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## State Nominee Stresses Peace in Africa

*Cohen Says Top Goal Is to Break Impasse Between Blacks, Pretoria*

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Herman J. Cohen, nominated to be assistant secretary of state for African affairs, appears to be just as ambitious about keeping the United States in the forefront of southern Africa peace-making efforts as his predecessor, Chester A. Crocker.

Making his Senate debut at a confirmation hearing yesterday, Cohen spelled out a vision of his mission as dramatic in its implications—if he can fulfill it—as the one set out by Crocker. After eight years, Crocker finally succeeded in negotiating independence for South African-administered Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Cohen declared that his top priority will be to help blacks and whites in South Africa negotiate a way out of their centuries-old impasse.

"If we do nothing else in Africa during the next four years, we must work every day to promote a negotiated, nonviolent transition to a new constitutional system which will guarantee equal political rights, and equal economic and social opportunity for all South Africans regardless of race or ethnic affiliation," he said.



Cohen seeking "dialogue, negotiation and compromise."

BY SHARON FARMER—THE WASHINGTON POST

"We have a major role to play by pushing all parties in South Africa towards the imperatives of dialogue, negotiation and compromise," Cohen said later.

American prestige in southern Africa had reached "an all-time high" as a result of Crocker's achievements and the United States should build on that to help find political settlements in South Africa, Mozambique and Angola, the nominee said.

Announcing a shift in U.S. policy, Cohen said he was ready to begin discussions with the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo), the South African-supported rebels fighting in Mozambique.

"I think the situation is so bad and the need for peace is so great, I will talk to anybody," he told Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), who pressed Crocker again and again, but always in vain, to talk to Renamo.

Cohen, 57, spent three years at the National Security Council as senior director for Africa and was involved in Crocker's mediation among South Africa, Cuba and Angola. Cohen said he saw "some new thinking" and "a new sense of realism" among South Africa's white rulers and its oppressed blacks. This made it possible now, he said, to believe "a democratic solution may be achievable."

Underlying his vision, however, are views about U.S. policy that brought Crocker and the Democratic-controlled Congress into confrontation. Cohen made it just as clear as Crocker had that he opposes sanctions and the grass-roots disinvestment campaign. "We should be encouraging American companies and nongovernmental groups to remain and continue their efforts," he told Senate Africa subcommittee Chairman Paul Simon (D-Ill.).

Cohen also said there will be no change in the Reagan administration's policy of supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi in its struggle against the Cuban-backed government. The United States will not recognize the Angolan government, Cohen said, until it reaches a political settlement with UNITA.

Nor did he see any contradiction between U.S. arms for UNITA and his warning of "a dangerous cancer of internal conflict" spreading through black Africa "aggravated by the easy availability of arms and by the external support for combatants."

"The government of Angola must understand we will not give up [aiding UNITA] until we have national reconciliation," Cohen said.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Mobil Quitting South Africa, Blaming 'Foolish' U.S. Laws

By NANCY H. KREISLER

The Mobil Corporation said yesterday that it had agreed to sell its South African operations, blaming "very foolish laws" enacted by the United States Congress.

Mobil, the largest American company remaining in South Africa, made its decision on economic grounds and not in response to shareholders or anti-apartheid groups, said Allen E. Murray, its chairman and chief executive.

"We had been seriously affected by the very foolish laws that had been passed in the U.S.," Mr. Murray said. "The economics were such that it was in our shareholders' interest to make the sale."

## The Company's Defense

He said the decision had been difficult "because we continue to believe that our presence and our actions have contributed greatly to economic and social progress for nonwhites in South Africa."

Mr. Murray said legislation and regulations recently enacted or proposed had "made it more difficult for us to be fully competitive" in South Africa.

A 1987 change in tax law, sponsored by Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of Manhattan, prohibited American companies from claiming an American tax benefit for the taxes their South African operations paid to the South African Government.

Mobil has \$400 million in assets and nearly 3,000 employees in South Africa.

The decision to sell the South African holdings had been reported earlier in the week by newspapers in that country. Mobil declined to comment on those reports until yesterday.

## Reaction in South Africa

In South Africa, business executives said they feared the departure of Mobil would put fresh pressure on other Western companies to follow suit. And the Chemical Workers Industrial Union, which represents many Mobil employees, said the sale of Mobil's assets would strengthen rather than weaken apartheid. The union said Gencor, the company buying Mobil's assets, was one of the harshest employers in the mining industry.

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in Washington, Alayne Reesberg, said: "We regret Mobil's decision to leave South Africa. Mobil had been a significant force for change within the South Africa business and social community for many years. We believe that U.S. companies have a constructive role to play in our rapidly changing society."

Leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, however, applauded Mobil's announcement.

"We think that Mobil's disinvestment is a major advance for the U.S. and international anti-apartheid community," said Donna Katzin, director of South Africa programs for the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.

Mobil, the second-largest oil company in the United States, had steadfastly deflected pressure in recent years from some shareholders and special interest groups demanding that the company get out of South Africa.

The company has said it was pursuing progressive policies in South Africa and its presence could help end apartheid. Mobil prohibits racial discrimination at its operations in South Africa. It has a training program for employees and a management development program. In addition, it set up a foundation to provide aid in education, community development and small business development and provides other assistance in education, health and community programs.

And it has championed the equal-employment guidelines for companies with South African operations developed by the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, a Baptist minister from Philadelphia.

Mr. Sullivan said in June 1987 that his code had failed to undermine apartheid, and he called on American companies to end ties with South Africa.

Largely through the efforts of Mobil, an organization was formed to continue adherence to the code without Mr. Sullivan's involvement. The group, Industry Support Unit Inc., has its offices at Mobil's headquarters in New York.

## Some Dissident Shareholders

Up until this week Mobil had continued to insist it was staying in South Africa.

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# A New Jolt to Corporate South Africa

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 28 — The announcement today that the Mobil Corporation will sell its holdings and leave South Africa has jolted the business community here, which had looked to the American oil company as an example of corporate enlightenment in improving the lot of black South Africans.

Business executives said they feared the departure of Mobil, the largest American company remaining in South Africa, would put fresh pressure on other Western companies to follow suit.

One mining executive called the news "depressing" and "pretty serious" for all South Africans.

The Government has not commented on Mobil's announcement.

## A Pressure Campaign

The executives also predicted that the loss of Mobil's influence would make it more difficult for local companies to put pressure on the Government to dismantle the apartheid system of racial segregation.

"Mobil's going is not going to get Nelson Mandela out of prison and is not going to get the Group Areas Act repealed," said Adrian Botha, the executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa. He referred to legislation that mandates nationwide racial segregation of residential areas.

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union, which represents many Mobil employees, said the sale of Mobil's assets would strengthen rather than weaken apartheid.

The union has been trying to win guarantees that its members' jobs will be protected when foreign companies sell their assets and leave the country.

The union said the General Mining and Union Corporation, the company that is buying Mobil's assets, is one of the harshest employers in the mining industry.

## Purchase by a Conglomerate

In a brief statement tonight, the company, known as Gencor, a mining and industrial conglomerate, said it had agreed to continue Mobil's labor practices and policies and to continue

financing and supporting the Mobil Foundation in South Africa.

Two and a half years ago, Mobil set up a foundation to aid the country's black population with education, community development and advice to small businesses. The foundation was given \$20 million for its first five years.

The chemical workers' union, in a statement issued from its headquarters in Durban accused Mobil of abandoning its employees in South Africa after promising that it would not leave.

"Judging by the manner in which Mobil appears to be 'disinvesting,' it may well be that, as in other so-called 'disinvestments,' apartheid is strengthened instead of weakened with another strategic operation falling into the lap of another South African company," the union said.

"Gencor has a reputation as one of the harshest employers in the mining industry," the statement said.

## Price Not Disclosed

Mobil announced today in New York that it was selling its assets to Gencor for an undisclosed price.

Gencor said no details of the deal would be made available until the Government approved the transaction.

## Many executives see Mobil as a force for progress on racial issues.

tion and the documents were signed, a process that is not expected to be concluded before the end of June.

Mobil's assets in South Africa have been estimated at 800 million to one billion rand, or \$320 million to \$400 million. Business Day, a leading financial daily newspaper, reported that Mobil would realize only \$125 million from the sale.

"There's no way anybody can get 100 cents on the dollar today" in such deals, one American businessman here said.

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# South Africa Extends Pullout Deadline for SWAPO Rebels

By Lynda Schuster

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

**S**OUTH AFRICA has given black nationalist guerrillas two more weeks to pull out of Namibia if the territory's independence plan is to be resuscitated.

The warning follows a 60-hour truce that ended Saturday, in which South African-backed security forces were confined to bases to allow the rebels to return to Angola. An estimated 1,800 fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) crossed over from Angola starting April 1, when almost 75 years of South African rule officially ended and a United Nations-supervised transition to independence began. Under the UN plan, all SWAPO fighters were supposed to be in Angola or Zambia, and later repatriated, unarmed, for elections slated for November.

SWAPO maintains that its forces had been in Namibia for some time and that South Africa violated the ceasefire by shooting at them. Some 330 guerrillas and security-force members died in the fighting.

For a while, it looked as though the mess was going to be sorted out quickly. SWAPO chief Sam Nujoma agreed to withdraw his rebels, and the UN said it would escort the guerrillas over the border. Amid reports of harassment by security forces, however, only a handful of fighters turned themselves in. (Hundreds of others are thought to have returned to Angola on their own.)

Thus, Pretoria's move to restrict its soldiers to barracks for 60 hours. They had been confined to bases, but were released to help fight off the SWAPO raid.

South Africa has reportedly released 5,000 security-force members to track down the 200 to 400 guerrillas still believed to be in Namibia. Under a deal with other signatories to the peace accord, Pretoria will allow until May 13 to verify that all rebels have withdrawn, said Neil van Heerden, South Africa's director-general of foreign affairs. The troops are being urged to exercise caution. But if they come across SWAPO rebels, "there will be shooting," Mr. van Heerden said. "I certainly would not like to be a SWAPO man heading south at this time."

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

MAY 4, 1989

## Bush Nominee 'Distressed' by Mobil's Move

By ROBERT PEAR

**WASHINGTON, May 3** — President Bush's nominee for a top State Department position said today that the Government should encourage American companies to stay in South Africa so they could set an example of socially responsible behavior for local South African businesses.

The nominee, Herman J. Cohen, said he was "very distressed" to see that the Mobil Corporation had decided to sell its South African operations, and he described it as "one of the most progressive companies" doing business there.

