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## ANGOLANS AGREE TO A TRUCE UNDER NEIGHBORS' PRESSURE AFTER 14 YEARS OF CIVIL WAR 'A NEW BEGINNING'

### Angola's Ordeal: The War Years

**1975** Angola becomes independent. Cuba and the Soviet Union intervene on the side of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. South Africa sends troops and war materiel to help Unita faction.

**1976** Cuban troop strength reaches 15,000.

**1978** United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 calls for a cease-fire in the Namibian guerrilla war and U.N.-sponsored elections.

**1981** Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration, visits Angola to discuss the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia.

**1984** Crocker meets with Angolans and South Africans in Zambia. Lusaka accord calls for disengagement of Angolan and South African forces in southern Angola.

**1985** Congress repeals law that precluded U.S. aid to participants in the Angolan conflict.

**1986** Jonas Savimbi, Unita leader, visits Washington. U.S. resumes assistance to Unita after 10-year hiatus.

**May 1988** Delegations from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the U.S. meet in London to begin intense negotiations.

**December 1988** Angola, Cuba and South Africa sign accords providing for the independence of Namibia and Cuban pullout.



**José Eduardo dos Santos**  
President of Angola



**Jonas Savimbi**  
Leader of Unita guerrilla forces



Government and rebel leaders announced cease-fire in Angolan conflict at Gbadolite.

### Rebels Join Government in Seeking the Basis of a Lasting Peace

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

GBADOLITE, Zaire, June 22 — Leaders of the Angolan Government and rebel forces agreed here today to a cease-fire in their 14-year-old civil war.

The accord was reached at the first meeting between President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, since the start of the war, which has cost hundreds of thousands of lives.

It is not clear whether the cease-fire will prove the basis of a lasting peace. But in an interview, Mr. Savimbi said, "This is a new beginning."

#### No Details Are Given

Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi declined to discuss details of the agreement, and there was little elaboration in the communiqué released after a six-hour negotiation session. But the statement confirmed that they had formally agreed on a cease-fire, and members of the two delegations said it would begin Saturday.

The accord was apparently the fruit of efforts by more than a dozen African leaders who held an extraordinary gathering here at the palatial country estate of Zaire's President, Mobutu Sese Seko.

President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia announced the agreement in a two-minute speech that emphasized

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# Killing within townships moves beyond apartheid

By Peter Honey

Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa — The killing fields lie all around this picturesque little city, with its Victorian architecture, its university and its high court of justice.

The countryside is a lush patchwork of dark green forests, rushing streams and sugar plantations that roll across the foothills of the rugged Drakensberg — a mountainous link with Africa's Great Rift Valley.

Here one finds the villages and farming settlements that the Zulu people of South Africa have occupied for generations — spacious, rural townships interspersed with the cramped, uniform clusters of apart-

## A HOUSE DIVIDED

BLACK VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

heid housing that serve the white-owned industries and business centers of the region.

Upward of 500,000 black people inhabit these far-flung hills and valleys, researchers say. But no one really knows, for this is a community in ferment — a small part of South Africa that has seen the bloodiest sustained political fighting since black townships around the country erupted in anti-apartheid revolt more than four years ago.

Civil rights groups say that since May 1987, at least 1,500 blacks — nearly 80 percent of the victims of political violence in the whole country — have been killed in the Pietermaritzburg region.

"Violent death has become a norm here," said Xhaba Mkhize, editor of the local *Echoe*, a weekly read mainly by blacks.

"If somebody dies of natural causes, it's as if that person had somehow wasted his life," he said.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"And when anybody dies of whatever cause, the first question people ask is: 'Who killed him?'"

He too has received death threats, he said, from factions on both sides of the conflict who disagreed with his opinions.

A resident of one of the most violent townships — Imballi, on the southern edge of "white" Pietermaritzburg — Mr. Mkhize said he has changed cars 14 times in the last 18 months to avoid recognition. It could be the difference between getting home safely or getting a brick or a bullet through the windshield, he said.

While blacks also have faced political violence in other parts of the country, those deaths occurred mostly in clashes with police or in mass attacks on structures or individuals seen as representing white minority rule.

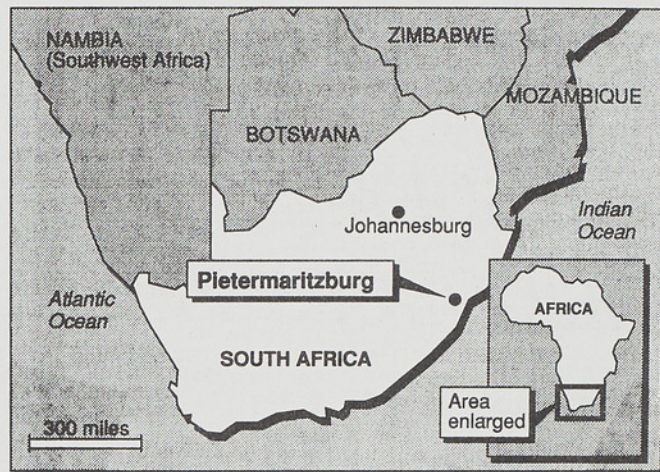
Here, the conflict is a battle for supremacy between two rival political movements: the non-racial United Democratic Front, linked to the outlawed African National Congress, and the tribally-based Inkatha movement led by Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Both groups oppose apartheid but differ ideologically and tactically.

Inkatha controls the KwaZulu homeland, one of several tribal reserves that formed the centerpiece of Pretoria's apartheid policy.

The UDF says this amounts to support for the apartheid system. But Inkatha asserts that by the using the administrative structures of the homeland — the schools, hospitals and the police — it is able to reduce blacks' dependence on whites, and so take them closer to liberation.

Inkatha opposes trade sanctions and disinvestment, which the UDF supports, and regularly acts against UDF-sponsored strikes and boycotts of schools and shops.



SUN GRAPHICS

The resulting conflict has given rise to the phrase "black-on-black violence." But black leaders from both groups reject the term as a distortion of the facts.

"Apartheid is the cause of the violence," said Vitus Mvelase, a member of the Inkatha central committee, and the KwaZulu government's regional representative.

"Whites have 87 percent of the land, while our people are crammed onto small properties, without electricity or sports facilities. Many are forced to live as squatters, five or seven families to a house, 100 families to a tap [faucet]," he said. "At least a third of them don't have jobs. Is it any wonder they get involved in violence?"

Sociologist Yunus Carrim, an executive member of the ANC-aligned Natal Indian Congress, agreed that unemployment, lack of resources and "the almost total lack of a democratic tradition" have "fanned the flames of what is essentially a con-

flict between the haves and have-nots."

In this sense the Pietermaritzburg violence is in fact an extension of the nationwide conflict between a disenfranchised, poverty-stricken black majority and the state, Mr. Carrim said.

"Inasmuch as Inkatha is linked to a government apparatus, it was inevitable that it would be blamed by people who see the state as the cause of their predicament."

Mr. Mkhize said that after two years the conflict has moved beyond the political arena into a general state of lawlessness, thuggery and Mafia-like gang warfare, with revenge and retaliation the keywords.

"It is nonsense now to say that this is a UDF-Inkatha war. A lot of people don't even know who is doing the killing anymore. They just say it is Inkatha or UDF because they can find no other reason," he said.

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## South Africa's Real Emergency

EXTENDING the state of emergency has become business as usual in South Africa. With a fourth year just announced by President P. W. Botha, censorship, detention without trial, and other abuses can continue. The foes of apartheid can thus be muted.

Such muting may, in the government's view, be crucial in the months before September's elections to the all-white parliament. The ruling Nationalist Party wants to forestall any disturbances that

could hand their right-wing Conservative opponents an issue. They are less concerned about a challenge from the left, mounted by the new Democratic Party.

Such political calculations can scarcely justify the continued emergency, with its affronts to basic rights. If, as widely forecast, the Nationalists strengthen their hold on power after September, a new government under Botha's successor, F. W. De Klerk, could be expected to lift the emergency. Mr. De Klerk has stated that white domination must come to an end,

and important steps — such as the release of Nelson Mandela — could lie just ahead. But significant changes in direction are incompatible with the dead weight of the emergency measures.

Inexorably, apartheid is crumbling. It has always been a morally indefensible system, and its economic consequences are coming home. The talents of black workers and managers are central to the country's prosperity, a recognition that should help knock the pins from under apartheid. If people are to contribute fully to a

society, they have to be allowed full participation in shaping it.

The real emergency is to come up with something better than the current system. A new administration in Pretoria may be willing to move cautiously toward genuine black participation in government. Blacks, however, will be skeptical of any approach that smacks of co-optation and compromise. They demand, and deserve, full political rights. Ultimately, that goal will have to be shared by all South Africans who want a brighter future.



Human rights worker Peter Kerchoff said there is evidence that the white authorities are exploiting the conflict to maintain divisions within the black community.

In recent statements, government leaders from Pretoria have come out in support of Inkatha and have blamed the UDF and its allies for the ongoing violence. At the same time it continues to hold UDF activists in detention. Of the more than 600 people detained and released over the last two years virtually all have been UDF members," Mr. Kerchoff said.

"This shows exactly where the state stands. They [Pretoria] want

the situation to remain unstable.

Peace and unity among the oppressed are the last things they want, because then they will have a bigger problem to contend with."

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently announced what he called an "iron fist" program to rid the region of violence.

But Mr. Kerchoff said that more police will not solve the problem unless the police are seen by blacks as impartial.

The government, as well as Inkatha leaders, has rejected calls by the UDF for a judicial inquiry into the violence.

Mr. Kerchoff and other UDF supporters say that such an investigation would reveal government complicity on the side of Inkatha.

Inkatha and the UDF alliance have held several rounds of peace talks over the last several months and last year, even signing a peace accord.

But it was to no avail. Current efforts to set up a new round of talks have deadlocked in a dispute over the venue.

But many township residents question the value of high-level talks while the fighting continues at community level.

But Mr. Kerchoff is one of several interested parties who believe that negotiations at high level between the warring groups is the only way to stop the killing.

"It might not stop it immediately. But at least a firm accord could create a climate for peace," he said.

Mr. Mkhize agreed: "If the organizations could put together a joint commitment to peace, they could expose the whole lie that this is a black-on-black ideological struggle."

"They could the pressure back where it belongs — on the government which has brought us to these desperate times."

