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Mandela Statement Released

S. African Nationalist
Defends Botha Talk,
Urges ANC Dialogue

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, July 12—Imprisoned black nationalist Nelson Mandela said in a statement released by the South African government tonight that the only way to bring peace to South Africa is through dialogue with the outlawed African National Congress as the representative of the "mass democratic movement."

Mandela said he would like to "contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa," an offer which appeared to meet the government's modified conditions for his release from prison—that instead of formally renouncing violence, he simply commit himself to peace.

Mandela has served 26 years of a life sentence for sabotage and attempting to overthrow the government.

The release of Mandela's brief statement from the Victor Verster Prison near Cape Town was precedent-setting in itself because it was the first time that the 70-year-old ANC leader has been allowed to address the public directly. Mandela is a "listed" person under government regulations and normally may not be quoted in South Africa,

THE NEW YORK TIMES

PRETORIA LEADER AND MANDELA MEET IN 'PLEASANT SPIRIT'

VISIT HINTS AT A RELEASE

First Meeting of the 2 Men—
No Policy Matters Raised,
Official Report Says

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 8 — Nelson R. Mandela, the imprisoned African National Congress leader, and President P.W. Botha met for 45 minutes this week and confirmed "their support for peaceful development in South Africa," the Government announced today.

The announcement said no policy matters were discussed or negotiations conducted at the meeting on Wednesday between Mr. Botha and Mr. Mandela, who has been confined since 1962. The meeting was described as a "courtesy visit" held in a "pleasant spirit" at Tuynhuys, the President's residence at Cape Town.

The report of the meeting stirred speculation that Mr. Mandela would be

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even though on occasion he has smuggled messages out of prison with visiting relatives.

His statement was in response to press comments about his meeting a week ago with President Pieter W. Botha. After the meeting in Botha's Cape Town office, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said Botha and Mandela had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

Calling Coetsee's statement "an accurate reflection of what happened," Mandela said, "The statement, however, constitutes no de-

freed before Mr. Botha leaves office in the fall.

Their First Meeting

It was the first time the two leaders had ever met and the first time Mr. Mandela had met a senior Government official outside his conditions of imprisonment, his lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said tonight.

It was also the first time the Government has acknowledged any direct contact with a member of the Congress, which it outlawed 29 years ago.

The Government has vowed not to meet with leaders of the Congress unless the organization first renounces a campaign of violence it has waged against Pretoria for 28 years.

Serving Life Sentence

Mr. Mandela, who was the founder of the Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is serving a life sentence for sabotage and trying to overthrow the white-run Government by force.

Mr. Ayob held several hours of talks with Mr. Mandela today in his bungalow on the grounds of a prison near Cape Town. But the lawyer said tonight that Mr. Mandela had not told him of the meeting with the President.

viation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country."

Mandela added, "As implied in the original statement [by Coetsee], I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

Meanwhile, the president of South Africa's biggest black trade union federation, Elijah Barayi, warned that unless the government begins talking with the ANC within

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Botha's Tea Party

Whatever the reasons for his unusual tea party, President P.W. Botha has opened a new chapter in the long drama over racial divisions in South Africa. His decision to invite black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela for tea and conversation about the country's future conferred on Mr. Mandela the recognition that the white-dominated government has withheld for so many years. The jailed leader of the African National Congress had been portrayed for decades by Pretoria as a terrorist and traitor. Now, Mr. Botha has recognized Mr. Mandela as a key figure in determining the shape of things to come.

Why did Mr. Botha take this step two months before the Sept. 6 elections, when his successor will be chosen? Perhaps he is trying to pave the way for Mr. Mandela's release so negotiations on a new government can move forward with the participation of black leaders, who are uniform in

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

their demand that Mr. Mandela must be freed. Perhaps he is considering his place in history, trying to escape a label as the Afrikaner leader who kept apartheid alive by repressing the black masses. It is conceivable Mr. Botha, who stepped down as National Party leader earlier this year, sees the chance to achieve now what his responsibilities to the ruling party prevented before. It is also conceivable he is creating the illusion of progress to impress world leaders. It is even possible he wants to upstage his all-but-certain successor, F.W. de Klerk, who will be assuming a post Mr. Botha gives up grudgingly.

Whatever else the meeting means, Mr. Mandela still is not free to negotiate, as black leaders point out. After the discussion, Nelson Mandela was taken back to the prison farm where he is being held. His surroundings are comfortable now. He was

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South African Events Give US Hope for Black-White Talks

By E. A. Wayne

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE first meeting ever between South Africa's President and its most illustrious political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, is only one of several signs of a new fluidity in the political situation there.

Blacks and whites are talking in several arenas. Rival black groups are holding reconciliation talks. And the governing white National Party (NP) is going through an important leadership transition.

There is palpable hope in Washington that the United States and its allies can help move the situation toward negotiations. "There is a chance here for a breakthrough," says a high-ranking US policymaker.

"It may be only 30 percent, but it's there. The question is how to nudge the parties to the starting line for talks," he says. He and others questioned now see a six-month window of opportunity to get things going.

The South African government and the new NP leader, Frederik W. de Klerk, are taking a conciliatory line, saying they want to dismantle apartheid. US specialists point to severe economic strains, the failure to destroy the internal anti-apartheid movement, and the need to attract international financial support and investment as pressures for change. But there is a good deal of skepticism among experts here about how deep the desire for reform goes.

"F.W. is still just talking about a race-based plan for reform," says Pauline Baker, Africa specialist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. "It's not yet clear that he's coming to grips with the need to negotiate with the real black leadership."

Mr. De Klerk's sincerity needs to be "tested," a senior US official agrees. The Bush team is testing those waters. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen met with De Klerk in South Africa last week. The South African is coming to Washington this summer at the invitation of Secretary of State James Baker III.

Still to be decided is whether De Klerk will meet with President Bush. Some officials argue that the value of De Klerk getting directly from the President the US message on the need to abolish apartheid makes a meeting vital.

The US is closely coordinating with its allies the diplomatic pressure for change, as well as opening new channels of dialogue with South African blacks. It plans to back that up with new funds for so-called "black empowerment" programs. But it has not finally decided on the mix of carrots and sticks to use in the months ahead.

Ambassador Cohen will reportedly be meeting with exiled leaders of the banned African National Congress during his swing through the region, in addition to seeing anti-apartheid leaders inside South Africa.

Ten days ago, President Bush met with a delegation from the main internal anti-apartheid group, the United Democratic Front. Azar Cachalia, the UDF's national treasurer, said the President gave the impression that he wanted to avoid the Reagan administration's "mistakes".

Speaking to a seminar at the Carnegie Endowment, Mr. Cachalia said the UDF message was that it doesn't believe in the apparent "change of heart" by South Africa's leaders.

Cachalia said the South African government has adopted a two-track approach to end its international isolation. On the one hand, it makes encouraging statements about dismantling apartheid, releases some political prisoners, and eases some restrictions. But simultaneously, coercion continues as before at a lower profile. Basic political activity is still criminal, stiff sentences are being handed out, police harassment continues, and vigilante violence and assassinations are increasing.

"We hope the international community will not be blinded by the smoke screen of Track 1," Cachalia said. Despite the mistrust, he held out the possibility of movement. Before talking with the government, the UDF and other groups want the state of emergency ended, political prisoners released, and the ban on political activity lifted. But these are "negotiable." If some of the preconditions are met and the coercive track is not pushed, that could lead to "talks about talks," he said.

July 12, 1989

Hope in Southern Africa?

WHEN a white politician sits down with an imprisoned black man to talk, that might not seem like much of an event in most of the world.

But when the meeting takes place in apartheid-riven South Africa; when the white politician is one of the leaders of Afrikaner nationalism; and when the black man is Nelson Mandela, the head of the African National Congress (ANC), jailed for 27 years for challenging white supremacy, that is an event of considerable drama.

It was South Africa's President P. W. Botha himself who invited Mr. Mandela to come from his place of detention in Cape Town to visit for 45 minutes at the presidential residence.

The two men had never met before, and it was the first time Mandela had ever met a white official of such seniority.

The lack of such communication between black and white leaders over the years is in itself a tragic demonstration of wasted opportunity. The fact that such a meeting has at last taken place is a gleam of hope for the future.

A government announcement said that President Botha and Mandela had confirmed "their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

In the subtle political language of South Africa, that could be significant stuff. It could give the government the political fig leaf it is looking for to release Mandela. The government has said Mandela must disavow the violence of the ANC's militant wing before he can be freed.

The African National Congress, meanwhile, has said Mandela must be released, and other conditions fulfilled, before it would suspend its guerrilla war against South Africa's white government.

Mandela's long imprisonment has become an embarrassment to the South African government, and especially so to a new generation of government party leaders. Some members of the cabinet have been lobbying for Mandela's release.

National Party leader F. W. de Klerk, who is expected to succeed Mr. Botha as President later this year, is being looked to for signs of any new flexibility in handling South Africa's problems.

Mr. de Klerk is faced, on the one hand, by white conservatives who want no dilution of apartheid, the policy of racial segregation which has earned South Africa opprobrium around the world.

But, on the other hand, he is confronted by pressure from leaders in Western Europe, from whence he has just returned, as well as the United States, not only to release Mandela but to move in the direction of accommodation with South Africa's black majority.

