

Blocks to Mandela, Buthelezi talks, but ...

The Star 15-03-93

Clamour grows for Natal peace

By Peter Wellman
and Sapa

MARITZBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela last night invited the Inkatha leadership and other political parties to join the ANC in a search for peace in violence-racked Natal.

Speaking at Oribi airport after a three-day tour of the Midlands, where 20 people, including six children, were recently killed in brutal ambushes, Mandela also appealed to ANC supporters to engage IFP supporters in peace talks.

He said he had begun a peace campaign in the area involving formal meetings between local IFP and ANC leaders.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala was due to meet an IFP leader last night, and further meetings would follow, he said.

However, although preparations for a summit between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were under way, he would not meet Buthelezi unless he were convinced it would prove "fruitful".

"We have met twice before for all-day discussions. We took decisions, and they would have reduced violence if they had been implemented. But this did not succeed, and one reason was that we have not prepared thoroughly enough for our talks," Mandela said.

In this regard he mentioned the old stumbling blocks of the IFP's demand for the disbandment of Umkonto we Sizwe as well as the ANC demand for the banning of traditional weapons and the fencing in and patrolling of hostels.

He said he had not yet met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini because "the king has not co-operated in my desire to visit him in his palace and pay my respects".

Earlier, Mandela carried his message of peace to ANC supporters at Ximba, outside Maritzburg, and at Ndoleni outside Richmond.

On Saturday, Mandela and Buthelezi attended separate funerals for some of the victims of the Table Mountain ambushes.

Buthelezi addressed mourners at Mboyi while Mandela spoke about 20 km away at Swayimane at the funeral of two of the four people killed in an ambush there last week.

Five other victims of a separate massacre — which claimed 10 lives in Enkanyezini last Friday — were buried in private ceremonies in that township.

Buthelezi called on South Africans to "join together as one ... and put an end to the kind of terror to which you are so despicably subjected."

"It is now time that we embarked on a healing process, that we reach out in search of conciliation."

● The British Embassy yesterday announced a donation of R50 000 to the Red Cross to help victims of the violence in Natal.

● Mandela spreads peace
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Search for the truth

THE sensational allegations reactivated by the reopened inquest on Matthew Goniwe require careful analysis. The inquest court, headed by the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, has wisely postponed hearings until March 29 to enable it to study the evidence submitted by Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa and Colonel Lourens du Plessis, of the SADF.

One fact, however, is already clear: the authenticity of the controversial military signal, sent by Du Plessis as a record of a conversation between Brigadier (now General) Joffel van der Westhuizen and General JF Janse van Rensburg to "permanently remove" Goniwe, is no longer in dispute.

What is unclear is the meaning of the key phrase "permanently removed". Van Rensburg has testified that it meant to detain indefinitely; Du Plessis has averred that it meant assassinate. It does not require great perspicacity to predict that the court finding on whether or not the signal was a death warrant will be critical to its final verdict.

Another point seems clear: Holomisa has his own political agenda in terms of the Goniwe inquest. If he were interested solely in the truth, he would have long ago submitted the documents in his possession to Eastern Cape Attorney-General Mike Hodgson. Nearly a year has lapsed since he revealed the contents of the military signal to the media, boasting as he did so that he had many more sensitive documents.

By withholding these until last week, Holomisa must be trying to make political capital for himself and, on the face of it, the ANC. Holomisa has had his say. He must now leave it to the inquest to deliver its verdict — unless, of course, he chooses to testify before it.

In the meantime, however, Van der Westhuizen should be suspended, pending the inquest finding. Suspension will not imply prejudgment. It will merely remove a controversial figure from a key position — he is chief of Military Intelligence — while the court considers the evidence.

Dark side of Africa's old man

The Star 15-03-93

IN ANY democratic society Orton Chirwa's credentials would have guaranteed him an honoured place. He was a founder of the Malawi Congress Party, he was the country's first black barrister and Minister of Justice and Attorney General of its first government after independence.

But he lived in Malawi and he made what in Malawi was a fatal mistake: he disagreed with President Banda, went into exile and started campaigning for greater democracy. Orton and his wife Vera were kidnapped from Zambia, brought back to Malawi and accused of having conspired to overthrow the Malawian government. They were tried in a Traditional Court where they were not allowed defence lawyers and were convicted and sentenced to death in 1983. Massive international pressure forced President Banda to commute the sentence to life imprisonment.

In September last year a joint delegation from British and Malawian legal societies visited Chirwa and asked whether they might explore the possibility of exile for him. "I love England, but I love Malawi better," he replied. "This is our country. We are pure Malawians. I want to die in Malawi."

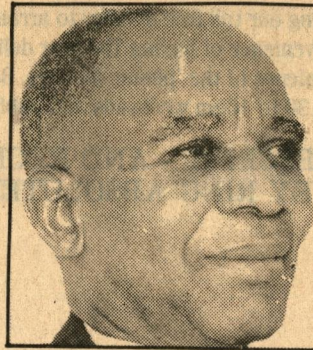
A month later, he died.

Perhaps more than any others, Orton and Vera Chirwa symbolise the human rights abuses in Malawi. Their case may not be the worst, for theirs at least had an international focus. Other lesser known detainees have suffered or are still suffering unspeakable abuses, hidden away from the public eye in Malawi's overcrowded jails.

But some light has now been shone on their plight by two overseas human rights organisations.

One was a joint delegation

As pressure for democracy grows in Malawi, the skeletons are being hauled out of the cupboards of President Banda (right), reports JOE LATAKGOMO of the Star Africa Service.



from the Scottish Faculty of Advocates, the Law Society of England and Wales and the General Council of the Bar to Malawi, which visited Malawi as the country was being pressed by the international community to improve its human rights record. Reports of human rights abuses had long abounded in Malawi.

As the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, which made a similar fact-finding visit to Malawi, says in its report: "For 28 years the government of Malawi has institutionalised human rights abuses. Under President Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's President-for-Life and leader of the only legal political party, the Malawi Congress Party, thousands of Malawians have been killed or subjected to torture, cruel treatment or prolonged arbitrary detentions..."

By 1992 international attention was increasingly being focused on Malawi's human rights record. An Amnesty International report released in that year charged that prisoners were "kept naked and chained to the floor, given minimal food, denied medical care and severely beaten".