## ANGOLANS AGREE TO A TRUCE UNDER NEIGHBORS' PRESSURE AFTER 14 YEARS (Continued)

the role of the African leaders in forging the agreement.

### 'Great Day for Africa'

Moussa Traoré, President of Mali and acting president of the Organization of African Unity, said, "It is a great day and historic moment for Africa and the Angolan people."

A senior aide to Mr. Mobutu said that Mr. Savimbi would join a new coalition government and that his guerrilla forces would be "reintegrated in every ranking of government." But Mr. dos Santos has long resisted such a solution, and the report could not be confirmed.

Mr. Savimbi's group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, has been fighting a Marxist Government that came to power soon after Portugal granted its Angolan colony independence in 1975. The Government is led by another faction that fought the Portuguese, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which was largely supported during its insurgency by the Soviet Union and has been backed in recent years by tens of thousands of Cuban troops.

Mr. Savimbi, who joined the African leaders at a news conference to announce the agreement, was mostly unsmiling and appeared fatigued. By contrast, President dos Santos seemed visibly elated at the end of the talks.

In a brief interview afterward, Mr. Savimbi said participants in the talks had agreed not to disclose details. But Mr. Kaunda said "there has been a handshake" between Mr. dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi.

Among the questions tonight was why Mr. Savimbi had apparently reversed himself after years of vowing to depose the Government.

A senior member of Mr. Mobutu's staff said the talks were "very, very difficult," and described Mr. Savimbi as unhappy with parts of the agreement, but he declined to give details.

After the accords signed in December by Angola, Cuba and South Africa

setting a timetable for Namibian independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, some African leaders complained that they had not been given adequate credit for their role in the settlement. "We did not need the United States or anyone else to broker this agreement," a diplomat involved in the negotiations said.

The African leaders also announced that President Mobutu would serve as mediator for another round of negotiations between the Angolan Government and Mr. Savimbi in Zimbabwe at an unspecified date.

The meeting today, perhaps the largest ever by African leaders to discuss a single issue, was held in Mr. Mobutu's vast estate, about 700 miles northeast of Kinsasha, Zaire's capital.

### Greeted by Dancers

As each of the leaders touched down on the airport runway here, they were met by crowds chanting "Mobutu! Mobutu!" and an honor guard clad in white gloves and battle fatigues. Several dozen young men and women, all arrayed in clothes printed with Mr. Mobutu's face, danced to the quick, pulsating rhythm of African drums.

The leaders assembled later at Mr. Mobutu's four-story residence, his "Versailles in the jungle," as some have called it. "The gods of our ancestors surround us with their blessings," Mr. Mobutu told the leaders in French at the opening session this afternoon.

Among those attending were the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Two nations, Morocco and Tanzania, were represented by lower-level officials.

The strength of the Angolan guerrillas has apparently persuaded the Government that there should be a political settlement because neither side can win on the battlefield and continuation of the war would cause further economic devastation.

### 6,000 Cubans Already Gone

The morale of Angola's army soared when, with Cuban help, it held off South

African soldiers in several battles last year. But the army's fighting ability will be slowly undermined by the withdrawal of the 50,000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola. About 6,000 Cuban soldiers have left as part of a pullout that is to be completed in mid-1991.

Since 1986, the United States has provided Mr. Savimbi's guerrilla group, known by the acronym Unita, with about \$15 million a year in military aid, including Stinger ground-to-air missiles.

Before George Bush's inauguration in January, the President-elect sent a letter to Mr. Savimbi promising continued support. The program is under review, however, because South Africa has cut off its assistance to the insurgents as part of the Angola accords, and a continuation of American aid will depend on the level of fighting, diplomats have said.

Mr. Mobutu plans to meet with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d next Wednesday and with President Bush at the White House later next week.

Mr. Mobutu's visit comes as Congress is trying to decide how much aid to give his country. Representative Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California, has led a fight in Congress to reduce aid to Zaire because of reports of corruption and human rights violations.

Over the years, journalists have documented extensive evidence that the United States has used Zaire for the transshipment of arms to Angola's rebels.

But in a meeting here last year with Representative Mervyn M. Dymally, Democrat of California, Mr. Mobutu said his country provided no direct assistance to Mr. Savimbi's rebels.

"If you examine a map of Africa," Mr. Mobutu said, "you will discover that Angola stretches 2,600 kilometers along our southern frontier. This boundary line is controlled by the legitimate ruling Government of Angola. Everyone knows that for aid to reach this landlocked country, it must pass through South Africa or some other country but not Zaire. Any aid that we might provide would inevitably fail to reach Savimbi, who is well off to the south."



**Stellenbosch Journal**

# At Afrikaner Campus, Unsettling Ideas Take Root

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa — On a balmy winter morning several hundred students lingered outside the administration building on a university campus waiting, with curiosity but no particular vehemence, for a verdict.

Inside, the vice chancellor was meeting with two student leaders, who were appealing the suspension of one of them and the banning of two prominent student groups. After 45 minutes, the meeting was declared inconclusive and the good-natured crowd drifted off to tennis, Saturday chores and exam preparation.

Several days later, the student and the organizations were reinstated pending a new disciplinary hearing.

The atmosphere on Stellenbosch University, set in verdant wine country 25 miles east of Cape Town, is usually politically quiescent — as the waiting student crowd the other day showed — and very much in favor of the governing National Party.

Faculty members and students here refer to it as the intellectual fulcrum of Afrikanerdom, the campus from which every South African President from the National Party — except the incumbent, P. W. Botha, who did not attend a university — has graduated. But these days, some of the faculty and students see it as an anguished place, straining at its familiar sturdy moorings because of political protests and a visit by students into neighboring Zambia to see members of the exiled African National Congress.

## First of Their Kind

While the rumblings at Stellenbosch are tame by American college protest standards of the 1960's and indeed by those of the English-speaking universities in South Africa, they are being noticed here as the first of their kind at an Afrikaner university. "Afrikaner students have quit the laager," read a headline on an opinion column in *The Sunday Star*.

Of Stellenbosch's 14,100 students, about 100 are said to be black and 550 of mixed race. These numbers have gradually increased since 1978, when the undergraduate courses were first opened to nonwhites. Of the four Afrikaner universities — schools where courses are conducted in Afrikaans, the native language of the Dutch-descended South Africans who dominate the country's politics — Stellenbosch has the highest percentage of black and mixed-race students.

At the center of some of the recent rumblings was Leslie Durr, a 21-year-old philosophy honors major. She led protests in May in favor of integrated student housing on campus, a policy

that the Student Representative Council, made up of a cross section of students, has endorsed but not won in the last few years. She was suspended

in the first such disciplinary action against a Stellenbosch student.

A professor of political science at the university, Jannie Gagiano, estimates that the student body is split 50-50 over integrated residences. "The whole reformist talk of the Government has been to indicate that it's O.K. to have it, although they want to go slow," Mr. Gagiano said, stressing that those in favor were not much out of line with the Government.

At Stellenbosch, unlike other Afrikaner campuses, he said, "the hard attitudes on the right would be small." A majority support the National Party, which presided over the institutionalization of apartheid, while about 8 percent of the students support its more strident rival, the Conservative Party, he said.

Officially, Miss Durr's transgression was not to demand integrated housing, which the administration said it was seeking through negotiations with the Government, but to organize and lead a public rally. Four years ago, Stellenbosch banned public protests. "It's not the style of our university," said Mike de Vries, the mild-mannered vice chancellor.

If the housing protest was not in Stellenbosch's style, neither was the meeting of 18 students — 5 described as National Party supporters — with exiled leaders of the African National Congress in Lusaka, Zambia, in March. Commenting on the visit, the chairman of the Student Representative Council, Pierre van der Spuy, wrote: "For many student leaders, the greatest disillusionment was to realize that all were victims of propaganda. These people were just like us. They told jokes, laughed, and dreamed of a new, just South Africa."

## The Most 'Open Dialogue'

If protest was going to happen on any of the Afrikaner universities, Stellenbosch was the logical starting point, students and educators here say. Compared with the campuses of Pretoria, Rand Afrikaans University and Bloemfontein, Stellenbosch has permitted the most "open dialogue," said Mark Behr, the former head of the Stellenbosch chapter of the National Union of South African Students, a nationwide anti-apartheid student group. Four years ago, Stellenbosch became the only Afrikaner university to open its doors to the organization.

But the union has failed to make the inroads on the campus that Mr. Behr and Miss Durr, the new campus president of the organization, would like. About 2,000 students accept the group's platform, Mr. Behr said.

# Pretoria Rejects Ban on Ivory Trade

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

KRUGER NATIONAL PARK, South Africa, June 20 — In a move that is almost certain to limit the effectiveness of a likely worldwide ban on ivory intended to save the African elephant from extinction, South Africa has decided to oppose such a ban and continue trading in ivory.

Although threatened elsewhere in Africa, elephants are flourishing in South Africa's national parks — there are about 8,000 over all, including 7,034 in this park — and officials here say they do not see why South Africa should be penalized for efficient conservation and anti-poaching efforts.

South Africa is the world's second largest legal seller of ivory, after neighboring Zimbabwe, which has not announced its position on a ban. Most of the ivory from both countries goes to Japan.

The chief research officer of the National Parks of South Africa and an authority on elephants, Dr. Anthony Hall-Martin, said South Africa's parks would lose \$4 million in revenue from ivory and other elephant products if the country went along with the ban. He said South Africa might be prepared to give up the proceeds, which go back into conservation, if there was a likelihood the ban would work.

## Poachers Endanger Elephants

But "there is no evidence that a ban is going to save the elephant," he said. "Rhinoceros horn was banned 15 years ago, and outside South Africa the numbers have dwindled from 15,000 to 3,000."

The proposed ivory ban, expected to be formally adopted in October at a meeting of the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species, has the support of the United States and such African countries as Kenya and Tanzania, where elephants are endangered because of uncontrolled poaching. The World Wildlife Fund, which originally opposed a ban on the same ground as South Africa, switched its position earlier this month.

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Mr. Behr and Miss Durr said they were encouraged that 1,500 students came out to one of the protest rallies, but there were counterprotests. Eggs, water and milk bombs were hurled at the protesters. By the end of last

week, five rocks carrying threatening messages had smashed the windows of Miss Durr's house. As she sat chatting in the sun after meeting with the vice chancellor, a white woman drove by and stuck out her tongue.

