

AF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 9, 1989

XXIV No. 23

THE WASHINGTON POST

THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUNE 8, 1989

JUNE 8, 1989

Kenya Orders Detainees Freed

President Daniel arap Moi has ordered the country's jails cleared of all inmates who have been detained without trial or charge, the Kenyan government announced.

Moi issued the order at a rally Monday in a farming community outside the provincial capital of Nakuru, 98 miles north of Nairobi, the capital. The government said Moi also announced a general amnesty and pardon to Kenyan dissidents in exile who are willing to return home. The Kenyan Foreign Ministry instructed its embassies to circulate the amnesty announcement to all Kenyans living abroad.

"We must give a second chance to those who may have gone astray and run away to foreign lands," Moi said, according to a government statement released in Washington.

Among the detainees ordered freed were Mirugi Kariuki, a lawyer; business executive Israel Otieno Agina; and a former air force private, Richard Obuon Guya.

On June 1, Moi ordered four political detainees freed: businessman Raila Odinga, a member of a prominent political family; Mukaru Nganga, a former political science professor at the University of Nairobi; lawyer Wanyiri Kihoro; and Samuel Okumu Okwany, who was implicated in a trial of Kenyans who secretly traveled to Libya for guerrilla training.

Moi's government has been harshly criticized by human rights organizations for the detentions.

Goodyear to Sell South African Operations

JOHANNESBURG, June 7 (AP) — The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, one of the largest American companies in South Africa, announced today that it was leaving the country after 42 years and selling its assets to a South African company.

Goodyear, which for years has taken the position that it could contribute to social progress in South Africa by maintaining its operations in the country, said a combination of economic and political factors was responsible for its decision to sell its tire and other manufacturing operations, which are based in Uitenhage.

The business will be sold to Consol Ltd., an industrial subsidiary of Anglovaal Ltd., a South African financial, industrial and mining group, for 178 million rand (about \$65 million). The sale will be completed on July 1, Goodyear said.

5th Big Divestiture in 1989

It was the fifth major divestment by a American company in South Africa this year. Others to withdraw are the Mobil Corporation, the Hewlett-Packard Company, the NCR Corporation and the St. Paul Companies, an insurer.

Mike McNamara, chairman and managing director of Goodyear's South African business, said the company would continue to operate under the same management.

"We have always taken great pride in our people, and our management team and employees have vast knowledge of the local tire and rubber industry," Mr. McNamara said. "For them, we will continue to operate under present employment policies, practices and benefits, and all existing agreements and arrangements with our two trade unions remain unaltered."

In the last five years, excluding Goodyear, 195 United States companies have divested themselves of their holdings in South Africa.

Inadequate Return Cited

Tom H. Barrett, Goodyear's chairman, president and chief executive, said the company regretted leaving South Africa. But, he added, "It is becoming increasingly difficult for American companies to obtain adequate returns on investments there."

Mr. Barrett said American sanctions against South Africa, and a change in the tax law that prevented American companies from deducting from their tax bills the taxes paid in South Africa, made it unprofitable to remain there. He also cited the likelihood of a continuing decline in the value of the South African rand against major currencies.

Mr. Barrett said Anglovaal was a responsible company that had demonstrated concern for human rights in

Continued on Pg. 15

THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUNE 7, 1989

Amnesty for Namibians Reported

WINDHOEK, Namibia, June 6 (Reuters) — South Africa has agreed to grant full amnesty to about 40,000 Namibian exiles due to return home next month, the top United Nations official in the territory said today.

Martti Ahtisaari, special representative in Namibia of Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, said the amnesty would speed the return of the exiles who fled from the territory under South African rule.

At a news conference here, he said this had removed a major hurdle in the transition to independence.

Mr. Ahtisaari said new South African legislation granting the amnesty had been signed by President P. W. Botha

and would become law next week.

Nicholas Bwakira, who heads the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Namibia, said the first group of the refugees — more than 1,000 — would begin arriving at three centers in Namibia on Monday. Most of them have been living in exile in Angola and Zambia.

Mr. Ahtisaari also said that South Africa had agreed to pass another law scrapping the last vestiges of racial discrimination in Namibia, which could hinder free elections to be supervised by the United Nations on Nov. 1.

South African officials in Windhoek said they hoped that this legislation would be passed next Tuesday or Wednesday.

JUNE 6, 1989

New Tembu Tribal Chief Links Tradition, ANC King Could Challenge 'Homelands' Policy

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG—In a development that could have far-reaching consequences for black politics in South Africa, a young student brought up under the wing of the outlawed African National Congress has become paramount chief of one of the country's most important black tribes.

Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo, 22, who is at school in Lusaka, Zambia, where the ANC has its exile headquarters, has been named king of the Tembu tribe.

Nelson Mandela, who is serving the 25th year of a life sentence as leader of the ANC, is also a member of the Tembu royal family. Another member who visited Mandela in prison recently reported that the ANC leader was "very excited" about Dalindyebo's appointment.

His selection by the tribal council late last month ended a two-year power struggle for the chieftaincy and toppled a pretender to the throne, who was the last in a line of Tembu royals whose progovernment stance kept the tribe in line with Pretoria's apartheid policy of racial separation.

Many traditional African leaders have supported the policy because it boosts their power and the traditional social systems they represent against the challenge of modern African nationalist movements like the ANC.

The government has sought in this way to build an alternative black political power structure around the traditional leaders that could fill the vacuum created by its banning of nationalist movements like the ANC, whose demand for equal voting rights would end white-minority rule.

By giving the traditional leaders power in small tribal "homelands," which then were offered nominal

South African Negotiations Opposed Tribal Leadership Group Seeking Boycott of Power-Sharing Talks

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG—Tribal chiefs and other traditional black leaders of South Africa are attempting to organize a united front against white minority rule and any participation by blacks in power-sharing negotiations until the country's apartheid system of racial separation has been dismantled.

The effort is being mounted in direct opposition to an attempt by the government of President Pieter W. Botha to draw traditional black leaders into a forum to discuss limited power-sharing for South Africa's 23-million-member black majority with the country's 4.5 million whites.

So far, however, no prominent black leaders have agreed to take part in the so-called National Forum, an informal body the government views as a pilot assembly for a multiracial National Council in which a new constitution could be negotiated.

The National Forum, consisting mostly of black township councilmen scorned by most blacks as collaborators, has held two widely publicized meetings with Education Minister Frederik W. de Klerk, leader of the governing National Party and Botha's expected successor as pres-

ident after parliamentary elections scheduled for Sept. 6.

In hopes of stiffening resistance to such involvement by blacks before apartheid is ended, a relatively new group called the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has begun organizing tribal chiefs in a common front against the National Forum.

"The government has been using the chiefs to further apartheid, bringing them into the machinery of apartheid. They have been used as pillars of the homeland system, but we saw that there is an important role that they can play in the liberation of the country," said Siphwe Thusi, national secretary of the congress, known by its acronym as Contralesa.

Contralesa was formed in June 1987 to oppose an effort to make the tribal territory of KwaNdebele nominally independent as part of Pretoria's homelands policy, under which some tribal areas of the country were granted pro forma self-rule while the white Pretoria government retained power in South Africa as a whole.

When KwaNdebele opted to remain part of South Africa, the organization faded into relative obscurity

Continued on Pg. 15

dependence, in 1976.

There are four paramount chiefs in Transkei and all hold powerful positions in the administration of the "homeland" as well as over their own tribes. Moreover, Dalindyebo appears to enjoy the support of Transkei's military leader, Maj. Gen. Bantu Holomisa.

Little is known of the young king's political views, but his links to the ANC have led to a widespread assumption here that he is sympathetic to the nationalist movement.

Reflecting this, hundreds of young blacks danced through the streets of the Transkei capital, Umtata, after his nomination was announced, shouting ANC slogans and calling for Mandela's release.

Sources in Umtata said it was still unclear when Dalindyebo—whose first name in the Xhosa language means "come back home"—would return. The tribal council, deciding he should complete his

until recently when it began mobilizing traditional black leaders into a more militant political stance on national issues.

The group, which claims to represent the majority of South Africa's 670 traditional leaders, plans to define its strategy more thoroughly at a convention in Transvaal Province June 9. But for the moment, Thusi said in an interview, it is urging tribal chiefs to establish closer relationships with youth groups, parents, teachers and professional organizations that can be used in resisting government attempts to coopt the traditional leaders into such bodies as the National Forum.

For the tribal chiefs and clan leaders, who historically have been the foundation of a tightly knit social organization revolving around kinship and seniority, the new militancy represents the completion of a full circle in political activism.

When the outlawed African National Congress—the main guerrilla group fighting white supremacy in South Africa—was founded more than 75 years ago, it was traditional African tribal leaders who led the budding black nationalist movement. Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Man-

schooling in Lusaka, named a relative, Mdanjelwa Mtirara, to serve as regent.

The Tembu royal house has long reflected the complex rivalries of black South African politics. On the one hand there was Mandela, apartheid's principal opponent, and on the other Kaizer Matanzima, who became its principal black collaborator.

In between was the paramount chief, Sabata Dalindyebo, the new king's father, who became a key figure in resisting Matanzima's plans to accept Pretoria's offer of nominal independence for Transkei.

At the height of this rivalry, Matanzima charged the monarch, his cousin, with failing to show him due respect as president of the Transkei Republic.

Sabata fled with his son to escape arrest and sought refuge with the ANC. He was made an "elder" of the organization. Sabata died in 1986.

Justice Blinded

South Africa's Future Is Clouded by Condition Of Its Judicial System

Years of Oppression Leave Nation With No Tradition Of an Evenhanded Law Avenging the Boss's Dead Dog

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DURBAN, South Africa — "Watch closely," instructs the teacher at Meadow Secondary School, "for this is how justice works."

The senior students at this colored, or mixed-race, school gather their desks around a VCR and curiously study a video of People's Court, the U.S. television program. A hairdresser has gone to court to collect \$40 from a 12-year-old girl and her father who refuse to pay for a perm that collapsed after less than a day. She argues the hair was fine when the girl left her parlor; the girl claims the hairdresser promised the perm would last several months. The judge agonizes and decides in favor of father and daughter. The Meadow students cheer.

