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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY. JANUARY 24, 1991

Angola Accepts Plan to End Its 15-Year War

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special (0 The New York Times

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Jan. 23 â\200\224
The Angplan Government announced
today that it had accepted in principle
a peace plan to end the 15-year-old civil
war against Unita, the United States-
backed guerrilla movement led by
Jonas Savimbi.

The Angolan News Service said the
Government had accepted, with only
â\200\234slight amendments,â\200\234 a plan outlined
by Portuguese, Soviet Union and
United Statesâ\200\235 diplomats earlier. this
month in Portugal. Leaders of the rebel
group have said previously they are in
broad agreement with the plan for the

former Portugese colony.
â\200\234We agree with the principles as pre-
sented to us by the Portuguese media-

round of negotiations,â\200\235 said Jardo
Mulekalia, Unitaâ\200\231s chief represÃ©entative
in Washington, in a telephone inter-
view.

A sixth round of talks are expected
soon in Portugal, and leaders of both
sides have predicted that a cease-fire
will likely come out of that meeting.

Diplomates Relate Details

. Mr. Mulekalia declined to discuss de-
tails of the peace plan, and there was

little elaboration in the statement from
tors and we are ready to go to the next.

the Angolan News Service, -which is based in Luanda, the capital of the southwest African nation. But diplomats familiar with the negotiations said the agreement includes the timing of new elections and the details of where the two sides can station their armed forces during a cease-fire.

The two sides are also said to have agreed that the cease-fire should be guaranteed by international observers and that outside military assistance would stop once the cease-fire accord was signed.

An accord is also expected to improve Angolan relations with Washington. The United States is alone among

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B P

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL sUNDAY, JANUARY 20, 1991

Rival Liberia Rebels Agree to Cooperate

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Jan. 19 — Two rival rebel leaders in Liberia have reached a settlement that could help pave the way for the formation of a government of national unity, news reports monitored here said today.

The rebel factions headed by Charles Taylor and Prince Johnson held peace talks Friday night in Monrovia, Liberia's capital. At the start of the talks, Mr. Johnson said the two groups would now work together.

In addition, Mr. Johnson reportedly asked for the resignation of Amos Sawyer, the head of an interim Government installed by a five-nation West African peacekeeping force in November.

Until now, Mr. Johnson has been a strong supporter of Mr. Sawyer. At the same time, he has been fiercely critical of Mr. Taylor, the leader of the main rebel group, which controls most of the country.

Critical of General

But in an interview Friday night with the BBC, Mr. Johnson said that Mr. Sawyer's government was no longer valid. He was also sharply critical of the West African force's commander,

to at-

tack his base at Caldwell, eight miles northeast of Monrovia. Mr. Johnson gave no further details on the agreement between him and Mr. Taylor. Nonetheless, an African diplomat who has closely followed developments in the civil war described the agreement between the two rebel leaders as a breakthrough that could augur well for tions in Monrovia next month all of Liberia's factional leaders. The meeting is to set a schedule for national elections.

the agreement between Mr. Johnson

and Mr. Taylor appears to jeopardize the interim Government.

This agreement really undermines Sawyer, the diplomat said, but in the long run it could help prospects for peace because the one thing most Liberians agree on is that they don't want

Monrovia

continued on page 14

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U. S. Department of State

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1994

INBRIEF.

KENYA

Somali Rebels Seek

Food, Medical Aid

Hepels m devastatea Somalia

appealed for the world not to let

their need for food, medical aid and

other assistance be forgotten in the

-concern over the Persian Gulf

#War. Thousands would die in that

:gvent, the Somali National Move-

â\200\230ment said in a radio broadcast

monitored in Nairobi, Kenya. Years

â\200\230of sparring between the authori-

larian - government of President

Siad . Barre and -numerous rebel

â\200\230groups erupted in brutal fighting

Wree weeks agp; littering streets

â\200\234with corpses, driving all Western

~aid agenicies and embassy officials

put of the capital and creating tens

g. â\200\234thousands of refugees in neigh-

- UBA

countries,

VBANDA

Starvation Reported

in Drought Region

About 300 people have starved in

northeasternâ\200\231 Uganda in the last

four weeks, a govÃ©rnnment official

Africaâ\200\231s first famifie deaths in a

year in which it is feared hundreds

â\200\230of thousands morâ\202¬ may die. The

official, who asked to remain anon-

-ymous, said that in the region of

" Moroto, 220 miles northeast of the

â\200\230capital Kampala, a 10-month

;:drgnî¬\201h't drove herdsmen from the

â\200\230parched province across the border

.inte Kenya in search of pasture,

sbut that at least 300 people died. A

â\200\234team of U.N.-experts spent the last

8ix days assessing the drought, the

official said, and concluded food

deliveries were an urgent priority

to prevent further deaths.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1991

Former Liberian Top Official
Declares That He Is President

From Times Wire Services

FREETOWN, Sierra Leoneâ\200\224Liberiaâ\200\231s vice president under slain President Samuel K. Doe declared himself president Sunday and told the countryâ\200\231s interim leader to resign.

Harry Moniba fled the country in September after spending three months in hiding following attempts by him and other Liberian politicians to force Doe to resign.

At a news conference in Freetown, he described the interim government of Dr. Amos Sawyer, which was installed in the Liberian capital of Monrovia in October, as â\200\234illegitimate, as the Liberian constitution does not allow for interim governments,â\200\235 and demanded its dismissal.) .

According to the constitution, Moniba should have become president on the death of Doe on Sept. 9.

â\200\234I want him to have respect for a constitution that he contributed to and for him to quit,â\200\235 Moniba said.

He said he had the support of the main Liberian rÃ@bel leaders, Charles Taylor and Prince Yormie Johnson, who are to attend a peace conference in Monrovia next month.

Sawyer, an academic, was put in power by the Economic Community of West African States, which has sent a 7,000-man peace-keeping force to end the countryâ\200\231s bitter, yearlong civil war.

Johnson killed DoÃ© in September after the president and his troops had been holding out for several months against rebels who had seized control of most of the country.

Johnson was originally a subordinate of Taylor, who led the uprising against Doe in December, 1989. The two fell out last February, but Johnson said Saturday that he and Taylor had patched up their differences.

Â¢ Speaking from Liberia, he told the British Broadcasting Corp. that he and Taylor both wanted Sawyerâ\200\231s government to resign.

~ Tue WASningTON Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1991

South African Judge Backs Claims

By David Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

_+JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 20â\200\224A
South African supreme court judge
has reopened the controversy about
police â\200\234death squads,â\200\235 which alleg-
edly were involved in assassinations
of anti-apartheid activists through-
out the last decade, by finding that
the testimony of a dissident police
Captain about their activities was
â\200\230true.

--In a case with enormous ramifi-
cations for both press freedom and
the government, Justice Johan Krie-
gler ruled Friday that the allega-
tions of former police Capt. Dick
Coetzee about involvement of the
police, including himself, in assas-
sinations of political activists here
and abroad were believable.

Given his public confessions that
forced him into exile abroad, it was
â\200\234unthinkableâ\200\235 that Coetzee would
have lied about his involvement in
the murder and kidnapping of po-
litical activists. â\200\234Why would he de-
clare himself guilty of such heinous
crimes if it had not been the truth?â\200\235
the judge asked.