"I think this is making people think," said Miss Durr, who added that her parents, National Party stal-

warts, strongly disagreed with her political views. "This incident has forced people to take sides: academics, workers and students."

The university administration has been sharper than many expected in clamping down on the protests. As well as ousting Miss Durr, the administration banned the National Union of South African Students and Black Students of Stellenbosch for the next four months, effectively silencing them until legislative elections are held in September — elections in which there will be no black participation.



# Limits Seen to Change Under South Africa's Next President

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, June 17—As South Africa's next leader prepares to visit London and Washington next week, some observers here express doubts that he will fulfill the high expectations for political change being raised about him at home and in Western capitals.

This, observers have said, could lead to an international backlash after Frederik W. de Klerk takes over from P.W. Botha as president after elections in September that he and the ruling National Party are sure to win.

Partly because he is a more polished and relaxed man than the forbidding Botha—known here as The Big Crocodile—and partly because of some high-minded rhetoric after he was named leader of the National Party in February, the impression has grown that de Klerk is the man to end the country's apartheid system of segregation and white minority domination.

In particular, de Klerk's pledge to call a constitutional convention representing all races caught the imagination of many who are anxious to see South Africa change and end its pariah status in the world.

It is a reflection of these hopes that de Klerk is the first leader of South Africa's ruling party since World War II to be invited to visit London and Washington. During next week's visit, he will meet with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Secretary of State James Baker III and possibly President Bush.

The expectations have been raised further by Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, who has reportedly told Baker and several European foreign ministers in recent meetings that de Klerk and the National Party will campaign on a platform of ending apartheid in the September general election.

The one thing even his sternest critics grant de Klerk is that he is more intelligent and pragmatic than Botha. For that reason, some observers may lead to shifts that are not yet apparent.

Helen Suzman, a veteran civil rights legislator who has been active for 30 years in opposing apartheid, testified to the change in the atmosphere since de Klerk became majority leader. "The old crocodile is still around, but it's a much more re-

laxed and pleasant place," she said. The new atmosphere will be conducive to reform, Suzman said, while warning that it would be a mistake to expect more than "incremental changes" within the framework of de Klerk's ideological vision.

The prospective president's older brother, Willem de Klerk, a theologian turned journalist who has played a role in forming the new opposition Democratic Party, also said he is unlikely to take a sharp turn to the left. "He is too strongly convinced that racial grouping is the only truth, way and life," said Willem de Klerk. "He is too dismissive of a more radical style."

The course his younger brother will follow, Willem de Klerk predicted, is a careful, centrist one in which he will seek to "hold the middle ground by means of clever footwork, small compromises, drawn-out studies and planning processes, effective diplomacy and growing authority through balanced leadership and control.

"This," said Willem de Klerk, "is his style, his nature, his talent and his conviction." There will be no leap of faith in a liberal direction, he said.

In fact, as de Klerk hits the campaign trail, it is becoming clear that his reformist intentions may fall short of the expectations being raised. How far short was suggested last month when Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis announced his resignation after making a reformist speech that apparently displeased de Klerk.

Heunis spoke of replacing the present tricameral Parliament, which has separate chambers for white, Asian and mixed-race legislators, with a single house in which all racial groups—including black Africans for the first time—would sit together, with the right to participate in the election of the president.

The party's official publication failed to print any of the speech, and the major progovernment newspaper, Rapport, reported that the omission was "not accidental."

If Heunis's modest proposal went beyond what de Klerk is prepared to contemplate, political analysts suggest it means a letdown is in store.

"There is a tremendous move abroad to give [de Klerk] a chance," said Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a former opposition leader who heads an institute that promotes interracial dialogue. "The Western powers will expect him to deliver, and if he does not I think you will see a convergence of pressures that have been building up between the United States, the Soviet Union and the European Community come into play."

De Klerk's problem, as was Botha's, is the confusion caused by the ambiguous rhetoric of reform that the Pretoria government has developed over the years as it has tried to convince the world it is abandoning apartheid while at the same time reassuring white voters at home that it is not.

As a Commonwealth mission warned when it held talks here in 1986, the South African government "has developed a specialized political vocabulary which, while saying one thing, means quite another."

De Klerk talks of ending apartheid, but made clear in a major policy speech May 12 that he is unequivocally opposed to majority rule. He told an American television interviewer recently that the idea of South Africa having a black president was something that "lies far in the future."

He still refers to the blacks as separate "nations," which is a basic concept of apartheid ideology, and to the whites as "the leading group."

De Klerk has made clear he believes in continuing segregated education and segregated living areas, although he is prepared to allow some controlled integration in private fee-paying schools and a few designated "gray" suburbs.

What, then, does de Klerk mean when he talks of "reaching out towards a new future" or recognizing a need for "drastic changes?"

"Will the real de Klerk please stand up?" veteran liberal member of parliament Colin Eglin demanded recently.

As his election campaign unfolds, de Klerk is emerging as a man who is prepared to go further than his predecessors in negotiating with

black leaders, but not much further in what he is prepared to negotiate about.

He may be prepared to release Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress, and begin talking to him—something black activist spokesman Allan Boesak predicts will happen before the end of this year—but not about black majority rule, which is Mandela's central demand.

De Klerk appears eager to negotiate, realizing this is the key to improving South Africa's international image and easing the economic pressure on the country. Still, he told a Western diplomat recently, "Don't expect me to negotiate myself out of power."

A close reading of de Klerk's campaign statements indicates that he will continue Botha's search for what political analyst Hermann Giliomee has described as "a formula for sharing power without losing control."

The statements indicate that de Klerk envisions a system in which the racial groups will function as constitutionally defined political blocs with equal voices regardless of their size.

No group must be in a position to dominate the others, de Klerk has said. That is why he will not consider majority rule, a system that would allow the black majority to dominate.

Decisions will have to be reached by consensus among the racial groups, with a "maximally depoliticized" body, such as a constitutional court, to serve as arbiter, de Klerk has said.

Black nationalists are emphatically opposed to any such system which they see as a device to thwart the majority's democratic right to rule.

Such a plan would preserve privileged position whites have for themselves under apartheid, which they control 89 percent of the land and 95 percent of the country's industrial undertakings.

Black activists also argue that given the power of the president to appoint such bodies and the fact that de Klerk foresees the presidency remaining in white hands, the arbitration mechanism would be certain to operate in favor of the whites.



# ANC strategist for 30 years, Gwala

## says armed fight will lead to victory

By Peter Honey

Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

EDENDALE TOWNSHIP, South Africa — After 45 years of fighting apartheid, of political imprisonment, detention and banning at the hands of the South African authorities, African National Congress stalwart Harry Gwala says he is convinced that armed struggle and economic sanctions are still the only means to drive Pretoria's white rulers into a political accord with the black majority.

Economic decline and widespread civil disorder, he says, already have shaken the apartheid edifice.

"The rock is not only cracked, it is crumbling," he said in an interview at his modest home in this poverty-stricken black township near Pietermaritzburg.

"When Nazism was about to collapse under the might of the Allied powers, one could feel it in the air," he said.

"That is what is happening in South Africa today: The air is full of negotiations. I see no longer only signs — I see the beginnings."

Nearing 69, the bespectacled, bearded Mr. Gwala looks more like a kindly grandfather than a guerrilla strategist. A grandfather he is, but the steely eyes speak of a commitment to what he calls "the struggle," even though he may not live to reap its fruits.

A political contemporary and confidant of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson R. Mandela, Themba Harry Gwala was released from life imprisonment in November after contracting motor neuron disease, a terminal illness that has robbed him of the use of his arms and now threatens to immobilize his legs.

He has been imprisoned or under some form of political restriction almost continuously since 1960. In that year, he was among hundreds of ANC and Pan Africanist Congress supporters detained as the government banned the movements and drove them underground.

He was held again in 1963, and the following year he was sentenced to eight years in the top security prison on Robben Island, for recruiting guerrillas. On his release in 1972, he

was banned for five years and confined to his home at night. While still restricted he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, again for recruiting guerrillas and for attempting to overthrow the government by force. Twelve years later he was released, a sick man.

A former trade union leader, Mr. Gwala joined the ANC in 1944 and later served on the organization's Natal regional executive. He is one of

### A HOUSE DIVIDED

#### BLACK VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

only two "old guard" ANC leaders to have been released from prison in the past 18 months.

The first, Govan Mbeki, has been placed under virtual house arrest and may not give press interviews, although he was allowed to visit Mr. Mandela briefly this month.

Mr. Gwala, while not prevented from political activity, is a "listed" communist and may not be quoted in South Africa.

Since his release, however, he has maintained contact with Mr. Mandela. In the past few weeks he has met twice with the ANC leader at the prison farm near Cape Town where Mr. Mandela has been held since recovering from tuberculosis.

Mr. Gwala would not divulge the nature of their discussions. But he said the meetings had been at Mr. Mandela's bidding: further evidence of the government's willingness to allow the once-isolated nationalist to communicate with members and supporters of his outlawed organization.

Government sources, meanwhile, have confirmed that senior government officials have also on several occasions held long discussions with Mr. Mandela — at least once at the home of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The gradual unfettering of Mr. Mandela adds to speculation that he and other imprisoned leaders could be released some time after the election Sept. 6.

The election will spell the end of President P. W. Botha's reign and usher in a new leadership, almost certainly under National Party leader

Frederik W. de Klerk.

Many analysts believe the new government will seek to make a dramatic gesture to affirm its oft-stated commitment to political reform and negotiations with black leaders.

Release of Mr. Mandela could well be that gesture, they say, adding that it could also serve to deflate the sanctions drive in the United States and other countries that have long demanded the ANC leader's release as one of the prerequisites for normal relations with South Africa.

Mr. Gwala, however, appeared less than impressed.

"Nelson Mandela is only a symbol," he said. "People look to him as a symbol of change, of hope. But they do not look to him, or to the government, to change apartheid. They look to him as a leader who can help them destroy apartheid."

Mr. Mandela was among those who initiated the ANC's armed struggle, Mr. Gwala said, "because he realized long ago that apartheid can never be reformed, only destroyed. And he still holds to these ideals."

Negotiations would be meaningful only if the government stopped trying to entrench white privilege, he said.

