

AF Press Clips

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THE NEW YORK TIMES,  
AUGUST 30, 1984

Turnout Low in

Voting by Indians

in South Africa

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

DURBAN, South Africa, Aug. 20 — A political party that seeks to work within the current system to elect the strongest Indian party today after elections among South Africa's Indian minority for a new, three-chamber Parliament.

The group, the National People's Party, won 18 of the 40 seats at stake.

The Tuesday was marked by a high rate of abstention. According to final figures announced today, about 20 percent of registered voters — roughly 18 percent of those eligible to cast a ballot — turned out at the polls.

Opponents of the new Parliament, who say the racially divided legislature cements the system of apartheid because it ignores the black majority, said the low turnout reflected a broad rejection of the new system by South Africa's 800,000 Indians.

Last week, South Africa's 2.8 million people of mixed race registered a similarly low participation rate in their elections for a new Parliament. Under constitutional changes that the Government has described as a major reform of South Africa's system of race relations, Parliament will be divided, effective next month, into three chambers representing three of the four main population groups. The changes were overwhelmingly approved by the nation's 4.5 million whites last November.

No Representation for Blacks

Whites will be represented in a 160-seat house, people of mixed race will have an 80-member chamber and Indian deputies will sit in a 40-person house. The black majority of over 20 million will not be represented.

F. W. de Klerk, Minister of Internal Affairs, said intimidation of voters was to blame for the low turnout, but added that the Government considers the polls high enough to accept them as a mandate.

The National People's Party, led by Amichand Rajbansi, a former butcher and teacher, won one more seat than its

THE NEW YORK TIMES

AUGUST 30. 1984

50 Died in Protests. Liberian Group Charges

By MARVINE HOWE

The Liberian Community Association in New York charged yesterday that more than 50 students have been killed and more than 400 wounded in Liberia since Aug. 22, when troops were sent to quell a demonstration at the University of Monrovia.

Lawrence Santi, president of the association and a former Liberian Government official, said 'that the group had set up a committee in New York to monitor the events in Liberia and that its information on casualties was based on calls from bereaved families in Monrovia, the Liberian capital.

Mr. Santi, at a news conference in

front of the Liberian Mission to the United Nations, said Sandra Howard, a professor of sociology, had also been killed in the violence at the university. He cited information received by the professor's sister in Brooklyn.

Fear of Detention Is Cited

But Marcus M. Kofa, Minister Counselor at the Liberian Mission, said no deaths had been officially reported in the recent unrest. He said three persons had been wounded by stray bullets at the university and 72 had been injured in the rush to leave the campus.

Mr. Kofa received a delegation from the Liberian Community Association on Tuesday but said he could not con-

firm their private information about deaths in Liberia.

Mr. Santi, the association's president, said most of the relatives of victims were afraid to be identified because of a new decree under which people can be detained without trial.

Mr. Santi said his organization was nonpolitical and grouped 1,500 students and workers. He said it had once supported the Liberian leader, Gen. Samuel K. Doe, but now considered his Government a dictatorship.

Liberian organizations are planning protests in New York and Washington this week and will send a letter to President Reagan urging him to reconsider U.S. support of the Doe Government, Mr. Santi said. Mr. Santi's group issued a statement calling for the removal of General Doe, who seized power in a military coup four years ago. The statement accused the Reagan Administration of being the biggest supporter of this dictatorship.

Return to Civilian Rule Pledged

A political crisis has developed in Liberia since the arrest Aug. 19 of several prominent politicians charged with conspiring to overthrow the Government. The university students were specifically protesting the arrest of Amos Sawyer, a professor at the university.

Mr. Sawyer led the committee that drafted a new Liberian constitution this year and is the chairman of the Liberia People's Party, one of 10 political

Continued

main rival, the Government Solidarity Party, 1

J. M. Reddy, which gained 17. Various independent candidates won the others, opening the way for private efforts by the main parties to obtain their support.

by a shipping agent,

An Enemy of Radicals  
According to Western officials famil-

iar with him, Mr. Rajbansi has a reputation for hard business dealing and shrewd political maneuver. He has been an enemy of radical since 1981 when he stood for election to the Government-sponsored South African Indian Council, a consultative body.

. He has

In his own constituency of Arena

Park, Durban, on Tuesday, the turnout was 14.1 per cent of registered voters

relatively low in comparison to the overall result and he won less than

half the votes, giving him a mandate

from about 7 per cent of his constituents.

According to official figures issued today, which cast further doubt on the poll, what are called special votes outnumbered votes cast during yesterday's balloting in several important constituencies. Under the special vote system, people who will be traveling on election day or have other problems in voting that day may go to their local electoral officer in advance of polling day and register a vote. Those calling for a boycott of the elections have asserted that the special votes have been marked by serious irregularities.

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S. Department of State

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THE WASHINGTON POST

August 30, 1984

Boycott Backers in S. Africa Urge Cancel

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ster Spa  
Sp?c)\â\200\231s\%o"\râ\200\230he Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 29â\200\224Leaders of the campaign to boycott this weekâ\200\231s elections to the Colored and Indian houses of Parliament urged the South African government today not to put its new constitution into effect. Because of the limited turnout, they said, a national convention of all races should be called to redraft it.

A principal official said that although the government was disappointed in the low turnout, it would implement the constitution establishing a tricameral legislature on Sept. 3 as planned.

Final results of the Indian communityâ\200\231s election yesterday showed that 80 percent of registered voters stayed away from the polls.

Seventy percent of registered voters in the mixed-race Colored community stayed away when their election was held Aug. 22.

Organizers of the boycott claimed the true extent of the two communitiesâ\200\231 rejection of the new constitution was even greater than the percentages indicated. Noting that many eligible voters had refused even to register, particularly among the 2.7 million Coloreds community, the organizers said fewer than 16 percent of the combined adult population of the two communities had

The boycott was called to protest the alleged â\200\234fraudulenceâ\200\235 of the constitutionâ\200\224 which excludes the majority blacks from parliamentary participation and subordinates that of the Coloreds and Indians to the whites. The 870,000 Indians are mostly descendants of indentured laborers brought from the Subcontinent in the 1860s.

â\200\234This was an enormous victory for those struggling for a democratic and nonracial South Africa,â\200\235 said a joint statement by the two main Indian parties behind yesterdayâ\200\231s boycott campaign, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The United Democratic Front, a multi-racial alliance of labor unions and community organizations that coordinated the boycott campaigns, called on the Colored and Indian politicians who won parliamentary seats to renounce them.

Allan Boesak, a young Colored preacher who is described as patron of the Democrat-

ic Front and played a major role in the campaigns, warned that for the government to continue with a system that so obviously has no mandate will be disastrous for the country's future.

Interviewed after meeting with other front leaders in Johannesburg today, Boesak

lation of New Constitution

said the only honest course for the government to follow now would be to call a national convention at which the leaders of all the country's race groups could have a hand in drafting a new constitution.

Boesak called on western governments to put pressure on the South African government to come to terms with the majority population as quickly as possible. He Democratic Front later repeated this in a formal statement, adding that western governments, particularly the Reagan administration, should realize that their failure to condemn the apartheid [segregationist]

Continued on Pg. 14  
THE WASHINGTON POST

August 30, 1984

South Africa  
Denies Visa to  
Jesse Jackson

United Press International

Jesse L. Jackson's application for a visa to visit South Africa this year

voted.  
THE WASHINGTON POST

August 30, 1984

Verdict on South African Reform

THE VERDICT that counts most has now been

pronounced on South Africa's political reform. True, an earlier verdict had been delivered by the country's ruling white minority, which, consulting none of the other racial groups and least of all the disenfranchised black majority, last November overwhelmingly approved a plan giving a limited parliamentary voice to Indians and mixed-race Coloreds. These two groups have now weighed in. Since they would presumably be the chief beneficiaries of what the sponsoring whites proudly hail as a new dispensation, their verdict is of special importance. It is, on the whole, devastating. Only 20 percent of registered Indians voted for the new parliamentary seats being offered them, and only 30 percent of registered Coloreds.

Why such a minimal response? The whites claim there was intimidation. The charge would be amusing, given the intimidation practiced by South Africa's

whites locking up leaders of the boycott movement on the eve of elections, for instance were it not a patent dodge. The evident truth is that most Indians and Coloreds boycotted the elections because they felt they would lose more than they could possibly gain by accepting a small, tightly hedged parliamentary role in a system still dominated by whites devoted to apartheid. In proposing the reform, the whites had in mind not moving away from apartheid

but simply easing some of the domestic and foreign opposition to it. Large Indian and Colored majorities want no part of this game.

Prime Minister P. W. Botha's government seems bent on putting the plan into effect anyway with the parliamentary delegates elected by the few Indians and Coloreds who did vote. His political situation may require no less. It is clear, however, that notwithstanding the apprehensions of white super-conservatives to his right, he does not have so.

much a strategy for change as a strategy for resisting change. Oppression with a smile, is what the Rev. Allan Boesak, leader of the multiracial boycott movement, calls the Botha policy. The struggle within South Africa goes on.

Too hopefully, it turns out, the Reagan administration had pronounced the November white vote authorizing the reform a mandate for decisive political change. The results of the latest elections have prompted the administration to express the further hope that the process of reform will be accelerated. This is awfully lame. No doubt the State Department is disappointed that its investment in constructive engagement has borne, on the domestic front at least, such meager fruit. It would be good to hear it say that the main obstacle to peaceful change in South Africa is, still, white racism, blindness and timidity.

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has been denied, a South African Embassy spokesman said yesterday.

Spokesman Pieter Swanepoel read a statement he said was conveyed to Jackson this week. It said, "Much to our regret, a visit to South Africa during 1984 by Reverend Jackson will be inopportune."

Jackson met with Ambassador Brant Fourie Aug. 7 and said at the time he had been told that his request had to be considered by higher South African authorities.

Jackson, who ran for the Democratic presidential nomination, visited South Africa in 1979.

— He vehemently opposes the country's apartheid racial policy and calls for the United States to shut

off American investment there unless the separatist policy is stopped.  
- Swanepoel said Jackson was told that if he wanted to apply for a visa  
at a later date, the application will be considered on merit taking into account prevailing circumstances.

- Toward the end of the Democratic primaries, Jackson said he wanted to visit both South Africa and the Soviet Union after the Democratic convention.

Soviet Embassy spokesman Viadimir Mikoyan said yesterday that Jackson had made no formal request for a visa.



THE WASHINGTON POST  
August 25, 1984

Bomb Blast  
Wounds 5 in  
South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 24â\200\224A bomb blast ripped through a building housing the government department that oversees apartheid regulations tonight, wounding four railway policemen and a woman passerby, a senior officer said.

Maj. Gen. Robbie Robbertze, regional commissioner for the Southern Transvaal Railway Police, told reporters he believed the four policemen, whose offices are located in the building, were the only persons left inside when the bomb went off shortly after the offices closed.

The bomb, which was left in a passageway, caused extensive damage, Robbertze said. He said he did not think the policemen were seriously wounded in the explosion,

which showered glass onto the streets below.