The judge also found that police
Lt. Gen. Lothar Neethling, who had
brought a libel suit against two
weekly newspapers that in late 1989

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991

* * *

Rebels in Somalia rejected the country's
choice of a new premier, and a spokesman
for the insurgents said in Rome that they
would persist in fighting. However, a radio
report said that a committee of rebels and
government representatives had called for a

truce beginning last night.

* * *

on Death Squads

exposed his alleged role in death-squad activities, had repeatedly lied not only to him but also to an earlier government-appointed commission led by Justice Louis Harms.

Justice Kriegler's findings in favor of the two publications, the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad, were immediately hailed by anti-apartheid and human-rights groups as major victories in their struggle to bring to light the activities of secret police and military squads believed responsible for more than 100 assassinations of anti-apartheid activists during the 1980s.

Spokesmen for the groups said Kriegler's findings clearly placed in serious doubt the Harms Commission report of last November exonerating the police of any involvement in the political killings.

They demanded that government and police officials who had denied the existence of, or their links to, the death squads should, now be charged with perjury or murder. Vrye Weekblad editor, Max du Preez, predicted that the ruling

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

would advance press freedom in South Africa.

The biggest loser in the case was Neethling, chief of the South African police's forensic department. He had sued for \$600,000 in damages against the two weeklies for their allegations that he had supplied poisons to Coetzee for use in the assassination of anti-apartheid Neethling to pay the two weeklies' legal expenses, which du Preez estimated in the case of Vrye Weekblad at about \$400,000. But Neethling said he would appeal.

Justice Kriegler said he had come to the sad conclusion that Neethling had lied and misled both himself and the Harms Commission with his denials of having ever known or met Coetzee. Kriegler said that when he re-read Neethling's testimony before both his court and the Harms Commission, it hit him like a thunderbolt that the general had played a dirty trick in an open court to hide his contacts with Coetzee. The testimony

of Coetzee, on the other hand, had been consistent and believable, Kriegler concluded.

* * *

Rwandan forces and rebels battled for control of a district capital, and France sent troops to evacuate foreigners caught up in the fighting. Diplomats in Rwanda said that between 400 and 600 insurgents, remnants of a force that first attacked the central African country in October, had invaded on Tuesday from neighboring Uganda.

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The Washington Times

* MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1991

Sex-colonies in Africa ready to
shed Marxist governments

By Judith Matloff

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

LISBON, Portugal — Fifteen years after five African colonies broke free from Portuguese rule and set up Marxist governments, their leaders are embracing the Western-style capitalism and democracy they once scorned.

One-party rule is being swept aside in those countries from the tiny archipelagos of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe to impoverished-Guinea-Bissau and war-weary Mozambique and Angola.

Seeing the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and, facing some of the world's worst poverty, the five nations have begun to rethink their political doctrines and open their doors to private and foreign investment.

— We are writing new and important chapters in our common history, — Guinea-Bissau President Joao

Bernardo Vieira told a December meeting of ministers from the other countries.

Moscow, which backed some of the long rebellions against Portuguese rule, stepped in as ideological and often financial patron in 1975, when Lisbon's leaders withdrew hastily from Africa after their own leftist revolution at home.

But Soviet aid to all but Angola dwindled over the years and the political changes in Europe and the desperate need for more economic assistance have spawned a new era of realism in Africa.

— We had to adapt ourselves to the new situation, — Cape Verdean Prime Minister Pedro Pires said this month as campaigning began in the country's first multiparty elections.

Sao Tome voted yesterday for 55 deputies in its parliament in the first multiparty election since independence. Results will be announced

later this week. Mozambique also

plans to hold elections soon, Angola is adopting a pluralist system next year, and Guinea-Bissau is moving in that direction.

Political analysts say the transition in Cape Verde, which holds legislative and presidential elections in January and February, may be the easiest due to its relatively high standard of living and strong ties with the West.

The arid archipelago off northwestern Africa, once a port of call for slave traders and whalers, has a relatively free press and centuries-old links with the United States which is home to as many Cape Verdeans as the country's nine inhabited islands.

Pundits expect a close contest between the party of Aristides Pereira, president since 1975, and the opposition, which commands particularly strong support among the islands' young people. Half of the 350,000 population is under 30 years old.

Next to go to the polls is the twin-island republic of Sao Tome and Principe, which lies west of Gabon. The ruling party there is already worried about parliamentary and presidential elections Jan. 20 and March 3 and has proposed setting up a transitional coalition government with increasingly vocal opposition groups.

A recent strike wave, which paralyzed key sectors of the economy, points to growing discontent. More than 400 percent inflation, after a tough International Monetary Fund adjustment program adopted in 1987, and the lowest receipts in a decade from the main export, cocoa, are not helping the government win support.

In the two biggest former colonies, Mozambique and Angola, hopes are high that 15 years of civil wars will end when the two leftist governments end one-party rule, a key demand of rebels. Peace talks

are under way in both cases.

Mozambique's ruling party has been gradually liberalizing the economy. Last year it jettisoned Marxism-Leninism and put into ef-

fect anew constitution to allow other parties.

President Joaquim Chissano has said elections could take place next year and has opened peace talks with rebels of the Renamo movement to finally end the war, which has devastated the country.

Things are moving more slowly in oil-blessed Angola, potentially the richest of the five countries. It has the closest ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba, which supported its fight against U.S.-backed anti-communist UNITA resistance for the past decade.

The Angolan government has decided to revise the constitution, get up-a multiparty system in the first quarter of 1991 abandon its Marxist label and adopt a market economy.

The government is resisting, however, resistance demands for elections as early as next year. Peace talks in Portugal since April have failed so far to produce a cease-fire, partly because the resistance says political reforms are moving too slowly.

In Guinea-Bissau, just below the western tip of Africa, the ruling party is holding an extraordinary five-day congress starting yesterday. Most observers believe President Vieira can override the objections of hard-liners to end the party's 15-year monopoly on power.

Mr. Vieira can draw support from his successful liberalization of the economy since 1986. While Guinea-Bissau is still one of Africa's poorest countries, its shops and markets no longer suffer such chronic shortages and the standard of living has improved for many.

Kampala Journal

In Uganda, a Light of Learning Dims

Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, like most universities in black Africa, has fallen on hard times. "I have to write from one end of the page to the other because it is wasting paper to have a margin," said Tumusiime Dennis, right, one of his country's promising engineering students. Dr. Sandy Tickodri-Toghoa, above, a senior lecturer in, engineering at Makerere, asked, "If I can't support my own kids in school from my university salary, why is it worth my while to stay here?"

By JANE PERLEZ
Special to The New York Times

KAMPALA, Uganda, Jan. 19 "Tumusiime Dennis is one of his country's promising engineering students. But things have reached such a low point at Makerere University here, once one of the stellar institutions of higher learning in sub-Saharan Africa, that the talented 23-year-old mathematician cannot afford the space on a page for a margin.

"I have to write from one end of the page to the other because it is wasting paper to have a margin," Mr. Dennis said as he took a break from studying in the campus library where antiquated volumes rot on the shelves and new books have not been acquired in two decades. "Some people are forced to write in small letters."