There are other new factors in play as well. There is the erosion of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union — an improvement in relations that is having an impact on the African continent. The Soviets

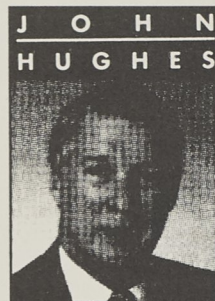
have been constructive in encouraging the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. That in turn has led to the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. Peace is coming to Angola and independence to South African-ruled Namibia.

It has taken a long time for the winds of change to gather momentum in southern Africa, but they are blowing at last throughout the region and may rattle across the very bastion of apartheid, South Africa itself.

Of course, Nelson Mandela went back to his place of detention after his chat with the South African president. But the meeting has certainly enhanced his stature, and that of the African National Congress. His release may now be only a matter of time.

Within this framework the African National Congress, although officially banned in South Africa, seems to be speaking to the white regime in more conciliatory terms. It seems to find Mr. de Klerk more promising than previous government leaders.

Hopes have been raised, and dashed, in South Africa before. It is much too early to suggest that the dreadful racial confrontation which has beset that rich and beautiful country is nearing its end. But a dramatic face-to-face between black and white leaders who have never met before leaves one hoping again.



MANDELA STATEMENT RELEASED (Continued)

six months, the "armed struggle" against white minority rule will continue.

Although clearly rhetorical in the context of a long speech in which he also said that "earnest discussion" on a democratic South Africa is inevitable, Barayi's ultimatum illustrated the confusion created in the black nationalist movement by the controversial Botha-Mandela meeting.

Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, addressed his ultimatum to Botha and the leader of the governing National Party, Frederik W. de Klerk, telling 2,000 cheering delegates to a national labor convention that "an unfolding revolutionary situation" was needed in order to generate spontaneous support for black liberation.

"Our task is to harness this spontaneity, to organize it and to give it the necessary content," said Barayi, whose 800,000-member labor federation is restricted under emergency regulations from engaging in any political activities.

Barayi told the convention, "I give the government ... six

months to negotiate with the ANC. ... Failing negotiations, the armed struggle will continue."

His warning underscored the frustrations and incipient signs of divisions that have surfaced in the black nationalist movement since the Botha-Mandela meeting.

Coetsee, in an interview today in the progovernment Afrikaans-language newspaper Die Burger, said: "In light of what we already know, I think we can infer that Mr. Mandela would like to make a contribution to peaceful development in South Africa." That characterization appeared to fit the government's recently modified condition for Mandela's release.

However, the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Zambia, has criticized the meeting as a "public relations exercise" by the government to create the impression that it is moving closer to power-sharing negotiations with the black majority. The head of the ANC's military wing, the Spear of the Nation, vowed to

intensify the guerrilla war.

In an apparent effort to dispel the notion that Mandela's meeting with Botha signaled an end to the "armed struggle" within South Africa, the South African Council of Churches today issued a lengthy "clarification commentary" in which it accused the government of trying to create "a climate that shows that Mandela has got his priorities confused."

Condemning what it termed "mischievous interpretations" of the Botha-Mandela meeting, the council warned that "an impression can easily be created that Mr. Mandela is tired of his incarceration and is therefore willing to compromise with the system."

Moreover, the council's statement said, "It was argued that the oppressed have finally come to their senses and accepted that they must give up all other methods of struggle and speak to the South African government. ... In our view, the political mileage that the [Pretoria] regime can gain in the present international climate is great and would be particularly damaging at this time."

SPIRIT' (Continued)

"It would seem that the Government's statement was issued after our consultation today," Mr. Ayob said in an interview. "Mr. Mandela did not mention it to me."

The curt announcement appeared to have been made in anticipation of a report in The Sunday Times of Johannesburg.

Justice Minister H. Kobie Coetsee confirmed the meeting in a brief official statement today that was broadcast as the main item on the state-controlled television news.

Mr. Coetsee said Mr. Botha and Mr. Mandela had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

Mr. Coetsee, who has reportedly held several discussions with Mr. Mandela both in prison and during a period when Mr. Mandela was hospitalized last year, said this week's meeting took place in "a pleasant spirit," adding that the possibility of "further steps or negotiations had not been discussed."

The meeting has immediate and far-reaching implications both for the Pretoria Government and the African National Congress.

Although the official statement described the meeting as "a courtesy visit" by Mr. Mandela, political analysts agreed that the encounter had bestowed a new status both on Mr. Mandela and the African National Congress.

Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, who is identified as one of a group of Cabinet ministers lobbying for Mr. Mandela's release for the last three years, appeared to endorse this new status in a statement after the Government announcement.

He said the meeting was probably the most important current event in South Africa's history, adding that "the two leaders" had met one another without any outside mediation.

"The meeting will receive torrents of support abroad that will benefit the people of South Africa," he said.

President Botha has in the past met anti-apartheid leaders inside South Africa and leaders of neighboring black-ruled countries. He has held several meetings with Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the South African Anglican leader, and has met with Chief Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of six million Zulus. Mr. Botha has also met with President Kenneth K. Kaunda of Zambia, Presidents Samora Machel and Joaquim A. Chissano of Mozambique, and more recently President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

President Bush and other Western leaders have been urging the South African Government for several years to release Mr. Mandela and other jailed Congress leaders and to open negotiations with the group.

This pressure on Pretoria has gained significant momentum with the American-brokered peace settlement in southwestern Africa. That agreement

July 13, 1989

45 Minutes With Botha

THE first-ever meeting between Nelson Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress, and P. W. Botha, President of South Africa is cause for measured hope. We were also encouraged by the smile on Winnie Mandela's face after she met with her husband Monday, after her earlier skepticism.

How substantial the meeting was, it is too soon to say. It has been described as everything from a "courtesy visit" by one official, to the most important current event in South Africa by Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, who supports the freeing of Mr. Mandela.

Still, the meeting raises expectations for (at least) the release of Mandela, and (at most) continued progress toward more power sharing in South Africa, and an eventual end to apartheid.

Those expectations should be fulfilled, at least in some regard. If the meeting is just another exercise in imagemaking — creating the appearance of a "kinder, gentler apartheid" as one US observer put it — Pretoria will only be heaping up wrath against the day that change must come.

The logical end of Mr. Botha's meeting with Mandela, we hope, is to begin some form of negotiation between Pretoria and the African National Congress. National Party leader F. W. de Klerk, who takes over the presidency from Botha in September, is now under pressure to move in that direction.

The context for real change in South Africa is better now than in years past. Peace agreements in the region (Namibia) make it politic for Pretoria to take a softer line. The recent high-profile meeting between 115 leading white South Africans and the ANC weighs in. There's a new generation of Afrikaner leaders coming along who see the need for international trade. Blacks are less compliant; politically wiser.

More pragmatically, as their bank loans roll over next year and with unemployment high, South African leaders need to create more than an image of stability to qualify for long-term loans.

The needs of politics, economics, and history led Botha to meet with Mandela. But those needs can't be satisfied in 45 minutes.

set the South African-ruled territory of Namibia on the road to independence under supervision of the United Nations and, more recently, has led to an accord that could end 13 years of civil war in Angola.

Political analysts here say the reconciliation between the United States and the Soviet Union on the need to resolve regional conflicts has led to renewed pressure on both Pretoria and the outlawed African National Congress to reach a negotiated settlement to the intractable South African race problem.

This message was conveyed to the National Party leader, F. W. de Klerk, during his recent tour of Western Europe when he met Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany and other leaders.

Mr. de Klerk, who is expected to succeed Mr. Botha as President this year, has not given any public hint that he is preparing to release Mr. Mandela after the Sept. 6 general election for the white-dominated Parliament.

But there is a growing expectation in political circles here that this is part of Mr. de Klerk's political agenda.

President Botha, who relinquished the National Party leadership after suffering a stroke in January, has maintained a low public profile since a party showdown in March.

Relations between Mr. Botha and Mr. de Klerk are reportedly strained, and one interpretation being put on the

President's surprise meeting with Mr. Mandela is that it was an attempt to regain some of the limelight and to show that he is not a spent political force.

The Botha-Mandela meeting coincides with a new fluidity in South African politics that has seen both the Government and the anti-apartheid opposition moving toward more flexible positions on negotiations.

At a conference in Pretoria last week, the National Party appeared to make a subtle shift in its insistence that the Congress must renounce violence before negotiations can begin. It softened its position by declaring that people "who have a commitment to peace" would be permitted to take part in negotiations.

U.S. Welcomes Meeting

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 8 — Administration officials today welcomed reports that President Botha had met with Mr. Mandela. But they said they had not heard directly of the meeting and expressed caution over whether it would lead to Mr. Mandela's release or steps toward fundamental change in the country.

"Obviously it's a significant event," an official said. "But its real significance is what resulted from the meeting. If P. W. simply reiterated the same old line, it should just be regarded as another attempt to give an appearance of progress."

Mandela Visit Called A 'Game'

*ANC Official Says
Botha Move Political*

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

VICTORIA FALLS, Zimbabwe, July 10—A senior spokesman for the African National Congress said here today the outlawed black South African organization had no advance knowledge of President Pieter W. Botha's meeting with its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, last Wednesday and categorized the meeting as "game playing" by the white-minority government.

Pallo Jordan, the ANC's director of information, said the organization believed its leader had been manipulated to create the impression the government was responding to international pressure for it to begin negotiating with him.

"He is a prisoner, and he has no choice but to go where they take him," Jordan said. "We had absolutely no knowledge that this meeting was going to take place. It came as a complete surprise to us."