Mobil, the largest American company remaining in South Africa, said last week that it was pulling out because of "very foolish laws" adopted by the United States Congress. One law raised the cost of doing business in South Africa by eliminating the Federal tax credit for taxes paid by American companies to the Government of

South Africa.

Mr. Cohen delivered the first comprehensive statement of Bush Administration policy toward Africa in a hearing held by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his nomination to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. For the last two years of the Reagan Administration, he worked on the staff of the National Security Council, coordinating policy toward African countries.

Mr. Cohen said "South Africa has been scrupulously complying" with agreements signed last year to bring about the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Cuba and Angola have also been complying, and the Cuban troops are being withdrawn on schedule or ahead of schedule, he said.

But he said it was "very unfortunate" that Namibian guerrilla leaders sent some of their troops from Angola

into Namibia last month in violation of the accords. American officials estimate that 1,600 to 1,700 fighters from the South-West Africa People's Organization crossed into Namibia. Mr. Cohen said that "the vast majority" of the guerrillas had left Namibia, but that 250 to 300 remained there.

South African diplomats met today with the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and said they expected the guerrillas to make another attempt to infiltrate Namibia from Angola this week. The South Africans said the guerrillas' apparent aim was to recover weapons hidden in Namibia during the earlier raid. The rebels denied the South African assertion.

American officials said that South Africa had substantially reduced the possibility of another guerrilla incursion by warning that it might occur.



MAY 4, 1989

## Letters

# Apartheid Leads African Human Rights Abuses

To the Editor:

To correct some misrepresentations in "Black Tyranny: A Deafening Silence" by George B. N. Ayittey (Op-Ed, March 29):

• One cannot spend what one does not have, thus the error in the statement that Africa "spends more than \$12 billion annually on weapons and armed forces." Africa's debt burden and a host of other problems do not allow any expenditure of that magnitude at state level or at the level of the continent as a whole.

• The actions of a few individuals in incidents in Uganda and Nigeria, if true, cannot and must not be viewed as actions of their respective governments or as condoned by them.

• What African leaders have called for is what the democratic movement in South Africa and others around the world have been pushing for, namely, the eradication of the evil and racist system of apartheid, and the emergence of a nonracist democratic South Africa.

That there have been human rights violations in many countries in the African continent is public knowledge. Amnesty International tells the world each year of the progress made in some African countries to improve human rights, as well as places where serious violations continue.

Mr. Ayittey is unable to distinguish between apartheid as a system of institutionalized racism and the sporadic political convulsions in parts of Africa that have an impact on the rights of individuals and groups in situations of war, such as those in Angola and Mozambique, created by the apartheid regime and its surrogate bandit groups; as in Chad and the Sudan, which have experienced civil wars, and in countries undergoing violent political change.

The coming into force of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in 1985, and establishment of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights to promote and insure protection of such rights, are progressive steps for Africa. No country in Africa or elsewhere should be protected from blame when it is truly guilty of human rights violations. The challenge is how to insure that human rights everywhere will be promoted and protected.

The regime of apartheid stands

apart as an obnoxious system of rule, which has been in force in South Africa for 41 years and has been condemned by all as a crime against humanity.

SOLOMON GOMES

New York, April 4, 1989

The writer is special political affairs officer for the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations.

## Moscow and Pretoria

To the Editor:

Your Moscow correspondent had every right to choose from our almost one-hour conversation everything he thought important ("Soviets, in Shift, Press for Accord in South Africa," front page, March 16). However, I think, he should not have distorted the meaning of my absolutely clear statements on South Africa, the African National Congress and Soviet policy in southern Africa.

For example, he writes that my views "gave new weight" to reports that my country is eager "to re-establish the diplomatic ties with Pretoria that were broken in 1956." He even says that, together with "other Soviet experts," I have outlined steps that could lead to it, namely "the release of Nelson Mandela" and "a commitment by Pretoria to talk directly with African National Congress leaders."

What I told him was crystal clear: there is no question about diplomatic ties with South Africa while the system of apartheid remains intact.

I told him we support the demands of the democratic forces of South Africa to release all political prisoners, to end the emergency law, to lift the ban on political parties and to put an end to the remaining laws of apartheid. Fulfillment of these demands could create the necessary conditions for dialogue between Pretoria and leaders of the black majority.

My quoting from the African National Congress freedom charter was not connected, as he put it, with justifications of "group guarantees." Actually, it had nothing to do with it at all.

What I said was that the African National Congress remains the only political organization in South Africa that for more than 30 years has offered a program recognizing the rights of all South Africans black and white.

I cannot agree with his interpretation of my words on the role of vio-

## South Africa Planning Election for Sept. 6

CAPE TOWN, May 3 (AP) — President P. W. Botha said today that a general election would be held Sept. 6. He is expected to retire soon afterward.

The election will be the first in which white, mixed-race and Asian voters cast ballots on the same day for three segregated chambers of Parliament.

South Africa's black majority has no vote in national affairs and no representation in Parliament.

September marks the end of the five-year term for the Asian and mixed-race chambers, established in 1984 after elections that voters of those racial groups boycotted widely. The most recent white general election was in 1987.

Mr. Botha's National Party is heavily favored to retain its overwhelming majority in the white chamber, where it now holds 130 of the 178 seats.

Mr. Botha, who is 73 years old and had a stroke in January, last month announced his intention to retire after the elections, although he did not set a date for the balloting at that time. He has headed the Government since 1978.

The new President is expected to be Education Minister F. W. de Klerk, 53, who succeeded Mr. Botha as National Party leader Feb. 2.

The National Party will seek to retain its majority.

lence in South Africa. Contrary to what he writes, I stressed that we fully support the tactics of the African National Congress, which include both political and military means.

And I was astonished to read the following: "At one point, Mr. Asoyan implied that part of a reconciliation with South Africa might be an agreement to scale down the Kremlin's military backing of the African National Congress. 'Too many arms are concentrated in the poorer areas of the world, and not just conventional arms, but quite sophisticated weaponry,' he said. 'And you must remember what Chekhov said: 'Every rifle hanging on the wall will be fired sooner or later.'"

My words about armaments in poorer parts of the world and Chekhov's rifle concerned only one thing: the dangers facing the regions, including southern Africa, where conflicts are being solved by political means. In this case, I repeated views I had expressed in last Nov. 16's issue of the Soviet weekly Literary Gazette.

Your article has caused almost a sensation. But I think this is not the type of sensation the author can be proud of.

BORIS A. ASOYAN  
Consultant, African Countries Admin.  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Moscow, April 18, 1989



# US to Test Soviet 'New Thinking'

By E. A. Wayne

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES and Soviet diplomats will sit down together soon to discuss the prospects for more superpower cooperation in Africa.

The continent will come up during next week's US-Soviet ministerial talks in Moscow, and will be the focus of experts' talks planned for later this month, US officials say.

The Horn and southern Africa will be the center of attention.

"These will be exploratory talks," says a ranking US diplomat, with each side sounding the other out on potential new directions.

The possibilities for narrowing past

THE WASHINGTON POST

US-Soviet differences and finding areas of cooperation seem greater than ever before, US officials and specialists agree, in part because of the successful conclusion of the Angola-Namibia accords signed last December, as well as Soviet "new thinking" in foreign policy.

Private Soviet assessments of the situation in Angola and Mozambique, for example, are very close to those of US analysts. Soviet officials say negotiated settlements are needed to halt civil strife in both countries, and they are quite blunt in pointing out shortcomings of the two Marxist governments.

There is also evidence Moscow has been pushing Ethiopia to reform its economy and seek an end to its internal wars, US officials say.

Moscow has also reportedly told the Ethiopians not to expect higher levels of military assistance.

"All around the world the Soviets are asking to what end they are involved in these very expensive adventures," says a senior US official. They are telling clients that Soviet economic realities "mean you'd better negotiate your reentry into the rest of the world" soon, he says.

Still, these changing perspectives do not mean the meetings will be a "love fest," says Pauline Baker of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The US, for example, still includes human rights as an important factor in reconciling with a regime like Ethiopia, while the Soviets do not.

Michael Johns, of the Heritage Foundation, says Soviet policy reevaluation so far seems largely aimed at cutting costs while maintaining its old commitments. Moscow seems to be trying to get the West to bail out its clients, he

says. "We shouldn't be fooled that they are pulling out rapidly," Mr. Johns says. "There are opportunities here, but clear dangers, too."

US officials are approaching the talks with no intention of picking up the check for Soviet clients, they say. Rather, the US is looking for concrete evidence that *perestroika* (restructuring) has come to Africa.

In the Horn of Africa, the US would like to see the Soviets use their influence with Ethiopia to facilitate delivery of relief supplies into southern Sudan. They also want to see what the Soviets have to say about stopping the flow of lethal supplies from Ethiopia to rebels in the Sudan and Somalia.

The regime in Ethiopia has made overtures toward the US in recent months, apparently with Soviet approval. But Washington is not ea-

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APRIL 29, 1989

## S. Africa Accuses U.N. Force of Pro-SWAPO Bias

### Agreement Reached on Getting Namibia Peace Plan Back on Schedule After Incursions

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, April 28—Not yet a month after its arrival in Namibia to oversee independence elections, the United Nations peace-keeping force is being accused by the South African government of showing bias in favor of the Namibian guerrilla movement, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

Despite the discord over alleged U.N. favoritism toward SWAPO, negotiators from Angola, Cuba and South Africa who are monitoring implementation of Namibian independence reached agreement today on getting the U.S.-mediated peace plan back on schedule after it was nearly derailed by April 1 incursions into Namibia by Angola-based SWAPO guerrillas.

U.N. peace-keeping officials said there were fewer than 200 guerrillas left in northern Namibia, and that more were returning to their bases in Angola before the end at 6 a.m. Saturday of a period in which South African security forces pulled back to their bases to allow the fighters safe passage out of the border area.

Neil van Heerden, director general of the South African Foreign

Ministry, put the figure at 400 guerrillas. He said that as soon as the completion of the SWAPO withdrawal is verified, South African forces will again be sent back to their bases and confined there.

At a news conference here, van Heerden said that when the period in which the South African forces remain in their barracks ends, a two-week process of verifying the SWAPO pullout will begin, after which the South African, Angolan and Cuban delegates to the joint monitoring commission will meet again at the Namibian border town of Ruacana "to consider the situation."

Asked whether the delays caused by the process of getting the remaining SWAPO fighters out of Namibia would interfere with the independence timetable, van Heerden replied, "It is difficult at this stage to establish the exact effect it will have. We will have to see whether it is possible to complete what needs to be done in the interim period."