The charges appeared to

have little effect on Banda. As recently as February last year he threatened in a public speech that any opposition members who returned to Malawi would be made "meat for crocodiles".

His motivation was perhaps illustrated by his announcement in 1966 that he would detain "ten thousand, a hundred thousand" in order to "maintain political stability and efficient administration".

The year before, during the trial of a political opponent named Silombe, he had publicly declared: "I know he is going to be found guilty. What kind of judge can acquit Silombela?" Silombela was duly found guilty, sentenced to death and hanged.

The report of the British legal group describes their findings as "chilling". An example of what they found is their account of two female workers who had been arrested for allegedly being supporters of the multiparty movement. The two women were jailed in Chichiri prison, where prisoners have reportedly been forced to stand the whole night because of deliberate overcrowding. One of the women estimated that on average one prisoner died every second night.

She told the group a man pulled up her dress and pressed a pair of pliers into her private parts "until I bled".

In the cell, "there were so many of us that we had to sleep in two rows next to the wall. We all faced in the same direction... when somebody wanted to change direction, she shouted 'let's change direction' and we all changed together".

Machipisa Munthali, now 67, was sentenced in 1964 to five years' imprisonment for opposing Banda's policy. The government appealed against the sentence and it was increased to 11 years. When he was due to be released in 1973 he was simply kept in jail. He stayed there until July last year, more than 19 years after completing his sentence.

Munthali spent 30 years in jail for the "crime" of opposing Banda's policies.

"The Special Branch told me that the Head of State had said I must be kept in," he told the British group.

The British delegates were Orton and Vera Chirwa's first visitors in eight years. It was also the first time the Chirwas had been able to meet each other in that time, although they were kept only a few metres apart.

These are by no means the only cases. Amnesty International has also reported cases of torture involving electric shocks, severe beatings and prisoners being forced to clear human excrement out of cells with their bare hands.

Ismail Khan was jailed for going to the police station to inquire about his friends. The Rev Aaron Longwe was jailed and told not to preach from the Book of Micah any more. A Mr Beza was jailed for leading the congregation in singing Hymn 150 because that hymn was considered subver-

sive.

For more than 20 years the Traditional Courts have tried people for the most serious offences and have imposed the most severe penalties in law, with no legal representation allowed for the accused. At least 70 men were known to be awaiting execution following trial in such a court at the time of the group's visit.

Why the Banda regime was allowed to get away with such a dismal record of human abuses for so long remains an open question.

The US administration's policy towards Malawi has been linked to its strategic concerns. The State Department noted that "Malawi has been a reliable partner in helping to bring about peaceful change in southern Africa. Malawi has also been a valuable force for moderation, maintaining a dialogue with South Africa".

In 1987 the US was Malawi's fourth biggest aid donor. But last year the aid was reduced from \$38 million to \$22 million a year (R117 million to R68 million).

State Department officials say no additional aid commitments will be made until Malawi addresses its human rights problems.

On October 18 last year Banda announced a referendum to determine whether Malawians wanted multiparty politics or not. A date was set for March, then moved to June.

The evening before the British group left Malawi, the Rev Longwe told them that he had heard that one of his congregation was chained to a hospital bed, very sick with no access to family or lawyers. Why was this? He had been detained some four days before for saying, in a bar, that there should be a referendum on multiparty democracy. □

Mandela: Join ANC in search for peace

PIETERMARITZBURG. — ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday called on Inkatha's leadership and other political parties to join the African National Congress in its search for peace in Natal.

He also appealed to ANC supporters in the war-torn Midlands region to engage Inkatha supporters in peace talks to try to end the killings which have claimed 20 lives in three ambushes in the past 12 days and which claimed more than 1 500 lives in the province last year.

"We'd like to appeal to all political leaders generally, and the leadership of the IFP, to join us in our search for peace," said Mr Mandela at a Press conference marking the end of an exhausting three-day tour of the violence-ravaged Midlands.

Mr Mandela said he and other ANC leaders had visited the region to preach peace, and added that he had begun a peace

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Mandela peace call

FROM PAGE 1

campaign aimed at saving lives.

This campaign would take the form of formal meetings between the Midlands ANC and IFP leadership soon — an event which has been constantly postponed due to tensions and acrimony on the warring sides.

"This campaign is about saving lives."

The time for criticising opposing parties was over, he said, adding that the warring factions had to critically examine what

they were doing to try to save lives.

Mr Mandela urged his supporters to talk peace to IFP members: "IFP members are our flesh and blood, there's no reason to slaughter one another," he said at the Press conference.

He appealed to traditional leaders in Natal — who have often been criticised for alleged involvement in much of the conflict — to help end the killings.

"We say to chiefs: play a role in the search for peace."

Chiefs did not need to be politically aligned, as they were more effective when they were neutral, he said.

A tired Mr Mandela said he had gained a better understanding of the conflict in the Midlands during his visit — which took him to the scenes of some of the worst violence in the country. He was encouraged by the response he had received in these communities.

He had wanted to attend the funeral of six children slain in an ambush two weeks ago, but had not received co-operation from Inkatha, under whose banner they were buried.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had attended the funeral and

"we believe if we're seen together ... it will make a tremendous impact," Mr Mandela said.

On the ANC's contention that there was no free political activity in Kwa-Zulu, Mr Mandela alleged that by failing to reincorporate the homelands in South Africa, State President De Klerk had "not crossed the threshold," and was maintaining no-go areas for the ANC.

South African Communist Party leader, Mr Chris Hani echoed Mr Mandela's call for peace, adding that he believed some IFP officials were concerned at the extreme levels of violence and this was adding momentum to the move to end the killings.

ANC National Executive Committee member, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, added that there were "excellent opportunities to mount efforts towards peace. The prospects are encouraging".

Chief Buthelezi also called for reconciliation and unity during his address to mourners at the funeral of the children in Mboyi on Saturday.

He said he agreed with his ANC counterpart that the solution to the conflict engulfing South Africa was political and not military. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

15-03-93

Mandela spreads peace on trouble-spot tour

By Peter Wellman

The Star 15-03-93

RICHMOND — Nelson Mandela preached peace through a colourful idiom during his weekend tour of Natal's trouble spots.

"We must think through our heads and not through our blood," he said.

