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SURGE ANNOUNCED BY ANGOLA REBELS

Move by Savimbi Group Seen
as a Rejection of Amnesty

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Feb. 2 — Angolan rebels vowed today to begin a "general offensive" across Angola Wednesday.

"There will be a series of coordinated attacks in the city and the countryside," said Alcides Sakala, delegate in Portugal for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, known as Unita.

Unita's call for an offensive seems intended as a response to a Government amnesty plan that starts Saturday. Unita's leader, Jonas Savimbi, has condemned the plan, saying his guerrillas will stop fighting only when Angola's Government starts political talks.

The communiqué today announcing the offensive was signed by Jeremias Chitunda, vice president of Unita, and by three other senior members.

Attacks to Intensify in North

Mr. Savimbi and his movement in Angola's bush have been largely cut off from the outside world since Dec. 20, when South Africa stopped flying journalists into Unita-controlled territory. At the same time, South Africa said it was ending aid to Unita as part of a regional peace accord.

In the statement today, Unita said it "profoundly laments that South Africans signed an accord they don't believe in."

In Lisbon, Mr. Sakala said the offensive will be in every Angolan province, "concentrating in the north."

Namibia Rebel Faults U.N.'s Big 5

LUANDA, Angola, Feb. 2 (Reuters) — The leader of the Namibian guerrillas accused the United States, Britain and France today of trying to renege on arrangements for Namibia's transition to independence.

The rebel leader, Sam Nujoma, president of the Southwest Africa People's Organization, attacked moves by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to cut the size of the force that will supervise Namibia's process of independence from Pretoria starting April 1.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Botha Steps Down As Party Leader, Retains Presidency

Cabinet Minister de Klerk Named Successor

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 2—South African President Pieter W. Botha, in a surprise move that appeared designed to ease himself out of public life and minimize a succession struggle, resigned today as leader of the ruling National Party.

Botha, who suffered a stroke on Jan. 18 that left him partially paralyzed, was succeeded as party leader by Education Minister Frederik W. de Klerk.

While Botha, 73, made clear he intends to retain the presidency for now, the move appeared to position de Klerk to become the next president. It also left South Africa, for the first time in its history, with a head of government who is not the leader of the dominant party in Parliament.

[South Africa's leading black churchman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said he feared the election of de Klerk would lead to repression for blacks, Reuter reported. Tutu said de Klerk would likely bow to the National Party's right wing with a crackdown on black opposition.]

Botha is understood to want to stay on as president at least until he assures another five-year extension of National Party rule. Under the constitution, a general election for

Parliament must be held by March 1990, although Botha is now expected to call for a vote before then.

Botha's letter of resignation took even his senior cabinet ministers by surprise. In it, he said he planned to become a "unifying force" in South Africa without the burden of party leadership. Botha will have no official standing in the party other than as an ordinary member, although de Klerk conceded that Botha's voice would still be powerful in policy debates.

National Party sources said the decision fulfills Botha's long-held dream of finishing his political career as a senior statesman pursuing his vision of granting some power to the country's black majority of 23 million without taking power from the 4.5 million whites.

But today's move created the anomaly of a state president receiving policy guidance, at least in theory, from a cabinet subordinate. Traditionally, the party leader automatically becomes president through an electoral college chosen by the dominant party in Parliament.

Botha, who has been party leader and head of government for 10 years, said in his letter that he now believes the two offices should be separated. De Klerk, in a news con-

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ple's Organization, attacked moves by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to cut the size of the force that will supervise Namibia's process of independence from Pretoria starting April 1.

The Soviet Union and China also supported the cut, but Mr. Nujoma blamed the three Western permanent members, accusing them of trying to go back on agreements made in 1978.

"We consider this unfair and unacceptable," Mr. Nujoma said. "The security situation is now much worse than in 1978."

Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has proposed a 4,650-strong force. African and some other countries want him to stick to the figure of 7,500 envisioned when the Security Council passed Resolution 435, the blueprint for Namibian independence.

Botha's Stroke Sets Off Speculation on Successor

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 29—The first thing South African President Pieter W. Botha did when he returned to his official residence in Cape Town last week to convalesce from a stroke was to order that a desk be moved into his bedroom.

In part, the gesture was symbolic, an attempt by the 73-year-old president to reassure his white constituency that he is still fit enough to work and to counter widespread rumors that his condition is more serious than his aides admit. There have been persistent reports that the stroke he suffered Jan. 18 may not have been the first in his 10 years of leadership of the ruling National Party.

But when the workmen hauled the desk up to Botha's second-floor bedroom at Cecil Rhodes' old Groote Schuur estate, the move also sent a warning to six of South Africa's senior Cabinet ministers that Botha is still in charge, and that it is too early to begin jockeying openly for position in the succession sweepstakes.

It is doubtful that Botha's wife, Elize, knows what Botha's long-term intentions are. He may not even have decided himself, according to those who know him, but may be keeping his options open while considering the effects of the partial paralysis the stroke left on his left side.

Last year, before his stroke, Botha said in a rare interview, "If I am to be honest, I have to say that you can only do this job while you are healthy. If my health is of such a nature that I cannot continue doing it, I will decide to go."

Seizing upon that statement and the rumors that Botha's aides are hiding the true extent of his illness, a number of South African political analysts with ideological leanings across the spectrum have concluded that a retirement announcement by the president is imminent.

In contrast, loyal presidential aides, mindful of the unprecedented power within the party and government that Botha has concentrated in his own hands, continually attempt to minimize the effects of the stroke by insisting that he will resume his nor-

mal duties after six weeks of recuperation as if nothing had happened.

Wherever the truth lies, one thing is certain—in South Africa, the people do not choose the president, not even the 4½ million whites who hold the exclusive electoral franchise at the expense of the 23 million in the voteless black majority. An electoral college picked by the parliamentary caucus of the dominant political party makes the choice, and, despite his stroke, there is no evidence to suggest that the National Party is about to stop doing what Botha tells it to.

For that reason, according to party insiders, and because everything in his strong-willed—some say dictatorial—character suggests that he will want to ensure another five-year extension of National Party rule under a president of his choosing, Botha is unlikely to retire before the next general election.

Under the constitution, a general election for the segregated white, mixed-race "Colored" and Indian chambers of Parliament must be held by March 1990, although if he feels fit enough to lead a campaign, Botha could call one before then. With a two-thirds majority of seats in the dominant whites-only House of Assembly assured for another five years, some National Party strategists predict that Botha could then be expected to retire.

In theory, however, there would be nothing to prevent Botha from retaining control of his party while the Nationalist-dominated electoral college selects another president, leaving Botha with immense behind-the-scenes power but without the burden of the day-to-day demands of office.

Another scenario being advanced by some Nationalist parliamentarians is that Botha will recover sufficiently to retain the presidency but will push through legislation to create an office of prime minister, who would relieve Botha of many of his daily governmental chores and travel obligations.

Seemingly aware of Botha's range of options, and no doubt mindful of his reaction in the past when his ministers let their ambitions run ahead of their loyalty, the heirs apparent so far have been careful not to betray any overt maneuvering for power.

According to party sources, how-

ever, some contenders for the succession have already begun unobtrusively polling the extent of their support in the National Party caucus and planning strategies to marshal votes if the need arises.

The widely acknowledged front-runner is National Education Minister Frederik W. de Klerk, whose main asset is his leadership of the National Party in vote-heavy Transvaal Province despite recent gains there by the far-right Conservative Party. Also, beneath his erudite and personable manner, de Klerk, 52, has a quality that may weigh heavily with Botha and the dominant conservative wing of the party. In Afrikaans it is called *kragdadigheid*, or iron-like strength and inflexibility as a leader.

Although de Klerk has modified his hard-line image by battling the Conservative Party and emerging as a relative moderate, he still must sway the growing progressive wing of the National Party. He must also overcome attempts to label him a loser following party setbacks in the last two elections in the Transvaal.

Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha, 56, who is not related to the president, unquestionably has the most popular support among white voters. He is outgoing and charismatic, with a sense of humor and a strain of racial tolerance that provoked the president to rebuke him publicly in 1986 after he suggested that South Africa could one day have a black president.

In 1978, when he stood as a candidate for National Party leadership in order to draw party caucus votes away from Development Minister Cornelius Mulder, P.W. Botha's main contender to succeed the retiring B.J. Vorster, it was obvious that in any direct election, Roelof Botha would win. Since then, his public image has been enhanced by his successful negotiations for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and his diplomatic breakthroughs with Mozambique and other black-ruled countries.

Nevertheless, he is regarded with suspicion within the party caucus and is portrayed by critics as a shoot-from-the-hip showman with political views far too liberal to walk the thin line between sharing power with the black majority and losing it.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis, 61, has had a long and close association with President Botha, who named him acting president after his stroke. As party leader of Cape Province and manager of Botha's cautious and incremental program of racial reform, he also commands considerable influence in the party caucus. Heunis' political standing plummeted in 1987, however, when he was nearly defeated for reelection by an independent candidate making his first electoral outing.

Heunis could be in position to play the role of kingmaker if there is a split in the party caucus. Enmity between him and Roelof Botha has surfaced recently, and this could spell the difference for Botha in a close vote.

Magnus Malan, 59, a former Army general and chief of the Defense Forces who became minister of defense in 1980, is a relative newcomer to government and has a small political power base. But his hard-line stance against what he calls the "total communist onslaught" is popular with the conservative wing of the party, and he enjoys the confidence of the president.

During the hard-fought negotiations with Angola and Cuba over Namibian independence, Malan was constantly at Roelof Botha's side, and party insiders say the two men developed a close relationship. In a close caucus vote for presidential succession, Malan could swing some of his support to Botha.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, 49, a Cabinet member since 1983 and a protege of the president, distinguished himself by negotiating an extension of South Africa's foreign debt repayment in 1987. But he probably is too young for caucus Afrikaners, who tend to equate wisdom and leadership ability with age.

Gerrit Viljoen, 62, the minister of black education, is highly regarded in the Afrikaner establishment for his courtliness and intellect, but he is given only an outside chance in the succession contest. Many party strategists regard him as too low-key to provide the kind of forceful leadership that P.W. Botha would demand in his successor.

Beyond Botha

FOR 30 years or so the prevailing wind of change in South Africa was from the right, to the right. Then President Pieter Botha realised it would one day blow South Africa off the edge of the world. He embarked on a programme of change, abandoning many of apartheid's social and economic barriers. In doing so he found out how hard it is to satisfy on the one hand a disfranchised black population, watched over by an indignant world, and on the other a tremulous white electorate. His reforms were met with a black rebellion, a white backlash and sanctions abroad. Mr Botha lost reformist heart before tackling South Africa's central problem: blacks' exclusion from government. That is the problem which awaits him if he recovers fully from his recent stroke, or greets his successor if he does not. A licked finger in the air should tell either man that, between the right-wing gusts, a breeze now blows, however feebly, from the left.