The information director, who is attending a conference in this resort town not far from Lusaka, Zambia, where the ANC has its exile headquarters, said he thought an additional purpose of the Mandela meeting was for it to serve as a step in a cautious program aimed at reducing the dramatic impact of Mandela's eventual release after serving more than 25 years of a life sentence.

He said he believed the South African government wanted to release Mandela at some stage but was worried about its ability to manage the consequences. In Jordan's view, officials were, therefore, trying to lessen the political impact by taking a series of steps that amounted to a phased release.

Mandela earlier had been moved from a maximum security prison in Cape Town to a house belonging to the prisons department. A number of friends and political associates

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Is Nelson Mandela Pretoria's Prisoner? Or Is the White Government His Captive?

FOREIGN INSIGHT

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—For three hours last month, Nelson Mandela entertained two old friends at his house on the grounds of the Victor Verster prison farm near Cape Town. They chatted by the swimming pool, listened to music on the radio and shared a catered lunch.

When it was time for the visitors to go, Mr. Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress, walked them to the house gate before saying goodbye. "I must leave you here," he said. "This is as far as I can go."

"That was a reminder for us," says Amina Cachalia. She and her husband, Yusuf, were granted a rare visit with Mr. Mandela. "Despite the house, the pool and the nice meal, Nelson Mandela is still a prisoner of the government," she says.

Last week, when Mr. Mandela was driven through the prison house gate to the Cape Town home of South African President P.W. Botha, it became clear the government is also a prisoner of Nelson Mandela. For 45 minutes, over tea and cookies, the two old adversaries—Mr. Botha was once quoted as saying Mr. Mandela could "rot" in jail—talked about the need for bringing peace to this racially divided



Nelson Mandela

country. Then Mr. Botha sent Mr. Mandela back to prison. But one conclusion is inescapable: the government, desperate to improve its international image and resolve its internal conflict, needs the cooperation, and freedom, of Nelson Mandela.

"As long as Mandela remains in jail," says Mr. Cachalia, a veteran opponent of Pretoria's system of racial segregation known as apartheid, "the government can't succeed in its plans for changing South Africa."

Strong Indication

Mr. Botha's surprise meeting with the ANC leader was a clear acknowledgement of this, and the strongest indication yet that Pretoria may finally be prepared to release Mr. Mandela, who was jailed for life in 1962 for conspiring to overthrow the government. A government spokesman said the meeting wasn't a negotiating session and that no further talks were planned. But the meeting comes at a time when Pretoria, once again, is promising the world that it is serious about dismantling apartheid and including blacks, who are shut out of national politics, in a central decision-making body.

To have even a chance at success, the government must free itself from the "Mandela factor." The one thing that unites black leaders across the political spectrum in South Africa is a blanket refusal to negotiate a new constitution with the government until Mr. Mandela is released. Foreign governments are adamant that international economic sanctions will continue as long as Mr. Mandela, who turns 71 next week, remains in jail.

But how to release Mr. Mandela after decades of official propaganda demonizing the ANC and its leader? And how to do

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Just Free Nelson Mandela

Much that ails South Africa is apparent in microcosm in the meeting last week between President P. W. Botha and Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress. Not since the A.N.C.'s establishment in 1912 has any South African president or prime minister deigned to meet with its leader.

If this is a Botha trick to demean the captive and upstage the President's likely successor, black leadership is justified in crying foul. But whatever Mr. Botha's motives, the visit sends an unmistakable message — that Mr. Mandela is a legitimate leader with whom South Africans must reckon. And if the Botha-Mandela meeting makes it easier for the next leader in Pretoria to act on that moral and political fact, some good can come of it.

Mr. Botha is a grudging lame duck, forced by illness to yield leadership of the ruling National Party to F. W. de Klerk, who is expected to succeed to the presidency after elections in September. Ri-

valry is already evident between the crusty incumbent and his more articulate, better-educated heir apparent. It's too early to say how far the new leader is willing to go, but he has stirred hope by favoring a new constitution that provides some political rights for blacks.

Mr. Botha's eagerness to appear a benevolent jailer may be a sign of change. In December, he moved Mr. Mandela from prison to a luxurious clinic; now officials claim that in last week's 45-minute meeting, Mr. Mandela affirmed his support for "peaceful development in South Africa." Yet why should anyone trust the official version? Even after 27 years in prison, Mr. Mandela is still forbidden to speak for himself.

The only way to know what Mr. Mandela thinks is to free him, and then listen to what he says. The test for Mr. de Klerk is whether he will be the first South African head of government willing to deal with unsubmissive blacks openly, fairly and freely.

BOTH-AMANDELA MEETING

Breaking With Bands of Apartheid

Unprecedented contact could open way to resolving South Africa's racial impasse

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE historic meeting between jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and President Pieter Botha ends a decades-long standoff between two sworn adversaries, and could open the way for eventual dialogue to resolve the country's racial impasse.

■ 'There is no doubt that the meeting is part of a plan by Mr. Botha to rewrite Mr. De Klerk's political agenda for the next few years and thereby leave his mark on history.'

— Analyst Swilling

"This certainly moves the situation toward negotiation," says human rights activist Helen Suzman, who last week paid her first visit to the ANC's exile headquarters in neighboring Zambia.

However, there was a mixed reaction from anti-apartheid leaders. While some welcomed the meeting others condemned it as manipulations of a captive of the state.

The encounter was the first between the two leaders and the first-ever acknowledged contact between representatives of the ruling National Party and the ANC, which turned to "armed struggle" a year after it was outlawed in 1960. (Mandela is known

to have had several secret meetings with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.)

The release of Mr. Mandela, who has served nearly 27 years in jail for sabotage and trying to overthrow the white-run government, has become a universal prerequisite for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

"All of us have every reason to be hopeful that the big thaw within South Africa itself has begun," said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of 6 million Zulus and key player in government plans for black-white negotiations. "We are confident to conclude that the release of Dr. Mandela is now only a question of time."

Despite more than a decade of hostility between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC's exiled leaders, Mandela and the Zulu leader — once colleagues in the ANC's youth wing — have maintained a relationship of mutual respect.

The upbeat reaction by Buthelezi to the historic meeting was not shared by anti-apartheid leaders close to the Mandela family. In a statement read on the family's behalf, the Rev. Frank Chikane, general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, denounced the meeting as a mischievous attempt by the government to manipulate Mandela for its own ends.

The statement recalled Mandela's own words: "Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Only free men can negotiate."

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed surprise at the timing of the meeting, but welcomed it.

While the meeting has bestowed a new status and legitimacy on Mandela in the eyes of white liberals it has the potential to sow widespread division in anti-apartheid ranks.

It could weaken the ANC bargaining position, which has been to shun all contact with the government until Mandela and other political prisoners have been released.

Parties on the far right, who demand a return to old-style apartheid, strongly condemned the meeting and could turn the encounter into a powerful propaganda weapon against the government in the runup to the September presidential election.

Although the meeting has ruptured the bottom-line postures of both adversaries, formal negotiations could still be a long way off.

The move by President Botha, who quit as party leader in January but retained his all-powerful position as executive president, has bolstered speculation that likely successor and party leader Frederik de Klerk, is planning to meet at least some of the ANC's preconditions for negotiations after the September poll.

Political scientists note that the standoff between Botha and the National Party under Mr. de Klerk, could make the process Botha has begun hazardous.

"President Botha is now out in the political wilderness, and it is doubtful whether you can strike lasting deals when you are ostracized by the party you represent," says Mark Swilling, research director of the Center for Policy Studies, an independent policy think tank.

"There is no doubt that the meeting is part of a plan by Mr. Botha to rewrite Mr. de Klerk's political agenda for the next few years and thereby leave his mark on history," he says.

The sensitivity of the meeting was reflected in the manner of its disclosure.

Although the 45-minute meeting was held at Botha's official Cape Town residence last Wednesday, it was leaked to the Johannes-

burg Sunday Times only Saturday.

In a brief official statement Justice Minister Coetsee said the two men "had confirmed their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

Political analysts agreed that the superficially bland statement took the government across a Rubicon it had been trying to cross since Botha first made overtures to Mandela in 1985.

The government had always insisted that a precondition for Mandela's release, and for talks with ANC leaders, was the disavowal of violence. The ANC has always rejected a unilateral suspension of violence, insisting that the onus was on Pretoria to renounce the violence of apartheid.

At a federal congress in Pretoria two weeks ago, the National Party quietly dropped its insistence that the ANC disavow violence as a prerequisite for talks.

In a crucial rewording it declared that "people who have a commitment to peace" would be permitted to take part in talks.

Government officials say Mandela had paved the way for this shift by remarks he made in a letter to Buthelezi in April deploring three years of violence between warring Zulu groups in Natal Province and calling for peace talks in the interest of black unity.

Buthelezi said Friday that the initiative had produced a draft document which could lead to top-level talks between his Zulu-based Inkatha movement, the ANC, the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, and the major black trade union federation, COSATU.

"This is certainly one of the great gestures for which Mr. Botha will always be remembered by black South Africans," said Buthelezi.

South African Black Groups Discuss Joint Stand on Talks

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, July 7—Moderate and militant black nationalists are moving toward formal agreement on preconditions for power-sharing negotiations with the white minority, according to a prominent South African black political leader.

The moderates, represented by such leaders as Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, and the militants, represented by the outlawed African National Congress, will jointly insist that the preconditions be met before talks open, said Oscar D. Dhlomo, chairman of a constitutional convention in Natal province and secretary-general of Buthelezi's predominantly Zulu Inkatha movement.