The South African-appointed administrator general of Namibia, Louis Pienaar, made a surprise appearance before the monitoring commission today in what sources close to the negotiations said was an attempt by Pretoria to press allegations that the U.N. Transition

Assistance Group was showing favoritism toward SWAPO, which is favored to win independence elections scheduled for Nov. 1.

The charges centered on an impromptu rally held Wednesday night at a Lutheran mission hostel at the border town of Ongwediva by 26 SWAPO guerrillas who had been turned over to the U.N. peacekeepers by territorial security forces for deportation to Angola.

The South Africans were said to have complained to U.N. Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari in a meeting here Thursday that instead of being transported immediately to Angola, the guerrillas were allowed to spend the night at the Lutheran mission, where they made political speeches at a rally.

Ahtisaari's deputy, Cedric Thornberry, said today there was not time to process the guerrillas and take them across the border before nightfall, and that since the U.N. group had no facilities in which to house them they were put up at the mission station.

"It appears that on the arrival of these 26 at Ongwediva, a spontaneous demonstration by the local population occurred, and there seems to have been a brief reception at the church center at which

the 26 were fed and one former detainee made a speech," Thornberry said.

The incident underscored the sensitivity the South Africans have shown, even before the regional peace agreement was signed last Dec. 22, to the possibility of bias by the U.N. peace-keepers in favor of SWAPO. South African officials noted that assurances of U.N. impartiality were a major consideration in Pretoria's acceptance of the peace agreement, which traded Namibian independence for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola.

South African officials were also said to be upset by a memorandum sent by the Geneva headquarters of the U.N. High Commission on Refugees to the peace-keeping group's headquarters in the Namibian capital, Windhoek. In the memo, which was leaked and published by South African newspapers today, commission officials expressed reluctance to assist in the repatriation of Namibian refugees who are not supporters of SWAPO.

The memorandum referred to a small number of Namibian refugees in Belgium and said, "Do not consider it advisable to press them yet to return home. All the more that [the] majority are not SWAPO affiliates."



# U.N.'s Finn in Namibia Finds Ties That Bind

By PAUL LEWIS

## Namesakes and religion greet a returning envoy.

UNITED NATIONS — When Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations official charged with helping Namibia to independence from South Africa, arrived in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, on April 1, his local namesakes had just turned 10.

It was a reminder of how long the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia had been on the job as well as of his unusual relationship with that country.

Back in 1978, when the United Nations first sent Mr. Ahtisaari to Namibia to preside over its passage to independence, many Namibian families named their sons after the man they expected to set them free. But South Africa changed its mind at the last minute, and Mr. Ahtisaari was forced to pack his bags and leave.

But the little tribe of Namibian Ahtisaaris lived on, and not just as a gesture of defiance toward South Africa.

### Supporter of Independence

Their existence also reflects the close religious and, many would say, political ties that link northern Namibia, where most of the population lives, with snowy Finland, ties that have made the local offshoot of Finland's Lutheran Church a powerful supporter of independence over the years.

For Mr. Ahtisaari is both a Finn and a member of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, which has been the principal missionary presence in northern Namibia since the 1870's, while German Lutherans proselytized the less populous south.

"Northern Lutheran families often gave their children a Finnish name borrowed from an esteemed missionary. Calling them Ahtisaari was in that tradition," notes Rollie Deffenbaugh, an American who serves as legal adviser to Namibia's Lutheran Bishops.

Today, roughly half of Namibia's 1.3 million people are Lutherans, with about 400,000 concentrated in northern Ovambo land, accounting for half the dominant Ovambo tribe.

The United Nations plan for independence was put in jeopardy after guerrillas from the South-West Africa People's Organization crossed the border from Angola and were attacked by South African-led security forces.

[At 6 A.M. Saturday, a 60-hour truce period announced by South Africa to let the Namibians return to Angola expired, and the police and army units resumed their search for remaining insurgents. Negotiators from Angola, Cuba and South Africa,

who met in Cape Town to find a way to keep the transition to independence on track, plan to convene on May 15 to assess the effect of the guerrilla withdrawal.]

### Strong Ties With Finland

Although Namibia's former Finnish and German Lutheran Churches are now quite independent and their Bishops all Namibian born, the northern church's ties with Finland remain strong.

Many Ovambo can speak some Finnish, either because they studied in Finland or because they picked it up around the mission station.

South Africa has accused the Finnish Lutherans for decades of undermining its authority in this former German colony, mandated to Britain after World War I but retained by South Africa at independence.

And today, the South-West African People's Organization, the nationalist guerrilla group that has been fighting the disputed South African rule from bases in Angola, draws most of its support from the predominately Lutheran Ovambo people.

### Turning Point in 1971

For Mr. Deffenbaugh, the turning point in the Lutheran Church's involvement in Namibia's struggle for independence came in 1971 after the General Assembly had voted to end South Africa's stewardship and the International Court of Justice condemned its refusal to surrender the territory.

South Africa asked the Namibian bishops for their opinion of the verdict. "They probably expected a pious endorsement of their rule based on Romans 12, where Saint Paul says, 'Let every person be subject to the governing authorities,' but they got a bombshell," Mr. Deffenbaugh says.

After consulting the local Lutheran theological college, the bishops sent an open letter condemning South African rule as a violation of natural justice and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Namibia's smaller Catholic and Anglican Churches endorsed the Lutheran text, which became a pastoral letter in every pulpit.

### Increasing of Tension

After that, tension increased between church and state in Ovambo land, with the South African authorities veering between efforts to win over the Lutherans and reprisals against them when they failed.

In the mid-70's, tensions between the white authorities and the church ignited in an event considered by many Ovambos to be central to the conflict. In Oniipa, the Lutheran church's printing press was blown up by unknown saboteurs, an obvious effort to still the black church's voice.

Then, prodded by the Finnish Lutherans, the World Lutheran Federation began a campaign to win broad Christian support for Namibian independence. In 1986, the Lutherans sent a delegation of Namibian Christian leaders around the world to press their case under the slogan "One in the Body of Christ: Together a free people."

Mr. Ahtisaari, 51 years old, was first selected in 1977 to run the United Nations Namibian independence plan by Kurt Waldheim, then the Secretary General. The choice reflected his knowledge of Southern Africa, acquired as Finnish Ambassador to Tanzania until 1976 and as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

But officials say Mr. Waldheim was also influenced by Finland's close ties with Namibia through the Lutheran Church and by Mr. Ahtisaari's own early connections with the country when, as a student, he headed an organization looking after Namibians who came to Finland in search of education denied them at home.

### Criticized by Africans

Such links make it ironic that Mr. Ahtisaari has already been thrust in the spotlight in Namibia, where he has been criticized by African countries for allowing Pretoria to hunt down guerrillas who entered the country in violation of the independence agreement.

But in an interview before he left, Mr. Ahtisaari stressed the stubborn side of his character that helps him endure disappointments. "I have lots of 'sisu,'" he said, using a Finnish word meaning stamina. "I need it. I've waited 10 years to do this job."

Then, reflecting on the 10-year-old Ahtisaaris awaiting his return to Namibia, he noted that they have chosen an odd name as future citizens of a country that is largely desert. Ahtisaari means the island of the ancient Nordic god of water.



# Natal Violence Perils S. Africa Blacks' Struggle

By SCOTT KRAFT,  
Times Staff Writer

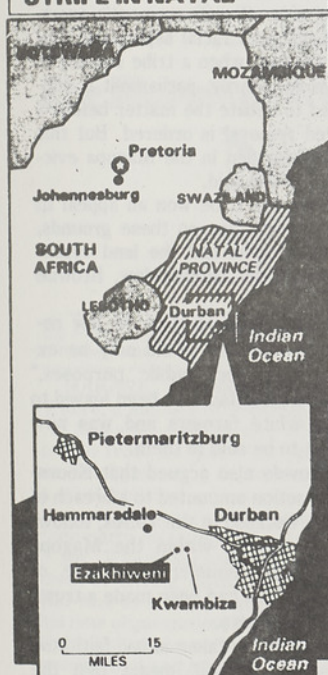
**EZAKHIWENI, South Africa**—The valley is eerily quiet. A large school stands empty, its windows broken and chairs piled up outside like firewood. The general store's black gates are padlocked. A thousand houses are shut tight, curtains drawn, the inhabitants gone. Abandoned dogs pad along the empty red-clay footpaths.

And up on the green hilltop are 10 fresh graves.

Elizabeth Ndimande returned home briefly the other day to prepare a hot meal of beans for her six children. But she didn't plan to stay long.

"Everyone has run away," she said. "Now we sleep in the forest." She knows there are others there, too. "I hear their children crying at night," she said. "But we don't speak."

## STRIKE IN NATAL



### Cycle of Revenge

Fear has saturated the Ezakhiweni valley and dozens of other lush green valleys in South Africa's Natal province, where gangs from one valley invade the next valley in what has become a perpetual cycle of revenge.

The death rate, after four years and 1,500 killings, has quickened to an average of two a day. And about 40,000 refugees like Ndimande and her children have fled to church missions, schools and the bush.

The violence, now the bloodiest political unrest in the country's turbulent history, has cast a long shadow over the integration struggle. But the violence is also destroying the trust between black and white communities, and it also threatens to undermine the unity that black leaders say is crucial to dislodging white minority rule here.

Jailed black nationalist leader Nelson R. Mandela recently said that the legacy of hatred and bitterness among blacks in Natal "may haunt us for years to come."

The South African government has been unable to limit the trouble despite the broad powers of arrest and detention granted police under a three-year-old emergency decree. But it vowed last week to beef up police patrols and use "an iron fist" to protect "the peace-loving residents" of Natal.

The trouble is the result of a power struggle between the United Democratic Front (UDF), the large anti-apartheid movement with close links to the African National Congress (ANC), and the more conservative Inkatha movement led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Both Mandela, leader of the ANC, and Buthelezi have called for peace in the region. Buthelezi recently asked his supporters "to stand shoulder to shoulder with the ANC, the UDF and other organizations to outlaw violence. Neighbor has to act with neighbor, regardless of political affiliation."

"In my entire political career," Mandela recently wrote Buthelezi from prison, "few things have distressed me [so much] as to see our people killing one another as they are now."

But the killing has become self-perpetuating, guided, like the gang violence in Los Angeles, by the unrelenting tug of intimidation and revenge.