Evocative idioms are part of everyday language in the townships and rural areas of Natal, so his message went down well among ANC supporters in the places he went to: Estcourt, Mooi River, Ladysmith, Richmond, Camperdown and Maritzburg.

He also addressed the Indian community and university students in Maritzburg, as well as white businessmen and farmers in Richmond.

At these meetings he concentrated on the revival of the economy, reconciliation and the ANC's plan for a government of national unity. He stressed this was different from the National Party's power-sharing plan, with minority vetoes in Parliament.

Mandela addressed a funeral at Swayimana in the Table Mountain area, which saw 13 victims of recent massacres buried at three funerals.

He emphasised the need for peace, reconciliation and freedom of association.

Mandela had also wanted to go to the Mboyi funeral at Table Mountain, where ANC members were allegedly responsible for shooting six children. Earlier, he had said the killers were "animals, not human beings".

But he did not go there after the ANC was unable to get Inkatha Freedom Party co-operation. Security officials were also



"Tell your friends I love them" . . . that's the message from Nelson Mandela to these two young girls during his tour of the violence-racked Natal Midlands yesterday. Picture: AP

concerned for Mandela's safety.

There were further problems at Ladysmith's Ezakheni township, where hitches with the KwaZulu government blocked access to the local stadium.

So Mandela repeated his "heads, not blood" message in the open veld, without a public address system.

SACP leader Chris Hani said the police had made things worse by saying a local ANC leader had been killed there recently. This was not true.

Smear pamphlets against the ANC were also distributed in Ezakheni before the meeting.

Nonetheless Mandela pulled in well over a thousand people, although Ezakheni is claimed

by the IFP as a stronghold.

And his tour speeches, which contained no rhetoric and no easy promises, were well attended throughout.

Although many ANC supporters had been killed in the areas he visited, Mandela deliberately avoided harping on ANC casualties.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at the Mboyi funeral, spoke to journalists there of a vendetta against his party.

But in his speech he urged supporters not to seek revenge.

Most low-key of Mandela's meetings was with the whites of Richmond, where farms bear quaint names such as Camelot and Sheridan.

There were no cries of "Viva ANC!", and the most noise came from a drummer beating time for smart young ANC drum majorettes.

Mandela went out of his way to assure whites that their values and cultures would be respected. National groups would be free to have their own schools, language, culture and religion, he said. And he spent several minutes explaining to one questioner that the ANC had softened its stance on nationalisation.

Patience was necessary in this time-warped town where town board chairman Brenda Duke said proudly: "We have quite a few native ratepayers."

NEWS/DAILY COLUMN

The Star 15-03-93 SAP seeks expert to finish Boipatong tapes inquiry

Staff Reporter

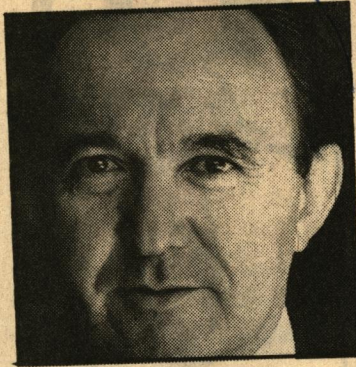
The report on whether audio tapes made by police on the night of the Boipatong massacre were erased accidentally or not is still a long way from completion.

It is understood from sources close to the Goldstone Commission that the police have not yet found a suitable international expert to investigate the tapes, which are still in the hands of the commission.

Once an expert is found, the tapes need to be sent for analysis and returned, at which point the commission can complete the report, which is currently only in draft form.

The source said it was unlikely the commission would wait indefinitely, as that was the only aspect of the investigation incomplete. But it was a vitally important part of the case put by the SAP.

A German company had been



Mr Justice Goldstone.

approached by the police to analyse the tapes, but the German government forbade it.

It is unclear whether the Japanese government agreed to analyse them.

In November the SAP asked for a postponement of the hearings so that experts could analyse the tapes to see whether police had deliberately erased the tapes or not.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

15-03-93

Peace force?

ANC president Nelson Mandela has suggested an internal, national peace force, located within the National Peace Committee.

It would comprise a broad range of South African political, religious and other organisations.

And its commander would be appointed by the United Nations in consultation with other world bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community.

If we don't say hurrah, it is because we regard this as a further attempt to internationalise South Africa's problems.

We have dozens of foreign peace observers running around the country ostensibly to help keep the peace, but able to do precious little in a civil war like that being waged between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal.

There are calls for a United Nations peace-keeping force to be stationed here for the election next year with a host of United Nations observers to monitor and validate the poll.

This is exactly what happened in Namibia — and we don't have to stress how it influenced that election.

The observers in Angola validated the election there, despite serious irregularities, with Unita resuming the civil war as a result.

Placing a so-called peace force under a commander appointed by the United Nations is simply another way of bringing the UN into our affairs.

Besides, what can a foreign commander do with a national peace force involving political, religious and other organisations?

Will the peace force be armed? If so, what would religious organisations be doing in it?

If the peace force consists of observers and monitors, why have a UN (or any other) commander, and what about existing national peace and local dispute resolution bodies?

If the peace force is going to be a kind of civilian peace corps, the idea might as well be scrapped right now since trying to talk peace in a civil war is like trying to get combatants to put down their arms at the say-so of some outside body.

Mr Mandela says there is no political party or armed formation in the country which alone can stop the killings.

Which is why he wants a representative peace force.

No, Mr Mandela, it is not a peace force that is required but a change of heart by his organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which are locked in deadly battle.

Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, are supposed to meet, but the meeting has been delayed for a variety of reasons, none of which can be accepted when 20 people, including six children, are massacred in three incidents in the Natal Midlands.

Peace can only be established if the two organisations — and their followers — lay down their arms.

Peace can only be established if there is a will to establish peace.

The ANC, Inkatha and the government are to meet to discuss the violence in Natal.

But it is up to Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to declare a truce — and encourage their followers to lay down their arms.

Another reason why the United Nations should not be drawn deeper and deeper into our affairs is there will be a Transitional Executive Council by June — and the intention is to bring the security forces under the council's control.

If the security forces are part of the problem — and we don't think they are — why bother with a peace force with a UN-appointed commander when the security forces are going to be neutralised by being placed under joint control?

Why bring a foreign commander into a volatile situation in which he will be totally out of his depth?