"Any questions?" asks the teacher.

"I've got one," says one of the students, rising from his desk. "Can a policeman just come and assault you?"

What does that have to do with the video? someone asks.

"Nothing," he says. "But what does the video have to do with us? That's not the law as we know it."

The Law's Justice

For angry South African teen-agers, a video of simple justice at work is as much science fiction as Star Wars. Forty years of legal race discrimination known as apartheid and three years of a brutally repressive state of emergency have left a legacy of disrespect and mistrust among all race groups for the democratic rule of law. For South Africa, this may prove the most ominous challenge for the future.

To the whites, or at least to the majority who support the government, the law is an instrument of their power, a means to protect the white-run state against rising black opposition even at the cost of individual liberties. To most blacks, coloreds and Indians, the law is a tool of oppression and discrimination wielded by a white policeman or a white judge enforcing the decrees of a white government determined to maintain white privilege. Rarely is law equated with justice.

"How can there be justice in an unjust society?" asks Godfrey Pitje, a black lawyer in Johannesburg who was once found to be in contempt of court for sitting at the table of a white lawyer during a trial.

This lament, which has long been a cry of the country's black nationalist movements, is echoing through the courts louder than ever before, raising the question of whether respect for the judiciary and the

rule of law can ever fully recover in this country. This, more than anything else, worries those looking ahead to a post-apartheid South Africa.

A Bill of Rights?

"If there is to be change, the law can be a tremendously powerful force in rebuilding our society," says Arthur Chaskalson, the director of the Legal Resources Center and one of the country's leading human rights attorneys. "But the gap between law and justice must be narrowed to restore respect for the law. If you give that up, what are you left with?"

Authoritarianism at best, anarchy at worst. "Given our experience, you have to wonder what are the chances of any government, black or white, implementing its political goals and ideals while also allowing for something like a bill of rights," says a law professor at an Afrikaans university. "If they can't, won't they end up going back to the same authoritarianism we have now?"

To prevent this from happening, a significant section of the legal profession, where the ideals of common-law justice still burn brightly, is waging a daily battle to preserve a slice of respect for the legal system. Human rights lawyers around the country aggressively pursue civil rights abuses and vigorously defend political trials. A handful of bold judges curb government excess where they can and, in carefully crafted decisions, speak out against state of emergency encroachments on judicial independence. Several university law schools run a "street law" program designed to nurture an appreciation for law and justice among high school students, like those at Meadow Secondary.

Waiting for Change

"You can't just say, 'Until there are political changes you can't get any victories in the judicial system,'" says Supreme Court Justice John Didcott, who is considered a maverick in South Africa because he has more than once challenged government abuses of civil liberties. "What would have happened in Mississippi, during the time of the lynch mobs and when no blacks were on juries, if lawyers said, 'We can't get justice,' and they stopped trying?"

Perhaps most importantly, the idea of a bill of rights, which for years has been a taboo subject among whites, is getting a public airing following the recent report by the South African Law Commission, a government appointed body of judges and lawyers. It boldly recommends the adoption of a bill of rights, the scrapping of all apartheid legislation and the creation of a new constitution that extends political rights to blacks.

"The bill of rights issue puts every South African before an inescapable choice," says Supreme Court Justice Pierre Olivier, the chairman of the law commission. "Either you say we are going to have a just society, we are going to have an independent judiciary which can guard over our interests and therefore we are going to have a bill of rights. Or you must

say, 'No, I am not prepared to go on that road.'"

So far, the government hasn't shown any readiness to take that route. Rather, it keeps traveling further in the opposite direction. "The law commission's lofty ideals aren't going to impress anyone if a police officer still can pick up anyone at anytime," says George Bizos, who has been a defense attorney in some of the country's most celebrated political trials of black nationalists. "The deeds must soon match the words."

A string of judicial and governmental actions in recent months shows how wide the gap between law and justice, between words and deeds, has become in South Africa.

In two separate cases, three white farmers were given suspended sentences after beating black employees to death when the judges found extenuating circumstances for their actions. In one case, the black man was beaten after he drove over his boss's dog; in the other, the black worker was assaulted for losing track of a couple of cows. During the same period, dozens of black anti-apartheid activists have been jailed, and some have been sentenced to hang, on convictions ranging from subversion to treason. While some waged a terrorist campaign against the state, others did nothing more than distribute banned literature or organize a rent boycott.

Judicial Independence

"I wonder in the future whether we should bother to even stand trial," said Ismael Ebrahim, a member of the outlawed African National Congress, before being jailed for 20 years for treason earlier this year. "As an oppressed nation, we can never regard our courts as places of justice in the moral sense of the word."

Under the state of emergency, which enters its fourth year this week, the government has undermined the courts' legitimacy and made a mockery of judicial independence by taking the constitutional doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, which elevates legislation beyond judicial review, to Banana Republic extremes. By passing a myriad of security laws that concentrate power in the executive branch and that can't be constitutionally challenged, the parliament has effectively excluded the courts from having any say over many government actions denying basic human rights.

Cabinet ministers, without judicial scrutiny, have detained more than 30,000 people and held them without trial, restricted thousands of others, banned dozens of organizations and shut down a handful of newspapers. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok justifies this by saying that if detainees were brought to court they might be acquitted. "In normal law," he told reporters earlier this year, "it's not always possible to find people guilty."

The courts themselves have also been accomplices in betraying their proud Ro-

Continued on Pg. 15

Sanctions Do the Job, But Apartheid's Critics Are Not All for Them

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

ARCHBISHOP DESMOND M. TUTU sounded less than enthusiastic last week about his known support of economic sanctions as a weapon against apartheid. Addressing a church gathering in Durban, the Anglican archbishop, one of the Government's most visible critics, reiterated an earlier confession that he was "not wedded" to sanctions. "If we can bring about the end of apartheid without sanctions, I would be the first to say Hallelujah," he said.

Sanctions have hurt South Africa and forced the Government to readjust its economic strategies. But the first waves of casualties have come from the country's black majority, not its white minority.

A poll commissioned by the Chamber of Mines, a private association of South Africa's mining companies, and released in mid-May reported that 82 percent of the 1,400 black South Africans interviewed said they opposed sanctions and 85 percent opposed disinvestment by foreign companies. Seventy-six percent of the blacks surveyed said they would oppose sanctions and boycotts that cost them their jobs, even if such measures brought down the white minority Government in five years.

Some anti-apartheid groups were quick to challenge the startling findings of the poll, which had a 4 percent margin of error, mostly on grounds that the Chamber of Mines wanted to show that sanctions were unpopular.

But the Gallup Organization, which conducted the survey through a respected South African marketing group, contends that even those blacks who admitted supporting the outlawed African National Congress expressed substantial opposition to sanctions.

This apparent backlash has prompted some rethinking among apartheid's opponents about selecting their targets more carefully. Last week Archbishop Tutu and three other prominent South African clergymen wrote to international banks asking them to make any rescheduling of South Africa's foreign loans, which now exceed \$20 billion, conditional on the creation of "a just political order" by Pretoria.

The damage inflicted by financial sanctions was acknowledged by Gerard de Kock, head of the South African Reserve Bank. "Political developments and perceptions forced South Africa to transform itself from a capital-importing to a capital-exporting economy," Mr.

de Kock told an audience in Cape Town last month.

The Government's top banker disclosed that \$10 billion had been withdrawn from the country between 1984 and 1988. Economic recovery, he said, required political changes that would appease overseas critics sufficiently for capital to start flowing back.

The damage imposed by restricting South Africa's access to the international financial mar-

Continued on Pg. 14

The Africanizing of South Africa *Despite Political Stalemate. Social and Economic Change Accelerates*

By Allister Sparks

JOHANNESBURG—Dressed in designer jeans and running shoes, the young technicians demonstrating their equipment in the big electronics store looked like yuppies anywhere—smart, assertive and self-consciously on life's upward escalator. Only one thing made them different: This was South Africa and they were all black.

Nowhere in the entire store, a large establishment in central Cape Town, did there appear to be a single white employee. From floor managers to bookkeepers to typists to the young technos in their Reeboks, all were members of the mixed-race community called "coloreds" here.

I have been away from South Africa for 20 months, and of all the changes I have noticed on returning, this has been the most striking: South Africa has gone black while I have been away.

It has always been so, of course, with its 5-to-1 population ratio, but in the past the machinations of apartheid contrived to make it look otherwise. The black multitudes were kept out of sight, dammed up in distant "homelands," tucked away in separate dormitory townships and mine compounds and backyard rooms, preserving the illusion of a "white" country in but not really of Africa. Now that has changed.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Johannesburg. The city I left had pretensions to being a medium-sized American metropolis, all chrome and glass and conspicuous affluence. The city I return to is an African city, black faces thronging its streets, moving into its apartments, setting up hawkers' stalls of fruit and vegetables along its sidewalks and giving the city a less glitzy, more Third World aspect.

Black consumers now account for 80 percent of central-city trade. Shop windows display the brighter colors Africans like. Hillbrow, a high-rise apartment quarter that was once the residential heartland of young white Johannesburg and the center of the city's nightlife, is now three-fourths black. Black children play in its parks and black couples frequent its night-spots.

On weekends, when downtown Johannesburg becomes blacker than ever, the area around the train station is converted into a vast *shebeen*, or illegal drinking joint. *Al-fresco* barmen set up stalls on the side-

walks and in the station concourse itself, with piles of beer cans and tin baths with ice from which they serve the passing trade.

It is all illegal. A law called the Group Areas Act is still there to prohibit non-whites from living in the "white" city or owning any kind of business there, and the liquor laws strictly control the sale of alcohol, but these and many other apartheid laws are being swamped by the demographic explosion that has hit South Africa.

