

# U.S. Hopeful On Peace Talks With South Africa

[AN] Nuclear relations and Namibian independence — two issues that have complicated the closer ties between South Africa and the United States that both government have said they want — are being tackled by U.S. diplomatic missions scheduled to depart within the next few weeks.

Since taking office nine months ago, the Reagan administration has shifted the tone and modified the substance of bilateral relations with the policy of "constructive engagement". And these changes have been warmly welcomed by the government of South Africa Prime Minister P.W. Botha.

But despite a shared geo-political outlook by the two governments, the issues of Namibia and nuclear cooperation with their significant international ramifications, have stood as obstacles to a more collaborative relationship.

A delegation from the five-nation Western Contact Group, which has been working on Namibian independence since 1977, is scheduled to begin a tour of key African capitals on October 26. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker and officials from Britain, Canada, France, and West Germany will be seeking agreement for Nigeria, the front-line states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), South Africa, the Namibian movement SWAPO and other Namibian parties on a set of constitutional principles.

After months of discussion, Contact Group members reached final agreement early in October on a set of principles that draws upon various United Nations documents — the Charter, Declaration of Human Rights, and social and economic rights proclamations — and the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution.

While agreement on the proposals is far from certain, Western diplomats express optimism that the delegation will return from Africa with the consensus necessary to proceed to the next steps in the negotiations.

"After we get agreement on the constitutional guarantees, we'll start talking about the tough things," one diplomat mused. He was referring to South Africa's objections to the UN election plan adopted by Security Council Resolution 435 in 1978.

The idea of constitutional guarantees was proposed by the Reagan administration to meet

South African demands for an assurance that "the outcome of this democratic process be democratic." With SWAPO heavily favored to win any internationally-supervised election, South Africa and anti-SWAPO Namibian parties have charged that the UN plan would allow SWAPO to take office and hold onto power indefinitely.

They have also objected to UN "partiality," saying the endorsement of SWAPO by the UN General Assembly gives that group unfair advantage in any election held under the world organization's auspices. So the U.S. and its allies have considered a multinational force under UN direction but clothed in national uniform, not the blue helmets traditionally worn by UN troops. The Western powers have also drawn up plans to sever all UN support for SWAPO as soon as agreement on an independence plan is reached.

These modifications have raised fears on the part of SWAPO and its African supporters (the movement has recognition from the Organization of African Unity). Since South Africa has vowed to oppose a SWAPO government in Namibia and since South Africa would continue as administrator of the territory during the election process and its personnel would far outnumber UN forces, the movement's leaders have asked Western negotiators what assurances SWAPO has that the vote would not be rigged against it.

Despite the difficulties, U.S. officials are hopeful that agreement is possible. They expect the entire independence process to take another eighteen months, unless additional serious problems are encountered.

Their confidence seems to stem from two assumptions: that SWAPO and its African supporters are too weak militarily, economically and politically to put up much of a struggle against the proposed changes in the UN plan; and that South Africa is gaining enough reassurance from the "constructive engagement" policy to agree to an independence approach that carries some political risk.

At an African American Institute conference in Williamsburg, Virginia, earlier this month, African leaders conveyed their dissatisfaction with this approach to Crocker, Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Elliott Abrams and the acting director of the



## Addresses Workers

ATLANTA—Former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young addresses campaign workers and the media after he led a seven candidate field in the Atlanta mayor's race, but fell short of a clear majority and faces an apparent runoff against Sidney Marcus, a white, liberal legislator. UPI Photo

Office of Southern African Affairs, Dan Simpson.

In response, administration officials said that success over time will prove them right. State Department aides believe this same cooperative approach may be yielding results in the nuclear negotiations as well.

Since the Ford administration suspended the shipments of enriched uranium to South Africa in 1975, American nuclear policy has been in limbo. But in August, the two governments reached an agreement on a relatively minor nuclear-related issue that officials believe could lead to a breakthrough on more major problem areas.

In 1974, the two countries agreed in a contract that South Africa would sell a quantity of raw uranium to the U.S. atomic energy facility at Oak Ridge, where it would be enriched, shipped to France for fabrication into fuel rods, and re-sold to South Africa for the Koeberg nuclear power plant. But subsequently, the U.S. barred the release of nuclear materials destined for countries (like South Africa) that have not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

The terms of the 1974 contract require South Africa to make delivery to Oak Ridge even though the enriched uranium is not returning to South Africa. (South Africa can, however, sell the material to a third party.) After originally balking, Pretoria did agree to comply and made delivery on August 30.

With these negotiations as precedent, and against a backdrop of more cordial bilateral ties, the State Department is preparing to send a team of diplomats and experts to Valindaba, South Africa's high-security pilot enrichment

plant. The U.S. wants Pretoria to agree to "full scope safeguards" for the plant, as required by the NPT and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act passed by Congress in 1978. U.S. and South African officials believe they can agree upon a plan for regular inspection of the plant's perimeter, which can satisfy both the safeguard requirements and South Africa's demands for continued confidentiality of its enrichment process.

