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THE NEW YORK TIMES **INTERNATIONAL** THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

Angola Accepts Plan to End Its 15-Year War

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

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

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

former Portuguese colony.

"We agree with the principles as presented to us by the Portuguese mediators and we are ready to go to the next round of negotiations," said Jardo Mulekalia, Unita's chief representative in Washington, in a telephone interview.

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

Diplomats Relate Details

Mr. Mulekalia declined to discuss details of the peace plan, and there was little elaboration in the statement from

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

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

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

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THE NEW YORK TIMES **INTERNATIONAL** SUNDAY, JANUARY 20, 1991

Rival Liberia Rebels Agree to Cooperate

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

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

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

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

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

Critical of General

But in an interview Friday night with the BBC, Mr. Johnson said that Mr. Sawyer's government was no longer "valid." He was also sharply critical of the West African force's commander, Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro of Nigeria, whom he accused of threatening to attack his base at Caldwell, eight miles northeast of Monrovia. Mr. Johnson gave no further details on the agreement between him and Mr. Taylor.

Nonetheless, an African diplomat who has closely followed developments in the civil war described the agreement between the two rebel leaders as a breakthrough that could augur well for negotiations in Monrovia next month between all of Liberia's factional leaders. The meeting is expected to set a schedule for national elections.

At the same time, the diplomat said, the agreement between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Taylor appears to jeopardize the interim Government.

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



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U. S. Department of State

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1991

World IN BRIEF

KENYA

Somali Rebels Seek Food, Medical Aid

Rebels in devastated Somalia appealed for the world not to let their need for food, medical aid and other assistance be forgotten in the concern over the Persian Gulf War. Thousands would die in that event, the Somali National Movement said in a radio broadcast monitored in Nairobi, Kenya. Years of sparring between the authoritarian government of President Siad Barre and numerous rebel groups erupted in brutal fighting three weeks ago, littering streets with corpses, driving all Western aid agencies and embassy officials out of the capital and creating tens of thousands of refugees in neighboring countries.

UGANDA

Starvation Reported in Drought Region

About 300 people have starved in northeastern Uganda in the last four weeks, a government official said in Kampala, marking east Africa's first famine deaths in a year in which it is feared hundreds of thousands more may die. The official, who asked to remain anonymous, said that in the region of Moroto, 220 miles northeast of the capital Kampala, a 10-month drought drove herdsmen from the parched province across the border into Kenya in search of pasture, but that at least 300 people died. A team of U.N. experts spent the last six days assessing the drought, the official said, and concluded food deliveries were an urgent priority to prevent further deaths.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1991

Former Liberian Top Official Declares That He Is President

From Times Wire Services

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone—Liberia's vice president under slain President Samuel K. Doe declared himself president Sunday and told the country's interim leader to resign.

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

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

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

"I want him to have respect for a constitution that he contributed to and for him to quit," Moniba said.

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

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

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

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

Speaking from Liberia, he told the British Broadcasting Corp. that he and Taylor both wanted Sawyer's government to resign.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1991

South African Judge Backs Claims on Death Squads

By David Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 20—A South African supreme court judge has reopened the controversy about police "death squads," which allegedly were involved in assassinations of anti-apartheid activists throughout the last decade, by finding that the testimony of a dissident police captain about their activities was true.

In a case with enormous ramifications for both press freedom and the government, Justice Johan Kriegler ruled Friday that the allegations of former police Capt. Dick Coetzee about involvement of the police, including himself, in assassinations of political activists here and abroad were believable.

Given his public confessions that forced him into exile abroad, it was "unthinkable" that Coetzee would have lied about his involvement in the murder and kidnapping of political activists. "Why would he declare himself guilty of such heinous crimes if it had not been the truth?" the judge asked.

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

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

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

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

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

would advance press freedom in South Africa.

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

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

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991

* * *
Rebels in Somalia rejected the country's choice of a new premier, and a spokesman for the insurgents said in Rome that they would persist in fighting. However, a radio report said that a committee of rebels and government representatives had called for a truce beginning last night.
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THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

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

5 ex-colonies in Africa ready to shed Marxist governments

By Judith Matloff
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

are under way in both cases.