First, at home. For years the ruling National party stood for the Afrikaner tribe. The tribe has now split: half the Afrikaners, including many of those most fearful of black competition, now vote for the right-wing Conservatives. The National party has kept the better-off Afrikaners, and captured about half the English-speakers who used to vote for parties on its left. These new supporters are not ideologically opposed to reform; a skilful leader could persuade them that change is in their interest, which it is.

At the same time, South Africa's rulers have been forced to recognise the limits to their power. Mr Botha used the army to terrorise neighbouring countries. The policy succeeded in dislodging black South African guerrillas from their bases in those states. But South Africa's might is not limitless. The new Angola-Namibia peace deal is a stand-off. Cuba had to get out of Angola; South Africa could not afford to go on losing soldiers in Angola or paying for the occupation of Namibia. Meanwhile home-based guerrillas are blowing up more whites than ever before. The tumbrils are not about to start rolling. But one day they may, if repression continues. And repression is the only alternative to reform.

Any astute South African politician knows this. His problem lies in persuading the voters. One change he can point to is the less menacing face of communism, the bogey that Nationalists have for years been using to terrify the voters. The communist bit of the African National Congress, the party to which most black South Africans would probably belong if they were allowed to, looks less threatening now the Cubans are going and Russia is trying to redefine communism. Meetings between the ANC and leading whites could become more frequent. At home many white South Africans are getting used to multiracial living. In city centres blacks and whites share post-office queues and restaurant tables. Despite the law, some white suburbs have turned grey.

The not-so-stinging sjambok

These changes have provoked the white backlash, to be sure: Conservatives, promising to restore racial segregation, won control of 90 town councils last October. But the Conservative promise is already proving empty. In one town, Boksburg, the new council's ban on blacks in parks and swimming pools provoked a boycott of the town's shops, whose white owners soon turned against their new council; an opinion poll now puts Conservative support there at about a quarter. Shutting blacks out of towns is now seen as impossible.

Bit by bit, shutting them out of government may be seen the same way. The obstacles are great. Many reform-minded

Twilight in Pretoria

The end of President P. W. Botha's reign in South Africa draws near. Disabled by a stroke two weeks ago, the 73-year-old President will remain as head of Government but has resigned as leader of the National Party.

The new party leader is F. W. de Klerk, who as Minister of Education won applause from hardliners. His choice promises little change for the better. It does argue for a continued U.S. policy of targeted sanctions.

Most likely, President Botha will keep his Government post until fall elections, when Mr. de Klerk will be positioned to assume command. The prospect, regrettably, is for more unrest, stagnation, emigration and repression.

When Mr. Botha assumed power, he warned that white South Africa had to adapt or perish. He shaped a new Constitution that gave the president plenary power, and extended a limited franchise to voters of mixed race and Asian descent. And he did away with hated pass laws.

But Mr. Botha and his party were baffled and angry when the outside world seemed insufficiently impressed by halfway reforms that evaded the central issue of political rights for a huge, rebellious black majority. His caution found its symbolism in his treatment of Nelson Mandela. Instead of unconditionally freeing the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr. Botha had him transferred on grounds of poor health to a halfway house.

The deeper tragedy is that Mr. Botha truly spoke for most of his electorate. On his right, extremists cried treason over any departure from old-style apartheid. More liberal whites were powerful in business but feeble in party politics. In the middle were most Afrikaners, bred to believe their privileges came from God, blaming foreign media for uprisings in squalid townships that few of them ever visited.

If outsiders erred in overestimating the power of sanctions to soften white attitudes, the Reagan Administration erred more seriously by trying to wheedle reforms through "constructive engagement." Mr. Botha lacked the will and political space to effect fundamental changes, with the result that South African blacks assumed that Washington was his silent partner.

As a result, even skeptical members of Congress voted to override President Reagan's veto of economic sanctions in 1986. The vote at least made plain where Americans stood on racial justice in South Africa. And in fact, foreign pressure has helped nudge Pretoria to pull troops from Angola and to pledge independence for Namibia.

A rightward tilt in the ruling party would not weaken the argument for promoting nonviolent change within South Africa through targeted sanctions. Mr. Botha's cautious tenure underlines the difficulty of change, not its undesirability. The same determined diplomacy that led to Pretoria's regional pullback should be aimed at apartheid.

whites are leaving; most of the diehards have nowhere to go. Indeed, for every shift that favours reform, there is often another that frustrates it. That is why South Africa's next president needs the will to lean against the wind of right-wing zealotry and make the most of whatever zephyrs blow his way.

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DISPUTE EMBROILS WIFE OF MANDELA

Her Bodyguards Are Accused of Kidnappings and Their Disbanding Is Urged

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 1 — A controversy has flared around Winnie Mandela, the anti-apartheid figure, over allegations that her bodyguards abducted and harmed four young men in a black township. The youngest, who was 14 years old, is still missing.

The incident involves the Mandela United Football Club, ostensibly a soccer team, which protects Mrs. Mandela in the absence of her husband, Nelson Mandela. Mr. Mandela, a leader of the outlawed African National Congress, has served 26 years of a life sentence for conspiracy to overthrow South Africa's Government.

Some residents of Soweto, the sprawling township outside Johannesburg, complain that the members of the club have behaved like bullies, and there are calls for it to be disbanded.

Mr. Mandela himself has reportedly urged Mrs. Mandela to sever her ties to the club, as have Oliver Tambo, the head of the African National Congress and Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Leaders Reported Worried

On Tuesday, a Congress spokesman, Tom Cebina, said the group expected Mr. Tambo's "request" for the disbanding of the Mandela United Football Club to be "honored."

The Congress leadership, in exile in Zambia, is said to be worried that Mrs. Mandela's stubborn defense of her bodyguards is hurting the image of Mr. Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement.

In a statement last week about the latest incident, Mrs. Mandela said that her bodyguards had only helped the four youths escape alleged sexual abuse at a home run by a white Methodist minister in Soweto and that she did not know the whereabouts of the missing teen-ager. Acquaintances of the minister said they doubted that he would engage in such behavior.

The soccer club members have clashed before with other young blacks in the township. Last July, Mrs. Mandela's small house in Soweto was set afire by local high school students who accused club members of molesting a girl at their school. In September, another youth testified in court that several members abducted and tortured him in Mrs. Mandela's presence. They were acquitted for lack of corroborating evidence.

Community Meeting Is Held

The current allegations surfaced last week at a meeting in the Dobsonville district of Soweto, where representa-

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Mandela 'club' has its critics

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (Agence France-Presse) — Winnie Mandela's image as a heroine of the anti-apartheid movement and "mother of the nation" has been badly tarnished over the last two years by the so-called "Mandela Football Club."

The club members, regarded as thugs by many in Mrs. Mandela's hometown of Soweto, have been accused of torturing people who aroused their displeasure. Mrs. Mandela's house was fire-bombed last year, apparently in an act of revenge.

They now have helped put Mrs. Mandela, the wife of jailed African Congress leader Nelson Mandela, at the center of an alleged sex scandal and a political murder.

Reliable sources said yesterday that she had defied her husband and ANC leader-in-exile Oliver Tambo by refusing to curb her young black proteges.

The furor started in late December when members of the band abducted four black youths from a church in Soweto which provides

shelter to political refugees.

Mrs. Mandela claimed that the four had been sexually abused by the white pastor of the local Methodist Church, the Rev. Paul Verryn, a member of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches. She said the four youths were rescued by the football club and now were being protected by them.

After intense community pressure, urgent telephone calls to Mrs. Mandela from Mr. Tambo in Lusaka, and a letter to her from Mr. Mandela in prison, three of the four abducted youths were released.

At a public meeting in Soweto last week, the youths said they had been forced to make false charges against the minister. The whereabouts of the fourth detainee were unknown, and many residents believe he is dead.

A fifth youth apparently taken with the other four from the church premises charged the Rev. Verryn Friday with indecent assault.

On Saturday Mrs. Mandela linked the abductions with the slaying on

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tives of community groups met to discuss how to handle the behavior of the soccer club. According to The Weekly Mail, a Johannesburg-based weekly newspaper that reported on the meeting, they were angry about what they said was the abduction on Dec. 29 of the four young men, ranging from 14 to 29 years old, who were staying with the Rev. Paul Verryn at the Orlando Methodist Church. One escaped on Jan. 7 and two others were released on Jan. 16, five days after a community "crisis committee" interceded, people at the meeting said.

The soccer club members said the fourth youth, 14-year-old Stompie Mokhetshi, had run away. But an 18-year-old Sowetan belonging to the "comrades," as young black militants are called in the townships, said this week that Mr. Mokhetshi was widely thought to have been beaten to death after being accused of becoming a police informer.

The Weekly Mail reported that people at the community meeting asked about the injuries of the other youths. One youth displayed a wound on his throat that he said had been inflicted with gardening shears. The youths reportedly admitted that they had made the allegations of sexual abuse under duress.

Mrs. Mandela 'Shocked'

Mrs. Mandela demanded an inquiry into what she said were "allegations of sexual abuse perpetrated against children entrusted to the care of a certain church minister." She appealed to the missing youth "to come forward and make his presence known."

"I am deeply shocked and saddened that certain unfounded allegations are being presented as statements of fact," Mrs. Mandela said in a statement on Friday, four days after the community meeting. "This can serve no purpose other than to foment dissension within the community at a time when unity is so crucial to our people."

Mr. Verryn, who has left Soweto, said tension with the soccer club arose from a quarrel among those staying at his house while he was away. One woman threatened to call in the soccer club to punish the others, he said, and some members came later and took the four young men away.

The Sunday Times, a national weekly newspaper, quoted Mrs. Mandela as having hinted that the incident involving the four youths was linked to the killing on Friday of Dr. Abubaker Asvat, who was shot in his medical office in the Rockville section of Soweto.

The gunman escaped. "Dr. Asvat was the only professional witness to back my story that the boys, alleged to be kept against their will in my house, were in fact victims of abuse," Mrs. Mandela told The Sunday Times.

Dr. Asvat, though an ethnic Indian, was also health secretary of the Azanian People's Organization, a black consciousness movement, prompting some Sowetans to wonder if he felt victim to grudges within the anti-apartheid movement.

In her statement Friday, Mrs. Mandela said the soccer club had been disbanded previously because of Government pressure. But she appeared at Dr. Asvat's funeral the next afternoon surrounded by about 20 young men wearing the club's sporting garb.

Crime and Punishment

In S. Africa, Lenient Terms for Whites in Murder Draw Protest

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 26—In October 1987, a black farm worker in the northern Transvaal town of Levubu started up a tractor and—forgetting that his white employer's two Rottweiler guard dogs were sleeping under the attached threshing machine—ran over them, killing both.