The police have backed off from trying to enforce them, and lawmaking has become largely a matter of post-facto legitimizing of what cannot be stopped. New laws have been passed authorizing the government to reclassify "white" neighborhoods already invaded by blacks as "grey areas."

Things are quiet on the surface now, but keeping a close watch on the seething black townships and monitoring the movements of thousands of black activists take precedence over less urgent police activities such as prosecuting beer-sellers or even ordinary crime prevention.

The result is a burgeoning crime wave. Muggings, automobile thefts and burglaries have become endemic. One can see the evidence of it in Johannesburg's affluent white suburbs where the garden walls, whose steadily rising height over the years has been an index of racial tensions, have now reached 10 feet and more, many of them with coils of razor-sharp wire on top.

This presents a curious visual inversion of the apartheid system. As the blacks are bursting out of their ghettos and taking over the central cities, the whites are shrinking back behind the high walls into private ghettos of their own.

The Africanizing of "white" South Africa has been under way for some time, but it has taken off in the last two years. A convergence of factors has caused this.

One reason is a black population explosion. The tribal "homelands," to which millions of blacks were forcibly removed, are crowded, ecologically devastated and economically desperate. At the same time, the government has taken some of the ideological brakes off the economy to try to help create jobs.

The result is a flood of blacks to the cities. Crossroads, the vast squatter settlement outside Cape Town that the gov-

Continued on Pg. 14

South African Economy Grows Political

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN — A chance remark recently by Deputy Finance Minister Georg Marais created a furor here that had nothing to do with race, the central issue of white politics. Mr. Marais assured Parliament that white South Africans were on average no worse off economically than they had been 20 years ago.

With the nation's annual rate of inflation exceeding 15 percent, mortgages at 20 percent, gold prices in decline and the South African rand, at 36 cents to the American dollar, falling to its lowest value in four years, Mr. Marais's assertion set off a public response of dismay and outrage. It evoked the kind of brouhaha that erupted in 1961 when Lapa Munnik, then Minister of Health and Welfare, said an 80-year pensioner could live on 20 rand a week.

Mr. Marais immersed himself deeper when he tried to clarify his assertion a few days later. While he conceded that the real incomes of whites had declined, he argued that the huge benefits they enjoy — from cars to housing subsidies and pension contributions — had offset this. The official cited as evidence a recent Government survey of 5,000 white households.

Selective Sampling Charged

"That survey of 5,000 could only have been done on the gravy train between Johannesburg and Pretoria," scoffed Sampie Terreblanche, an economist at Stellenbosch University. He alluded sarcastically to the country's civil servants, who were rewarded with a 15 percent raise last year at a time when other South Africans were being exhorted to tighten their belts.

The state of the economy now may well compete with apartheid as an issue dominating the campaign leading to Sept. 6 parliamentary elections. The National Party is widely expected to

retain power, but its critics on both the left and right believe that they detect a new vulnerability in a party that has ruled South Africa for 41 years.

"For the first time ever, we are heading for a bread-and-butter election," said Professor Terreblanche, who advises the new, liberal Democratic Party on economic issues. In other interviews here, white members of Parliament agreed that the sagging economy had become an important campaign issue.

"If one talks to the voter today, the first thing he complains about is the cost of living. He is afraid he will lose his job and become unemployed," said a National Party member of Parliament who asked not to be identified by name because he faces a tough political

longer from a Conservative Party member.

Money and Race

Wynand Malan, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, thought the state of the economy and the decline of purchasing power offered an opportunity to lift the election above the politics of race, which is still likely to determine the outcome.

The Nationalists "are so vulnerable

The Government may lose white voters hobbled by inflation.

came from retired whites on fixed pensions, who faced a rise in the cost of living on so many economic issues that we're sifting through them and trying to decide what to hit them on," said Clive Derby-Lewis, a Conservative Party legislator who speaks for his right-wing party on economic issues. "It's the total mismanagement of the economy, and they blame everybody but themselves."

Ockie Stuart, director of the Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch University, challenged Mr. Marais's rosy outlook, using the Government's own figures. Professor Stuart told The Argus, a daily newspaper here in Cape Town, that real disposable income — net income after taxes and adjusted for inflation — had risen through the 1960's and 1970's but had been decreasing in the 1980's by at least one-half of 1 percent a year.

But the most persuasive arguments ing that was at least 14 percent over the last year alone.

When Things Get Desperate

In the Cape Town suburb of Claremont, where 600 angry pensioners demanded that Mr. Marais resign, one old woman said that she ate dog food when her pension money began running out each month.

Conspicuously absent from the debate was any mention of the economic hardships of nonwhites, roughly 85 percent of South Africa's population.

White pensioners get 251 rand a month from the Government, about \$90 at the current rate of exchange. But those of mixed race and of Indian descent get about \$72 a month and black pensioners only about \$54 a month.

The Government's logic for paying blacks 40 percent less than whites is that they have a lower standing of living. But even a five and a half pound bag of the meal that forms the bulk of

most black diets, sells for 66 cents — four and a half times what it cost in 1972.

The Government has offered an abundance of explanations for the declining economy — like financial sanctions imposed by the West, which have forced South Africa to run its foreign trade on a cash basis. Its ministers have also blamed the oil embargoes of the 1970's, drought conditions on South African farms and falling prices of agricultural and mineral exports. Gold, which accounts for 40 percent or more of South African exports, has dropped to about \$360 an ounce.

Apartheid's Other Price

But liberal opponents cite the high financial cost of apartheid, like the expense of running 14 separate ministries of education and health.

Prof. Michael Savage, a social scientist at the University of Cape Town, estimated that 15 cents of every tax dollar is now going to shore up apartheid.

The right wing blames the Government's remedial spending on black education, among other services, as well as the high cost of subsidizing the nominally independent black homelands. And both Conservatives and Democrats accuse the Government of overspending — up 28 percent last month over April 1988 — and economic mismanagement.

"We agree that the economy is awkward," said Cornelius Botha, a member of Parliament who is chief spokesman for the National Party. "We'll say, 'Yes, the economy is not as good as it could be.'"

But he asserted that the Conservative Party would use the economic issue to divert attention from its clumsy attempts to turn the clock back on apartheid, while the Democratic Party was too weak to pose a threat. The National Party, he said, could offer the voters its success in negotiating an honorable withdrawal from Namibia and beginning to break out of diplomatic isolation in Africa.

Erosion of Political Base

At the least, opponents see a long-term economic issue ripening that could erode the comfortable majority of the National Party, which now holds 123 of the 166 elected seats in Parliament's white House of Assembly.

A Democratic Party member of Parliament hoped that economic discontent as a campaign issue would not reach a peak too soon before the September elections.

Thomas Langley, a Conservative legislator, saw no such risk. "A lot of people are becoming poorer every day," he said. "The wage earner and the farmer are the main sufferers. In any society, it's very good to have those groups as constituents."

White Domination Must End, South African Leader Says

CAPE TOWN

THE following are excerpts from an interview by World Monitor TV correspondent Ned Temko with South Africa's ruling National Party leader F. W. De Klerk:

You are now the most important white political figure in South Africa. What personal qualities do you think you bring to your new office?

I'm a Christian. I'm a South African, an Afrikaner, a lawyer. I love my country and I think that this country has a great future. In that sense of the word, I'm a practical idealist. I think we can build South Africa into something great. . . .

As National Party leader, what message, what issues will you seek to bring before the South African electorate in the coming campaign?

We are reaching out toward a new future . . . We will have to bring drastic changes about. In the final analysis, the goal must be fairness to all the people of South Africa, a square deal for each and every section of our population . . . White domination, we have clearly stated, must come to an end. But that cannot be exchanged for another form of domination.

Is the "square deal" you mention possible without an end to the "leading role" of whites in South Africa?

Oh yes, I actually believe that a square deal is possible. What we need to do is to draw all the people into a joint decisionmaking process. The future of all the peoples of this country lies in peace, in good relations, and not in strife and in conflict.

You say two different sorts of "rights" concern you as a South African — individual rights and group rights. How do you understand that distinction?

It is my party's policy that we should strike a balance between group rights and individual rights. We referred this question to the South African Law Commission, a totally depoliticized, high-powered judicial body charged with revision and improvement of our law.

This commission also says that the idea of group rights should be divorced from the idea of race rights.

I think one should not be ideologically obsessed with race. But the fact that South Africa is a multiracial country is a reality. We have a fairly open-ended approach as to the formation of new groups. It is possible that a so-called nonracial group might come into being through a process of freedom of association.

So in other words, South Africans would be able to choose to be in a nonracial group.

Things are moving in that direction. As to whether there will be a real need for that, that will have to be shown in practice.

The constitutional conference between black, white, and other South African leaders, for which your party has pushed, has gained little acceptance. What makes you think that the prospects are any better now?

I think that the atmosphere has changed slightly for the better. There is consensus on the need for real ne-

gotiation. The differences exist with regard to how that should be structured. We have passed a bill, which is now law, which will structure such negotiations . . . I think that people are really coming together on this issue. . . .

We are told you will visit the United States soon. What do you expect to hear from President Bush, and what message will you carry to Washington?

. . . Obviously I expect criticism. . . . But I would hope to also hear that the certain element of stagnation which has entered our bilateral situation in recent years . . . should be removed. . . . We should really talk to each other . . . I think there is a wrong perception in America of what is happening in South Africa . . . We're not getting recognition for the tremendous advances which we have made in this country. And most of all, I would put on the agenda the destructive effect which sanctions are having, particularly [on] our black people.

How serious do you see the political threat from the extreme right in South Africa?

As things now are on the ground, that threat isn't very serious. They represent in the vicinity of 20 percent of the white electorate. Potentially, however, in a crisis situation — if the reasonable policies of my government don't get international acceptance — then I think there's a real risk that . . . the vast majority of people who have moderate views might find themselves caught up in the throes of radicalism.

. . . We think that the parties to the right have a fatal flaw in their policy: that is, they do not make provision for the reasonable aspirations of the people of color. We think that the parties to the left of us have a fatal flaw in their policy, in that they do not make sufficient provision for the need for protection of minority rights in this country.

