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Guerrillas Ordered Back To Angola

Leader Directs Namibia Withdrawal

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

WINDHOEK, Namibia, April 8—Nationalist guerrillas fighting in northern Namibia are being ordered to regroup and withdraw to Angola in a move that could rescue the peace agreement and plans for elections and independence for the territory, according to reports tonight from Luanda.

The order by Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), was issued in the Angolan capital, where Nujoma has held talks with leaders of the black-ruled "front-line" states and Murrack Goulding, United Nations undersecretary for political affairs.

"We have taken a decision to order all PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] troops inside Namibia to stop fighting, regroup and report to the People's Republic of Angola within 72 hours," Nujoma said in a statement reported by Reuters.

Nujoma said the SWAPO guerrillas should be escorted with their arms out of Angola by peace-keeping forces of the U.N. Transition Assistance Group for Namibia (UNTAG). He called on UNTAG to designate immediately assembly points in Namibia where the SWAPO fighters could group before leaving for Angola.

Special Meeting Seeks to Save Namibia Settlement

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

WINDHOEK, Namibia, April 8 — Negotiators from five countries gathered today at a private game farm outside Windhoek to seek a way to stop weeklong fighting in northern Namibia and salvage the United Nations plan for the territory's independence.

Ranking officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa, the three combatant nations that signed the political settlement for southwestern Africa in December, called a special session of the joint monitoring commission. The body was created to discuss reported violations of the accord, which links

Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from neighboring Angola.

The commission has previously met in Luanda and Havana and was regularly scheduled to meet next in Cape Town. The special session here was the most urgent it has called.

The American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester A. Crocker, who brokered the political settlement, was scheduled to fly in today to attend. Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly L. Adamishin of the Soviet Union arrived earlier. Their countries have been accorded observer status in the commission because of their stake

in the settlement.

The trip to Namibia by Mr. Crocker, who is credited with having brought the adversaries to an agreement in a series of negotiations last year, suggested that he could be asked to play a similar broker role in reviving the United Nations' plan. It foundered on April 1, the day it was put into effect, after guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization crossed into Namibia from Angola and were engaged by South African-led forces.

The death toll in a week of fighting has reached 262 guerrillas and 28 policemen and soldiers, according to Chief Inspector Derek Brune, a police spokesman in Oshakati, the northern Namibian town near the fighting. The rebel organization says its losses are much lower and that some of the dead are civilians.

An offer radioed by South African authorities, promising the guerrillas safe conduct back to Angola if they surrendered, expired at noon today with no sign that any had accepted. The Swapo guerrillas insist that their fighters be placed in camps inside Namibia under United Nations protection, though the independence plan makes no such provision.

The United Nations, and particularly its special representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, have been

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"We have come to this difficult decision because we are aware of the historic responsibility that we have to our people and to humanity as a whole," Nujoma said.

"SWAPO and the Namibian people have nothing to gain by further loss of lives and the collapse of the U.N. independence plan for our country," he added.

There was no immediate reaction from officials of South Africa, the United States, Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union, who met today at a game preserve north of Windhoek to try to salvage the peace accord, signed Dec. 22. It provides for the freedom of Namibia from 74 years

of South African domination and links Namibia's independence to the phased withdrawal from Angola of 50,000 Cuban troops.

When informed of Nujoma's order tonight, the Namibian police commander in the northern battle zone, Chief Inspector Derek Brune, said it was "highly unlikely" that his forces would continue to pursue the guerrillas if they attempt to leave Namibia.

But he said he had received no orders to have his forces stand down and added, "Until we get such instructions, we will continue with our action . . . Our task is to arrest these people and take them into

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New Party in S. Africa Looks for Liberal Gains

Democrats Plan Closer Ties With Blacks

By Allister Sparks

JOHANNESBURG, April 8—Three predominantly white political parties to the left of the South African government merged today to form a new Democratic Party. Its leaders said they hoped to increase liberal representation in the segregated Parliament and build closer relations with black political groups.

The merger, between longstanding white liberals and recent defectors from the ruling National Party, unites the fragmented liberal white opposition for the first time in 30 years.

No one gives the new party any chance of defeating the government in the next general election, which is to be held between late July and early September. But one of its leaders, Denis Worrall, said he believes the party could double the liberals' present strength of 21 seats and supplant the far-right Conservative Party—which has 23 seats—as the main parliamentary opposition party.

This would change the focus of South Africa's political debate, Worrall said. Beyond that, it was "not pie in the sky" to imagine that the Democrats might hold the balance of power in a deadlocked Parliament and form part of the government, he added.

Other speakers stressed that the aim of the new party was not limited to increasing its parliamentary strength. It would also be active in politics outside Parliament, making contact with groups in the disenfranchised black community and widening the country's interracial debate.

"We are the pathfinders who will be breaking open the way to the future," said another of the leaders, former National Party legislator Wynand Malan, who has already met with exiled leaders of the outlawed African National Congress.

The three parties that have merged are the Progressive Federal Party, which has long been the main party of white liberals and is led by Zacharias de Beer, a former

executive of the giant Anglo American Corp., South Africa's biggest mining conglomerate; the National Democratic Movement led by Malan; and the Independent Party led by Worrall, a former ambassador to Britain who broke with the government two years ago.

The new party contains several heavyweight defectors from the National Party. They include Willem de Klerk, older brother of the new leader of the governing party, Frederik W. de Klerk, who is considered certain to be the next president when Pieter W. Botha retires after the coming election.

Willem de Klerk, a former editor of two progovernment newspapers and executive member of the Broederbond secret society, which wields strong influence on government thinking, is chairman of a committee that is drafting the new party's integrationist constitution. Addressing today's convention, he said the Democratic Party aims to establish a strong power base in Parliament and, at the same time, expand interracial contacts that could create a forum for negotiations.

"This process of negotiation will lead South Africa through a phase of transition to a fully participating democracy," de Klerk said.

Another influential defector from the government party is David de Villiers, former chief executive of National Press, the country's biggest Afrikaans-language newspaper company, whose papers all support the National Party.

The Democrats also appear to be attracting significant support from the business community, many of whose members are eager for political change to end the international isolation of South Africa's weakening economy.

Encouraged by this support, the party has set a target of nearly \$10 million for its campaign fund—an unprecedented figure for a South African election campaign.

The party will be headed at first by coleaders De Beer, Malan and

Mandela Pleads for Black Unity

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY
Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, April 7 — In a rare appeal from his prison home, Nelson R. Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, has called for black unity in South Africa and an end to three years of fighting between factions of the Zulu tribe.

Mr. Mandela's plea was made in a recent letter to Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, acknowledged leader of the six million Zulus in South Africa. Mr. Buthelezi, head of the KwaZulu homeland, read the letter in a speech to the local parliament Thursday.

Mr. Mandela referred to the "deplorable conflicts" between traditionalists of the Inkatha movement, the one-million-strong Zulu political group loyal to Mr. Buthelezi, and progressives belonging to anti-apartheid groups allied with the congress, who regard Mr. Mandela as their leader.

"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," he said.

Mr. Mandela, who has been jailed for 26 years and is serving a life sentence for sabotage and trying to overthrow the white-run Government, also expressed the hope that Mr. Buthelezi and the exiled president of the congress, Oliver R. Tambo, would patch up a decade-old feud between them.

"At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice and to pool their efforts," Mr. Mandela said.

The violence, which has claimed the lives of more than 1,400 over three years, has occurred mainly in settlements near the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg in Natal province.

A peace plan begun by the warring parties last year failed to defuse the conflict.

Mr. Mandela's letter, dated Feb. 3, was in response to a telegram from Mr. Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu monarch, on the occasion of Mr. Mandela's 70th birthday last July.

In the letter, Mr. Mandela paid tribute to Mr. Buthelezi for his "persistent demand" that all political prisoners should be released before negotiations between the Pretoria Government and black leaders can begin.

Worrall, but it is expected to choose a single leader before the election. De Beer starts as the favorite, since his Progressive Federal Party has brought most members into the merger, but opinion polls show stronger public support for Worrall, whom many regard as a more effective campaigner.

South Africa Benefits From SWAPO's Misstep

By Robert I. Rotberg

LAST week's agreement to end the bloody battles between SWAPO soldiers and the South African police and Army promises to put the internationally arranged peace plan for southwestern Africa back on track. But in the process, the South-West Africa People's Organization has handed South Africa a decisive diplomatic victory in the run-up to Namibia's elections.

By this weekend, the nearly 2,000 SWAPO soldiers who slipped south across the Angolan-Namibian border on April 1 will have marched to camps in northern Namibia controlled by the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG). There they will be disarmed and then conveyed back across the international border to be confined north of the 16th parallel (which bisects southern Angola).

At least that is the plan hurriedly hammered out by a remarkable series of emergency meetings in Namibia involving senior officials from SWAPO, the United Nations, the United States, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

SWAPO caused the unexpected crisis when its armed men entered Namibia and started forcing their way south. The benign interpretation is that they were searching for UNTAG camps so they could turn themselves in, as required under the 1988 peace plan. Less innocently, SWAPO's mistrust of the peace plan and of South African intentions may have impelled the attempt to settle themselves with arms deep into northern Namibia on the very first day of the UN-supervised truce.

South Africa immediately believed that SWAPO's incursion was treacherous. It may have been, but it may just as easily have resulted from inexperience in the ways of international agreements and an insouciant belief in the efficacy of an UNTAG force that has yet to achieve its full strength or to become thoroughly acquainted with the terrain and the problems of Namibia.

In any case, the movement south was easily detected by South African surveillance. UNTAG was not yet in place

in sufficient numbers to corral SWAPO. South Africa instead attacked and killed 263 insurgents. Because SWAPO appeared intentionally to have breached the spirit as well as the letter of the peace accord, the heavy South African counterattack was not condemned by the US, the Soviet Union, or the UN. Indeed, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain quickly jumped to the defense of South Africa.

