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ANC chief Tambo returns to S. Africa after 30 years

By Peter Younghusband THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Oliver Tambo, the African National Congress president who fled South Africa 30 years ago, returned home to a tumultuous welcome yesterday.

Riot police battled to control a wildly cheering crowd of thousands who thronged to Johannesburg's Jan Smuts International Airport to welcome the 73-year-old black leader.

Mr. Tambo plans a formal address today at the opening the ANC's first conference inside South Africa since a ban on the organization was lifted nearly a year ago.

Looking frail and tired, Mr. Tambo made a brief appearance on the airport balcony, raised his fist in salute but did not speak. He is still recuperating from a stroke last year that affected his speech and left his right side partially paralyzed.

Accompanied by his wife, Adelaide, a clearly emotional Mr. Tambo managed a smile beneath his dark glasses.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, led the official party, including several ambassadors, that greeted Mr. Tambo on the tarmac when he stepped down from the private jet that brought him from Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

On the balcony, Mr. Mandela — who in 1952 opened South Africa's first black legal partnership with Mr. Tambo — declared, "We all welcome you with open arms as one of the precious leaders of Africa."

ANC marshals assisted riot police in controlling the crowd, which was kept waiting for two hours by a delay in Mr. Tambo's flight. At least 20 people were treated for bites from police dogs and there was a moment of panic when someone threw a firecracker in the middle of the throng.

But jubilation at the homecoming of Mr. Tambo, whose very name became a symbol of armed resistance

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THE NEW YORK TIMES DECEMBER 13, 1990

SUPERPOWERS TRY FOR ANGOLA PEACE

In Washington, Shevardnadze and Baker See Rebel and Government Officials

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12 — In a coordinated push to end the Angolan civil war, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union today held separate meetings with top officials of the Angolan Government and

Jonas Savimbi, the guerrilla leader.
A senior State Department official said that Mr. Shevardnadze and Mr. Baker did not expect to conclude any agreements on Angola this week, but

that they were trying to pin down the final negotiating positions of the two sides in preparation for a potentially decisive sixth round of talks scheduled for next month in Portugal.

The flurry of diplomatic activity, which will continue through Thursday, is a sign of the efforts Washington and Moscow are making to end regional conflicts that irritated their own relations through the 1970's and 1980's. The superpowers are also coordinating attempts to settle conflicts between their clients in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Offer to Police Cease-Fire

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 then their offer to help police a potential cease-fire as part of an international monitoring force.

The Soviet Union has been supplying Angola with 1,100 advisers and \$800 million in annual military aid. Washington has been backing Mr. \$40 million group, known as Unita, with \$60 million in annual covert assistance. Some 350,000 people have died in the fighting.

"We're asking what are the major differences that remain and see if we can make suggestions so they can wrap it up," the State Department official said. "The devil is in the details when you are trying to end a war."

The official characterized Mr. She-

The official characterized Mr. Shevardnadze's 45-minute meeting with Mr. Savimbi at the Soviet Embassy as "a breakthrough," adding, "the Soviet Union has never before recognized Savimbi as a legitimate political leader."

Discarding Marxism-Leninism

Almost simultaneously, Mr. Baker met with Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van Dunem of Angola at the State Department. At their meeting, Mr. Van Dunem reported the results of last week's party congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which pledged to install a multiparty political system and discard Marxism-Leninism in favor of democratic socialism as its official ideology.

A State Department official said Mr. Baker urged that Luanda, the capital, guarantee a role for Unita in the political process, a point Administration officials said Mr. Shevardnadze symboli-

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Fresh Hope For Africa

Successful development at the grass roots

By Pierre Pradervand

AASTRICHT Conference on Africa: averting a nightmare,' cries out the title of a recent population newsletter. Gloom and doom seem to have become almost the norm when people start speaking about sub-Saharan Africa. Yet such a pessimism is dangerously one-sided. New leadership is springing up, new political freedoms are being won, and above all a startling mobilization is taking place at the grass roots, mainly in rural areas.

For anyone familiar with the grass roots of Africa for the past 15-20 years, this evolution is stunning. Isolated peasant farmers who once felt like helpless victims of circumstances have set up well-organized, increasingly efficient organizations.

The Naam movement of Burkina-Faso is an example. This organization has over 200,000 members in more than 4,000 villages fighting successfully against desertification. They are setting up peasant social security and credit and banking systems, organizing sophisticated barter exchanges on an international scale, and undertaking family planning education in remote villages

This grass-roots mobilization is not only happening in rural areas, or only in Africa. As Alan Durning of the Washington, D.C.based Worldwatch Institute illustrated in his pioneering study "Action at the Grassroots: Fighting Poverty and Environ-mental Decline," this empowerment is happening worldwide, from the shanty towns of Lima to the fishermen of Kerala, India. Though it is often still fragile, it is possibly the most hopeful sign on the world development scene.

