

World

SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid by Another Name*In his clearest speech yet, Botha unveils a modest reform agenda*

It was State President P.W. Botha's fourth address in six weeks before a provincial congress of South Africa's ruling National Party. Earlier speeches had drawn international TV crews and standing-room-only crowds, but this one played to a half-empty hall. Even the usually thunderous Botha seemed somewhat weary of the routine. Once again his theme was racial reform, and once again his message was fraught with ambiguities and contradictions. "I finally confirm," he announced in Port Elizabeth, "that my party and my government are committed to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise." But, Botha warned, one man, one vote in a unitary state would result in the "dictatorship of the strongest black group," which would lead to "greater struggle and more bloodshed."

While the speech was in many ways classic Botha, it also turned out to be the most precise statement to date of how far he is willing to bend to accommodate South Africa's disenfranchised black majority. Calling for "cooperative coexistence," he proposed a confederation of geographic and ethnic "units," with each racial group having responsibility for its "own affairs," including education, social welfare and residential areas. On matters of "mutual concern," meaning economic, defense and foreign policy, political structures would be created to permit discussion "without the one group having the right to dominate the others." To those familiar with the serpentine convolutions of Afrikaner rhetoric, the message seemed plain: racial groups should keep to themselves on matters relating to their own welfare, but on issues of national concern, white dominance would prevail.

Had Botha proposed the same formula in Durban on Aug. 15, when he initiated his series of party-congress speeches, it might have been read both at home and abroad as a signal that he was prepared to negotiate meaningful changes in his country's system of apartheid. At the time, prominent South African officials had put out the word that Botha planned to announce a package of unprecedented reforms, and expectations were high. Instead of demonstrating flexibility, however, Botha delivered a finger-wagging sermon that warned foreign governments not to "push us too far." His intransigence only hardened demands for bold reforms. Whereas many critics were disposed in August to consider a gradual easing of apartheid, by last week, as Botha's state of emergency entered its twelfth week and two more blacks were killed by riot police, they seemed unwilling to embrace reforms that fell shy of a total renunciation of all racialistic policies.

Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, one of the country's more moderate black leaders, dismissed the Port Elizabeth speech as "bitterly disappointing." Dr. Nthato Motlana, a senior civic leader in Soweto, South Africa's largest black township, branded Botha's remarks an "absolute waste of time." Leaders of the outlawed African National Congress, delivering their assessment from Zambia, called the proposals "meaningless amendments of the apartheid system," while the *Sowetan*, South Africa's largest black daily, editorialized: "The unified South Africa only reflects

eliminated such petty indignities of apartheid as bans on marriage and sex across the color line, and he has introduced a tricameral legislature that gives limited powers to South Africa's Indians and coloreds (those of mixed race). The result, if anything, has been to increase the pressure for more sweeping changes.

Why Botha's Durban speech failed to live up to its advance billing remains a subject of intense speculation. The initial explanation was that there had been a right-wing rebellion within his Cabinet. Diplomats, businessmen and journalists reject that theory, however, noting that the high-level officials who previewed the speech stressed that it had already been approved by a special Cabinet committee. One top official told TIME that the reforms would become "government poli-



The State President in Port Elizabeth: a call for "cooperative coexistence"

To those familiar with Afrikaner rhetoric, the message seemed plain.

another glorified system of homelands... [Apartheid] cannot be dressed up in false colors. We are not that stupid."

Even the Reagan Administration seemed unimpressed. The day after the speech, President Reagan acted on his Sept. 9 pledge to apply economic sanctions against South Africa and ordered a ban on U.S. imports of Krugerrands, effective Oct. 11. A day later, Secretary of State George Shultz declared that apartheid was "doomed." In an interview with the *New York Times*, he argued that apartheid "is not only wrong in our view, but, at least in my judgment, it is over." Shultz encouraged the South African government to "signal" its willingness to negotiate with blacks by releasing imprisoned A.N.C. Leader Nelson Mandela.