"Some people say De Klerk is a better man than Botha. But we do not look at individuals; we look at the systems they represent," he said.

Mr. De Klerk had spoken of developing a rapport with the black majority.

"But at the end of it all he speaks of maintaining group rights, and that is just another way of saying apartheid," Mr. Gwala said.

It was up to the West to exert more pressure on South African government, he said.

"I mean comprehensive sanctions and disinvestment, not just shams, because without Western support South Africa can not hold out," he said.

Voice quivering with emotion, he contemptuously dismissed the argument that sanctions and disinvestment would only hurt black South Africans.

"You can't tell us about starving, because we are literally starving. You can't tell us about misery because we are living a miserable life,"

he said.

"Day in and day out we are raided by the police. We are being killed, rounded up and detained. Old people are rotting on Robben Island. So don't tell us about misery."

"It's only people who are well-to-do who fear starving, because they have been living in comfort."

He said it was dishonest to pretend that the ANC's guerrilla war had failed to contribute to the government's desire for a political settlement.

"If it has failed, then why are young men forced to serve in the army? Why are police stations surrounded by high walls and sandbags? Why are people searched when they go into supermarkets?"

"There is a total mobilization in South Africa today because the ANC has succeeded in forming the nucleus of a people's army. And it is the people who are fighting the South African army."

The government portrayed the ANC as a lawless group committed to violent overthrow of the state and to establishing black rule. That was a deliberate lie, he said.

"Black rule is out. We have never stood for rule by any race over another. We stand for rule by all the people of South Africa."

The ANC's policy was contained in the Freedom Charter which, he said, had been strongly influenced by the ideals of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, and which sought similarly to guarantee basic rights for all South Africans, regardless of race or creed.

"That will be our standpoint as African people when the day for negotiating dawns," he said.

Both sides would have to be prepared to compromise, but the ANC would not compromise on the issue of singular rights for racial groups, he said.

"We cannot not expect that all that is in the Freedom Charter will be honored, just as white people cannot expect to hold onto their privileges."

"There is no such thing as racial purity. There are only two races: the animal race and the human race. And only one of these is at issue here."



## BLACKS AIM TO END INTERNAL FIGHTING

By Patrick Laurence

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

**A**FTER a series of false starts, peace talks to end internecine warfare in South Africa's Natal Province are taking place this week.

Weeks of maneuvering over location and mediation brought about an agreement for direct talks between delegates of the Inkatha movement and emissaries from the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Inkatha is led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of South Africa's dominant Zulu tribe. The UDF is a multiracial political group with close ties to the union movement and to the banned African National Congress.

These talks are meant to bring about fuller discussions between

the presidents of all four groups to help end two years of violence in and around the provincial capital of Pietermaritzburg and the port city of Durban. More than 1,000 blacks, including many women and children, have died so far.

On the surface, the fighting has appeared to be a power struggle between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha. Both organizations oppose apartheid, but disagree on how to end it. The socialist-oriented UDF wants universal suffrage in a unified South Africa (where blacks outnumber the ruling whites by 4 to 1). Inkatha, which has a more capitalist bent, has indicated a willingness to compromise on both issues as an interim measure.

But observers fear that the conflict is deeper and more intractable than a straight fight for territory between rival organizations.

According to Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, the struggle is largely over scarce resources — land, water, housing,

jobs — in desperately poor and fast growing settlements. In a study last year, Mr. Woods's researchers found that "95 percent" of activists at the cutting edge of the conflict who proclaimed loyalty to either side had "no political or ideological understanding of these movements."

Woods's findings were treated skeptically in pro-UDF and COSATU circles because of his Inkatha connection. And the emphasis on underlying socioeconomic forces was seen as an attempt to shift the blame for the conflict away from Inkatha.

But similar evidence has now been unearthed in areas north of Durban. Two University of Natal researchers have found that only a quarter of those who identified themselves as pro-Inkatha vigilantes could name Inkatha's leaders. Similarly, less than a fifth of those who saw themselves as pro-UDF "comrades" could identify their group's leaders.

Protracted moves to bring together the main adversaries were nearly sabotaged late last week. Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok imposed severe restrictions on Archie Gumede, the UDF leader in Natal, prohibiting him from taking part in Sunday's peace talks. But, after strenuous protests, he modified the restrictions, freeing Mr. Gumede and another UDF man, Azar Cachalia, to participate in the discussions.

The escalating warfare had also spurred new initiatives for peace from top churchmen as well as from imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr. Mandela wrote to Chief Buthelezi expressing his dismay at the violence. "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity . . . I consider it a serious indictment against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives."

JUNE 19, 1989

THE SUN

## Rivalries deflect black opposition to apartheid

By Peter Honey

Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

**SHONGWENI VALLEY**, South Africa — As night falls and the stars appear, an eerie silence spreads over this sprawling black settlement in the Shongweni Valley.

In the distance an occasional light flickers, possibly a small fire but more likely the quick flash of a match or the glow from the cigarette of someone hiding in the bush.

Two years ago this valley nestling in the picturesque mountains of central Natal province was home to 20,000 black people. The youngsters called it "Los Angeles" for its brightness and gaiety.

No more. Nearly all have fled the

feed our dogs and the goats and the chickens," said Eleanoh Kwenyama, leaning on her walking stick as she stopped on her way out of town to talk with a stranger. "But to stay here at night — oh, no, no, no."

It is a conflict of many shapes and forms — some political, others personal — grudges, revenge, retaliation, all hammered into the names of the political groups they represent. And here, as in most of the townships in the Natal midlands, there are only two parties: the United Democratic Front and its rival, Inkatha.

Inkatha is the Zulu-based party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, which administers many of the black settlements of Natal.

The UDF is informally linked to the outlawed African National Congress, and since 1984 has led the broader anti-apartheid revolt across the country.

The leaders of both groups disown the violence perpetrated in their names and have made half-hearted attempts at reconciliation. Meanwhile, 1,500 blacks have died in the fighting over the last two years.

Shongweni has staked its claim as one of the most violent battlegrounds.

As the night deepens and the roads empty, a tall, slender young man emerges from the bush to begin

what will be a dusk-to-dawn patrol of the area.

He calls himself "Comrade Kadafi" to conceal his true identity from the South African and KwaZulu police who patrol the area — and from the Inkatha supporters, his sworn enemies, who patrol the other side of the mountain.

He peers at the identification card in the light of a flashlight. Yes, he will talk with these visitors, he says, but first we must drive to a safer place. Four days earlier the KwaZulu police — the "ZP" — came here with a band of Inkatha supporters and shot dead two men and wounded a third. He asks that the lights not be used.

We stumble through the grass to a derelict iron shanty. Now we will talk. "Here, where we stand there were bodies," he said. "At that time there was nowhere you could pass without finding bodies."

He was talking about the height of the conflict, between February and April, when dozens were killed.

He was born here, he said, and grew up in a tradition of defending the community. Faction fights were a way of life — stick fights between rival clans. But never anything like this. Now, with the people gone, it is the task of men like him to defend the few who remain.

At the age of 26 Comrade Kadafi commands a force of 300 young

"comrades" who live in the bush and protect the community from attacks by their Inkatha neighbors.

"When the situation becomes bad we use violence. When they attack, we operate on the basis of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

"They" are "Inkatha" — the people who live but a few hundred yards away.

Earlier, a woman from the community who had been attacked said she knew "they" were Inkatha: "They wanted us to join Inkatha. They called us UDF. But we wouldn't join them because we knew they had killed our friends. So they attacked us."

On hearing this later, an Inkatha leader said that I would find a similar situation with Inkatha supporters who had become refugees from UDF violence in a district north of Shongweni.

In the darkness of Shongweni, all sides looked the same.

Comrade Kadafi said the chief of the area had wanted everyone to support Inkatha. Faced with a UDF revolt, he responded by trying to outlaw the yuppie fashion of jeans, running shoes and t-shirts — the trademark of the UDF "comrades."

The chief failed and is currently in exile in the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi.

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## A HOUSE DIVIDED

BLACK VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

violence that has torn apart their community.

The old men, women and children who have stayed behind dare not sleep in their homes at night. Instead they walk the several miles at dusk to a Roman Catholic mission where they hope they will be safe until morning, when they return.

"We come here in the daylight to



## WESTERN SAHARA

## Stalled Referendum Gets a Push

By Marian Houk

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

**A** RENEWED diplomatic push has begun for a long-awaited referendum in which natives of the disputed Western Sahara will choose between independence or integration with Morocco.

UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar arrives Sunday in Morocco. His six-day visit to the region will also take in Mauritania, Mali, and Algeria — other nations concerned with the Western Sahara question.

Morocco claimed the Western Sahara when Spain pulled out in 1976. But the guerrilla Polisario Front, which had been fighting the Spanish, then fought Morocco for independence for the 102,700-square-mile desert territory.

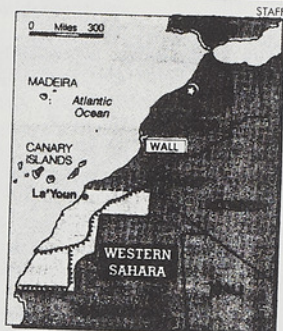
Last August, Morocco and the Polisario accepted a plan for a referendum to settle their 10-year, low-level war. At that time, it was tacitly understood that the process should begin by this August, and that balloting could take place by the end of the year.

But talks in January between Morocco's King Hassan and a Polisario team ended on a chilly note. There has been little progress since. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar hopes to win agreement on arrangements for the referendum.

Meanwhile, the UN has continued behind-the-scenes preparations. A UN military committee is preparing proposals for reducing Moroccan troop strength in the Western Sahara. At least 80,000 Moroccans man a 1,400-mile moveable, radar-equipped "wall" of bulldozed sand that excludes the Polisario from all but a narrow strip of the Western Sahara.

The Polisario says that there are at least twice as many Moroccan soldiers on the wall. It has demanded the complete withdrawal of all Moroccan troops, administration, settlers, and laws prior to the referendum.

But it has indicated that it will compromise if Moroccan forces are reduced to parity with the Polisario's 7,000 to 8,000 men.



To prepare a list of eligible voters, the UN has been quietly working with the Spanish experts who prepared a 1974 census that lists 74,000 Sahrawis, indigenous inhabitants of the area.