The conditions for opening talks with the white government include: the release of political prisoners, such as ANC leader Nelson Mandela; the "unbanning" of illegal political organizations; an end to the state of emergency; the removal of army troops from black townships; and the return of exiled black nationalists.

Dhlomo said that because of similarities in preconditions already set by a variety of black nationalist groups, a formal, unified position on the starting point of negotiations is possible. A unified stand by black groups of all political persuasions could derail any government attempt to divide and weaken the black majority before negotiations start.

Increasing contacts in recent months between exiled ANC leaders and officials of Buthelezi's 1.3 million-member Inkatha movement have focused principally on ways to end internecine violence in Natal that has left more than 1,000 dead in the past two years.

"There are preconditions all over, on the government side and the blacks' side. Preconditions are a fact of life. . . . I anticipate the talks will begin on the basis of talking about preconditions," Dhlomo said at a breakfast meeting Thursday with foreign and local journalists.

The government's preconditions, repeatedly stated by President Pieter W. Botha, have been that the ANC and other groups agree to abandon violence and hold talks within the framework of South Africa's constitution.

A unified black position here would be reminiscent of the strategy adopted by rival black nationalist groups in Zimbabwe before its independence in 1980. Black political parties in what was then Rhodesia agreed to negotiate the country's independence solely on the basis of black majority rule. Their solidarity prevented white government officials from persuading Britain to accept anything short of majority rule.

Among the South African groups that are nearing agreement on preconditions, Dhlomo said, are Inkatha, the 3 million-member United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which represents more than 1 million black workers.

Some smaller groups, such as the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, representing 670 black tribal leaders, have already endorsed conditions patterned after the ANC's.

Even groups regarded by most militant black nationalists as "collaborationalist," such as the United Municipalities of South Africa, have announced that they will not participate in formal power-sharing negotiations unless the ANC's basic demands are met. Some members of the group of black municipal councilmen have met informally with South African government officials in "talks about talks," but they maintain they have not discussed substantive issues of power sharing.

Earlier this year, Buthelezi listed "irrevocable" preconditions for negotiating with Pretoria. They are:

- Mandela and other political prisoners must be released unconditionally.
- "Black democracy must be unshackled and organizations be free to seek mass support for their aims and objectives."
- South Africa's existing constitution must be "scrapped in its entirety."
- The Population Registration Act, which classifies all South Africans by race at birth, and the Group Areas Act, which segregates residential areas by race, must be repealed.
- There can be only one parliament based on universal adult suffrage.
- The government's contention that South Africa is a country of minorities must be abandoned.

Buthelezi's last precondition appears to close the door to negotiations based on a concept held by the governing National Party: that South Africa, whose 23 million-member black majority consists of tribes with differing cultures and languages, is a black nation of minorities.

For negotiating and power-sharing, this concept holds, the populations should be broken into 10 or more voting blocs—each with strength equal to that of white, Indian and Colored, or mixed race, voting blocs in a proposed national legislature that would make decisions on the basis of consensus by "concurrent majorities."

Dhlomo called that concept "dishonest" and suggested the white voting bloc might similarly be broken into groups whose languages are English, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Greek or Italian.

Dutch Church Asked to Shun Apartheid

Council Leader Makes Plea at Conference in Johannesburg

Religious News Service

General Secretary Frank Chikane, of the South African Council of Churches, called on the establishment Dutch Reformed Church to make a complete break with apartheid during an address at the ecumenical agency's 21st National Conference.

Chikane told the conference, meeting in Johannesburg the last week in June, that the white-dominated church must always be reminded of its responsibility of ensuring that the apartheid system of racial segregation is not perpetuated.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches reported that a cyanide-based insecticide or weed killer was sprayed into the chapel of St. Barnabas College, where the opening service of the conference was scheduled to be held June 26.

At least three workers who were cleaning the chapel collapsed and were taken to local hospitals.

Chikane, who himself almost died last month in the United States after an alleged attempt to poison him, told the conference, "If the Dutch Reformed Church were to demonstrate its commitment by calling on all whites in South Africa [to use their power] and force their leaders to enter into meaningful negotiations with the legitimate leaders of the oppressed people in South Africa, the whole political dynamic in South Africa could change."

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Dhlomo said he was more optimistic than ever about prospects for negotiations with a government that after the Sept. 6 parliamentary elections is likely to be headed by National Party leader Frederik W. de Klerk. He described de Klerk as "open-minded, willing to listen and to learn, and acutely conscious of the need for all South Africans to work out their destiny together."

US Seeks End to Mozambique War

WASHINGTON

PEACE talks in Angola's civil war and South Africa's desire to improve relations with its neighbors may have opened the doors for peace in Mozambique.

"The whole regional climate has made it less sensitive to talk" to your opponents, says Chester Crocker, former assistant secretary of state for Africa. "In an era of peacemaking, it is easier for people to make concessions, to reach out," says Mr. Crocker, who mediated last year's Angola-Namibia peace accords as well as a failed 1984 agreement between Mozambique and South Africa.

United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen is on a swing through southern Africa. Exploring the possibilities for fostering peace in Mozambique is a top item on his agenda.

If invited, the Bush administration is very interested in helping, officials say. The US would not be a central player, they suggest, but it could facilitate a dialogue between Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) rebels, the Mozambique government, and South Africa, which has been Renamo's main backer. Washington also could eventually help build international guarantees needed for a settlement.

The US is pressing South Africa to cut off aid to Renamo and last year issued a report accusing Renamo of responsibility for the deaths of up to 100,000 civilians. Washington is the largest donor of food aid to Mozambique.

US specialists in and out of the government say the parties have entered a "feeling out" period. Emissaries have passed messages between Renamo and the Marxist government, headed by the Frelimo Party (Mozambique Liberation Front). Mozambique and South Africa also have engaged in direct talks and have renewed cooperation on such projects as a major hydroelectric dam.

After consulting the government, for example, the Mozambican Christian Council recently offered a peace plan similar to one discussed in failed 1984 talks and reportedly had fruitful contacts with several Renamo representa-

tives outside the country.

Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano welcomed last month's cease-fire accords in Angola's civil war as a possible example for Mozambique and asked Renamo to follow suit. He also sought United Nations support for efforts to start a dialogue.

Renamo spokesmen welcomed the government's overtures. But they said any cease-fire has to be mutual, not unilateral as the government suggests. Renamo's Washington spokesmen, Luis Serapio, says talks have to be among equal partners with out preconditions. The government is offering dialogue about ending the fighting and potentially about the conditions of amnesty for Renamo members, Mozambican officials say. But it is not willing to agree to power-sharing negotiations, they say.

US specialists say it remains to be seen whether South Africa is willing to fully give up Renamo — its lever for destabilizing Mozambique — and bless peace talks.

If a dialogue with rebels is to begin, the Mozambique government also has to find authoritative Renamo representatives. "There are a lot of people on the outside who claim to speak in the name of Renamo," says a well-informed US specialist, "but it is far from clear who is genuinely close to Renamo's inside decisionmakers or how united they are." Finally, the Mozambican government will have to offer enough political liberalization and other incentives to woo key Renamo players.

Mozambique has been ravaged by more than a decade of war between the Frelimo government

and the Renamo rebels, who have long benefited from support by South African military intelligence.

Mozambique's rebels have much less international legitimacy and a less clear political identity than those in Angola, which the US backs. But Renamo has been very effective militarily. While neither side can win the war, US specialists say, more than 80 percent of the country is

strong economic sanctions imposed by the House representatives last month.

The Frelimo government has been forced to rely heavily on international aid to survive. It has undertaken significant economic reforms toward free-market approaches. At an important party conference this month, it will reportedly introduce political reforms aimed at meeting complaints from a wide range of Mozambicans, including Renamo, about its one-party rule.

Moscow cuts military aid

Moscow, long Frelimo's main arms supplier, has reportedly decided to withdraw all of its military advisers over the next year and a half and will reportedly cut its military aid by 40 percent. Informed diplomats say that neighboring Zimbabwe is also pressing for talks. It has thousands of troops in Mozambique defending key transportation routes linking Zimbabwe and the Indian Ocean.

Under these and other pressures, Mozambique's government has shifted its policy in recent months. Instead of telling visitors to avoid Renamo, the government has started asking them to use any channel available to offer the rebels a dialogue about ending the fighting and reintegrating Renamo members into society.

Simultaneously, the South African Foreign Ministry and others have begun to press hard to halt support for Renamo and to cooperate with Mozambique. These South Africans advocate building better relations with black neighbors as the way to end South Africa's international isolation. Currently, these moderates seem to have the upper hand.

While South African aid to Renamo has diminished, US insiders say, it continues in the form of advice, sophisticated communications equipment, and money. They say they are not sure if the aid is flowing mainly from former Portuguese Mozambicans in South Africa or South African military intelligence.

William Minter, visiting researcher at Georgetown University and a Mozambique specialist, says he thinks the military intelligence role remains important and

reflects a deep division within the South African government. He points to an April 27 incident where South African military trucks reportedly drove Renamo troops to the main border crossing with Mozambique, waited while they looted and killed on the Mozambican side, and then drove them and their loot away.

One US insider suggests that no clear message will emerge on South Africa's direction until after elections in September that are expected to elevate Frederik de Klerk to the presidency. A clear decision for peace from South Africa, Mr. Minter adds, would foster more feelers and possible resumption of 1984 direct Renamo-government talks.