Fortunately South Africa, guided and pressured by the US and SWAPO, and counseled by the Soviet Union, has backed away from further confrontation. Common sense and self-interest have preserved the original timetable for the independence of Namibia.

By July, when South African troops are to be reduced to 1,500 and confined to base, UNTAG will be in a position to prevent infiltration and intimidation as a UN election supervision team oversees a political contest between SWAPO, the South African-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and a number of other smaller groups allied to the DTA or to SWAPO.

On Nov. 1, all eligible Namibians, possibly as many as 800,000 adults, will vote for a constituent assembly charged with writing a new constitution. A two-thirds vote in the assembly will be required to establish each provision or clause. SWAPO will almost certainly win a majority in November; whether it can take two-thirds of the seats is the critical question, and one the insurgents who crossed the border hoped to influence. Moreover, South Africa must ultimately accept the new constitution before it can be promulgated and independence achieved, perhaps by April 1990. South Africa's actions last week thus reemphasized its power, despite the role of UNTAG.

SWAPO may hence be more cautious, and indigenous Africans may be intimidated. Now that the first thrust has not only failed but led to a diplomatic and military defeat of SWAPO, the ability of SWAPO to prevail in the elections as thoroughly as long expected must be reconsidered. South Africa has won an unexpected and potentially important propaganda victory.

■ Robert I. Rotberg, academic vice-president for arts, sciences, and technology at Tufts University, is a political scientist specializing in southern Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES,

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ANGOLA CITED

APRIL 9, 1989

By DENNIS HEVESI

Thousands of Angolan civilians have been killed by land mines, by indiscriminate attacks and by starvation as both sides in their nation's civil war have violated international codes of war, the human rights organization Africa Watch charged today.

In a 153-page report based on interviews with 87 Angolans in refugee camps in Zaire and Zambia, Africa Watch deplored "the staggering human cost" of the war "in which violations of the international laws of war by both sides have resulted in serious and systematic abuses of human rights."

Aryeh Neier, the executive director

of Human Rights Watch, the umbrella organization for Africa Watch, said the interviewers took testimony about abuses committed by forces of the Angolan Government, which has been supported by Cuba, and by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or Unita, the rebel force supported by South Africa and the United States.

"Our information indicates that both sides have used land mines indiscriminately, killing or injuring at least 20,000 civilians," Mr. Neier said. "Very often these were placed in footpaths to the fields, which made it impossible for peasants to farm and forced them to flee to neighboring countries."

The report says that about 400,000 Angolans live outside Angola and another 650,000 are displaced inside the country.

"The testimony we obtained," Mr. Neier said, "shows the extensive use of starvation as a weapon, particularly by Unita — that is, a tactic of encircling and strangling larger villages."

The Angolan delegate to the United Nations, Manuel Pacavira, was traveling yesterday and could not be reached for comment, and his spokesman, Luiz Carlos, declined to comment on the report.

The rebel group's chief representative, ...
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Namibia's birthday fiasco

Impatient Rebels

Jump the Gun

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

SOUTH Africa seldom plays fair with its black neighbours. But it is seldom given as good an excuse for playing rough as it was this week by the blunder of the guerrilla force that has been fighting it for 23 years in Namibia and by the embarrassing unreadiness of the United Nations peacekeeping force to do its job of supervising the Namibian peace settlement.

In fighting that raged throughout the week in northern Namibia, South Africa's men killed more guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation than in any other battle of the long war. The South African foreign minister, Mr Pik Botha, publicly threatened to abort Namibian independence and was apparently cajoled out of it by Mrs Thatcher, who was in Windhoek when the trouble began. The presidents of the neighbouring black states denounced South African "genocide". The one consolation is that, for all the shooting, South Africa seems to be sticking to its promises of independence. And a free election in November, and probably a SWAPO government, remain murky in sight.

The shooting started on April 1st, the day the transition to independence formally began. The South Africans claimed that between 600 and 800 SWAPO guerrillas had

crossed from Angola into Ovamboland, their party's home ground; during the following three days, they said, another 500 or so came over. The independence agreement signed in Geneva last August obliges SWAPO guerrillas to be north of the 16th parallel by April 1st, 120 miles inside Angola, clear of Namibian soil. The Americans, who arranged the agreement among the Angolans, the South Africans and the Cubans, had omitted to include SWAPO. But the organisation's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, wrote to the UN secretary-general to say his men would stay north of the 16th parallel.

The United Nations was supposed to supervise the move to independence. When the guerrillas appeared it could do nothing to stop them. The South Africans

therefore demanded that they should do the job, and the UN's representative agreed. About 2,000 paramilitary policemen, 600 Bushmen auxiliaries and several helicopter gunships set off after the SWAPO men. The UN further agreed that South Africa's Namibian army, the South West Africa Territory Force, should deploy three battalions. This force, like SWAPO's, was supposed to be confined to its bases by April 1st and disbanded altogether by May 13th.

By mid-week, about 200 guerrillas and 20 from the security forces had been killed. SWAPO says its men had been in Namibia all

along. This seems untrue. SWAPO has plenty of supporters in northern Namibia, with guns buried in the garden. But this week's guerrillas numbered more than 1,000, some of them with heavy weapons. They claimed they were on their way to UN assembly points inside Namibia, which do not exist.

The guerrillas' motives are unclear. They like to claim they forced the South Africans out. With their enemies confined to their bases, it must have seemed worth trying to contact the men from the UN, which has for years backed SWAPO.

But the UN, which is trying harder than SWAPO probably realised to be an honest broker, had almost nobody on the ground anyway. Its Transitional Assistance Group was utterly inadequate to sort out the mess. Over the protests of black African states, the Security Council had reduced the number of soldiers from the 7,500 originally envisaged to 4,650. Even the smaller contingent was delayed: less than a quarter of it was in place by April 1st. When the fighting began the UN had only 100 soldiers in the north, most of them signallers and engineers. Belatedly, the Americans promised on April 6th to fly in a battalion of Finns, armed with pistols.

The best hope is that all 4,650 observers will be in place by April 20th, three weeks too late. In the meantime UN officials tried for a ceasefire. Mr Marrack Goulding, the head of peacekeeping operations, tried to fix a deal from the Angola side, while the special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, went to the war zone. The South Africans said that if the guerrillas surrendered and handed over their weapons, they would get safe conduct back to Angola. But the guerrilla bands have been broken into fragments by the fighting. Getting them to disarm will not be easy.

Even if the fighting has stopped, the peace deal is badly damaged. Both sides have seen the UN force at its weakest and may not respect it when it gets up to full strength. SWAPO and its sympathisers condemn it for letting the South Africans out of their bases. The civilians caught in this week's crossfire may no longer put their trust in UN protection.

SWAPO too may be weakened.

Its supporters may be nervous

about attending its rallies, and the movement itself is divided. Its members inside Namibia have grown increasingly impatient with its Zambia-based leadership, under the elderly and unpredictable Mr Nujoma. Mr Nujoma himself was on the border when the incursions began and is suspected of having ordered his men to move south. The internal leaders may be wondering why he pounced when SWAPO looked likely to be

LUANDA, Angola

WHY would hundreds of armed Namibian nationalists return from their Angolan refuge only to be slaughtered, on the eve of a negotiated countdown to independence?

Both the allies of the South-West Africa People's Organization, and its long-time enemy, South Africa, seem to have only guesses.

The supporters of the rebel group, known as Swapo, say the guerrillas could not have realized that United Nations peacekeeping forces were far too weak to protect them. The South Africans, who as Namibia's rulers have been beating off Swapo attacks for two decades, say the rebels must have seen the truce as a chance to set up an armed presence.

At the insurgents' headquarters here, officials insisted that their forces did not deliberately break the April 1 ceasefire. "Our armed cadres have been under strict instructions not to initiate any act of military hostility," said Hidipo I. Hamutenya, Swapo's information secretary. But the officials gave conflicting accounts of what the guerrillas were doing in Namibia and when they got there.

With South African forces still hunting down insurgents, leaders of South Africa's black-ruled neighbors voiced support for Swapo. But many of them were said to be furious over what they perceived as a strategic blunder. "They're absolutely flabbergasted about this," said a Western diplomat in

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handed power through the ballot box.

Most important, however, is the impact of the fighting on South Africa, which could still scrap the independence deal. Ministers, including Mr Pik Botha, the foreign minister who negotiated the transition agreement, have suggested that if the UN cannot control SWAPO it should get out. The far-right Conservative party wants to use the "betrayal" of Namibia's whites to beat the government in South Africa's own general election, expected within six months.

The UN maintains that the SWAPO units had no "aggressive intent" but it concedes that they broke the agreements by moving south out of Angola. The South Africans have threatened to kill the guerrillas who do not surrender, while insisting that for their part they have scrupulously observed the agreements. They insist that the UN should condemn SWAPO's behaviour and hope that the incident will dent the movement's fortunes in the election campaign. The peace plan, unlike at least 200 Namibians, is still alive.

APRIL 14, 1989

NAMIBIA STANDOFF OVER GUERRILLAS

U.N. and South Africa Forces
Squabble as First 4 Rebel
Infiltrators Appear

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

OSHIKANGO, Namibia, April 13 — A standoff between South Africa and the United Nations developed here today in the rugged bush over the disposition of the first Namibian guerrillas facing return to Angola.

South African military officers wanted to question the four guerrillas, but were turned down by armed Australian and British soldiers protecting them. A South African officer who walked up too close was ordered away by a Pakistani military observer.

The incident did not lead to violence, but it was promptly followed by negotiations between United Nations and South African officials in the district town of Oshakati about what to do with the guerrillas, who were brought less than 200 yards from Namibia's border with Angola.