Mozambique's ruling party has been gradually liberalizing the economy. Last year it jettisoned Marxism-Leninism and put into effect a new constitution to allow other parties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kampala Journal

In Uganda, a Light of Learning Dims

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

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

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

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

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

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

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

At the University of Nairobi in Kenya talented staff members have left in defiance of demands to toe the political line of the single-party state.

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

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

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

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

Dr. Tickodri-Togboa about \$30 a week to keep his family in food alone.

Dr. Tickodri-Togboa considers himself lucky: he receives a research grant to supplement his slim salary. But most staff members fail to turn up regularly for class because they are busy making ends meet with two

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

For Mr. Dennis and many of the 5,000 other undergraduates, the economics of attending university seem even more perilous than for the staff, although the Government provides free tuition, free accommodation and meals on campus. Like Mr. Dennis, most of the students come from im-

poverished rural families who cannot afford the relatively small costs the debt-laden Government is now insisting students pay.

In September, the university canceled Government-financed allowances for stationary, texts and transport to rural homes. In response, the students went on strike, an action that ended in the fatal shooting by the police of two students taking part in a campus rally last month.

"Most of us can only get 10,000 shillings" — about \$15 — "from our family," Mr. Dennis said of the allowance he scraped together to finance his first term costs. "My mother sold some millet and ground nuts to pay for me. But you need 50,000 shillings to be self sufficient for the term."

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

Makerere undergraduates complain bitterly about the food. "It's rice, beans, posho," said Mr. Dennis, the last being a thin porridge. "Having it every day is not conducive to study. You just eat it and pray you don't get sick."

Mr. Dennis's dormitory has no running water. Students rise at 5 A.M. to take jerrycans to an outdoor tap — sometimes the nearest working one is off campus — and then lug the water back. Rooms built for two usually hold four.

Recently there was a new threat. The university administrators, due to reopen the campus on Feb. 2 after first-term vacation, met to discuss how they were going to manage with a 30 percent budget cut ordered for all Government institutions because of increased oil costs. "They're thinking of not opening until June because of a shortage of funds," Dr. Tickodri-Togboa said.

Teachers and students predict a storm of protest if that happens, not least because Makerere, as broken down as it is, still manages to struggle on. It carries a symbolic value, many students say, of past glory and the glimmer, however meager, of a future.

Students so poor that paper is precious.

B. J. CUTLER

Illusory patsy for Africa's agonies

Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, who seized power in Nigeria in 1983, spoke recently at a bash-the-West conference in Lagos, his capital. He called upon the nations of Europe and the Americas to pay reparations to Africa for the damage done to it by the slave trade.

Western diplomats who heard the demand by the president of Africa's most populous country were unimpressed. They pointed out that he blamed only Westerners, giving a free ride to the many Arab nations and African tribes that were involved in taking slaves.

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

"While no one with a good sense of history will dispute that the slave trade wreaked incalculable havoc on the black race, it is preposterous to blame it for Africa's underdevelopment."

"... I have seen more damage done to that continent by incompetent and corrupt leadership than slavery ever did. The African landscape is awash with a class of leadership whose revolutionary songs were about ultimate redemption of the masses."

"Nevertheless, soon after they establish their rulership, they focus on personal enrichment. When things go wrong and the people start complaining, they resort to blame-the-West syndrome."

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

"Perhaps President Babangida should have explained to conference participants why Nigeria's telephone system hardly works?"

"Or is the West responsible for roads that are never maintained? Or is the West also responsible for the National Electric Power Authority's inability to deliver steady electric services to Nigerian homes?"

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

"Our hospitals continue to operate at subsistence level; basic drugs are never available, and our doctors and nurses continue to flee to the West for better conditions of service."

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

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

"Perhaps when we have helped ourselves, we can look to others for reparations."

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

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

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

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

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

Jack Anderson
And Dale Van Atta

Mauritania's Persecution Of Blacks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to travel to Mauritania and has authorized "the compulsory departure of non-essential dependents" of U.S. government personnel, because, as one official put it, "there are some elements (in Mauritania) that may harm American citizens." The State Department said the warning has nothing to do with the purges of black Mauritania, but declined to say whether the threat to Americans would come from Iraqi sympathizers in Mauritania.