At one time or another, both sides raised objections to the list. But last year they agreed that only those on the list who are now above 18 years of age can vote. The Polisario estimates that the final number of eligible voters will be in the range of 55,000 to 60,000.

Both sides claim to now have pretty firm calculations of which way the vote will go. They say they know where each voter is and his likely preference. Both sides state publicly and privately with absolute conviction that they will win. They each accuse the other of footdragging "because they know they will lose."

The game is now in the numbers, and the two sides have closely held strategies for manipulating the rules to get the results they want. Now there is angling to accommodate some "real" Sahrawis not counted in the census.

There are officially 165,000 Sahrawi refugees in Tindouf, a border town in Algeria. Officials knowledgeable about the plan confirm that all refugees living in Polisario-run camps in Tindouf and who are eligible according to the census to participate in the referendum are to return to the Western Sahara for a three- to six-month electoral campaign.

A 1982 Moroccan census counted 132,000 people in the

cities of the Western Sahara — without differentiating between those originally from the territory and those from the north.

Morocco's Minister for Saharan Affairs, Khallihenna Ould Rachid, explained that at least 40,000 native Sahrawis fled their homes or were expelled during Spain's colonial rule, seeking refuge in a slice of Saharan territory that Spain turned over to Morocco in 1958.

These Saharan refugees were not included in the 1974 census, and became Moroccan. Many have now returned to their homes or rejoined their families in the Western Sahara, "but we do not consider them northerners . . ." the Moroccan minister said.

This group includes some now supportive of Polisario who are termed "fakes" by Moroccans, as well as many who are denounced by the Polisario as Moroccan "colonial settlers."

None of the refugees in the Algerian border town of Tindouf seem to pin their hopes solely on the referendum. "We are sure we will win, if the referendum is held," a woman said. "If it is not held, we will continue our struggle."

A blue-robed elder who had been a tribal representative in the former Spanish assembly said, "The people do discuss the possibility of a referendum, and hope it will take place — but whether that will be sooner or later, we don't know."

"In reality, it is not necessary to make the referendum because the people have already decided: they don't want Morocco and they don't want anyone. But we have agreed to go along to satisfy the UN and other people."

"If Morocco accepts the referendum, okay. If they don't, we'll continue the war," he said.

His thoughts were echoed by a Sahrawi in a sun-bleached military uniform, faded olive headscarf, and rubber thong sandals.

"What we want is to be free and independent from everyone — from Spain, from Morocco, from Algeria, from everyone," he shrugged.



# High Ozone and Acid-Rain Levels Found Over African Rain Forests

*Amounts Comparable to Those in Industrial Areas*

By MARLISE SIMONS

FREIBURG, West Germany — High levels of ozone and acid rain, pollution normally associated with industrialization, have been found for the first time over the virgin rain forests of Central Africa.

Scientists who made the discovery said the pollution was particularly alarming because it exists throughout the year and is comparable to levels in Europe and North America.

The findings, which surprised other specialists on the tropics, have created new concerns about the future of Africa's equatorial forests, which are already under siege from a fast-growing population and the work of lumbermen.

The acid and ozone pollution stretches from the Congo basin in the heart of Africa to the west coast and sweeps out over the Atlantic Ocean, the scientists say.

The magnitude of the ozone, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and methane released by man-made fires is also raising new questions about their contribution to the greenhouse effect. Those gases and others trap heat from the sun in a process similar to what happens in a greenhouse, and that is expected to raise global temperatures.

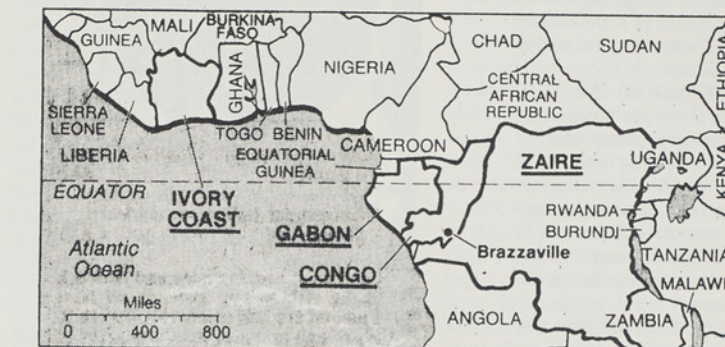
The scientists, who belong to separate teams from West Germany and France, said the acid rain and ozone pollution — held to be harmful to plants — are largely caused by man-made fires that rage for months across thousands of miles of African savannas. Farmers and herdsman set the fires to clear shrubs and to stimulate the growth of crops and grass.

"We don't know yet what this does; the research is too new," said Dr. Meinrat Andreae, who headed the West German team. "We also don't yet know how sensitive the tropical forest is to this. But with a mix like this in Germany or the U.S., we would have to look for damage to the forest."

The pioneering studies were presented at a conference on fire ecology late last month at the University of Freiburg, West Germany, and included the most comprehensive data yet about emissions from fires in Africa.

That and other new research is drawing attention to the little understood but apparently dramatic impact of the African savanna fires on the atmosphere.

In a new study, Dr. Paul Crutzen, a leading atmospheric scientist cur-



The New York Times/June 19, 1989

Acid rain pollution, largely the result of man-made fires, has been found in the forests of Ivory Coast, Gabon, Congo and Zaire.

rently at the Max Planck Institute for Chemistry in Mainz, West Germany, reported that African fires were the world's leading contributor to pollution coming from the burning of vegetation. African savanna fires are so extensive, he said, that they pump three times more gases and particles into the air than all the fires set by farmers and settlers in South America, including the dramatic fires of the Amazon.

## Burnings and Rain Forests

Of all the carbon dioxide released by burning or deforestation, he said, at least half comes from Africa. On a global scale, he said, burning and rotting vegetation of newly cut forest accounts for a third of the world's carbon dioxide, while two-thirds come from industrial burning of fossil fuel.

Recent satellite readings have also shown that while Africa's traditional burnings destroy much less rain forest than those in Latin America, the savanna fires cover a greater area, burn a greater volume of the dry grass, shrubs and trees and are more frequent than anywhere else in the tropics. Land clearing through fire is a common among farmers throughout the developing world.

"The forest burns once and it is destroyed, but the savannas and the grasslands become larger and are burned regularly," said Dr. Crutzen, a Dutch meteorologist.

Dr. Crutzen, who was the first scientist to draw attention to the enormous impact of tropical fires on the atmosphere and on the greenhouse effect, also warned that the world must count on increasing pollution from the tropics as the population grows and more forests are turned into fields and grasslands, which are burned with more fre-

quency.

## Acidity in Clouds and Mist

"Shrublands used to be burned every three years," he said. "It has now become evident that many are burned every two years and even every year."

In the case of acid rain, two groups of scientists found levels they described as pH 4, or almost 10 times more than normal acidity, in the Congo and the Ivory Coast. Jean Pierre Lacaux, whose French team carried out the most extensive ground and air tests for more than three years, said "the scale of the acidity in Africa is very serious."

It is present in all the forests of equatorial Africa, from the Ivory Coast across Central Africa to Gabon, Congo and Zaire, he said. High acidity has been linked to tree damage in temperate forests. Specialists say that in the soil, high acidity can cause changes in the root system of plants and effect their ability to take up nutrients, while the air or rainwater acidity can damage the leaves.

"We found the high acidity in the fog and mists that hang over the forests and the same high levels in cloud water and rainwater," said Mr. Lacaux, a specialist in cloud physics at the Center of Atmospheric Research in Lannemezan in the French Pyrenees. Part of the acidity, he noted, was natural, given off by living vegetation and decomposing forest litter. But most, he said, were formic and acetic acid as well as nitric acid caused by the fires. Hydrocarbons released by burning in turn created more acidity.

## 'Thick Haze of Soil Dust'

"We found fire emissions all year

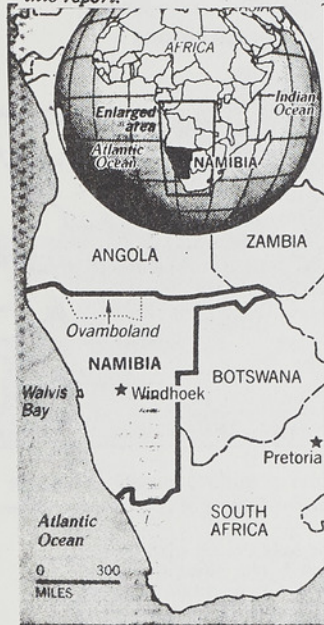
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# Alleged Police Intimidation Threatens Namibia Election Process

By William Claiborne

*Washington Post special correspondent Ethan Schwartz at the United Nations contributed to this report.*



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

WINDHOEK, Namibia—The independence plan for Namibia is approaching a major crisis over alleged voter intimidation by South African-led counterinsurgency forces in northern tribal areas, and the United Nations may be forced to demand more direct control in the election process in a showdown with Pretoria, according to senior U.N. sources here.

Publicly, officials of the U.N. peace-keeping force are attempting to minimize their growing conflict with the South African territorial administrator as the Nov. 1 independence elections approach, hoping to avoid an open rift that could become a political issue within South Africa and possibly derail the peace process.

But privately, U.N. officials say they are deeply disturbed by what they characterize as Administrator General Louis Pienaar's unwillingness or inability to prevent intimidation by security forces opposed to the leading black nationalist political movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

One official of the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) said that the situation is potentially as threatening to Namibian independence as the massive cross-border incursion of Angola-based SWAPO guerrillas on April 1, when the entire regional peace process based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 was nearly derailed as more than 300 SWAPO guerrillas were killed by the South African army.

Northern Namibia, where the pro-SWAPO Ovambo tribe is dominant, is an "accident waiting to happen," a senior U.N. peace-keeping official said. He said he feared that all it would take to jeopardize the independence plan would be a political rally and counterdemonstration, followed by an "excessive response" by the security forces.

He noted that the entire independence plan is predicated on impartiality by both the United Nations and the South African government and does not take into account deep fears within South Africa that a hostile SWAPO government will win control in neighboring Namibia and harbor political and military forces

seeking the overthrow of white minority rule from Pretoria.

If the question of impartiality and intimidation by security forces is not resolved soon, the official said, the United Nations conceivably could demand renegotiation of Resolution 435 to provide UNTAG with more direct responsibility in running the election, instead of merely supervising a process run by the administrator general. Such a demand would almost surely lead to calls in Pretoria for a reassessment of South Africa's commitment to Namibian independence, which in turn could jeopardize the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola, according to political analysts here.