The Angolan Army, which is supposed to repatriate such guerrillas, is reportedly not yet ready to do so at Oshikango, a United Nations military observer here said.

The four guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization, known as Swapo, were driven by United Nations monitors to the assembly point in Oshikango on Wednesday afternoon.

Two Had Been Wounded

Two of the guerrillas had been wounded, apparently in clashes with South African security forces. They were evacuated by the United Nations to an undisclosed civilian hospital. The other two were being protected by 10 Australian and 5 British soldiers.

A platoon of heavily armed South African paratroopers was camped barely 200 away, and an army post lay across the tarred road.

"They told us now that they trust us and feel safe with us," said Capt. John Dakin of the British Army, who was standing near the tent where the two guerrillas were resting.

The incident at Oshikango provided an insight into the failure so far of a plan announced Sunday to give safe conduct back to the guerrillas who infiltrated across the frontier when a United Nations-sponsored plan leading to Namibian independence went into effect. At least 290 guerrillas, policemen and security forces were reported killed in the fighting that ensued.

So far, not one guerrilla has turned himself in at one of the nine assembly points. Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, a police spokesman, estimated today that nearly 1,900 guerrillas remained

APRIL 13, 1989

House Puts Strings on Aid To U.N. Peace-Keeping Force

By David B. Ottaway

The House yesterday voted to make the \$128 million U.S. contribution to the U.N. peace-keeping force in Namibia contingent upon the president obtaining "explicit and reliable assurances" from Cuba and Angola that all 50,000 Cuban troops will be withdrawn from Angola by July 1991.

The measure also states that U.S. funding will automatically be cut off if Cuba fails "at any time" of its 27-month phased withdrawal to comply with its obligation under the agreements signed last December in New York providing for the Cuban pullout.

The measure, an amendment sponsored by Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon (R-N.Y.), to the State Department authorization bill for fiscal 1990, also would require the president Bush to report to Congress on Cuban compliance each 15 days as phases of the withdrawal are completed.

Passage of the measure appeared to reflect congressional concern about implementation of the accord in the wake of its violation by the Soviet- and Cuban-backed South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which sent hundreds of guerrillas across the Angolan border into Namibia last week.

"It showed the need for this amendment," Solomon said.

He said he had dropped a tougher

at large inside Namibia.

The four guerrillas now in custody walked into a Lutheran mission church, believed to be at Onipa, unarmed and in civilian clothes.

Churches in northern Namibia have been designated as sanctuaries where the insurgents need not fear attack.

Journalists who found their way to the encampment were not permitted to see or interview the two insurgents.

The South African Army has assigned heavily-armed combat units to every assembly point, ostensibly to provide logistical support for the United Nations personnel.

WHO Cites 4,700 Global New Aids Cases for March

GENEVA, Switzerland (AP) — Reports from two African countries accounted for one-third of the nearly 4,700 new AIDS cases compiled from around the globe last month, the World Health Organization said.

A total of 146,569 cases of acquired immune deficiency syndrome were reported from 148 countries and territories by the end of March, an increase of 4,675, the United Nations agency's latest monthly report shows. Twenty-nine countries said they had no cases of the fatal disease.

Uganda overtook France as the country with the second-highest total behind the U.S., which has about 60% of all reported AIDS cases.

The African nation reported 490 new cases for August through October, raising its total to 5,998. France, which did not update its figures, listed 5,655 cases, still by far the highest in Europe.

Tanzania reported the biggest increase—1,100—for a total of 4,158 cases as of Dec. 31.

Uganda and Tanzania accounted for one-third of new cases in the WHO report. Two other African countries, Burkina Faso and Ghana, also reported significant increases.

stipulation, after talking by telephone with Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker, that would have withheld 50 percent of the total until two-thirds of the Cuban troops had left by May 1990.

Meanwhile, a State Department official defended U.S.-armed rebel forces in Angola against charges contained in a Human Rights Watch report accusing them of systematic and indiscriminate use of land mines against civilians, hostage-taking and forced conscription.

Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary E. Gibson Lanpher said he did not believe the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) had deliberately used mines to hurt civilians, and that after the United States raised the allegations with UNITA it had taken steps to avoid such casualties. It had also stopped taking foreigners hostages, he said.

Both Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Africa subcommittee, and Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) said they were "disturbed" the State Department had undertaken no investigation of another allegation against UNITA that it has burned to death persons accused of being witches.

"I don't have any evidence to substantiate those allegations," Lanpher said.

SURVIVING WITHOUT SOUTH AFRICA

Namibia: Realism Key for Economy

Guerrilla incursion increases doubts about SWAPO's political and economic savvy

By Lynda Schuster

WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA

GORDON MERRINGTON remembers all too well what happened after the revolution in neighboring Zimbabwe.

A North Korean political commissar was assigned to the office of Mr. Merrington, a housing specialist. His job: to monitor Merrington's telephone calls — even though he didn't speak a word of English.

"It was a total waste," recalls Merrington, who now lives in Namibia. "It seems every time a liberation group takes over a nation, they feel obliged to remake the economy. I just wonder if we're going to have to reinvent the wheel here, too."

His is a legitimate worry. For on April 1, this southern African territory started down the road to independence after almost 75 years of South African rule. That's when a plan took effect for a United Nations-supervised transition to elections in November.

But then hundreds of guerrillas from the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) allegedly came charging over the border from Angola. At least 300 rebels and members of South African-backed security forces died in the clashes, which ended with a cease-fire arranged last Sunday. Under the plan, SWAPO fighters are supposed to gather at designated assembly points to be escorted back to Angola by the UN and confined to bases there.

Analysts reckon the incursion either was a terribly miscalculated attempt to set up bases here — thus violating the UN accord — or the work of a breakaway faction. (SWAPO claims its soldiers already were here and were fired on by security forces.) Either explanation raises questions about whether SWAPO, the group most likely to win an election, has the coherence and savvy to run the place — especially the economy.

For analysts warn that while SWAPO will inherit a workable

economy, it will have to do some sophisticated and unrevolutionary things to keep it that way. As a start, it will have to tread lightly around South Africa, which controls vital transport routes. Last week's battles showed Pretoria's willingness to come down hard on those its deems threatening.

SWAPO also will have to take care not to scare off the country's whites, with their needed skills and capital. That means no radical tinkering with the economy. For the stakes, analysts say, could not be higher: a matter of making this place a Botswana — southern Africa's showpiece of economic stability — or a basket case.

"If the ruling party goes for an orthodox Marxist orientation, we'll go down the drain," says Fanuel Tjingaete, a University of Namibia economist. "If it's realistic, we'll survive."

Compared with the sorry state of many of its African neighbors, Namibia has a lot going for it: great mineral wealth; South African-built roads and rail lines; relatively few people to feed (about 1.5 million). The UN has trained 2,000 bureaucrats for the new nation at a SWAPO school in Zambia. And scores of Namibians received college educations on foreign scholarships — a far cry from the handful of university graduates nearby Mozambique boasted, for instance, when Portugal pulled out in 1975.

But what SWAPO inherits could stymie even the most experienced of governors. The economy grew an average of only 1 percent per annum from 1971-85, mainly due to drought and a drop in world prices for base metals and minerals — the country's big cash earners. This, while the population increased at about 3 percent annually. As a result, unemployment is running at around 30 percent; some economists say it could hit 50 percent by 1995.

Moreover, about 16 percent of the country's budget has come from direct South African subsi-

dies — funds that will be cut come independence. In addition, economists say Namibia has run up a sizable debt, though no one's sure just how sizable since Pretoria doesn't publish those figures.

As Mr. Tjingaete sees it, "We could be headed for trouble. Our economic base isn't expanding, but our socio-economic problems are."

SWAPO shouldn't be tempted by what look like quick-fix solutions, says Merrington, who heads a firm that builds low-cost housing. Big-ticket development projects are first on his list of post-independence no-nos, because "the UN right away will want to send in the clowns: consultants and experts who will descend upon us like hordes of flies."

(Merrington says Zimbabwe's first \$1 million of foreign debt was incurred in hosting a UN development conference to which an expert on harbors was sent from New York. Land-locked Zimbabwe doesn't have harbors.)

He also warns against doing "the usual revolutionary thing" of abolishing all vestiges of colonialism — such as changing the currency (in this case, the South African rand.) That, says Harold Pupkewitz, who owns a building supply firm, would be a disaster.

Mr. Pupkewitz says he currently can buy 1 million rands' (about \$393,000) worth of goods just by sending an order to his South African suppliers. If the country changed currencies, he would have to purchase letters of credit. And that would tie up precious funds.

Getting cut off from the South African market would have other harmful effects, says Pupkewitz. For instance, almost all his materials come from Namibia's southern neighbor. A truckload of cement, he reckons, takes only two days to get to Windhoek. And

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Independence Promotes a Boom In Namibian Real-Estate Market

By ROGER THUROW

WINDHOEK, Namibia—The letter from real-estate agent Estelle Dames to state departments and ministries of foreign affairs around the world gets straight to the point:

"Having regard to the current political process in my country and the consequent likelihood of your country wishing to establish a presence here," it reads, "I have conducted a survey of both the preferred requirements for diplomatic establishments as well as what our market has to offer."

And what does the Windhoek real-estate market have to offer the striped-pants set? Well, entrepreneur Timo Voges's ranch house certainly tops the very short list. Mr. Voges, who made his fortune in tires and now dabbles in ostriches and oysters, began building the place back in 1981. In May 1983, after spending the equivalent of \$510,000 or so, he moved in and waited for Namibian independence.

"I always joked I would sell it to an embassy, or even Sam Nujoma himself," says Mr. Voges, referring to the exiled president of Namibia's black liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo).