Botha was scalded by the poor reviews. "More than any other national leader, I went out of my way to create an attitude of justice toward other groups," he said to party members in Port Elizabeth two days after the speech. "There is no sign of any appreciation for this spirit of justice." Paradoxically, both statements are true. Botha has been more of a reformer than any of his predecessors: he has

cy" unless Botha himself revised the draft.

South Africans suggest three more plausible explanations. Botha may have changed his mind at the last minute out of pique, balking at the pressure implicit in the advance publicity. Another possibility is that Botha failed to realize how important the speech had become in the eyes of the international community. South Africa is often so inept at public relations that one Western diplomat in Pretoria jokes that there is a secret government office called "the ministry of bad timing."

Finally, Botha may have decided to space the enunciation of his reforms over the course of the four provincial congresses, thereby involving the whole National Party in his plans. "He had established a timetable, building up to a climax," says one Afrikaner journalist, "and he was not prepared to change that plan for anyone." During that six-week period, however, much of the world caught on to what the blacks of South Africa knew all along: the new pitch for "cooperative coexistence," much like earlier calls for "separate development," "plural relations" and "co-responsibility," is just another way of saying apartheid. —By Jill Smolowe. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA

Opprobrium from All Sides

As violence continues, Botha defies new calls for reform

For a moment it seemed that the South African government had made a significant concession to world opinion. State President P.W. Botha had partly lifted the state of emergency that for the past three months has suspended civil liberties in some of the areas hit by protest. But it turned out that Botha's order affected only six districts, all relatively rural and quiet, of the 36 areas given emergency status. Then Botha took away with one hand what he had given with the other: he extended the emergency measures to

leaders of the multiracial United Democratic Front, 16 of whose members are now on trial in Pietermaritzburg for treason.

There was thus little reason for the critics of apartheid, South Africa's system of racial separation, to moderate their tones as they continued last week to shower opprobrium on the Botha regime. At the United Nations' 40th anniversary celebration, high officials from at least a dozen nations stood to denounce the Pretoria government and demand measures

apartheid did not begin soon. Mulroney told the U.N., "This institutionalized contempt for justice and dignity desecrates international standards of morality and arouses universal revulsion."

In London more subtle but much more powerful forces for reform were at work. Fritz Leutwiler, an independent mediator and former Bank for International Settlements president, held private meetings with South African finance officials and representatives of 30 multinational banks to discuss repayment of South Africa's \$14 billion in short-term foreign debt. The government froze payments on the debt seven weeks ago after many banks, fearful that racial violence would destroy the economy, cut off credit. Sources close to the meetings said their object was to find a way to restore South Africa's credit lines so it can renew normal international commerce and begin debt repayment. South African officials, the sources said, are well aware that the debt problem cannot be resolved without movement toward political reform.

Botha showed no signs last week that he was ready to make concessions. In fact, he seemed particularly pugnacious as he told a political meeting that if sanctions against South Africa resulted in a cutoff of chromium exports, it would put 1 million Americans out of work and bring Western Europe's auto industry to a standstill. South Africa supplies more than 80% of the U.S. and Europe's chromium, which is used in the manufacture of stainless steel. A spokesman later said Botha's statement was not a threat; he was only pointing out that sanctions can boomerang.

The government had more stern words when seven clergymen of various races from the Dutch Reformed Church proposed to travel to Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, to meet with the outlawed African National Congress. Botha responded with anger. "The government has expressed its strong viewpoint on discussions with the A.N.C., which is a murderous organization," a spokesman for his office said. The government had raised a furor a week earlier when it seized the passports of eight Afrikaner students who had scheduled a trip to Lusaka, and it was widely expected that some similar action would be taken against the seven clergymen.

By week's end the number of deaths since the disturbances began in September 1984 had exceeded 800, including more than 70 in the Cape Town area. A U.D.F. official said that with the arrests and the new state of emergency, the Botha government has made "an open declaration of war upon the people of Cape Town."