Anton Lubowski, a member of SWAPO's central committee and a deputy director of the election campaign, said, "It seems a little late in the game to renegotiate Resolution 435; but something has to be done. The situation is intolerable and is getting worse every day."

The controversy centers around, but is not limited to, the activities of South African-led counterinsurgency forces that have been absorbed

into the South West Africa territorial police force.

The U.N. peace keepers and other independent election monitoring groups have accused state-run television of blatantly impartial coverage of Namibian politics and have questioned Pienaar's judgment on such issues as his insistence that white South African soldiers who have been stationed in Namibia at least four years be allowed to vote in the Nov. 1 elections.

U.N. officials, SWAPO leaders, Namibian Human Rights Commission members and church relief workers have accused police of running roughshod through northern rural areas, brutalizing villagers suspected of sympathizing with SWAPO and openly campaigning for the rival Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a more conservative party that since 1985 has dominated the Pretoria-directed and mostly powerless transitional government of Namibia.

Most of the charges focus on members of the widely feared counterinsurgency force known in Afrikaans as *Koevoet*, or Crowbar, which was supposed to have been disbanded under the independence agreement, but which was merely integrated into the territorial police force with many of its units still intact.

In a June 9 letter to Pienaar, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Post, U.N. Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari strongly criticized the actions of *Koevoet* members, saying they raise a "grave doubt" as to whether free and fair elections can be held in Namibia. "Such units appear to be acting outside recognized police norms and are frequently conducting themselves in a manner which gives me great cause for concern," Ahtisaari wrote.

He said that police, in violation of the peace agreement, routinely carry out patrols in armored vehicles fitted with heavy machine guns, "driving through villages and farms, destroying crops and [homesteads] and terrorizing local inhabitants." Under the peace agreement, police are supposed to be armed only with

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# Independence for Namibia?

*The history of UN Security Council Resolution 435 shows why the prospects may be bleak*

By Marc E. Rose

■ Marc E. Rose, a free-lance writer, is a member of the Worcester Rainbow Coalition and the Worcester Coalition for Southern Africa, Worcester, Mass.

**R**ECENT news reports tend to give the impression that Namibia's 1.3 million blacks are on a straightforward march toward independence from South African occupation.

Thus, when independence fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) broke an alleged promise by entering Namibia on April 1, it seemed like a critical threat to the "transition." However, the background and content of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which is the backbone of the process, show that both of these impressions are misleading.

Namibia, or colonial "South West Africa," was occupied by Germany in the 1880s. Since South Africa took over the territory during World War I, Namibians have suffered enormously under white minority rule. As in South Africa, Nazi-like racial registration and segregation, forced removals of black communities to resource-poor areas, inferior education, and ruinous taxes have forced blacks in Namibia to serve whites as "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The country's economy is dominated by mineral exports controlled by a small group of multinational firms. For example, Consolidated Diamond Mines, a subsidiary of the South-African-based giant DeBeers/Anglo-American, owns virtually all of the rich diamond fields. Most mine workers are contract laborers recruited through hand-picked "tribal leaders." On the other hand, many farm workers live with their families on vast *karakul* (Persian lamb) ranches owned by whites, mostly South African settlers.

Under pressure from its African members, the UN General Assembly finally responded to repression and exploitation in Namibia by voting to end South Africa's "mandate" in 1966. In 1969, the UN Security Council — whose permanent members in-

clude the US, Britain, and France — affirmed this. After further international condemnation of South Africa's presence in Namibia, the Security Council in 1975 adopted Resolution 385, which called for the *immediate and total withdrawal* of South Africa from Namibia and then *direct* UN supervision of elections for a constitutional assembly. Sanctions were implied if South Africa refused.

The early 1970s, however, saw Western investment and military aid continuing to pour into South Africa. A consortium of US, British, West German, French, and Canadian companies invested heavily in the giant uranium mine at Rössing, Namibia.

South Africa had no problem reading between the lines of UN Security Council resolutions and assuming that a continuation of its intransigent stance would meet with no resistance. Indeed, when South Africa stayed in Namibia, the US, Great Britain, and France vetoed stronger sanctions in the Security Council.

These three countries then joined West Germany and Canada in a "Contact Group" for the purpose of independent negotiations with South Africa. The goal was to devise a plan for Namibia they all could accept. Their hope was that they could get the rest of the world to accept it. The result was UN Security Council Resolution 435, adopted in 1978 to replace 385 as the international framework for Namibian independence.

**H**OWEVER, the US did not agree to the implementation of 435 until early 1989. In December 1988, South Africa, Angola, and Cuba signed the US-brokered Brazzaville Accord. This accord, which followed 13 years of devastating warfare in newly independent Angola, enshrined the US-South African policy of "linkage" between South African withdrawal from

Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Of course, most Cuban troops were invited to Angola after it was invaded by South Africa in 1975, and most Namibians would never accept the linkage policy. But these facts played a subordinate role to the interests of the US and South African governments.

The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law in Washington, D.C., recently analyzed how 435 reflects these interests. Unlike 385, 435 does not require immediate South African military withdrawal, but only in stages in conjunction with Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Namibia's whites-only administration and South African-controlled police force stay in place, and the fate of "security" forces which did not exist in 1978, like the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) and the brutal "Koevoet" ("Crowbar," or counterinsurgency unit), is not addressed. Details are lacking on the form of the constitutional convention, whether or not the resulting document is to be ratified, and how the new government is to be formed. The future of Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep-water port, is not spelled out. South Africa continues to claim it as its own territory.

Since the fox was left in charge of the chicken coop, the US was only giving the *coup de grace* to the independence process when it helped pressure the UN Security Council into reducing the UN monitoring force from the originally planned 7,500 to 4,650. In any case, the UN Special Representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, has only vaguely defined powers to respond to threats to the process.

The result? Besides the inability of the UN force to deal with the crossing of the Angola-Namibian border by SWAPO fighters on April 1 — the first day of implementation of 435 — numerous

Continued on page 16



# Hyenas Are War's Camp Followers

## *Marauders' Attacks, Disease Plague Town in Southern Sudan*

By Mary Battiata  
Washington Post Foreign Service

YIROL, Sudan—Before the civil war began, a Dinka herd boy like Aropiny Shew never went to sleep worrying that a hyena would slink into his family's hut and clamp its jaws onto his face as he slumbered. Now he does, and so does everyone else. Hyena attacks on humans, once unheard of, have become common here and in other southern Sudanese towns.

They began three years ago, after a battle between government and rebel soldiers left 3,000 corpses on the ground. The strong-jawed, scavenging hyenas swept through the battlefield.

"The hyenas tasted the human flesh and found it delicious," said Alfred Kon, an elderly medical assistant, as he checked the bandage on Shew's lacerated face. "This is the state we are in."

Now hyena packs prowl the town streets after dark, pacing around the abandoned hospital, preying on the sickly people who have come in from the countryside looking for food. They are especially enticed by the sound of human snoring, which is said to resemble the death rattle of a sick animal.

Southern Sudan, already one of the world's least accessible, least developed regions, has been pushed by six years of civil war into a new kind of Stone Age characterized by extreme isolation, disease and widespread hunger.

The rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army took up arms in 1983 to redress what its leaders say is the historic economic and political domination of the south by the more developed and prosperous north. But so far, the war has worked to erode the few supports that girded already precarious lives.

In Yirol, a once-flourishing cow town 600 miles south of Khartoum, the capital, the war has driven half the people into the surrounding bush, closed all the schools and interrupted the Nile River trade that traditionally helped people survive periodic cycles of drought, flood and famine.

The town's hospital, a solid structure that once boasted 209 beds, now is stripped, filthy and barely functioning. The only doctor fled during the worst of the fighting and has not returned. In the mortuary, human skeletons on cowhide stretchers lie where corpses were dropped four years ago by fleeing attendants. The hyenas have been here, too.

Hoping to prevent a recurrence of the war-exacerbated famine that killed an estimated 250,000 southern Sudanese last year, the Red Cross has begun stockpiling food and medicine here and in several other southern towns. It also has been cleaning the hospital, but the work is slow and the task enormous.

Yirol's remaining medical staff consists of three elderly nurses who report dutifully to the hospital each morning. The three men stand in the reception room, recording names and symptoms in a dogeared notebook. They have little more than sympathy to dispense.

Since the fighting began, there have been no antibiotics or vaccines. Hyena bites, puncture wounds, even scrapes, often turn gangrenous and fatal. Tuberculosis is rampant, infecting an estimated half the population. There is epidemic malaria, river blindness, Guinea worm, sleeping sickness and schistosomiasis, as well as rabies and severe venereal diseases.

"I have never seen such a place for disease," said Louise Hamberg, a Swedish Red Cross nurse.

"We have no flashlight, no batteries, no candles, not even a bicycle to go to the sick in the night. I myself do not have even a pair of shoes," said Kon, pointing to an infected cut on his bare foot.

Retreating government troops dropped animal carcasses in some of the drinking wells and plugged others with cement, according to the local people, so clean water is in short supply. Waterborne diseases and parasites are common.

At the orphanage, there are 600 children left homeless by famine and war—many thin, some emaciated. Kolnyin, a 7-year-old with wasted limbs, has had diarrhea and vomiting for three months. Nyibol,

5, has a bloated stomach and twig-like arms and legs.

There have been no traders through Yirol in more than five years, according to residents here. Even the most rudimentary manufactured items are no longer available. There are no fishing nets, no plowshares. Blacksmiths in a nearby town have tried to make plowshares from old car fenders, but the edges do not hold.

Last year, unusually heavy rains around Yirol drowned the sorghum crop and killed an estimated one-third of the cattle. That disaster was preceded by a locust infestation and two years of drought. Many of the people now have little or no grain to see them through the coming rainy season.

In peacetime, the grain shortage would be a problem but not necessarily a catastrophe. A farmer could simply drive one of his cows to town, sell it, and use the money to buy grain at the market.

But because of the war, there is no cattle market, and no grain for sale. The nearest big town is a three-week walk through contested territory, much of it seeded with land mines, and few attempt the journey.