In one of his course's most critical subjects "structures" the 25 students in third-year civil engineering have no lecturer; many of the other subjects are taught by underqualified tutorial assistants.

. With rare exceptions, universities across black Africa fell into rapid decline in the 1980's. Like much else on the continent, the institutions suffered from mismanaged government treasuries, civil-wars and corrupt national leadership.

The University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, once an exciting center for political science students, was shuttered for months last year and the students sent home because the Government was irritated by wall posters lampooning President Ali Hassan Mwinyi. y 3

At the University of Nairobi in Kenya talented staff members have

left in defiance of demands to toe the political line of the single-party state.

But nowhere is the disrepair as forlorn or the morale as shattered as at Makerere, where the contrast between past excellence and current neglect is stark. Founded in 1922 as the first university in East and Central Africa, Makerere was, according to the World Bank, "one of the finest academic institutions in the developing world."

Until the early 1970s, when Idi Amin threw the country into violent turmoil, the medical department turned out doctors who practiced around the world. Now, the low standards, owing largely to a persistent brain drain among the teaching staff, preclude a new Makerere medical graduate from a license in many countries. Academics from all departments have fled, even to South Africa, where the money is good.

"There is no motivation for teachers to stay on the campus," said Dr. Sandy Tickodri-Togboa, a senior lecturer in engineering. "If I can't support my own kids in school from my university salary why is it worth my while to stay here?"

After a raise awarded by the Government in 1989, lecturers still receive only about 30,000 Ugandan shillings a month, or about \$40. It costs

Dr. Tickodri-Togboa about \$30 a week to keep his family in food alone. Dr. Tickodri-Togboa considers himself lucky: he receives a research stipend to supplement his slim salary. Most staff members fail to turn up regularly for class because they are busy making ends meet with two

or three other jobs, often of a kind demeaning to academics. A staff survey showed petty trading "raising chickens and selling the eggs, for example" to be the most common outside occupation.

For Mr. Dennis and many of the 5,000 other undergraduates, the economics of attending university seem even more perilous than for the staff, although the Government provides free tuition, free accommodation and

meals on campus. Like Mr. Dennis, most of the students come from im-

Students so poor
that paper is
precious.

poverished rural families who cannot
afford the relatively small costs the
debt-taden Government is now insist-
ing students pay. s

In September, the university can-
celed Government-financed allow-
ances for stationary, texts and trans-
port to rural homes. In response, the
students went on strike, an action that
ended in the fatal shooting by the po-
lice of two students taking part in a
campus rally last month.

â\200\234Most of us can only get 10,000 shil-
lingsâ\200\235â\200\235 â\200\224 about \$15 â\200\224 â\200\234from our fami-
ly,â\200\235 Mr. Dennis said of the allowance
he scraped together to finance his
first term costs. â\200\234My mother sold
some millet and ground nuts to pay
for me. But need 50,000 shillings
to be self gul t-for the term.â\200\235â\200\231

Mr. Dennis spent one-third of his
10,000 shillings on his precious ream
of paper that is his basic necessity for
class, one-third on soap, toothpaste,
salt and sugar, and one-third on
transportation to the campus.

Makerere undergraduates com-
plain bitterly about the food. â\200\234Itâ\200\231s
rice, beans, posho,â\200\235â\200\235 said Mr. Dennis,
the last being a thin porridge. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Hav-
ing it every day is not conducive to
study. You just eat it and pray you
donâ\200\231t get sick.â\200\235

Mr. Dennisâ\200\231s dormitory has no run-
ning water. Students rise at 5 A.M. to
take jerrycans to an outdoor tap â\200\224
sometimes the nearest working one is
off campus â\200\224 and then lug the water
back. Rooms built for' two usually
hold four.

Recently there was a new threat
The university administrators, due to
reopen the campus on Feb. 2 after
first-term vacation, met to l
how they were going to manage with
a 30 percent budget cut ordered for
all Government institutions because
of increased oil costs. â\200\234Theyâ\200\231re think-
ing of not opening until June because
of a shortage of funds,â\200\235â\200\235 Dr. Tickodri-
Togboa said. i

Teachers and students predict a
storm of protest if that happens, not
least because Makerere, as broken
down as it is, still manages to strug-

gle on. It carries a symbolic value,
many students say, of past glory and
the glimmer, however meager, of
future. :

@he Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1991

B. J. CUTLER

Mlusory
patsy for
Africaâ\200\231s
agonies

en. Ibrahim Babangida, who
seized power in Nigeria in
1985, spoke recently at a
bash-the-West conference
in Lagos, his capital. He called upon
the nations of Europe and the Amer-
icas to pay reparations to Africa for
the damage done to it by the slave
trade.

Western diplomats who heard the
demand by the president of Africaâ\200\231s
most populous country were un-
impressed. They pointed out that he
blamed only Westerners, giving a
free ride to the many Arab nations
and African tribes that were in-
volved in taking slaves.

The most cogent reply to Mr
Babangida came from C. Chuba Jon-
Nwakalo, a Nigerian living in the
United States, who often visits his
homeland. In a letter to the New
York Times that deserves the widest
diffusion, he wrote:

â\200\234While no one with a good sense
of history will dispute that the slave
trade wreaked incalculable havoc on
the black race, it is preposterous to
blame it for Africaâ\200\231s underdevelop-
ment.

â\200\234 ... I have seen more damage
done to that continent by incompe-
tent and corrupt leadership than
slavery ever did. The African land-
scape is awash with a class of lead-
ership whose revolutionary songs
were about ultimate redemption. of
the masses.

â\200\234Nevertheless, soon after they es-
tablish their rulership, they focus on
personal enrichment. When things
go wrong and the people start com-

plaining, they resort to blame-the-West syndrome.

â\200\234Was it the West that supervised the depletion of Nigeriaâ\200\231s \$100 billion oil fortune, earned between 1970 and 1980? Was it the West that was responsible for diverting much of those earnings to private bank accounts in Switzerland?

â\200\234Perhaps President Babangida should have explained to conference participants why Nigeriaâ\200\231s telephone system hardly works?

â\200\234Or is the West responsible for roads that are never maintained? Or is the West also responsible for the National Electric Power Authorityâ\200\231s inability to deliver steady electric services to Nigerian homes?

Â« _ .. Instead of lavishing our energy on organizing conferences whose sole purpose is cheap self-serving international publicity, our attention should be on the serious problems confronting us. What better reparations can we give ourselves than making genuine efforts to improve our health-care system?

â\200\234QOur hospitals continue to operate at subsistence level; basic drugs are never available, and our doctors and nurses continue to flee to the West for better conditions of service.

â\200\234Qur educational system is far worse than in colonial days, all because of bad policy and neglect. Our judicial system is a joke because of persistent interference by successive rulers. Food is lacking because

No other continent turned in such a bad performance. How steady failure from 1978 to 1990 can be attributed to the slave trade, which ended well more than a century earlier, is quite unclear.

of bad agricultural policy. Basic transportation and shelter are hardly affordable because of inadequate planning.

â\200\234Perhaps when. we have helped ourselves, we can look to others for reparations.â\200\235

Mr. Jon-Nwakalo said nothing about the widespread lack of human rights. If he had made his stinging statements in the average African state, he would be asking for jail, or worse.