Mozambique's dilemma

There is broad consensus that Mozambique needs peace. More than 1 million Mozambicans have fled to neighboring lands from the war. An estimated 1.6 million are displaced within the country and another 2.8 million are considered seriously affected by the fighting. Well over 100,000 civilians are believed to have died in the decade of fighting. The UN estimates that almost \$400 million in emergency relief aid will be needed in the year ahead just to meet the needs inside Mozambique.

US officials and others like the Renamo rebels to the Khmer Rouge because of their brutal tactics. The Frelimo government, however, is also credited with alienating large segments of the population through disastrous policies and abuses.

A solution may require dealing with Renamo and fully ending South Africa's efforts to destabilize Mozambique, US and Soviet specialists agree, but the problem now goes far beyond Renamo and South Africa.

Mozambique is a "testimony to the power of destruction and the difficulty of construction," University of California specialist John Marcum told a recent Johns Hopkins University seminar. "It will be very difficult to put Humppty Dumpty together again."

A well-placed Soviet expert, who requested anonymity, says Renamo is only part of Mozambique's "bandit" problem. Many

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Administration May Switch and Support Angola's Admission to the IMF

By David B. Ottaway

The Bush administration is considering switching its vote against admitting Angola to the International Monetary Fund, following the nation's agreement last month to open negotiations with U.S.-backed Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

The shift would be largely symbolic because the IMF's executive board has already voted overwhelmingly to admit Angola and the administration alone cannot overrule the decision.

But the gesture would likely constitute the first step toward U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Marxist Angolan government.

Assistant Secretary of State Herman J. Cohen was in the Angolan capital of Luanda on Friday and Saturday for a meeting of the commission overseeing the U.S.-brokered accords on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

He also met with Angolan officials to discuss the future of U.S.-Angolan relations, according to U.S. officials.

The Angolan government is pressing for the immediate establishment of full diplomatic relations between Angola and the United States. Its ambassador to the United Nations, Manuel Pedro Pacavira, said in an interview Friday that with

the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and negotiations with Savimbi both under way "all the obstacles are removed now."

"There isn't anything remaining that could serve as a pretext for the United States not recognizing Angola," he said.

But a U.S. official said diplomatic relations were "still pretty far down the pike."

The United States has not had relations with Angola since its independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975 because Washington backed two pro-Western factions that were overwhelmed by Soviet- and Cuban-backed forces there.

But U.S. policymakers are anxious to show some gesture of support and appreciation for Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, whose decision to meet, publicly shake hands and open negotiations with Savimbi has come under considerable criticism from hard-liners within the ruling MPLA party.

The two Angolan leaders were brought together on June 22 by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko at his home town of Gbadolite, where 17 other African heads of state witnessed the event.

U.S. officials said the administration is considering a switch in its initial negative vote against An-

gola's admission to the IMF, the international agency that monitors the world financial system and helps countries in economic difficulties. The IMF board of governors will make the final decision July 18.

A U.S. official conceded such an action might be highly controversial in Congress, which just passed legislation requiring the United States to vote against Angola's admission to the IMF and the World Bank, as well as against any loans to it from these institutions, unless the president certifies that "progress is being made toward national reconciliation."

A U.S. official conceded that such a process is "barely under way" and it is likely to be a long time before any agreement is reached between Savimbi and the Angolan government.

That a considerable distance still separates Savimbi and dos Santos has been made clear by their respective comments since meeting in Gbadolite.

Dos Santos has talked of "the integration" of officials and supporters of Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) into Angola's single ruling party, the MPLA.

But Savimbi said in a British Broadcasting Corp. interview Thursday that "we have rejected that. No one will be integrated."

July 11, 1989

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Mozambique Port Project Revives Hope

BEIRA, MOZAMBIQUE

IN the harbor of this vital southeast African port city, the sounds of construction almost drown out the breaking Indian Ocean waves.

When the \$200 million, donor-funded rehabilitation of this port is finished in 1991, about half of all of southern Africa's trade will be able to pass through it. Already, one-third of landlocked Zimbabwe's exports, formerly routed through South Africa, go through Beira.

Yet some observers say such prospects are pie-in-the-sky optimism in a country that is ravaged by poverty, famine, and a six-year-old civil war.

South African-backed right-wing guerrillas control most of the territory between Beira and the capital, Maputo.

Overland travel between the two cities is possible only with a heavily armed escort.

Despite South Africa's pledge five years ago to stop supporting the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, the fighting has intensified.

So has the flight of Mozambican refugees from the war, which the United States State Department described last year as "one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings."

According to the United Nations, 2.9 million of Mozambique's 15 million people are unable to grow enough food to feed themselves because of the fighting. Another 1 million have become refugees in neighboring countries, while 1.7 million are displaced within the country.

At a UN emergency-aid meeting in April, donors pledged 90 percent of the \$362 million requested for 1989.

But Mozambique's government hopes that developments elsewhere in southern Africa — namely the Angolan cease-fire agreement last month — signal a change in South Africa's attitude toward its neighbors. Meanwhile, the Mozambican government and its donors are vigorously pursuing projects that they hope will have a more lasting impact than emergency aid. To recoup the investment in Beira, the government must protect a narrow corridor between the port and Zimbabwe. Rebel attacks on the 150-mile corridor still occur, but some foreign firms have shown enough confidence in the Mozambican Army to expand their operations.

Peasants, too, are benefiting from the Army's protection along the corridor. In the village of Tandara, 140 families have returned from Zimbabwe refugee camps.

— South-North News Service

U.S. Takes Cautious Look at New Regime in Sudan

By Neil Henry

KHARTOUM, Sudan, July 8—The United States has assumed an unusually quiet stance toward the new military regime that came to power in a coup here last week, a posture that seems to reflect a desire to wait and see how Sudan grapples with its economic and military difficulties.

The coup, led by 15 middle-ranking officers with close ties to Egypt, appears to have shifted a balance of power in this region to Egypt's benefit and Libya's loss. According to Western observers interviewed here and in Washington, such a shift would appear to favor U.S. interests in North Africa.

However, they said the manner in which the change was brought about is disturbing. In fact, the only official State Department reaction to the coup thus far has been an expression of regret over the fall of Sadiq Mahdi's democratically elected government.

"I would say the attitude is cautiously optimistic," one observer said. Mahdi "just wasn't effective in ending the war or making the economy work. The new leaders have said they intend to make peace in the south. I think everyone is waiting to see if they deliver."

During his administration, Mahdi turned to Libya for military aid in Sudan's war against southern rebels when U.S. assistance sharply declined. His actions disturbed the United States, which saw Libyan ruler Moammar Gadhafi as an international menace, and infuriated Cairo, which considered the move a threat to Egypt's security. Egypt, bordered by Libya on the west and Sudan on the south, considered Gadhafi an expansionist who wanted to increase

Libyan influence in Chad and Sudan.

Libyan arms have played a role recently in Egypt, while expressing a need for continued good relations with Libya. He sees both countries as "brothers" in the region.

Sudan and Egypt have shared a long political and cultural history marked by foreign domination, colonialism, conflict and periods of reconciliation often fostered by Islam, the dominant religion in both countries.

Sudan was ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian condominium from 1899 to 1955, a period that saw the birth of Sudanese nationalism and that culminated in the nation's independence in 1956. But the Sudanese, rooted in both Arabic and African traditions, have had a difficult time balancing the often-conflicting desires of the population.

The nation is embroiled in a six-year-old rebellion in the south, where predominantly Christian and animist residents are fighting domination by atrocities committed by ethnic groups here holding ancient animosities toward each other. Arab militias in the south, armed by the Mahdi government to contain the rebels, have terrorized tribal villages and been accused of kidnapping and slavery. Earlier this year in Sudan's Darfur province, which borders Chad, a Gadhafi scheme to overthrow the regime of Chadian President Hissene Habre went awry when Arab militias, armed with Libyan weapons, went on a rampage against another tribe and about 12,000 were slain.

Sudan's new government is ruled by Gen. Omar Ahmed Hassan Bashir and 14 other officers who trained in Egypt and have had long associations with the Egyptian army. While Egypt

has officially denied any role in the coup, there is one and two plane loads of medical supplies arrived here from Cairo.

Bashir has stated a desire to "affiliate" with the largely Moslem north. The war has produced millions of refugees and aggravated a famine that killed 250,000 people last year.

Bashir has repeatedly expressed a desire for peace and an intention to negotiate with the rebels, but it is not known whether he will do so.

Western analysts believe last week's coup, the nation's fourth in its 33 years, presents the United States with a dilemma.

"They don't want to show that they favor maneuvers that appear anti-Libyan, antifundamentalist and pro-Egypt. And they don't want to be targeted by Libya as playing a role in this thing," one observer said. "At the same time, it's clear that not too many tears are being shed for" Mahdi.

Meantime, as a Sudanese observer pointed out, there is the problem of a U.S. prohibition against giving funds to a government that comes into being by military coup—a statutory bar that can be overridden, however, by a presidential waiver.