It is only my party which brings these two needs together into a package, and that is why I have no doubt that we are looking forward to a very good [election] result on Sept. 6.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
JUNE 6, 1989

Ethiopian Parliament Backs Talks With Rebels in Eritrea

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, June 5 (Reuters) — The Ethiopian Parliament today endorsed unconditional peace talks with the rebels in Eritrea in an effort to end the country's civil war.

The Government's initiative, a turnaround in policy, was approved at a special session of Parliament, called solely to discuss the 28-year-long war.

Diplomats said it was the first time that Ethiopia's President, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who introduced the plan today, had set no conditions for discussions with the northern rebels.

According to the six-point peace plan, the talks, the time and place of which must be agreed on by both sides, would be attended by international observers.

Senate Curbs on Angola Pact Decried

Reuter

Senate restrictions approved Thursday night on the U.S. contribution toward financing the Angola peace agreement were criticized yesterday by White House officials and House members.

A Bush administration official, who asked not to be identified, said the restrictions are "politically motivated" and would impair White House flexibility to help carry out the accord.

"It would hamstring us," the official said.

Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, said the restrictions would hurt a pact that the United States had helped to negotiate and he vowed to defeat them.

"We were leaders in bringing this agreement about," Wolpe said in an interview. "For the Congress to now unilaterally abrogate the accords would be foolishness of the first order and counterproductive. It would take away our credibility."

When the House and Senate pass different versions of the same bill, a conference committee is appointed to iron out differences.

The Senate voted Thursday night to approve up to \$78 million for U.N. peacekeeping operations in Angola on the conditions that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and rebel withdrawal from Namibia is assured and U.S. officials seek to block International Monetary Fund loans to Angola.

The restrictions are in an amendment, approved by voice vote, that also urges but would not require vigorous U.S. promotion of direct peace talks between the Soviet-supported Angola government and U.S.-supported rebels, called the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The U.N.-brokered peace agreement calls for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and of both South African and South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) rebels from neighboring Namibia.

U.S., Trying to Protect Elephants, Declares Ban on All Ivory Imports

The United States has banned imports of ivory to help avert further slaughter of African elephants.

The ban, announced by President Bush on Monday under the authority of a law passed by Congress last year, will take effect before the end of the week. It will continue at least until October, when a convention on endangered species that would end the international ivory trade is widely expected to be passed.

"We do this out of mounting concern for the rapid decline of the wild elephant, one of nature's most majestic creatures," Mr. Bush said. "If their

They said an "orgy" of killing by poachers could take place before the international ban, whose passage is anticipated at a meeting of the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species in Geneva. They urged all nations to ban ivory imports in the meantime to reduce the potential market and thereby the incentives for poachers.

Most ivory is used to make signature stamps, popular in Japan and other Asian countries. Ivory is also used to

make some jewelry, ornamental carvings, billiard balls and piano keys.

A Startling Decline

At the current level of killing, conservation groups say, the African elephant would be extinct within 20 years. The number of African elephants has declined from 1.5 million to less than 500,000 in the last decade, conservation groups estimate.

More than 80 percent of the ivory sold on the world market comes from highly organized poachers, who conservationists believe kill 200 to 300 elephants a day. The rest is sold legally under a provision of the convention allowing African nations to export a certain amount of ivory.

Last year, the United States imported \$32.2 million worth of ivory, or 10 to 15 percent of total ivory exports from Africa. Japan and Hong Kong account for about 75 percent of worldwide ivory imports.

Last month, the Government said it would support the international ivory ban but refused a request by a group of American conservation groups to classify the elephant as an endangered species and immediately stop all ivory imports.

Legal or Illegal

Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. said yesterday that the United States was imposing the moratorium on all ivory imports before the October meeting because a new review had found there was no way to distinguish between legal and illegal ivory.

"We believe the current international system for controlling ivory trade has failed to protect the elephant, and we have no choice but to halt commercial ivory shipments into the United States," Mr. Lujan said.

Dr. Western said the Government's action would encourage other nations to follow suit. The European Community nations are scheduled to vote on a ban tomorrow at a meeting in Brussels. France and West Germany already have banned all ivory imports.

The European Community vote will be important because if a ban is approved, Hong Kong will have to abide by it, as it is a protectorate of Britain.

"The next step is to convince the other Asian countries that the ivory trade is coming to an end, one way or another," Dr. Western said.

Bush takes a step aimed at dashing poachers' incentives.

population continues to diminish at current rates, the wild elephant will soon be lost from this earth."

The action came four days after two leading international conservation groups called for all nations to impose an immediate ban on the trade of ivory to avert the destruction of the African elephant population.

Poachers' Incentives Feared

Spokesmen for the groups, the World Wildlife Fund and Wildlife Conservation International, said the prospect of an international ban could send ivory prices soaring by January, when the ban would take effect.

The Senate amendment would approve \$26 million for the U.N. peacekeeping effort immediately only if President Bush certified that all SWAPO forces have left Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola is assured by July 1, 1991.

The amendment would approve \$52 million more after Sept. 1 only if Bush certified that Cuba and other parties were honoring the agreement; that Cubans had not taken any military action against UNITA forces including use of chemical warfare; and if the U.S. director of the International Monetary Fund was instructed to vote against membership for Angola and against any loans by the agency to Angola.

Soviet Military Advisers To Leave Mozambique

By Karl Maier

MAPUTO, Mozambique, June 2—The Soviet Union will withdraw nearly all of its military advisers from this war-racked southern African nation by the end of 1990, diplomatic and military sources here said today.

News of the dramatic turnabout followed last month's visit to Maputo by a top-level Soviet military delegation which held talks with President Joaquim Chissano and Defense Minister Gen. Alberto Chipande.

Chipande told a national meeting of the Armed Forces Thursday that more than half of the foreign military advisers now in Mozambique were leaving and would be replaced by Mozambican officers. The 150 delegates to the convention warmly applauded the announcement.

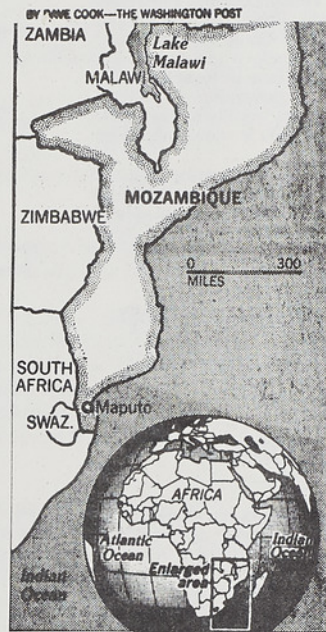
Chipande gave no timetable for the Soviets' departure but diplomatic and military sources said the pullout would be spread over the next 18 months to coincide with the expiration of the current five-year military cooperation agreement between the two countries.

Diplomatic and Mozambican Defense Ministry sources estimate that the Soviet Union has between 700 and 1,500 military experts in the country.

It is unclear how training programs run by East Germany and Cuba in Mozambique will be affected, but Chipande's open-ended statement suggested that all foreign military teams would be reduced.

The Soviet Union, the biggest supporter of the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO] army since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, will continue a substantial military aid program, estimated at about \$120 million, the sources said. In the future, they added, the dollar value of Moscow's aid would fall by about 40 percent, but the Soviet Union would provide more helicopters, trucks, communications equipment and light arms rather than heavy weapons.

Mozambican and foreign military analysts have long said that Soviet training in conventional warfare has done little to prepare the 30,000-strong FRELIMO army for



the hit-and-run attacks of the Mozambique National Resistance [RENAMO], a rebel group that has received extensive support from neighboring South Africa since 1980.

The withdrawal decision appears to have been a mutual one. It reflects Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's drive to reduce military commitments abroad and promote non-violent resolutions to foreign conflicts.

Chissano's government hopes the revamped Soviet aid program will help convert the army into a mobile counterinsurgency force better equipped to deal with RENAMO. The rebels' attacks on villages, farms and transport routes have forced millions of Mozambicans to flee their homes and destroyed the economy. More than one-third of the country's 15 million people depend on food handouts to survive.

U.S. and British diplomats expressed surprise at the announcement but greeted it as a further signal of Chissano's drive to reduce his government's dependence on foreign military advice and promote a non-military settlement to the 14-year-old war with RENAMO.

Economic Riots Are Spreading in Nigeria

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

LAGOS, Nigeria, June 3 — A strike in Nigeria over the Government's economic austerity program spread overnight to Port Harcourt, a city of a quarter-million people in the southeastern region, and at least three people were reported killed and several hundred arrested in new clashes.

The casualties brought the number of people reported wounded since the unrest broke out a week or more ago to at least 30.

Witnesses in Port Harcourt said there were fierce confrontations between crowds of youths throwing rocks and heavily armed police officers and soldiers. The crowds burned down a savings bank and a state-owned newspaper, and heavily damaged the headquarters of a large palm-oil installation.

The disturbances there came after several days of unrest in Lagos, the Nigerian capital, where several thousand people have rioted and set buildings and automobiles ablaze to protest hardships that they attribute to President Ibrahim Babangida's economic measures. Some of the protesters here reportedly carried placards with General Babangida's picture and distributed leaflets accusing him and members of his military-installed government of corruption. This, even though the allegations were unsubstantiated.

Campuses Closed

Since then, universities in six of Nigeria's 21 states have been closed. In some areas, outdoor political meetings have been banned and dusk-to-dawn curfews imposed. A week ago, the police reportedly fired on protesters in Benin city, a major center east of Lagos and about halfway to Port Harcourt.

"They'll be no more trouble now that we've closed the universities and colleges which provided the focus," Albert Afegbai, a Nigerian police aide was quoted as saying. President Babangida said Wednesday night in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation that he could not understand why people wanted to protest over higher prices, but warned that the Government would not tolerate lawlessness.

The riots coincided with intense politicking among the West African nation's fractious political parties in advance of the complex process of returning to civilian rule. Political life in Nigeria is, traditionally, no-holds-barred, and the economic crises is likely to add to add to tensions.