He concentrated on his native Nigeria, but the pathology he describes is continentwide. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa reports that the average African continues, for the 12th successive year, to get poorer.

No other continent turned in such a bad performance. How steady failure from 1978 to 1990 can be attributed to the slave trade, which ended well more than a century earlier, is quite unclear.

B.J. Cutler is foreign affairs columnist for Scripps Howard News Service.

THE WASHINGTON Post

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20, 1991

Jack Anderson
And Dale Van Atta

Mauritania's
Persecution

Of Blacks

/Saddam Hussein taught the world a lesson when
he killed off the Kurds with poison gas. If you do it
quickly, quietly and completely, you can get away
with a massacre of your own people and generate
a minimum of fuss from the rest of the world.

Saddam's allies, the Arab Baathist Moors in the
North African nation of Mauritania, are playing
their own deadly game of now you see them, now
you don't, raising hardly a peep from the rest of
the world.

In the past month, Mauritania has arrested

1,000 Hal-pulaars, the largest black ethnic group
in the Arab dominated country. The arrests have
been politically motivated, and there have been no
trials. These new arrests come on top of the
50,000 Hal-pulaar expulsions we reported last
February. Blacks are being driven out of the
country, tortured and killed.

A former Mauritanian diplomat, Mohamed Na-
sir Athie, who defected to the United States in
1989, told us that Mauritania's hidden agenda is to
subdue black influence and pave the way for an
Arab Baathist Arab state, like its friend Iraq.

Mauritania has had extensive economic, political
and military ties to Iraq since 1975. It is one of the
few countries that has taken Iraq's side in the
Persian Gulf crisis.

Athie told us that young Mauritani-
ans routinely have gone to Iraq for their military training and
Baathist indoctrination. Those students come home
to high positions in the Mauritanian civil service and
military. Now reports say that Mauritani-
ans were offered money to fight for Iraq, \$1,500 for the first
month and \$1,000 a month thereafter.

Athie said that not only did Saddam provide arms
to the Mauritanian military, but he also used Maurita-
nian soil to test Iraqi missiles. During the Iran-Iraq
war, Mauritania was the main supplier of fish to the
army. The country boasts some of the most

fine fishing waters in the African continent.

Since August, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, the
State Department has been warning Americans not

to travel to Mauritania and has authorized the

compulsory departure of non-essential dependentsâ\200\235
â\200\234of*1.S. government personnel, because, as one
â\200\234â\200\234fficial put it, â\200\234there are some elements (in Maurita-
Jmia) that may harm American citizens.â\200\235 The State
â\200\234Department said the warning has nothing to do with
& purges of black Mauritians, but declined to
~\$aÂ¢-whether the threat to Americans would come
Â¢frem Iraqi sympathizers in Mauritania.

â\200\234Evidently the systematic elimination of blacks in
â\200\234Miaaritania is not reason enough alone for the Bush
vgdministration to put Mauritania in the doghouse.
svwAmnesty International and Africa Watch have
#idhitored Mauritania closely and are worried, with
P3d reason. Blacks from all walks of life are
~disappearing. One Amnesty report says, â\200\234People
-taken by troops have had their heads crushed with
â\200\234HeÂ¢lvy stones or cut off and paraded around village
einers to intimidate others. Others have been shot
~dead simply for fishing while a curfew was in place.â\200\235

Monitoring organizations have compiled hun-
dreds of reports about architects, writers, po-
#ieemen, hospital workers, postal employees,
â\200\234teachers and their students being rounded up. Key
civil servants have been hauled away to prison
â\200\234camps. â\200\234Every Mauritanian I've met can tell you a
7gtery about somebody taken away,â\200\235 an Africa
Match official told us.

â\200\230The Mauritanian government says it is only
atresting people because of a coup plot that was
uncovered last November. But the number and
nature of the disappearances and arrests paint a
far more sinister picture.
sinKen Rutherford, a former Peace Corps vol-
iinteer in Mauritania, told our reporter Jonathan
Ullman that black men are taken from their homes
in nighttime raids, put in cattle trucks and taken to
the river that separates Mauritania and Senegal.
Their captors force them to cross the river into
SÂ¢negal and tell them not to come back.

.. Those captives who arenâ\200\231t expelled are subject
totorture. We have obtained recent letters writ-
ten by Hal-pulaars and smuggled out of Maurita-
nia. They describe atrocities that include starva-
tion in prison and the complete disappearance of
villages as large as 400. Hal-pulaar students in the
â\200\230United States have told us that their families have
warned them not to come home for fear of arrest.
â\200\234While the United States refrains from comment,
there is growing speculation by human rights
.grdups that up to 10 percent of the Hal-pulaar
â\200\230Fedple arrested since late November have already
~been executed.

Athie, like all Hal-pulaars we spoke to, told of
the torture of his friends and relatives. One man
starved to death in jail after being fed â\200\234small
portions of rice seasoned with sand,â\200\235 Athie said.
â\200\234What we are experiencing is apartheid in Mauri-
â\200\230t4ifla worse than in South Africa.â\200\235

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THE WASHINGTON Post

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

Michael Kinsley

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224*â\200\234This is what we call a shower,â\200\235 says Koos van der Merwe. Is he kidding? T canâ\200\231t tell. Koos, Conservative Party whip in the South African parliament, is showing me around his house in suburban Johannesburg so I can see â\200\234how a typical Afrikaner lives.â\200\235 Itâ\200\231s more or less how a typical American suburban-ite lives, except for a lot of dead animals on the wall. His â\200\234showerâ\200\235 is a shower. Perhaps thatâ\200\231s his point: the international fellowship of white people. â\200\234We are First World people like yourselves,â\200\235 he says. â\200\234The creator has dumped 5 million of us among 30 million Third Worlders.â\200\235 In fact, his mind is unfathomable to me. Does this educated man, who interrupts our chat to give radio interviews in French and Portuguese, really think that â\200\234showerâ\200\235 is an Afrikaner word or custom?

Koos, a friendly, bear-like fellow, is so open that you almost feel itâ\200\231s cheating to quote him. He sincerely believes that his case only needs to be laid out to be accepted by any reasonable white person. The CP wants a separate white nation carved out of South Africa, like the black nations of the governmentâ\200\231s failed â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235 policy. Koos is coy about where his homeland would be. But he hints that he might be prepared to abandon Johannesburg.

That would mean giving up the house Koos is so proud of. It also would mean giving up his black servants, something Koos claims he is prepared to do. But throughout South Africaâ\200\231s history, ostensible â\200\234separate developmentâ\200\235 has always turned out to be arrangements for white power and black labor. Koos says he is a nationalist, not a racist. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t want to be a red Indian or an Eskimo or a Zulu. T want to be an Afrikaner.â\200\235 But this doesnâ\200\231t explain why he would welcome English-rooted whites into his homeland.

Mainstream and liberal whites in South Africa like you to meet Koos so youâ\200\231ll have more sympathy for their own various exquisitely modulated positions. A year after President F. W. de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress

and committed himself to majority rule, the vast majority of whites accept that apartheid of any variety is dead. In fact, itâ\200\231s hard to find anyone who didnâ\200\231t actually oppose apartheid all along! Roelf Meyer, a government minister working on rewriting the constitution, was elected to the all-white parliament in 1980, and â\200\234It immediately struck me when I sat down on those green benches that this is unreal.â\200\235 Bright fellow.