Evidently the systematic elimination of blacks in Mauritania is not reason enough alone for the Bush administration to put Mauritania in the doghouse.

Amnesty International and Africa Watch have monitored Mauritania closely and are worried, with good reason. Blacks from all walks of life are disappearing. One Amnesty report says, "People taken by troops have had their heads crushed with heavy stones or cut off and paraded around village centers to intimidate others. Others have been shot dead simply for fishing while a curfew was in place."

Monitoring organizations have compiled hundreds of reports about architects, writers, policemen, hospital workers, postal employees, teachers and their students being rounded up. Key civil servants have been hauled away to prison camps. "Every Mauritanian I've met can tell you a story about somebody taken away," an Africa Watch official told us.

The Mauritanian government says it is only arresting people because of a coup plot that was uncovered last November. But the number and nature of the disappearances and arrests paint a far more sinister picture.

Ken Rutherford, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Mauritania, told our reporter Jonathan Ullman that black men are taken from their homes in nighttime raids, put in cattle trucks and taken to the river that separates Mauritania and Senegal. Their captors force them to cross the river into Senegal and tell them not to come back.

Those captives who aren't expelled are subject to torture. We have obtained recent letters written by Hal-pulaars and smuggled out of Mauritania. They describe atrocities that include starvation in prison and the complete disappearance of villages as large as 400. Hal-pulaar students in the United States have told us that their families have warned them not to come home for fear of arrest.

While the United States refrains from comment, there is growing speculation by human rights groups that up to 10 percent of the Hal-pulaar people arrested since late November have already been executed.

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

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

Michael Kinsley

Meaning Well in Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG—"This is what we call a shower," says Koos van der Merwe. Is he kidding? I can't tell. Koos, Conservative Party whip in the South African parliament, is showing me around his house in suburban Johannesburg so I can see "how a typical Afrikaner lives." It's more or less how a typical American suburbanite lives, except for a lot of dead animals on the wall. His "shower" is a shower. Perhaps that's his point: the international fellowship of white people. "We are First World people like yourselves," he says. "The creator has dumped 5 million of us among 30 million Third Worlders." In fact, his mind is unfathomable to me. Does this educated man, who interrupts our chat to give radio interviews in French and Portuguese, really think that "shower" is an Afrikaner word or custom?

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

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

Mainstream and liberal whites in South Africa like you to meet Koos so you'll have more sympathy for their own various exquisitely modulated positions. A year after President F. W. de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress and committed himself to majority rule, the vast majority of whites accept that apartheid of any variety is dead. In fact, it's hard to find anyone who didn't actually oppose apartheid all along! Roelf Meyer, a government minister working on rewriting the constitution, was elected to the all-white parliament in 1980, and "It immediately struck me when I sat down on those green benches that this is unreal." Bright fellow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

One black activist claims that half the whites have foreign passports, just in case. Hard to believe. But I met a young white, third-generation South African who gave me the standard liberal "I am an African, too" rap, bragged about joining the ANC after it was legalized, then revealed that he has an Irish passport. (One grandparent was Irish.) He got it to travel with, after a Belgian border guard used his South African passport as toilet paper. Or so he says.

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South African Judge Throws Out Police Suit Against 2 Papers

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

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

Lieut. Gen. Lothar Neethling, who heads the police forensic laboratories in Pretoria, had demanded damages of \$800,000 from The Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad, which he accused of defaming his reputation.

But Justice Johan C. Kriegler decided in favor of the two small weekly newspapers, which have been relentless in trying to expose illicit activities by the police, and ordered General Neethling to pay their court costs of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

General's Testimony Doubtful

The judge's ruling did not directly address the issue of whether General Neethling was criminally guilty of the acts described in the news accounts, but he did say many of the details contained in the published interviews with

the General's accuser had been independently substantiated. At the same time, he said he had found the general to have been evasive in his own testimony.

The ruling is a setback for the South African Police as a whole because it gives fresh credence to persistent charges that police assassination squads have attacked opponents of apartheid. A formal commission of inquiry held by Justice Louis Harms, another South African judge, had dismissed such charges in November.