The Specter of Swapo

The West German government, however, got to Mr. Voges's house first, and has just snapped it up as a diplomatic residence for about \$1.5 million—three times what it cost to build.

Namibia, once a German colony but governed by South Africa for the past 74 years, is scheduled to gain its independence in a seven-month process that began on April 1. Last week, independence hardly seemed feasible. On the very day the decolonizing process began, fierce fighting erupted between Swapo and Namibian police. Now, however, a new cease-fire has revived the prospects for independence and the spirits of Windhoek's canny businessmen.

For two decades, the white businessmen of Namibia had warned of the dire consequences of independence: a Marxist takeover by Swapo that would force out the white capitalists who had profited from South Africa's practice of racial segregation known as *apartheid*. The economy, including the real-estate market, would surely disintegrate, they said.

But Namibia is abundant in nothing if not paradox. For the time being, at least, Windhoek's businessmen are flocking to the cause of independence. Suddenly, they see it as more of a trough than an abyss.

Reinvested Windfall

Besides the army of diplomats, a huge team of United Nations observers is coming to town with \$400 million and a jeep-to-juice shopping list. The polyglot U.N. force includes Australians, British, Irish, Finns, Indians, Danes, Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs, Panamanians, Kenyans and Togo-

lese.

Namibia's 1.2 million people buy fewer than 7,000 new vehicles a year. The U.N. alone must acquire 1,000 vehicles here, and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, or DTA, a Swapo rival, needs 425 cars for the coming election campaign. Political parties are raising millions of rand (worth about 40 U.S. cents each), much of it coming from outside the country, to spend in the campaign.

House-hunting diplomats and a few shrewd speculators have already more than doubled real-estate prices, and the bidding has just begun.

Mr. Voges is typical of those profiting from the real-estate boom. Far from taking his money and running, he is building another house in Windhoek for his family, for about \$250,000, and reinvesting the rest of the proceeds in his company, Leisure Investments. "I'm all for independence," he says. "I'm happy that it's finally coming."

Ms. Dames, who runs a one-woman real-estate agency, is so busy arranging deals that she barely has time to sleep anymore. "This is the time to make full use of the free-market system," she says. So far, the Finnish, Spanish and Portuguese governments have taken up her offer to find diplomatic residences for them.

A buying agent for a Western embassy says that the owners of a three-bedroom house were asking 300,000 rand in December, 400,000 rand in February and 500,000 (nearly \$205,000) in March. "People are putting a high price on their house, and if they get it, great, they sell," he says. "If not, they'll wait until someone else comes along."

They can be sure that someone else will come along. Agents reckon that the embassies will eventually require about 200 houses. Then some 500 non-military U.N. staff people will have to be shoe-horned in somewhere.

For years, the white population here cast the U.N. as a monstrous villain because it recognized Swapo as the sole representative of the Namibian people. Now the U.N. isn't so ugly after all. "We had a woman from the U.N. come in looking to rent an apartment. She was quite pretty and very nice," says Issebeau Balt, another overworked real-estate agent. "We thought the U.N. people would have green eyes and horns. Now I feel bad that we didn't have anything for her to rent."

Rents have doubled. Hotels, solidly booked for weeks, have raised rates twice in recent months. Real-estate speculators, mainly from South Africa, are making a killing. An agent says she sold a block of 10 apartments to a couple of South Africans at the beginning of the year for 600,000 rand. Two months later, she is negotiating to resell it to a foreign embassy, which wants to convert it into offices, for 900,000 rand.

The agent's commission for the two

sales: 75,000 rand. "Something like this only comes along once in a hundred years," she says.

Desert Afrikaans Style

"The businessmen may moan and groan about independence, but in their eyes you can see the rand signs popping," says D.J. Hattingh, the manager of a Windhoek Toyota dealership and the president of the local Chamber of Commerce. "Up to Nov. 1 [election day,] we'll see a spending spree in Namibia second to none." As for politics, he says, "We don't care whether it's Swapo money or DTA money. It's all the same color."

The price the Germans paid to buy Mr. Voges's place is the highest ever for a house in Namibia. For their money, the Germans will get seven bedrooms, five bathrooms, a swimming pool and a tennis court on three acres. It is located in Windhoek's best neighborhood, on the scrubby slopes east of downtown. The area's architecture might be described as Desert Afrikaans: tin roofs with mica-flecked walls, gardens of palm and cactus.

Beyond lies the bush, covering most of a country the size of France and Italy combined.

In downtown Windhoek, a city of 120,000, the Germans have found some occasionally disconcerting reminders of their former colonial glory: streets named Beethoven and Bach as well as Krupp, Bismarck, Kaiser and even Goering.

German and other foreign quaffers have also discovered Windhoek lager, Hansa draught and Hansa pilsener, beers locally produced by South West Breweries Ltd. according to the Germanic *reinheitsgebot*, a purity code that forbids chemical preservatives.

The Importance of Beer

"It is important psychologically that the U.N. drinks our beer," says Ernst Ender, the marketing director of South West Breweries. "The U.N. has always supported the independence process, and in the past Swapo always enjoyed preference. Now, by buying locally, the U.N. is showing support for all of Namibia."

Mr. Hattingh, the Toyota dealer, has been pleading with Toyota South Africa for more cars to supply the demand. But Toyota South Africa says it can't spare any more for Windhoek, because Toyota Japan, complying with efforts by the Tokyo government to reduce the country's trade with South Africa, won't increase its supply of components for assembly. Mr. Hattingh is now appealing to Japan to let up on South Africa just this once, for the sake of Namibian independence.

Which raises another irony: Because many of the products on sale in Namibia come from South Africa in the first place, a fair share of the U.N. money spent here will eventually wind up in South African pockets—this after years of U.N. agitation

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Last Colony in Africa Looks to Independence With Jitters for All

WINDHOEK, Namibia

FOR years, the United Nations condemned South Africa for its refusal to give up Namibia, a territory seized from Germany in World War I. Not only did the General Assembly revoke the mandate given South Africa by the defunct League of Nations in 1920, but it embraced the South West People's Organization, or Swapo, a guerrilla movement fighting Pretoria's rule, as the "sole and authentic representative" of Namibia's people.

Yet on the day when the transition to black majority rule was to begin, it was Swapo, not South Africa, that jeopardized the accord, sending guerrillas into Namibia from bases inside Angola as a cease-fire went into effect on April 1.

South Africa alternated threats to scrap the independence plan with a solicitude that embarrassed United Nations officials, who in turn reacted to Swapo's infiltration with a mixture of public stoicism and private rage.

It was an inauspicious beginning to a process whose smallest details the United Nations had been calibrating for more than a decade. A timetable for independence for Africa's last colony was drafted back in 1978 by the Security Council in Resolution 435. But South Africa agreed to give up the territory only last December, when a regional agreement painstakingly reached among Angola, Cuba and South Africa linked Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from neighboring Angola. Under that accord, the process detailed by the United Nations was to begin April 1, and the last Cuban troops were to be out of Angola by July 1991.

Resolution 435 provided for elections to a Constituent Assembly within seven months of the start of the process, the drafting of a national constitution and finally independence, all under the supervision of a multinational team called the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group. But when April 1 arrived, the United Nations was unprepared. Bickering over the size of its contingent and its tight budget had delayed some preparations.

For all the planning, the grand design faltered over a petty point that had been all but overlooked by the United Nations because of its faith that Swapo had the most to gain by seeing the accords succeed.

The sticking point was whether guerrillas could be detained in bases inside Namibia during the transition to independence. A proposal by five Western nations in 1978 that became part of the United Nations plan envisioned "the restriction of South African and Swapo armed forces to base" but did not specify where. Subsequent documents, notably a protocol concluded among Angola, Cuba and South Africa in Geneva last August, anticipated that the guerrillas would wait well inside Angola. But Swapo clearly preferred that its forces be in Namibia.

South Africa was not opposed to seeing the guerrillas confined in one place where they could be watched — and fought if necessary. But Swapo's political rivals in Namibia objected, asserting that an armed presence would make Swapo's already large advantage in the elections overwhelming. "The entire process proceeded on the understanding that Swapo did not have any bases in Namibia," said Fanuel Kozonguizi, an official of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition Pretoria has backed.

Last week, as the bodies piled up, guerrillas kept crossing the border. The casualties included the pres-

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

tige of the United Nations, which won the Nobel Peace Prize last year for its peacekeeping efforts.

Many Namibians had assumed that the United Nations was coming to solve all their problems. They felt betrayed when South African armored cars rolled back into their villages with the acquiescence of their supposed saviors. And there were no lack of people to accuse the world organization's officials of acting like wimps or stooges of Pretoria. But this attitude ignored that, as in all United Nations operations, peacekeepers can succeed only with the cooperation of the parties in conflict.

In hindsight, United Nations officials said they might have postponed the implementation until their forces were in place. They had chosen not to for fear that the plan would unravel, especially if the South Africans reconsidered the implications of giving up a land they had held for 73 years.

Late last week, negotiators from Angola, Cuba, South Africa, the United States and the Soviet Union were trying to save the process. But the prospects were hardly encouraging. South Africa's Foreign Minister, Roelof F. Botha, implied in a letter to the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de

Cuellar, that South Africa might mobilize more troops to battle the insurgents. Should it weary of restraint and hit at Swapo inside Angola, the cost could be not only Namibian independence but also the stability of southern Africa because Cuban forces could be expected to stop leaving Angola.

At the least, the clock running on independence might be stopped until peace can be restored. This would mean that the first elections, now scheduled for early November, would get pushed back into the rainy season, when many voters would find it harder to get to the polls and United Nations observers would have far more difficulty monitoring them.

The hostilities also seemed likely to affect white parliamentary elections in South Africa this year. The ruling National Party may have to adopt a tougher policy toward Namibia to convince white voters that the insurgents had not outwitted the Pretoria Government.