"One almost despairs about any future dialogue taking place," said Peter Kerchoff, head of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness. A daily stream of bereaved families comes through Kerchoff's office doors.

### Rolling Green Land

The violence stretches along 45 miles of rolling green land that the late Alan Paton described in his novel "Cry, the Beloved Country" as "lovely beyond any singing of it." It begins in townships outside the bucolic community of Pietermaritzburg and ends in the sprawling squatter settlements near Durban, on the Indian Ocean.

The latest outbreak here, near

Hammarisdale, began earlier this year when more than 30 people were killed in various attacks by Inkatha-supporting vigilantes in Kwambiza, in a valley next to Ezakhiweni, according to residents.

Then, five Inkatha supporters were shot to death by UDF "comrades" while drinking beer at a tavern in Ezakhiweni town, an Inkatha stronghold. An avenging gang gunned down six more people in Kwambiza on a Sunday and, on the next Tuesday, seven people were murdered in Ezakhiweni.

A tense week passed. Then a shopkeeper in Kwambiza was shot to death and his store burned. All that remained from the soot-stained rubble was a sign outside reading, "Sunlight Soap Cleans Everything."

Two days later, a gang from Kwambiza marched into Ezakhiweni at midday and confronted Inkatha members who had just buried seven of their own amid the waist-high grass of a hilltop cemetery. Two Inkatha members died in that battle.

Elizabeth Ndimande heard the automatic weapons fire. "It sounded like a motorbike." And then she and more than 100 residents fled for the safety of the bush, leaving behind their chickens and cows.

"I'm still afraid we may be attacked," she said several days later as she fed the chickens and shelled beans for her children, ages 3 to 15. Her husband fears the weekend trip home from his job in Durban, she said, and she cannot go for more food because the nearest open store is in Kwambiza.

"Anyone who isn't Inkatha will be killed in Kwambiza," she said.

Today, a thousand houses stand empty in Kwambiza, and 300 are vacant in Ezakhiweni. Two schools have closed, and truck drivers carrying supplies for Ezakhiweni stores are afraid to travel through Kwambiza to deliver their goods.

One of Ndimande's neighbors, Betty Sibisi, born in Ezakhiweni 75 years ago, said things "were always peaceful here until three months ago."

"Now this trouble seems to happen every time we bury someone," Sibisi added, rubbing her coarse hands over a mat filled with peanuts drying in the hot sun.

The South African police added extra officers in Natal last year, but the death toll rose from 400 in 1987 to 660 in 1988, according to human rights groups. At least 200 have been killed so far this year, they say. Social workers say the estimate is probably too low because

many villagers will not report killings to the authorities and instead quietly bury their own dead.

### Battles for Supremacy

Police and relief workers in Natal say they are seeing less political and more plainly criminal activity in recent months. And many of the deaths, especially in the squalid, overcrowded squatter camps near Durban where 1.7 million blacks live, are the result of battles for territorial supremacy and scarce resources such as water.

More than half the blacks around Durban live in shacks, an average of five people to a room, and the per-capita income is about \$8 a month, researchers say.

"People are getting very frustrated and irresponsible," said Kerchoff of the Agency for Christian Social Awareness. "And it goes back to the underlying cause—apartheid. Blacks don't have enough housing, schools or money. You have a very frustrated group of people."

When the police are present, some say, they are able to keep the lid on the trouble. "But as soon as the police leave, violence springs up again," said one relief worker. "It's a pressure cooker."

Many civil rights advocates in Natal say the police have attempted to restore order by supporting Inkatha members. The UDF, for example, has been banned from political activity by the government, and many of its leaders who could participate in peace talks have been detained or restricted by the government. Inkatha operates under no such government restrictions.

Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, opposes apartheid, and he has refused to negotiate with the government until it releases the ANC's Mandela, who is serving a life jail term for sabotage.

### Split With ANC

But Buthelezi, who split with the ANC three decades ago, is considered a sellout by many of Mandela's supporters for accepting the white minority-led government's appointment as head of the quasi-independent homeland of KwaZulu. And while Buthelezi's politics are viewed with some suspicion by the government, he and his 1.5 million followers are considered much more moderate than the 2-million-member UDF or its ideological companion, the ANC.

"It's in the interest of the gov-

Continued on Pg. 14



# Zimbabwe frees 15 in massacre

BULAWAYO, Zimbabwe (AP) — The High Court has freed 15 men accused of massacring 11 white missionaries and five of their children, saying they are absolved by a presidential amnesty, newspapers reported yesterday.

Among those slain in November 1987 were American Pentecostal missionaries David Emerson, 35, and his fiancée, Karen Ivesdal, 31, who were from Choteau, Mont., and Briton Jean Campbell, 56.

State prosecutor Thomas Bvokerwa said on Wednesday the 15 — seven dissident guerrillas and eight squatters — are projected by an

April 1988 amnesty declared by President Robert Mugabe, The Chronicle reported.

It said the men could have been hanged if they were convicted of murder. The state had charged they hacked their victims to death with axes at two farms near southern Bulawayo city on the night of Nov. 25, 1987. It was an act of revenge because police acting on the missionaries' complaints had evicted the squatters, prosecutors said.

The squatters had been trying to reclaim the land, which they said belonged to their ancestors long before white settlers arrived 100 years ago in this former British colony.

Besides the two Americans and the Briton, all the other victims were Zimbabweans, including a 6-week-old baby girl.

The killers allegedly were led by Morgan Nkomo, a dissident chief-tain accused of other murders in the western province of Matabeleland.

The amnesty protects Zimbabwean army soldiers and guerrillas involved in atrocities in Matabeleland, where they fought sporadically for five years after Mr. Mugabe fired opposition leader Joshua Nkomo from a coalition Cabinet. Last year, the two leaders reconciled and merged their parties.

THE WASHINGTON POST

MAY 1, 1989

# S. African Tribe Goes to Court to Reclaim Land

## Magopas' Property Was Expropriated by the Pretoria Government Five Years Ago

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

PRETORIA, South Africa—At 84, Ephraim Epooe is thin and grizzled. He wears a tattered brown bonnet pulled low on his head as protection against the chill of the approaching Southern Hemisphere winter.

He does not look strong, but for three days last week Epooe retreated into the mountain behind his small tin shack to fast and pray for a cause that he says is dearer to him than life.

His prayer, as he expressed it in the simplest of language, was that his small Magopa tribe would win a court battle it is waging and "the Boers will be chased from our land"—the Boers being another tribe, the Afrikaner-dominated white government of South Africa, which expropriated the Magopas' land five years ago.

The tribe was forcibly removed despite international condemnation, including a protest from the U.S. State Department. Bulldozers flattened the houses, clinic, churches and schools that tribal members had built for themselves in the 78 years they had lived there. Their water pumps were removed. The people were loaded into trucks with their furniture and transported to a place called Pachsdrail, 150 miles away.

They hated it there, and over the years they moved three more times in search of a place more to their liking.

Now, some have drifted back to

Magopa farm and face the threat of a second forced removal.

They had sought, and were granted, permission by the government to send a small group back to their former community to clean the overgrown graveyard where their ancestors are buried.

That was last September. In three weeks, the work was almost done, but they began to feel the pull of home, and the pace of their work slowed to a crawl.

Others joined them. Soon, there were between 60 and 70 people there. They went back, like homing pigeons, to the spots where each had lived before, and built corrugated iron shanties amid the ruins of their old homes.

Some took cuttings from the fruit trees that had been theirs—figs, mulberries, Duke of York peaches—and planted them in cans to take with them, if and when they had to leave. Weeks became months, and they remained, and the work at the graveyard was still not finished.

Then in February, the government served them with notice that they were abusing their privilege and, therefore, it was being withdrawn. They ignored it. The government asked the Supreme Court for an eviction order. The tribal members at the Magopa farm would have seven days to leave or face another forced removal.

With the help of civil rights lawyers, they are fighting the order with an argument that the land is still rightfully theirs, that their orig-

inal eviction was unlawful. If they win, they could go back to their land. So this second great crisis in their lives also has become their moment of hopefulness.

Last week, members of the tribe packed the courthouse here in tattered clothing, with their gnarled hands and creased peasants' faces, listening intently to white lawyers and the white judge engage in technical legal arguments about the rights of possession, none of which they seemed to understand but on which they knew their future hung.

Epooe, meanwhile, was in his mountain praying. He is the tribe's priest, and he left seven colored candles burning in his tin shanty to lend strength to his prayers.

The tribe's lawyer is Jules Browde, president of an organization called Lawyers for Human Rights. He told the court that the Magopa tribe was the victim of "one of the most flagrant violations of human rights conceivable." They had, he said, been subjected "to a most cruel harassment," and the man he held chiefly to blame was Pieter G. Koornhof, now South African ambassador in Washington.

Koornhof was the minister in charge of black affairs at the time of the forced removal and, according to Browde, he conducted "what reads like a concerted campaign against this tribe."

Browde noted that their removal was intended to eradicate a "black spot" in what is regarded as a "white"

area under the government's apartheid policy of racial separation. Under the law, when a tribe refuses to move voluntarily, parliament is supposed to debate the matter before a forced removal is ordered. But this did not happen in the Magopa eviction, Browde said.

When the tribe won an appeal to stop the eviction on these grounds, Koornhof then had the land expropriated under another law, Browde said.

Browde argued that the law required that land could only be expropriated for "public purposes," but that it in fact had been leased to local white farmers and was now about to be sold to them.

Browde also argued that Koornhof's action amounted to a breach of trust, because in the 1930s, following a dispute within the Magopa tribe, the minister in charge of black affairs had been made a trustee of its affairs.

Such action taken in bad faith, the lawyer concluded, meant that the expropriation was invalid.

The state's lawyer, Sam Maritz, contended that the bulk of the tribe had moved voluntarily to Pachsdrail, which meant that those who refused to move were not a tribe in the legal sense, but merely "a small bunch of dissident individuals." There was, therefore, no legal requirement for their removal to be debated by parliament.

Judge Willem van der Merwe said he intended to rule this week.



# Violence in West Africa

Border disputes, a not uncommon phenomenon in West Africa, have plunged Senegal and Mauritania into ethnic violence in recent weeks. Mobs in the Mauritanian capital of Nouakchott have reportedly killed more than 400 people from neighboring Senegal. Senegalese mobs responded with a round of revenge in Dakar, where more than 40 people were killed over a few days and property belonging to Mauritians was burned.