Justice Kriegler, who read his decision for two days in the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, accepted the truth of the articles published by the Afrikaans-language Vrye Weekblad on Nov. 17 and Dec. 1, 1989, and most of what The Weekly Mail reported at greater length in November 1989.

The judge ruled that the public's right to know outweighed the sanctity of an individual's reputation.

Appeal Is Planned

General Neethling, whose lawsuit had been supported by the South African Police, jumped up to announce that he would appeal Justice Kriegler's decision.

"It is the biggest victory that the press has seen in decades," Max du Preez, the editor of Vrye Weekblad, said in an interview later. "In the minds of South Africans, I think it re-establishes the credibility of the printed press."

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

"When they want to shut up a newspaper, they sue it for defamation," he said.

Vrye Weekblad and The Weekly Mail had published interviews with Dirk Coetzee, a retired security police captain, who said he headed an assassination squad that killed or terrorized opponents of apartheid.

Mr. Coetzee said General Neethling had supplied poison and "knockout drops" to eliminate members of the African National Congress, which was banned at the time.

Supplies of Poison

He said General Neethling had given him some poison from the police laboratory and had asked him to report on whether the poison worked. After it failed to kill two African National Congress members, Mr. Coetzee said, the general supplied a much heavier dose. The general denied that he had trafficked in poisons.

In a painstaking summary of the case, Justice Kriegler first seemed to favor General Neethling, whom he described as an "impressive policeman, a well-educated man of high caliber and a forensic scientist of great international renown."

By contrast, he called Mr. Coetzee "a man who had left behind his children and his aging parents in South Africa, a man who had turned his back on his own people and had joined the enemy overseas."

Mr. Coetzee, who fled the country when he gave Vrye Weekblad details of his involvement in assassination

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

The judge also said Mr. Coetzee had offered "a story of quasi-official, illegal acts by police officials which are practically unthinkable."

Many Details Documented

But, the judge acknowledged, many details of what Mr. Coetzee had reported about the activities of police assassination squads were subsequently documented officially in South Africa and Botswana.

And he called General Neethling's testimony evasive and misleading. He further concluded that Mr. Coetzee had met the general and even had his unlisted home telephone number.

Justice Kriegler said the two newspapers had served the public interest by reporting what they understood to be police abuses of authority.

"The articles were published against the background of a public debate about the misuse of power by public servants, and the public had the right to be informed about this," the judge said.

Harms Commission Report

On Nov. 13, Justice Harms, who was appointed by President F. W. de Klerk to look into reports of covert and illegal operations by the security forces, concluded that there was no evidence that police assassination squads existed and dismissed Mr. Coetzee as a "psychopath."

Mr. du Preez, who said the cost of Vrye Weekblad's legal defense had exceeded its annual budget, proposed that the activities of the police forensic laboratories should now be investigated.

Lawyers for Human Rights, a civil rights organization based in Pretoria, said in a statement today that Justice Kriegler's decision would "open up once again the can of worms surrounding the Harms Commission."

The South African Union of Journalists said in a statement that it hoped the case "will lead to the dawning of a new age in freeing the press from unwarranted restrictions."

THE WASHINGTON POST

A24 SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1991

S. African Right Backs Saddam

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 18—White South African extremists have sent Iraqi President Saddam Hussein a message expressing support for his side in the Persian Gulf War, denouncing the United States' "imperialistic" intervention and hoping that his "weapons be blessed."

The leader of the white Boerestaat Party, Robert van Tonder, sent the message to Saddam on Wednesday. In it, he compared U.S. actions in the gulf to British intervention here in 1899 to crush two short-lived republics set up by rebellious Afrikaners, or Boers, white settlers of Dutch and French Huguenot origin.

The support for Saddam by this country's die-hard white supremacists and separatists has provided a rare instance when groups such as the Boerestaat Party and hard-line black organizations such as the Pan Africanist Congress, usually deeply at odds with each other, have lined up on the same side of an issue. They not only sympathize with Saddam, but also hail his championing of the Palestinian cause.