In redesigning the South African government, Roelf Meyer says blandly, "It won't do to consider only modern Western theories. We must consider Africa." Meaning? "In Africa, there is not a great history of tolerance." Oh, I get it. The concern of whites about their fate under black majority rule is understandable, as is the effort to temper that majority rule with constitutional protections for minorities and individuals.

Meaning Well in Johannesburg

But blacks are rightly irritated that, in these negotiations, the whites posture as keepers of the flame of Western civilization. After all, in the present constitution, written by and for whites, there is no Bill of Rights, there are no checks and balances. Even overlooking the complete disenfranchisement of three-quarters of the population, the current South African government is a virtual elected dictatorship of exactly the sort whites now fear. "Who the hell is Roelf Meyer to tell me, 'I don't want rights to be trampled'?" says Saki Macozoma of the ANC. "But put that aside," he adds grudgingly.

Black-white relations in South Africa are almost hopelessly poisoned by political oppression and economic disparity. These realities impinge on almost any contact, from a close working association or even romance to sharing an elevator ride, in a way that makes race relations in America seem blissfully easy. Whites enjoy their sunny bourgeois lifestyle, if they can, behind security gates and protected by black security guards who may or may not be trustworthy in the pinch.

The poison goes beyond the straightforward mixture of hatred and fear. Twice I struck up conversations with black strangers: at a gas station and in a bookstore. Both times our friendly exchange ended with a sheepish request for money. There isn't enough sense of shared humanity to sustain a two-minute chat, without the reality of the social relationship intruding. Sorry to sound like a Marxist.

To be a white person in South Africa, I suspect, it helps to be either utterly saintly or utterly callous. To be comfortable but well-meaning is my own preferred moral stance, is a recipe for almost certain frustration.

Meanwhile, nature as well conspires to make South Africa unsupportable for whites. Remember that hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica? South Africans say it's moved over their territory. Half an hour in the sun this year equals two hours a year ago. White people in Cape Town swallow Vitamin A tablets daily.

One black activist claims that half the whites have foreign passports, just in case. Hard to believe. But I met a young white, third-generation South African who gave me the standard liberal "I am an African, too" rap, bragged about joining the ANC after it was legalized, then

revealed that he has an Irish passport. (One grandparent was Irish.) He got it to travel with, after a Belgian border guard used his South African passport as toilet paper. Or so he says.

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South African Judge Throws Out Police Suit

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times
JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 18 — A judge ruled today against a senior police general who sued two leading anti-apartheid newspapers after they reported that he had supplied poison to police operatives to kill members of

Lieut. Gen. Lothar Neethling, who heads police forensic laboratories in Pretoria; had demanded \$608,000 from The Weekly Mail and Sunday Star, which he accused

of damaging his reputation.

But Judge Johan C. Krieger decided in favor of the two newspapers,

which have been relentless

but he did say many of the details contained in the newspaper interviews with

Against 2 Papers

It is the victory that the newspaper has seen in decades, Max du Preez, the editor of the Sunday Star, said.

Mr. du Preez predicted that Government officials would now be less ready to use a familiar tactic of threatening

that he would sue Mr. Coetzee. In contrast, he said, it was behind his children

squads, subsequently joined the African National Congress in exile. His wife and two sons followed him abroad.

Mr. Coetzee had a story about illegal acts by police in which are practically unthinkable.

Many Details Documented

But, the judge acknowledged details of what Mr. Coetzee reported about the activities of police as documented in the Sunday Star.

: Africa
and Botswana.

And he called General Neethling's testimony evasive and misleading. He

further concluded that Mr. Coetzee had met the general and even had his unlisted home telephone number.

Justice Kriegler said the two news-

pers had served the public interest

reporting what they understood to be police abuses of authority.

The articles were published the background of a public te about the misuse of mver b&ewblk servants, and the public had t to be informed about this, the j

Aarms Commission Repert

On Nov. 13, Justire Harms, who was by President F. W. de Klerk to into reports of covert and illegal erations by the security- forces, con- that there was no evidence that police assassination squads existed and di&ml;ud Mr. Coetzee as a psy- r. du Preez, who said the cost of Vrye Weekbiad's legal defense h: X- Â&ceded its annual budget, p that the activities of the police fo ic Iendborawĩ- should now be invesfight-

Lawyers for Human Rights, a gl rights organization based in Pregjffja,

said in a statement today that e

Kriegler's decision would * up

once again the can of worms surround the Harms Commission.

e South African Union of JOu:uai- ists said ih a statement that it il the case will lead to the dawnin a new age in freeing the press from wn- warranted restrictions.

THE WASHINGTON Post

A24 SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1991

S. African
Right Backs
Saddam

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Foreign Service
JOHANNESBURG, Jan.
18â\200\224White South African
extremists -have sent Iragi
President Saddam Hussein a
message expressing support
for his side in the Persian
Gulf War, denouncing the
United Statesâ\200\231 â\200\234imperialisticâ\200\235
intervention and hoping that

his â\200\234weapons be blessed.â\200\235
The leader of the white
Boerestaat Party, Robert van
Tonder, sent the message to
Saddam on Wednesday. In it,
he compared U.S. actions in
the gulf to British interven-
tion here in 1899 to crush
two short-lived republics set
up by rebellious Afrikaners,
or Boers, white settlers of
Dutch and French Huguenot

origin.

The support for Saddam by
this countryâ\200\231s die-hard white
supremacists and separatists
has provided a rare instance
when groups such as the
Boerestaat Party and hard-
line black organizations such
as the Pan Africanist Con-
gress, usually deeply at odds
with each other, have lined
up on the same side of an is-
sue. They not only sympa-
thize with Saddam, but also
hail his championing of the
Palestinian cause.

â\200\234What you are experienc-
ing in your country today, the

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991

Boers experienced 92 years
ago,â\200\235 van Tonder wrote. â\200\234A

world power in that time
[Britain] sent troops from as
far afield as 10,000 kilome-
ters to fight against us Boers
and steal our gold deposits.

â\200\234Today the world power,
the United States, is busy
pouring in troops and weap-
ons from as far away as
10,000 kilometers to rob
your country of its oil wealth.
The Boerestaat Party and the
Boer people give their sup-
port and solidarity to your
struggle against American
robber-imperialism.

â\200\234May your weapons be
blessed.â\200\235

The leader of another ex-
treme right-wing group, the
Orde Boerevolk, echoed von
Tonderâ\200\231s sentiments. Coen-

raad Vermaak compared the

Palestinians to the Boers,
saying they were voicing â\200\234the
same demand made by the
Boerevolkâ\200\235 in calling for their
own homeland.

The slightly more moder-
ate white opposition Conser-
vative Party was highly crit-
ical of Pretoriaâ\200\231s support for
the United States in its effort
to dislodge Iraqi troops from
occupied Kuwait. The gov-
ernment even offered the
United States use of South
African facilities. The Con-
servatives urged South Af-
rica to remain strictly neutral
in the war.