—By Michael S. Serrill. Reported by Bruce W. Nelan/Johannesburg, with other bureaus



Pitched battles: young blacks run past an overturned truck during rioting in Cape Town
British Commonwealth sanctions and closed-door meetings about the foreign debt.

eight more districts, including, for the first time, riot-racked Cape Town.

Rock-throwing black and mixed-race protesters fought pitched battles with police in the southern city all week. The authorities responded with two new weapons. One is a water cannon that spews purple dye onto demonstrators so they can be identified later and arrested. The press immediately dubbed the substance purple rain. The second is more lethal: a rapid-fire gun mounted atop an armored personnel carrier that shoots potentially deadly rubber bullets.

The Cape Town disturbances culminated in a chaotic riot in the heart of the city's white sector. Bewildered lunchtime shoppers there dived for cover as police launched an assault on a group of blacks outside a courthouse in which three men were on trial for murdering a police officer. Hundreds of bystanders of several races were caught up in the fray as security officers used truncheons and whips in their efforts to clear the streets. In pre-dawn raids the following day, police arrested more than 60 activists, including

against it. "If you don't apply sanctions," President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia warned the leaders of developed nations with investments in South Africa, "hundreds of thousands of people will die and the investments will go up in flames."

Meeting in the Bahamas, 46 countries that are members of the British Commonwealth did impose sanctions, though British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made sure they were much milder than originally proposed. The Commonwealth's declaration threatened stronger action—for example, the prohibition of new investment—by individual countries if Pretoria did not begin moving toward the abolition of apartheid within six months. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada threatened to sever all his country's diplomatic and economic ties with South Africa if the dismantling of



Spraying purple rain



No words needed: Villeda, Duarte, his daughter, grandson and wife

EL SALVADOR

Home Again

A government-guerrilla trade

The white helicopter dropped out of a darkening sky, veered around a thick tree and sank its runners into the lush grass in the middle of a soccer field at El Salvador's leading military academy. A chubby figure dressed in blue jeans and a wind-breaker bolted from the chopper, dashed across the pitch and threw herself into the arms of her weeping mother. A moment later, Inés Guadalupe Duarte Durán was swept into the embrace of her tear-choked father, President José Napoleón Duarte, for whom the nation's civil war had lately become an agonizing personal ordeal.

The President's eldest daughter, a 35-year-old mother of three, and a companion, Ana Cecilia Villeda, 23, were released last week, badly disoriented but in good physical health, 44 days after they were kidnaped outside New San Salvador University by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (F.M.L.N.), the left-wing antigovernment guerrilla group. In the sweet first moment of reunion, no words were needed. "There was only crying," reported Communications Minister Adolfo Rey Prendes, whose face was also streaked with tears. As he led the former captives away, Duarte showed the strain of both a worried father and a politician who knew that striking a deal with the F.M.L.N. could very well make him appear weak.

In negotiations mediated by San Salvador's Roman Catholic Archbishop Arturo Rivera Damas, the Duarte administration agreed to the kidnapers' demand that 22 political prisoners be freed. The government also granted safe conduct out of El Salvador to 101 wounded guerrillas in need of medical treatment. In return, the F.M.L.N. handed over Duarte Durán and Villeda to intermediaries in the

bombed-out town of Tenancingo, north of San Salvador. The rebels also began releasing 33 mayors and municipal officials abducted during the past six months.

The political price of the trade was not lost on Duarte, who held a press conference barely three hours after being reunited with his daughter. Duarte insisted he had the overall support of the armed forces. His detractors, he said, "don't have a leg to stand on when they criticize an attitude which is evidently humane, because it's not just the liberation of Inés and the mayors, it's the concept of humanism, which goes beyond that of a father's." Invoking a Latin courtliness—and coining a few new words—Duarte said, "I never thought the subversives would go against a woman, a mother, a lady who had no involvement in the process... The kidnapping of my daughter and of the mayors is part of the 'Beirutization' or the 'Lebanization' of the conflict."