Terrified of what his boss, Jacobus Vorster, would do, the worker ran away, but he was caught on Dec. 11 by Vorster and a neighbor, Petrus Leonard, who also is white.

The two men, according to their own confessions and court testimony, beat and kicked the farm worker unconscious and then tied him to a tree on Vorster's farm, where he remained overnight. The next morning, Vorster admitted, he resumed the punishment, whipping the man with a stick for several hours and forcing four more of his black work-

ers to beat him.

Unconscious, Eric Sambo was taken to the local police station, where he died of internal bleeding and other injuries.

What happened next, during distorted court procedures that culminated in lenient sentences for both white assailants, was not unusual in South African law. But it was noticed by a judicial community here that is becoming more socially conscious.

Last November, presiding in the provincial Supreme Court in the nearby town of Louis Trichardt, Justice Jan Strydom accepted Vorster's guilty plea to a reduced charge of culpable homicide and Leonard's plea to an assault charge.

Vorster, 23, received a suspended five-year jail sentence and was ordered to pay Sambo's widow and four children \$55 a month for five years. Leonard was fined \$200.

During the sentencing, Strydom said he took into account the embarrassment Vorster would suffer as a result of the conviction. He said Vorster would be punished by being humiliated every time he applied for a passport or gun license and had to admit his conviction. He said another reason for not jailing Vorster was that the other 44 black workers on Vorster's farm might lose their jobs.

Such leniency for whites convicted of killing blacks is not uncommon in staunchly conservative rural towns like Louis Trichardt, and while the sentencing briefly made inside-page headlines in the South African newspapers, it quickly faded from public attention, and Vorster and Leonard returned to the routine of their farming chores.

But in a society that is increasingly sensitive to charges of judicial abuse, and continuously under the scrutiny of the country's own human rights watchdogs and those from abroad, such distortions are not easily forgotten.

Today, Helen Suzman, a veteran member of Parliament from the liberal opposition Progressive Federal Party, announced that when Parliament reconvenes next week she will submit a motion to have Strydom impeached and removed from the bench.

And in an unusual move, the Johannesburg Bar Council yesterday issued a statement condemning the sentences imposed by Strydom as "so grossly inappropriate as to induce not simply a sense of shock, but one of outrage and concern."

The council, equivalent to a regional bar association, said that it does not usually comment on court judgments, but that it found Strydom's sentencing a "subject of widespread concern."

"If there grew up in the community a belief that such a crime could merit so trivial a punishment, the maintenance of law and order would be gravely endangered and no law-abiding citizen would be safe from violent and callous killers," the council declared.

Noting Strydom's explanation about having taken into account Vorster's possible embarrassment, the council declared, "Apart from the fact that the record contains no reference whatever to any evidence

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4 Rebels Accused in South Africa Refuse to Take Part in Their Trial

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY
Special to The New York Times

DELMAS, South Africa, Feb. 1 — Four black guerrillas of the outlawed African National Congress, charged with treason and murder, declared today that they did not recognize the civilian courts and refused to take part in their trial.

The four, who face a maximum penalty of death if they are convicted, refused to plead to the charges and indicated that they would not testify or cross-examine state witnesses.

"Our refusal to participate in the proceedings stems from our belief that this court and this judicial system cannot operate independently from the political system in which it functions," said J. Obed Masina, the main defendant, in a statement from the dock before the trial began today in Delmas, a small town about 40 miles northeast of Johannesburg.

"We, as soldiers, cannot and should not stand trial in a civilian court," he said.

Challenges for System

The unusual display of defiance presents some challenges for the South African judicial system. In terms of legal precedent, state witnesses who have not been cross-examined carry less weight than those who have undergone questioning by the defense.

Peter Harris, the legal representative of the defendants, said in an interview that he would remain in court as an observer throughout the trial but would not take part in the proceedings.

In his statement, Mr. Masina, 38 years old, asserted that the four were held in solitary confinement without access to legal representation for eight

months after their arrest in September 1986.

"During this period all of us were tortured and brutally assaulted," Mr. Masina said. "In this process information has been extracted from us by the security police which will in all certainty be used against us."

The other three defendants are Frans (Ting-Ting) Masango, 30; Neo G. Potsane, 28, and Joseph E. Makura, 29. Mr. Masina is said by anti-apartheid workers to be one of the most senior Congress military commanders to go on trial in South Africa.

Charged With Murder

Mr. Masina is charged with the murder in June 1978 of Detective Sgt. Orphan (Hlubi) Chaphi, a black policeman who was detested by anti-apartheid workers.

All four men are charged with the murder in June 1986 of David Lukhele, a black politician identified by anti-apartheid workers as promoting an unpopular Government-backed decision to incorporate a small tribal area occupied by Swazi settlers into the independent black-ruled state of Swaziland.

When the four refused to plead to the charges today, Judge M. De Klerk entered a plea of not guilty on the advice of the state prosecutor, Louisa Van der Walt.

The African National Congress, the main exiled movement fighting to end white rule, has signed the Geneva Convention and regards its captured guerrillas as prisoners of war. But the South African Government regards them as terrorists and criminals and has refused to sign the Convention.

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Blacks Battle Fellow Blacks in Natal

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa — The danger peaks around midnight, Xakile Duma said, when vigilantes stalk the streets of the black township of Imbali.

So the widow and her three surviving sons sleep in shifts, taking the nocturnal vigil by turns, lest a firebomb hurled through the window incinerate them in their cinder-block home.

Mrs. Duma's son Kwilili was the first in the family to die, gunned down on their doorstep last July. Her husband, Mvinjelwa, was killed in October. Another son, Ndodo, escaped two ambushes in November. Their house has been attacked twice.

"There is nothing we can do except keep watch," said Mrs. Duma as she hugged her youngest, 10-year-old Siyabonga. She took him out of the first grade for fear that his classmates would harm him too.

"The other alternative would be to run away," Ndodo Duma said, "but we have no other place to go."

Violence pitting black against black has battered the townships around Pietermaritzburg and Durban for nearly three years.

It has been cast as a struggle between Inkatha, the militant Zulu movement, and the United Democratic Front, the nationwide anti-apartheid umbrella organization, over the direction of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Zulu Group Blamed

Mrs. Duma said that her son Kwilili had worked for the United Democratic Front but that her husband was apolitical. She identified their killers as hirelings of a local Inkatha leader, but said the police had refused to take them into custody. Instead, officers raided her house twice this month to look for weapons, which she said meant they supported Inkatha.

But the idea of rival black groups with rival ideologies — Inkatha advocating evolutionary and the front, revolutionary change — inadequately explains why blacks murder and maim each other with such regularity here.

The violence in Natal, like that in Lebanon or Northern Ireland, has degenerated into killing, burning and looting for baser motives: territorial supremacy, criminal greed, grudges and revenge under a veneer of political justification. Many combatants can no longer articulate what they are fighting for beyond shopworn slogans.

The South African Government has yet to officially investigate the rising violence in Natal, which in the last two years has taken more than 1,000 black lives, burned more than 3,000 homes and displaced 30,000 people. The police, undermanned in the region, have been unable — some township residents say unwilling — to restore law and order.

A survey of blacks published in Durban last September found that 94 percent of the 802 people interviewed expressed a palpable fear of having their homes burned down and 88 percent worried about being killed or injured in political violence. The survey, sponsored

by Indaba, a group advocating power-sharing between whites and blacks, was taken before the latest increase in violence.

Refuge for Children

Some parents have sent their children to relatives in the countryside or encouraged them to leave. "If you hear something or suspect it will happen, you send your children and the elderly away," said a man in Mpumalanga, where dozens of scorched houses stand deserted.

The Inkatha Institute, a research organization in Durban subsidized by the Zulu homeland government of KwaZulu, attributes the fighting not to black politics but to rage turned inward among apartheid's victims.

"U.D.F. versus Inkatha is superficial," said the institute's director, Gavin Woods. "By saying it's competing black ideologies, you take the responsibility off the Government's back."

Mr. Woods presented some statistics gathered by his researchers: Fifty percent of the blacks around Durban lived in shacks. Per-capita income for blacks around Pietermaritzburg in 1987 was 20 rand, or slightly more than \$8 a month. An average of 10 people inhabited a dwelling of one or two rooms. Unemployment was so widespread that the typical black urban wage earner had to feed a dozen people.

Poverty and Politics

"Poverty does radicalize people and this poverty does bring violence," Mr. Woods said. "Every time they feel the poverty, they feel the frustration that goes along with it."

The Inkatha Institute researchers reported that black youths between 15 and 25, who had the hardest time finding jobs, also committed 90 percent of the violence in the townships. "They see nothing ahead," Mr. Woods said. "They can't even see a starting point for their lives."

Others more sympathetic to the United Democratic Front argue that Inkatha should bear more of the blame. John Aitchison, director of the Center for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, started keeping a tally of deaths because no one else was doing it publicly.

Working from daily reports of unrest, limited press accounts and personal tips, his center counted 379 people killed in factional violence in 1987.

Last year, he said, the death toll soared to 662. Some think these figures are low because the families of some victims do not report a death for fear

Mr. Aitchison identified 126 murder victims in 1987 as having had links to the United Democratic Front while only 62 were loyal to Inkatha and 2 to black-consciousness groups. The politics of 202 other victims were unknown.

"All the evidence we gather suggests the origins are undoubtedly political," Mr. Aitchison said. "But once the killings started, a lot of good old-fashioned revenge, criminals joining the bandwagon, settling of grudges all comes into play."

Peter C. Kerchoff, who directs the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, said the clashes started when schoolchildren began to rebel against the constraints of the Inkatha movement, which stresses loyalty, hard work and obedience.

Criticizing their elders as too passive toward apartheid, they turned to the more radical politics of the United Democratic Front. Violence increased as local Inkatha leaders tried to reassert their authority and recruit new members, sometimes by force.

The fighting has divided generations, sometimes within families. A tall 21-year-old who gave his name as Lucky said he belonged to the Azanian People's Organization, a black-consciousness group. He fled Imbali rather than be recruited into Inkatha, he said, and could not go home because his parents supported Inkatha.

But several older blacks, who asked not to be identified for fear of reprisal, complained that the "comrades," as the young radicals professing loyalty to the United Democratic Front call themselves, mounted a reign of terror in their communities under the guise of revolutionary zeal.

One woman in Inanda Newtown said the "comrades" challenged people on the street to declare their loyalties and beat those who did not know the latest slogans. "If you tell them, 'don't do that,' they will come that night and burn your house down," she said.

Killed by 'Comrades'

She told of a 16-year-old who was beaten to death when he tried to enroll in school because the "comrades" there considered his neighborhood to be pro-Inkatha. But another young supporter of the front said he had to flee "because my school is an Inkatha stronghold."