Any similarity between
Saddamâ\200\231s â\200\230swallowing up a
small neighboring state and
the forced incorporation of
the two Boer republics by the
British into a larger South Af-
rica was ignored in the right-
wingersâ\200\231 comments.

10

* * #*

The Pretoria government resumed talks
with the opposition African National Con-
gress concerning efforts to halt factional
fighting in black townships. South African
officials and the ANC also were expected to
discuss remaining obstacles to full-scale ne-
gotiations on ending apartheid.

* Å¥* *

Zhe Washingtou Times
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1991

Death squad row
haants de Klerk

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa
â\200\224 A controversy over death squad
? killings of anti-
apartheid activ-
ists is haunting
President
Frederik de
- Klerk and his
plans for a new
South Africa.
Pro- and
anti-
government
â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224_ commentators
joined yesterday in demanding a
fl.â\200\230esh probe into charges of offi-
cially sanctioned political killings
aftqr a top policeman accused of
death squad involvement lost a test-
case libel suit Friday.

â\200\234The matter cannot be allowed to
rest,â\200\235 Business Day newspaper said
yesterday.

â\200\234There has been a huge cover-up
and there is a great deal to be
Investigated,â\200\235 said Max Coleman of
the anti-apartheid Human Rights
Commission,; which monitors hu-
man rights abuses.

More than 70 opponents of
apartheid within the country have
been murdered over the past 10
years and opposition figures have
suffered countless attacks on their

homes, threats against their chil-
dren and other harassment. Police
have failed to solve almost all of
these cases, many of which involve
killings of members of Nelson
Mandelaâ\200\231s African National Con-
gress.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TH
URSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

Rwanda Battles Rebels to Control District Capital

NAIROBI, Kenya, Jan. 23 (Reuters)
â\200\224 Government forces and rebels bat-
tled today for control of a district capi-
tal in Rwanda, and France sent troops
to evacuate foreigners caught up in the
fighting.

Foreign diplomats said that 400 to
600 rebels, remnants of a force that
first attacked the small central African
country in October, invaded Tuesday
from neighboring Uganda and seized
part of Ruhengeri.

They said the rebels took control of
some residential areas and a top-se-
curity prison but not the military base.

People close to the rebels said those
who escaped from the prison included

some top political prisoners.

Ruhengeri is about 45 miles north of
the capital Kigali and 12 miles south of
the Ugandan border, near the Virunga
national park, which is home to Rwan-
daâ\200\231s famous mountain gorillas. It was
unclear how much of the surrounding
countryside was in rebel hands.

About 100 French paratroopers,
based in Kigali since the October inva-
sion, have been sent to Ruhengeri to try
to evacuate about 60 French nationals
and up to 150 other foreigners, said
Franceâ\200\231s Ambassador in Rwanda.

The' latest reports indicated tHat the
army, was regaining control, said the
French envoy, Georges Martres.

â\200\234It seems the army is sweeping
through in a mopping-up operation,â\200\235
Mr. Martres said by telephone.

Mr. Martres said there had been
some casualties locally, but no reports
of injuries to foreigners.

A Canadian diplomat in Kigali said
about 15 Canadians caught in the rebel-
held part of the town reported heavy
gunfire today.

Rwandan radio said Government
forces were fighting hard.

People close to rebels said one of the
political prisoners freed" in Ruhengeri

was Maj. Theoniste Linzinde, jailed since 1980 for plotting a coup against President Juvenal Habyarimana.

The attack on Ruhengeri was the most serious since a rebel force of several thousand, led by exiled members of Rwanda's minority Tutsi tribe, invaded northeastern sections of the country on Oct. 1.

Most of the rebels were repelled after a month. But sporadic clashes have continued in border areas.

The rebel commanders were mostly exiles serving as senior officers in the Uganda. Their campaign prompted angry accusations from Rwanda of Ugandan Government complicity.

The Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni, has denied backing them.

The latest clashes followed a meeting of regional foreign ministers in Zaire this week to discuss the problem of several hundred thousand Rwandan refugees scattered around neighboring countries.

THE SUN

Laundering
the Wild

By JANE GOODALL

Tucson, Arizona.
he was lying down, her face
sweating in the heat, a rope
tied around her waist, in the

tourist market in Kinshasa, Zaire.
When I made soft chimpanzee
sounds she reached out, lethargical-
ly. Her mother had been shot, prob-
ably for meat. U.S. Ambassador
William Hattop persuaded the gov-
ernment to confiscate her. I cut the
rope myself.

Two weeks later, in the Canary
Isles, I held, for a brief moment, an-
other little orphan chimpanzee, this
one dressed in baby clothes. Like
his photographer master (who be-
lieved I wanted a holiday snapshot),
he was heavily . An addict.
He is but one of the many abused

infants smuggled into Spain from West Africa. What happens to them when they are too big for this work? We wish we knew.

Chimpanzees are vanishing in Africa. At the turn of the century there were hundreds of thousands of them in 25 African nations. In four countries they have already gone, in five others they soon will be no more. Even in the remaining

224 chimpanzees are losing ground.

Partly because of the destruction of their forests as human populations grow. But partly because they are hunted ever more aggressively. Not just the males, for meat, as the old days, but the mothers too. They can be eaten, their infants sold. Sold in local markets as "pets" (who will live as part of a human family for four or five years, then become potentially dangerous, and be chained or put in local zoos, or killed). Or sold to dealers who ship them overseas those who survive for the entertainment and biomedical research industries.

In an effort to reduce trafficking in chimpanzees, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Department agreed, in March 1990, to classify them as endangered under the U.S. Endan-

Species Act. This, along with attempts to enforce the Convention

on Trade in Endangered Species,

makes it more difficult to import and export chimpanzees.

it

~_FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

And to further protect the remaining wild populations, the U.S. introduced legislation, in 1989, making it illegal to conduct research on captured chimpanzees born in the wild after 1975, or on their progeny, anywhere in the world. Efforts made by the biomedical establishment to have this inconvenient law revoked have, so far, failed.

These measures have forced international dealers to find ingenious ways of "laundering" the wild chimpanzees that pass through their hands. Infants taken from the wild

may be shipped to countries that are not members of the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species â\200\224 particularly in South America and Eastern Europe â\200\224 or to countries where governments are finding it particularly difficult to enforce the law, such as Spain and Japan, then

, with falsified papers, a8
â\200\234captive born."" Recently, for example, two infants from the forests of Uganda (or perhaps they were smuggled from neighboring Zaire) were intercepted as they were passing, illegally; through Dubai â\200\224 and returned to Uganda.

Even though endangered species may not legally be imported for commercial reasons by countries party to the convention, there is still much trafficking of chimpanzees for the entertainment industry. And even supposedly good zoos often send â\200\230â\200\230surplusâ\200\235 chimpanzees, particularly males, to other parts of the

world, to grim old-fashioned zoos â\200\224 or to medical research labs.

The last big consignment of infant' chimps to enter the United States fllegally was for the testing of

ceutical products. That was in 1975, two years after the ratification of the convention. I have visited the survivors. They are adult now, weighing up to 150 pounds, still imprisoned in steel-barred cages 5 feet by 7 feet high. They can live for 50 years.