Even if independence is finally achieved, Namibia has been so closely tied to South Africa's economy that it can only prosper if the relationship is one of good neighbors. And Swapo's burst of militancy may dash assumptions that had gained currency in South Africa that economic realities will encourage the emergence of a moderate government next door. If South Africa decides to apply the economic screws, Namibia, in its birth as a nation, could wind up stillborn.

Transition Timetable

Here is the schedule for Namibian independence, as established by Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council in 1978 and further agreements last year among South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States. Pretoria says fighting has jeopardized the timetable.

April 1 — The transition began with the arrival in Namibia of the United Nations special representative. Pretoria Government troops and the South-West Africa People's Organization forces were to be confined to their respective bases, and the release of political prisoners was to begin.

May 13 — By this date, other guerrilla forces are to be disbanded. South African troops are to be reduced to 12,000.

June 3 — The release of political prisoners is to be completed.

June 25 — The election campaign is to begin. South Africa is to have no more than 1,500 troops in Namibia. United Nations and local administrators are to set a date for elections, a week after which the Constituent Assembly will convene. By then, all South African forces are to be withdrawn and all Swapo bases closed.

The phased withdrawal of 50,000 Cubans in Angola is to be completed by July 1991.

Things in Africa Are Starting to Go Right

Washington.

MURPHY'S LAW seems to be at work again in Africa: If it can go wrong it will. Confusion has nearly torn asunder the carefully calibrated accords meant to lead to peace and independence in Namibia.

But don't believe everything you read in the newspapers. Or, as Har-

By Jonathan Power

old Wilson, when prime minister of Britain, told a group of journalists: "Don't believe everything you write." We journalists have almost made an art form out of Africa's troubles the last decade — famine, war, starvation and butchery. All so much easier to cover than the slow effort of incremental progress that unnoticed can one day become tangible — like globules of quicksilver that suddenly coalesce into a mass.

So I dare to say that many things in Africa are starting to go recognizably right. In Sudan, where a quarter of a million people died last year in a war-induced famine, it looks as if a government has been formed at last that is committed to finding a way to broker a peace with the southern rebels. At least there is a respite in the food blockade and the United Nations has opened "corridors of tranquility" to ship in food.

In neighboring Ethiopia, scene of the bloody revolution that overthrew the Emperor Haile Selassie, of the great famine of 1984-85 and of the continuing war with the dissident provinces of Eritrea and Tigray, it looks as if major changes are afoot.

Last year, when there was an urgent need to rush food to the villages there was none of the chaotic improvisation of 1984. The U.N. now stations a permanent fleet of trucks in the country, and the relief agencies are expert at moving food fast. The regime of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam now appears to be realizing it can't ever win its civil war on the battlefield. The Russians who've provided most of the military hardware and training are rapidly distancing themselves from the fighting. It must be only a matter of months before the government, as in the Sudan, moves from confrontation to compromise.

Not very long ago it looked as if the Russians were aping the effort of the European powers in the late

One great shibboleth is at last being tossed out — that capitalists engineered Africa's economic decline.

19th century to carve up Africa into spheres of influence. It was a highly destructive policy that led to the creation or the reinforcing of regimes that felt they could literally get away with murder as long as they made the right anti-Western noises. This was true not just in Ethiopia but in Idi Amin's Uganda and in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. They were also the countries with the worst economic records.

No longer are the Russians playing African adventurer. Between 1983 and 1988, according to the Institute for African Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Union reduced its arms supplies to Africa by 60 percent and the number of recipient countries from 22 to 7. The decline continues.

Marxism and unthinking socialism have been a large part of Africa's undoing. While hard-baked Marxism produced destitution, warmed-over West European socialism did little better. Relabeled as "African socialism" by Kwame Nkrumah, father of African independence, and Julius Nyerere, the idealistic Christian president of Tanzania, because, they said, it corresponded to the traditional village patterns of communal sharing, it only produced stagnation.

Africa simply did not have the resources or the skilled manpower to run intricate social-welfare systems modeled on Sweden, France and Britain. It ended up with the bureaucracy but not the services. Moreover, incentives to produce and sell atrophied.

The tide has turned. Socialism is on the way out and everywhere economic reform is under way. Not least, Africans are beginning to stop blaming the outside world for their misfortune and to realize that much of it has been self-induced by their own misguided policies.

One great shibboleth is at last be-

ing tossed out the window — that Africa's economic decline has been brought about by the capitalist-engineered collapse of the commodity markets, and that this is the reason for the sharp fall of the prices of key African exports, like cocoa, coffee, palm oil, copper and bauxite.

It's now realized that the main problem has not been so much the decline in prices but the decline in volumes. If Africa had merely held on to its 1970 share of the non-oil commodity market its exports would have been \$10 billion higher in 1987. That's the same figure as Africa's annual bill for debt service.

It's bad policies that ruined Africa's export potential — lack of incentives, over-valued currencies and poor transportation and communication links.

Radical changes the last five years have restored economic growth to Africa after two decades of

decline. Countries as diverse as Senegal and Uganda are introducing better incentives for farmers, liberalizing prices, devaluing the currency, reducing budgetary deficits and reorienting resources from town to countryside.

According to a new study by the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program a reform-oriented group of 19 countries is now growing on average by 3.8 percent a year, very much better than their earlier performance of 1.2 percent and better too than the non-reformers' average of 1.5 percent.

For the first time since 1970 a number of countries are getting ahead of their population growth. Inflation is down and the income of the small-holders, four-fifths of Africa's population, is up. In countries where the reform programs are strongest the growth rate of agricultural production was for 1985-88 more than double that of 1980-84.

The future looks even better. The current world economic environment favors Africa, which has more favorable access to the markets of the industrialized countries than most developing regions and also receives more aid and debt relief relative to its income than any other part of the world.

Modern independent Africa got off to a false start. But, contrary to the cynic's adage, life does give a second chance. Africa seems intent on taking it.

World Bank's New Thinking on African Relief

By Ernest Harsch

BY any objective measure, the 1980s have been a decade of economic and social disaster for Africa. And recent assessments by UNICEF, the Economic Commission for Africa, and other United Nations agencies agree that unless drastic action is taken, the dismal panorama of stagnant industries, empty food bins, and widespread human suffering is likely to persist well into the 1990s.

The picture would be even bleaker if Africa's crisis were not stirring sober rethinking. In the search for better solutions, donor organizations, development agencies, and African governments are beginning to cast aside the top-down development strategies of the past in favor of newer, innovative initiatives that stress sustainability, equity, environmental protection, and grassroots participation.

The World Bank and its sister organization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), are also being challenged to reassess their past prescriptions for Africa. Critics argue that the "structural adjustment" policies they have promoted thus far fail to reflect the complexities of Africa's economic situation and ignore the immediate needs of its people.

Taking some of these criticisms to heart, a soon-to-be-published World Bank report calls for a drastic reorientation of development strategy in Africa.

The report, tentatively entitled "Beyond Adjustment: Toward Sustainable Growth With Equity in Sub-Saharan Africa," may signal significant broadening of the bank's approach to Africa.

Ramgopal Agarwala, the report's main author, acknowledges that "it's time to recognize we've all failed" and that new strategies are desperately needed.

Rather than simply presenting Africans with a finished product, as in the past, Dr. Agarwala and his team have spent a year soliciting suggestions, ideas, and criticisms from more than 300 African development experts, as well

as institutions such as the UN's Economic Commission for Africa and the African Development Bank. The aim is to produce a "consensus" document that will bridge the gap between the concerns of the international financial institutions and the views of those who make Africa policy.

Highlights of the draft report's perceived consensus:

- Renewed economic growth remains essential, but it has to be equitable and sustainable over the long term. This means greater attention to questions of income distribution, preservation of Africa's fragile environment, and development of human resources. People, not economic growth

Perhaps more than the proposals contained in the report, the new openness toward African viewpoints is especially notable.

rates as such, should be at the center of all development goals.

- Structural reform and adjustment must continue, but in such a way as to safeguard the poorest sectors of society and without undercutting education, health, and other aspects of human-resource development.

- The loosening of government controls and encouragement for the private sector should not just aid foreign corporations or indigenous big business, but should lead, above all, to a dramatic strengthening of the "informal sector" — farmers, small-scale entrepreneurs, artisans, petty traders, and the like.

- Sustainable, equitable development can occur only through the mobilization of genuine grassroots participation and initiative. Women, in particular, must be more actively involved.

- Africa's economies need to become much more self-reliant, in part through a strengthening of regional cooperation and inte-

gration. Such views have been promoted for some time by the Organization of African Unity and other pan-African institutions, but for the World Bank to so forcefully embrace them would signal a new departure.

- Despite the need for greater self-reliance, Africa still requires outside economic assistance. Although this could conceivably be phased out over a period of 30 years, there needs to be a substantial increase in such aid in the next decade if the continent is to pull out of its current crisis.

Perhaps more than the specific proposals and modifications contained in the report, it is the new openness toward African viewpoints and sensitivities that is especially notable. While many in Africa may still strongly disagree with actual World Bank (and IMF) policies, the scope for dialogue has been enlarged.

Not all within the World Bank appear comfortable with the draft report's frank acknowledgment of past failures and its eagerness to consider new solutions. It is possible that when the final version is published it will end up with a more cautious gloss.

There are considerable grounds for skepticism that any report as such, even from a weighty institution like the World Bank, can speed a reversal of Africa's economic fortunes. Fine-sounding documents have not been lacking. What have been missing are effective and realistic policies that address the myriad problems hampering African development — including the external constraints that are largely beyond Africa's control: unbearable debt burdens, insufficient financing, and deteriorating trade.