Stories such as these are troubling, tragic and much too familiar. Last year, more than 5,000 persons were slain in a burst of tribal strife in heart-of-Africa Burundi. In the Sudan last year, 250,000 people starved to death after being cut off from food supplies during a civil war between the Moslem, Arabized people of northern Sudan and the black African peoples of the south.

Usually, the dead are not victims of war, as they were in the Sudan. More often, they are victims of age-old hostilities that flare up in places where different ethnic groups manage to coexist most of the time despite the tensions. The recent fighting between Mauritians and Senegalese, for in-

stance, was sparked by a minor border incident. One report said it flared up after a Senegalese farmer's garden was trampled by the cattle of a Mauritanian neighbor.

Part of the problem rests in colonial-era borders that are as unchanging as they are nonsensical. But at the root of this explosion is a major racial and religious rift that stretches across the broad chest of Africa from Senegal to Somalia. It is the misfortune of these people that they live in the place where the Moslem and African worlds meet, and where the relationship has often been one in which Arabs have exploited Africans, often capturing them as slaves to be traded along with African ivory and gold. Mauritania, a Moslem country, abolished slavery only in 1980. It was the last nation in the world to do so.

It is understandable that hostility and resentment exist under these circumstances, but mob violence and mass murder are not a solution. The only real answer is for these groups to work to rise above their past, or face a future of more death, destruction and despair.

The Washington Times

MAY 1, 1989

## New rival party challenges Mugabe's rule in Zimbabwe

By Peter Younghusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Edgar Tekere, a founder of President Robert Mugabe's ruling party who was ousted from its ranks last year, announced yesterday the formation of a rival political group in a bid to thwart Zimbabwe's march toward a "one-party dictatorship."

Mr. Tekere accused the government of having fallen into "decay" and said at a news conference that his new organization, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, will work for clean government and a better economy.

The 52-year-old Zimbabwean politician said he plans to challenge Mr. Mugabe and his party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, at the polls in the second post-independence elections, due before April 1990.

A new political party would reverse Zimbabwe's trend toward a one-party state. Such a possibility appeared certain after Joshua Nkomo, Mr. Mugabe's strongest rival, folded his Zimbabwe African People's Union and joined ZANU-PF in December 1987.

Mr. Tekere had been secretary

general of ZANU-PF and ranked third in the party hierarchy. He helped found the organization in 1963. ZANU-PF later served as the political arm of an insurgency against the white-settler-ruled breakaway British colony of Rhodesia.

Political analysts here said ZUM is unlikely to gain power in an election — but the likely re-election to Parliament of Mr. Tekere himself would be enough to frustrate President Mugabe's desire for a one-party state. It is also likely that, given the growing unpopularity of the government, ZUM will gain other seats in Parliament.

Mr. Tekere was fired from the 15-member Politburo and the 90-strong Central Committee in October after making speeches in Parliament and elsewhere in which he attacked corruption in high levels and accused Mr. Mugabe of creating a personality cult around himself.

He told reporters yesterday that he will sit as a member of the new organization when the 100-seat Parliament resumes tomorrow.

"I'm in for a war with the ruling party," Mr. Tekere said. "We will pursue one another right up to the elec-

tions."

Mr. Tekere went on to call for supporters and officials of the ruling party and all other opposition parties "regardless of race, tribe or religion or sex" to join his movement in time for its first national congress before the end of the year, at a date still to be decided. In the meantime, the party will be run by a steering committee, he said.

Mr. Tekere said a new political opposition is imperative because the ruling party has become "thoroughly decayed" and the Marxist-style economy is nearing total collapse. Unemployment is "totally out of control" and the people of Zimbabwe have lost respect for the government, he said.

He said investor confidence has eroded and taxes and foreign debt are at a high level, adding that Mr. Mugabe's avowed aim of establishing a one-party state will only make the general situation worse.

He pledged that the ZUM will stamp out corruption and nepotism, introduce a free-market economy, promote local and foreign investment, and guarantee democracy.

"It is a time for better leadership, clean leadership for the survival of

our country," Mr. Tekere said.

He said his accusations of government corruption had been vindicated by the findings of a presidential commission set up to investigate graft.

Six cabinet ministers and a provincial governor resigned their posts this month after allegations of black-market racketeering involving motor vehicles. One of them, Minister of State for Political Affairs Maurice Nyagumbo, committed suicide last week.

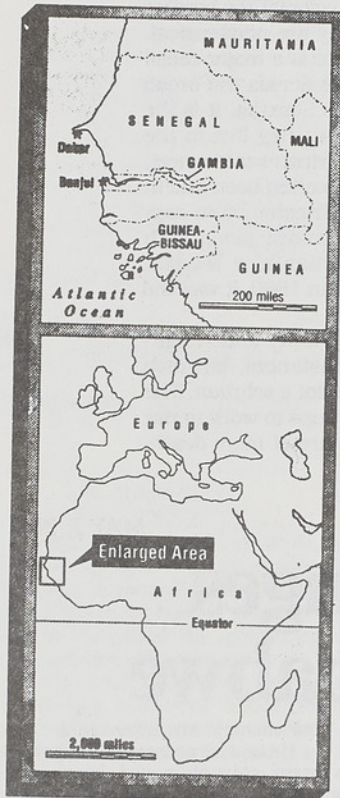
Mr. Tekere was briefly taken aback when a questioner asked about his acquittal, "on a technicality," of murder in 1981. He then snapped back: "I was cleared of capital charges at the time. Go and study the high-court record."

Mr. Tekere admitted in the Zimbabwe high court in 1981 that he led a gang of armed ex-guerrillas in an attack on a farm 70 miles from Harare in which a 68-year-old white farmer was killed. He claimed in court that he believed there were arms cached on the farm, intended to introduce a free-market economy, for a coup.

He asserted for the first time yesterday that President Mugabe had known of the operation and had seen the retrieved arms.



# Refugees traded to halt violence between Senegal, Mauritania



Map by Paul Woodward / The Washington Times

**NOUAKCHOTT, Mauritania (AP)** — Transport planes yesterday repatriated thousands of refugees between Senegal and Mauritania in an effort to halt violence between peoples of the neighboring West African nations.

Twelve Mauritians were killed in Tuba, 125 miles east of Dakar, Senegal, yesterday, sources said. There were no reports of anti-Senegalese attacks in Mauritania.

The sporadic violence against expatriate Senegalese and Mauritanian communities in both countries began last month in a dispute over border land between the two nations. More than 200 people are thought to have died in the fighting.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew declared Tuesday in Nouakchott remained in effect, but in Dakar a 10 p.m.-to-6 a.m. curfew failed to stop scattered pillaging of Mauritanian shops.

French, Spanish and Moroccan planes carried 5,000 refugees between the capitals, officials said on condition of anonymity. A total of 3,000 Senegalese and 5,000 Mauritians have been repatriated since the airlifts began late Saturday, officials said.

An estimated 20,000 Mauritians were being held under army protection at a fairground outside Dakar, awaiting a flight home. About 6,000 to 7,000 Senegalese were har-

bored by the Mauritanian Red Crescent at a Nouakchott mosque and an exhibition hall.

Nouakchott airport, surrounded by soldiers and armored vehicles, became a virtual military base as civilian and military planes loaded Senegalese for the trip home. Lines of refugees could be seen walking under military escort to one of six Moroccan planes Sunday.

At the fairgrounds in Dakar, customs officials and police confiscated everything from knives to money and jewels from Mauritians preparing to depart, according to Agence France-Presse. Customs officers told the French news agency they were ordered to do so and said Senegalese leaving Mauritania were getting the same treatment.

Senegal's President Abdou Diouf appealed late Saturday for calm despite what he called the "inhuman and degrading treatment" of Senegalese citizens in Mauritania. That was an apparent reference to a bloody outburst on Tuesday and Wednesday in which Senegalese were said to have been mutilated by Mauritians.

Mr. Diouf, in a radio and television broadcast, said Mauritania sparked the spiraling violence, which began April 9 when two Senegalese were killed in a border dispute over grazing land.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

May 5, 1989

## Trouble Along the Senegal

**E**THNIC violence in the West African nations of Senegal and Mauritania is an old story that needs a new ending.

The current problems started with a seemingly small incident: Land cultivated by Senegalese farmers along the Senegal River was trampled by cattle tended by Mauritanian herdsman.

That sparked the looting of shops run by Mauritians in Senegal, which sparked murderous riots against Senegalese in Mauritania. Finally an airlift was organized to try to get as many people as possible back to their respective homelands.

Friction between black Senegalese and Mauritania's "white" Arabic rulers can be traced at least

as far back as the 17th century when French colonialists penetrated the Senegal River Valley. They threw their lot in with the powerful black tribes of the region and pushed the warlike Moorish clans back toward the desert. When independence came in 1960, blacks were better educated and held most of the important jobs.

But in Mauritania, the Moorish majority reclaimed political dominance. Only in 1980 did the Mauritanian government formally outlaw slavery.

Traditionally, slaves had been black, held by Arab masters. In 1987, 54 black Mauritanian Army officers were arrested for plotting against the government. Three were executed.

On top of this, a dam-building project on the Senegal River, the border between the countries, is creating competition for increasingly valuable land on its banks.

Thus the scene was set for the recent strife.

Transferring people back across the border, even if practical, will hardly solve the problem. Senegal has 350,000 Mauritians; Mauritania has 30,000 Senegalese.

The reasonable course — that should be pressed by international leaders and others who have some influence — is to put aside ancient conflicts and work together for greater prosperity in the region. What Africa needs, above all, are examples of cooperation across ethnic and national lines.



B. J. CUTLER

# Conning pennies from the poor

**B**egging is common in Africa, but it is at its strangest in Liberia, America's closest friend on the continent. There, the ingenious criminal who runs the place begs for coins from the poor and lame to pay the debt to Washington that he and his kleptomaniac cronies have run up.

The United States has a love-guilt relationship with Liberia, which was founded on the West Coast of Africa by freed American slaves in 1822. It named its capital Monrovia, after America's president at the time, James Monroe. Its flag is red, white and blue with one star, and it has a U.S.-style Constitution.

All this has made Liberia Washington's favorite target for aid in sub-Saharan Africa. Since 1946, the nation of only 2 million souls has collected from American taxpayers

more than \$800 million in handouts and loans, most of it squandered or stolen by the local elites.

Here are a few examples of the Liberian regime at work: Postal workers steal \$1.4 million in stamps; telephone operators put through free international phone calls for \$10 bribes; electricity officials pocket \$7 million meant for rural electrification.