Instead, more than 8,000 of the cattle-keeping Dinka people have converged on Yirol. They live in partly collapsed huts abandoned during last year's flood. The broken walls leave them vulnerable to the marauding hyenas. By day, the refugees stand around a square near the Red Cross grain warehouse and wait for food distribution.

Townpeople say they hope the presence of the Red Cross will lure their doctor back. They say Yirol needs peace.

In the meantime, Aropiny Shew lies on the ground in the open-air corridor of one of the hospital wards, waiting for his bitten eye and cheek to heal. He is afraid of another hyena attack and will not sleep in the ward itself because it has open windows. Instead, despite the stifling heat, he insists on being barricaded in a shuttered room.

Most mornings, there are hyena paw prints on the ground below his window.



# The Shame of the Sudan

Peace is an idea whose time is overdue in the Sudan, a huge, starving land bled by six years of civil war. In February the military told Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi to make peace or resign. The seeming results are peace talks and an agreement to let food supplies through war zones. But much of this is a mirage, part of a public relations battle by both sides.

Without international pressure, the Sudan could again reach last year's appalling toll of 250,000 famine deaths. Fortunately, Washington is finally paying attention.

Sudan's miseries are man-made. A weak, chaotic Government pretends to control an area twice Alaska's size with 25 million people, 115 languages and 42 political parties. When Mr. Mahdi imposed harsh Islamic laws in 1983 to placate fundamentalists, a Christian-led rebellion broke out in the south. Its leader, John Garang, demands autonomy, abolition of Islamic laws, more aid for his region under a new constitution and the voiding of military pacts with Libya and Egypt.

The trouble is that both leaders preside over divided coalitions and are expert at verbal evasions. When the Prime Minister talks of suspending Islamic laws, Colonel Garang replies that this isn't enough: they must be scrapped everywhere and for everybody, as he reiterated during a U.S. visit this

week. With the military advantage tipping to the Sudan People's Liberation Army, few expect much to happen at low-level peace talks now under way in Ethiopia.

Similarly, both sides have blocked or hijacked food relief to famine-stricken areas. Hence the skepticism when Government and rebels promised in March to respect a United Nations "corridor of peace." Some food got through, but trains took six days to go 120 miles. Barges carrying food somehow never arrived. Truck convoys were seized by armed militias. For this, Khartoum seems most to blame.

The U.S. and the U.N. are now giving priority to ending the war and feeding the starving. The State Department has abandoned the Reagan Administration attitude of saying nothing that might offend a regime regarded as a strategic ally. Herman Cohen, the new Assistant Secretary for African affairs, has already visited both Khartoum and the S.P.L.A. rebels. A first-class professional, James Cheek, has been chosen as envoy to the Sudan.

There's thus a chance for the Bush Administration to make the same kind of mark in the Horn of Africa, and on its interlocked civil wars in the Sudan and Ethiopia, that the Reagan team made in southern Africa. The agony of the victims cries out for determined diplomacy.



## AFRICA RAIN FORESTS (Continued)

long because the burning goes on all the time," Mr. Lacaux said in a telephone interview. "Part of the year it is above the equator and part of the year below the equator. But the winds move the emissions in such a way that the Congo is affected almost the entire year."

Dr. Andreae, who has also studied the atmosphere over the Amazon, said that fires there produced very high acidity in the air during the dry season. But during the rest of the year, the Amazon clouds returned to their natural, slightly acid levels, he said. Last year Dr. Andreae and his team from the Max Planck Institute rigged a small plane as a laboratory to work over the Congo.

"We found the most serious pollution I have ever seen over primary forest," he said. Flying some 400 miles north of Brazzaville and 200 miles east and west, he said, "there seemed to be no beginning or end to the pollution."

"There was a thick haze of soil dust and smoke and very high acidity reaching a pH level of 3.9," said Dr. Andreae. But most surprising, he said, was the high ozone pollution right above the forest. At night the forest would remove the ozone, but by midday, he said, "the photochemistry would bring it back up to 60 or 70 parts per billion or three times the normal rate."

Such findings are regarded as important evidence by scientists who study

atmospheric chemistry in the tropical regions. The object of such research is to monitor the contribution by tropical forests to key compounds in the atmosphere that regulate climate and life on earth. The role of the equatorial forests, which is now widely regarded as vital, has only gained recognition in the last decade and is now becoming the object of wider research.

"You set out to study the interactions between the pristine forest and the atmosphere," said Dr. Andreae. "But then the burning forces itself upon you. It's such a dominant influence on the air over the forest that you end up studying it."

The pollution from the savanna fires is now studied because of its effects not only on the forest but also on far-off regions and higher layers of the global atmosphere.

"A lot of the ozone and the dust travel thousands of miles," said Dr. Crutzen, noting that in 1988 German researchers, traveling by ship off Africa, registered high ozone pollution in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. They were able to trace the ozone to the African fires, he said.

"In the tropics, the air is like soup cooking, it's mixing and moving huge air masses and the north-east wind over Africa moves it west," said Dr. Crutzen. "We don't know yet if the high acidity is a big problem or a small problem for the tropical forest and we

## Washington Times

JUNE 19, 1989

### Sudan officials foil planned coup

KHARTOUM, Sudan — Authorities have foiled a planned coup by supporters of former President Gaafar Nimeiri, who was toppled in 1985, the army announced yesterday.



Nimeiri

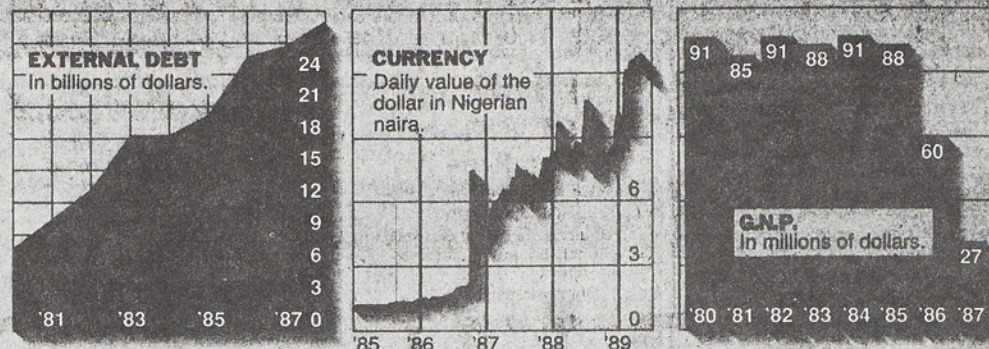
The army said the plan, which involved military personnel and civilians loyal to Mr. Nimeiri, was discovered yesterday and all the plotters were arrested.

The number of officers involved and their ranks was not indicated, but Sudan's Council of Ministers is discussing the attempt.

don't know whether the high ozone is damaging the forest. But we have to raise the questions because the burnings in the tropics will only increase."



## Outlook for the Nigerian Economy



Sources: International Monetary Fund, Interactive Data

The New York Times/June 19, 1989

## Nigeria's Economic Plan Falters

### Wave of Unrest Forces Government Retreat From Austerity Policy

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

LAGOS, Nigeria, June 18 — For nearly three years, to the acclaim of Western creditors and investors, Nigeria has committed itself to one of the most rigorous economic austerity programs in Africa. But the praise has grown fainter in recent weeks as a wave of unrest forced the military Government to begin a retreat from important aspects of the belt-tightening.

"We are walking a tightrope right now," a leading Nigerian economist said. "If the Government doesn't modify its program, this could turn into another Venezuela," a reference to riots against the Government in Caracas earlier this year.

"But if they go too far too soon," the economist continued, "the whole austerity program could fall apart."

Nigeria's experiment in economic restructuring is laden with implications for the rest of Africa. A failure here could jeopardize more than 25 similar programs across the continent.

#### Student Protests

The fragility of the Government's economic program was driven home in mid-May after students across the country protested hardships that they

saw the program had caused. More than 50 people were reported killed in clashes with police.

The military Government at first resolved not to yield to the protesters. In a speech to military governors, President Ibrahim Babangida said, "We cannot, and we should not, abandon this program midway, because the pains of trying to reintroduce it at a later stage will be worse than the current pains, and we may perish in the process."

Earlier this month, however, the President announced a series of measures meant to ease the impact of the austerity program:

• About 62,000 unemployed workers will be provided jobs by the Government.

• Import duties on commercial vehicles and spare parts will be eliminated for the rest of the year.

• Salaries and benefits for Government workers will be raised.

• All vacancies for teachers in primary and secondary schools will be immediately filled.

The moves could mark a new chapter for the buffeted economy of Africa's most populous nation. "The concessions are clearly inflationary, and that can only spell trouble ahead," one European banker said.

Western diplomats and Nigerians agree that the most worrisome scenario is this: law and order would continue to break down, tempting the military to delay Nigeria's return to a civilian democracy by 1992. In 1986, President Babangida, an army major general, had announced a timetable providing for state elections and a census in 1991 and local, state and federal elections in 1992. Soldiers have ruled Nigeria for 19 of the last 23 years.

In 1987, when the President announced the five-year blueprint for return to civilian rule, he pushed the final date to 1992 from 1990.

When President Babangida took power in a coup in 1986, he inherited a desperate economic situation. Ni-

geria's sources of credit had dried up and the country was, in the words of a finance ministry report, "on the verge of external bankruptcy."

Oil, of which the United States has been Nigeria's largest customer, has accounted for 95 percent of the country's exports. But because of a decline in energy prices, oil revenues had fallen from \$25 billion in 1980 to about \$6 billion in 1986.

Nigeria's external debt soared, from \$452 million in 1970 and \$18 billion in 1984 to \$30 billion last year. The country's debt-service ratio — the proportion of export earnings devoted to serving the debt — went from 4.3 percent to about 26 percent in the same period.

In an effort to stanch the hemorrhaging of the economy, the Government adopted a stringent "structural adjustment program." The program had all the classic financial strictures of the International Monetary Fund but without the I.M.F.'s conditions for repairing the economy — conditions that many Nigerians viewed as undermining the country's sovereignty. Fixed exchange rates were abolished and the value of the currency, the naira, was allowed to decline from parity with the dollar to the current rate of more than seven to the dollar. The Government also slashed state agricultural exports and began a program to sell state enterprises.

In January, the Government announced that it was amending the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree, which will reduce the number of businesses reserved for Nigerian ownership and open up most other businesses to 100 percent foreign ownership.