The larger political realities of South Africa have impeded a solution.

Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, has deplored the violence, but critics say he hesitates to crack down on local Inkatha leaders for fear of splintering the movement, which gives him a power base for negotiating with the white-minority Government in Pretoria. The United Democratic Front cannot rein in its followers because the Government has detained its leaders and banned it from any political activity.

The Government is under no pressure to stop the mayhem, which has not only divided the black opposition but also offers propaganda value as a harbinger of what could happen if black-

Some point to the
damaging effect
of apartheid: rage
turned inward.

that the police might ban the funeral as a potential protest meeting.

Continued on Pg. 15

Jewish Aid in South African Blacks' Schooling

By PETER STEINFELS

A Jewish institute devoted to strengthening ties between black and Jewish Americans plans to present Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu with a \$100,000 grant for training black South African medical workers.

"The plight of blacks in South Africa is a concern to both the Jewish and black communities in the United States," Rabbi Lynne F. Landsberg said Friday in discussing the gift. Rabbi Landsberg is acting director of the Marjorie Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. "Our purpose is to bring the two communities together on such common concerns," she said.

Archbishop Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Capetown, will accept the grant tomorrow evening before receiving an award from the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue at 30 West 68th Street in Manhattan. The South African religious leader, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, has been asked to discuss relations between blacks and Jews.

The Kovler Institute's donation will go to Medical Education for South African Blacks Inc., a nonprofit corporation based in Washington and Johannesburg. Herbert Kaiser, president of the group, said it had financed training

Tutu Asks U.S. Jews to Urge Palestinian Pact

By PETER STEINFELS

Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, asserted this week that he found events in the Israeli-occupied territories similar to those in South Africa. He urged American Jews to press Israel to reach a settlement with the Palestinians and to repudiate its joint programs with the South African Government.

Speaking at Stephen Wise Free Synagogue at 30 West 68th Street in Manhattan, the Archbishop said Monday night that he found it "very, very difficult to understand" Israel's policies toward the Palestinians.

"If you changed the names, the de-

scription of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank would be a description of what is happening in South Africa," he said.

Wiesel and Tutu as Mediators

Archbishop Tutu's criticisms of Israeli policies were made in a speech addressing issues contributing to tensions between blacks and Jews in South Africa and the United States. The South African prelate, who is black, is Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town.

Archbishop Tutu said that he had not previously commented publicly on the

Continued on page 15

for 135 black South African medical workers last year, including physicians, dentists, pharmacists and nurses.

Mr. Kaiser said there were fewer than 700 black physicians serving South Africa's black population of 26 million. The country has about 70 black pharmacists and 20 black dentists, he said. Black South African students must overcome major educational and legal obstacles to qualify for university studies, Mr. Kaiser said, and only half those admitted to universities can afford to attend.

He said the health care training project, established four years ago and guided by black South African directors, was aimed at preparing black

professionals to play an essential role in "a post-apartheid society."

Statement From Simon

Senator Paul Simon, the Illinois Democrat who heads the Subcommittee on African Affairs, praised the grant. "I recently visited Soweto and other townships in South Africa and have seen first-hand the desperate conditions there," Mr. Simon said in a statement. "This grant will shine a light into that gloom."

Senator Simon called the donation "a timely step toward mending the bridge of common interest that has traditionally united this nation's African-American and Jewish communities as they have worked together in pursuit of human freedom, justice and dignity."

The Washington Times

SWAPO to work with S. Africa for sake of economy

By Pascal Fletcher
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

LUANDA — A government run by the nationalist group SWAPO after Namibia achieves independence would cooperate with former ruler South Africa to ensure the territory's economic survival, according to a leader of the organization.

Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, secretary general of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), said that the Namibian economy, which is based on mining, fisheries and livestock ranching, was heavily dependent on neighboring South Africa.

SWAPO is widely expected to win elections planned in Namibia this year under a United Nations independence plan that will start on April 1. Pretoria has ruled the former German territory, legally and illegally, since World War I.

"An independent Namibia will have to deal with South Africa eco-

nomically," Mr. Toivo ya Toivo said. "We will have to work together with South Africa for some years until we can stand on our own feet."

But the secretary general, number two in SWAPO after president Sam Nujoma, stressed that the long-term aim would be to free Namibia's economy from dependence on South Africa. "In the long term, we have to disengage," he said.

Mr. Toivo ya Toivo said independent Namibia would rely on its foreign allies and organizations such as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to build up its own independent economy.

SADCC, a group of nine southern African states whose aim is to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa, is expected to recommend at a meeting in Luanda this week that independent Namibia be allowed to join as a 10th member.

Namibia would add only a million

people to SADCC's 73 million, but it would bring significant mineral riches. At present, its economy is almost exclusively tied to South Africa, which ruled the territory in defiance of the United Nations.

Detailing ways in which independent Namibia would be forced to cooperate with South Africa, Mr. Toivo ya Toivo said that Pretoria apparently intended to keep the port of Walvis Bay, the most important in Namibia, after independence.

SWAPO says Walvis Bay should be part of independent Namibia but Mr. Toivo ya Toivo said the new government would have to reach an arrangement with South Africa to use the port, even if this meant paying fees, until the sovereignty issue was resolved.

"Our imports and exports will have to go through Walvis Bay," he said.

Alternatively, a SWAPO government would seek to develop other

ports, such as Swakopmund just north of Walvis Bay.

Mr. Toivo ya Toivo said Namibia might join South Africa's trade and customs union with Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. "We will have to sit and talk with them," he said. "Otherwise, we are the ones that will suffer."

"Even if they don't want to, we will keep knocking at their door."

Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, who was jailed by South Africa for his political activities and spent 16 years in Robben Island prison off Cape Town, said SWAPO's long-term goal was a socialist system in Namibia but the movement foresaw a mixed economy, combining private and public enterprise and ownership.

Asked what kind of government or political system SWAPO would introduce, he said, "Personally, I prefer a one-party system because you don't have so many controversies but the Namibian people will make the final decision."

JANUARY 30, 1989

S. Africa report focuses on poverty

Economic disparity linked to apartheid

By Peter Honey
Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Poverty, more than apartheid, is the single greatest obstacle to peace in South Africa, according to a report published here last week that is based on nearly eight years of research sponsored by New York's Carnegie Corp.

But poverty will not begin to disappear until apartheid — "the systematic assault by the state on the poor" — is dismantled and the black majority is allowed to attain political power, say the authors, economics professor Francis Wilson and physician Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, both of the University of Cape Town.

Their report describes a South Africa riven with economic disparities; where families of 18 live in hovels while others enjoy a standard of living as high as any in the world; where half the population, mostly but not only black, lives below the poverty line; and where a third of all black children are undernourished.

The authors attribute the impoverishment of millions of South Africans not only to the 40-year-old formal system of apartheid, which has favored white privilege over black opportunity, but also to the Dutch and later British colonial systems, which spawned apartheid over 300 years of ethnic conquest and economic exploitation.

They argue that developing "effective strategies to deal with poverty in South Africa constitutes the central, fundamental challenge to our society."

They say that fundamental political change would be an essential precondition for a thorough attack on poverty but that political democracy on its own would not be enough to draw the poorest people fully into a more egalitarian economy.

"When oppression becomes deracialized it doesn't become any less oppressive," Mr. Wilson said in a telephone interview last week.

He and Dr. Ramphele stress in their report that it is crucial to begin now with strategies to strengthen community organizations, trade unions, informal businesses and other projects that enhance people's self-image and their experience of democracy.

They reject philanthropic actions that promote dependence. Genuine development work, they argue, enables poor people to build their own organizations for collective action.

But the state, biased in favor of

whites as it is, can also play an important role by shifting its heavy emphasis away from security spending and allocating more public money to poverty relief, for example to public works projects that would provide much-needed infrastructure as well as jobs, and to food stamps for the poor.

"The precise proportion of GNP spent by the state is a less fundamental issue than is the efficiency with which it is spent and the goals to which it is directed," the authors say.

Some analysts, including government strategists, argue that political change can only follow economic improvements. But Mr. Wilson argues that economic revival is unlikely as long as there is political uncertainty.

"It is really a chicken-or-egg argument. But it seems extremely unlikely that the kind of confidence needed to revive our economy will return until the political climate improves," he said.

He and Dr. Ramphele note that international sanctions and disinvestment have contributed significantly to unemployment, which some authorities say is about 20 percent. But they deliberately avoid taking a position on the issue.

"It would place one in the whole moral dilemma of how best to bring about political change, and I'm not a politician. I'm an economist," Mr. Wilson said.

He said he found it impossible to advocate or decry sanctions.

"What can you say when the kind of pressures that are needed to bring about political change will also lead to thousands of individuals losing their jobs?" he asked.

"If economic pressure is part of a realistic process to move South Africa towards a more positive political future, while at the same time aggravating unemployment through lack of investment, then perhaps it is a painful fact that the end can justify the means."

Mr. Wilson stressed that poverty or prosperity in South Africa could not be separated from the situation in neighboring states. The economies of all the countries of southern Africa are closely linked and interdependent, he said, and can be dealt with effectively only as a whole.

It is the second time that the Carnegie trust has undertaken a major study of poverty in South Africa. The first was during the Depression.

The first study concentrated almost exclusively on the plight of poor whites and, according to Mr. Wilson, formed the basis of the white government's program to alleviate white poverty in the 1930s and 1940s — often at the expense of poor blacks.

The second Carnegie study is quite different, reflecting not only the changed realities of the country, but also the changes in perceptions of how best to approach the problem.

Initiated in 1980, its premise was that black South Africans are the main victims of poverty and destitution, although it does not exclude any sector of the society on grounds of race.

The authors have released their report as a book, "Uprooting Poverty — The South African Challenge." Drawn from the work of about 450 researchers throughout the country, it delves, often with painstaking detail, into the lives of the country's far-flung communities, sometimes portraying their desperation through the voices of the poor themselves.

Dr. Ramphele is black and has lived under political restrictions. She was a close friend of Steve Biko, the black-consciousness leader killed while in police custody in 1977.

When the government sent her into enforced exile in a remote rural community in northern Transvaal province in 1978, she started a community development project, the Ithuseng Community Health Center.

The center began with health care but soon expanded to address causes of ill health — malnutrition, inadequate housing, illiteracy, unemployment and family disorganization.

It is one of the case studies contained in the Carnegie report to illustrate the authors' vision of the kind of community projects needed to uproot poverty.

Dr. Ramphele was not available to be interviewed for this article. She and Mr. Wilson are scheduled to travel to the United States later this month to promote their book.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 6, 1989

IMF Gives Nigeria A \$620 Million Loan

WASHINGTON — The International Monetary Fund approved a long-pending \$620 million loan to Nigeria to support economic reforms in the country over the next 15 months.