Similarly, the foreign aid authorization act prohibits continuing U.S. aid to a government that falls too deeply in arrears on its debt to the United States. In January, about \$24.5 million in military and economic aid to Sudan was frozen when Khartoum fell nearly \$13 million behind in repaying loans. To free that money and to attract funds from international lending institutions, the new regime must take steps to end the war. Sources said that point has been made by U.S. officials in preliminary contacts with the new regime.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

JULY 8, 1989

'Time to End the Sudan's Wars

Americans can understand but scarcely welcome the overthrow of a civilian Government in the Sudan by junior officers led by Brig. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir. He replaces Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, who came to power in 1986 through free elections, which is a rare distinction in authoritarian Africa. What's understandable is military frustration over Mr. Mahdi's seeming inability to end a ruinous civil war or steady a collapsing economy. What remains to be seen is whether the soldiers in Africa's largest country can do better — a process that Washington can help speed along.

Brigadier Bashir says his first priority is to end civil war between the Muslim north and the non-Muslim south. Fighting first broke out in 1983 when Khartoum imposed harsh Islamic law on the entire country, a step taken by former President Gaafar al-Nimeiry (not by Mr. Mahdi, as erroneously asserted in a previous editorial). Khartoum's new leaders claim they are ready to settle this conflict by negotiations or referendum.

That won't be simple. The Sudan People's Liberation Army and its leader, John Garang, are demanding an end to Islamic law and more power for

the south, to be spelled out in a new constitution. But both camps are riddled with ethnic and religious differences, and leaders have become expert at evasive statements.

Both sides claim to welcome relief efforts for starving civilians in the south, yet obstacles persist — though most of the blame for withholding food and even enslaving children falls on armed raiders backed by Khartoum.

What builds hope for peace and a return to civilian rule is widespread pressure on the new military regime. The Sudanese are fed up with a war so ruinous that in February even the military called on the Government to make peace. And massive popular support for democracy was evident after Mr. Nimeiry's ouster in 1985. Few in the Sudan are eager for another dictator-for-life like him, put in and kept in office with the backstage connivance of Egypt.

The right course for the Bush Administration is to press as diligently for peace in the Sudan as the Reagan team did in southern Africa. The new military regime in Khartoum insists it wants an end to a shaming war; Colonel Garang says the same. Determined diplomacy should test their sincerity.

Will a coup help Sudan, already beset by flood, famine and civil war?

By Jerelyn Eddings

Was the military coup that brought an obscure army officer to power in the Sudan nine days ago just one more plague on a country that has been hit by famine, floods, locusts and war?

Or has the army, like the cavalry riding in to save the day, rescued the vast African country from a disastrous government that squandered opportunities for stability and peace?

At first glance, the new military junta might not look like the answer to the nation's prayers. Its leader, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir, announced that his aim is to save the Sudan from a government that wasted the country's energy, resources and time.

"The June revolution has come to restore to the Sudanese citizen his injured dignity and rebuild the Sudan of the future," he said in a radio announcement on June 30, the day his forces overthrew the government of Prime Minister Sadek al-Mahdi.

But his first action after taking power was to suspend everything that smacked of democratic rule. He suspended the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament, banned the political parties and shut down the newspapers, some of which had been freely and openly critical of the Mahdi government. He also declared himself head of state, commander in chief and minister of defense and threw dozens of officials of the Mahdi government into jail.

For those of us who believe in representative government and freedom of expression, these are not exactly positive moves. The initial reaction from Washington was displeasure. "We regret the military is taking action to overthrow a democratically elected government. We urge an early return to democracy," said a spokeswoman for the State Department, which had stubbornly defended the Mahdi government in recent years.

But the government of Mr. Mahdi, who came to power three years ago in the country's first democratic

elections in 20 years, had itself become a plague on the Sudanese people, in the view of many Sudanese and Western observers. It had dragged its feet on negotiations to bring a peaceful settlement to a debilitating civil war. It sat still while a quarter-million people died of hunger and disease last year as a result of the war, and even ejected from the country some international agencies that had come to help ease the suffering. It also was overseeing the country's free fall to economic ruin, which led to demonstrations on the streets of Khartoum, the capital.

By the time army officers took control from Mr. Mahdi, many people in the country were ready to see him go, a fact that became apparent when hundreds took to the streets of Khartoum last week to celebrate his sudden departure.

He had alienated southern Sudanese, who felt exploited by his northern, Moslem-dominated government and, as a result, were pursuing the war. He had alienated the powerful labor unions, who were pushing for political and economic reforms, which he sometimes promised but never managed to

THE SUDAN

■ **Geography:** With an area of nearly 1 million square miles, Sudan is Africa's largest country, as vast as the United States east of the Mississippi. It is bordered by eight countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Central African Republic, Chad and Libya.

■ **Population:** About 16 million people live in the mainly Moslem north of Sudan. There were about 6 million southerners, largely animist and Christian, when an anti-government rebellion began in the south in 1983 over economic and administrative grievances. Since then, hundreds of thousands of southerners have died from fighting or hunger and an estimated 2 million have fled the region.

■ **Economy:** Per capita gross national product is \$440. Sudan's mainly agricultural economy depends on the waters of the Nile River. The chief crops include cotton, sorghum, sesame, peanuts, rice, sugar. Sudan also has small textile and food-processing industries. Oil was found in the south a few years ago, but its exploitation has been stymied by the civil war. Its foreign debt stands at \$13 billion, and the civil war has been costing the Khartoum government about \$1 million daily.

■ **Recent history:** Sudan has had close ties with Egypt for thousands of years and was ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian grouping at the end of the 19th century. From 1924, when Egyptian forces withdrew, until 1955, Britain was the dominant power. Sudan declared its independence on Jan. 1, 1956, becoming a republic with a presidential form of government. Beginning in 1958, the south waged a secessionist war.

Gen. Gaafar el Nurnairy seized power in a coup on May 25, 1969. He abolished the multiparty system and established his Sudanese Socialist Union as the sole legal party. He concluded a 1972 agreement granting the south a degree of autonomy, which brought the civil war to a halt until 1983. In that year, General Nurnairy decreed Islamic law, triggering strong resentment in the animist-Christian south and fueling the rebellion there by the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

The civil war has severely limited famine relief efforts in the south.

The military overthrew Gen. Nurnairy in a bloodless coup in April 1985, when the leader was out of the country. The military ruled for a year, then surrendered power to a civilian government led by Prime Minister Sadek el-Mahdi after his Umma Party won a parliamentary majority in general elections. The military took control again nine days ago, under the leadership of Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir. The new military government offered an amnesty for the rebels, decreed a unilateral one-month cease-fire and said it would begin peace talks with the rebels.

sources: Associated Press, Reuters

deliver. He had angered much of the civilian population in the north, who were forced to live with food shortages, high prices and low wages. And, most importantly, his policies had led to frustration among members of the army, who were tired and humiliated after six years of war.

The army had suffered an embarrassing string of defeats since last fall to rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army. The rebels were better-fed, better-motivated and, with support from neighboring Ethiopia, bet-

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WILL A COUP HELP SUDAN?

(Continued)

ter-equipped than their army counterparts. Their leader, a U.S.-educated former army colonel named John Garang, says they are fighting to end Moslem and Arab oppression and domination of the south, which is populated by African tribes that practice Christian and traditional religions.

The war has devastated the southern region of the Sudan, the largest country in Africa, stretching 1,000 miles from Egypt to Uganda. Much of the south has become a battleground, where civilians cannot live and cannot plant in the fertile soil. Millions have fled the region in search of food and safety and have become refugees in northern cities or nearby countries.

While it has laid waste to the south, the war has severely drained the north. The government spent an estimated \$1 million a day on the war, and millions more each year on weapons — all the while falling deeper in debt to international donors. The country's foreign debt is currently about \$14 billion, and the Mahdi government was so badly in arrears on its payments that some donors, including the United States, were forced to suspend aid programs. The Mahdi government had also lost support from Egypt, a longtime ally, because of Sudan's growing alliance with Libya — a link that also worried the United States.

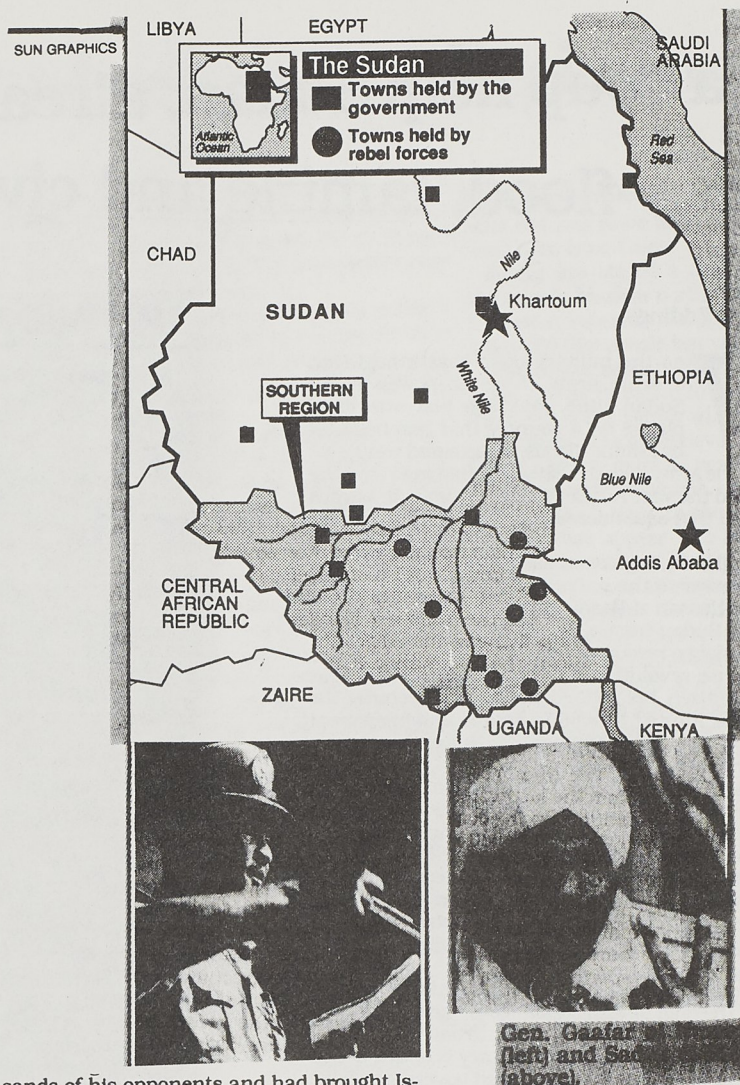
Things were going so badly on so many fronts that the army's commanders presented Mr. Mahdi with an unprecedented ultimatum last February, which led to warring among some diplomats in Khartoum about when his government would fall. The commanders said that the prime minister needed to either give them more support to win the war, or find a way to end it through negotiations.