â\200\234It was a terrific explosion,â\200\235 said a woman living in a nearby apartment building. â\200\234The whole building shook. I ran outside and saw a big pall of smoke billowing from a nearby building.â\200\235

Yesterday, a bomb wrecked gov-

THE SUN

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1984

South Africa

A new kind of gold  
strike

JOHANNESBURG

With the South African economy bruised by the fall in the gold price. the countryâ\200\231s mine owners and government are trying again to head off what would be the first legal strike by black workers in South

Africaâ\200\231s gold mines. Negotiations with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which claims some 60,000 of the countryâ\200\231s 460,000 black gold miners as its members, have twice ended in a deadlock. A third series of talks has now been agreed upon.

The dispute goes back to mid-year, when the employers' organisation, the Chamber of Mines, rejected a demand by the union's general secretary, Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa, for a 25% wage rise for miners in the gold mines. Instead the chamber unilaterally gave all black miners pay increases of 13-14% on July 1st. Workers at several coal mines staged short strikes when the increase was announced. In one incident, a striking miner was shot dead.

The July 1st increase raised the minimum wage of underground black workers to R166 (\$102) a month. Surface workers were placed on a new minimum of R126 a month. The average pay of black miners of gold, coal and other metals in South Africa is about R316 a month.

It was estimated that the 25% increase sought by the union would cost the industry an extra R325m a year. The gold mines' net profits last year were R1.6 billion.

At the request of the two sides in the dispute, the government has appointed a conciliation board. Under South African labour law, if this fails to resolve a

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ernment education offices in Johannesburg and caused a blaze which gutted the building. No one was hurt in that blast. A week ago, five policemen were wounded when a limpet mine wrecked their offices in a western suburb of the city.

No one has claimed responsibility for the recent bomb attacks. The government usually blames the African National Congress, the main guerrilla group fighting against white rule in South Africa.

Controversial elections for South Africans of mixed race on Wednesday have sparked unrest among students, and the government has ar-

rested scores of protesters who called for a boycott of the voting.

The elections for a new Parliament excluded the country's 73 percent black majority and have been condemned by opponents of apartheid who say the proposals entrench racism.

In Pretoria, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis said today that the government had ac-

vised the state president to rule that the current white parliamentary chamber, elected in 1981 for a five-year term, should be considered as beginning its first session along with the Indian and mixed-race chambers next month.

AUGUST 24, 1984

S. Africa pleased with election results despite boycott by mixed-race voters

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (AP) — South Africa's mixed-race voters have given a cool response to the white government's offer of limited power-sharing. But the government said the low voter turnout to elect delegates to the first non-white chamber of Parliament was enough to legitimize the body.

Mixed-race voters elected 80 members to a new parliament with separate houses for people of mixed race, called coloreds, Asians and whites. Opponents, who say the separate chamber concept entrenches white domination in South Africa, boycotted the election.

The issue in Wednesday's elections, which were marred by scattered clashes between police and protesters, was not who won the seats but the voter turnout.

The government said the 30 percent turnout of registered voters was acceptable in light of what it called "intimidation" by boycotters. It had said before the vote that it would open the three-chamber parliament next month regardless of the turnout.

The United Democratic Front, a multi-racial coalition formed to fight the new system, claimed victory. Jonathan de Vries, secretary of the organization's branch in western Cape Province, said the government's estimate of a 30 percent turnout was based on registered

voters — 56 percent of the people of voting age among the 2.7 million mixed-race community. Therefore, the real turnout of eligible voters was 18 percent, he said.

Eighty-two percent of all so-called colored voters did not participate in the election. . . . No amount of election trickery and percentage juggling can hide the fact that this constitution does not have the support of the people," Mr. de Vries said.

A new constitution approved by white voters last year created the new chambers, but left the 166-member white assembly with power to veto actions by the other two, and failed to give voting rights to the nation's 22 million blacks, a huge majority of the population.

The Rev. Allan Hendrickse, whose mixed-race Labor Party won nearly every seat contested, said an acceptable percentage of mixed-race voters had shown they

agreed it was better to work for change from within than reject the government's token offering.

The government stripped mixed-race people of their right to vote in 1956. They

The 850,000 South Africans of Asian descent, who

elect their 40-member house August 29 in what is expected to be an even more heavily boycotted vote, have never had a national political voice.

AUGUST 30, 1984

South African Indians, Coloreds shun polls  
and new Parliament

The bulk of South Africa's Colored and Indian population groups appear to have concluded the white government's new tricameral Parliament is a sham reform.

More specifically, these groups apparently have concluded the new limited-power-sharing arrangement that makes them junior partners to whites in government is most important for what it does not do. It does not make any provision for the country's black majority:

Elections for nonwhite members of the new tricameral Parliament ended Tuesday with a barrage of rubber bullets, tear gas, stone-throwing, and baton charges and a trickle of voting.

Only about 20 percent of the registered Indian voters went to the polls Aug. 28, signaling an unambiguous rejection of the new Parliament, according to most political analysts here. Last week most Coloreds (persons of mixed race descent) also stayed away from the polls, with only 30 percent of those registered voting.

The poor voter turnouts will not deter the government. Minister of Internal Affairs F. W. de Klerk said after the Indian polling percentages were made public that the government regarded the Indian and Colored results as enough of a mandate to go ahead.

De Klerk blamed the disappointing voter turnouts in both elections on intimidation by organizations that urged a boycott and on lack of coverage by the news media. Other top government officials have said inexperience and ignorance about political participation in the Colored and Indian communities were factors.

However, other analysts say these elections were for the most part shunned because Indians and Coloreds perceive the government to be still pursuing an old strategy. The strategy is one of attempted co-optation, whereby the white government is searching for new allies against blacks.

Over the past 20 years the government has established toothless political bodies for Coloreds and Indians that were perceived by their constituents as part of this strategy.

These repeated co-optation attempts have allowed the boycott movement to crystallize into a significant political force, says Ebrahim Patel, an elections analyst at the University of Cape Town. The government's co-optation efforts have also made Coloreds and Indians suspicious of anything the government offers. They produce large-scale alienation among even the moderates in both communities, he argues. 4

The growing effectiveness of the boycott movement is evident. The government established the Colored Persons Representative Council in 1968 as an advisory body. But in elections in 1969 and 1975, most Coloreds did not vote. The CPRC was eventually disbanded for lack of any meaningful support in the Colored community.

The South African Indian Council, an advisory body set

up by the government, also fared poorly at the polls in its first election in 1981. A little more than 10 percent of the registered Indian voters cast ballots. That body also has been disbanded.

The new tricameral legislature being introduced in South Africa offers Coloreds and Indians more power than was the case in either the CPRC or the Indian Council. Under the new system, Coloreds, Indi-

ans, and whites

will take seats in

separate cham-

bers in Parlia-

ment. Whites

will retain ulti-

mate control.

But Indians and

Coloreds will have more power to decide

on matters strictly related to their own communities. U

Critics see the new system primarily as

a step toward cooperating with whites in

the implementation of apartheid, the cen-

tral aim being to continue to exclud-

blacks from any meaningful political

ts.

Ngiflâ\200\231afel says Coloreds and Indians find this repugnant because they have been victims of apartheid, albeit less so than blacks.

Another factor is the calculation by many Coloreds and Indians that angering blacks is to their long-term detriment, assuming blacks will one day form the government of South Africa. Indians are in a particularly dicey situation, with the bulk of them living in the Natal Province, which also contains some 5 million Zulus.

The Indian election was marred by small-scale riots and clashes between police and Indians opposed to the election. The Solidarity and National People's parties won most of the 40 seats at stake.

Not surprisingly, antinuclear activists are horrified. But their inability to stall the program has been matched by their declining influence.

A few weeks ago, they were only able to muster a few dozen people to protest the construction of the controversial Malville Breeder reactor plant near Lyon.

The Mont Louis accident may change the French view of nuclear power. Banner headlines have brought the nuclear issue back into the public consciousness.

By acting responsibly, only releasing information when it had verified the facts, the ecologists have gained respectability:.

International pressure may even cause the French government to budge.

The Belgian government has formally expressed its displeasure with the initial French silence on the matter. And British and French unions have called for an end to nuclear maritime transport.

Pressure is sure to grow if further complications result from the accident. Divers will begin retrieving the containers of radioactive material later this week. The operation could take as long as three weeks. Meanwhile, regular samplings of water in the area are to be taken as a precaution that no contamination spreads. If it does, the French antinuclear movement is bound to spread as well.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

AUGUST 29, 1984

### A 7th Liberian Is Linked to Plot

MONROVIA, Liberia, Aug. 28 (AP)  
The acting chief of a new opposition party surrendered today to the military Government, becoming the seventh prominent Liberian arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the head of state, Gen. Samuel K. Doe.

The politician, Dusty Wolokolie, the acting chairman of the Liberian People's Party, was accompanied to the Justice Ministry by two church leaders, according to the Anglican Archbishop, Gedrgé Browne.

The church has protested reported disappearances and the sudden wave of arrests since Aug. 19, when General Doe returned home early from a European trip amid rumors of a coup plot.

The political crisis has created considerable tension in this West African nation of 1.9 million people, as well as concern among major aid donors and trading partners.

### Envoys Ask About Clash

A group of Western ambassadors met Liberia's acting Foreign Minister, Christopher Minikon, to ask about a clash last Wednesday between troops and students at the University of Monrovia, diplomatic sources said.

They also said Edward Perkins, the ranking State Department official concerned with West Africa, came here for two days of consultations with the American Embassy staff immediately after the university violence, in which 74 people were reported injured,

The United States has provided \$77 million in aid this year to Liberia, which was founded by freed American slaves.

Mr. Wolokolie and Anthony Kesselly, the party secretary, received orders from the Government late Monday to surrender. Mr. Kesselly's whereabouts

TIME, SEPTEMBER 3, 1984

SOUTH AFRICA  
Hue and Cry

Colored voters get a small voice



A partheid, South Africa's system of racial separation, is designed to keep blacks and whites far apart in education, employment, public accommodations and even sex, which is outlawed across racial lines. Before the sex barriers were drawn, however, South Africa had developed a mixed-race group or, as South Africans call them, "coloreds." They now number 2.8 million of the country's 31 million people. For the first time, South Africa's dominant minority of 4.7 million whites has taken a step toward giving coloreds a real voice, though small, in the political process.

In nationwide elections last week, colored citizens chose from among 207 candidates to fill the 80 elective seats in a new, all-colored chamber of the South African legislature. The government called the election "satisfactory," but the modest turnout of only 30% of registered voters led opponents to declare it a failure and many coloreds to wonder whether their votes would speed the eventual dismantling of apartheid or ensure its survival.

Under a constitution approved overwhelmingly by white voters last Novem-

ber, the United Nations Security Council, with the U.S. and Britain abstaining, last week condemned the new South African constitution as "null and void."