Does it matter, this trading and exploitation of our closest living relatives? Beings who differ from us, genetically, by only just over 1 percent, who share many of our emotions, who show intellectual abilities once thought unique to our own species? Go and gaze into the eyes of an infant who has just been taken from his mother and you will find the answer.

Dr. Goodall's most recent book,

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

S. African Militants Reject ANC Call

Proposed All-Party Meeting Is Said to Play Into Whites' Hands

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 24—The Pan Africanist Congress, South

Africa's hard-line black nationalist group, today formally rejected the

call by the African National Con-

gress for a conference already accepted by the white government to discuss a nonracial constitution.

The decision seems certain to deepen political divisions among South Africa's 33 million blacks and possibly create difficulties for President Frederick W. de Klerk in an already complicated negotiating process.

A smaller black group, the Azanian People's Organization, earlier rejected the proposal by Nelson Mandela's ANC for an all-party conference. But Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha

THE WASHINGTON POST

Freedom Party, key actors in current strife among blacks, have endorsed the idea.

While the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian group do not have as large an organized following as the ANC, their hard-line views on dealing with the de Klerk government and the constitutional process have won the sympathy of a significant segment of the black community, particularly among intellectuals and the youth.

The group said it regarded the ANC's proposal as "no more than a reworking of de Klerk's own attempt to usurp the functions of an elected constituent assembly." It denounced the all-party concept as "not very clever attempt to substitute for a constituent assembly an all-party congress cabal."

ANC leader Mandela proposed the conference on Jan. 8, calling it the first step in the process leading

to the adoption of a new constitution. It was to agree on broad principles, and he hinted that the conference might be subsequently mandated to draw up the new constitution.

The ANC proposal was immediately accepted by the de Klerk government as a way of surmounting the issue of an elected constituent assembly. It opposes such a convention because the 5 million whites would be voted out of power at the start of the negotiating process.

The Pan Africanist Congress also rejected emphatically the ANC call for power-sharing through an interim government, saying it was not going to be party to legitimizing an illegitimate regime. It said the only negotiations it will participate in with the government were those necessary for setting up a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote.

FriDaY, JANUARY 25, 199

Rwandan Rebels Driven Back

NAIROBI, Kenya—Rebels who attacked and seized parts of a town in Rwanda were driven back across the central African country's border with Uganda, a Rwandan government spokesman said. They have now been completely chased out of Rwandan territory, said spokesman Ferdinand Nahimana by telephone.

197,

Anti-Government Riots in Mali

BAMAKO, Mali—The government has deployed tanks here after two days of violence that it said left two people dead and 35 hurt. Witnesses and the Malian Association for Human Rights said five people were killed by soldiers and more than 100 injured. Witnesses said the trouble began with student demonstrations.

Potchefstroom Journal

As Apartheid Fades, Uprooted

Try to Go Home

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times
POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa,
Jan. 2 — The graves, neatly piled with

red stones from the stony veld,
offer that the Barolong tribes-
men at this place they called

Matloang until 1871, when the Gov-
ernment evicted them in the name of
apartheid.

The Barolong people, who are of
ethnic Tswana origin, have been al-
lowed to return for a few days every
year to tend their ancestral graves,
pulling up weeds and sweeping away
the windblown dirt.

— This is the land of our forefa-
thers, said Ezekiel Kobedi, a 65-
year-old retired plumber whose fa-
ther and grandfather are buried
under the mounds of red rock,

— But this year, a clerical error by
1981,

Taking the permit at face value, 89
Bareleng people returned and put up
a canvas shelter before some th.
back to their jobs in town. But
deis Viljoen, Potchefstroom's acting

— Jvs our birthplace, said Ishmael
Sem'h. b:foom& patriarch, said
his wa:ins at:Jnï-202. — This place

Losses and theft reduced the com-
munity's cattle from 250 to 70 head.
— Our houses were destroyed and
damaged, all of them, said Mr. Seroalo
said.

The land, a dozen miles outside Pot-
chefstroom, was designated by the
Government for whites, yet it was
never resettled and now local farm-
ers use it to graze cattle.

As the Barolong people tell it, when

the Boer — voortrekkers, the first
white pioneers, arrived in the 1830s,

the Tswana inhabitants let them settle all the Moosi River and helped them - down cattle stolen by

Zulus. The grateful Boers

in turn not to interfere with the native inhabitants or their land. This agreement was later noted in an 1885 document that is now lost.

The Tswanas traditionally viewed land, like water and air, as gifts from God inappropriate for private owner-

But because they lacked any title, the Government treated the Barolong community as squat-

born, off their land and closing the school. On Aug. 1, 1971, most families were removed to Ika-geng, a township outside Potchefstroom. The others were trucked west and dumped at Rooigrond in the nominally independent Tswana homeland of Bophuthatswana.

The desire to return is rooted in the need to survive as much as by ties to ancestral land.

"We cannot stay in the township where we have to pay rent and the cost of living is high," Mr. Seroalo said. His friend Israel Motsamallhi 73, said that at his age he could not the stress and expense of urban life.

"It is better to come here and stay and live out of town," Mr. Motsamai

Koos Kwen, 62, was laid off from a pump for a concrete

stream. He was born here, he said, and his father and mother were buried here.

"We could survive if we were left alone," Mr. Kwen said wistfully. "We would have cattle again and we could still survive."

James Sutherland, a lawyer who has taken on the Barolong people, said the land

was psychopunt to those who had been :

â\200\234Youâ\200\231ll find that people live and work in the town but theyâ\200\231ll visit their ancestral homes,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. Sutheriand said.

. Others supporters of the Barolong

people include the South African Council of Churches, which wants President de Klerkâ\200\231s repeal of the Land Acts to open the way for the return of those removed from their homes on racial grounds.

â\200\230Robbed o1 me LandÃ®

â\200\230â\200\234People were robbed of the land and it is coming clear that must mstlee," said Charles Nudâ\200\230:â\200\230enj a

il of Churchẽs worker. Mr. Ndabeni, who is helping the people, said their lgellght was cen to the repeal of Land Acts because they were victims.

â\200\234We feel very strongly that if the government of the day is committed to doing away with apartheid and changing the land policy, our argument is that these should remain forever and ever on their land,â\200\235 Mr. Ndabeni said.

While the repeal of discriminatory land legislation will make more land available to blacks, the Barolong peo-

could be penalized anew if the they once occupied were to be sold to the highest bidder.

â\200\234We feel that because there are changes, we want those changes to find us on our land again,â\200\235 Mr. Seroalo said.

WIRilvell Lalloeisiie Relbaile, . 0

outsiders especially the Nigerians running their country. Leaders of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States intervened last August, asserting that the war was no longer solely an internal conflict because thousands of their citizens were trapped in Liberia and an estimated 500,000 Liberians had fled to neighboring countries. Nigeria, by far the most populous and richest country in the region, is supplying most of the material and the bulk of the forces.

Accused of Corruption

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Taylor were both leaders of the small rebel force that invaded from the Ivory Coast in December 1989, moving into Nimba County, about 300 miles northeast of onrovia.