Mr. Mahdi promised negotiations, and both his government and the rebels agreed to a cease-fire in April to allow food to be shipped to the south. But the peace efforts went nowhere, largely because Mr. Mahdi was widely viewed as insincere and was believed to be continuing his long pattern of vacillating on peace proposals.

"Sadek had become personally an obstacle to any real advancement on the peace front," said Roger Winter, director of the Washington-based U.S. Committee for Refugees, who has worked through the rebels to get aid to civilians in rebel-held areas of the Sudan. "He was viewed by so many people, particularly the SPLA, as untrustworthy. He had the reputation of saying something and not following through or doing something different. They didn't believe he was a reliable negotiating partner."

One vocal critic, Bona Malwal, editor of the *Sudan Times*, frequently says Mr. Mahdi squandered the trust of the Sudanese people, and a national consensus seemed to build around that position. When a similar consensus existed a few years ago about Mr. Mahdi's predecessor, the army tossed him out, too, in a bloodless coup that rescued the country from chaos.

The government of Gaafar el Numeiry, who took power in a 1969 coup, was overthrown in 1985 by a coalition of army officers and labor unions which had paralyzed the country with strikes. Mr. Numeiry's rule had brought a murderous assault on thou-



sands of his opponents and had brought Islamic law, complete with public hangings and amputations, as the price of his political alliance with Moslem fundamentalists.

But there is an important difference at this point between that military coup and the latest one. The group that threw out Mr. Numeiry said from the start that it would maintain power on an interim basis, would work with political parties and would prepare for elections. The new council led by General Bashir has not done that, and it remains unclear whether it ever will. Instead, General Bashir has made disparaging remarks about political parties, saying they had "undermined national unity and revived tribal animosities."

So it remains a mystery what form of government this new military junta intends for the country, what sort of policies it will pursue, and whether it plans to stick around indefinitely or pave the way for another experiment in democracy.

The biggest hint General Bashir provided is that his revolution is "neither of the left nor the right," that it's "neither partisan nor denominational," referring to the religious underpinnings of the Sudan's two biggest parties, Mr. Mahdi's Umma Party and the rival Democratic Unionist Party, both of which are associated with Moslem sects. But those pronouncements by General Bashir merely say what his movement is not; he

hasn't made clear yet precisely what it is.

What is clear, however, is that General Bashir and his council want to end the war. Within days of taking power, they declared a one-month unilateral cease-fire and invited rebel leader Mr. Garang to Khartoum for peace negotiations. The driving sentiment behind their revolt seems to be a desire to stop the fighting, which has been rough on the army as well as the population at large.

"Our primary goal is peace, and we are the people mostly suffering from war," General Bashir said in his radio address. Privately, he also promised international relief agencies that their work on behalf of Sudan's hungry would not be stopped.

Although many questions still must be answered about the new government, its commitment to peace can only be viewed as positive, especially when compared to Mr. Mahdi's lukewarm attempts. The Sudan has been worn thin by this war, and its people are hungry, tired and hurt. It needs a government that is sincere about wanting to stop it.

The new military regime has promised to be such a government, and from this poor vantage point it looks like the cavalry might have arrived indeed. But, with so much to be done and so little known about who will do it, we still need time for these men to come fully into view.

Gosh, this time they meant it

The new regime is less encumbered. It has banned the National Islamic Front (and all other political parties); and General Bashir comes from the less devout Muslims of Sudan's far north. He promises to hold a referendum on *sharia* if negotiation fails to reach agreement about it. But voting in the war-wrecked south is almost impossible. Besides, the rebels may not want a referendum: a popular reaffirmation of *sharia* is all too probable in a country where two out of three people are Muslims. Since February the rebels have captured a dozen garrison towns, including Torit and Nimule (see map). Having succeeded so well on the battlefield they are unlikely to let themselves be worsted at the ballot-box.



others also took up arms against the government. This led to a kind of general social mutiny, he says, which destroyed the old system in the countryside and has left nothing in its place.

Uganda
Insoluble

Continued on page 16

Uganda Admits Army Rights Abuses

Despite record far better than past regimes, Kampala has not yet effectively curbed military

By Robert M. Press

KAMPALA, UGANDA

MOST countries accused of human rights abuses deny them. Uganda admits that elements of its Army have tortured and killed prisoners in the fight against rebels.

Ugandan and international human rights critics welcome this openness, but say it will take more than admissions to clean up the country's record.

The human rights group Amnesty International reported in March that, after improvements last year, human rights abuse in Uganda appears to be on the rise:

- In northern areas, where the government is fighting rebels, alleged political opponents are detained without charge "sometimes for months on end."
- "Prisoners are sometimes tortured and killed," often with little follow-up investigation.
- In the capital, Kampala, "intelligence agencies are becoming increasingly lawless in their arbitrary detention and torture of prisoners."
- Arrests of some journalists in 1987 and 1988 who had written articles critical of the government indicate "a disconcerting trend toward intolerance of critical comment, especially of the Army . . ."

At the same time, however, Amnesty says that "the Army is more subject to the law now than at any time in the last 20 years." The report says there have been imprisonments, and even executions, of some soldiers found guilty of human rights abuses.

The military today is "humane," compared to the "wild beasts" of the past, says one Ugandan human rights analyst who still asked to remain anonymous.

Estimates of the number of civilians slaughtered under the Ugandan regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote between 1966 and 1985 range upward from 800,000.

Uganda accepts the Amnesty report. President Yoweri Museveni even met with the top Amnesty officials to discuss the findings.

Uganda's presidentially appointed inspector-general of government, Augustine Ruzindana, who is charged with investigating current cases of government abuse and corruption, calls the Amnesty document "a good report; objective," adding that "a lot of it has been investigated."

He also admits that Uganda is illegally holding up to 3,000 detainees, described by Amnesty as suspected rebels or rebel supporters. The President has ordered some 600 who have been cleared to be released soon.

"We are honest," Mr. Ruzindana said in a recent Monitor interview. "There is no need to cover up things which are known by thousands. And in any case, we know these things have been happening for a long time. And we know that in a society you can not switch on and off human behavior."

"We appreciate where shortcomings exist and someone points them out," he said.

Yet when asked for examples of military abuses his office has uncovered since it was established in 1986, he provided no details.

Amnesty reports that when he met with its staff in 1988, Ruzindana "had not yet carried out a single investigation of an alleged extrajudicial execution by the NRA, Uganda's National Resistance Army," despite earlier presentation by Amnesty of detailed

allegations of such abuse.

Ruzindana says his work is hampered by a small staff. He said he may soon get a military staff person to help investigate complaints in areas of conflict with the rebels, where most allegations of human rights abuses surface.

Ugandan critics who ask not to be identified say the office has been ineffective in spotting military abuse. Similarly, they and several diplomats here see few results from a government commission set up to review human rights abuses under past regimes.

Opinions are mixed on the work of the nongovernmental Ugandan Human Rights Activists group. One diplomat said its quarterly reports pinpoint some abuses. But a Ugandan familiar with the group's work says "they're scared" because of the detention for a year of the group's former head, who was picked up after making strongly critical remarks about the human rights record of the Museveni government.

Sources agree, however, that the existence of both these groups and the inspector-general's office is helping make human rights a more prominent issue in Uganda.

Meanwhile, allegations of Army abuses continue. For example, according to Ugandan sources — who insisted on anonymity — the Army entered the village of Tididiek in eastern Uganda in late February or early March and shot from 65 to 100 civilians, apparently as alleged rebels or rebel supporters. Their bodies were taken by military truck to a river, weighted with stones, and dumped. It was not possible to verify these alleged abuses.

IS NELSON MANDELA PRETORIA'S PRISONER?

so without triggering a white backlash that will boost the chances of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party in the Sept. 6 parliamentary election?

Speculation on Mr. Mandela's release has been a popular, yet frustrating, South African parlor game for years. The current betting is that Mr. Botha—who moved Mr. Mandela to the house at Victor Verster after the prisoner was hospitalized with tuberculosis last year—will set Mr. Mandela free after the election but before he retires from the presidency later in September, or that his designated successor, F.W. de Klerk, will do it once he takes over. All they need, government spokesmen say, is a commitment to peace from Mr. Mandela, who was involved in establishing the armed wing of the ANC after the organization was banned in 1960.