Why not simply use the existing peace structure, tighten up on security in the Natal Midlands by bringing in more troops, and get the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting going?

Mr Mandela said yesterday he wanted to meet Chief Buthelezi. Let him do so immediately.

ANC ex-bodyguard confesses

CITIZEN 15-03-93

I WOULD like to stress my feelings about these people who call themselves the former ANC detainees or the Returned Exiles Committee for Peace and Justice in South Africa.

I am a member of the African National Congress since 1976 after the Soweto uprising. I received my military training in Angola, Czechoslovakia and Cuba. I was indemnified in South Africa in 1990 after the government and the ANC had talks at Groote Schuur.

I was brought back because I had the duty of securing the top ANC leaders. I was a member of the ANC security wing, Imbokodo.

It is hard. For a long time I have kept quiet about the true story of what happened in exile. I feel that I have to confess even though I know that I will be betraying the oath which I took when I joined the ANC in the presence of Oliver Tambo.

I have read many things which have been disclosed by those who have spoken the truth about what had happened in exile.

Those people who marched on the ANC offices in Durban in August of 1992 certainly had good reason to do so. Not only to demonstrate about what happened in exile, but also against the fact that the ANC had killed

one of its ex-comrades simply because he refused to conform.

The ANC's own internal commission is a disgrace and an attempt to avoid addressing the truth. Loyal members of the ANC will agree with the Douglas Commission findings. The Douglas Commission has concrete evidence of what happened in exile.

I was based in Zambia, living at a security house which was commonly referred to as the Green House. I was the bodyguard of Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who was known in exile as "ANC Khumalo".

I will not forget the day when he locked up 14 people in a cell which was the size of a bathroom and pumped the fumes from a diesel engine into the airtight cell.

I was also present when Ronnie Kasrils and a Russian instructor, Vladimir Boris, tortured people in Zambia.

I can point out the graves of those murdered at RC in Zambia. The only thing is that I know the ANC will surely murder me and my family should I ever testify against them.

I was glad to hear over the radio that the Returned Exiles Committee had called upon its followers not to disrupt the multi-party conference. This is certainly a sign of a good spirit.

SIZA

Levelling

WHEN the government talks of levelling the playing fields, does it mean bringing us down to the level of the Blacks? If so, why?

PERPLEXED

Benoni

Treasonable

THE Transkei's Maj-General Holomisa has just handed a secret SADF military file to the media.

This has grave implications for the security of our country. How were these files obtained, and from whom? Is the possession of these files an offence?

The Official Opposition should demand an urgent and immediate appointment of an all-party parliamentary commission of inquiry into the appalling, treasonable leaks of top-secret security files.

VERITAS

Sandton

COSAG is worried

FROM PAGE 1

terday that the different parties had come to an agreement over the weekend regarding a wide range of matters that they would like to bring up at the negotiation table.

"Although COSAG members regarded the historical Multi-Party Planning Conference, which took place last weekend, with the greatest respect, they are very mindful of the fact that a new negotiating forum should not be turned into a Codesa.

"Those members who took part in Codesa and are aware of the wheeling and dealing and manipulation, are most determined that the same mistakes should not be

repeated," Mr Langley said.

He said COSAG members were unanimous in their opinion that they would not be used as a rubber stamp by either the government or the ANC. "If they go to the negotiating forum with that in mind, then it will most definitely not succeed.

"If things happen that we in principle do not agree to, and the government and the ANC persevere, we would be forced to take up a position. We then have the option to walk out."

"This, however, is a decision that must be made by the members themselves. It is not something COSAG can decide about," Mr Langley said.

He added that COSAG also discussed the issue of armed wings like MK and APLA and said these cadres should be dissolved to further ensure the success of the negotiating forum.

According to Mr Langley, the COSAG meeting of the weekend was very successful in the sense that member parties agreed to a wide spectrum of issues to be put on the negotiating table, including a constitutional dispensation.

"We also discussed our viewpoints regarding negotiating, decision making, a chairman for the negotiating forum and the composition of the forum.

"The different members are in agreement in their rejection of a unitary state. They are in favour of self determination, as well as determining the amount of power that should be given to a central authority."

COSAG worried over new forum

By Charmaine Pretorius

MEMBERS of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) might consider abandoning the new negotiating forum planned for April, should the govern-

ment and the ANC/SACP alliance try to manipulate the forum as was the case at Codesa.

At a COSAG meeting, which took place in the Ciskei over the weekend, members agreed in principle to participate in the plan-

ned negotiating forum, but said they were concerned that it would turn into yet another Codesa.

A spokesman for one of the COSAG member parties, Mr Thomas Langley of the Conservative Party, said yes-

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Constitutional plan takes precedence

AN IMPORTANT national peace committee executive meeting planned for the weekend was called off after political parties said preparations for constitutional negotiations in April took precedence, peace accord officials said.

This comes in the face of a special appeal by peace committee chairman John Hall for greater dedication to peace accord structures — as well as a major upsurge in political violence in Natal.

Peace committee spokesman Val Paquet said broader negotiations were "a priority" for political party representatives on the committee.

The meeting was expected to address the growing conflict in Natal, where residents say the accord's dispute resolution

RAY HARTLEY

bodies have proved ineffectual. In the wake of this month's attacks, ANC and Inkatha leaders decided to set up a new dispute committee in the Natal Midlands.

Hall said earlier this month that other issues the peace committee needed to discuss included growing criminal violence, the controversy around private armies and the availability of dangerous weapons.

Hall said peace accord signatories needed to show more dedication to the accord if it was to succeed. More than 155 complaints about breaches of the accord were recorded last year.

Paquet said peace issues would be pur-

☐ To Page 2

Constitution

sued by negotiators in low-key bilateral meetings convened to get the April constitutional talks off the ground.

A peace committee marketing committee meeting went ahead at the weekend, with representatives of a range of communities assessing new marketing ideas proposed by the committee, she said.

The marketing committee will formally launch a new peace accord symbol this week as part of efforts to strengthen the accord's presence on the ground.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that the

☐ From Page 1

British embassy yesterday announced a donation of R50 000 to the Red Cross to help victims of the violence in Natal.

British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve praised the Red Cross and other organisations for providing refugees in Natal with basic necessities.