In announcing approval of the loan, the IMF said Nigeria launched a structural economic adjustment program in July 1986 that sought to improve the country's financial situation by diversifying its economy and reducing its dependence on oil exports for foreign exchange earnings.

The IMF said the loan will support a broad range of economic policy actions by Nigeria, including a tightening of monetary policy to ease inflationary pressures and to stabilize the exchange rate for its currency.

Senators Seek Agreement on Angola Policy

U.S. Recognition, Aid Would Be Ruled Out in Absence of Settlement With Rebels

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate backers of the U.S.-armed insurgency in Angola hope to reach agreement with the Bush administration on a policy toward the Marxist Angolan government that would rule out U.S. diplomatic recognition or economic aid until that government reaches a political settlement with rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

An aide to Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who heads a Senate task force on Angola, said the objective will be to pass a resolution incorporating the basic elements of U.S. policy toward Angola in the wake of U.S.-brokered accords providing for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops there.

The aide said the senator's office plans to hold talks this week with Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and other top administration officials about adopting a congressional-administration policy toward Angola in the spirit of the bipartisan foreign policy approach sought by President Bush.

Before his inauguration, Bush sent a letter to Savimbi promising continued U.S. support. He sent another to Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda asking him to help promote a political settlement between the rebel leader and the Angolan government.

The DeConcini resolution would affirm continued U.S. military and diplomatic support for Savimbi until national reconciliation is achieved between his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Angolan government and free and fair elections are held there, the aide said.

Since 1986, the United States has been providing Savimbi with roughly \$15 million a year in military assistance, including highly sophisticated Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. The program is under review because

South Africa has cut off its assistance to Savimbi as part of the Angolan accords, and continuation of U.S. aid will depend on the level of fighting, sources said.

U.S. intelligence officials are examining whether Savimbi should be supplied with new kinds of assistance to make up for the loss of South African aid. One major concern is how to provide Savimbi with oil and petroleum products for UNITA's growing fleet of vehicles and armored personnel carriers, as well as his savannah headquarters at Jamba.

Under study are ways the Central Intelligence Agency could deliver the products from Zaire in big rubber bladders carried on C130 transports to UNITA-run airstrips in southeastern Angola, according to informed sources.

The DeConcini resolution would promise diplomatic recognition, U.S. economic aid and support for Angola's admission to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank once a political settlement is reached with UNITA.

The Reagan administration had taken the position that Angola's admission to the IMF and World Bank was purely a question of economic merit. The Bush administration has not made clear its position on this issue.

The United States has never recognized the Soviet- and Cuban-backed government that took power amid the 1975 civil war that engulfed Angola as the colonial power, Portugal, withdrew.

Savimbi's congressional supporters have become concerned that the State Department may be planning to move toward diplomatic recognition of the Angolan government now that Cuban forces are withdrawing, a move they fear would end U.S. support for Savimbi before national reconciliation is achieved.

State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman said Friday that there had been "no

change in our policy of non-recognition and no diplomatic relations with the Angolan government, and there is no plan to change that policy."

He said the two U.S. conditions for establishing "better" relations with Angola remain the same: Cuban troop withdrawal and national reconciliation.

"A negotiated resolution of the civil war and the beginning of genuine national reconciliation in Angola would remove a major political obstacle to improved relations between the U.S. and Angola," Redman said.

However, he said, the United States will continue "contacts" with Angola on a joint commission set up to oversee implementation of the Angolan accords. U.S. interests in monitoring Angolan and Cuban compliance with those accords, he said, "point to the need for improved communication between the U.S. and the Angolan regime."

He said the United States is discussing with Angola how this might be achieved, including "a possible idea" of stationing "a couple of Americans on the ground to help monitor the implementation of the peace accords." But he denied that this would constitute "a diplomatic presence."

There have been conflicting reports on whether the Angolan government is making progress toward opening negotiations with UNITA. U.S., UNITA and Angolan officials confirm numerous "contacts," but no real negotiations have taken place between UNITA and Angola.

A scheduled conference on national reconciliation in Brazzaville also has failed to take place, and the Angolan government recently told U.S. officials that it is ready only to broaden an amnesty offer to accommodate UNITA members. But these officials are encouraged by internal Angolan debate about national reconciliation that may lead to negotiations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

Angola Gives Hints of Willingness To Seek Political Solution to War

JANUARY 28, 1989

By JAMES BROOKE

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Jan. 27 — In a sharp break with past policy, Angolan officials now indicate that they will seek a political solution to their nation's long-running civil war.

On Thursday, an Angolan official acknowledged that Government officials had talked recently with rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the American-backed guerrilla group known as Unita.

"We are trying to initiate an immediate dialogue," the official, Gen. António dos Santos Franca, was quoted as saying in a dispatch by the Portuguese news agency. "We are trying to start this whole process." In an interview to-

day with The Associated Press, however, he cautioned that talks so far have been limited to discussion of Angolan amnesty that takes effect next week.

In an interview last week, Angola's President, José Eduardo dos Santos, called for a cease-fire in the war.

Today, Unita officials in London and Washington praised these statements but said they should be presented as formal positions of the ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Mr. dos Santos is expected to seek

political backing for a peace program at a special congress of his party next month.

"I am convinced that he plans to get the necessary backing," Aristides Pereira, President of Cape Verde, said Wednesday. Cape Verde and Angola are both former colonies of Portugal, and their leaders maintain close ties.

The guerrillas have indicated in the past that contacts with the Government have taken place, although the reports have always been denied by the

Continued on page 10

FEBRUARY 2, 1989

Savimbi goes to Hill seeking overt support

By Gus Constantine
and Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Warning that recent accords to end foreign intervention in southern Africa have plunged his movement into crisis, Angola's guerrilla chief Jonas Savimbi has appealed quietly to Congress to shift from covert to open support for his forces.

In a recent interview with two Capitol Hill staffers, Mr. Savimbi said support for his movement, which he said will build democracy in Angola, should come "directly from the people."

Besides, he added, a "commitment from Congress is difficult not to implement. A secret executive order can be countermanded secretly at any time."

Mr. Savimbi also expressed concern that the so-called Brazzaville accords signed last December may contain a secret clause pledging the United States to recognize Angola's Marxist government, which Mr. Savimbi has been fighting since the former Portuguese colony in southern Africa gained independence in 1975.

The accords provide for a Cuban withdrawal of troops supporting the government in Angola and a South African military pullout from neighboring Namibia.

President Bush, in one of his first public acts last week, pledged to keep up aid to the Mr. Savimbi's guerrilla organization, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. But he said nothing about changing the U.S. commitment from an ostensibly covert undertaking to an open one.

Also last week, an effort was launched in Congress for legislation that would prohibit the United States from recognizing the Angolan government until an internal settlement is reached with UNITA.

In contrast to supportive statements by UNITA's Washington representatives on the accords, Mr. Savimbi painted a gloomy picture of the movement's chances against the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Luanda.

"These decisions will hurt UNITA tremendously," he said.

The interview, in which he ap-

pealed directly to Congress, was conducted Dec. 18, four days before the signing of the U.S.-brokered accords by Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

Two staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Republican staff director James Lucier and his deputy, Thomas Boney Jr., conferred with Mr. Savimbi and members of his high command in a field station near Jamba, UNITA's headquarters in southern Angola.

Mr. Boney recalled yesterday that Mr. Savimbi was troubled by his receipt from South Africa of notice that its aid to him, which he said totaled about \$80 million a year, would be cut off completely on Dec. 22, the date of the accords signing.

"This is apparently a quid pro quo for a promise to remove ANC camps completely — a matter of great interest to South Africa, but which from our point of view involves only 1,200 men," Mr. Savimbi said, according to a transcript prepared by the two congressional aides.

Mr. Savimbi's reference is to guerrilla forces of the African National Congress, which has waged a campaign of terror and sabotage within South Africa from bases in neighboring countries, including Angola.

In addition to the South African aid cutoff, Mr. Savimbi expressed bitterness over the failure of the United States to bring UNITA into the negotiations and to make an internal settlement, as well as a Cuban pullout, an object of the talks.

"The U.S. held all the cards," the UNITA chief is quoted as saying. "Why did the U.S. not include peace in Angola in the settlement?"

"Is the U.S. saying any ally of the U.S. is destroyable, is expendable... Will we be part of that group of U.S. allies which has been betrayed?"

Mr. Savimbi also criticized a provision in the accords calling for a phased withdrawal of some 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola over a 27-month period. He called the earliest stage of the pullout "meaningless" because only 3,000 troops would be withdrawn and the rest pulled back to positions already under their control.

A provision for a further pullback northward does not come until the dry season in Angola ends and military operations become unfeasible, the UNITA chief noted.

ANGOLA GIVES HINT
(Continued)

Government.

View of Diplomats

In a series of recent interviews in Angola, diplomats of varying backgrounds — Soviets, Cubans, Africans and West Europeans — agreed that the only way to peace is through a political accord between the Government and the insurgents.

They also agreed that the Soviet Union, Angola's longtime military sponsor, will not back a new Angolan military offensive this summer.

Indeed, Soviet war-weariness appears to have greatly contributed to Angola's new pragmatism. The State Department says the Soviet Union spent \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion on arms in Angola last year.

"We are counting our money everywhere," a Soviet journalist said in Luanda, the Angolan capital. "We are not making any profit here, political or economic. They were supposed to pay for the arms. Then they sent a letter to the Soviet bank saying that Angola was a poor country, a developing country, and they couldn't pay."

Many diplomats in Luanda predict that Angola's search for peace will benefit from the same kind of Soviet-American cooperation that recently led to a political agreement between Angola and its main foreign enemy, South Africa.

"The United States is in favor of a political solution in Angola, and the Soviet Union is in favor of a political solution in Angola," a Soviet diplomat in Luanda said.

After years of harsh diatribes against their internal enemies, Angolan officials recently adopted a new, conciliatory tone.

"Our domestic and foreign policy can no longer be applied with the old methods or with a dogmatism that will provoke unnecessary isolation," President dos Santos said in a speech last month.

Earlier this month, General Franca, Angola's army Chief of Staff, discussed war and peace in his country.

"We are trying to get the war over with, trying to reduce our military spending," he said. "The political mechanisms will be decisive."

Fighting Could Drag On

Behind the interest in a political solution, a taboo subject in Angola until recently, is a widespread recognition that the current military stalemate could drag on for years.

The morale of Angola's army soared when, with Cuban help, it held off South African soldiers at Cuito Cuanavale last year. But the army's fighting ability will be slowly undermined by the withdrawal of Cuba's 50,000 troops stationed in Angola. This month, the first 3,000 Cuban soldiers are departing as part of a pullout that is to be completed by mid-1991.

This month, Portugal won the right to have a military attaché in Angola and sent a high-ranking air force delegation to Angola.