What is most worrisome, Western diplomats and some Nigerians say, is that a continued breakdown in order could tempt the military to delay a return to civilian rule. In 1986, President Babangida, an army major general, announced a timetable providing for state elections and a census in 1991, and local, state and federal elections in 1992.

Continued on page 16

Civilians Pay Price of Renamo Attacks

Casualty Toll Mounts as Mozambican Rebels Continue Incursions Into Zimbabwe

By Karl Maier

MAHENYE, Zimbabwe—The beat of traditional drums reaches a crescendo at dusk as a unit of Zimbabwean troops moves out of this tiny southeastern village to search the dense bush for any Mozambican rebels coming across the border three miles away.

The women of Mahenye, about 225 miles southeast of the capital, Harare, prepare the evening meal of maize porridge around campfires before heading out to sleep under the trees. Their homes have become targets for the rebels. After dark, most of the village is deserted.

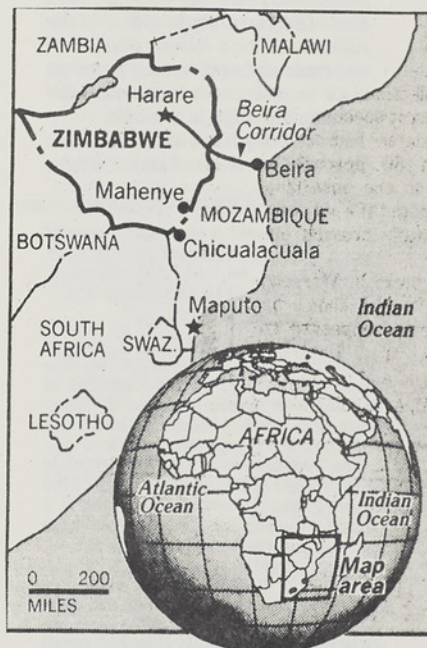
"Few people stay in their homes at night anymore. It's too dangerous," said Stanley Nyamunda, headmaster of the village primary school. "After dark, we civilians sleep in the bush."

Two years of incursions into Zimbabwe by the right-wing Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) rebel movement have taken a heavy toll on civilians on both sides of the 600-mile border. Hundreds of people have been killed and kidnapped. Thousands of Mozambicans have been rounded up and put in refugee camps in Zimbabwe.

Renamo declared war on Zimbabwe in October 1986, in retaliation for a decision by President Robert Mugabe's government to send 10,000 Zimbabwean troops into Mozambique to fight alongside President Joaquim Chissano's Frelimo army and to guard a vital transportation link against rebel attacks.

The first Renamo strike came on June 15, 1987, when rebels attacked and looted a northern village. According to government reports on that raid and 374 others between then and April 9, 335 civilians have been killed, 280 wounded and 667 kidnapped; more than 400 people are unaccounted for. Zimbabwe's security forces have suffered 22 dead and 44 wounded; 29 rebels have been killed, five wounded and 45 captured, according to the government. Food is the guerrillas' usual target, the reports say.

The half-finished wattle-and-daub huts along the dirt road into Mahenye tell the story of what the war has meant for villagers along the border. Peasants here are being moved from their scattered homesteads to the village center for safety. Protected villages are springing up. In April alone, at least 6,700 people were moved into guarded villages in



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

"Few people stay in their homes at night anymore. It's too dangerous. After dark, we civilians sleep in the bush."

— Stanley Nyamunda

the northern district of Rushinga.

Refugee camps surrounded by barbed wire hold more than 70,000 Mozambicans, according to U.N. figures. Some of these fled the war across the border into Zimbabwe; some were seasonal laborers whom the army rounded up as potential security risks; some were taken from their homes inside Mozambique by Zimbabwean troops nine months ago in an attempt to prevent Renamo infiltration by creating a *cordon sanitaire* extending from the border to 10 to 20 miles inside Mozambique.

The Renamo insurgency has come full circle. The movement was created in Zimbabwe

in the early 1970s when this southern African nation of 9 million people was known as Rhodesia. The Rhodesian intelligence agency used Renamo as a spy network inside Mozambique, from which black nationalists were launching a guerrilla war to end white-minority rule in Rhodesia.

When Zimbabwe gained independence nine years ago, South Africa began sponsoring the rebels. Pretoria denies it is now aiding the movement, but that claim is widely disputed.

Renamo spread the war inside Mozambique, targeting the Beira Corridor, the 196-mile rail, road and oil pipeline that delivers 95 percent of Zimbabwe's fuel supplies from the Mozambican port of Beira on the Indian Ocean. In 1982, 2,000 Zimbabwean troops deployed in central Mozambique to guard the corridor. Three years later, 10,000 more went in.

Sabotage has cost Zimbabwe \$2.5 million in lost fuel, according to figures from the National Oil Co. of Zimbabwe. Despite the attacks, the Beira Corridor has enabled Zimbabwe to avoid using more costly routes through South Africa, and last year it saved the country \$35 million in lower freight bills, according to Senator Denis Norman, a Zimbabwean businessman involved in rebuilding Beira's port.

But economists put the cost of maintaining the Zimbabwean army inside Mozambique and along the border at up to \$350,000 per day. Zimbabwe is now redeploying troops from central Mozambique to the southern part of the nation to guard Zimbabwean track workers who are rebuilding the 350-mile-long railway that runs from the border town of Chicualacuala to the port in Maputo, the Mozambican capital.

With the costs mounting, Zimbabwean officials are hoping for a diplomatic end to the conflict, which many military analysts consider to be a stalemate. In early March, Charles W. Freeman, then the deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, met with Mugabe and Chissano to discuss how to bring about a peaceful settlement.

But until that occurs, border villages such as Mahenye will continue to face upheaval. "We have more and more cases of children fainting from hunger in classes," said Nyamunda. "The people are too scared to go out very far in the maize fields."

JUNE 4, 1989

Sudanese Rebel Seeks Credibility in U.S. Visit

By JANE PERLEZ

NAIROBI, Kenya, June 3 — The leader of the Sudanese rebel group arrives in the United States on Sunday for a visit intended to endow him with a political respectability that has eluded him despite his military victories.

The leader, John Garang, head of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, will hold talks in Atlanta with the former President Jimmy Carter, who in recent visits to the Sudan and to Ethiopia, the rebels' base, has tried to mediate in a six-year civil conflict.

Mr. Garang is also expected to address an audience at the Brookings Institution in Washington and hold further talks with Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

The rebel leader and Mr. Cohen met in Bonn last week as part of an effort by the United States to encourage the Khartoum Government, which Washington regards as an ally, and the rebels to move toward peace.

Significant Visit to Africa

Two weeks ago, Mr. Cohen visited Khartoum, his first trip to Africa since his confirmation. The choice of the Sudan for his first visit was an indication of the importance the Horn of Africa will play in the new Administration's policy toward the continent, diplomats said. Particular emphasis is to be put on sorting out the long-running, intertwined and brutal civil wars in the Sudan and Ethiopia.

Mr. Cohen was scheduled to visit Addis Ababa as well, but canceled in the wake of the abortive coup against Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam.

After Khartoum, Mr. Cohen met in Rome with Anatoly Adamishin, the Soviet Union's Deputy Foreign Minister, who has been dealing with Washington on resolving regional conflicts. The Horn of Africa was high on the agenda, diplomats said.

The new emphasis on the region is in contrast with the almost single-minded attention to southern Africa by Chester A. Crocker, former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, diplomats said. An added seriousness toward the Sudan was also signified by the choice of the new Ambassador. The Bush Administration has selected

The leader of the Sudanese rebel movement yesterday warned that a cease-fire currently in effect in the African nation's six-year-old civil war could end next week if progress is not made in peace talks scheduled to begin Saturday in Ethiopia.

John Garang, head of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA),

James R. Cheek, a diplomat honored by the State Department for his work in Nicaragua; he had been moved to Nepal by the Reagan Administration.

Obstacles to Peace

Diplomats said movement toward meaningful negotiations in the two conflicts was blocked by the obstacles of dealing with spent regimes in Khartoum and Addis Ababa and militarily deft guerrilla groups in opposition.

The Sudanese civil conflict, which is being fought in the southern part of the country, has the added dimension of a devastating famine that resulted from the war last year and looms again.

Those involved in talks with the rebels and Khartoum say they are trying to use the famine to set up a competition on peace and relief between the two sides. By this they mean that attempts are made to persuade one side to agree to a certain food relief operation so that the other side will feel embarrassed and concede.

So far, both sides have agreed to food deliveries to Government- and rebel-held areas.

But Mr. Cohen is understood to have told the Sudanese Prime Minister, Sadiq al-Mahdi, that the Government has put up too many obstacles to the relief efforts.

In the wake of the failed coup in Ethiopia almost three weeks ago, diplomats said President Mengistu continued to consolidate his power, at least in the short term, by bringing in a new set of generals known for their loyalty.

Ethiopian Switch on U.S.

Last week, the Ethiopians announced that they were withdrawing the name of Tibebe Bekele, the Deputy Foreign Minister, as their choice for Ambassador to the United States.

The Government, in its campaign for better relations with Washington, had asked for an upgrading of relations to ambassadorial level.

But the State Department let the request languish, a signal that it wanted substantive talks to resolve the differences between the two countries rather than the symbolism of an exchange of higher-ranking diplomats.

said he would be willing to extend the rebels' truce with the Sudanese government, due to end June 15, only if Khartoum takes steps toward abrogating military ties with Libya and Egypt and pledges that no attempts will be made to reinstitute a harsh set of Islamic religious laws known as *sharia*.

"I am hopeful for peace," Garang, who is visiting Washington to meet with government officials, told a gathering of journalists and congressional staffers on Capitol Hill yesterday. "But the government must follow up."

The war in Sudan, in which northern Moslems loyal to the government have been fighting predominantly Christian and animist rebels from the south, has displaced about 1 million Sudanese and been blamed for the starvation deaths of more than 1 million others in the last six years, including 250,000 last year alone.

