui cormaplion,

A senior Cabinet Mmister has : drschosed â\200\224 in confidential falks with black leaders â\200\224 that the Governoment is satisfied Mandeta will support negotiations if he is refeased without the pre-roadition requaring hixs rejection of dwolenee.

Mandela is expected to IHay a vital Leidg tng roke. He is the anly black leader with the

-l - - o L - -

ndela after election

eharisma and standing to reach across ihe rdecological gaps which divide olacks,

% Chief Butheles this week dischosed how 4 vital decision by Comstitutional Affairs. Minister Chris Hemnis to press on with Regional Services Councils for Natai had beeo vhanged dramatically just six days after. Chief Butheleaiâ\200\231s â\200\234for-rangingâ\200\235 diseussions with Mr de Klerk, reports Sapa.

Addressing a2 meeting of the Tnkatha Maimal Colbral Liberation Movement in | ! lundi, Chief Buthelez: siopped shot of say- Â\$

M e Rk had overruled Mr Hemmis, - |

Un May 34 Mr Heaois rejerted a kwraZu-tu dewsand for a moratorim on the intro. â\200\234uction of RSCs, which lnkaths opposes. |

tinef Buthelz revealed that when he and Mr de Klerk met in Durban oa May 27 fus impression was that Mr de Klerk waint-ed o mave lLowards meaningful megotia-

Hons in & way his predecessors had pot.

As â\200\234proof of the puddingâ\204ç, be said. Natal
MEC Mr Peter Miller announced the Gov
erment was delaying the introduction of
RS5Cs in Natal and wouold hopefully replace
temn with Metropolitan Services Boards
which had been negotiated at the EwaZu-
la/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

o | P o e t e - e t