Presiding over this lesson in good government is President Samuel K. Doe, a master sergeant when he came to power in a bloody coup in 1980 and now a wealthy general in whose executive mansion political opponents are sometimes found dead.

**R**ecently, Washington reminded Doe & Co. that it owed \$183 million and that if \$7.2 mil-

lion wasn't paid by May 10, the spigot would have to be turned off.

Gen. Doe decided to pick his people's pockets to pay the debt. He ordered the country plastered with billboards and posters with slogans like "For Dignity and Respect, Let's Pay the U.S.A."

And, in heartbreaking scenes, decent and impoverished Liberians are responding. Old, bent, crippled and hungry people dragged themselves to Gen. Doe's palace to donate the few coins they possessed. Companies are shaking down their employees, too. The fund has hit \$4.5 million and is rising.

"America has been a true and good friend," said seamstress Mary Shaw, one of thousands who have contributed. "We owe them money and we ought to pay it."

Another version came from a businessman who prudently withheld use of his name: "We all know where a lot of those American dollars went — they're lining the pockets of some of the very officials who are now asking us to contribute money."

No doubt Liberia will make the necessary payment. No doubt Washington, worried about military landing rights and a Voice of America transmitter there, will resume aid. And no doubt the Monrovia mafia will loot the aid again.

But some behavior is worse than normal graft: If indeed there is a special corner in hell for despots who con pennies from the poor, Gen. Samuel K. Doe has a warm future.

B. J. Cutler is editor-in-chief of *Scripps Howard Newspapers*.

May 3, 1989

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

# Foreign Aid at the Crossroads

By Peter J. Davies

**I**S there strong support in the United States for humanitarian foreign aid? I think there is. Such support developed during the Marshall Plan, when the US helped to rebuild a devastated Europe, and has remained constant through struggles to address domestic problems. Now it seems the support is being ignored as Congress and the administration wrestle with the question of US foreign assistance.

Americans have repeatedly demonstrated compassion for their global neighbors, giving generously when disasters occur. In addition, for more than 30 years Americans have supported longer-term, development-oriented programs through hundreds of private voluntary organizations that provide humanitarian assistance abroad.

Such private organizations are the conduit between the developing world and the humanitarian desire of the American people to do something to improve the lives of others. They receive well over \$1.5 billion from private donors throughout the US each year. In addition, they have increasingly worked together with

the official US government aid agency, the Agency for International Development, helping the government deliver programs and services worth about \$500 million a year.

The future of these cooperative humanitarian programs hinges on an important debate in Congress. A key committee has proposed reevaluating how and why we give foreign aid. Fundamental questions have been raised about whether foreign aid is - or should be - primarily a reflection of humanitarian concerns, or a vehicle of US economic and security philosophies and interests.

The US foreign-assistance program has always had competing goals. From all indications, the Bush administration plans to continue Reagan-era policies: a heavy emphasis on military and political security and on exporting supply-side economics. This year's budget request once again calls for higher percentage increases in the military and economic security accounts than in humanitarian development aid.

Moreover, the newly reappointed administrator of the foreign aid program, Ambassador Alan Woods, is now arguing publicly that past development assistance programs have not worked. He contends that

the solution is to use foreign aid resources primarily to encourage third-world governments to change policies thought to impede economic activity. Mr. Woods contends that this will help attract investment, create jobs, and stimulate market-oriented growth. Supposedly the resulting prosperity is to trickle down and ultimately help the poor.

Certainly economic policies are critical to sustained national growth. Yet such intervention in economic policy is the specialty of international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, which use the resources of a large number of donor nations. Assistance from the US should be different. I am convinced that bilateral aid programs are much more likely to result in long-lasting, sustainable growth, if oriented to helping people address the root causes of their poverty.

President Bush has spoken eloquently of the "thousand points of light" - individuals and private organizations meeting needs at the community level. He and his stewards of foreign aid need to recognize the application of this metaphor in the foreign aid arena. Foreign aid with a human face, attacking poverty at the village level, will do more to strengthen the social and economic

fabric of the third world than pouring millions into military grants and balance-of-payments assistance.

Surely the "thousand points of light" philosophy is best exemplified by the kinds of people-to-people programs that hundreds of private voluntary organizations such as CARE, Save the Children, Oxfam America, World Vision, and Church World Service have been carrying out in partnership with local community groups, cooperatives, farmers associations, and women's clubs. These programs are aimed at helping build and strengthen local institutions, achieving the democratic pluralism that is a counterweight to autocratic governments.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee's move to revamp the foreign aid program provides an opportunity to ensure that US policy better achieves a humanitarian focus.

After almost 30 years in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa, I am convinced that we should, *we must*, recognize the comparative advantage of people-to-people approaches and not perpetuate the mistakes of the past.

■ Peter J. Davies is president of *InterAction*, a coalition of more than 100 US relief, development, and refugee resettlement organizations.



THE WASHINGTON POST

# Sudan's Rebels, Seeking Talks, Declare Cease-Fire

By Mary Battiata  
Special to The Washington Post

NAIROBI, Kenya, May 2—In a move designed to prod the new government of Sudan to the peace table, southern rebels have declared a unilateral one-month truce in that country's civil war, a guerrilla spokesman said today.

The cease-fire is welcome news for the famine-threatened south, where an international relief operation aimed at stockpiling food for more than 2 million people is underway. The truce could help reassure truck drivers and other relief workers who have been reluctant to travel through unstable regions, a U.N. spokesman said.

Lam Akol, a senior officer of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, said here that the cease-fire is intended as a show of good faith and a means to move the government toward implementation of broader peace proposal negotiated last November. It follows a series of statements by Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq Mahdi in favor of peace.

"This is to show we are keen for peace," Akol said. "We give them a cease-fire—they should now lift the state of emergency."

The cease-fire declaration, announced Monday on clandestine rebel radio, freezes rebel troops in their present positions and stipulates that government troops do the same "in order that the cease-fire is not taken advantage of by the government to reinforce" positions. The rebels control more than 90 percent of the south, and recently captured a string of government garrison towns.

Mahdi, speaking at a May Day workers' rally in Khartoum, welcomed the rebel cease-fire, saying that government troops would fire if fired upon. The president of the Sudan Federation of Trade Workers hailed rebel leader John Garang for choosing the workers' day to announce the cease-fire and predicted it would be a strong boost to peace.

In March, Mahdi bowed to pressure from the Sudanese army and unions and formed a new government committed to supporting the peace proposal negotiated last November between the rebels and one of the northern political parties.

That proposal, originally rejected by Mahdi, calls for the rebels and government to convene a constitu-

MAY 3, 1989

tional conference to find a political solution to the war. The rebel army has been fighting the Khartoum government since 1983 to redress what they regard as the economic and political domination of the African south by the Moslem, Arabized north.

While agreeing in principle to the peace proposal and the constitutional conference, Mahdi has insisted on a cease-fire agreement before a constitutional meeting. Rebel conditions include lifting of the state of emergency, suspension of the code of Islamic law that has governed since 1983 and abrogation of mutual defense pacts between Sudan and its neighbors, Libya and Egypt.

"The government has been saying in public that they accept the November peace agreement," Akol said. "If they are serious, we are telling them that now they should take some steps."

Rebel armies in Sudan and Ethiopia traditionally launch military offensives just before the onset of seasonal rains in hope that government forces will be unable to recoup losses while the disputed territories are bogged in mud. Akol, however, said the rebels consider the rainy season a "prime time" for military operations.

The cease-fire is not expected to broaden the international relief effort, which already operates under a safe-passage agreement on emergency food.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

APRIL 30, 1989

## U.N. Relief Operation Fails to Meet Goal in Sudan

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, April 28 — The United Nations has conceded that its efforts to supply food to the southern Sudan have fallen far short of expectations.

Organizers of what had been described as one of the most ambitious famine relief operations in recent years ascribed a number of reasons to the failure, ranging from increased fighting in the civil war to logistical nightmares.

James P. Grant, the executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund, said the April cease-fire negotiated with the Khartoum government and the southern rebels had not happened. As an example, he cited the ambush of a United Nations truck convoy on its way to Torit, in the southeastern Sudan, nearly two weeks ago, apparently by a nomadic tribe. The attack left eight armed escorts dead.

### A Discouraging Visit

Mr. Grant, who has been criticized by Western donor officials as well as

private-aid agency workers for being overly optimistic and hungry for publicity on Unicef's behalf, made his new assessment after a flying trip through the southern Sudan a week ago.

In March, he said that 119,000 tons of grain had to be delivered into the southern Sudan from April 1 to mid-May to prevent 100,000 deaths by starvation during the rainy season, when the region is inaccessible to food deliveries.

Last year, the United Nations estimates, 250,000 died of hunger because of a war-induced famine that was largely ignored by foreign countries.

A spokesman for the World Food Program, a United Nations agency that specializes in food deliveries, released figures in Nairobi on Friday that showed that 14,360 tons of food was delivered in April by the United Nations.

A train that had been expected to take food into the town of Aweil, where 8,000 people died of hunger during the rainy season last year, was still stalled because of the unwillingness of Sudanese rail workers to accompany it without a military escort. Similarly, a barge loaded for a trip down the Nile, to

Malakal, has not departed because of a disagreement over protection.

### Violation of U.N. Rule

The United Nations has said its food convoys cannot be escorted by armed guards. The organization has not explained why the convoy that was ambushed on its way to Torit was accompanied by rebel guards.

Many of the difficulties had been predicted and confronted by other relief organizations working in the Sudan, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has been airlifting supplies into Government- and rebel-held areas since December.

Red Cross workers who have established food distribution networks in some of the most remote parts of the southern Sudan said it was clear all along that the United Nations would not be able to marshal trains, trucks and barges to take in the food.

In most parts of the southern Sudan the roads are not sturdy enough to carry heavy trucks, the workers said. In other areas, the fighting is too intense. The Red Cross workers said.

Continued on Pg. 14



# Ethiopia Seeks Thaw in Frosty Relations With U.S.

## *Campaign by Mengistu Regime Said Aimed at Gaining Access to Western Development Aid*

By Mary Battista  
Special to The Washington Post

**ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia**—At the close of a three-hour meeting with Jimmy Carter here recently, Ethiopia's President Mengistu Haile Mariam, an aloof and rigid Marxist not noted for his warmth toward American officials, made an impromptu and unusually hospitable offer: Would the former president and his wife, Rosalynn, care to join the Mengistus up at the palace for dinner?

The Carters would, and they did—for a three-hour meal that one Western diplomat called "practically unheard of" in its cordiality.