Left to fight the rebels alone, Angolan Government soldiers show little enthusiasm. The insurgents, who are led

Continued on page 14

Museveni claims economic recovery near

By Tom Breen
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni declared yesterday that his central African nation is limping toward economic recovery and political stability after the horrors of earlier dictatorships.

"We are moving forward," the 44-year-old leader told editors and reporters of The Washington Times during a private interview.

Mr. Museveni, who rose to power in January 1986 after overthrowing the short-lived regime of Gen. Tito Okello, is in the United States on a "private mission" to push for increased trade and foreign investments and better loan arrangements with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Regarding progress in his country, Mr. Museveni pointed to a decrease in inflation from 120 percent to 24 percent, the reduction in the infant mortality rate from 120 to 108 per thousand live births, regional elections that are currently taking place and an attempt to draw up a new constitution by the early 1990s.

"We are attempting to recover from the [Idi Amin regime] and years of colonialism," he said. Uganda was under British rule from 1894 until it became independent on Oct. 9, 1962. Mr. Amin seized power in 1971.

Mr. Museveni, a longtime guerrilla leader, strongly defended Uganda's relations with Libya and North Korea.

"We are not [in power] to serve anybody's [interests] but our own," he said.

Regarding Libya, he said, "It is a principled [relationship]. . . . We have no quarrel with them, although we know they have quarrels with other people. . . . We don't fight other people's quarrels."

One expert familiar with Mr. Museveni's politics said the president was far from radical.

"President Museveni is a pragmatic man, a nationalist and pro-Ugandan, but he definitely is open to Western ideas and assistance," said a Western analyst who recently returned from Kampala.

The analyst added that the situation in Uganda, a nation of 17 million,

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

ABROAD AT HOME

Anthony Lewis

The End of Ideology

BOSTON

Nearly 30 years ago, in "The End of Ideology," Daniel Bell wrote that the universalist political ideas of the 19th century were exhausted. Marxism in particular. Its premises about the crisis of capitalism and the superiority of socialist organization had simply not squared with reality.

When the book was reissued last year by the Harvard University Press, Professor Bell said wryly in an afterword that it was better known for its title than its contents. But all about us we see the vindication of his insight: the exhaustion of Marxism.

The point was brought home to me just now in the course of visits to three countries in southern Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Most of the newly independent countries of black Africa hitched their economic hopes to some version of socialism. The results have been disastrous. Now the flight from Marxism has become a stampede.

Angola is a dramatic example. Its Government took power at independence in 1975 as a Marxist movement. It has been supported by massive Soviet aid and Cuban troops. For those reasons it is anathema to American conservatives, and the U.S. aids the rebel movement of Jonas Savimbi (who ironically used to talk just as

is vastly improved, although stability appears to be years away.

Mr. Museveni acknowledged in the interview that it would take at least 10 more years to recover from the devastation of Idi Amin and the regime of Milton Obote that followed. Mr. Obote was toppled in 1985.

He said that at least a half-million Ugandans had been slaughtered during those years.

Mr. Amin fled Uganda in 1979 but last month sought to re-enter the country by leaving his Saudi Arabia base and showing up in Uganda's southern neighbor, Zaire. At the insistence of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, Mr. Amin was permitted to return to Saudi Arabia. Mr. Amin is a devout Moslem.

Mr. Museveni said it was "high time" for Mr. Amin to be extradited for his "crimes."

JANUARY 29, 1989

fierce a Marxist line).

Today in Luanda, Angola's capital, one hears little Marxist ideology. The emphasis is on movement toward free markets — to whatever works. Pragmatists seem to have prevailed in a struggle within the ruling party, the M.P.L.A. A key figure among them, Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, until lately Minister of State for Petroleum and Production but just appointed Foreign Minister, said recently:

"The biggest mistake we made was to make the state sector larger and larger when we did not have the capacity to manage it. There will be a very big reduction of the state's participation in the economy."

Mr. Van Dunem attended a conference in Lusaka, Zambia, this month. There he gave high praise to the American officials who mediated the recent agreement with South Africa. Asked by reporters about his Government's ideology, he said: "We are an Angolan state first — with a socialist orientation, but not Marxist and not Communist. No prefabricated labels."

American oil men who do business in Angola — big business — say they find the officials with whom they deal straightforward and practical, with no ideological hang-ups. Jack Blackshire, resident manager for Conoco, told me: "It's easier to do business here than in some places in the States."

Angola began its economic reforms two years ago, before Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika got going. But the new Soviet attitudes are surely having an effect, in Angola, elsewhere in Africa and the whole third world.

Last year an article in the Soviet journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta* spoke of the naïveté — and bad results — of trying to apply Marxist theories to economic development in Africa. Where it has influence, the U.S.S.R. is hardly likely now to object to African governments moving to free-market methods. Moscow also wants to reduce its foreign aid costs.

When Daniel Bell wrote about the exhaustion of the old universal theories, he said the new states of Africa and Asia were fashioning their own more parochial ideologies. But those, too, seem to have faded in Africa. People are concerned with the necessities of daily life: food, clothes, shelter. They care not about a government's slogans but about its effectiveness.

In those terms Zimbabwe is a success story. Robert Mugabe has an egalitarian socialist vision, but he has not followed an ideological line. The country is prosperous.

Zambia is a sad contrast. Its president, Kenneth Kaunda, is rightly honored as a great figure in the African liberation movement. But he has presided over an appalling economic slide. Average real income in Zambia has fallen by two-thirds in the last 15 years. Store shelves are empty.

The Zambian Government blames everything on external forces, like falling prices for its copper. Those

Continued on page 14

In Sudan Peace Effort, U.S. Meets A Representative of the Guerrillas

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — Senior Bush Administration officials have met here in the last few days with a leading representative of the Sudanese guerrilla forces as part of a new American effort to try to end the five-year-old civil war in the strategically situated African country.

American officials said the United States had offered to mediate between the Khartoum Government and rebels in the southern Sudan. And taking advantage of the Soviet interest in ending regional conflicts, Washington has approached Moscow about ending conflicts in northeastern Africa.

Participants in the discussions said that the guerrilla representative, Mansour Khalid, talked by telephone with Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser to President Bush, and met with State Department officials and an aide to Mr. Scowcroft.

The talks were viewed as significant because until now the United States, while publicly neutral in the Sudan's civil war, had supported the Khartoum Government and avoided criticism of its leaders.

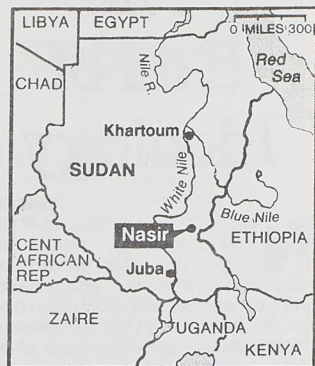
But American officials said they were reviewing their policy and were losing patience with Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, in part because he recently rejected a peace plan designed to end the civil war. In addition, he had blocked efforts by the United States to provide food aid to people starving in areas under rebel control in the southern Sudan, where food delivery by relief agencies has been severely hampered by the fighting.

The Sudanese Government announced Saturday that the rebels had captured the garrison town of Nasir after a siege of more than seven months. Nasir is about 20 miles from the border with Ethiopia and provides the rebels with a new base for attacks on Sudanese Government troops.

The Sudan is the largest country in Africa and one of the most strategically important because of its location, bordering on eight nations: Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Chad and the Central African Republic.

Mr. Khalid met last week at the State Department with Julia V. Taft, director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, which is trying to expedite food deliveries. Mr. Bush and Mr. Khalid, a former Foreign Minister of the Sudan, served as delegates to the United Nations at the same time, in 1971 and 1972, and have been friends since then.

In an interview, Mr. Khalid said his message to American officials was that "we need more involvement by the U.S. in relief efforts, and we'd like the



Sudan has acknowledged that Nasir fell to rebels last week.

U.S. to play a more active role in peace-making between the north and the south" of the Sudan.

The United States has recently improved channels of communication with the Sudanese guerrillas through American diplomats in Ethiopia, which provides the rebels with weapons, money and a base of operations.

Robert G. Houdek, who heads the United States diplomatic mission in Ethiopia as chargé d'affaires at the American Embassy, and Robert C. Frasure, his deputy, have reportedly conveyed a new attitude to the rebels, who feel that the United States is taking them more seriously.

At the same time, the United States has been active in trying to arrange peace talks between the Sudanese Government and the rebels, and Washington is urging the Soviet Union to help find a political solution to the conflict.

"We want to give new impetus to the peace process," a State Department official said. "We have had quite an active dialogue with the Soviets about the situation in the Horn of Africa, and that includes the war between the Sudanese Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army in the south. We want to know what the Soviets are prepared to do to help the parties come to an accommodation."

"Just as the United States played a role as peacemaker in southwestern Africa, in Angola and Namibia," the official said, "one would think the Soviets have a similar responsibility here because of their close relationship with Ethiopia."

State Department officials sense that Mr. Bush will take a stronger interest in African affairs than President Reagan did, and they are defensive about their record in the Sudan, insisting that they have not ignored the famine or the civil war.

Representative Frank R. Wolf, Republican of Virginia, who just returned from a trip to the Sudan, met on Friday with Secretary of State James A.

U.S. relief officials to visit southern Sudan

NAIROBI, Kenya — Two officials of private U.S. relief groups will visit southern Sudan this week to advance plans for providing help to rebel-held areas, a rebel official said yesterday.

That official and a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi declined to identify the officials or their organizations. However, the U.S. official confirmed the supplies would come from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Richard Mula, secretary-general of the rebels' Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, told The Associated Press the officials plan to visit the southeastern towns of Kapoeta, Ikota, Pachala and Pibor.

Washington Times FEBRUARY 2,

Hard-line Moslems win in Sudan reshuffle

KHARTOUM, Sudan — Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi reshuffled his Cabinet yesterday, naming as foreign minister a Moslem militant who wants to impose Islamic sharia law throughout this ethnically and religiously diverse country.

The reshuffle, announced on state radio Omdurman, followed the withdrawal from the government in December of the Democratic Unionist Party, which held nearly half the Cabinet's 24 portfolios and had negotiated a peace agreement, rejected by its coalition partners, with the Sudan People's Liberation Army fighting the imposition of Islamic law on the black and Christianized south.

Mr. Mahdi, in office since May 1986, appointed Hassan al-Tourabi, leader of the militant National Islamic Front, to replace DUP member Hussein abu Saleh. Mr. Tourabi also retained his post as deputy prime minister.

Baker 3d.

Mr. Wolf said in an interview that the United States should make a strong public statement calling for a ceasefire in the Sudan so that roads could be opened and food delivered to the people. Mr. Wolf said the United States should also appoint a special envoy to "facilitate negotiations" between the Sudanese Government and the rebels.