Yet if the report can expand official support for the grassroots initiatives and innovative approaches already taking root on the continent, it will have accomplished something.

■ Ernest Harsch is a journalist who has written extensively on African political and economic topics.

WESTERN SAHARA FROM WAR TO REFERENDUM

Morocco Winning Hearts and Minds

Rabat's liberal spending in disputed territory woos residents away from Polisario

LA'YOUN, WESTERN SAHARA

RISING out of the rocky, windswept Saharan desert, La'Youn's ornate public buildings, five-star hotels, and 30,000-seat sports stadium seem dramatically out of context.

Fifteen years ago this former capital of the Spanish Sahara, one of Spain's two African colonies, was little more than a rude frontier village.

Transformed by nearly \$1 billion in Moroccan aid, it is now a gleaming model city of 90,000 — and a symbol of the sophisticated tactics that have brought Morocco to the brink of victory in its 13-year war against Algerian-backed guerrillas to gain permanent control of the Colorado-sized swath of desert on which La'Youn sits.

"The Polisario movement has had it," says long-time Morocco-based journalist Stephen Hughes of the imperiled fortunes of the guerrilla movement that has been fighting to make the Western Sahara an independent nation. "It's all over but the shouting."

Citing historical rights going back to the 11th century, Morocco annexed the Western Sahara in 1976.

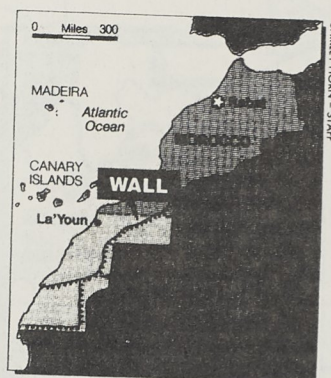
To make good on its claim of sovereignty — which no country recognizes yet — Morocco has fought a costly war against the Polisario rebels, who operate from bases clustered around the Algerian border town of Tindouf.

Simultaneously, Morocco has sought to win the hearts and minds of residents of the Western Sahara against the day, perhaps not far off, when they will vote either for independence or affiliation with Morocco.

Following the massive transfusion of Moroccan aid that has made La'Youn a showcase in the wilderness and its citizens the beneficiaries of free education and health care, the outcome seems hardly in doubt.

"We're part of Morocco. We always have been. We always will be," says one college-age

By George D. Moffett III



La'Youn resident, speaking in the presence of a Moroccan official.

New highways and TV hook-ups with the north have largely completed what one Western source calls "Moroccanizing" the Western Sahara, making its incorporation nearly a *fait accompli*.

In the long war of bullets and words, the guerrillas have charged that two-thirds of residents of the Western Sahara are Moroccan immigrants who, under Morocco's own suggested guidelines, would be barred from voting in a proposed United Nations-sponsored referendum. Moroccans respond that most Polisario leaders are themselves Moroccan-born, diluting claims that the Polisario is an authentic national liberation movement.

At stake is a region rich in phosphates (used in fertilizers), and largely untapped fishing resources off its long Atlantic coast.

The Polisario's position was bolstered by a 1975 decision by the International Court of Justice denying Morocco's claim of sovereignty over the Western Sahara.

Meanwhile, some 71 countries, most African, have recognized the Polisario's government-in-exile, the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, as the legal government of the disputed area.

But legal and diplomatic support have been insufficient to offset Morocco's preponderant military might.

Morocco has used its estimated

120,000 troops to construct a 1,200-mile wall of sand and barbed wire that now encloses 80 percent of the Western Sahara. The desert wall has cut off the estimated force of 4,000-8,000 guerrillas from the population it purports to represent.

The resulting stalemate has opened the door to diplomacy. Last year, the UN tabled a plan calling for a cease-fire, the dispatching of an interim peace-keeping force, and an eventual plebiscite to allow the 120,000 inhabitants of the Western Sahara to decide their own future.

The UN is now working on the details of holding a referendum. Morocco's King Hassan II met with Polisario representatives twice in February. A third meeting was postponed but is expected to be rescheduled.

One sticking point has been the modalities of the voting. The Polisario has insisted that Moroccan troops and administrators evacuate the territory in advance of a referendum, arguing that no fair election can be held if the region is under occupation.

Such proposals have been greeted in Morocco with universal disdain. "In other words, abandon the provinces and allow the rebels to install themselves in the vacuum," said Abd Ar-Rahim Bouabid, leader of the opposition Socialist Union party, at a public meeting.

In the end, the question of modalities may prove academic as the vital life signs of the guerrilla movement grow weaker.

One Western military source notes that while in 1987 the guerrillas mounted major offensives to penetrate the desert wall every six to eight weeks, only three such attacks occurred last year while none has been launched in 1989.

Meanwhile, the absence among Western Saharans of anything like the nationalist feelings that have fueled the Palestinian uprising against Israel is sug-

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House Panel Questions U.N. Relief Effort in Sudan

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, April 8 — An American Congressional group emerged from the Sudan and Ethiopia this week with sobering impressions of the United Nations effort to avert another season of mass starvation in the southern Sudan.

Their caution — prompted both by logistical difficulties and the continuing Sudanese civil war, which has intensified in some areas — was affirmed by aid workers and diplomats.

Representative Mickey Leland, Democrat of Texas, the chairman of the House's Select Committee on Hunger, said here on Thursday: "We're raising expectations beyond the ability to deliver. I would hope the United Nations would stop this public relations."

Last year, 250,000 southern Sudanese are estimated to have died in war-induced famine. Hoping to prevent a repetition of the disaster, the United Nations mounted a relief operation last weekend with truck convoys from Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, and Kenya heading for the southern Sudan.

While the United Nations has hailed its effort as the biggest of its kind, diplomats in the region describe it as a patchwork endeavor that should prevent some of the suffering of last year.

Mr. Leland met Monday in Nazareth, in southern Ethiopia, with John Garang, the leader of the rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army. Mr. Garang, who rarely emerges from directing fighting in the bush, was agreeable to food moving along eight designated United Nations corridors inside the Sudan, Mr. Leland said.

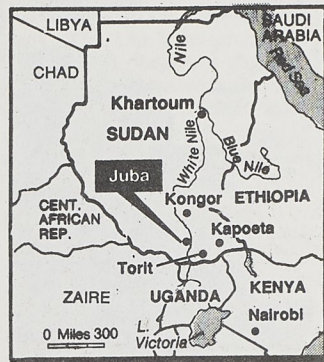
'Tranquillity' Is Overstated

But he would not condone any kind of cease-fire, as was implied in a United Nations statement that a "month of tranquillity" had begun in the southern Sudan.

Further, Mr. Leland said that Mr. Garang would not tolerate a contemplated airlift of food by the United Nations from Khartoum to Juba, the southern provincial capital that the rebels have encircled and appear intent on capturing. In Mr. Garang's view, such an airlift, intended to complement flights from Uganda and Kenya, could be too easily filled with goods for the Government army.

Despite a new Cabinet in Khartoum pledged to peace, officials on the congressional trip said bombing raids by Libyan jets near rebel-held areas had been stepped up recently, apparently with the intention of discouraging some relief efforts.

Speaking of the conditions in Wau, a Government-held southern Sudanese



The New York Times/April 9, 1989

town where there was great starvation last year, Mr. Leland described it as "a very sad situation."

"I see a crisis coming," he said. "Unless we get some food in there we will have the same crisis as last year." A staff aide said that the Red Cross food shipments were only sufficient to reach 20,000 of 50,000 needy in the town.

It was clear, aid workers said, that the late start by the United Nations would hamper the effectiveness of its effort. Trucks that left Nairobi for the southern Sudan earlier this week were stuck near the border because of a shortage of drivers willing to traverse dangerous territory.

Many organizations, including the United States Agency for International Development, non-governmental American agencies such as Catholic Relief Services and European groups such as Norwegian People's Aid, the most experienced in the southern Sudan, are sending assistance.

The Washington Times

APRIL 13, 1989

Liberia has hand out for national debt

MONROVIA, Liberia — Liberian President Samuel Doe launched a national fund drive yesterday to repay its \$183 million debt to the United States.



Doe Opening "Operation Pay the U.S." Mr. Doe said the country's de-

Liberia has a foreign debt of about \$1.7 billion.

Opening "Operation Pay the U.S." Mr. Doe said the country's de-

Western Lands Vow \$133 Million in Aid For Sudanese Relief

By PAUL LEWIS

UNITED NATIONS, April 11 — Western nations pledged \$55 million today in additional aid to fight famine in the southern Sudan, thus raising the \$133 million that the United Nations had sought for relief efforts.

James P. Grant, director of Operation Lifeline Sudan, said aid agencies had delivered 20,000 tons of the 115,000 tons of food that the United Nations hopes to get into the southern Sudan, where a civil war is raging, by the end of this month. The aid is to prevent hundreds of thousands of deaths from starvation when the rainy season makes roads and airstrips unusable.

The food is being delivered to areas controlled by the Khartoum Government, which is predominantly Muslim, as well as to those held by the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which has been fighting for control of the largely Christian south for many years.

As money was pledged for the Sudan, the United Nations warned today that Africa faces a new famine threat in Mozambique, where up to three million people are in danger of starvation, largely as a result of civil war.

Representatives of donor countries are to meet again Thursday to consider the United Nations report on Mozambique and a United Nations appeal for \$382 million in aid to fight famine there.

Mr. Grant, who also directs the United Nations Children's Fund, said donor countries had already provided more than \$77 million toward the United Nations' \$133 million appeal for famine relief in Southern Sudan, leaving a gap of about \$55 million.

At another meeting with donor countries, Mr. Grant said he received pledges or assurances that the rest of the assistance for Operation Lifeline Sudan would be forthcoming. The contributions included \$11 million from the United States, \$10 million from the European Community and smaller amounts from Japan and others.