Valindaba, which began production in 1975, has a special significance — although small, it is the only enrichment facility operating in an officially non-nuclear nation. (The other enrichment plants are in the U.S., USSR, and Western Europe.) While not capable of producing enough fuel for the Koeberg reactors, it can produce enriched uranium for South Africa's medical and scientific research, and weapons grade fuel as well.

South Africa's rationale for refusing to sign the NPT was set forth in a secret memorandum that was leaked along with State Department Africa policy documents in May. "Threatened by the USSR and its associates and by certain African countries with Soviet support and encouragement," the document stated, "South Africa cannot in the interest of its own security sign the NPT and set the minds of its would-be attackers at rest."

State Department officials stress that in the May talks and subsequent bilateral discussions, the U.S. has resisted South African pressure for relaxing restrictions on nuclear exports, and has maintained an insistence on full scope safeguards. They say that President Francois Mitterand's Socialist government in

France is considering approval of fuel exports for Koeberg, "while we hang tough on the issue."

But officials confirm that the entire U.S. non-proliferation policy is under review.

Among the statutory measures being considered by the administration is a request to Congress to allow selected nuclear exports even if the recipient nations refuse to allow international inspection of nuclear installations or become producers of atomic weapons.

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Speaking on behalf of the 18 members Caucus, Chairman Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) said that the "new Haitian policy coupled with the alarming U.S. tilt toward the racist government in South Africa and our country's decision to eliminate the extended voluntary departure program for Ethiopian nationals are all indicative of this administration's total disregard for the human rights of black refugees."

Fauntroy said the U.S. has developed a dual

refugee policy which has different standards for refugees fleeing black nations compared with refugees from the Soviet Union and East European Communist countries.

"Interdiction is enforcing Haitian laws which makes it a crime to leave Haiti without a visa from the government. The Haitian law is identical to the exit requirements in the Soviet Union. But the U.S. has applied a different standard in dealing with the Haitian refugees," Fauntroy said. "Haiti can no longer claim a proud heritage as the world's first black republic because of its corrupt and repressive leadership."

Fauntroy said he would urge the Caucus to take the following steps in response "to the continuing bias in our country's refugee policy."

- 1) Commission an independent legal analysis of the legal remedies to halt interdiction both domestically and internationally.
- 2) Urge Congress to hold hearings on the human rights impact of the interdiction policy.
- 3) Withdraw support of human rights initiatives by Congressional colleagues who do not support Caucus human rights programs.
- 4) Reassess Caucus support for the reauthorization of the Refugee Act in 1982.

The Caucus also said the Haitian refugee phenomenon results from political, social and economic pressures and that the U.S. should develop a foreign policy to influence Haiti toward adopting political and economic reform.

# CBC Stunned By State Department Actions On Sadat

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, noting close ties with slain Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, this week denounced the Administration and the State Department for failing to include a CBC representative in the official U.S. Delegation to his funeral.

On Thursday, after learning that no black government representative was scheduled to go, the CBC contacted the State Department to inquire about American Embassy arrangements for a visiting congressman who might attend the ceremonies unofficially. The CBC was told that no embassy staff would be available to provide security, housing or diplomatic amenities to anyone not a part of the delegation.

Congressman William "Bill" Gray (D-PA), vice chairman of the CBC and chair of the Foreign Affairs Task Force, called that decision blatantly exclusionary. "I have never heard of such a breach of protocol before," he said. "It is wholly improper for any branch of 'state' to refuse aid to a visiting congressman or government official."

Informed sources within the House leadership verified that the name of a Caucus representative had been submitted to the White House on Tuesday, when it was thought that there would be a congressional delegation going to Cairo.

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), chairman of the Caucus, said, "Mr. Sadat met with the CBC during each visit to the U.S. The bond of mutual cooperation and understanding was strong." He recalled that during the last Sadat visit on August 8, 1981, the Egyptian leader personally invited the Caucus to come to Egypt to see first hand the country and its people. "Quite frankly", Congressman Fauntroy said, "it's incredible that both our requests to be represented on the delegation and for embassy assistance would be denied. The decisions were shortsighted and have serious repercussions."

"There appears to be a continuing failure to utilize the talents and resources of black America in the development of foreign policy and the representatives of America generally and the Third World specifically."

Congressman Gray and Fauntroy stated, "President Sadat understood the importance of the CBC and its role in world affairs." Despite the Reagan Administration and Justice Department "snub" of the CBC request, the Caucus in a telegram to the Egyptian Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal, vowed "a continuing dialogue" around issues of mutual concern.

In a letter to Vice President Hosni Mubarak, the Caucus reaffirmed its commitment to work with the new Egyptian leadership toward the goals of peace and understanding in the Middle East. Further, it sought to meet with the new Egyptian head of state on his scheduled visit to this country in January, 1982.

## Caucus Charges Reagan With Racial Bias

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