Roger P. Winter, director of the United States Committee for Refugees, a private nonprofit organization that seeks to protect refugees around the world, often criticized the Reagan Administration for not speaking out forcefully about the situation in the southern Sudan. This week he said:

"U.S. policy is shifting, is in flux. The United States is showing a greater willingness to meet the humanitarian needs of the Sudanese people, regardless of the territory where they are located."

U.N. WITHHOLDS AID IN SOMALIA DISPUTE

Asserts the Government Arms
Refugees From Ethiopia

GENEVA, Jan. 27 — United Nations officials are withholding food aid from Ethiopian refugees in Somalia because of what they say is Somalia's use of refugees for military activities.

On Sunday Somalia accused the United Nations of putting 400,000 refugees in danger of starvation by ending emergency food supplies. "Without such supplies, the consequences will be catastrophic," said Abdi Mohammed Tarrah, chairman of the Somali National Commission for Refugees.

But the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees asserts that the Government's continued misuse of the relief supplies after six months of warnings was the reason for the decision. The United Nations conveyed the decision to the Somali Government in a letter on Dec. 22.

The refugee agency has been spending roughly \$60 million to \$75 million during each of the last 10 years in Somalia, one of the poorest countries in the world.

"We're in a dilemma," said Hasim Utkan, the desk officer for the relief operation in Somalia, one of the refugee agency's largest. "The only reason which prompted the High Commissioner's decision is the arming of refugees and the fact that international assistance could not be monitored."

Exodus Began in 1977

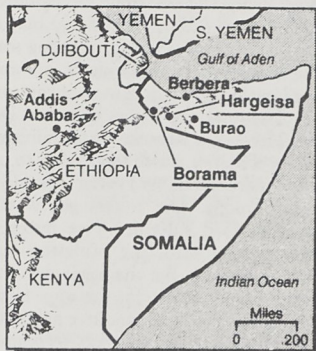
The Ethiopian refugees in Somalia, mostly ethnic Somalis and Oromos, began fleeing their former homes in 1977, the start of the Ethiopian-Somali war for control of the Ogaden region. Last year Somalia and Ethiopia signed a treaty formally ending the conflict.

United Nations officials say the Somali Government has been using much of the food aid it has received to feed refugees drafted to fight in an offensive launched last year against the Somali National Movement, a rebel group based in the north of the country.

The United Nations agency and the Somali Government agree that the food situation for the refugees is critical. United Nations officials say relief supplies for the camps in northern Somalia will run out in three to four weeks if there is no resupply, although it puts the number of refugees there who have not been inducted into the Somali military at 140,000, far less than the Somali figure.

Somalia's Prime Minister, Lieut. Gen. Mohammed Ali Samantar, is scheduled to visit Washington on Jan. 30. The State Department spokesman, Charles E. Redman, said the purpose of the visit is "to discuss events in Somalia since the insurgency flared up last May."

The Somali leader, Gen. Mohammed



The New York Times/Jan. 28, 1989

Government has reportedly
bombed Hargeisa and Borama.

Siad Barre, has been accused by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations of large-scale killings and atrocities in the civil war in northern Somalia. Government bombing is said to have destroyed large parts of Hargeisa and Burao, two towns which had a large rebel presence. Last December, Britain withheld \$8 million in foreign aid to protest human rights abuses.

New Route Is Demanded

In his letter of Dec. 22, the High Commissioner, Jean-Pierre Hocké, insisted that the United Nations be allowed to ship the food through neighboring Djibouti to the refugee camps around the Somali town of Borama, near the Ethiopian border.

The aid shipments had been going through the Somali port of Berbera and were then virtually handed over to Somali authorities to distribute without international supervision, U.N. officials said.

United Nations officials said they are counting on the help of the donor countries to persuade the Government of General Siad Barre to accept the relief agency's conditions before the current food shortage becomes catastrophic. Officials say the United States recently became one of the last of the major donors to openly support the refugee agency in this dispute. The U.S. has a large naval base at Berbera, on the Gulf of Aden.

The Somali Government puts the number of Ethiopian refugees in all parts of Somalia at 840,000. But some officials say the real number may be half that.

The refugee agency is negotiating with Somalia a plan to phase out the aid to refugees by 1991 and assist the majority to return home. But in its statement on Sunday, Somalia criticized the plan as "hasty and unilateral."

The Washington Times

JANUARY 30, 1989

SOMALIA REFRAINS FROM USING
LIBYAN-DELIVERED NERVE GAS

By James M. Dorsey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Somalia has obtained nerve gas from Libya but has refrained from employing it in its civil war for fear of an international outcry, according to Western intelligence and Somali opposition sources.

The sources said Libya delivered the nerve gas on Oct. 7 aboard a Libyan Arab Airlines jetliner.

Somalia has denied charges that it has received chemical weapons from Libya.

A congressional source said crates with a Latin description of their chemical content destined for Somalia were seen at a Libyan airport. The source did not say when the sighting occurred.

The gas, the sources said, was obtained by Libya from Iran and was not manufactured at the plant outside the Libyan capital of Tripoli that the United States has charged is designed to manufacture chemical weapons.

Disclosures about the alleged delivery coincides with Somali Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Samantar's arrival in Washington. The prime minister is waging a diplomatic campaign to win support for his government's efforts to end the crippling civil war and liberalize the country's state-run economy.

Administration sources said Washington was refraining from publicly accusing Somalia because it did not want to be forced to either produce evidence or reveal how it was obtained. Moreover, the sources said, the administration wishes to encourage efforts by President Mohamed Siad Barre to end the war.

Mohammed Ahmed Farah, a spokesman for the rebel Somali National Movement, said the Libyan shipment had been negotiated by Gen. Mohammed Hashi Gani and Gen. Mohammed Osman during a visit to Tripoli in September.

"The brutality of the regime is underscored by the acquisition and stockpiling of nerve gas," Mr. Farah said.

In a related development, The New York Times reported yesterday that Iran's West German Embassy plays a key role in ordering components for chemical weapons.

"The Libyan program got attention because it was new and because it involved [Col. Muammar] Qaddafi," the paper quoted a U.S. official as saying, referring to Washington's charges about the chemical factory near Tripoli. "Iran's program has been going on for quite some time

Continued on page 14

Political Prisoners Being Freed, Says Somali Seeking U.S. Aid

By David B. Ottaway

Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Ali Samater said here yesterday that his government is freeing "all political prisoners" and improving other human rights in hopes of convincing Congress and the Bush administration to release \$55 million in U.S. economic aid to Somalia.

But Samater ruled out any talks with the opposition Somali National Movement (SNM), which last May nearly seized control of northern Somalia.

"Who do they represent?" he said. "We are not going to talk to the SNM. We're going to talk to the people of the north. We're going to talk to local leaders."

Samater said between 200 and 250 prisoners will be released. But a spokesman for Human Rights Watch in New York estimated there are "about 1,000" political detainees in the country; congressional sources put the number at "500 or more."

The Human Rights Watch spokesman said no prominent political prisoners were among the first 100 prisoners Somalia freed last November.

Samater's statements left unclear whether he will convince U.S. human rights groups and Congress that Somalia has undertaken sufficient reform to release \$55 million in accumulated U.S. aid withheld since 1986.

House Foreign Affairs Chairman Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.) and African subcommittee Chairman Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.) have said they will continue to hold on to the money until all Somali political prisoners are released and they saw "significant hope" for a political solution to the northern conflict, including a "meaningful dialogue" with the opposition.

The State Department and Pentagon have become concerned about a deterioration of relations because of the U.S. military access to port and air facilities at Berbera in northern Somalia.

State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman said, "We think we can see the beginning of progress" by Somalia toward an improvement of its human rights record.

Sudan

Peace has been postponed

THE capital is calm now, but the causes of December's violence in Khartoum have not gone away. Sudan's civil war continues; its economy is chaotic; its government divided against itself. On January 25th Holland cut \$2.5m from its aid budget for Sudan. Many Sudanese, including some of the important ones in uniform, are wondering how long their government can survive.

The riots and strikes began on December 27th, a day after the prime minister, Mr Sadiq el Mahdi, raised food prices to pay for wage increases he had earlier promised the trade unions. The rioters got what they wanted: food subsidies were restored. By new year most of the protesters had returned to work. But the prime minister still needs money to pay for the wage increases. On January 15th a committee presided over by his deputy, Mr Aldo Ajo, recommended raising prices again—but not, this time, the price of food.

Having succeeded once, the unions may strike again. They say that the government should end its economic difficulties by ending the civil war in the south of the country. A constitutional conference between the southern rebels and the government was supposed to begin on the last day of 1988, but the prime minister put it off under pressure from his fundamentalist allies, who refuse to make concessions to the non-Muslims in the south. This has lost him support elsewhere: the Democratic Unionists, one of three parties in the coalition government, walked out on December 28th. Even the army, which refused to help the police control December's protests, seems to believe five years' fighting (in the current round, 17 in the previous one) is enough.

Some Sudanese would like more foreigners to follow Holland's lead and cut aid until the prime minister agrees to talk peace. The fighting is anyway preventing relief supplies from reaching many of the starving people in the south. On one estimate, around 250,000 southerners died last year; even more walked to Ethiopia in the hope of finding food. With Mr Sadiq so insecure at home, a poke from outsiders might get him to negotiate. But at what price?

THE END OF IDEOLOGY (Continued)

problems are real. But so are corruption and the folly of trying to run the economy from an incompetent center. For that reason I thought it was unfortunate that Jesse Jackson, speaking in Lusaka this month, denounced the International Monetary Fund as "slave masters." The I.M.F. makes mistakes, but governments like Angola's understand that its disciplined advice has value.

The issue in Africa can be summed up in a phrase I heard somewhere in America last year: competence, not ideology.

SOMALIA REFRAINS FROM NERVE GAS USE (Continued)

and we are trying to slow it down by putting pressure behind the scene on supply of chemicals."

In regard to U.S.-Somali relations, administration officials said they were encouraged that nerve gas has not been used in the civil war and by Mr. Barre's endorsement of a constitutional committee's report calling for a "political solution" to the conflict. The war has pitted the Issak tribe, which accounts for one-third of the population, against the regime in Mogadishu.

The report demanded:

- The release of all prisoners detained since the fighting began in June.
- A halt to arbitrary arrests.
- Demilitarization of towns in the north.
- Relaxation of a ban on public meetings.
- Appointment of local people to positions of civil authority.
- Economic reconstruction.

The officials said the administration would urge Congress to release some of the aid funds it froze last year until Somalia took steps to end the war.

Somalia's ambassador to Washington, Abdullahi Ahmed Addou, said Prime Minister Samantar hopes to convince the United States of his government's moves to abolish repression and dismantle state control of the economy. He said Somalia was still working on the degree of support it would need from donor countries.