In a further attempt to help prevent violence, Reeve last week donated R10 000 to the national peace secretariat to purchase communication and office equipment for regional and local dispute resolution committees.

Leaders agree that peace is paramount

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday it was vital to prevent civil war breaking out in the country.

Reuter reported Meyer as saying all relevant political parties to the constitutional negotiations agreed on the need to ensure peace prevailed.

The two men were at Kyalami race track for the Grand Prix prizegiving.

Ramaphosa said while the social fabric of SA was falling apart, he thought civil war was avoidable.

"We have one of the highest rates of unemployment, with 7-million people out of work. The crime rate is rocketing. The (violence) death rate has become unspeakable. The economy is in the doldrums. We must proceed with all speed to our first elections for the new SA," he said.

Meyer said the country's first nonracial elections should take place within 12 months, while Ramaphosa said he would prefer a quicker timetable.

"Our objective is to start building a nation. Apartheid destroyed our nation. A government of national unity is needed to underpin our progress," Meyer said.

Ramaphosa said ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would hold their first

meeting in two years "certainly not much later than the end of April".

There had been speculation that the two would meet at the Mboyi funeral on Saturday of the six children gunned down in a recent ambush near Table Mountain. But that meeting failed to materialise, apparently "for security reasons", although Mandela later reiterated that there would be no meeting until he was convinced it would yield results. Proper preparations would have to take place first, regarding the two sides' conditions.

Both Inkatha and the ANC renewed calls for peace at the weekend.

Mandela, wrapping up a three-day tour of Natal, told several hundred supporters in rural Kimba, about 40km from Maritzburg: "I've come here for peace."

He said despite "propaganda", the Midlands leadership of the ANC also wanted peace with Inkatha. "That's what we've come here for... peace is more important than violence."

He called on his followers to approach Inkatha supporters and to preach peace. "Go to them and say you are my flesh and blood and that SA belongs to all of us."

Earlier, after meeting white and Indian business leaders in Richmond, he said: "I

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Peace

don't want you to support the ANC, I want you to support the peace process."

Reassuring the white community that it would have a pivotal role to play in SA's future, he added: "We are saying you have nothing to fear when a democratic government has been introduced."

At the Mboyi funeral, Buthelezi also called for peace, saying "now is the time to embark on a healing process and to reach out in search of conciliation".

He urged his supporters not to seek vengeance, saying the spate of ambushes in the region which left 20 people dead must not result in further bloodshed.

□ TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town

that the Concerned South Africans Group of right-wing organisations and homeland leaders has reported a new sense of solidarity after weekend talks in Ciskei.

Spokesman Rowan Cronje said agreement on all the main issues relating to the negotiations process had been reached. "To say that we are delighted with the progress made and the spirit of solidarity achieved here is to understate the matter."

Group members, including representatives from the CP and Inkatha, were convinced that regional powers and boundaries as well as the constitution should be agreed upon within the multiparty planning phase, Cronje said.

□ From Page 1

Trip To South Africa

To the Editor:

Recently my wife and I embarked upon a long-time dream of traveling to South Africa. We had previously planned to go but were dissuaded by the news accounts of violence and unrest.

(Continued From Page 1-B)

When we had the opportunity to travel with a fellow American who is very familiar with the conditions there we felt that we were in good hands. Our trip was a memorable experience from beginning to end.

I guess we did the usual tourist things such as visit Capetown, with a side trip to the Cape of Good Hope, a few days in Durban on the Indian Ocean, a number of days in Johannesburg with a side trip to the Cullinan diamond mines, and the better part of a week observing wild animals in Kruger National Park. We also took the opportunity to visit Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe and enjoyed a trip through Swaziland, one of the smallest kingdoms in the world.

Aside from our sight-seeing we took advantage of several opportunities to meet local people of all races and we found them all to be most hospitable; they were interested and informed on a wide variety of economic, social and political matters, both local and global.

One of the surprises to us was the opulence exhibited by the mansions and surrounding grounds of some of the political leaders, such as Mr. Mandela and Bishop Tutu in Johannesburg, Capetown and their villas in Soweto. This was in sharp contrast to the conservative ambience we found in Zululand with Dr. Buthelezi, the Chief of the Zulus and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Our South African "adventure" was a study in contrasts and surprises every day and we wouldn't have missed a minute of it!

Herbert C. Stecker

Pinehurst

*Mr. & Mrs. Stecker
were with me when
we made the trip back
November -
they were at lunch with
you -
Chuck*

US armed forces unsure about Pres

WASHINGTON. — Defence Secretary Les Aspin said yesterday that some segments of the US armed forces had a "wait and see" attitude towards President Bill Clinton.

"I think that there is a certain amount of 'let's wait and see' attitude among service personnel towards Clinton," Mr Aspin said on the NBC programme Meet the Press.

But the defence secretary said he expected the president, who never

served in the military and has irritated many with his plan to lift a ban on homosexuals in the armed forces, to win over the military.

"I think this is an eminently winnable constituency for Bill Clinton," Mr Aspin said. "I think that in a couple of years you will see a really strong support for the president of the men and women in uniform."

"This is a constituency

that at the moment I would say is adopting a wait and see attitude, but it's an eminently winnable constituency," he added.

Mr Clinton and Mr Aspin last week presented a plan for closing 31 major domestic bases in an effort to shrink the armed forces after the Cold War. The proposal will cost tens of thousands of jobs and lash economies from California to South Carolina. — Sapa-Reuter.

British Embassy aids Natal unrest victims

CAPE TOWN. — The British Embassy yesterday announced its donation of R50 000 to the Red Cross to help victims of the violence in Natal.

British Ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve, in a statement issued in Cape Town, said it was tragic so

many communities in South Africa had been broken up and large numbers of people had to leave their homes as a result of the continuing violence.

He praised the Red Cross and other organisations for providing refu-

gees in the Natal areas — hardest hit by the violence — with basic necessities like food and blankets.

Sir Anthony said he was encouraged by the joint call for peace issued last week by Natal representatives of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, and echoed their plea for restraint.

He also welcomed the reported agreement of the ANC, Inkatha and the South African Government to discuss ways of stopping the continuing violence.

Since the outbreak of violence, Sir Anthony last week donated R100 000 to the National Peace Secretariat to enable them to purchase much-needed communication and office equipment for use by various regional and local dispute resolution committees. — Sapa.