Within South Africa, antiapartheid groups principally the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.), a multiracial coalition of some 600 South African union, church, cultural, sports and community organizations called for a boycott of the polls. On election day, 624,000 colored students at more than 70 schools and universities stayed home in protest. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of South Africa's 5.5 million Zulus, the country's largest black ethnic bloc, hinted ominously of possible black reprisals against those who voted. Said he: "We feel betrayed because so many of our colored and Indian brothers and sisters are rushing forward with their tongues hanging out to endorse the white rejection of us." Indeed, in the one-month election campaign that preceded the vote, colored political meetings were disrupted, and the homes of several colored candidates were fire-bombed. South African security forces responded by detaining 152 people the day before the balloting.

When the results were tallied, some 270,000 coloreds had voted, or roughly the same as the most conservative pre-election prediction. The U.D.F., howev-

ere not known, but he too was ex-

pected to give himself up, Archbishop Browne said.

At the same time, the authorities reported the arrests of the Government's No. 3 official, Maj. Gen. Nicholas Poddier, the Speaker of the Assembly, and his uncle, Isaac Nyeplu, a former Justice Minister who had been considered General Doe's right-hand man. Mr. Nyeplu had surrendered last week and said at a news conference his nephew had informed him of a coup plot, which he reported to authorities.

General Doe, 34 years old, was a master sergeant when he seized power in a military coup four years ago.

The Interim National Assembly, which replaced General Doe's ruling People's Redemption Council last month, announced that it would meet Wednesday to discuss important state matters.

Last week, General Doe said the plot was led by Amos Sawyer, a university professor and chairman of the Liberia People's Party, one of 10 political groups founded in the last month to contest elections promised for 1985.

General Doe said the conspiracy involved various strategies to disrupt the Government, spreading lies to cause panic, creating divisions between General Doe and the army, blowing up important buildings and, if all else failed, setting fire to the capital, Monrovia.

Mr. Sawyer's arrest sparked the clashes between troops and protesting students at the University of Monrovia. The Government said soldiers fired into the air to disperse students, but witnesses said the troops fired into a crowd.

To quell rumors that some students are unaccounted for, possibly even fatally wounded, the Information Ministry announced that anyone who has a relative who has been missing since the campus incident should freely and fearlessly contact it or the Justice Ministry with a full description of the person and a photograph.

The Washington Times  
AUGUST 29, 1984

Tigray rebels claim gains  
KHARTOUM, Sudan The Tigray People's Liberation Front, a group fighting for the independence of the Ethiopian province of Tigray, claimed to have inflicted heavy casualties on government troops over

the past few weeks.

A military communique issued here by the front Monday said 583 Ethiopian troops were killed, 404 wounded, and 132 taken prisoner in engagements that took place in Tigray during the past few weeks, and extended to the neighboring provinces of Wollo and Gondar.

The communique added that in the first week of this month, the rebel forces waged a two-hour battle with government troops, and took over the town of Hugumburda on the road linking the capital, Addis Ababa, with the town of Makelle. The rebels later repulsed government troops sent to retake the town, it said. The communique claimed that 140 Ethiopian troops were killed and 36 wounded in the clashes.

ber, the new legislature consists of three er, noted that many coloreds were so chambers: one for whites, one for col- contemptuous of the election that they oreds and one for South Africaâ\200\231s 850,000 declined. even to register. Despite that citizens of Indian origin. Whites will re- skepticism, colored candidates insisted tain almost total control of legislation, that the vote would ultimately benefit but coloreds and Indians will be allowed the black majority. â\200\234We are going into to pass bills that would affect them as Parliament to dismantle apartheid,â\200\235 racial groups. Proponents of the new declared the Rev.â\200\235 Allan Hendrickse, system point to it as evidence that the whose Labor Party won 76 of the 80 government of Prime Minister Pieter W. seats. â\200\234I want to become part of the Botha is serious about its promises of process of change.â\200\235 Whether it leads to political reform. But because the coun- change or not, the process is certain to tryâ\200\231s 23 million blacks are completely continue: elections for the 40-seat Indi- excluded from the new Parliament, an chamber are scheduled for this week. some critics regard it as a divide-and- The two new bodies will officially take conquer strategy to set blacks against their place alongsideâ\200\224or, rather, be- coloreds and Indians. The United Na- lowâ\200\224the white legislature on Sept. 4. Â®

THE WASHINGTON POST

Angolan Rebels Press Military

Drive, Seek to Force Govern=

August 28, 1984

ment Into Talks

By Robert . Rosenthal  
Knight-Ridder

JAMBA, Angolaâ\200\224From a secure base in the bushlands of southeast-ern Angola, South African-sup-Jported rebels now appear capable of waging military action nationwide in their nine-year struggle against the Soviet- and Cuban-backed govern-ment of Angola.

ANGOLA

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NAMIBIA BOTSWANA

By Dave Cook.â\200\224The Washington Post

Leaders of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebel movement say their plan is to become strong enough to force President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to change his mind and ne-gotiate a settlement to the civil war. UNITA wants Cuban forces withdrawn and a role in national government.

If the strategy fails, the rebels plan to stay in the bush, nipping at joint government-Cuban positions, and the long stalemate that has drained the coffers of both sides and wreaked destruction on the coun-tryside will continue.

The rebelsâ\200\231 reach now extends occasionally even to the capital, Lu-anda. Two foreign ships visiting the seaport there recently werÃ© dam-aged by mines planted in the harbor by guerrillas working fer UNITA.

The repeis also have claimed

credit for attacks during the week of Aug. 12 that destroyed power stations in suburbs of Luanda. That same week, UNITA 'said 108 government troops and eight Cubans

were killed in four days of fighting. UNITA losses were put at 12 dead and 25 wounded.

American and European diplomats in Kinshasa, Zaire, say that while UNITA has made military gains and inflicted crippling economic damage, it is highly unlikely it will win an outright military victory. With no embassy in Luanda, the United States has made Kinshasa its major listening post for Angola.

â\200\234If things get really bad in Luanda and the [government] is about to go down, the Cubans and Russians will just up their stake,â\200\235 a western diplomat in Kinshasa said recently: â\200\234UNITA can keep pushing, but we think the only way there can be peace is through some sort of political compromise.â\200\235

Compromise might suit Jonas Savimbi, who directs UNITAâ\200\231s operations from a bunker complex in Jamba, a village of 10,000 built by the rebels to accommodate their forces in southeastern Angola: But dos Santos, who heads the ruling MPLA party, or the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, has indicated he will not negotiate with Savimbi, his chief political rival since the early days when they were both fighting the Portuguese, .

Savimbi said in a recent interview that he was willing to negotiate with the MPLA government. The 50-year-old rebel leader said he would accept a ministerial assignment in any government of national unity but that he would not participate in such a government as long as one Cuban remained in Angola.

â\200\234UNITA is a liberation struggle,â\200\235 Savimbi said, â\200\234We will continue to fight until the foreigners have left our country. We did not get rid of one colonial master, the Portuguese, to trade them for another.â\200\235

Savimbi seemed assured as he talked last month about a steady

flow of weaponry and about his relationship with South Africaâ\200\224aalthough dos Santos calls him â\200\234a puppetâ\200\235-â\200\234of the apartheid regime. Savimbi said that while he is totally

opposed to apartheid, he has no choice but to deal with the South Africans. His struggle, he said, is aimed. at driving the Cubans and Soviets out of Angola.

Continued on Pg. 15

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
Augu\_stâ\200\23128. 1984

New Angolan  
Fighting Stalls  
U.S. Peace Plan

By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KINSHASA, Zaireâ\200\224Refugees from An-  
golaâ\200\224many wounded or suffering from  
malnutrition and all weary of the fighting  
thereâ\200\224are on the rise, a reminder that  
prospects for peace in Angola have faded  
since last spring.

Â©Kinshasa

ZAIRE

ANGOLA

1

NAMIBIA  
(S. W. Africa)

Atlantic- BOTSWANA  
Ocean

201  
Miles

Fighting between the Angolan government, backed by Cuban troops, and the Angolan rebels who have been getting aid from South Africa actually has spread recently, to the north. Hostilities previously had been mostly in the south and south-east.

Some months ago, American officials were hopeful that Angola would join Mozambique and Swaziland in the lengthening list of black African nations willing to make peace with South Africa. U.S. State Department officials mediating between Angola and South Africa had secured an agreement in principle for a progressive disengagement of foreign troops from Angolan soil.

The hope was that a phased withdrawal of South African troops would persuade Angola to send home the 25,000 Cuban troops and technical advisors giving it aid. Defusing the Angolan conflict would have provided the Reagan administration with a substantive foreign-policy achievement.

Some progress was made. South Africa withdrew its forces to a corridor about 25 miles deep in south Angola. But Angola and South Africa have been unable to complete the disengagement of their forces.

Continued on Pg. 15

THE WASHINGTON POST

, August 26, 1984

Habre Tightens Grip

Chad's Government

THE WASHINGTON POST

eruption Tyial Rivets

Ivory Coast

Sunday, August 26, 1984

e R T

By Abakar Assidikh

Reuter

NDJAMENA, Chad's 24th year after

French troops came to Chad to check a Libyan-backed rebel offensive in the north, President Hissene Habre is profiting from a lull in the war to tighten his grip on the south, according to diplomatic analysts.

Following last year's rebel drive, which was stopped by the dispatch of about 3,200 French paratroopers, the Central African country has been split into a rebel-held north and the south, which is controlled by the government and the French.

Habre, confident that France will not pull its troops out of Chad while the rebels and their Libyan allies remain in the desert north, is using the current military stalemate to restore administrative and economic machinery in the south, which has traditionally been hostile to the northern-born leader.

In June, he used the northern-dominated ruling party, the Chadian National Liberation Front, to set up the more representative National Union for Independence and Revolution. The party has since been dissolved.

Two of the three political groups that merged to form the National Union are dominated by southerners, and the analysts said creation of the new party would raise Habre's standing in the cotton-rich south and reinforce his claim to be the leader of all Chad in any future talks on ending the 18-year-old civil war.

Reconciliation talks are slated for Brazzaville, the capital of the Congo, but are unlikely to take place as long as Habre insists that he is the country's national leader and not the head of one of its warring factions, the analysts said.

Peace talks sponsored by the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa in January failed to start because Habre felt



he was being put on a footing equal with rebel leader Goukouni Oueddei, his pro-Libyan arch-rival.

Habre, taking advantage of the fact that he is firmly entrenched in the capital and is receiving large aid transfers from France, as well as military support, can play a waiting game, the analysts said.

In Paris, French officials say they still want a negotiated settlement but will keep troops in Chad until Libyan units there leave. Libya denies having troops in Chad.

French Defense Minister Charles Hernu said this month that the military operation was intended to prevent the rebels from capturing the capital, to end the fighting and to create conditions for a peace settlement.

He said another major concern was to demonstrate France's military commitment

By Howard French  
Special to The Washington Post

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast—An ongoing corruption trial in the Ivory Coast has captured the attention of the entire country, and is being used by the government of 79-year-old President Felix Houphouet-Boigny as a warning that the country can no longer afford the extravagant practices of its elites.

The trial involves former officials of various state housing authorities, who have been charged with the embezzlement and theft of millions of dollars in government funds. The defendants include two former ministers, the husband of another minister, French expatriates and officials from three state-owned or -sponsored housing agencies.