Mr. Grant said agencies were moving food into the Sudan by air, road, train and water along the "corridors of tranquillity" that the Government and the rebels agreed to open for relief.

sire to settle the U.S. debt "would in no way suggest a rift between the two countries" and would "make Liberia creditworthy and Liberians proud."

The drive, launched on the ninth anniversary of the day Master Sgt. Doe seized power in a bloody coup, was announced by his Cabinet March 28, following news that the U.S. Agency for International Development planned to close its Monrovia offices if Liberia did not pay \$7.2 million in arrears by May 10.

Mr. Doe said Tuesday that anyone caught tampering with the metal collection boxes during

Dinka Tribes Made Slaves in Sudan's Civil War

By TONY HORWITZ

BABANUSA CAMP, Sudan — Lual Garang is unsure of his age, but he knows exactly how many hungry Dinka fled his village in March and how many remained after several weeks' walk to this teeming refugee settlement in southern Sudan.

"We began with 180 and now we are only 96," says the tall, frail teenager. "Arabs with guns took the rest as slaves." Lual was spared because of a crippling chest infection. "I am no use to anybody," he says, tapping his wasted ribcage.

Slavery is a hidden but common danger for Dinka tribesmen, caught in the crossfire of a six-year civil war between Khartoum's Islamic north and Christian and pagan rebels in the underdeveloped south. Last year, famine and disease killed an estimated 250,000 civilians, and relief workers say a further 100,000 may die of hunger this year.

Prey for Nomads

Fleeing on foot from ruined farms and grazing lands, the Dinka also have become easy prey for well-armed Arab nomads.

"The Arabs want children, cattle and concubines," says Robert Collins, a University of California professor and expert on southern Sudan. He estimates that "thousands" were enslaved last year to harvest sorghum, herd cattle and perform domestic labor for Arab masters.

Slavery isn't new to southern Sudan but it has surged because of the civil war. Competing for scarce water and grazing land, African and Arab tribes have long raided each other for cattle and slaves, usually exchanging their captives in peace negotiations.

The Khartoum government upset this rough equilibrium, and ended 10 years of relative peace, when it began arming Arab tribes in 1985 to bolster its flagging campaign against the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, or SPLA. Roaming across remote areas over which the government has little control, "the Arabs have turned their Kalashnikovs [Russian-designed rifles] on the Dinka," says Mr. Collins, while "Khartoum has looked the other way."

Risk of Enslavement

Sudanese officials say slavery is an isolated practice, resulting from tribal custom rather than government policy. But interviews with recent arrivals at camps in Khartoum and in Babanusa and Muglad, just north of the war zone, indicate many fleeing Dinka are at risk of enslavement. The experience of Lual Garang is typical. He says his family and neighbors were so hungry this winter that they ate tree leaves and grass to stay alive. Finally, a party composed mainly of women, children, the elderly and the sick headed north, with most adult males staying behind to maintain crops and herds.

Lual says his group was near the town of El Meiram, about 50 miles south of Muglad, when 30 Arabs on horses and camels charged out of the scrub brandishing automatic weapons. Armed with a few spears



and clubs, the Dinka were no match.

"The Arabs shot one man who tried to fight and took away all the healthy ones," Lual says. "It was as easy for them as herding cows."

Famine also has forced Dinka to barter children for a few days' food, or for transport north on trucks. Last year, so many parents were offering their children that the price for a healthy girl fell from \$30 to about \$5. "Many mothers figure slavery is the only way to save their kids from starvation," says a Western relief worker who witnessed the practice last summer.

Escape Is Possible

Relief officials say the situation this year isn't as desperate, though it may become so when the rainy season starts hampering emergency food shipments, probably in May or June. Refugees already are streaming into the Muglad camp at a rate of about 150 a day.

Though well-armed, the Arab slave-takers cannot keep constant watch in semi-nomadic conditions, and escape is relatively easy. Nyako Deng, a Dinka woman in Khartoum, says the wife of an Arab actually helped her daughter escape because she feared the girl would become her husband's mistress.

Escaped slaves provide information and money for parents trying to reclaim abducted children. Occasionally, local Arab officials aid Dinka parents as well, for money, or because of ancient ties between some tribes. It typically costs about \$50 to ransom a child, a massive sum for herders who earn only about \$150 a year in good years, and who are now stripped of their livelihood.

Three years ago, a Dinka man named Andreea Atyek was herding a few cows to

a new pasture when Arabs burned his grain stores and snatched three of his children and 45 of his cattle. He wanted to chase after the slavers but felt he had to provide for his surviving family first.

Grim Mathematics

"Two wives and eight children—this is more important than three stolen ones," he says, revealing the grim mathematics of raising a family in southern Sudan. Even so, three of his children starved to death last year.

Finally this winter he sold his remaining cattle and headed north. Using information from escaped slaves, and aided by local officials, he recovered one son and one daughter. The girl was only 6 at the time of her capture and Mr. Atyek feared she might not recognize him. "But as soon as she saw me she cried," he says.

Mr. Atyek found another son at the Muglad camp, where he fled after escaping. Mr. Atyek is now living at Muglad with all three children while he tries to find money to return to his village. "I am a very lucky man," he says.

The upsurge in slavery has embarrassed the Khartoum government, reviving memories of colonial days when slavery was the mainstay of Sudan's economy. (In a gesture reminiscent of 19th century abolitionism, Britain's Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights will send a delegation to Sudan this year to investigate the current situation.)

Allegations Refuted

The Khartoum government arrested one of two academics who first publicized enslavement and massacres in 1987, and officials have been refuting the allegations ever since. "Supporters of the rebels are trying to shock the world with exaggerated stories," says Abdullah Jalab, an official with Sudan's Ministry of Information. He says rebels, themselves mainly Dinka, often force southerners to join the guerrillas, "but no one calls this slavery."

Western analysts agree that the SPLA has brutalized civilians, living off their land, raping women and dragooning men into military service. "There's not much milk of human kindness on either side of this war," says a diplomat in Khartoum. "But that doesn't make the government's callousness any less reprehensible."

The renewed tribal slavery also has sown bitterness that may outlast the war. At the moment, Lual Garang is barely strong enough to hobble through the Babanusa camp with a cane. But when he recovers, the teenager says, "I want to go back home and fight the Arabs."

Kenya's Human-Rights Record Gets Public Airing

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

KENYA'S human-rights record is once again in the spotlight — and getting mixed reviews. Kenyan attorneys and Western diplomats agree there have been some rights improvements in the past two years. But they are also concerned about President Daniel arap Moi's growing accumulation of power. And lawyers worry about pending legislation that they say could silence them.

The renewed public focus on human rights here is a result of last week's presentation of the Robert Kennedy Memorial human rights award to attorney Gibson Kamau Kuria. The Kenyan attorney was honored for his efforts in 1987 to defend political detainees who alleged government torture — a move for which he was imprisoned for several months.

Because Mr. Kuria was prevented from traveling to the United States to receive the honor, Ethel and Kerry Kennedy, widow and daughter of the assassinated US senator, came to Nairobi. While here, they privately and publicly criticized the government's rights record.

So far, the private approach appears to have netted more results and left behind the least antagonism. But, in the long run, the public criticism may keep up the pressure on Kenya and help avoid further mistreatment of detainees.

Following private discussions with the Kennedys, President Moi promised to consider the release of seven known remaining political detainees — a number far below that of many African nations. He also said he would provide medical care to those in poor health, allegedly as the result of torture.

On her last day here, Miss Kennedy held a press conference, recounting the meeting with Moi. She also expressed concern over the use of political detention and a 1988 constitutional amendment that stripped the judiciary of protection from removal by the President.

This public statement brought a predictable rebuttal from Moi. "We are a free, sovereign state," he said. "We are not under colonial rule to be supervised by foreigners."

According to a Western diplomat, Moi listens when "human rights are raised privately." But, "when it becomes public, he doesn't like it."

"I think President Moi has realized it's bad for Kenya to have a bad human rights image," the diplomat adds. "He's very eager to have [foreign] investment in Kenya."

Some Kenyan attorneys say that since loud international criticism two years ago, reports of torture have ceased. But instances of solitary confinement and deprivation of food are still alleged.

"There's an improvement," acknowledges Kiraitu Murungi, Mr. Kuria's law partner.

But, Mr. Murungi says, legislation is being drafted which could subject lawyers to disbarment by a presi-

dentially appointed Review Commission that would hear complaints in a manner not yet spelled out. "This commission could be used in a campaign of general harassment of human rights lawyers," he alleges.

Others here worry about what they say is the president's control of Parliament and the judiciary.

But a Kenyan attorney sympathetic to many of Moi's policies claims this concentration of power is necessary. "We can't have more than one center of power" without having chaos, he says.

In addition, the government appears to have backed away from the recent plan to "license" lawyers, something attorneys feared would lead to political control.

Some observers say the fact that the President allowed the award presentation to take place in Nairobi — at the centrally located All Saints Cathedral — speaks in his favor.

About 250 people attended the ceremony, at which Kuria made a long speech in which he criticized Kenya's one-party system and alleged

"decline in tolerance of the different views held in a society."

Later, say Kenyan attorneys, the Special Branch, a government intelligence unit, tried to pressure editors of two local newspapers not to print an account of the proceedings. One paper, The Nation, published its coverage, but excluded some of Kuria's key points.

MOROCCO WINNING HEARTS (Continued)

gested by the fact that in 13 years no terrorist attack has been launched against Moroccan soldiers in the Western Sahara or targets inside Morocco.

The most recent blow to the Polisario's hopes was delivered last spring when Algeria restored relations with Morocco and later joined Morocco and three other countries in signing a treaty calling for greater Maghreb (North African) political and economic unity.