'Muti' sprinkler caught in the act

CAPE TOWN. — The wife of a sangoma or traditional healer was caught red-handed sprinkling "muti" in the house of a former Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) member in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, yesterday morning.

The woman claimed she had been sent to the house by three executive members of the Cape Organisation for a Democratic Taxi Association.

She alleged the three

were clients of her husband's.

The potion was meant to kill people who were to sleep in the house.

Members of the former Webta have called for an urgent meeting of Codeta (Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations) to investigate the matter.

A spokesman for the former Webta members said it was believed attempts were being made to revive the taxi war. — Sapa.

Wife dies in attack on family

Citizen Reporter

GUNMEN attacked an Alexandra family in their Fourth Avenue home on Friday night, killing Mrs Nomxiplo Mnguni, 33, and

wounding her husband, Mr Peterson Phoswa, general secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in Alexandra.

A Witwatersrand police liaison officer,

Lieutenant Wickus Weber, said Mrs Mnguni was shot in the head, chest and legs.

Mr Phoswa was shot in the neck and right hand with a shotgun and

was taken to the Alexandra Clinic for treatment. He was later transferred to the Johannesburg Hospital.

Their two-month-old baby was unhurt.

Police raid Star offices

By Peter Davies

Police visited The Star building this morning to search for information relating to reports carried in the newspaper about alleged corruption in the Department of Transport.

● To Page 3



Search . . . Jacques Pauw takes a call while police look for documents.

Writer's files searched

● From Page 1

Four members of the South African Police's Crime Combating and Investigation Unit arrived with a search warrant at 10 am.

They examined documents and files belonging to Star investigative journalist Jacques Pauw.

The warrant, issued in Johannesburg on Friday, gave police specific authority to search for and remove documents, videos or tapes relating to audit inspections undertaken by the Department of Transport. It was issued on the grounds that the State was seeking information relating to an offence allegedly committed in terms of the Protection of Information Act.

Police found no documents falling within the categories referred to in the warrant and left the premises.

At the same time, police conducted a similar search at the house of Jaap Serfontein, former assistant chief auditor in the Auditor-General's office. Serfontein conducted an investigation into alleged corruption in the Department of Transport last year.

Inkatha invited to help end the carnage in Natal

Mandela's peace drive

MARITZBURG — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela last night invited the Inkatha leadership and other political parties to join the ANC in a search for peace in violence-racked Natal.

Speaking at Oribi Airport after a three-day tour of the Midlands where 20 people, including six children, were recently killed in brutal ambushes, Mandela also appealed to ANC supporters to engage IFP supporters in peace talks.

He said he had begun a peace campaign in the area involving formal meetings between local IFP and ANC leaders.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala was due to meet an IFP leader last night, and the ANC momentum would be maintained by further meetings, he said.

However, although preparations for a summit between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were under way, he would not meet Buthelezi unless he was convinced that it would be "fruitful".

"We have met twice before for all-day discussions.

"We took decisions, and they would have reduced violence if they had been implemented. But this did not succeed, and one reason was that we had not prepared thoroughly enough for our talks."

In this regard he mentioned the old stumbling blocks of the IFP's demand for the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC's demand for the banning of traditional weapons and the fencing in and patrolling of hostels.

Mandela also said he had not yet met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, because "the king has not co-operated in my desire to visit him in his palace and pay my respects

to him".

Mandela also called for an internal peace corps overseen by the United Nations and comprising all the major political groupings.

Before yesterday's press conference, Mandela carried his message of peace to ANC supporters in rural Ximba, about 40 km from Maritzburg.

"I've come here for peace," Mandela proclaimed to several hundred supporters, dressed in skins and bearing shields and sticks — and, at a glance, indistinguishable from an Inkatha gathering.

He called on ANC supporters to make peace with IFP members.

Earlier, Mandela told ANC members at Ndoleni outside Richmond that they had a duty to sit down with the IFP and resolve their problems. He said that defence did not mean killing innocent people in the name of revenge.

On Saturday, Mandela and Chief Buthelezi attended separate funerals for some of the victims of the spate of ambushes in the Table Mountain area.

Buthelezi addressed mourners at Mboyi, while the ANC president spoke informally about 20 km away at Swayimane at the funeral of two of four people killed in an ambush there last week.

Buthelezi called on South Africans to "join together as one ... and put an end to the kind of terror to which you are so despicably subjected."

"It is now time that we embark on a healing process; that we reach out in search of conciliation," he said.

● The British Embassy yesterday announced a donation of R50 000 to the Red Cross to help victims of the violence in Natal. — Staff Reporter and Sapa.

● Mandela spreads peace — Page 3

'IFP behind Alex murder'

By Charmeeia Bhagwat
Crime Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters wounded Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee (ICC) member and Alexandra IFP secretary Peterson Phoswa and killed his wife on Friday, claims ICC member Deane Yates.

"We already know this was an 'inside job' and people from the area around the Madala hostel were involved."

Phoswa was shot in

the neck and chest and his wife, Maria Nomngqibelo Mnguni (33), was killed when an attacker burst into their home at about 9 pm on Friday.

The gunman shot the woman in the face and chest before turning the gun on Phoswa, who was admitted to a Johannesburg clinic. The couple's two-month-old baby was not injured.

IFP official and ICC member Lucas Khosa said Phoswa had supplied a name to the police.

The Channel 4 lecture: campaign for a referendum

Creating a superstate is the

Economic growth is the way to measure success, and science and technology are its principal tools. That is the basis of modern thought, but I question it.

The leading modern society, America, has produced the greatest surge in economic growth and material prosperity in history. In the past 50 years, its gross domestic product has grown in constant inflation-adjusted dollars from \$1.5 trillion to \$5.9 trillion dollars. American science and technology have achieved incredible innovations. And yet, American society is deeply ill.

Britain and other Western societies have succeeded beyond their dreams in the past 50 years, but they are in deep trouble. Perhaps success cannot be measured in economic terms. Perhaps national prosperity is not just a product of economic growth.

As America is the remaining superpower and great of the world, some particularly British seem to be turning to her as an example. I will do my best. Many Americans tend to believe that American success is the answer to all problems and that the whole world is some sort of puzzle that modern technology can solve. This is a dangerous illusion. American success is the result of a unique set of circumstances, and this can lead to serious mistakes.