The issue of corruption in public housing arose out of a strike by university professors in 1983 over the abrupt withdrawal of generous government housing subsidies. At the same time, the Ivorian government was under pressure from the World Bank to cut back expenditures.

Authorities then discovered that the public-housing sector repeatedly had incurred large spending overruns that were not reflected in the state budget.

The teachers felt that they had been singled out to feel the brunt of the budget-cutting austerity measures. The professors' strike proved to be one of the most serious political

crises faced by Houphouet-Boigny, who has ruled the country since independence in 1960.

Secondary school teachers, students, doctors and architects expressed their support for the professors, who alleged that budget overruns were due to embezzlement.

Houphouet-Boigny finally put down the strike through a combination of stern warnings and promises of a complete investigation of the teachers' allegations.

After 13 months of investigation,

during which time not a word was published on the subject, the normally docile government-owned press has been giving extensive coverage to the trial, calling it 'the case of the century.'

The accused have been charged with renting fictitious houses to the state, fraudulently raising rents and creating false bills for goods and services never delivered. The husband of the former minister of women's affairs allegedly billed the state over \$1 million for a door frame, lock and key.

The Ivorian public has followed the trial with a mixture of contentment and incredulity. The trial comes at a time of uncertainty for this West African country. Development strategies that had given its 8 million inhabitants an economic growth rate that averaged 6 percent annually for 20 years are being reconsidered.

Since 1980, the Ivory Coast economy has shrunk, due to a collapse in commodity prices for its principal exports, cocoa and coffee, that coincided with loans falling due. The borrowing had made possible the development of transportation and communications facilities unparalleled in the region. It also had fostered an insouciant class of fat cats, known locally as grotos, with habits as ostentatious as the source of their wealth was mysterious.

In the past, blatantly corrupt officials have, at most, been dismissed, but this trial seems to signal a changed attitude. Press reports of the proceedings seem almost to have been tailored to please the average citizen, whose disposable income and standard of living

have been seriously eroded over the past few years. However, a bank employe in Abidjan seemed to sum up popular sentiment when he said, "This is only a show . . . . If it were serious, who would go untouched?"

to friendly African countries in a crisis.

So far France has lost 11 servicemen in Chad—nine soldiers killed when a bomb exploded during a desert patrol, one pilot killed when his Jaguar jet plane was shot down and another killed in an accident, according to official French accounts.

Hernu has tried to allay fears that French troops would become trapped in a Vietnam-

style conflict. "It must be known that the French Army is not bogged down. We are not an army of invaders," he said..

The government's commitment apparently is not shared by the French public. The last newspaper opinion poll on the issue, published in April, said 58 percent of the respondents wanted French troops put of Chad while only 21 percent felt they should remain.

THE WASHINGTON POST

1August 27, 1984 CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR AUGUST 24,

Divided Cameroon

Fights to Keep Its

Pieces Joined

By Howard French  
Special to The Washington Post

DOUALA, Cameroonâ\200\224A debate.  
,over secondary school qualifying  
exams has aroused Cameroonâ\200\231s  
English-speaking minority, sharply  
illustrating the delicacy required of  
government in the maintenance of a  
fragile national unity in this Central  
African nation.

Late last year, Anglophone stu-  
dents at Cameroonâ\200\231s national uni-  
versity, located in the capital,  
Yaounde, vigorously protested a  
plan to modify the British-inspired  
general certificate examination  
used in English-language schools,  
adopting the model of the French-  
inspired baccalaureate, used in the  
rest of the country.

Cameroon is the only African  
country to use both English and  
French as official languages, the  
legacy of the 1972 union between  
former British and French colonies  
under the stern rule of former pres-  
ident Ahmadou Ahidjo.

Since the founding of the United

Republic of Cameroon, many An-  
glophones have complained of Fran-  
cophone dominance. A prominent  
Anglophone lawyer charged, â\200\234All of  
our leaders were bought out and co-  
opted under Ahidjo. The highest po-  
sition allowed us is the utterly cer-  
emonial post of president of the Na-  
tional Assembly.â\200\235

Ahidjo is a Moslem from northern  
Cameroon, which is largely peopled  
by the Hausa and Fulani ethnic  
groups. When President Paul Biya  
came to power in November 1982,  
following the voluntary retirement  
of Ahidjo, Cameroonâ\200\231s Anglophones  
were greatly encouraged by the  
new presidentâ\200\231s tour of their two  
western provinces.

Biya addressed his English-  
speaking audiences in English at an  
event without precedent in Cam-

eroonian politics. His use of the themes of rigor and moralization led many Anglophones to believe that they were finally to receive the attention from the national government that they felt they deserved, -

A controversial editorial in one of

Cameroon's English-language newspapers reflected Anglophone

concerns, urging Biya to allow for an equitable sharing of the national cake, including a place at the table for the bakers. A reference to the fact that Cameroon's oil resources are largely concentrated off the coast of the Anglophone southwest province.

To the dismay of Cameroon's Anglophones, who make up one quarter of the total population of 8 million, Biya's nearly two years in office have been marked by a bitter struggle with his predecessor, in which national unity has been severely tested.

Ahidjo, who retained leadership of the country's sole political party, the Cameroon National Union, when he handed over the presidency to Biya, later was accused of trying to engineer a return to power. Ahidjo was sentenced to death in absentia early this year, following the discovery of a coup plot he allegedly ordered in April.

In a conciliatory gesture, for which he was subsequently criticized, Biya later reduced the sentences of the plotters.

The revolt known locally as the events of April 6 was launched by Biya's presidential guard and was crushed at the cost of numerous lives in the capital, Yaounde.

The national army quickly rallied to the president's support against the praetorian force composed mainly of soldiers from Ahidjo's native northern region.

Ahidjo's greatest sin, in the eyes of most Cameroonians, was provoking regional and tribal tensions. Cameroon is, for its size, arguably the most ethnically and geographically diverse country in Africa, and easily lends itself to textbook examples of the tribal and religious schisms that have made African countries so difficult to govern.

However, before the presidential clash, the country had earned a reputation for long stability and rapid economic growth, leading many to cite it as one of Africa's rare suc-

cess stories. Cameroon's wealth re-

maximized based on a dy-

namic agricultural sector and modernization.  
Continued on Pg.

16

1984

## Challenge in Morocco

cord of union signed Aug. 13 by the leaders of

Libya and Morocco stirred a few ripples but has since been largely ignored by a world concerned with apparently more urgent matters including the possibility that a Libyan ship was the source of mines in the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez.

But this new link between Morocco's King Hassan II and Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi is a setback for Reagan administration policy in North Africa and the Middle East. If lasting and it must be noted that previous unions announced by Colonel Qaddafi with Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, Chad, and the Sudan never became effective the consequences could be serious.

Under President Reagan the United States has built a relationship with Morocco that amounts to an alliance.

The US has furnished Morocco both economic and military aid and in turn has been given the right to use facilities in that country as transit bases for the Rapid Deployment Force. American military advisers and technology have played a major role in training Moroccan troops involved in an eight-year conflict with Polisario rebels in the Western Sahara.

With the loss of its bases in Iran, with uncertainty about the attitude of Spain's socialist government on continued American use of bases there, and with Egypt's need not to be too closely tied to the US, the availability of the Moroccan facilities has been considered very important, if not vital.

In the wake of announcement of the union, US officials who were surprised at the timing if not the pact itself are reserving comment, but they are said to have been in touch with officials in Rabat.

A pause for pro forma ratification votes in both countries in early September provides time for the US and other nations to consider their options.

If the Libya-Morocco union is disturbing news in Washington, it must be equally unsettling for members of the Organization of African Unity who have been trying to get Hassan's government to negotiate with the Polisario forces.

Relations between the Arab nations of North Africa shift like the Sahara's sands, and past major-power agreements with those nations have had the instability of houses built on sand. Algeria, whose 700-mile girth splits the new union, is at odds with Morocco over the Western Sahara matter and would like King Hassan to negotiate with the Polisario. \_

In July of 1983, Libya's Qaddafi visited Morocco for the first time in 14 years and got Hassan to agree to a joint communiqué resolving to settle the Sahara conflict through the OAU. Now it appears that Hassan may have won the Libyan support for continuation of the struggle in Western Sahara in exchange for the union and perhaps support of Qaddafi's dispute in Chad.

It may be too much to hope when new Libyan motives, whatever Qaddafi's motives, might be the catalyst for a settlement of the Western Sahara conflict. But stranger things have happened in the area.

Meanwhile, it is difficult to see how the presence of US tanks and other military supplies in Morocco and the neighboring country can exist side by side with a Libyan-Moroccan union.

It's a delicate diplomatic challenge for a Re administration that has had few successes in

Mokl Ao Al s Al . ' e i

LIKE a stone thrown into the Mediterranean, an ac-

flos Angeles Jimes

GUINEA:

CONAKRY, Guineaâ\200\224Morlai Yatisane 'is an old man of 72, and nearly blind now, but he hopes he has begun -to see the light in his country.â\200\235

Thirty' years ago, before independence came to Guinea, Yansane had a banana plantation outside Conakry, and he sold his produce to French traders. He was on his way to becoming, by Guinean standards, arich man.

But theh came independence and the â\200\234Pan-African socialismâ\200\235 of President Sekou Toure, and that, as it unfolded year by year, ended whatever dreams Yansane had of beebming a4 wealthy man. It be- came, in fact, a political crime to be successf(iâ\200\231in Guinea. Like almost everything' else here, Yansaneâ\200\231s banana plintation withered, mak- ing its own negative contribution to the dismal national statistics accu- mulating- under Toureâ\200\231s rule. In 1960, two years after inde- pengencÂ¥, Guinea produced 100,000 tons of bananas; in 1982, it pro- duced 162'tons.

Toure is'dead now, and entombed with him are 26 years of promises about a revolution â\200\234for the people.â\200\235 Like most other Guineans, Yansane has felt the lifting of a weight. The skin crinkles around his clouded eyes as he smiles and says mildly,

â\200\234To preach something and practice it are not the same thing.â\200\235

Toure died March 26 in a Cleve- land clinic, where he had been taken for emergency surgery. He was 62 years old and was at the time Africaâ\200\231s longest sitting head of state. He was also one of Africaâ\200\231s most notable tyrants, and when, three days after his lavish funeral, a military coup wrested control of the government from his heirs and political followers, there was danc- ing in the streets of Conakry.

A military government headed by Col. Lansana Conte has been in power for four months. It has emptied the jails of political prison- ers, and at least 200,000 Guinean refugees, according to.a U.N. agen- cy, have streamed back into the country. More are on the way. The revolutionary propaganda has been



taken off the national radio fi-\202d  
television, and writers are at last  
free to write.

â\200\234We are having an orgy of free  
speech,â\200\235 a Guinean journalist said.  
â\200\234It almost makes us dizzy.â\200\235

lems.

August 23, 1984

Nation Is Emerging From Failure of  
Tourea\200\231s â\200\230Revolutionâ\200\231

By CHARLES T. POWERS, Time.