#### 'The Only Hope'

The austerity program was "clearly the only hope Nigeria had for a recovery," a Western banker said. Some Nigerians complain, however, that foreign investors have been slow to respond to Nigeria's new-

Continued on page 15



found economic liberalism.

"We've done all we can to open up our markets. We've held up our part of the bargain. But we're still waiting for them to put their money where their mouths are," said Isaac Aluko-Uluokum, a Nigerian economist for a Western company.

Still, according to Government figures, the austerity measures have made a difference: after four years in which the real gross domestic product declined or increased only marginally, the economy expanded by 4.1 percent in 1986 and is expected to grow about the same this year. Although oil revenues have declined, other exports, mostly of agricultural products, have grown.

But the moves to restructure the economy have come at considerable social cost. The central bank reported last week that inflation, measured by an index of selected consumer goods in the capital, Lagos, was up by 82.3 percent in the year ending Feb. 1.

Discontent with the Government's program has been exacerbated by inexplicable food shortages this spring, despite bumper harvests last year.

"Everywhere you go the same drama is being replayed," said a commentary earlier this month in the Times International, a news magazine. "Wealth is no longer flaunted. Celebrative parties have nearly vanished. Guests are not doused with gallons of beer. Unnecessary expenditures have disappeared forever."

Indeed, as the devaluation put a true price on imported goods, many of the perquisites of the middle class have fallen victim to market forces. The prices of some foreign cars have tripled, and fares on domestic air-

As a member of the convention, South Africa is entitled to declare a "reservation" if the ban is imposed and continue trading. Zimbabwe could do the same.

Instead of having too few elephants, South Africa has "too many elephants because we successfully protect them," Dr. Hall-Martin said in an interview at Kruger Park headquarters at Skukuza.

Hence, a certain number have been culled — purposely shot by park officials each year — to protect the habitat and other species from the destruction

Comrade Kadafi said the opposition had used shotguns, rifles, and even concussion grenades supplied to them by elements of the police against his community.

He himself used a homemade rifle, a "qwasha" — named for the sound it makes when fired — which used .303 bullets and was made by people in a nearby valley.

In the last few weeks, it had become apparent that the Inkatha firepower had diminished.

"We know that we are beating them because many of them have

that too many elephants can cause. Similar operations, on a larger scale, are conducted in Zimbabwe. It is the ivory from those animals that is sold according to a legal quota established by the convention. Elephant skin is also sold — like ivory, it has skyrocketed in price in recent years — as are meat and bone meal.

About 600 elephants have been culled each year from Kruger since 1967, Dr. Hall-Martin said. Another 600 young elephants had been moved, live, in the last 10 years to zoos in Europe, Asia and the United States.

come to us and told us of the problems they have. They have no more shotguns and only eight "qwashes" left.

Comrade Kadafi's "Intelligence" appeared to be accurate. He was also aware that the South African police were taking over from the KwaZulu police this month — confirmed when South African police, and not KwaZulu police, searched my car as I left the area the next day.

In the darkness a bird called. Comrade Kadafi cocked his head and made a similar sound. "It is one of us, a comrade," he said, and strode into

the darkness to meet the newcomer. But several shapes appeared in the gloom.

"We use signals, passwords, for identification," Comrade Kadafi said. The others, too, had code names — heroes of liberation like Samora Machel, Mandela and Gwala.

Col. Muammar Kadafi is his hero, Comrade Kadafi said, because the Libyan leader had taken on the might of the U.S. Air Force and survived. But his greatest hero was Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Comrade Kadafi said he had little

faith in the current efforts to arrange peace talks between the UDF and Inkatha leaders.

"We have tried more than five times to negotiate peace, but every time it has been undermined by Inkatha."

A resolution of the conflict would come only "when Inkatha have left the area, or when we have killed them all," he said.

There was no accommodation for Inkatha's policies, he said. Its role was "to help the oppressor to oppress more the oppressed — It is a government party."

# New S. African leader starts European tour

By Peter Honey

and Italy, before returning to South Africa June 27.

Mr. de Klerk also is scheduled to visit the United States soon for talks with President Bush and senior administration officials in Washington. Unconfirmed reports here have said the visit is likely to take place toward the end of next month.

Reports from Washington and London say the Western leaders are expected to press Mr. de Klerk for an unqualified commitment to lift the three-year state of emergency, release political prisoners — including African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela — and legalize the political arm of the outlawed ANC.

Mr. de Klerk is practically assured of becoming South Africa's next head of state by virtue of his leadership of the ruling National Party. He would not be sworn in, however, until after the Sept. 6 general election.

The government press and television, meanwhile, are treating Mr. de Klerk's trip as if it were a state visit. Triumph, it would seem, is assured. As the pro-government *Beeld* crowed in a banner headline this week: "South Africa breaks further out of isolation."

U.S. and British diplomats are somewhat less sanguine. Officials of both governments say that Mr. de Klerk would almost certainly not have been accorded meetings at so high a level if he already had become president.

lines doubled.

But the burdens of belt-tightening have not been evenly distributed. A front page-report in The Guardian newspaper earlier this month said reservations for air travel to the United States and Europe are fully booked though August "as Nigerians defy the economic squeeze to indulge in their yearly rush for summer vacation."

From London, Mr. de Klerk will travel to West Germany, Portugal

## PRETORIA REJECTS BAN ON IVORY TRADE (Continued)

Dr. Hall-Martin asserted that South Africa and Zimbabwe were only following what the conservation movement had long advocated: rational utilization of a resource. He said that instead of an ivory ban, help in controlling poaching should go to African countries.

"We had poachers in 1982-83," he said. "We killed them off." Aside from shooting poachers on sight, a policy recently adopted by Kenya, Dr. Hall-Martin said South Africa had adopted other measure against poaching: park rangers are paid well. He said the move had reduced collusion with

poachers among park staff members, which was prevalent in many African countries because rangers were poorly paid.

A leading proponent of the proposed ivory ban, Dr. Richard E. Leakey, the newly appointed head of the Kenya wildlife department, said the South African decision would create a loophole by allowing legal and illegal markets to continue. "By keeping the ivory trade going, there is no question that illegal trading will go on," he said. "I would have thought South Africa would join with the African elephant, something that is not political."

## BLACKS AIM TO END INTERNAL FIGHTING (Continued)

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## INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA (Continued)

South African abuses have been reported by the Namibian Council of Churches and other sources.

Recruitment of blacks into the SWATF is continuing. The Koevoet has been incorporated into the police force rather than being disbanded as South Africa promised. Right-wing whites are arming themselves, and arms are being cached. Military units and the South-African-controlled radio and television networks, are spreading anti-SWAPO propaganda. SWAPO supporters have been beaten and shot. Members of UNITA, the South African- and CIA-aided anti-government movement in Angola, are being brought across the border and given Namibian citizenship so that they can vote against SWAPO.

South Africa wanted to raise the voting age to 21, and permit anyone who has been in Namibia for over a year to vote; the former would disenfranchise many SWAPO supporters including fighters, while the latter would enable many South African soldiers to vote. Finally, South Africa might withdraw its troops to Walvis Bay. The port is the only major outlet for Namibian exports other than a railway which exits through South Africa.

**C**LEARLY, South Africa and its Western allies have used 435 to set the stage for the continued political and economic domination of Namibia. This domination is part of South Africa's "total strategy" of military and economic destabilization of its neighbors, a strategy which they have in part modeled on US domination of Latin America.

In order to contribute to the survival, liberty, and prosperity of the people of southern Africa, the US must end its hypocritical posturing against the apartheid regime, which the UN has rightly declared to be a crime against humanity and a threat to world

## INTIMIDATION THREATENS NAMIBIA ELECTION PROCESS (Continued)

light weapons and sidearms.

"As a result," Ahtisaari wrote, "their activities appear to have created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation among much of the population in the northern region." He added that activities of Koevoet "render its members, in my opinion, unfit for continued service in the police during the transition period, in view of the need to ensure the necessary conditions for free and fair election."

Members of the Namibia Human Rights Commission and other independent groups monitoring the situation in the north said a typical police search mission consists of armored personnel carriers speeding unannounced into a rural village and flattening thatched huts before troops round up the inhabitants and interrogate them about their political affiliations.

Often, villagers expressing sympathy with SWAPO or those wearing the green, red and blue colors of the guerrilla movement are beaten by black policemen wearing red-and-blue DTA T-shirts, according to the monitors and written accounts in a voluminous complaint book maintained by the Ovamboland administration and the Human Rights Commission in the border tribal area.

Local tribal leaders are singled out and threatened with death if their followers express loyalty to SWAPO, according to the monitors. Also, they said, security forces with portable video equipment have forced rural peasants to listen to long propaganda films equating SWAPO with the "communist onslaught" and warning of the forced

peace. Twenty-five years of stonewalling of comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa must end. The voices of those under occupation in Namibia, under martial law in South Africa, and under attack by South Africa's barbarous surrogates in Mozambique, cry out for no less.

collectivization of farms if DTA does not win the election.

Human rights monitors said that members of the security forces frequently attend SWAPO rallies, openly taking photographs of participants and writing down registration numbers of cars. These surveillance teams often include members of the mostly black 101st Battalion of the territorial army, which was involved in counterinsurgency operations during Namibia's 23-year guerrilla war.

Thousands of black students in Ovamboland have been boycotting classes to protest voter intimidation and retention of Koevoet members in the police force.

The South West Africa Police commissioner, Lt. Gen. Dolf Gouws, denied any police excesses and said that search missions in rural areas are necessary because hundreds of armed SWAPO guerrillas are still roaming in the northern area. Buried arms caches are still being found, he said.

At the same time, U.N. officials said that Pienaar does not appear capable of reining in the police on his own. The administrator general has maintained that it is his responsibility to maintain security throughout the territory and prevent intimidation by any political party, including SWAPO.

U.N. officials said they had assumed that the refusal of South African authorities to restrain the territorial police was a result of pressure by right-wing South African whites on the Pretoria government. They expressed surprise when informed that Namibia has not yet become an issue in the South African election campaign and that the white-supremacist Conservative Party has publicly said virtually nothing on the subject.

However, white farmers in Namibia's north-central region, who long have been protected by Koevoet forces from SWAPO guerrilla raids, have adamantly opposed disbanding the police unit.

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United States Department of State  
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