For example, gross national product (GNP) is the official index of a nation's prosperity. It is a national accounting system, such as a barometer of economic activity. The immediate impact is growth in GNP, as indicated by the upward arrow. If crime explodes, GNP grows, but the economy is in a state of crisis. So GNP is not a measure of success or failure, but just a measure of activity, good or bad.

American cities have been hit with crime, drug taking, alcoholism, racism and family breakdown. According to official figures, around 100 million people live in poverty in the world which are still rich in mobility and commitment.

My second example of economic failure is the breakdown of the family. The family is the basic unit of society. It is the place where we learn to live together. It is the place where we learn to love. It is the place where we learn to respect. It is the place where we learn to be responsible. It is the place where we learn to be human. It is the place where we learn to be free. It is the place where we learn to be good. It is the place where we learn to be great.

The breakdown of the family is a serious problem. It is a problem that is being ignored. It is a problem that is being denied. It is a problem that is being hidden. It is a problem that is being suppressed. It is a problem that is being silenced. It is a problem that is being forgotten. It is a problem that is being erased. It is a problem that is being destroyed. It is a problem that is being annihilated. It is a problem that is being obliterated. It is a problem that is being wiped out. It is a problem that is being wiped away. It is a problem that is being wiped clean. It is a problem that is being wiped out.



■ Economic growth is a faulty measure of progress. Look at America, says Sir James Goldsmith in the fourth of Channel 4's *Opinions* series, to see how a society can be materially rich but in deep trouble. Government policies designed to create one big wealthy Europe will, in practice, make our individual societies poorer and less stable

conflict. And that will be the case whatever the growth in GNP.

My third example concerns geographical mobility. People, it is believed, should move to jobs rather than the reverse. But this shows deep ignorance of how human societies work.

In a stable society, each member of a family has a role in the upbringing of the children, as have their friends. But if, to find work, the mother, father and children are forced to move, then the influences that help to educate the children are transformed and the function of relatives is diminished. Often this function is transferred to schools which, themselves, are in deep moral crisis.

The elders who have been left behind regroup in special retirement cities and the children become more anonymous in impersonal communities. Society begins to disintegrate. In particularly severe cases, when the families break down, the children seek alternative families and find surrogate

to increase their geographical mobility within the Community. This is not just allowing mobility, but actively encouraging and subsidising it. It is not the way to create Europe, but to destroy it.

Outside Europe, population is exploding and vast numbers of people are being uprooted. Tragically, we are responsible. Ill-conceived international treaties such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will have devastating consequences on the stability of society. The dual effects of exploding population and its systematic uprooting will lead to mass movements of peoples which will engulf those nations too weak to protect themselves.

People who confuse Europe with the United States of America forget that that great state was formed by immigration. They were starting from scratch: we are the opposite. Our populations have deep national roots, which is a wonderful strength as long as we do not attempt to shuffle

ed for political purposes. Instead of generating employment, the subsidies generated corruption. They also failed to stem migration, which continued to denigrate southern communities and to overpopulate and destabilise those in the north.

This has caused a great resentment in northern Italy, resulting in the formation of the Lombardy League, whose platform is to separate the north from the remainder of Italy. It has become the leading party in its region, with similar leagues emerging in Tuscany and Venice.

The subsidies and migration have taken place within the same nation. Nonetheless, they have aroused strong separatist passions. Imagine how much more resentment would be generated if they took place in entirely different nations such as between Greece and the Netherlands or between Spain and Germany.

It must be obvious that the imposition of a single currency would unleash centrifugal forces that would tear Europe apart. Alas, our centralising bureaucrats are unable or unwilling to understand this.

A piece of advice Campaign actively for the right to vote in a referendum on Maastricht, then vote against it. Then campaign actively in favour of a strong Europe based on its constituent nations.

My fourth and last point concerns GATT, which looks as though it is just promoting world trade and economic growth, but which inevitably will cause immense harm. The GATT negotiations, as they affect agriculture, propose that nations would be prohibited from limiting the volume of imported agricultural products. The idea is that the inefficient agriculture of some countries would be forced either to modernise or to be replaced by the products of other nations which already have implemented modern and "efficient" methods.

It sounds all very logical, but we need to define and understand what is meant by "efficient". It is generally accepted that large, mechanised farms using modern scientific methods produce more food, more cheaply, for the benefit of the economy and of people throughout the world. But this conclusion is based on one-dimensional thinking.

When people leave the land, they gravitate to the cities. If there are insufficient jobs, there will be increased unemployment. And, if there is insufficient infrastructure, such as schools, houses and hospitals, then there will be a need for substantial new capital expenditure. These costs must be taken into account when calculating the financial benefits of so-called intensive agriculture. But there is a deeper price. When people are forced to move to the towns, both the countryside and the towns are destabilised. The famous favelas of Brazil, the slums of such mega-cities as Rio de Janeiro, did not exist before the Green Revolution which was supposed to eradicate hunger throughout the world.

The British government finds fundamental thought difficult. That is, even though we are often told by responsible

people like a pack of cards. Europe must hold on to the strength, cultures and traditions of each nation and each must retain the overwhelming majority of its existing power to govern itself. The powers must be transferred to the centre must be principally those necessary to co-ordinate defence, diplomacy, environmental protection and trade.

That was what "subsidiarity" was supposed to be all about: transferring to the centre only those responsibilities which could not be assumed at national level. Alas, "subsidiarity" has become, in some degree, a disguise behind which lurks the centralising lust of the European bureaucrat. To centralise would be a disaster. Vast numbers of international peoples governed by great central administrations are not viable, as we have seen in the Soviet Union and in some degree in the US. Bureaucrats would not be either the KGB or Washington.

Perhaps the major centralising dynamic of the Maastricht treaty is the proposal for a single currency. Its damage goes far beyond the economy to undermine the effects of a single currency imposed uniformly on both rich and poor. Look at Italy and Germany.