The rebels are demanding equal political rights and resisting efforts by the predominantly Arab government to institute national Islamic laws. Last year, both sides were accused of misusing food aid and exacerbating the famine.

The SPLA and the government agreed to a cease-fire May 1, and since that time 50,000 metric tons of food and medical supplies have arrived in the devastated regions of the south.

Garang said the situation was still critical, however. "The people are suffering. The need is still great for food and blankets," he said. He claimed that the SPLA now controls and administers an area "the size of Uganda" in southern Sudan and has established 125 schools.

Garang, who is due to meet with Khartoum officials in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa this week-end, said the SPLA holds 1,000 prisoners of war. He also decried alleged human rights violations committed by tribal militias armed by the government to fight the rebels. The militias have been accused of a number of atrocities, including kidnapping and slavery.

Cautious Search for Peace in Sudan

Cooperation in UN relief efforts paved way for negotiations between rebels and government

By Robert M. Press

NAIROBI, KENYA

THE first formal peace talks to end Sudan's six-year-old civil war are scheduled to begin this week, following the government's endorsement of a peace plan signed by the rebels last November.

These talks, which begin June 10 in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, are considered important by negotiators on both sides, although no final agreement on the peace plan is expected soon.

The conflict between Christian rebels in the south and the predominantly Muslim-run government in the north has caused immense civilian suffering and ruined the Sudanese economy.

John Garang's rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) is seeking greater autonomy in a unified Sudan, more development programs for the south and other areas far from the central capital, Khartoum, and an end to *sharia* (Islamic laws).

Significant steps have been taken over the past three months to make it easier to reach an agreement on carrying out the peace plan.

Sudan's previous coalition government rejected the plan. But under pressure from the military to end the war, Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi formed a new government in March, which adopted the plan. The SPLA, in turn, announced a unilateral cease-fire in May and extended it through mid-June last week.

"There are substantial numbers on both sides that really want peace now," says James Grant, a high-level United Nations official who has had frequent and recent contact with top-level government and SPLA leaders. But there are also elements on both sides that don't want peace, he said here last week.

Last year an SPLA source told the Monitor that a peace agreement could split the ranks of the SPLA. In March the National Islamic Front quit the government

coalition to protest its adoption of the peace plan, signed in November by the SPLA and one of the other major political parties, the Democratic Unionist Party. The plan calls for abolition of *sharia*.

Recent UN relief efforts, however, have contributed to an atmosphere of cooperation between the two sides, says a US official following Sudanese affairs. The UN is in an excellent position to mediate a peace settlement, he says. (UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar is scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Mahdi in Sudan next month).

"We've had comments from leaders of both sides that they consider Operation Lifeline [the UN-coordinated anti-famine relief for civilians in southern Sudan] to have contributed to peace," says Mr. Grant, who is the UN Secretary-General's personal representative for Sudan relief.

Discussion of the agenda for the talks starts Saturday. In Monitor interviews, the two parties outlined their views on the prospects for implementing the peace plan.

A key government negotiator, Taisier Mohamed Ahmed Ali sees the June 10 talks as an important part of the long process of reaching a settlement.

"Most of the time the delay is in Khartoum," he says. Now, he adds, both sides appear ready for some hard bargaining.

In February the Sudanese military issued an ultimatum to Mr. Mahdi that amounted to a demand for a peace settlement, Dr. Taisier says. The military was losing the war in the south. Key military backers — Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait — had reduced support in response to Sudan's pro-Libyan and pro-Iranian policies, he explains.

The military might have taken power at that point if there had been public support for such a move, he says. But there was not.

Under the military's pressure, Mahdi was forced to dissolve his government and form a new coalition.

tion.

The new government was "imposed by the people," says Deputy Prime Minister Sid Ahmed el-Hussain, who is scheduled to be the chief government negotiator at the talks. "Our government is very serious about the peace."

Lam Akol, slated to be head the SPLA team at the talks, gives a more pessimistic view of what has happened within the Sudanese government. He suggests that the re-formation of the government was simply "a political gimmick in order to put [Mahdi] in a better state in order to fight the war."

"What he's trying to do now is bring back all the forces which were against him so he has a united front to recover the other friends who have stopped supplying him, like Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt. Then he'll be in a position to have more arms . . . and to win the war," says Dr. Akol.

But differences between the two sides appear to be narrowing on the two potential stumbling blocks in the peace plan:

- Ending foreign military pacts: Officially the Sudanese government has not acknowledged any pacts. But Taisier says Sudan has military agreements with Libya and Egypt. A panel of legal experts has recommended a way to cancel these agreements. The Sudanese government's negotiating committee has accepted the recommendation and forwarded it to the Cabinet for approval.

- Freezing *sharia*: Dr. Akol says the Sudanese parliament must pass a law not just "freezing" such laws but abolishing them. Otherwise Islamic law will still be the law of the land, he says.

"*Sharia* will remain a problem," says Taisier, because fundamentalist Muslims in Sudan consider it "God's word." The legal panel's recommendation on introducing new laws to cancel the current, though unenforced, Islamic laws, has also been passed on to the Cabinet for approval, says Taisier.

RIGHT OF PASSAGE

Historic Food-Relief Effort

Both sides in Sudan's civil war agree to let convoys travel unhindered

By Robert M. Press

NAIROBI, KENYA

A UNIQUE international relief effort in southern Sudan may prevent a repeat of last year's massive famine, in which at least 200,000 people died, officials say.

In what United Nations and private Western relief officials are calling a "historic first," the relief program has won cooperation from both sides in the Sudanese civil war to allow food through to civilians in war zones.

Persistent negotiating by relief representatives and a desire on the part of both sides to win international support lie behind the unprecedented cooperation, these officials say.

Last week, for example, a food-relief train won unobstructed passage to the town of Aweil, the site of much starvation last year. En route, the 100-car train — actually four trains in a convoy — stopped at a small, government-held station. Soldiers came out and protected the locomotives and front cars. But the back of the train was still standing in rebel territory, so rebels guarded the tail end.

"Never before have we seen a situation of civil conflict where the two major parties agreed to one common plan of action, and [have] gone on to agree to corridors of tranquillity down which relief convoys, unescorted, can pass freely," says James Grant, the personal representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for "Operation Lifeline — Sudan."

"It could become a major model to be followed . . . wherever there is a civil war going on," Mr. Grant told the Monitor here last week.

Some 60,000 tons of food relief have been moved into southern Sudan by trucks, planes, and the train, since Operation Lifeline began in March. That is short of the 100,000-ton goal the UN had projected to arrive before heavy rains

started this month, making roads and dirt airstrips difficult to use. But Grant says at least another 20,000 tons is likely to be delivered this month.

One Western relief official, who often goes to southern Sudan, says fewer civilians are having to walk great distances for food, since it is being delivered to a wider range of towns. Many died last year while searching for food.

Delivery of the relief food this year would have been impossible without cooperation of the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), says Grant, who has shuttled between both sides to keep the operation going.

But the cooperation, slow in coming, is still heavily laced with mistrust and apprehension. There have been many delays, by both sides. Some problems, however, appear to have been beyond the control of either side.

Several truck convoys from Uganda and Kenya to southern Sudan have been attacked, with some casualties. Relief officials here suspect local Sudanese tribes, not the government or the rebel SPLA.

The train to Aweil was stopped by some 200 bandits. They did not take the food, but they looted medical supplies on board. And they robbed international relief officials on the train and marched some of them off to the woods at gunpoint. Their lives were saved when the train's Sudanese crew pleaded for their release, according to UN relief officials.

Plans for relief barges to be sent down the Nile have been delayed due, in part, to fears of crews who are not accustomed to making deliveries through rebel areas without a military escort.

And on June 1, the rebel-held town of Torit was bombed as a UN relief plane was unloading food. The deputy prime minister of Sudan, Ahmed el Hussain, has de-



nied government involvement.

But the plane, according to relief sources here, was a twin-engine propeller Anotov, a Soviet plane, a number of which are part of the Sudan Air Force. Relief sources suspect the bombing may be the work of elements in the Air Force who oppose the government's agreement to deliver relief supplies to rebel areas. Or it might have been military elements trying to sabotage cease-fire talks scheduled for June 10 between the government and SPLA rebels in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

The civil war in Sudan began in 1983. The SPLA is seeking greater autonomy for the south in a unified government and abolishment of Muslim laws in Sudan. Most southerners are not Muslim.

As violence spread to more and more rural southerners, caught up in the war, several million people fled their herds and farms and crowded into the main southern city, Juba, or smaller government towns, and into the northern capitol of Khartoum, seeking safety and food. But often they found only hunger.

The government did little to help the southerners who fled to Khartoum. And in the south, Sudanese officials refused to send relief food to government-held towns without a military escort.

Continued on Pg. 16

Kampala Journal

When the Trouble Is Men, Women Help Women

By JANE PERLEZ

KAMPALA, Uganda, May 31— By noon on most days, a small corner office in downtown Kampala is crowded with women, many in traditional Buganda floor-length dresses, one or two in the Western style that reflects their professional status.

The conversation is intense and serious, usually dominated by property rights, wills and inheritance, topics that need the expertise of lawyers to explain and settle.

For more than a year, women, most of them poor, have been coming to the Women's Legal Aid Clinic, a rare institution in Africa where trained African women — in this case lawyers — are helping uneducated women to expect, and demand, more from their society.

Development programs that emphasize uplifting the economic and social situation of African women, who are often the main agricultural producers but who just as often remain especially poor, have become the vogue in the voluminous studies that pour out of the international agencies.

Return of the Exiles

Over the last three years Uganda has begun vanquishing its grisly past, including the brutal rule of Idi Amin and the intermittent civil conflict since then. And educated Ugandan women have returned from exile or started practicing their professions, rarely waiting for the Western development tourists — economists and aid officials — to open their briefing books.

In addition to the flourishing legal aid clinic established by the 13-year-old Ugandan Association of Women Lawyers, there is a lively nongovernmental organization, recently started by women, to help the country's countless children orphaned by either the civil war or the AIDS epidemic.