Guinea has renewed its contacts year, is running well behind its ho'lvâ\200\230vv?fze)â\200  
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with the outside, especially with spending, leading to a \$200-million ment began agmbdest )  
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ground on the run, sprinting to be ' The new government has indi- yisitors,â\200\235 an offi  
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said. â\200\234They're checking out the The prime minister in the new . "o " Â¢ Toure and  
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opportunities.â\200\235 regime, Col. Diara Traore, has been g\ o6 Nkrumah of Ghana) Fe::â  
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cern said. â\200\234They need everything ; NI unmolested in a neighborhood fa-  
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want to start a trash collection mainly for education, agriculture ,jo.qy e y  
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doit.â\200\235

Guinea has rich mineral re-  
sources, particularly iron ore and  
bauxite, but they have been devel-  
oped in a closed system that seems  
10 have had little beneficial effect

â\200\234Our education system was a Most of City a Slum  
disgrace,â\200\235 Ansoumane Bangoura, The rest of Conakry is not SO  
an official of the Ministry of Infor- lucky. For a city its sizeâ\200\224some-  
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and roadside stands, private busi- ouernment has also legalized pri- craters, unrepaired f  
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IR OVer: a dispute with the Roman Catholic taken on the uniform color of the  
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l er's banana plantation. â\200\234We are

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But before such enterprises get

under way, Guinea will have to

new government were trained in 5

the Soviet, Union or other East Bloc ) & 26 years, and we are not  
make progress on some basic prob-  
Its income from exports,

nations. any more. We are willing to make  
sacrifices for progress as long as we  
Signs of Change  
between \$350 and \$400 million 2  
9

are no longer asked to sacrifice our  
There have been signs of change, freedom.â\200\235

THE WASHINGTON POST

## Sudanese Rebels Say They Killed 274

Soldiers  
in Riverboat Raid

By Loren Jenkins  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Aug. 29—Southern Sudanese guerrillas have attacked a troop-carrying riverboat for the second time this year in the growing secessionist war against Sudanese President Jafaar Nimeri, according to reports reaching here today.

According to statements by the Sudan People's Liberation Army, 274 of the 390 soldiers being ferried up the Sobat River, a major Nile tributary near the Ethiopian border, were killed in yesterday's attack on the river steamer Arak.

A statement issued by the Sudanese military command in the capital of Khartoum today acknowledged that the Arak had been ambushed but denied the guerrillas' casualty figure, stating that only four soldiers had been slightly injured.

When the guerrilla group last claimed to have attacked a steamer with troops in the same region in February, the Sudanese gov-

ernment eventually admitted that 80 persons had been killed.

The news of yesterday's attack was seen by diplomats here as an indicator of the extent of the troubles facing Nimeri's 15-year-old rule of Africa's largest country.

One of Nimeri's most praised achievements was the agreement he negotiated in 1972 to end the nine-year-old secessionist war that had pitted the country's basically Moslem north against the Christian and animist south. The settlement enabled the country to concentrate on economic development instead of spending its meager resources on fighting the secessionists.

But that settlement, which gave the south a measure of autonomy and increased southern representation in the central government in Khartoum, began to unravel last year when Nimeri sought to redivide the south into three more easily controlled provinces and unilaterally decided to revise the 1972 accords.

The further decision last year to impose a system of Islamic law called sharia throughout the country, and thus over non-Moslem southerners, increased the sense of

betrayal felt in the south, especially after several Christians had hands lopped off as sharia law dictates for the punishment of thievery.

The revived southern revolt, when coupled with serious political unrest reported in the Moslem north, is seen by diplomats

here as seriously threatening the stability of Nimeri's increasingly dictatorial regime.

The new southern revolt became a significant factor again in Sudanese politics in May 1983 when southern troops of the Sudanese Army mutinied in the garrison town of Bor. The Bor mutiny of the Army's 105th Battalion split the armed forces in the south, leading some of its best officers and troops to join the guerrilla groups that were just reorganizing. .

Knowledgeable diplomats here say that no defection meant more to the revolt than that of Col. John Garang, a PhD in economics from Iowa State University who is credited with great organizing capabilities, military expertise and respect in the south. Intelligence sources here said Garang is now the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which claimed yesterday's attack on the Arak.

The rebel communique announcing the ambush of the Arak stated that the attack was led by Maj. John Kong, who had defected to the guerrillas with Garang after the Bor uprising in 1983.

According to the rebels' statement, the Arak was attacked 190 miles southeast of the Nile River city of Malakal on its way up the Sobat River with 390 troops, military rations and ammunition.

The statement said that 274 of the troops on deck had been killed in the ambush and counted when the guerrillas took control of the Arak and brought it ashore to unload its

cargo for transport to guerrilla bases. The rest of the troops, the communique said, either drowned by jumping overboard or escaped into the dense forest along the river's edge and were being hunted down. The ship was set afire, according to the rebels, after its cargo was unloaded.

The attack was to demonstrate to Nimeri that he is not in control of the area he claimed, the rebel statement said. Nimeri had been scheduled to make a trip into Upper Nile Province, through which the Sobat River runs, next month.

The rebellion has already halted the construction of a vital pipeline for oil reserves discovered in the south whose exploitation is critical to Sudan's impoverished econo-

my. Attacks on foreign oil workers and on French construction workers building a canal to divert upper Nile waters to arid northern Sudan and upper Egypt have also stopped work and helped cripple Nimeria's economic development plans. \*A

10

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,  
August 29, 1984

World Bank Report  
Criticizes Policies

Of African Rulers

By ART PINE  
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—A new World Bank report sharply criticizes government economic policies in sub-Saharan Africa and warns that the region won't be able to overcome its poverty until these are changed.

The internal document blames the region's decline on a combination of faulty economic and social policies, as well as overpopulation. The bad economic policies range from over-involvement by African governments in agriculture and business to excessive government subsidies and mis-spending on costly, badly planned white elephant projects.

The report also flatly denies the widely held belief that sub-Saharan Africa has suffered more than other regions because of a lack of adequate investment. Rather, it shows that through the 1970s, sub-Saharan Africa was not short of investment compared to either its own record in the 1960s or the average of the lower-income South Asian countries. :

The 64-page document was prepared for use by World Bank directors at the bank's annual meeting here the week of Sept. 24. Bank President A. W. Clausen is expected to propose an increase in loan money for sub-Saharan countries, and the World Bank is planning to strengthen its efforts to coordinate financing for the region.

However, the report recommends that richer countries also step up their pressure on sub-Saharan governments to overhaul their economic policies. It urges tying both World Bank loans and their own bilateral foreign aid to specific policy reforms, and proposed that donor countries coordinate their aid more closely to make sure they aren't working at cross-purposes.

The bank hasn't yet said how much more money it will seek for loans to the sub-Saharan region. The area, which comprises 39 developing countries below the North Afri-

can rim that includes Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, is considered the world's poorest.

The document says the recovery seems largely to have bypassed the region, which has been suffering from severe drought for the past two years. One estimate in the report suggests the region may need \$2 billion more a year in aid and loans just to keep current.

However, it's uncertain whether the richer industrial countries that provide the money for the World Bank's lending efforts will be willing to support any major new initiatives. The U.S., for example, already is considering its own package of increased aid for the region. Also, at least part of the new loan pool assembled for the International Development Association, a World Bank affiliate that makes no-interest loans to poor

Continued on page 16

## THE ECONOMIST

For once, some good news. Agricultural advances promise eventually to eradicate malnutrition from the world as surely as medical advances have eradicated smallpox. From India to Mexico, the green revolution is on the move again. It has started to move out from the verdant ghettos, where critics said it was being confined, into the brown lands. Can this green revolution be exported to Africa, which has replaced the Indian subcontinent as the world's begging bowl?

In the mid-1960s, agricultural scientists invented miracle varieties of rice and wheat which grew two to five times faster than ordinary ones. These new crops spread all over south-eastern Asia and parts of India and Latin America. They grew properly, however, only where there were constant supplies of irrigated water and where farmers could rely on getting supplies of fertilisers and pesticides in the right quantities and (most important) at the right time.

These conditions were fulfilled during 1950-70 in

newly-industrialising Taiwan and South Korea. They were fulfilled even more spectacularly during 1967-72 in Punjab in north-western India, when wheat output increased by an annual average 14%—one of the fastest periods of agricultural growth ever seen in any country anywhere.

Ah, said the critics, these were special cases. In South Korea and Taiwan, the green revolution was led by enterprising smallholders because the power of feudal landlords had been broken by defeat in war. In Punjab, new strains of wheat—a grain which only a minority of Indians then ate—were enthusiastically adopted because Sikh farmers started rich and saved heavily, and because the climate was uniform, the soil fertile and water readily available. The revolution, noted the critics, stopped when it reached areas where these conditions were not fulfilled—which unfortunately then meant most of the developing world.

These doubters are being confounded. During the past few years, scientists have been discovering high-yielding seeds that grow on a variety of different soils, including those that depend on rain not irrigation. India's current agricultural surge is being led by the rice-bowl states of Orissa and Bihar, two of the subcontinent's poorest areas. Shortage of money remains a problem but not an insurmountable one. Subsistence peasants find or borrow the money they need to buy fertiliser or new seeds when they are convinced this will produce a surplus that they can sell at a profit.

This has worked even in parts of Africa. In Kenya agricultural output in the past few years has grown as fast as it did in the newly-industrialising countries of Asia during their period of fastest agricultural growth. Africa, though, is experiencing a population explosion. Even in Kenya the rapid growth in food output has failed to keep up with the number of babies being born. In other parts of the continent things are much worse: population is growing and agricultural output is not. Food output per acre rose 1% in Africa during the 1970s, against 26% in Asia and 10% in Latin America.

Three things make it harder to bring the green revolu-



tion to Africa than anywhere else: misbegotten economic policies, the climate, and the sad fact that motivated peasants are scarce in a continent where the most enterprising young men migrate to the cities and leave their wives to till the land in the time they can spare from looking after the very young and the very

Green revolutions bud

AUGUST 25, 1984

old. Overcoming these problems may be less difficult than conventional pessimism allows. but not by much. In economic policy-making, the trouble is not so much that Africa's politicians are incompetent and venal (though they are sometimes both). It is that so many of them come out of their country's urban elite and seek to protect the living standards of the urban masses by keeping food costs low through subsidies and price controls. In consequence, farmers grow only for their families, not for the market. There is mass immigration into the cities, and the country has to import food from industrial countries if it can afford it

or to beg food from the aid agencies if it cannot.

On climate, Africa's curse is that rainfall may vary widely within small areas and that the rains come irregularly, when at all. In many areas, this makes it impossible to sell the kind of service that works so well in the Punjab, where agricultural extension workers can travel all over the state giving farmers the same advice and distributing packages containing the same new seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. Drought is a more intractable problem. The green revolution requires long-term investment. When drought can bring ruin, as it has in southern Africa where the rains have failed for three consecutive seasons, farmers are too obsessed about getting by from season to season to think about long-term ways of improving their yields.

Governments make matters worse by failing to see that organising agricultural change through a big, centrally-planned bureaucracy puts the greatest possi-

ble responsibility on the scarcest possible resource's expert knowledge and technical experience. Research is not quite as rudimentary as is sometimes claimed in Africa, where nearly a fifth of all the developing world's agricultural research money is spent. But that money is usually spent less efficiently than elsewhere.