"What you are experiencing in your country today, the

Boers experienced 92 years ago," van Tonder wrote. "A world power in that time [Britain] sent troops from as far afield as 10,000 kilometers to fight against us Boers and steal our gold deposits."

"Today the world power, the United States, is busy pouring in troops and weapons from as far away as 10,000 kilometers to rob your country of its oil wealth. The Boerestaat Party and the Boer people give their support and solidarity to your struggle against American robber-imperialism."

"May your weapons be blessed."

The leader of another extreme right-wing group, the Orde Boerevolk, echoed van Tonder's sentiments. Coenraad Vermaak compared the Palestinians to the Boers, saying they were voicing "the same demand made by the Boerevolk" in calling for their own homeland.

The slightly more moderate white opposition Conservative Party was highly critical of Pretoria's support for the United States in its effort to dislodge Iraqi troops from occupied Kuwait. The government even offered the United States use of South African facilities. The Conservatives urged South Africa to remain strictly neutral in the war.

Any similarity between Saddam's swallowing up a small neighboring state and the forced incorporation of the two Boer republics by the British into a larger South Africa was ignored in the right-wingers' comments.

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

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1991

Death squad row haunts de Klerk

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa

— A controversy over death squad killings of anti-apartheid activists is haunting President Frederik de Klerk and his plans for a new South Africa. Pro- and anti-government commentators



De Klerk

joined yesterday in demanding a fresh probe into charges of officially sanctioned political killings after a top policeman accused of death squad involvement lost a test-case libel suit Friday.

"The matter cannot be allowed to rest," Business Day newspaper said yesterday.

"There has been a huge cover-up and there is a great deal to be investigated," said Max Coleman of the anti-apartheid Human Rights Commission, which monitors human rights abuses.

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

homes, threats against their children and other harassment. Police have failed to solve almost all of these cases, many of which involve killings of members of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Rwanda Battles Rebels to Control District Capital

NAIROBI, Kenya, Jan. 23 (Reuters) — Government forces and rebels battled today for control of a district capital in Rwanda, and France sent troops to evacuate foreigners caught up in the fighting.

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

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

People close to the rebels said those who escaped from the prison included some top political prisoners.

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

About 100 French paratroopers, based in Kigali since the October invasion, have been sent to Ruhengeri to try to evacuate about 60 French nationals and up to 150 other foreigners, said France's Ambassador in Rwanda.

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

"It seems the army is sweeping through in a mopping-up operation," Mr. Martres said by telephone.

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

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

Rwandan radio said Government forces were fighting hard.

People close to rebels said one of the political prisoners freed in Ruhengeri was Maj. Theoniste Ntinzinde, jailed since 1980 for plotting a coup against President Juvenal Habyarimana.

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

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

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

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

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

THE SUN

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

Laundering the Wild Chimpanzee

By JANE GOODALL

Tucson, Arizona.

She was lying down, her face sweating in the heat, a rope tied around her waist, in the tourist market in Kinshasa, Zaire. When I made soft chimpanzee sounds she reached out, lethargically. Her mother had been shot, probably for meat. U.S. Ambassador William Hattop persuaded the government to confiscate her. I cut the rope myself.

Two weeks later, in the Canary Isles, I held, for a brief moment, another little orphan chimpanzee, this one dressed in baby clothes. Like his photographer master (who believed I wanted a holiday snapshot), he was heavily drugged. An addict. He is but one of the many abused infants smuggled into Spain from West Africa. What happens to them when they are too big for this work? We wish we knew.

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

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

In an effort to reduce trafficking in chimpanzees, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Department agreed, in March 1990, to classify them as endangered under the U.S. Endangered Species Act. This, along with attempts to enforce the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species, makes it more difficult to import and export chimpanzees.

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

These measures have forced international dealers to find ingenious ways of "laundering" the wild chimpanzees that pass through their hands. Infants taken from the wild may be shipped to countries that are not members of the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species — particularly in South America and Eastern Europe — or to countries where governments are finding it particularly difficult to enforce the law, such as Spain and Japan, then re-exported, with falsified papers, as "captive born." Recently, for example, two infants from the forests of Uganda (or perhaps they were smuggled from neighboring Zaire) were intercepted as they were passing, illegally, through Dubai — and returned to Uganda.