The wining and dining of Carter and the similarly expansive reception here of Rep. Mickey Leland (D-Tex.) a few weeks earlier are part of a new charm offensive by the Ethiopian government aimed at improving currently frosty relations with the West, particularly with the United States, Western diplomats here say.

Mengistu's 15-year-old regime, facing unprecedented economic and military problems, apparently is hoping that stronger ties with the West will increase the presently minuscule flow of Western development aid to the world's poorest country.

Ethiopia receives less foreign development aid per capita than any other country. Many potential donors, including Japan, are said by Western officials here to be interested in giving large development grants and low-interest loans to Ethiopia, but would like to see an improvement in U.S. relations first.

"The U.S. support is seen as the key to opening up a lot of other relationships," said one U.S. source.

The meeting with Carter, analysts said, was calculated to send a message directly to Washington. "Mengistu knows Carter will be talking to Secretary of State James Baker," said one Western envoy.

"He is using any channel, no matter how improbable, to get across the notion that he is interested in better relations with the United States," the diplomat said. "For any reasonably credible American visitor, it is easy to get in to see Mengistu these days."

The Ethiopians have formally petitioned the State Department for permission to send an ambassador to Washington. If the State Department approves, Deputy Foreign Minister Tibebe Bekele, considered by Western observers to be an experienced Americanist, would become the first Ethiopian ambassador in Washington since relations between the two countries were scaled down, with rancor, nearly a decade ago, after Ethiopia expelled the U.S. ambassador.

Ethiopia also has said it would welcome a visit by a senior American envoy to discuss U.S.-Ethiopian relations. The Ethiopian Ministry of Infor-

mation has been distributing transcripts of an interview in which Mengistu said that the election of President Bush presented "a rare opportunity" for improved relations.

This wooing of Washington is a significant change from the regime's snub a year and half ago of Chester A. Crocker, then U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Crocker had come to the capital with the understanding that he would meet with Mengistu to discuss problems between the two countries, but that meeting never took place.

So far, however, Ethiopia's overtures have provoked little reaction or enthusiasm at Foggy Bottom, according to sources here and in Washington. The State Department has not yet answered the Ethiopian request for permission to send an ambassador, and there is no indication that it will do so soon.

Part of the reason for the lack of a U.S. response, say Western sources, is that the Bush administration does not yet have its Africa team in place. The State Department also is preoccupied with saving the accords signed last December calling for Cuban troops to withdraw from Angola in exchange for South Africa's commitment to independence for Namibia later this year.

Washington's slowness to respond also reflects the lack of consensus within the Bush administration about what the United States has to gain from improved relations with Ethiopia. "We haven't figured out what we want to do, whether it's in our interest to have a new relationship," one diplomat said.

Western officials say that any change in U.S. policy toward Ethiopia would have to be part of a broader, as yet unformed, U.S. policy in the Horn of Africa.

Any improvement in relations also would have to be accompanied by significant Ethiopian concessions on issues such as human rights and economic reform. It is unclear whether Ethiopia is prepared to make either the symbolic or the substantive changes that would be required to sell improved relations to a U.S. Congress that generally has been hostile to the Mengistu regime, according to a congressional source familiar with the Ethiopian position.

Ethiopia's overtures to Washington are seen here as a direct result of the changing attitude of Ethiopia's military patron, the Soviet Union.

After more than a decade of funding Ethiopia's 28-year northern civil war, Moscow's interest in the conflict is waning. The Soviets recently have begun pushing the Mengistu regime to find a political solution to end the war, a suggestion Mengistu so far has ignored. The Soviets also have begun restricting the flow of weapons to Ethiopia.

It was increased Soviet military aid to Ethiopia that precipitated the cooling in 1977 of the historically close U.S.-Ethiopian relationship. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are now

said to be reassessing the geopolitical significance of the region and the extent of their involvement here.

While Washington reviews its options in this part of Africa and makes Ethiopia wait for answers to its diplomatic overtures, U.S. officials also may be enjoying the chance to give the Mengistu government a taste of its own medicine, a Western diplomat here suggested.

"For a time, the U.S. was the petitioner as far as improved relations," the diplomat said. "Now the worm has turned, and Washington is enjoying this. It's an object lesson that you shouldn't kick superpowers in the shins."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 3, 1989

## Pope Urges Zambians To Spur Peace Efforts

Special to The New York Times

**LUSAKA, Zambia, May 2** — Pope John Paul II landed in southern Africa today, and wasted no time lashing out against apartheid and urging Zambia to take the lead in bringing peace to this troubled sector of the continent.

"As a leading country in Africa, you are being strongly challenged to build a society of harmonious relations between people of every racial group," the Pope said. "This, and your continuing efforts to promote a constructive dialogue by the parties involved, must be a response to the unacceptable system of apartheid."

John Paul offered his proposal in broad outline, as is his custom. But a Vatican official called it a direct appeal to the Zambian President, Kenneth D. Kaunda, to press for talks between South Africa and groups like the African National Congress, the banned South African nationalist organization that has its headquarters in Lusaka.

The chief Vatican spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls, said the congress had not asked for talks with the Pope. But officials of the group said tonight that their leader, Oliver Tambo, had been invited to an ecumenical meeting Thursday morning at the Anglican cathedral here and that a brief discussion with John Paul was possible.

The Pope's anti-apartheid comments were not as strong as some he has made in the past. It certainly was less forceful than a Vatican document in February that condemned racism.



# The Washington Times

MAY 1, 1989

## US TO TEST SOVIET (Continued)

By Bill Gertz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ger to bite unless that government makes major changes, officials say.

"There needs to be a radical restructuring of the government's attitude toward its people," says a senior administration official, who cites massive human rights violations and persistent use of food as a weapon against Ethiopian citizens. He says the Ethiopian government must show "a willingness to negotiate an end to its costly civil wars."

"We are not optimistic about the chances for such changes as long as [Ethiopian President] Mengistu is around," the official says, "and we'll share that assessment clearly with the Soviets. This is, after all, a regime propped up by Soviet aid and a population fed by Western charity."

The basic question is how hard the Soviets are willing to press Mengistu to clean up his act, US officials say. The US has so far seen only Soviet suggestions that they will cut military aid to Ethiopia, they say. The US would like to see firm evidence of reduced deliveries.

On southern Africa, the talks will probably focus on Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique, though the US may also probe Soviet views on South Africa. The two sides will probably review progress in implementing the Namibia accords, and may explore what can be done to help Mozambique overcome its serious problems.

Ending Angola's civil war may well also be discussed. Soviet officials privately say the government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels should negotiate a solution. But Washington is waiting for evidence that Moscow will apply pressure to that end. They would like to see a cutback in \$1.5 billion annual Soviet military aid to Angola.

"As long as the Soviets maintain their aid flow, the US will aid UNITA," the senior official says. "If the Soviets cut back, we'll look at our supply, with the caveat of the overwhelming amount of support they give."

## U.N. RELIEF OPERATION FAILS TO MEET GOAL IN SUDAN (Continued)

A spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross said on Thursday that the organization was airlifting food, medicine, seeds and agricultural equipment to eight centers in the southern Sudan — four Government-controlled towns and four rebel-held ones.

The Bush administration unsuccessfully protested in April a decision by the United Nations to send a Soviet U.N. official with ties to the KGB to monitor free elections in Namibia, according to State Department and administration officials.

The diplomat, Viktor Andreyev, a high-ranking aide to a Soviet U.N. undersecretary, left New York for Windhoek, Namibia, capital of the southwest African state, in mid-April to become the No. 2 official of a special U.N. monitoring group there, the officials said.

The State Department privately protested Mr. Andreyev's appointment as an election monitor to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar last month because of his ties to the Soviet intelligence service, the officials said.

"We asked why they were sending an intelligence officer [to monitor the elections] and said we oppose it," a State Department official said. "He [Andreyev] has never seen a free election."

Helene Mahoney, a spokeswoman for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, said she was unable to confirm that the U.S. protest was sent because U.N. Ambassador Thomas Pickering could not be reached for comment.

According to FBI officials, Mr. Andreyev has been identified as a KGB officer operating in New York since 1985. U.S. intelligence officials view his posting to Namibia as directly related to Moscow's efforts to back guerrillas of the South West People's Organization (SWAPO).

Francois Guiliani, a spokesman for the U.N. secretariat, confirmed that Mr. Andreyev is an election monitor working directly under Martti Ahtisaari, a Finnish national who is director of the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.

Mr. Guiliani said he knew nothing about Mr. Andreyev being a KGB officer.

Mr. Andreyev is one of 10 regional U.N. commissioners who are "in charge of seeing that we proceed with fair elections in Namibia," Mr. Guiliani said. The other UNTAG commissioners come from Uganda, Canada,

United Kingdom, Gambia, Tanzania, Antigua, Chile, Yemen and Norway, he said.

But State Department officials said most of the UNTAG civilian staff members come from Third World and Soviet bloc states that have had little experience with free elections. Only a handful of Americans are on UNTAG's staff, they said.

UNTAG consists of some 4,500 military advisers and 1,000 civilians who will assist in implementing the agreement signed in New York last December between the governments of Angola, South Africa and Cuba.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is reducing the staff of its embassy in neighboring Angola from several hundred diplomats and staff to 20 persons, in what some U.S. officials see as a shift in intelligence resources to Namibia. A number of those leaving are said to be KGB and GRU military intelligence officers.

The U.S. officials said the Soviets are expected to establish a legation in Windhoek that will become a major KGB base.

The officials said the increased KGB presence in Namibia is an example of active Soviet intelligence efforts around the world that have continued in spite of less aggressive overt foreign policies stemming from internal economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union.

CIA Director William Webster told reporters recently that his agency has seen no slowdown in KGB intelligence activities abroad.

Under the New York agreement, SWAPO will take part in free elections for Namibia scheduled for November. As part of the pact, South African military forces will withdraw from Namibia, which has been under South African control since 1915.

Cuban troops in Angola also will leave that country under the agreement which will be observed by representatives of the United States and Soviet Union.

Morgan Novak, a foreign policy specialist on southern Africa, said both the Soviets and the United Nations have a stake in seeing that SWAPO wins the November elections.

The United Nations has backed the SWAPO guerrillas by recognizing them as a legitimate insurgent group in the region, he said.

## NATAL VIOLENCE PERILS S. AFRICA BLACKS' (Continued)

ernment that Inkatha should wield the power in the black areas," one anti-apartheid activist said.