To keep the enterprising on the land, African politicians need to overcome their bias to the poor in rural policy making. In seeds and fertilisers, centuries of rural conservatism can be conquered by making new varieties available, free at first, to those few farmers that are prepared to use them, so that their crops excite envy and emulation by others. Awkwardly, the farmers prepared to take the risk of switching to new mealies are usually those that have the most land, because they can afford the risk of failure. Hand-outs to the comparatively well-off stick in the gullet of many African governments. Result: malnutrition.

The Washington Times AUGUST 27, 1984

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## Sudanese emergency extended

KHARTOUM, Sudan â\200\224 The Sudanese Peopleâ\200\231s Assembly authorized President Jaafar Numeiry yesterday to extend a nationwide state of emergency for another month effective Wednesday, the Middle East News Agency said. y

Mr: Numeiry declared the emergency giving government forces sweeping powers of arrest, search and seizure on April 29. The news agency said under the Sudanese constitution, the state of emergency is valid for bne month and can be renewed by the president with the approval of the Peopleâ\200\231s Assembly.

â\200\234Swift justiceâ\200\235 courts were established under the emergency to conduct summary trials of common criminals and violators of Islamic law, handing out sentences of flogging and amputation of limbs.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Africaâ\200\231s Desperâ\200\234't

Pl]g ht Robert J. McCloskey

It was an audacious challengeâ\200\224 food aid. This was an encouraging ac-

THE NEW YORK TIMES, AUGUST 27, 1984

JGANDAâ\200\231S LEADER  
DEFENDS HIS RULE

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

â\200\234â\200\230that within a decade no child will go  
to bed hungryâ\200\235â\200\231â\200\224put by Secretary of  
State Henry Kissinger to the World  
Food Council 10 years ago, in the af-  
termath of severe famine in the Sahel  
and Bangladesh. For reasons that  
might be debated interminably, the  
agenda of 1974 went unfulfilled.

Today we confront a situation that  
is both desperate and perverse: des-  
perate because more than 100 million  
people face starvation; perverse be-  
cause, we are told, there is a world  
food supply sufficient to feed everyone  
on earth. The numbers going to bed  
hungry have multiplied, as we see  
most graphically in Africa.

The assessment that there is suffi-  
cient food to feed all the hungry  
implies the best of all possible worlds.  
The real world, with its 1 billion  
growth in population and projections  
for huge continuing increases into the  
next century is what must be faced.

There can be no serious dispute  
about the magnitude of need in Africa  
today. The World Food Program esti-  
mates a shortfall of 1.3 million metric  
tons of food, which will affect the lives of  
150 million men, women and children in  
the sub-Sahara. And the problem goes  
beyond food. Famine and malnutrition  
give way to diarrhea, dysentery, mea-  
sles, meningitis and malaria, which be-  
come epidemic as people crowd to-  
gether in search of sustenance.

The massive strain that these condi-  
tions put on existing health services  
requires that outreach projects in pub-  
lic health be integrated into assistance  
programs. In addition, recuperation  
centers need to be established for the  
treatment of Marasmus and Kwasihor-  
kor, the most serious caloric and pro-  
tein deficiencies among children.

For the coming months, the greatest  
needs will be in east, central and south-  
ern Africa, with the most severe condi-  
tions continuing to affect Ethiopia and

Mozambique. Deteriorating situations are spreading famine in Kenya, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Inadequate rainfall continues to afflict Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Kenya and Tanzania. Elsewhere in Kenya and Ethiopia, the rains arrived too late to affect harvests.

The African crisis did not surface this year or last. It has been growing throughout the decade, and will be there for years to come. If it is to be met, if the poor and hungry are to be permitted to rise above their ordealsâ\200\224brought about by natural disaster, refugee flight, shifting priorities of donors, political decisions that too often override humane have to act with determination.

Earlier this year the U.S. government provided for \$150 million in emergency

tion, but we must go on. For 1985 at least an additional \$225 million in commodities and dollar assistance to meet inland transportation and distribution costs will be needed worldwide, mostly in Africa. Catholic Relief Services is currently distributing 90 percent of the food available to private agencies there. We could handle significantly more, provided the time required for approval, shipment and funding support is markedly tightened.

Donor countries must take a longer look. Effective planning that results in basic changes requires a sound strategy and reliable access to resources over an extended period. We and others believe that increased use of â\200\234block grantsâ\200\235 would lead to more efficient food assistance planning and more developmental impact.

With an assured supply over a predetermined time, commodities can be used as part of a comprehensive program designed to achieve both short- and long-term objectives more effectively than the current year-to-year programs.

There are valid concerns that feeding programs may exacerbate the problem they are attempting to solve by creating dependency and weakening production incentives among recipients. That is why we and others involved in such programs believe that they must be designed to produce change; addressing not only the presence of hunger but its causes as well. To this end, CRSâ\200\231s strategy in Africa and elsewhere is directed toward income self-sufficiency and food security for the family unit in the belief that it represents the most cohesive force in

any society. That force has persisted where governments have failed.

Immediate relief efforts are only part of the equation. Few people in Africa or any other part of the world want to live by handouts; most want to be able to provide for themselves and their families. That is a matter of simple human dignity. If the countries of that continent are to escape the bondage of famine, they must develop the capacity to feed themselves.

To comprehend the reality in Africa is to demand magnanimity from advantaged governments. Political suspicion or bureaucratic inertia cannot be tolerated as excuses not to act resolutely.

The willingness of developed countries to act with significant infusions of food and technical assistance will have to be matched as was earlier the case in Asia by firm commitments on the part of African governments to more enlightened political and economic policies. To pass through the barriers to more productive futures donor and recipient will have to go arm-in-arm.

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~+Special to The New York Times

KASESE, Uganda, Aug. 26 â\200\224 President Milton Obote, without referring specifically to allegations that thousands of people have been killed in his country, today defended the policies of his Government and army troops.

A lot is being said about Uganda abroad,â\200\235 Mr. Obote said in a speech in this town 180 miles west of Kampala, the capital. â\200\234I am not worried at all.â\200\235 Headed, â\200\230â\200\234Our policies are correct.â\200\235â\200\231

This month Elliott Abrams, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, said in interviews and in testimony before Congress that in recent years more than 100,000 Ugandans may have been killed by the military or died of starvation in theâ\200\235 Liwero triangle region. Many of the deaths, he said, may have been a result of â\200\234large-scale civilian massacres; forced starvation and impeded humanitarian relief operations.â\200\235

In Congressional testimony, Mr. Abrams said that in the Lowero triangleâ\200\231 and elsewhere, the Ugandan Army had been using â\200\230â\200\230 defensive operations as an excuse for looting and for the rape or, murder of innocent civilians.â\200\235

â\202 Criticism by Former Presidents

Former Presidents Yusufu K. Lule and Godfrey L. Binaisa, both of whom live abroad, have also criticized Mr. Obote's human rights record. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kampala, Emmanuel Cardinal Nsubuga, said in Boston this month that as many as 80,000 Ugandans were being detained in Government camps.

Mr. Obote at no time referred to the substance of the allegations except to note that his critics had charged that "people are being killed, that is their language."

He said he would neither resign nor attend a conference with his opponents outside Uganda. Instead, he called upon his opponents abroad to challenge him in the elections to be held next year. "I invite everyone to come home and let's have elections, free and fair elections," he said.

He also ruled out the possibility of a negotiated settlement with an insurgent leader, Yoweri Museveni, who, after the elections in 1980, led his followers into the bush, mounting an insurgency that has dragged on since. Mr. Museveni charged that the elections had been rigged.

"My Master Is the People"

At no time did Mr. Obote mention Mr. Museveni by name or say whether he would be allowed to take part in the elections if he gave up the armed rebellion.

"My master is the people, not the gunmen in the bush, and it is certainly not newssheets from outside Uganda," Mr. Obote said. "It is no solution to go out into the bush and shoot people. If you give in to gunmen and those who back them, you betray the trust of the people."

Mr. Obote spoke on the occasion of the consecration of a bishop in the

Continued on Pg.

flos Angeles Jimes August 26, 1984

Uganda After Amin: Would You  
R e Believe Itâ\200\231s Worse?

Western businessman based in  
Nairobi, who has been lucky

5 enough and sufficiently hard-eyed  
to do business in Uganda for the last four  
years, finally came to the end of his string  
in that country last month.

Arriving for what he thought was  
another routine trip to Uganda, he was  
detained at the airport at Entebbe,  
stripped naked and held for seven and a  
half hours in a closed roomâ\200\224for â\200\234interro-  
gation.â\200\235 He was released when a business  
associate paid a ransom to his interroga-  
tors.

â\200\234The whole country,â\200\235 he said when he  
was safely home in Nairobi, â\200\234is run by  
unscrupulous, greedy thugs. There are  
things going on there now that never  
happened even in the worst days of Idi  
Amin.â\200\235

The businessman talked with a journal-  
ist on the condition that his name not be  
used. His partners still await delivery of  
goods for which money has already been  
paid, and adverse publicity could waste  
their investment.

The impression of lawlessness sketched  
by this businessman is by no means  
unique. It is shared by anyone with  
experience in that country over the past  
four years, including diplomats, workers  
for international relief organizations,  
journalists and thousands of refugees.

This month, the United States broke  
what has amounted to a long official  
silence on the situation in Uganda. Elliott  
Abrams, assistant secretary of state for  
human rights and humanitarian affairs,  
appeared before a congressional commit-  
tee to testify on conditions in Uganda. He  
called the situation â\200\234horrendous.â\200\235

The Ugandan government of President  
Milton Obote has been embattled since it  
took office (after a disputed election) in  
December, 1980. In an effort to track  
down armed rebels, government soldiers  
have been sweeping an area known as the  
Luwero Triangle near the capital of  
Kampala. In the process, thousands of  
people, including women and children,  
have been slaugh Thousands more,  
cut off from food supplies, have been close

to 5

U.S. sources and private refugee moni-  
toring groups say that between 100,000

and 200,000 Ugandans have been killed in the Luwero Triangle during the past three years. But the violence has not been confined to that area.

It is not that in one part of the country the situation has gotten worse, Abrams said in a BBC interview last week. In virtually all parts of the country, that is to say the Luwero Triangle, the southwestern border area near Rwanda, the West Nile area in the northwest and the Karamoja area, the human-rights situation has deteriorated.

I think you will hear that and do hear it in Kampala really from virtually ev-

ery source. There really isn't any significant body of information that contradicts that account.

Until Abrams' statement, the U.S. government policy in Uganda seemed to be based on accentuating the positive, praising the Ugandan government's efforts to get its economy in order and offering what support it could with international lending agencies. A recent visit to Uganda by World Bank President A.W. Clausen seemed to reflect that policy, with Clausen praising Uganda's cooperation with international financial bodies.

Meanwhile, U.S. officials kept silent about the steadily accumulating evidence of human-rights violations: the mass killings, the rampaging soldiers, the reports of torture and horrific conditions in Uganda's prisons. Knowledgeable diplomats say that Americans in Uganda quietly pressed the Ugandans to correct the situation, but their representations had no visible effect. Abrams seemed to confirm this.