Even though endangered species may not legally be imported for commercial reasons by countries party to the convention, there is still much trafficking of chimpanzees for the entertainment industry. And even supposedly good zoos often send "surplus" chimpanzees, particularly males, to other parts of the world, to grim old-fashioned zoos — or to medical research labs.

The last big consignment of infant chimps to enter the United States illegally was for the testing of pharmaceutical products. That was in 1975, two years after the ratification of the convention. I have visited the survivors. They are adult now, weighing up to 150 pounds, still imprisoned in steel-barred cages 5 feet by 7 feet high. They can live for 50 years.

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

Dr. Goodall's most recent book, "Through a Window," documents her 30 years work in Africa.

S. African Militants Reject ANC Call

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

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 24—The Pan Africanist Congress, South Africa's hard-line black nationalist group, today formally rejected the call by the African National Congress for a conference already accepted by the white government to discuss a nonracial constitution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

Rwandan Rebels Driven Back

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

Anti-Government Riots in Mali

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

Potchefstroom Journal

As Apartheid Fades, Uprooted Try to Go Home

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa, Jan. 2 — The graves, neatly piled with red stones pulled from the stony veld, offer proof that the Barolong tribesmen lived at this place they called Matloang until 1971, when the Government evicted them in the name of apartheid.

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

"This is the land of our forefathers," said Ezekiel Kobedi, a 65-year-old retired plumber whose father and grandfather are buried under the mounds of red rock.

But this year, a clerical error by the Potchefstroom town clerk's office raised hopes when it granted permission for them to enter the area on Dec. 22, 1990, and leave on Dec. 26, 1991.

Taking the permit at face value, 80 Barolong people returned and put up a canvas shelter before some went back to their jobs in town. But Andre Viljoen, Potchefstroom's acting town clerk, attributed the 1991 date to a typing mistake, and on Wednesday the police arrested the 25 settlers remaining at the site for trespassing.

Within a few weeks, President F.W. de Klerk is expected to announce legislation to repeal the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which reserve 87 percent of South Africa's land for the white minority. But while blacks could then buy land previously reserved for whites, the legislation is unlikely to address the thornier problem of returning land confiscated from three and a half million people who were uprooted from their homes because they were black.

'Taken by Force'

"It's our birthplace," Ishmael Seroalo, a community patriarch, said shortly before the police took him and his companions off to jail. "This place was repossessed and was taken by force by apartheid."

Mr. Seroalo, who is 75 years old, recalled how on Aug. 1, 1971, 184 families were forcibly removed from the rolling pastures that the tribe had occupied for as long as its people could remember. Each family was paid compensation of 18.50 rand, now worth \$7.30.

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

The land, a dozen miles outside Potchefstroom, was designated by the Government for whites, yet it was never resettled and now local farmers use it to graze cattle.

As the Barolong people tell it, when the Boer "voortrekkers," the first white pioneers, arrived in the 1830's, the Tswana inhabitants let them settle along the Mooi River and helped them chase down cattle stolen by raiding Zulus. The grateful Boers agreed in turn not to interfere with the native inhabitants or their land. This agreement was later noted in an 1885 document that is now lost.

The Tswanas traditionally viewed land, like water and air, as gifts from God inappropriate for private ownership. But because they lacked any written title, the Government treated the Barolong community as squatters. Starting in 1907, it tried to push them off the land where they were born, fencing off their land and closing the local school. On Aug. 1, 1971, most families were removed to Ika-geng, a township outside Potchefstroom. The others were trucked west and dumped at Rooigrond in the nominally independent Tswana homeland of Bophuthatswana.

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

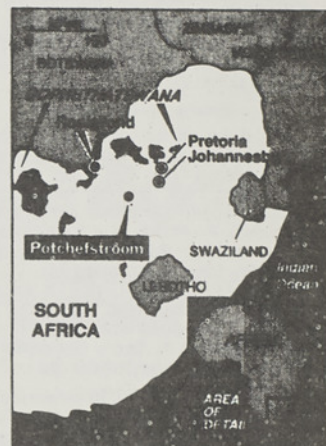
"We cannot stay in the township where we have to pay rent and the cost of living is high," Mr. Seroalo said. His friend Israel Motsamai, 73, said that at his age he could not afford the stress and expense of urban life.