Image Polishing

For Mr. Botha, the speculation goes, freeing Mr. Mandela would be an act of statesmanship that could remove a bit of the tarnish of his 11-year presidency, which has been characterized by relentless repression of political foes. For Mr. de Klerk, Mr. Mandela's release would be a vital first step toward making good on his promises of "a new South Africa" that he has carried to European capitals in recent weeks. Without a free Mandela, Mr. de Klerk will fail in his efforts as surely as Mr. Botha has.

But releasing the world's most famous political prisoner also poses risk for the government: it could give the process of political change a momentum that Pretoria can't control. "We are entering an era that can be called 'the politics of unintended consequences,'" says Harald Pakendorf, a South African political analyst.

about his talk with Botha.

Jordan scoffed at Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha's description of the meeting as a "historic event." That, he said, was part of the "game playing."

Jordan said he found it strange that Botha had seen Mandela alone and not together with Frederik W. de Klerk, the new leader of the ruling National Party who is certain to succeed Botha as president after a general election in September.

Noting that most observers expect Mandela to remain in custody until after the election because of the backlash his release would cause among conservative white voters, Jordan said this meant it would be de Klerk, not Botha, who would issue any eventual presidential pardon.

"This indicates one of two things. Either the government is trying to shield de Klerk from the electoral consequences of the meeting, or it is a reflection of the rift between

DUTCH CHURCH ASKED TO SHUN APARTHEID (Continued)

Most members of the ruling National Party are members of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the ties between the party and state are so strong that the church is often referred to as "the National Party at prayer."

At a recent meeting in Vereeniging involving sister Dutch Reformed churches with black and mixed-race members, representatives of the white church agreed that apartheid is a sin. However, the "sinful" label was restricted to "discriminatory" forms of apartheid, and members of the white church balked at taking specific radical

"It's difficult to both open up and keep control of events at the same time."

For instance, if the government releases Mr. Mandela, can it continue to ban the organization he heads? "[The government] can't think they can just release Mandela and that will be it," says Thabo Mbeki, who directs the ANC foreign affairs from the organization's exile base in Lusaka, Zambia. "Pretoria will also have to legalize the ANC and also start talking to the ANC. After Mandela's release, the ANC will get stronger, more popular."

If that happens, ask frightened supporters of the Conservative Party, can the ANC's demands of one man, one vote, and

steps toward dismantling apartheid.

Chikane advised the conference to make a further appeal to the white church—the last was in 1986—to make a final break with apartheid.

Delegates to the conference also endorsed a call for foreign bankers and governments to put economic pressure on South Africa by not rescheduling loans on South African debts that become due in 1990 or to issue any new loans.

Chikane called, too, for mass non-violent defiance of unjust laws.

He said, "We must test the lie that they are calling apartheid by publicly defying all apartheid laws."

eventual black majority rule, be far from reality? "The time has come for the government to stop beating about the bush and to spell out what it intends doing with Mandela," says Koos van der Merwe, a Conservative Party spokesman.

Just by meeting with Mr. Mandela, Mr. Botha has given the prisoner and the ANC a status he has long fought to deny them. Reporting on last week's meeting, which was kept secret for days, the government-controlled South African Broadcasting Corp. reversed years of anti-ANC propaganda and hinted that Mr. Mandela can indeed play an important role in the country's future.

MANDELA VISIT CALLED A "GAME" (Continued)

Botha and de Klerk," Jordan said, referring to ongoing tensions between the two white leaders that arose in February after Botha suffered a mild stroke and the National Party chose de Klerk to succeed him instead of the president's preferred nominee.

"I don't know which it is, but I am inclined to think it is the former rather than the latter," Jordan said. "I think they are in a difficult situation. The international community is demanding Mandela's release, and they want to give the impression of responding to that and of beginning negotiations without actually doing it at this stage."

Correspondent William Claiborne reported from Johannesburg:

Mandela met today with his wife, Winnie, but there was no immediate indication of his reaction to criticism by some black nationalist leaders to his meeting last Wednesday with Botha.

Winnie Mandela said tonight that her husband would release a statement through prison authorities

about his talk with Botha.

She said a statement issued Saturday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that Mandela and Botha had affirmed their commitment to "peaceful development" was "fairly accurate at what transpired at the meeting."

After a one-hour luncheon visit with her husband at his prison house near Cape Town, Winnie Mandela said she would report to black leaders in Johannesburg before answering questions.

There were signs that the government may be seeking ways to exploit the appearance of divisions between Mandela and the ANC's exiled leadership over the imprisoned leader's 45-minute visit with Botha.

Mandela clearly approved of the meeting on his own initiative, and government sources said the decision was the result of months of consultation with Coetsee, who has visited Mandela regularly at his three-bedroom house at Victor Verster Prison and, before that, at Cape Town's Pollsmoor Maximum

Security Prison.

Even though the meeting underscored the importance of the ANC and Mandela as major players in future power-sharing negotiations, criticism of the session by black nationalist leaders within South Africa who identify ideologically with the ANC seemed to implicitly call into question Mandela's judgment in going to Botha's Cape Town office.

The state-run South African Broadcasting Corp., which usually reflects government thinking, today suggested in a commentary that Mandela and the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Zambia, disagree on the question of peaceful negotiations.

"By identifying himself with the ideals of peaceful development, he [Mandela] has cast a different light on his own position in the context of the growing mood in the country in favor of negotiated political change," the state radio declared.

"That this puts pressure on those—most notably in the ANC—who still insist on adherence to a strategy of violence goes without saying," the commentary added.

Africa's hard road

TOO many outsiders see Africa as a hopeless case. Africans can be even more pessimistic about themselves. When in March the World Bank suggested that economic reform in Africa had yielded ground for cautious hope, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa lost no time in denying it. This week the Bank released its annual Development Report (see page 65), which points to ways in which poor economies can grow under its austere policies. The ECA's latest document, true to form, argues that Africa will never escape poverty by treading the Bank's path.

The ECA's views are not held in high esteem by the Bank or by the International Monetary Fund. But the commission claims that it is supported by most of Africa's finance and planning ministers, who do matter. On one point the commission is adamant: given Africa's undeveloped infrastructure, orthodox economic management is not enough by itself to bring prosperity. Slimmer budget deficits keep inflation at bay; but they have also meant that schools and clinics are neglected, and without a healthy and educated workforce no economy will thrive.

Realistic prices tell farmers and businessmen what they should produce. But without government spending on roads, says the commission, farmers cannot get

their grain to town; without decent telephones, no business can be efficient. The Africans say the Bank and its partners in the IMF underestimate the need to pay for infrastructure and welfare.

In the early 1980s that criticism might have been fair. When the Bank and Fund began supervising economic reform in Africa, they expected quick results; a year or two of belt-tightening seemed acceptable. Now that reform has proved a slow business, the Bank has started to promote a new category of loan, designed to look after the "social dimensions of adjustment". The Fund's "enhanced structural adjustment facility" allows borrowers more investment leeway by conceding easier terms of repayment.

Both sides agree that roads and schools are needed; the question is how to pay for them. Both would like more foreign aid, but know that it will never flow plentifully enough to solve all Africa's problems. The Bank therefore suggests sensible but unpalatable ways of finding the necessary money, like sacking civil servants. The ECA would have governments cut military spending, which is equally unworlthy. What, though, if essential public investments still cannot be paid for? In such circumstances, says the ECA, bigger deficits should be tolerated. That sort of thinking makes the Bank see red.

BOTHA'S TEA PARTY (Continued)

moved from prison to a private clinic, then to a cottage on the prison farm after a bout of tuberculosis. But he remains a prisoner: he could not even release a statement with his own version of the Botha tea party without first seeking permission.

Pretoria is nervous about releasing a prisoner who has attained near-mythical stature among black South Africans. The authorities are concerned his release might alter the course of events — and their ability to control events. But, with black leaders inside and world leaders outside calling for Mr. Mandela's release as a prerequisite for improved relations with South Africa, the government is trapped even more than its famous prisoner.

UGANDA INSOLUBLE (Continued)

disbanded the militias that had protected the locals from their eastern neighbours, the Karamajong. Unfettered, these traditional cattle raiders went on a spree of pillage and plunder. The Itesot people in their path blamed their defencelessness on the new government; by early 1987 some former soldiers had dug their rifles out of hiding. They gathered in disparate bands whose freelance brigandage has driven some 75,000 people from their homes.

The twin rebellions weigh heavily on a

JULY 13, 1989

Sudan Relief

■ **UNITED NATIONS**—Sudan's new military rulers and rebels fighting in the south have pledged to cooperate with U.N. efforts to save 100,000 Sudanese threatened by famine and disease, a U.N. official has said.

James P. Grant, the U.N. secretary-general's special representative for Operation Lifeline Sudan, said Tuesday the relief operation is the first example of both sides involved in a civil war providing safe passage so food and medicines can reach all parts of the country.

Operation Lifeline, which has attempted to get 120,000 tons of food into rural villages before the rainy season, needs another \$40 million to extend its work through November, Grant said.

The U.N. estimates 250,000 Sudanese died last year from starvation due to flood, drought, and war-induced famine.

Relief officials had feared that a coup on June 30 would complicate their campaign. But Grant said he met Sudan's new leader, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed el-Bashir, and "he took great pains to reaffirm the support of the new government" to the rescue operation.

government that has been trying to repair the damage wrought by Mr. Idris Amin's murderous kleptocracy and the years of misrule that followed him. Mr. Museveni has made start by bringing stability and decency to the south and the west. The north is still untamed.

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