For many Ugandan women, among whom illiteracy is still prevalent, the concept of the law is a foreign one.

"Many of the women don't know what the law is," said Florence Butegwa, a law graduate from Makerere University in Kampala who returned with her husband from exile in neighboring Kenya to become a senior lecturer at her alma mater and help run the clinic.

Don't Know They're Not Wed

"On our rural visits we try and acquaint them with the laws — so many

The mysteries of family law and inheritance are solved.

think they are married when in fact they are not. We try and get the men to join the sessions so both men and women understand what it means for the woman if the man dies without a will."

Most of the cases that confront the lawyers on their "upcountry" visits (Uganda's population of roughly 17 million is about 90 percent rural) deal with disputed inheritance. This is especially so in the current tough economic times, when impoverished relatives of a dead man commonly fight hard for his property, often to the point of driving the widow out of the home.

Long-held traditions clash with the law. "African societies are polygamous by nature and some marriages are not marriages but relationships," said Hope Mwesigye, another lawyer who volunteers at the clinic during time away from her commercial law work at the State Attorney's office.

"The women do not realize they are not protected even though they produced children. They are not entitled to anything unless it is a marriage — in a church, registry or common law — recognized by the state."

Children Get a Big Share

But under Ugandan law, a man's children receive a large percentage of his estate, and by pursuing the children's rights the widow often received benefits, Mrs. Mwesigye said. In one recent case, the center helped

the two "unmarried widows" of the Ugandan Airlines flight engineer who was killed in the crash of a Boeing 707 at Rome airport last year.

Relatives had taken valuable possessions of the engineer, believing that since the widows were not formally married to the engineer, they should get nothing, Mrs. Mwesigye said. The two widows joined forces at the center whose lawyers then presented the case to the state Administrator General. By pressing the children's rights, the women should get a share of the estate, she said.

There are other cases, the lawyers said, where formally married women have been tossed out of the house because the man would like to marry someone else. In some cases the man sells the house to raise money for his next marriage. Most Ugandan women are reluctant to seek a divorce, a status that is frowned upon in Uganda.

"If you're divorced from the home, you are looked upon as a failure," said Yeri Wakabi, a lawyer who was handling back-to-back cases on a recent day. "If you were looking for a job they would reject you — they would say if you can't manage your home, how can you manage public affairs."

Many Seek Maintenance

So instead of divorce, most women come to the clinic seeking maintenance for themselves and their chil-

dren. Peace Kyalo, a 29-year-old pregnant mother of six children, consulted with the lawyers about how to reclaim her five children that she said her husband had taken to the residence of a religious sect.

"I will go to court," Mrs. Kyalo said. "I want my children back and maintenance. My husband has to do me I have demons following me from my mother's clan and it is not God's will we were married."

Aside from trying to win a maintenance order for Mrs. Kyalo from the courts, the clinic will report the practices of the religious sect to the Government, hoping to get it de-registered, the lawyers said.

Much of the success at the clinic so far has come from outside the courts. "Most of our maintenance for children and mothers is coming from counseling," Mrs. Wakabi said. "Quite a few men are paying their maintenance through here. We would rather settle him here into a sensible amount of money, because we know the court will give less."

When the men consent to come to the clinic, the lawyers find they can often seize the upper hand. "We'd prefer to squeeze the men here," Mrs. Wakabi said. "A man when confronted with a reasonable woman here is often no longer very aggressive. We also exploit their innocence. Some of them don't know the law and that the courts would not insist on such high levels of maintenance."

ernment tried for a decade to sweep away, is now accepted as an ineradicable fact and efforts are being made to upgrade it. Khayelitsha, the new township farther out where the government tried to resettle the Crossroads people, now has a quarter of a million squatters of its own. They stream in from the "homelands" at the rate of 5,000 a month—100,000 in the time I have been away.

Last year for the first time more blacks graduated from high school than whites. A generation ago there were fewer than 2,000 Africans enrolled in universities; now there are 65,000, with another 10,000 in advanced technical colleges. Add the other race groups and 40 percent of all university enrollment is non-white.

Black graduates from these institutions are pouring onto the job market at the rate of 35,000 a year, transforming the appearance of every company and every city. Black executives are driving company cars and living in company houses in Johannesburg's "white" suburbs, sending their children to private schools. A quarter of all pupils in private schools around the country are black, though state schools are still segregated.

Seventeen years ago, 3 percent of black workers were unionized; now 30 percent are.

Some time in the mid-'90s, business organizations calculate, black purchasing power nationwide will overtake that of the whites. Thereafter white living standards will be dependent on black advancement rather than the other way around.

What does it all mean politically? Almost everyone in the government now concedes that apartheid as an ideology is dead. But politics is about power, and white South Africa will not yield that easily.

The time I have been away has been a time of political stagnation. With its state of emergency under which 30,000 black activists were detained without charges, the government effectively repressed the great black uprising of the mid-80s. But black leaders in the townships insist it did not break either their will or their political network.

The result is a stalemate. The government, still under the control of the aged and ailing President P.W. Botha, is solidly in power but lacks the vision and courage needed to engage the black opposition in dialogue and try to negotiate a way to a shared future. The black resistance is taking a breather and picking up the pieces of its organizational structure.

Botha is reassessing. President Botha has announced that he will retire, and great expectations are focussed on the man who will succeed him, Frederick W. de Klerk. He is a younger, brighter, altogether nicer man who in a televised speech the other day pledged to make "an about-turn that will lead South Africa away from the tensions and obduracy of the past."

But people who know him well say de Klerk still has some ideological views that will make it difficult for him to bridge the credibility gap between a political party that has spent its entire history building apartheid and those who have spent their lives opposing it.

The black reassessment has led to a strategic shift away from confrontation towards trying to negotiate for more limited, achievable objectives. The new strategy is borrowed from the black labor unions which have been steadily growing in organizational strength and influence over the past decade. Frank Chikane, who

has taken over Archbishop Desmond Tutu's old job as general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches and is fast emerging as a key strategist in the black nationalist movement, explains that the idea is to organize around winnable goals and then use these to demand wider ones.

Out of all this, some observers see hopeful signs of what they call a culture of negotiation developing. De Klerk talks of negotiation, the black community organizations are practicing it, the international community is urging it, the outlawed African National Congress has said it is ready for it given certain gestures of sincerity from Pretoria. What is needed is for this set of stars to come together into a constellation.

Will it? A wide range of people here from black leaders to white opposition politicians, Western diplomats and many in the government itself agree that releasing Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who has now been in prison for a quarter century, is the catalyst required to do this. But, equally, it is understood that Mandela cannot be released into a vacuum. It has to be into some kind of negotiating process.

That poses problems for the government. It knows that releasing Mandela effectively means legalizing the ANC, in whose name he will speak. And once it begins negotiating with the ANC it will effectively have turned its back on white minority rule and be negotiating about a non-racial future.

What seems clear from recent maneuvering is that the government would like to release Mandela, give the credit to the

Continued on Pg. 15

SANCTIONS DO THE JOB, BUT APARTHEID'S CRITICS (Continued)

ket was described in starker terms by Andre du Pisani, a South African political scientist, who told a conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, last week that South Africa's foreign exchange reserves had sunk below those of neighboring Botswana.

Proponents of disinvestment have long said that the loss of foreign funds taken by departing companies would force the Government to hasten the demise of apartheid. Opponents have contended that disinvestment hurts apartheid's victims, not its villains, by depriving blacks of jobs, weakening their economic leverage. Moreover, some maintain that the strategy of attacking apartheid by forcing Western companies to leave doesn't work. "I cannot attribute a single change to the departure of an American company, so in that respect it has been a total disaster," said Adrian Botha, the executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, a co-sponsor of the Gallup poll.

No South African trade unions opposed to apartheid have called publicly for foreign companies to leave, though some black union officials maintain that sanctions are necessary in the political struggle.

A Labor Union's Request

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union is trying to negotiate an agreement with the Mobil Oil Corporation, which has announced its departure, that would effectively leave the bulk of its assets in South Africa.

The extent of hardship inflicted by sanctions has

been hard to measure. John Liebenberg, a senior executive of the Chamber of Mines, said that 8,000 to 10,000 mine workers, almost all black, lost their jobs when foreign embargoes were first placed on coal exports. But some miners were rehired when the demand resumed.

In a report for the South African Institute of Race Relations, a private think tank that monitors the effect of apartheid, Ronnie Bethlehem, an economist, estimated that sanctions could cost nearly two million jobs by the year 2000, most of them in the unskilled category filled by blacks, because the job market would not expand in a declining economy.

Some advocates of sanctions concede that they cost black jobs. But they say they are needed to force change on white South Africans, who ultimately must suffer too.

John K. Nkandimeng, a labor leader prominent in the African National Congress, said that those left unemployed should be treated as inevitable casualties of the war against apartheid, no less than the A.N.C.'s armed guerrillas. "There are thousands of our people who suffer whether there are sanctions or no sanctions," said Mr. Nkandimeng, speaking from exile in Zambia. "They must make the same sacrifices."

Support for sanctions, not only in the West but also in South Africa, is likely to persist in the absence of alternative actions against the white-minority Government, though they seem bound to become more selective. Eugene Nyati, a political economist, said he and other blacks like Archbishop Tutu advocated sanctions "not because they are good or bad, but because they are effective."

GOODYEAR TO SELL (Continued)

the workplace and had expressed intentions to retain the current work force of 2,400 people, the majority of whom are nonwhite.

Operations Began in 1947

Goodyear began manufacturing tires in South Africa in 1947, the year before the South African Government adopted the apartheid policy of racial separation.

The company says it has spent more than \$10 million on education and training of blacks, housing and social programs in South Africa. Goodyear has adhered to the Sullivan

THE AFRICANIZING OF SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

Zulu leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, and try to draw the two into a deal involving so-called "internal moderates" while excluding those it regards as ANC radicals committed to guerrilla struggle.