While Algeria still provides staunch rhetorical support to the movement it claims is the only authentic voice of the Western Saharan people, few doubt that the Polisario cause has now been sacrificed to larger interests.

Unconfirmed reports from Western sources indicate that Al-

geria is now recalling arms given to the guerrillas.

Moroccan and Western sources assume the existence of a tacit agreement by Algerian President Chadli Benjedid to withdraw support from the rebels and allow the UN to get on with negotiating a political settlement.

"It's a death sentence for the Polisario," says one Moroccan source of the treaty signed between Algiers and Rabat.

In La'Youn, meanwhile, where Moroccan money has largely settled the matter of political loyalties, the war now sputtering to an apparent conclusion seems a distant matter.

"More people talk about fishing, business, and football," says a construction worker. "The war, that's just something we read about in the newspapers."

S. Africa scrubs idea of questioning rebels

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

WINDHOEK, Namibia — South Africa dropped its demand yesterday to interrogate SWAPO guerrillas withdrawing from northern Namibia, while the first group of insurgents, four unarmed men, reported to a United Nations checkpoint established to facilitate the movement of the guerrillas to Angola.

Police said other insurgents moved deeper into the territory.

Western diplomats had con-

demned the interrogation demand as a violation of the agreement drawn up at a weekend meeting outside Windhoek of the joint monitoring force, composed of South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

U.N. officers in northern Namibia said they had suspended the deployment of peacekeepers at the nine assembly points because of a dispute over the siting and staffing of the posts and over the interrogation threat.

Pretoria's administrator-general in Namibia, Louis Pienaar, backed down after reportedly heated discussions with U.N. special representative Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr. Pienaar's spokesman, Gerhard Roux, said "interrogate" had been misunderstood. Security forces had intended only to ask rebels about troop numbers and arms they may have left behind.

Questioned at a news conference in Windhoek, Mr. Roux said he could not confirm that the interrogation of departing South-West Africa People's Organization rebels at nine border assembly points had ever been discussed with U.N. officials.

On Tuesday, Mr. Pienaar issued a statement saying the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) had agreed to the interrogation of rebels seeking to leave Namibia's bush battlefield.

But Mr. Ahtisaari, head of UNTAG, told clergymen and SWAPO representatives who visited him yesterday that he had not approved

any interrogations.

One source said Mr. Ahtisaari met Mr. Pienaar to make his objections known and described the meeting as heated.

Up to 1,900 SWAPO fighters are supposed to lay down their arms and report to assembly points from where they will be transported to camps at least 90 miles inside Angola.

British and Australian soldiers manning the assembly points said they were located far too close to South African bases bristling with heavy weapons.

They said any hope that guerrillas in significant numbers would brave the stares and taunts from soldiers who have been their enemies for 23 years were shattered by the interrogation announcement.

At U.N. headquarters in New York, the guerrillas yesterday accused South Africa and the United States of hiding advance knowledge of the incursion in a bid to justify an attack on the insurgents.

"This was a premeditated and orchestrated ambush, for South Africa to find the pretext to jump out of the commitment" to cooperate with the U.N. independence plan, said Theoben Gurirab, foreign secretary of SWAPO.

U.N. investigators agree the guerrillas violated a peace accord requiring that they stay in Angolan bases at least until May 15, when they could enter the country as unarmed refugees.

SPECIAL MEETING SEEKS TO SAVE NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT (Continued)

criticized by some African countries for letting half a dozen South African Army battalions leave their bases and help the police fight the rebels.

The United Nations' timetable for independence, which is embodied in Security Council Resolution 435, calls for South African forces to be confined to their bases, and either demobilized or gradually withdrawn from Namibia.

A haggard-looking Mr. Ahtisaari today defended his decision of last weekend, explaining that the alternative would have been the unleashing of South Africa's full military might in Namibia against the guerrillas and the collapse of plans for independence.

If he had refused the South African request to activate a limited number of units, Mr. Ahtisaari told a Finnish television team, "we would have had a total disengagement from the bases, and I think that would have meant a total onslaught also in the north, with not hundreds dead but thousands dead, and also, I think, the end of 435."

GUERRILLAS ORDERED BACK TO ANGOLA (Continued)

custody."

Nujoma had come under intense diplomatic pressure from around the world after 1,800 to 1,900 of his movement's heavily armed guerrillas crossed the border on April 1, the first day of the implementation of the independence process.

Officials of the U.N. peace-keeping force here and officials of SWAPO's internal wing have said that even if Nujoma issued such an order, it may be difficult to get word to the guerrillas, who have broken into many small groups and are scattered over a 300-mile stretch of the northern border.

Still, the order seemed likely to provide new momentum toward defusing a crisis that had threatened to undermine the protracted peace and independence effort. Earlier tonight, before the SWAPO announcement, South Africa rejected a U.N. proposal that the guerrillas be allowed to surrender their weap-

ons and remain in U.N.-supervised camps until their formal repatriation next month.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, in a letter sent today to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, said the SWAPO guerrillas who have crossed from Angola since last Saturday would have to be transported immediately to their bases 100 miles north of the border.

Botha said the U.N. compromise cease-fire proposal to end eight days of fighting came as a "personal shock" to him and amounted to a "unilateral amendment" to the peace agreement.

He said South Africa remains committed to the peace agreement, but added that if the United Nations feels there is a need to renegotiate the entire package, South Africa would be willing to consider it because the accord contains some elements which were "unpalatable" to

Pretoria.

In a somewhat threatening tone, Botha said that in order for his government to "consider whether it can comply with its commitments," it must know if the United Nations intends to comply with its commitment.

The negotiators included U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker, who spent eight years brokering the agreement that ended the war between Cuban-backed Angolan forces and South Africa and offered Namibia, also known as South West Africa, the opportunity to gain independence.

Attending for the Soviet Union was Anatoly Adamishin, deputy foreign minister for African affairs. The Soviet Union's shift of policy away from supporting regional conflicts and wars of liberation—and its influence as a patron of Angola, Cuba and SWAPO—were major factors in obtaining the hard-won concessions that led to the peace accord.

NAMIBIA: REALISM KEY (Continued)

while he can buy from South Africa in just about any quantity, tiles from East Germany, for example, have to be ordered in large shipments.

Just now, it's hard to pin down exactly what SWAPO'S economic policies would be were it to take over. In recent years, it has veered from pushing Marxist policies to those of a mixed economy. But with elections looming, SWAPO members are tight-lipped on specifics. But they do talk a lot about trying to keep whites from emigrating. (Some 25,000, or one-quarter of the white population, fled 10 years ago when independence seemed imminent.)

"We are appealing to our white brothers and sisters to come forward to build one nation," declares SWAPO Central Committee member Crispin Matongo. "Whites must feel free, feel at home. Everything they have will remain theirs."

That's little comfort to whites fed a steady diet of South African admonishments about Marxist SWAPO demons. Skepticism is especially high now, after the SWAPO incursion. On the face of it, most are taking a wait-and-see attitude. But one businessman says, "It would be completely naive to think that everyone isn't creating a fall-back plan."

"We're hoping the harsh realities of this place will have a sobering effect on SWAPO," he continues. "We understand that it's a fragile economy. We hope they do, too."

IMPATIENT REBELS (Continued)

Luanda. "The Cubans and Angolans were finally beginning to drag themselves out of this mess, and the last thing they wanted was to be dragged back in."

Indeed, Angola's President, José Eduardo dos Santos, publicly chastised Swapo's leaders for "not being able to exercise total control" over their forces and for failing to "prevent anyone from crossing the Angolan frontier." The peace accords signed last December required that armed insurgents remain well back from the border during the transition to independence.

Swapo remains the only Namibian entity with unchallenged legitimacy, not only because of a 1973 United Nations declaration in its favor but also because, unlike some of its rivals, it has an untarnished three-decade record of opposition to South Africa. Perhaps most important is that the Ovabos, its tribal power base, make up nearly half the territory's 1.2 million people.

For all these reasons, political experts had expected that the guerrilla leader, Sam Nujoma, would win the election that was scheduled for November under the United Nations plan. Given Swapo's losses in last week's fighting, both in personnel and in prestige, neither the election date nor the outcome can be taken for granted.

INDEPENDENCE PROMOTES A BOOM MARKET (Continued)

for mandatory international economic sanctions against South Africa.

And to whom is the U.N. turning to rent facilities and equipment? The South African Defense Force, which is leaving Namibia.

"I guess one has to be sensible and pragmatic about these things," says Bess Robertson, the foreign-trade secretary for the South African Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg. She is smirking broadly.

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ANGOLA (Continued)

the United States, Jardo Mueka denied the allegations and said: "Unita, as a guerrilla movement, its relationship with the civilian population is not only a necessary element, it determines our very survival. So, it was deliberately carrying out attacks against civilians, we would not support it and Unita would not support it today."

U.S. Support Is Criticized

"What we do recognize," he continued, "is that civilians have been caught in the crossfire, especially because the Government has concentrated its forces in strategic places to prevent them from supporting Unita. And when the civilians travel from one point to another, the Government uses joint military and civilian convoys; that's exactly how most of the civilians that are said to be victims of indiscriminate Unita attacks become victims."

Mr. Neier called on the United States to stop supporting Unita. "Our view is that given Unita's terrible record, the U.S. should not continue to support it," he said. "We recognize that the Angolan Government also engages in abuses, but the U.S. is not supporting the Angolan Government."

WASHINGTON POST APRIL 13, 1989

Soviet Visits S. Africa

■ JOHANNESBURG—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli Adamishin made a secret visit to South Africa two weeks ago, a trip Western diplomats here said may be a sign of thawing relations between the two countries.

It was the first time a senior Soviet official has visited South Africa since the early 1950s, when Pretoria and Moscow broke off diplomatic relations.

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