There comes a point, he said, "at which one has to recognize that one's previous diplomatic efforts have not been succeeding, that the situation continues to get worse rather than getting better or even stabilizing, and that a certain amount of honesty with the public and the press and Congress is really required."

The Ugandan government reacted angrily to Abrams' comments. It canceled a \$100,000 military agreement with the United States, under which Ugandan officers were sent to the United States for training. It also demanded the removal of the U.S. military attache in Kampala. The official government newspaper in Kampala spoke of the abrupt and hostile

change in U.S. policy toward Uganda. It argued that the U.S. statements took no notice of activity by bandits operating in the Luwero Triangle, which govern-



ment forces were battling to control.

In fact, the â\200\234banditsâ\200\235 are rebels of the Ugandan National Resistance Movement and their goal is the destruction of the Obote government. The movement is based largely on the Baganda tribe, which dominates southern Uganda (and the region around Kampala). The hostility of the Baganda people dates back to Oboteâ\200\231s previous regime, which ended with Idi Aminâ\200\231s coup in 1971, Obote, a member of the northern Lango tribe, drove the king of the Baganda into exile in the 1960s.

Since Oboteâ\200\231s return, the Baganda have felt steadily cut out of affairs in Uganda. The National Resistance Movement, led by Yoweri Museveni, has mounted scores of successful attacks on police outposts and military installations, and the governmentâ\200\231s campaign , it, never effective, has turned against the population, which is assumed to be supporting the insurgents.

This campaign has fallen mostly to the Ugandan army. The army, made up

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mostly of northerners from the Acholi and Lango tribes, has taken to the task with a vengeance. On sweeps through the countryside, the army arrests as many civilian males as it can find and drives women and children into refugee camps. It is in these sweeps that thousands of civilians have died.

But there are other complications. The army is so poorly paid that it is allowed to live off the land, pillaging and looting as it goes. Foreign missionaries and aid workers have been killed at roadblocks for their wristwatches. In the past year, there have been reports of whole villagesâ\200\224 sometimes close to 200 peopleâ\200\224being killed in raids by the Ugandan army. The government, almost invariably, has blamed such incidents on â\200\234bandits.â\200\235

Moreover, the Ugandan government, informed diplomatic sources say, is so absorbed in dissension and paranoia that several key government ministers have formed what amounts to their own private armies, along with their own â\200\234intelligenceâ\200\235 operations.

â\200\234More and more,â\200\235 a Western diplomat based in Nairobi said, â\200\234the place is breaking down into gang warfare.â\200\235

Some sources close to the situation in Uganda believe that Museveni's rebels may be nearly powerful enough to bring down the Obote government. One businessman here says he has had feelers

from representatives of the National Resistance Movement regarding the sale of coffee (which accounts for more than 90% of Uganda's revenue), bypassing the official government marketing system.

The U.S. government is clearly aware of the fragile state of Obote's government and, if past statements of U.S. officials in Kampala are an indication, it made its latest statements only reluctantly. Indeed, other Western diplomats resident in Kampala used to regard the U.S. embassy there as an apologist for the Obote government.

Hindsight now suggests that the Americans should have spoken out publicly long ago, when it became apparent that privately expressed concern was making no impression on the Ugandan leaders. Earlier public pressure on the Ugandans might have made it more difficult for the country to deal with international aid and banking institutions (since it would have suggested instability), but it might have forced Obote to clean up his house in order to survive. By now, it may be too late.

There is also the question of whether the Obote government, violence-prone and shot through with corruption, even deserves to survive. Many say it does not. Whenever it is criticized, the government likes to point to the years the country suffered under Idi Amin, as if calling up the ogre of the past justifies present national policies, which, most observers say, are even more frightful.

Continued on Pg. 16

## BOYCOTT BACKERS IN S. AFRICA

constitution makes them the enemies of the majority of our people.â\200\235

Speaking in a radio interview after the Indian election results were announced today, Frederik W. de Klerk, the interior minister whose department supervised the elections, said he was disappointed by the turnout. But he added that the government regarded the totals as â\200\234high enoughâ\200\235 to constitute a mandate for implementation of the charter.

De Klerk said the low response was caused in part by the boycott campaignersâ\200\231 intimidation of people who wanted to vote. Other government spokesman have said the same, pointing to widespread clashes between the police and protesters yesterday in which more than 200 people, including some policeman, were injured.

Police said today they had charged 34 people arrested in Natal Province yesterday with â\200\234political intimidation.â\200\235

The boycott organizers denied that they had intimidated voters, blaming the clashes on the police, who they said used clubs and tear gas to break up peaceful protests against the constitution.

The boycotters said many elderly people had been intimidated into voting with threats that they would lose their state pensions if they did not.

The next step will be for the newly elected Colored and Indian chambers to meet with the existing white chamber Sept. 5 as an electoral college to choose an executive president.

This will almost certainly be the present prime minister, Pieter W. Botha. Although

the Colored and Indian chambers may nominate someone else for the presidency, it is the choice of  
THE WASHINGTON POST

## URGE CANCELLATION

the majority party in the white chamberâ\200\224Bothaâ\200\231s Afrikaner National Partyâ\200\224that will prevail.

This is a point that many non-whites make in describing the new constitution as an exercise in tokenism. Whites, many of whom regard it as a significant reform of the apartheid system, voted by a two-thirds majority to approve it at a referendum last November. The other groups could not vote in that test.

The constitution provides that the white chamber will dominate, If the Colored or Indian chambers try to initiate or block anything against the wishes of the majority in the white chamber, the issue will go for adjudication to a Presidentâ\200\231s Council, which will

also have a National Party majority.

Critics of the new system contend that it is an attempt by the white-minority government to co-opt the Colored and Indian minority groups into an alliance against the black African majority.

Those who support the new system argue that even if it is an inadequate form of power-sharing between the races, it is at least a step toward what they hope will be evolution of the segregated system.

Botha is to be inaugurated as president Sept. 14 and will name his new Cabinet on that day. The Cabinet could include some non-whites for the first time in South Africa's history.

Allan Hendrickse, whose Labor Party won all but four of the 80 seats in the Colored House of Representatives, is the leading non-white candidate for a Cabinet post.

Amichand Rajbansi, whose National People's Party won 18 of the 40 seats in the Indian Chamber of Deputies, and Jayarem N. Reddy, whose Solidarity Party won 17 seats, independents took the other five may also be in the running.

Establishment of the new system will be completed with the inauguration of the President's Council Sept. 26.

August 29, 1984

o Solomon Asea, former Ugandan ambassador to the United States and physician of Ugandan President Milton Obote, was shot dead in Kampala Sunday by unidentified gunmen, the Kampala Star newspaper said.

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dispute, workers can then go on strike lawfully. Last week, the board's members failed to find the right compromise. They are now making another (final?) effort to find a formula that would bring the two parties together.

Talk is of a strike, but Mr Ramaphosa does not seem to be well placed to win one. Though his pay demand seems reasonable when seen against the low level of black mine workers' wages relative to white mine workers' and the high level of inflation in South Africa (11.7% in the year to June), his members still make up only a small proportion of the mining industry's black workforce.

Most of the workers are recruited on fixed contracts (averaging about a year) from neighbouring states and from what used to be called Bantustans and are now called 'homelands', where black unemployment is high.-With few exceptions, black miners live in large compounds on mine property.

Mining-company bosses say that strik-

#### NEW KIND OF GOLD STRIKE

ers would be sent home. The employers reckon they could be readily replaced from the thousands of unemployed miners from the â\200\234homelandsâ\204¢. This weakens the NUM's hand.

The union, which is only two years old, has grown quickly. Last yearâ\200\224the first time a black union was involved in wage negotiations with the chamberâ\200\224Mr Ramaphosa settled for a pay increase of much the same order as he has rejected this year. He decided he had little choice when his union was only just getting going. A year on, he and his colleagues are more self-confident.

South Africaâ\200\231s only mine strike so far this year was at the Penge asbestos mine in the Lebowa â\200\234homelandâ\204¢ in the northern Transvaal. Workers struck in July in support of a pay demand. They refused to leave their mine hostel until the bosses obtained a court order evicting them earlier this month. More than 1,500 employeesâ\200\224members of a different mine union to the NUMâ\200\224had to return home.

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(Continued)

#### UGANDA'S LEADER

(Continued)

Church of Uganda, a denomination with links to the Church of England, here in south Ruwenzori, a mountainous â\200\230region near the border with Zaire, He did â\200\230not answer questions after his speech.

In a veiled reference to Mr. Museveni, the , President pointed out that the newly: consecrated Bishop had been elected to that office.

Mr. Obote said: â\200\230â\200\234He did not go up to the mountains and say, â\200\230Until I am a bishop, I am not coming down.â\200\231 You go up to the mountain and you do not become a bishop. You remain here, you become a bishop and all of us bless you.â\200\235â\200\231

#### Denies 80 Vote Was Rigged

Mr. Obote denies that the 1980 elections were rigged, noting that voters in the Luwero area had overwhelmingly supported the opposition Democratic Party, and not Mr. Oboteâ\200\231s Uganda

Peopleâ\200\231s CongressÃ©.

Before beginning his rebellion, Mr. Mseveni headed a third party that won only one parliamentary seat in 1980. Earlier Mr. Mseveni had been an ally of Mr. Obote and a member of the| Uganda Peopleâ\200\231s Congress.

The Democratic Party is a legal political opposition that claims no ties to Mr! Mseveni or his National Resistance Army. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t support violence,â\200\235 Paill, Ssemogerere, the leader of the Democratic Party, said in an interview Friday. â\200\234But I can see how it may seem reasonable from the point of view of Realpolitik.â\200\235 Mr. Ssemogerere has â\200\230also charged that the 1980 election results were falsified.

Mr. Obote implied it was Mr. Mseveniâ\200\231s inability to come to power through elections that had led him to try to overthrow the Government through violence.

â\200\234Many leaders in Uganda fear the people,â\200\235 he said. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Consequently they fear the ballot.â\200\235 :

Mr. Obote, 59 years old, was President -from 1966 to 1971, when he was overthrown by Idi Amin. Mr. Obote then went into exile in Tanzania.

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Although mine bosses now seem to hold most of the cards in wage bargaining, the new ..ack mine unions are raising several other issues that make some white South Africans feel uncomfortable. One is safety. Mr Ramaphosa has criticised a R400 fine imposed on the owners of a coal mine where 68 workers were killed in a methane-gas explosion a year ago. He said he was shocked that the authorities should apparently treat the incident as a minor one.

At the Penge mine, the black workersâ\200\231 union is worried about asbestosis. In the past 10 months, this disease has caused 134 Penge workers to be laid off. The union claims that asbestos dust levels in some parts of the mine were, as recently as 11 months ago, 65 times higher than the limit recognised by the South African government equivalent to 260 times higher than the legal limit in Britain. A report by the manager of the Perige mine that has leaked to the press says that some 780 of the mineâ\200\231s employees contracted asbestosis between 1973 and 1983.