That measured rationale won no sympathy from the right-wing opposition party ARENA, which sharply criticized Duarte for capitulating to the kidnapers. Even before the exchange of prisoners, an advertisement in the national newspaper *El Diario de Hoy* asked, "How will it be explained to the soldiers who in the field of battle captured these freed insurrectionists?" Of more immediate concern to the President was the reaction of the Salvadoran armed forces, which lately have had a hard time combatting the guerrillas' hit-and-run attacks. One field commander circulated a petition objecting to the negotiations with the guerrillas. Duarte did not have much time to ponder the consequences of his actions. Just one day after his daughter's release, edgy soldiers guarding the presidential palace opened fire on several vehicles in the vicinity. Two people were killed. At week's end came another kidnapping, this time of a military man, Air Force Col. Omar Napoleón Avalos. "This signifies an escalation of the war," said Duarte.

THE PHILIPPINES

Crackdown

A tougher line on protests

The day appeared full of hope, with sunshine after three days of rain. There was no hint of the violence to come in Manila last week as some 3,000 demonstrators began marching from the U.S. embassy toward the presidential palace. Most of the noisy, jostling crowd was made up of farmers from central Luzon, one of the country's principal rice-growing regions. Joined by militant students, they were protesting both high rice prices and U.S. support for the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos.

As the demonstrators approached Manila's Liwasan Bonifacio, a central square, they were met by police antiriot squads. Accounts of what happened next differ. The demonstrators said a motorcycle policeman rammed into the crowd and other police quickly joined him, firing at the crowd with live ammunition. The police, however, said the demonstrators mauled the officer and provoked the police into a reaction by throwing rocks and homemade bombs. In any event, the results were tragic. Two students were killed, one instantly; about 20 other demonstrators were wounded, and several policemen suffered shrapnel wounds.

According to some Philippine opposition leaders, the violence was an outgrowth of the regime's new get-tough policy, which is seen as a response to the visit to Manila two weeks ago of U.S. Senator Paul Laxalt. The Nevada Republican, who is a close friend of President Reagan's, met with Marcos to relay Washington's concerns about the growing Communist insurgency in the country. "There appears to be a 'go' signal from Washington to Marcos to tighten the screws on protesters," said Homobono Adaza, an opposition member of the Filipino National Assembly. At midweek Marcos warned that the police will take tougher measures against street protesters. The demonstrations against his rule, he told a group of visiting U.S. war veterans, were inspired by Communists.

The Manila violence was the second time in recent weeks that a demonstration had turned ugly. Last month 27 people were killed when security forces moved against a protest in the town of Escalante, 310 miles south of Manila. The violence was not only on the government's side. Last week gunmen believed to be members of a Communist death squad assassinated Gregorio Murillo, the governor of Surigao del Sur province on Mindanao. Murillo, 58, was the highest ci-



Marcos

villian official killed by rebels this year.

State Department spokesmen maintain that Marcos is paying attention to U.S. warnings. They say that Marcos has responded to Laxalt's visit with several announcements. Though none are new, they include a promise to increase the military budget by 39% and let U.S. observers be present for the 1986 and 1987 elections. Marcos also gave Laxalt two lengthy reports, one on the economy and the other on the military, to support his view that the insurgency is not as grave as the U.S. portrays. Said a State Department analyst: "We've got our own sources, and they indicate that the threat is far more serious than Marcos allows. Marcos has downplayed the threat."

About the only encouraging sign for the U.S. was a slight show of flexibility from Marcos regarding the future of General Fabian C. Ver, the armed forces Chief of Staff, now on leave, who has been charged with complicity in the assassination of Opposition Leader Benigno Aquino two years ago. Laxalt reportedly warned Marcos that if he reinstates Ver, who is a cousin and close friend of the Philippine President's, it could provide a "flashpoint" for further troubles. Marcos said he was obliged to keep his promise to reinstate Ver if he is acquitted, but a State Department official noted that "we think [Marcos] is looking for a way out."