Last February-the two leaders split, with Mr. Johnson accusing Mr. Taylor of corruption. Mr. Taylgr, a former Cabinet member, had also been accused of corruption when he was serving in Samuel K. Doe's Government; President Doe asserted that he embez-

zlea neariy \$1 million in Government funds.

Mr. Johnson also accused Mr. Taylor of having, received arms and money from Libya, an aclusation Mr. Taylor has denied.

Since the killing of President Doe last September, the civil war has becomel increasingly three-sided, with the two rebel factions fighting each other, and the West African peacekeeping trying'

THE SUN

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1990

to impose a truce.

Angola Accepts Plan..."

the major Western powers in refusing to recognize the Luanda Government.

A crucial advance in the peace process occurred last November when the Luanda Government pledged to install a multiparty political system and discard Marxism-Leninism in favor of democratic socialism as its official ideology.

Mr. Savimbi's group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, had been fighting a Marxist Government that came to power soon after Portugal granted its Angolan colony independence- in 1975. The Government is led by another faction that fought the Portuguese, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which has been backed in recent years by tens of thousands of Cuban

troops.

Over the last several months the United States and the Soviet Union have grown increasingly involved in Angola's peace talks, beginning with their direct participation as observers in September and their offer to help police a potential cease-fire as part of an international monitoring force. Hopes for a cease-fire received a dramatic lift last month in Washington with the first meeting between Mr. Savimbi and for-

mer Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard

Shevardnadze.

The Soviet Union has been supplying Angola with more than a thousand ad-

'visers and an estimated \$80 million in

annual military aid. Washington has been backing Mr. Savimbi's group, known as Unita, with \$60 million in annual covert assistance. Some 350,000 people have died in the fighting.

14

ANGOLA

Government a
plan to end civil war

Angola's government announced yesterday that it has accepted a peace plan to end a 15-year-old civil war against U.S.-backed rebels in the

A diplomat at Angola's embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, said his government had proposed only slight amendments to the plan outlined by Portuguese, U.S. and Soviet diplomats this month in Lisbon.

Angolan government officials held talks in Lisbon Monday with Portuguese diplomats mediating in the peace process. Leaders of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, said they were in

broad agreement with the plan for
the former Portuguese colony.

THE WASHINGTON Post

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1991

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The Third World: No Longer Fought Over, but Ignored

A cruel paradox is overtaking the difficult matter of the welfare of the Third World and the West's relationship to it. This was the area that was supposed to reap some sort of economic and political peace dividend with the end of the Cold War. The standard lament was that East-West strategic competition was stealing resources and energies that might otherwise have given the world's poor a hand up. The mostly conservative supporters of a hard line were commonly assigned the lion's share of responsibility for this state of affairs.

But here we are at the end of the Cold War, and few if any of the hoped-for rewards are to be seen flowing the Third World's way. Earlier, heavy resources were being expended to fight the Communist East, but they are now being directed to feed, aid and rebuild the same countries repackaged as a politically acceptable formerly Communist East. The peace dividend, such as it is, is being snagged by an unexpected competitor. It turns out that the Cold War is not so much over as in an extra and expensive phase of being institutionally liquidated in the places where it did the most harm.

This time, moreover, the culprits include a broad band of liberals, the gang you might have thought would be saying it's the Third World's turn. They are the ones whose preoccupation with moving past nuclear and political confrontation has led them to fasten on the full democratic regeneration of the East as the guarantor of world peace. They are right, of course, but what is overlooked is that someone else is paying a price,

It is not just that private charitable contributions to Third World causes appear to have

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fallen off dismally, even as Westerners outdo themselves in shipping winter aid to the Soviet Union. Symbolically, the U.S. Peace Corps, trying to be with it, is cutting back on aid to former clients in the Third World and diverting those resources chiefly to Eastern Europe. Just

the other day the U.N. Food and Agriculture .

Organization, surveying a panoply of misery in sub-Saharan Africa, explicitly appealed to would-be donors â\200\234not 49 let domestic economic

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constraints and concern for the problems of Eastern Europe divert their attention from the food needs of millions of Africans.â\200\235

This last is serious. It is true that the Africans have messed up terribly. Not without foreign encouragement, they have prosecuted internal wars they cannot afford, conducted foolish experiments in imported socialist doctrines and stimulated â\200\234compassion fatigueâ\200\235 with their repeated earlier pleas for Western aid. But it remains that large numbers of individual Africans are dying through no fault of their own. They are the direct victims of othersâ\200\231 decisions to extend relief to places where the suffering is of an altogether different, politically appealing but less urgent order.

There is a constant strand of idealism in American policy. It can emerge as enlightened generosity and also as a culturally limited and patronizing missionary urge. It is emerging now as an emotional response to the fact that a large and no doubt distressed community of European peoples is once again politically open and available to Americans. Millions of us have family roots in this rediscovered terrain, and many more millions feel drawn to the incredible drama of the making whole of the transatlantic family, vg:)icmhiswhattheendofi~\202leColdWarisi~\201nai~\202y about.

Against these deep cultural and personal currents running through the American society, competitive calls for Americans to reach out to other troubled areas and peoples are bound to have tough going. Appeals of pity, brotherhood, duty, interest: these are met more readily when they are issued in the name of the American mainstream. The power of ethnicity keeps surprising us as we see it revealed in new ways.

A certain kind of Third World nightmare threatens to become real. In it, these countries on the edge have lost even what residual benefit could be gained from being objects of contention between East and West. Now they stand to befall a fate worse in some aspects than being fought overâ\200\224being ignored. Moscow is drawn away by a policy of retrenchment and by the fact of galloping internal disintegration. Washington losesinte:wby'virtueofhavingwontheColdWar.

Maybe we have rushed too fast into the future. It was supposed to amount to more than a celebration of Europe, worthy as that is, and more than a deepening divide between haves and have-nots, unworthy as that is. A country with a claim to leadership needs to have a broader, yes, vision.

THE SUN

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

IN THE

WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk proposes end
of segregated housing

President F. W. de Klerk has
asked South Africa's Parliament to
outlaw segregated housing and farm-
land in what political analysts believe
is a first step toward the compulsory
integration of private property.

The proposed amendment to ex-
isting property laws could overturn
40 years of enforced segregation in
housing, and the reservation of 83
percent of all farmland for whites.

Political analysts said the new
proposal was the first move to pre-
vent individuals from practicing a
form of racial segregation.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991

Somali rebels
reject deal

NAIROBI, Kenya - Rebels yes-
terday rejected Somalia's new pre-
mier as window dressing for a bru-
tal regime they seek to topple.

Abdul Kadir, a rebel spokesman
in Rome, said the insurgents in So-
malia continued fighting in
Mogadishu, capital of the African
country.

But the British Broadcasting
Corp., quoting Radio Mogadishu,
said a committee of rebels, govern-
ment representatives and Somali
elders had called for a truce begin-
ning at midnight yesterday. The
report could not be independently
confirmed.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Kadir said
the choice of a new premier had
done nothing to change the nature
of the government.

â\200\234We are fighting against the sys-
tem,â\200\235 the United Somali Congress
spokesman said in a telephone
interview from Rome. â\200\234If the sys-
tem is still there, a new prime min-
ister has no meaning for us.â\200\235

From wire dispatches and staff reports

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