The economy of northern Italy is highly competitive, whereas that of the south is not. The unemployed southerners have gone to seek work and to earn the migration. Italians considered investment in the south to create jobs there. To do this, they formed special institutions such as the Cassa di Affari del Mezzogiorno, which has managed through which were channelled massive transfers of funds to the region. The policy failed. Much of the investment went into useless infrastructure mega-projects and much was stolen or diverted

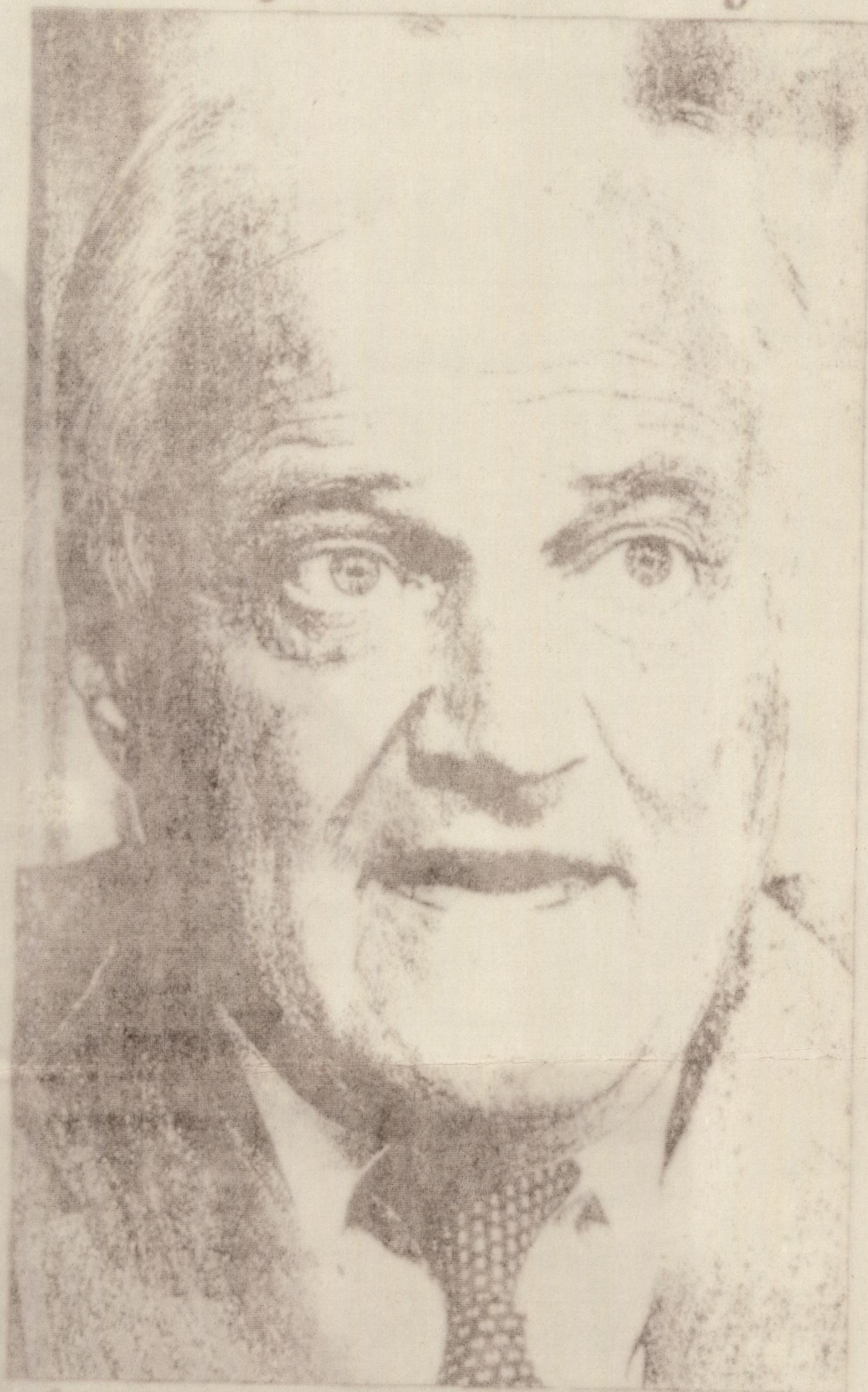
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ie way to destroy Europe



Success story: Goldsmith warns against perverting the idea of nationhood

grasping science to agriculture and thereby increasing yields.

Change often produces unexpected results. Large mechanized scientific farms did produce more food per acre, directly employed, but they no longer employed the old and slow, creating vast urban concentrations

with their attendant slums. As they were uprooted not only from their cultures and families, the refugees and their children were reduced to dependence on welfare and crime. Now the megafarms and their slums are blamed for the economic and social ills of whole nations. We

have forgotten that we created them.

The Galt proposals would do even greater damage. By preventing nations from protecting their farmers, rural communities throughout the world would be washed away as if by flood. Whole populations would be uprooted and swept into urban slums. In the

world as a whole, the rural population consists of about 3.7 billion people. Let us suppose that as a percentage of total population, it were to be reduced to the levels that already exist in the "new" farming countries such as Australia and Canada.

The result would be migration from the land to the towns of about 2.1 billion people, figures which worsen as the world's population grows. As the affected nations become ungovernable and impoverished, so their people will be forced to seek refuge elsewhere. Mass migration will follow, and do not think that any nation would remain unaffected by vast movements of uprooted and tragic peoples.

In our one-dimensional search for growth in GNP, we systematically undermine societies, create unemployment and then spend our time dealing with the symptoms. Money, although necessary to alleviate pain, solves no fundamental problems. It deals with symptoms not causes.

As Professor Walter Williams of George Mason University has pointed out, the money spent in the US on poverty programmes since the 1960s could have bought the entire assets of the 500 largest companies in America "plus virtually all the US farm land. And what did it do? The problems still remain and they are even worse."

"We all know in our bones that we are going in the wrong direction. We also know that the present British government finds fundamental thought difficult. That is why its actions, unconsciously, are often deeply irresponsible. How I wish there were a valid opposition worthy of support. Alas, the present Opposition still seems unable to shake off decisively the romantic, but failed, illusions of socialism."

Britain is in the unenviable position of having reached the end of an era. Only a few years ago, it seemed that the problems and their solutions were clear: roll back the state, bring the trade unions under the control of the law, allow people to benefit from their work and let the North Sea produce its riches. All that was absolutely vital, and accomplished with extraordinary courage. But as we see today, it was not enough.

(2)

The Times
15/3/93
London