The police deny working hand in hand with Inkatha, but they maintain that Inkatha is generally blameless. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok recently told Parliament that the African National Congress, acting through the United Democratic Front, was "clearly responsible" for the Natal violence.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, a UDF affiliate, says that its survey of 29 attacks near Pietermaritzburg this year showed that Inkatha was responsible for 16, police for three and UDF supporters for three, and that seven were carried out by unidentified people. The union federation also contends that several Inkatha members re-

peatedly implicated by residents in township attacks have yet to be charged by police.

"Residents could only conclude that police were acting in concert with wrongdoers, or that there were two separate systems of justice operating," the unions' report said.

Several efforts to quell the violence, including a peace accord signed last year by Inkatha and the UDF, have failed. Neither side seems able to control its young supporters, and each day's killings create another group of grieving relatives thinking only of revenge.

"There is no simple solution to this whole thing," Brig. Jac Buchner, security police commander for Natal, said in a recent interview. "There are still about 600 murders to be avenged, in my book."



## A NEW JOLT TO CORPORATE SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

In an editorial, *Business Day* said: "Mobil's withdrawal will deprive black South Africans of another American friend, but that is the least of the damage. In the longer term, each of these withdrawals contributes to the marginalization of South Africa."

### A Matter of Reputation

Mobil has one of the better reputations in South Africa for dealing with black workers. According to the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, 1,588 of Mobil's 2,793 employees in South Africa are black.

Gencor, formed from a merger in 1980 of two smaller South African companies, is one of the top three gold producers in South Africa and the second-largest producer and exporter of coal. Its other interests include ferro-alloys, oil, pulp and paper. Gencor's market capitalization has

been put at slightly more than seven billion rand, or about \$2.8 billion.

Two mining disasters in 1986 greatly damaged Gencor's reputation as an employer, but last year it had the best record among mining companies regarding fatalities.

### Pressure Expected on Shell

One businessman here predicted that the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of oil companies, which has Dutch and British ownership, would now come under increasing pressure to quit operating in South Africa.

"Shell is now very much isolated," the business executive said. "Now that Mobil goes out, they remain the tallest tree left."

Another businessman agreed that Mobil's departure "is going to put pressure on other organizations."

Most of the businessmen who discussed Mobil's action requested that they not be identified.

Mr. Botha of the Johannesburg-based American Chamber of Commerce said that 193 American companies have left South Africa since pressure to disinvest began and that 132, including Mobil, have remained.

"If you look at what it meant to achieve, it's been a dismal failure," Mr. Botha said of the anti-apartheid pressure. "The only effect has been the loss of American influence, the loss of American expertise, of people with guts to go out on a limb on a political issue."

In the United States, Congress, under pressure from American groups opposing apartheid, has taken steps to discourage American trade and business links with South Africa. Mobil said its decision to leave was largely the result of tax changes Congress enacted in December 1987.

Companies that have operations abroad are generally given American

tax breaks to compensate for the taxes their foreign operations pay to foreign governments. The 1987 measure sponsored by Representative Charles Rangel, Democrat of Manhattan, denied to American companies such tax breaks from their South African operations. Mobil said the measure had, in effect, imposed a 72 percent tax rate on its South African earnings.

Mobil's South African profits have also been eroded by the steady decline of the South African rand against the American dollar, a more indirect effect of Western sanctions.

The Mobil assets being sold include Mobil Oil Southern Africa and Westchester Insurance, both based in Cape Town; Condor Oil in Krugersdorp; Violet, a company in Port Elizabeth that produces and markets bitumen; a retail distribution network of 1,000 service stations across southern Africa, and an interest in an oil refinery in Durban.

## MOBIL QUITTING SOUTH AFRICA, BLAMING 'FOOLISH' U.S. LAWS (Continued)

Africa. In the proxy statement for the annual meeting scheduled for May 11, Mobil characterizes a shareholder proposal made by the American Baptist Churches U.S.A. to sever economic ties with the South Africa as "single minded and inflexible."

J. Andy Smith, director of social and ethical responsibility and investment for the Baptist group and the author of the resolution, said Mobil's decision to leave "is a very strong signal to the South African Government, and is another major attack on the apartheid system."

Ms. Katzin of the Interfaith Center said the sale of Mobil's operations "withdraws the resources and technological expertise that Mobil for the last 92 years has lent to South Africa."

It also means, she said, that Mobil is likely to abandon its lobbying on Capitol Hill against sanctions and corporate withdrawal.

Mobil's decision is an acknowledgment, she said, that "business today in South Africa is bad business."

Richard Knight of the Committee on Africa, an organization that has been urging the withdrawal of American companies from South Africa, called Mobil's decision "an important victory for the anti-apartheid movement in the United States."

"It seems inevitable," he said, "that those corporations that remain in South Africa will now really feel the pressure to withdraw."

Mobil's commitment to its South African operations appeared unaffected by the change of leadership in which Mr. Murray replaced Rawleigh Warner Jr. as chairman in 1986, but the economic environment in which Mobil conducts business has changed.

Many American companies have left South Africa, including Citibank, I.B.M., General Motors, Eastman Kodak and Exxon.

Apparently the decisive factor was the effects of the Rangel tax measure.

Mr. Knight at the American Committee on Africa said the measure had effectively increased the tax rate on American corporations' South African profits to 72 percent, from 57.5 percent.

Many of Pretoria's major trading partners instituted strong economic sanctions after banks in the United States and elsewhere called in their loans to South Africa in 1985 to protest apartheid.

### Financial Pressures

In the United States, a growing number of state and municipal governments have barred purchases from companies doing business in South Africa, and a number of pension funds prohibit investment in the stocks of companies doing business there.

Oil companies have come under particular scrutiny by anti-apartheid lobbyists because they dominate United States investment in South Africa, Mr. Knight said.

The issue was addressed in a shareholder proposal made by Comptroller of the City of New York, Harrison J. Goldin, on behalf of the city's police and fire pension funds. It calls for Mobil to terminate sales of petroleum or petroleum products to any entity of the South African Government.

Mr. Goldin's office said yesterday that if Mobil withdraws from the country fully, with no continuing interest, then he would withdraw his resolution, which is scheduled for a vote at the May 11 annual meeting.

### Conglomerate Is Buyer

The Mobil operations are being sold to the General Mining Union Corporation, South Africa's second-biggest mining company and one of its largest industrial conglomerates, with interests in paper and pulp, farming, computers, chemicals and energy.

The company, known as Gencor, will employ all of Mobil's workers

and have the right to use technology and formulas being used in Mobil operations, Mr. Murray said.

Included in the Mobil deal with Gencor are a refinery and retail and commercial petroleum marketing networks. Twelve Mobil-affiliated companies are involved, doing business in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Gencor has agreed to maintain Mobil's equal-opportunity employment practices.

A Gencor spokesman in Johannesburg, Harry Hill, said no decision had been made on whether the Mobil assets would become part of Trek Beleggen Beperk, of which Gencor owns 50 percent. The agreement with Mobil, he said, would have to be approved by South African and American Government agencies but is expected to be completed in June.

### A Gain of \$155 Million

Last year, Mobil earned \$2.09 billion worldwide on sales of \$54.3 billion in 1988. The company said the sale of its South African operations would, after taxes, provide Mobil with \$155 million, plus 1989 earnings until the closing. Those earnings are estimated to be at least \$10 million after taxes.

Because of currency adjustments, Mobil will have a net book loss of about \$140 million, which will be included in the earnings report for the second quarter.

Mobil's withdrawal could bring pressure on the remaining oil companies in South Africa to leave the country.

The only other major American company is Caltex, a joint venture between Texaco Inc. and the Chevron Corporation.

Major foreign companies include British Petroleum, Royal Dutch/Shell and Total-Compagnie Française des Pétroles. British Petroleum and Shell each own about 17 percent of Trek, Gencor's energy unit.



# SPLA offers safe exit for Sudanese troops

NAIROBI, Kenya (Reuters) — Sudanese rebels said yesterday they had begun direct negotiations with "patriotic" army officers in Khartoum for a safe withdrawal of government troops from some rebel-besieged garrison towns.

The clandestine radio of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, monitored in Nairobi, said about 2,000 government forces left the southern garrison town of Waat Monday morning in response to the Sudan People's Liberation Army's peace overture.

The SPLA, fighting since 1983 to end what it considers to be domination of the mainly Christian south by the Moslem north, declared a unilateral one-month cease-fire Monday afternoon.

"A top SPLA spokesman has said the movement has negotiated with patriotic officers at army headquarters and with field commanders to allow government troops based in small outposts to withdraw peacefully," Radio SPLA said.

Those evacuated must go to the towns of Juba, Wau, Malakal Kadugli and Damazin in southern Sudan, it said.

The radio did not say how and when the rebels started the talks with government army officers.

The radio said SPLA leader John Garang hoped the talks would lead Sudan, Africa's largest and one of its most impoverished nations, into a new era of peace and prosperity.

Sudan's Prime Minister Sadeq al-Mahdi was quoted earlier yesterday as saying his government would respond positively to the truce declared by the SPLA.

"For every one step taken by the SPLA, we will reciprocate by taking two steps," he told al-Siyassa newspaper.

Radio SPLA warned its forces not to attack withdrawing government forces.

Since February, the SPLA has seized more than 12 garrison towns as the rebels stepped up their six-year war, in which tens of thousands of people have been killed.

More than 100,000 others may starve this year because the war has disrupted farming. Another 500,000 have fled into Ethiopia and Uganda.

The rebels want the government to start talks on the peace accord the SPLA signed last November with the Democratic Unionist Party, a junior partner in Mr. Mahdi's coalition.

Although Mr. Mahdi initially rejected the pact, he accepted it this year.

## Kenya's veep resigns office

NAIROBI, Kenya — Kenya's Vice President Josephat Karanja,



Moi

under siege for allegedly under mining President Daniel arap Moi, resigned last night, state radio said.

Voice of Kenya interrupted its programs to announce Mr.

Karanja's resignation, which had been expected since parliamentarians passed a vote of no confidence in him last Thursday. It said Mr. Moi appointed Finance Minister George Saitoti as the new vice-president.

Mr. Karanja, 58, appointed in March last year, was accused by members of parliament of being a tribalist and of receiving financial assistance from Uganda to topple Mr. Moi's 10-year-old government. He denied the charges.

The accord calls for halting implementation of tough Moslem, or Shariah, laws hated by southerners, abrogation of Sudan's military pacts with Libya and Egypt, holding a national constitutional conference and lifting a national state of emergency.

Bureau of African Affairs  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

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