ANGOLA GIVES HINT (Continued)

by Jonas Savimbi, are active in all 17 Angolan provinces. In the capital, residents with shortwave radios — and a sense of daring — increasingly tune in to the guerrillas' clandestine station.

Rebel military statements say there are frequent desertions from isolated Government outposts, which are often left without food deliveries for weeks. The official newspaper *Jornal de Angola* routinely carries notices for soldiers wanted "for the crime of desertion."

Seeking to entice rebel deserters, the Government is putting a new amnesty law into effect next week. But an existing, 10-year-old amnesty law brought in few of Unita's 30,000 guerrillas.

Angolans who came in under the previous amnesty program confronted an unwritten blacklist against the employment of former guerrillas, Sabino Tchimumu complained in a letter this month to *Jornal de Angola*. The editors responded that the new law provides guarantees against discrimination.

United States officials applaud the new amnesty, but emphasize that it should be a first step toward a political accord with Unita, a group that Washington has helped to arm.

BOTHA STEPS DOWN AS PARTY LEADER, RETAINS PRESIDENCY (Continued)

ference here, acknowledged the uniqueness of the situation and said that "a very special relationship will now have to develop" between himself and Botha.

"We have at all times worked together well, and I have no doubt that we will achieve this special relationship in the closest possible cooperation with one another," de Klerk said. He described himself as "basically a team man."

Because Botha has concentrated so much power in his own hands over the years, de Klerk will in practice have no more power in government affairs than he had as a minister before today's party vote. But de Klerk's new position as the clear front-runner to succeed Botha is bound to enhance the minister's general authority.

The president is believed to have acted, in part, in an effort to put to rest a succession struggle that had been growing among six senior cabinet ministers since Botha had his stroke.

After Botha's surprise announcement was read to a meeting of the 133-member National Party parliamentary caucus, the group immediately held an election that involved several rounds of balloting.

Other contenders included Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, all of whom are widely identified with the National Party's progressive wing.

De Klerk, 52, has a strong power base in vote-heavy Transvaal Province, where he is party leader.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT (Continued)

along these lines, these considerations seem hardly relevant if compared to the fact that this person [Vorster] had been the cause of the brutal death of the deceased."

Suzman, calling the sentences "outrageously lenient," said she could not recall impeachment proceedings ever being brought against a judge during her 37 years in Parliament.

"Mind you, I don't think it will be successful, but it is something we have to do to protest this terrible injustice. We have to call attention to it," Suzman said.

She said that while human rights lawyers conceivably could bring a civil action against Vorster and Leonard on behalf of Sambo's family, there is no other legal recourse against Strydom.

Arthur Chaskalson, director of the Legal Resources Center in Johannesburg, also said he could not recall a previous attempt to impeach a judge, and he said public statements by the legal community over such lenient sentences of whites convicted of killing blacks have been made "only very rarely over the years I've been in practice."

"A lot of the judgment depends on whether they get into the press, and they don't always get into the press," said Chaskalson, who has served as defense lawyer in some of the most celebrated political trials of black nationalists in South Africa's history.

Inequitable sentencing practices occasionally

TUTU ASKS U.S. JEWS (Continued)

Israeli-Palestinian conflict out of concern that he would be accused of anti-Semitism. But the conflict and Israel's links with South Africa are hurting relations between blacks and Jews in South Africa, and apparently in the United States, Archbishop Tutu said.

Archbishop Tutu, who spoke after receiving an award from the synagogue, proposed that he and Elie Wiesel, the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, join to help mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The Archbishop said he had not consulted with Mr. Wiesel before making the proposal. Reached by telephone in New York, Mr. Wiesel said: "If both sides would ask anyone, including me, I think that person would feel an obligation to help. But it has to come from

He also has wide support among the conservative wing of the party because of his cautious approach to racial reform and his reputation as a strong and unyielding leader.

De Klerk refused today to be drawn into a discussion about what the change in party leadership will mean for the future of racial reform in South Africa.

Botha's office said today that the president will continue to rest at home for at least another month.

Technically, his term of office and that of the current Parliament expire in September.

Constitutionally, he can postpone new elections until March 1990. But National Party sources expect Botha to announce his retirement from government before then.

come to public attention, but not often.

In 1987, Johan Breytenbach, who is white, received an effective prison sentence of 2½ years when he was convicted of driving his car into a Pretoria whites-only park and repeatedly running the car's wheels over Maria Rametsi, a black domestic worker who was sleeping under a tree, killing her.

The same year, a 17-year-old white youth was sentenced to six strokes with a light cane and given a suspended five-year prison term for beating a black man to death with a baseball bat. The youth said he was angry after an argument with his girlfriend.

At the time, J.D. van der Vyver, of the law department at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand, said that a violent crime committed by a white against a black seemed statistically to carry a lighter sentence than cases involving violence by blacks against whites.

Van der Vyver said that in many cases "it would seem that our courts regard the racial element in a white-against-black violent crime as an extenuating circumstance and in a black-against-white crime as an aggravating circumstance. This kind of racism in the administration of justice is most unfortunate."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee disclosed in Parliament last March that 164 condemned inmates were hanged in South Africa in 1987, of which 102 were black, 53 mixed-race "Colored" and nine white.

both sides."

Praise for Israel's Self-Criticism

Mr. Wiesel, a survivor of the Nazi camps who won the Nobel Prize for the testimony his novels give to the Holocaust, referred to the suffering of the Palestinians in his speech accepting the award. But he has also spoken of his reluctance to criticize Israel.

Archbishop Tutu, who spoke at length on biblical themes before dealing with contemporary affairs, said his speech Monday was a "cry of the heart." Oppressed people assume that Jews, "who know dispossession in their bones," will be on their side, he said. His strongly worded appeals for changes in Israeli policy were applauded by the congregation.

While saying there were some parallels between Israel and South Africa, Archbishop Tutu called Israel "fundamentally democratic" and praised its capacity for open self-criticism.

"We thank God that Israel as a nation has come into being," the Archbishop said. "It has a right to territorial integrity and fundamental security." He said he condemned "categorically" all forms of terrorism.

He urged Israel publicly to repudiate links with the South African Government, especially in matters of military cooperation. He asked the synagogue audience to "press Israel hard" on this issue, as well as on seeking "a just settlement" with the Palestinians.

NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY 2, 1989

NAIROBI, Kenya, Feb. 1 (Reuters) — Richard Leakey has withdrawn his resignation as director of the National Museums of Kenya, museum officials said today.

He announced his resignation on January 21 after Kenya's Vice President, Josephat Karanja, appointed a new board, but the officials said he returned to work this week.

Mr. Karanja, whose National Heritage Ministry is responsible for the museums, reinstated the old board last Friday without explanation.

"Leakey resumed work on Tuesday," a museum official said.

BLACKS BATTLE FELLOW BLACKS (Continued)

majority rule comes to South Africa.

While disagreement persists about the roots of violence, there is a bleak consensus about its future. "A thousand killed means 7,000 relatives with a direct interest in revenge," Mr. Aitchison said.

MANDELA 'CLUB' HAS ITS CRITICS (Continued)

Friday of a prominent activist, Abubaker Asvat, who was gunned down by two black men at his Soweto surgery clinic.

Black sources have claimed that Mr. Asvat was assassinated by vigilantes supported by "the system" — a euphemism for government-backed thugs — because of his anti-apartheid activities.

Ivory Coast: A Shrine . . . to What?

By Kathy Koch

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

YAMOUSSOUKRO, IVORY COAST

IN this small town in the West African bush, an army of workers is doing in three years what once took European artisans more than a century.

Since September 1986, some 1,200 laborers have been working day and night, building a Roman Catholic basilica that will be the world's largest church when completed in September. Our Lady of Peace of Yamoussoukro will be higher and longer than St. Peter's in Rome.

This gargantuan project is not the first to be built in Yamoussoukro, once the native village of President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and today the nation's capital. Yamoussoukro also has eight-lane boulevards, a presidential palace, a 300-room luxury hotel, a convention center, the Houphouët-Boigny Foundation — as large as the US Capitol building, and three training institutes.

Ironically, this flurry of building has gone on as the Ivory Coast has continued to slip deeper into dire economic straits.

As the world's largest cocoa producer, the Ivory Coast was considered one of Africa's few economic success stories. But in recent years, world cocoa prices slumped. The country last year stopped repaying its \$10-billion foreign debt. Per capita income has dropped 50 percent since the early 1980's, to \$650 a year.

In a country with a tightly-con-

trolled government press, it is difficult to gauge opposition to the basilica. But when a French magazine published photos of the basilica last fall, merchants in one of the public markets reacted by shaking their heads in disbelief.

"They shouldn't be spending money on things like this when people can't afford to send their children to school and people are dying because they can't buy medicine," said one merchant.

The showpiece of the complex is its huge domed nave — whose base is as wide as the length of an American football field. Its most striking features are the ground floor walls and doors — made entirely of 13th-century-style stained glass. Two acres of stained glass were created for the basilica — the equivalent of two years' output of all the stained-glass companies of Europe — say those involved in the project.

AMONG other things, the basilica will boast:

- 272 concrete columns.
- Seven acres of imported Italian and Spanish marble.
- About 88 acres of French-style formal gardens around the structure, containing 13 miles of underground watering pipes.
- Extra-thick insulation and a specially designed air-conditioning system to protect against the blistering West African sun.
- Special sound-proofing measures such as carpeting, padded seat backs, and tiny sound-absorbing holes drilled in the ceiling, to reduce echoing.

The structure will hold 300,000 worshippers both inside

and out.

The President bristles at criticism of the basilica — which he says he is paying for with personal funds. The cost is a closely-guarded secret, but estimates range upward of \$130 million.

Mr. Houphouët-Boigny intends to have Pope John Paul II officially inaugurate the basilica, which he will then present to The Vatican. Vatican spokesmen, however, have not yet said whether the Pope will comply, or whether the church will accept the basilica, which will cost \$1.7 million a year to maintain.

"I cannot imagine the Pope not accepting it," says Pierre Cabrelli, the French site manager and construction chief.

Mr. Cabrelli sees the basilica as a powerful symbol that the southward spread of Islam into sub-Saharan Africa from North Africa stops at Yamoussoukro. Situated some 160 miles north of the economic capital of Abidjan, Yamoussoukro sits on the dividing line between the predominantly Muslim north and Christian south of this former French colony. Overall, the Ivory Coast is 30 percent Muslim, 15 percent Christian (mostly Catholic) — and more than 50 percent animist.

"I see the basilica as a spiritual symbol, but also as security for the Catholic Church against Muslim imperialism in Africa," Cabrelli said.

As he spoke, outside his office, some of the dozens of Muslim construction workers helping build the world's largest Christian church were stopping for their noon prayers to Mecca.

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