De Klerk may try this. But as Mandela's lawyer and longtime confidant George Bizos says: "He stands about as much

Principles, a set of guidelines for companies operating in South Africa that address employment and other practices.

However, Mr. Barrett said, "with the prospect of ever-diminishing returns on our South African invest-

chance of getting Mandela to split the ANC in this way as he does of persuading the pope to become a Lutheran bishop."

Allister Sparks is The Washington Post's special correspondent in Johannesburg. His new book, "The Mind of South Africa," will be published by Alfred A. Knopf early next year.

ment, our responsibility to our shareholders must take precedence."

The sale will result in a one-time charge of about \$44 million, after taxes, or 77 cents a share, which will be taken against Goodyear's second-quarter results.

SOUTH AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS OPPOSED (Continued)

del is also of royal blood, heading the Madiba clan of the Tembu tribe of Transkei.

When the ANC's precursor, the South African Native National Congress, was formally organized at a conference in Bloemfontein on Jan. 8, 1912, nearly all the chiefs in the country were represented, and seven paramount chiefs were named honorary presidents.

In the 1950s, however, the white South African government co-opted many of the traditional leaders,

drawing them into such collaborationist local government structures as the Bantu Authorities and thus factionalizing rural black communities into what was widely viewed as a divide-and-rule strategy.

Widespread violence erupted between supporters and opponents of the Bantu Authorities—particularly in the eastern Cape Province—severely diluting the effectiveness of

the black nationalist movement and creating divisions that have now resurfaced in Natal Province between

ANC supporters and followers of the moderate Zulu chief, Mangosutho Gatsha Buthelezi.

Contralesa is trying to arrange negotiations between rival factions in Natal—Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and the United Democratic Front, a coalition of 700 anti-apartheid groups—to end the strife that has resulted in 1,500 deaths in the last three years.

Thusi said Buthelezi has shown signs of feeling threatened by Contralesa, claiming that the group was

formed as an ANC front in 1986, a year before its charter meeting. "He is the only [homeland] chief minister who has given us a problem," Thusi said.

Thusi said police have raided Contralesa's Johannesburg office, removing documents, and that its officials have been under police surveillance. Despite the harassment, he said, "we will be playing a role, together with other progressive organizations, for the liberation of our country and the building of a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa."

SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE IS CLOUDED BY CONDITION OF ITS JUDICIAL (Continued)

right over acts of parliament.

But over the next 100 years, an Afrikaner political and religious ideology developed that grew less and less tolerant of the rights of other races. Slowly, laws protecting white, and particularly Afrikaner, interests were drained of their moral content, culminating in 1948 when apartheid became the law of the land. Since then, one law after another entrenched white man's justice in the constitution.

Controversial Trial

Paradoxically, legal activism in South Africa has expanded as the role and credibility of the judiciary has diminished. "This is a bad system with bad laws and I find myself asking 'What am I doing here?'" says Tshepo Sibeko, a black law student at the University of Natal in Durban. "I wonder if by going to school, getting a law degree and practicing law, if that gives credibility to the same laws that are oppressing my people. But then I think, if I don't do it who will? Someone must fight the system."

"Democracy has to be nurtured, even when it appears to be dying out. Every drop of nourishment helps," says Mr. Bizos, who has been nurturing since he became a lawyer in 1954. He was one of the senior counsel defending 22 black anti-apartheid activists in the three-year Delmas treason trial that ended late last year. Eleven of the men were acquitted on all charges, seven were found guilty of terrorism and four were convicted of treason and given sentences ranging from five to 12 years. The convictions provoked outrage in the black community and criticism from many governments abroad. But it could have been worse.

"Had these people not been defended," Mr. Bizos muses, "you might have had some death sentences."

The black community won an outright victory in April, when Supreme Court Justice P.J. van der Walt acquitted five government opponents, including union leader Moses Mayekiso, of treason after a two-year trial. But what cheered anti-apartheid activists most was the judge's uncharacteristic chiding of the state prosecutors for not carefully considering the charge of treason. He also took "judicial notice" of the fact that blacks are excluded from the political process and said, "White citizens may have a democracy, black citizens do not have a share in it."

This is a none-too-subtle admission that justice can't be properly served by an all-white bench, whose members have been weaned on apartheid ideology and, in the main, have only a master-servant relationship with blacks. Mr. Coetsee says he wants to appoint a black to the bench in the near future, but it is unlikely he will find any black lawyers willing to take the offer.

"If I sit on the bench and the prosecution brings to me a black person who is charged with violating the Separate Amenities Act because he used a toilet designated for whites, I'd have to pass judgement according to the law," says Pius Langa, a black attorney in Durban. "Now how can I tell another black man that he can't use a white man's toilet?"

He laughs at the thought. "It doesn't matter how far this system goes in trying to be fair, it's still a one-sided system that must be scrapped," he says. "Maybe when we have a normal society, we can build a new legal system that includes justice for all."

man-Dutch tradition. The all-white Appeals Court, the highest in the land, has in several decisions endorsed the government's view that the country is under a "total onslaught" from black revolutionaries, and more often than not it has indulged the government's means of controlling society. In *Omar vs. Minister of Law and Order* in 1987, the court willingly stepped out of the government's way and brushed aside common human rights, ruling that detainees did not have the right to legal counsel nor the right to be heard when their detentions are extended beyond 14 days.

Selective Guardian

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who refused to be interviewed for this story, angrily attacks any criticism of the judiciary, and he recently told parliament, "Our Supreme Court [the level below the Appeals Court] is the guardian of the rights of the individual and the community." On the same day, however, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis was promoting a bill that would prevent the courts from continuing to overturn government moves to alter the boundaries of black homelands, which have the effect of denying South African citizenship to millions of blacks. Court interference, Mr. Heunis said, can result in "administrative, political and legal chaos."

It wasn't always like this. In 1854, the Afrikaners who trekked northward to escape British domination in the Cape founded the Boer republic of the Orange Free State upon a constitution that guaranteed fundamental human rights. They borrowed heavily from the American Bill of Rights, and they gave the courts a testing

HISTORIC FOOD RELIEF EFFORT (Continued)

The SPLA refused to let food through because the escorts also brought fresh supplies of military weapons for the government soldiers in rebel-encircled towns.

Last year, the International Committee of the Red Cross patiently negotiated with both warring parties over a plan to deliver food to civilians in both government and rebel-held towns of the south. But while the government and SPLA procrastinated in giving approval, thousands more starved.

As world outrage grew with the reporting of the suffering, countries such as the United States shifted their response. Late last year, the US State Department risked the displeasure of Sudan's prime minister, Sadiq al-Mahdi, and made plans to send food relief to civilians in rebel-held areas of the south without the government's permission.

The UN's relief proposals came in the midst of this growing international concern for civilian victims in the south. At the same time, an internal political crisis was forcing Sudan toward cease-fire talks.

The Sudan military earlier this year forced Prime Minister Sadiq to form a new coalition government and accept a cease-fire accord worked out between the SPLA and one of the coalition parties last November.

"It has dawned on both sides that if they didn't agree with UNICEF, there would be a lot of people dead and they [the Sudan government and the SPLA] would be responsible," says an official of

ECONOMIC RIOTS ARE SPREADING IN NIGERIA (Continued)

Harvests but No Goods

Discontent with the Government's economic program has been exacerbated by unexplained food shortages this spring, despite last year's bumper harvests. According to news reports, in many parts of the country, rice, cooking oil, flour, salt and other basic items are unavailable at any price. The food shortages have also led to rumors of hoarding and other shady practices by senior officials in the distribution of food.

Michael Omolayole, the chairman of Chemical and Agro-Allied Products, a food producer, was recently quoted as asserting that some middlemen were involved in illicit food deals because "food was available in the market." He did not identify them, but many Nigerians, in private conversations, retell stories of high-level dealings in food.

The riots coincided with other anomalies that have prompted questioning of official economic policy. In recent weeks, local newspapers have carried reports of children suffering from hunger and dying of malnutrition.

A panel of physicians and public health officials recently concluded that one of every children 3 years old and under is suffering from stunted growth "because of the escalating cost of nourishing food."

a private Western relief group working in southern Sudan.

But one US official cautions that, "It's very tricky to strike the right balance" between too much public pressure and too little. If the relief efforts are too high-profile, they risk antagonizing one or both sides, this official said.

The Sudan relief model might help save the lives of civilians caught up in civil wars in Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, and Afghanistan, Western relief officials say.

THE WASHINGTON POST

JUNE 6, 1989

Sudanese Students Protest at U.S. Embassy

Reuter

KHARTOUM, Sudan, June 5— Nearly 200 students marched to the U.S. Embassy here today to protest what they called U.S. interference in Sudanese affairs.

Witnesses said the demonstrators, mostly supporters of the militant opposition National Islamic Front, shouted anti-American slogans and carried placards criticizing government efforts to negotiate a settlement with the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army to end the six-year-old civil war in the south.

The government said last week that it had protested to the embassy over a meeting in March between rebel leader John Garang and a group of U.S. congressmen.

Garang is visiting the United States this week on the invitation of former president Jimmy Carter. He flew there after visits to Bonn and Geneva.

Washington Times JUNE 7, 1989

Charges from Chad dismissed by Sudan

KHARTOUM, Sudan — Sudanese Foreign Minister Mahi Doud Khalifa dismissed as "baseless" Chadian charges that Libya is preparing an attack on Chad from a military base on Sudanese territory.

The Chadian Embassy in Paris on Sunday said Libya and Sudan agreed in April to "renew Libyan aggression against Chad from Sudanese territory" and added that Tripoli provided Sudan with \$4 million to that end. It implicated former Chadian army commander Id-riss Deby and other Chadians, who fled to Sudan after the abortive April 1 coup, in the move.

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

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE \$300

If address is incorrect
please indicate change
Do not cover or destroy
this address label. Mail
change of address to
PAOAP, Rm 5815A

BULK RATE
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
U.S. Department of State
Permit No. G-130