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

Koos Kwena, 62, was laid off from a job putting up fences for a concern in Potchefstroom. He was born here, he said, and his father and mother were buried here.

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

James Sutherland, a Johannesburg lawyer who has taken on the case of the Barolong people, said the land was psychologically important to those who had been dispossessed.



The New York Times

"You'll find that people live and work in the town but they'll visit their ancestral homes," Mr. Sutherland said.

Others supporters of the Barolong people include the South African Council of Churches, which wants President de Klerk's repeal of the Land Acts to open the way for the return of those removed from their homes on racial grounds.

'Robbed of the Land'

"People were robbed of the land and it is coming clear that they must get justice," said Charles Ndabeni, a Council of Churches worker. Mr. Ndabeni, who is helping the Barolong people, said their plight was central to the repeal of the Land Acts because they were victims.

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

While the repeal of discriminatory land legislation will make more land available to blacks, the Barolong people could be penalized anew if the land they once occupied were to be sold to the highest bidder.

"We feel that because there are changes, we want those changes to find us on our land again," Mr. Seroalo said.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

"Rival Liberia Rebels..."

outsiders — especially the Nigerians — running their country."

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

Accused of Corruption

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

Last February the two leaders split, with Mr. Johnson accusing Mr. Taylor of corruption. Mr. Taylor, a former Cabinet member, had also been accused of corruption when he was serving in Samuel K. Doe's Government; President Doe asserted that he embezzled nearly \$1 million in Government funds.

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

Since the killing of President Doe last September, the civil war has become increasingly three-sided, with the two rebel factions fighting each other, and the West African peacekeeping trying to impose a truce.

ANGOLA

Government accepts plan to end civil war

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

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

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

From Wire Reports

Angola Accepts Plan..."

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

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

A Civil War Since '75

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

troops.

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

The Soviet Union has been supplying Angola with more than a thousand advisers and an estimated \$800 million in annual military aid. Washington has been backing Mr. Savimbi's group, known as Unita, with \$60 million in annual covert assistance. Some 350,000 people have died in the fighting.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The Third World: No Longer Fought Over, but Ignored

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

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

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

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

constraints and concern for the problems of Eastern Europe divert their attention from the food needs of millions of Africans."

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

There is a constant strand of idealism in American policy. It can emerge as enlightened generosity and also as a culturally limited and patronizing missionary urge. It is emerging now as an emotional response to the fact that a large and no doubt distressed community of European peoples is once again politically open and available to Americans. Millions of us have family roots in this rediscovered terrain, and many more millions feel drawn to the incredible drama of the making whole of the transatlantic family, which is what the end of the Cold War is finally about.

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

A certain kind of Third World nightmare threatens to become real. In it, these countries on the edge have lost even what residual benefit could be gained from being objects of contention between East and West. Now they stand to befall a fate worse in some aspects than being fought over—being ignored. Moscow is drawn away by a policy of retrenchment and by the fact of galloping internal disintegration. Washington loses interest by virtue of having won the Cold War.

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

Many Africans are dying through no fault of their own.

fallen off dismally, even as Westerners outdo themselves in shipping winter aid to the Soviet Union. Symbolically, the U.S. Peace Corps, trying to be with it, is cutting back on aid to former clients in the Third World and diverting those resources chiefly to Eastern Europe. Just the other day the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, surveying a panoply of misery in sub-Saharan Africa, explicitly appealed to would-be donors "not to let domestic economic

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991

THE SUN

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1991

IN THE
WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

**De Klerk proposes end
of segregated housing**

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

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

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

**Somali rebels
reject deal**

NAIROBI, Kenya — Rebels yesterday rejected Somalia's new premier as window dressing for a brutal regime they seek to topple.

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

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

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

"We are fighting against the system," the United Somali Congress spokesman said in a telephone interview from Rome. "If the system is still there, a new prime minister has no meaning for us."

From wire dispatches and staff reports

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

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