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50 DIED (Continued)

groups founded in the last month to participate in elections promised next year. The elections are to lead to a return to civilian rule.

â\200\234If that process is aborted by Mr. Doe, we would have no choice to call on the Liberian people to rise up to remove Mr. Doe by the same prg that Mr. Tolbert was removed,â\200\231â\200\235â\200\235 â\200\230Mr. Santi said, referring to President William R. Tolbert, who was killed in the coup led by General Doe, who was then a master sergeant. %

#### ANGOLAN REBELS PRESS

South Africa, according to Savimbi, does not supply UNITA with weapons but allows UNITA arms and supplies to pass through South Africa and South African-controlled Namibia to UNITA bases in Angola. Savimbi said that South Africa provides him, at no charge, with all the fuel his forces require.

The number of Cuban troops in Angolaâ\200\224estimated at 23,000 to 30,000 and paid for by the Luanda governmentâ\200\224is three times as large as the estimated size of the Cuban force in Ethiopia, the major Soviet ally in Africa.

The Soviet role in Angola is that of supplier. Western officials based in Zaire estimate that the Soviets have funneled in hundreds of millions of dollars in arms, including MiG fighter-bombers, since Angolaâ\200\231s independence from Portugal in 1975. Diplomats say about 2,000 Soviet advisers are assigned to political and weapons training and about 2,000 East Germans work in intelligence and communications.

Savimbi estimated that he has a force of about 20,000 regular army troops and 20,000 guerrillas, most-

#### NEW ANGOLAN FIGHTING STALLS U.S.

U.S. officials acknowledge with disappointment that the peace process has stalled.

Ironically, the U.S. effort to wean Angola from dependence on Cuba has been frustrated by Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the Angolan rebel group formerly financed and encouraged by the U.S.

The rebels, say diplomats, recognize

that they could be undermined politically and logistically if peace talks succeed. So, to demonstrate their strength and frustrate the peace moves, they have stepped up the fighting.

Analysts here and in the U.S. believe the flow of refugees to Zaire indicates that the Soviet-backed Angolan government remains unable to stamp out the insurgent groups, as fighting has spread from the southern part of the country to the north. Continued heavy fighting could make it difficult for Angola to part with Cuban support.

In the past six months, about 17,000 Angolans have poured into refugee camps in the Zairian border town of Dilolo, according to an official in Kinshasa with the

Mr. Santi, now a real estate broker in Queens, served in the Doe Government as Assistant Director of Housing from December 1980 to November 1981.

Mr. Kofz, of the Liberian Mission to the United Nations, said his Government had not accused any Liberians in

the United States of involvement in the.

reported conspiracy in Liberia. He said President Doe declared earlier this week that the process started by the Government to return the country to civilian rule will definitely continue despite recent political events, he said.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES  
August 29, 1984

19-gun salute greets Arafat

HARARE, Zimbabwe — PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, packing a pistol on his hip, arrived in Harare yesterday to a 19-gun salute usually accorded visiting heads of government. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe welcomed him on a red carpet as a police brass band played the anthems of Zimbabwe and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

MILITARY DRIVE, SEEK TO FORCE GOVERNMENT (Continued)

ly fellow Ovimbundu tribesmen. He has set up what amounts to a counter-government in southeastern Angola extending north to the rail line that crosses the center of the country from Benguela on the coast to the Angola-Zambia border.

UNITA says 3 million of the country's 7 million people are sympathetic to its cause.

Journalists traveling with Savimbi and UNITA forces in eastern and southeastern Angola repeatedly saw villagers greet the rebels with



respect and warmth. Many of the villagers said they had fled areas held by the government after their sons were conscripted and their food and livestock taken away.

Samuku Kalita, a chief of a small village called Kuey in eastern Angola, said that although his people had given UNITA food from their fields, it was UNITA that had supplied them with seeds and fertilizer. He said that UNITA had left enough food for the people and had not forced the men to fight, although some volunteered.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A Western diplomat who visited Dilolo says the hospitality of the Zairians many from the same tribes as Angolans across the border is wearing thin, and that the goods many Angolans brought with them and sold for food are running out.

The fighting in northern Angola has disrupted crops, causing food shortages in the area, according to a UN official. A Dilolo missionary hospital with 80 beds is housing 800 to 900 Angolans, most suffering from severe malnutrition, according to a diplomat who visited the facility. We thought at first this was a temporary situation, says Charles-Henry Bazoché, adjunct regional director for the central African division of the refugee commission. But very, very few of the refugees have returned to Angola. And conditions are pretty grim in Dilolo.

For several years, UNITA's operations had been limited mostly to the southern part of the country, where UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi's tribal appeal is greatest and where the group can easily receive support from South Africa.

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UNITA has come a long way since the Marxist-Leninist MPLA won the skirmishing after Portugal's withdrawal, defeating a third rebel group and nearly crushing UNITA in 1976 and 1977.

In a rare admission, the Luanda government last month acknowledged the mining of the capital's harbor and a guerrilla attack on an oil pipeline owned by Gulf Oil Corp. in Cabinda, an Angolan enclave within Zaire.

Savimbi now talks of reaching Luanda by the end of the year, saying that he believes he must do so to insure a role for UNITA in re-

gional political settlementsâ\200\224involving Angola, South Africa and the South African-administered territory of Namibiaâ\200\224now under way.

Savimbi said he receives funding, as much as \$60 million to \$70 million a year, â\200\234from many Arab friends,â\200\235 including Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Morocco. He said that Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the late shah of Iran, had given him so much money that it was still being used for arms purchases.

#### PEACE PLAN (Continued)

Complicating progress toward peace, another rebel group long believed to be defunct has reemerged in northern Angola. The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) claims to be active again. The groupâ\200\231s leader, Holden Roberto, who was closely allied with the Central Intelligence Agency during the mid-1970s, reportedly has spent much of the past several months in the U.S. trying to win support.

A source who recently visited Angola says some members of the FNLA opposed to Mr. Robertoâ\200\231s leadership have split off to form another group called Comira.

A member of the Angolan central committee is said to have conceded last month that there was heavy fighting in the northern area, caused, he said, by rebellious government troops who deserted and were living off the land, ambushing farmers and stealing.

The Angolan government is expected to launch a major offensive soon against rebels in the eastern and southeastern parts of the country. Many analysts are looking to it as a major test of the government and the rebelsâ\200\231 strength.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

WORLD BANK REPORT  
CRITICIZES AFRICAN

French TOWI'I FOILS POLICIES (Continued)

Former African

Emperor

By E.J. DIONNE Jr.  
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Aug. 23 — A friend of Jean-Bédel Bokassa, the former leader of the Central African Republic, tried to obtain false French identity papers for the deposed ruler this month but was foiled when a secretary recognized photographs of Mr. Bokassa, a French municipal official said today.

Another official said the public prosecutor was deciding whether to press charges against the Bokassa friend, but no charges were likely against Mr. Bokassa.

Mr. Bokassa, who was ousted in a coup in 1979, became a figure in French politics because of a gift of jewels he made to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, then President. Mr. Giscard d'Estaing was deeply embarrassed by the incident and said later that he had sold the diamonds and given the money to charities in the Central African Republic.

— An official in Menucourt, a town of 5,000 people about 20 miles west of

Paris, said a butcher named Jean-Pierre Peteaux tried to obtain the papers earlier this month for a man whose name he listed as Abdel Kader Mohammed Aloul.

The official said a clerk had become suspicious because she did not recognize the man as a local resident. Eventually a secretary realized the photographs with the application were of Mr. Bokassa, who lives in a chateau at Hardricourt, and the case was turned over to the police.

The story took a further twist when Mr. Peteaux explained his reason for helping Mr. Bokassa. Mr. Peteaux said he had discovered that the woman with whom he is in love was Mr. Bokassa's illegitimate daughter. He said the false identity papers were designed to permit Mr. Bokassa to meet his people again, presumably by returning to the Central African Republic.

Mr. Bokassa, 63 years old, arrived in

France last December with 15 of his

countries, is slated to be targeted for sub-Saharan countries.

The report also criticizes the way African countries used the money they borrowed from commercial banks in the late 1970s. While some of these loans were used to offset declines in commodity prices, most went to finance huge projects which contributed little to economic growth or to generating foreign exchange, the report says. Among these were construction of large conference centers, hotels, highways and textile and steel mills.

Washington Times August 30.

Sudanese guerrillas sink barge

KHARTOUM, Sudan — Secessionist Christian guerrillas yesterday claimed they killed 270 government troops by sinking a barge carrying 390 soldiers down a crocodile-infested tributary of the Nile River in southern Sudan.

The statement, issued by the Sudanese People's

Liberation Army in London, said the barge went down

in the Sobat river, between the towns of Malakal and Nasir about 400 miles south of Khartoum, the capital city.

Western diplomats in Khartoum confirmed an attack took place on the military river steamer near

UGANDA AFTER AMIN

(CONTINUED)

% The recent U.S. condemnation of the state of human rights in Uganda does not necessarily spell Obote's end. The government is busy now, for example, strengthening its ties to North Korea. It may begin to look more openly for support from East Bloc nations. Uganda, bordering on the troubled southern Sudan, as well as Zaire, Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya, occupies key geography, and its wounds can spread like a bad infection as they have in the past, spilling blood, guns and outlaw mentality to neighboring regions.

DIVIDED CAMEROON

(Continued)

est oil exports. )

Many observers say that regional and ethnic tensions have been given too much importance in explanations of the April rebellion.

They argue that Biya's theme of rigor and moralization threatened

the entrenched interests of a wide range of Cameroonians, in both politics and commerce, who then plotted for a return to the previous

Malakal but said rebel claims of 270 casualties among status quo.

390 troops were inflated.

SR Al A s ]

French External Relations Ministry made it known that he was not welcome. But he was allowed to stay.

In an interview published in the latest issue of the magazine Jeune Afrique, Mr. Bokassa said he felt like a prisoner in France and wanted to return to Central Africa to defend himself against a variety of charges.

Mr. Bokassa became the object of ridicule and then outrage during his rule. He became the Central African leader in 1966 and named himself President for Life in 1972.

In December 1976 he proclaimed his country an empire and himself the Emperor. A year later he had himself invested at an elaborate ceremony patterned after Napoleon's coronation. Estimates of the cost ranged from \$22 million to \$90 million.

Mr. Bokassa was overthrown in 1979 after charges of a massacre of 100 schoolchildren at a prison. Mr. Bokassa was accused of directly taking part in the killings. After the coup, the

Some criticize the use of the slogan "rigor and moralization," saying that none of the "barons" or fat cats of the former government have been tried on corruption charges. A businessman in the Anglophone town of Limbe responded to this view by saying, "There has been a change of mentalities under Biya. People no longer fear open discussions, as they did under Ahidjo."

The protest of Yaounde's Anglophone students succeeded in getting the government to reconsider

its educational reforms something unheard of with Ahidjo, where protests were rarely dared.

But the growing outspokenness of the Anglophone community is only one example of the kinds of pressures that are being exerted on President Biya, who has promised

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children. At the time of his arrival, the nation was again declared a republic. â\200\234a  
new dealâ\200\235 for the Cameroonian  
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