Meanwhile, prosecutors in the Aquino case last week for the first time named the soldier they believe shot Aquino. He was identified as Rogelio Moreno, a member of the Philippine Constabulary Metropolitan Command, known as Metrocom. The prosecutors claim that he shot Aquino from close range in the back of the head as soldiers escorted the opposition leader off the plane on which he had returned home. Moreno is among the 26 defendants who have been charged in Aquino's assassination. The military has maintained that Aquino was shot by Rolando Galman, an alleged Communist agent, before Galman in turn was killed by security forces. ■



Protesters carry a comrade from a skirmish
Rocks, bombs and shrapnel wounds.

AUSTRALIA

A Growing Fissure in the Rock

A national symbol focuses dissent over aboriginal land rights

Ayers Rock is one of the world's largest monoliths, measuring over 1,000 feet tall and some five miles around at its base. It stands high over Uluru National Park, part of the seemingly endless desert that forms the heart of the Australian Outback. For Australia's indigenous people, the aborigines, this massive slab has been a sacred site for thousands of years. Thus the sunset ceremony there last Saturday was a momentous occasion in the aborigines' 40-year struggle to recover their lands taken by European settlers nearly two centuries ago. Sir Ninian Stephen, Australia's Governor-General, handed the deed to the 511-sq.-mi. national park to Aboriginal Elder Reggie Uluru. Immediately, Uluru handed

Despite opposition, the aborigines have gained rights to almost 19% of South Australia and to small areas in New South Wales and Victoria. The right-wing government of Queensland, however, has refused to grant the aborigines title to any land. In Western Australia, where mining firms have opposed aboriginal land rights, similar legislation has also been defeated.

The aborigines, however, have not given full support either to the Western Australian legislation or to the proposed federal changes. Both plans, they claim, deny aborigines the right to veto mining on native lands. Declares Aboriginal Leader Rob Riley: "Control over mining is an essential element of land-rights legislation."



Master of all he surveys: an aborigine looks out at Ayers Rock in Uluru National Park

over to Sir Ninian a document leasing the area back to the government. After the formalities, some 3,000 guests celebrated with a barbecue and corroboree. Overhead, a small plane towed a banner reading, **AYERS ROCK FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS.**

Indeed, many Australians saw no reason for the hoopla. They oppose the land-rights policy of Prime Minister Bob Hawke's government, which is attempting to push through legislation that would give aborigines title to 81,000 sq. mi. of the reserves and missions they currently occupy but do not own. Certain other areas would also be ceded, including national parks, the only proviso being that these would have to be leased back to the government. But the proposed legislation is being opposed by some state governments, which have considerable jurisdiction over aboriginal affairs. Only in the Northern Territory, which does not have full statehood, can the federal government easily carry out its plans. As a result, 166,000 sq. mi., or 32% of the territory's area, have been given back to the aborigines. Last weekend Ayers Rock and the surrounding national park became the latest gain by the country's 170,000 aborigines in their quest for land rights.

Not so, says James Strong of the Australian Mining Industry Council. He notes that since 1976, when aborigines in the Northern Territory were granted a veto over mining along with land rights, not one new exploration or mining agreement has been signed with the native owners. That is a significant fact for an industry that earns \$7.7 billion a year, or 44% of Australia's export income. Says the Territory's Chief Minister, Ian Tuxworth: "The nation's resources are being locked up forever, and Australia just can't afford it."

The planned federal legislation now seems shelved indefinitely. Laments Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Clyde Holding: "The miners are opposed... the aboriginal people are opposed." Consequently, the government was relieved at the opportunity to hand over Uluru National Park to the traditional owners in order to show its commitment to the stalled land-rights program. For aborigines, the Rock's sacred significance is comparable to that of the Vatican City for Catholics, as one Australian observer put it this week. But this has little effect on the average white Australian who will continue to view land rights with suspicion. The division looms as large as the Rock itself. ■