Grass-roots empowerment points to the main failure of what has been called "de-

velopment" over the past 30 years - the total lack of grass-roots participation. "Development" has been done to people, for people, despite and against people, and especially without them.

Authentic empowerment, or even meaningful partnership, is impossible where there is financial dependency on donors - be they so-called Northern NGOs (nongovernmental voluntary organizations), Western governments, or international institutions.

This dependency expresses the "charity" orientation of most aid coming from the voluntary sector in the North. It is imperative to replace traditional forms of assistance with innovative schemes for financing grass-roots development schemes which empower our partners in the South to become financially independent. Such approaches already exist and are beginning to function well. Thanks to them, people's organizations are setting up businesses with the aim of making a profit - and they're making one!

For three decades, thousands of private voluntary organizations in the North have solicited funds from the public, with the promise that these donations would create "development." Yet never in the history of humanity have so many people suffered from hunger (35,000 die each day as the result of chronic undernourishment). Never have so many been unemployed, homeless, illiterate. Children eat newspaper instead of bread, prostitute themselves for 6 cents in Bangkok brothels, and I have met women who walk daily 24 miles for water. Between 700 million and I billion people live in conditions of poverty that defy any definition of human decency. Clearly, "charity" has not worked in terms of alleviating massive poverty, even if it has helped millions on an individual basis.

economic structures are fundamentally

sessed, building a well here, a maternity ward there, handing out a few pills and even vaccinating millions of children will not fundamentally alter the picture. The structural injustice will continue. Fundamental changes in world economic policies are needed, and they will come only through the pressure of public opinion.

In November I attended the general assembly of Africa's largest peasant farmer NGO, the so-called "6-S Association." In a startling move the representatives of 400,000 third-world peasant farmers gave their organization a new goal: the education of the public in the North! A growing number of voices in the South are pressing their NGO partners in the North to devote more and more of their time, effort, and money to educating their own public. NGOs from the North, they say, should concentrate in the South on institution building and training. Their top priority should be to make themselves useless as soon as possible. After all, isn't this what we have been preaching for 30 years - selfhelp for the poor?

In the coming five to 10 years, private voluntary agencies in the North should be spending at least 50 percent of their income for massive educational campaigns at home. They need to set deadlines for handing over the totality of their projects to their partners in the South - the indigenous NGOs and especially the people's organizations. Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "I know of no safer depository of the ultimate powers of the society than the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.'

Do we believe that?

Why? Because in a world where the Pierre Pradervand is author of "Listening to economic structures are fundamentally Africa - Developing Africa from the Grass weighted against the poor and dispos- Roots" (Praeger, N.Y., 1990).

Sudan's Harvest

Even Poorer Than Expected

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, Dec. 10 - The official-assessment on grain supplies in - the drought-ridden Sudan by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations shows that the harvest new being collected is even poorer than the early calculations of most Western . donors

,The Food and Agriculture Organiza-, - tion told the ambassadors of the Western nations in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, on Sunday that the Sudan had a shortage of 1.2 million tons of grain. In some areas of the country's north, which is controlled by the Islamic fun-

damentalist junta of Lieut. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir, there was no harvest at all, the report said.

The United States has been predicting that the grain shortage would be one million tons, putting eight million to nine million people at risk of hunger.

The official figure from the United

Nations is important because the Khartoum Government has been insisting that it would not make an appeal for food until the United Nations report was completed.

But even now and with a grimmer picture than expected, officials of the United Nations said the Sudanese leadership, which has become militantly

anti-Western, was unwilling to ask for aid.

The British Ambassador in Khartoum, Allan Ramsey, visited General Bashir today and was told by the President that the Government would deal with the situation in "our own way." United Nations official here said. A rough estimate of covering the cost of purchasing the grain, transporting it and then trucking it inside the country is \$500 million, the official said.

Western donors, unhappy with the Sudan over its sympathetic attitude to Iraq, its human rights violations and its bombing of civilian targets in the southern part of the country, have said

they would provide food but only if they can be assured that it will get to the people in need.

So far, the United States, traditionally the largest food donor to the Sudan, has said it will provide 100,000 tons for humanitarian relief on such conditions. But where the rest of the grain will come from is unclear.

With a 1.2 million-ton grain shortage, the Sudan would need about 500,000 tons in aid for people unable to afford to buy food, Vincent O'Reilly, the director of the United Nations Operation Life-line Sudan said in Nairobi . The re-maining 700,000 tons would be needed for the commercial markets, but the Khartoum Government is bankrupt.

"It is a very, very bleak situation to say the least," Mr. O'Reilly said.
Adding to the hopeless economic standing of the Government, Western

food experts doubt the capacity of the Sudan, where roads are often nonexistent and trucks in poor repair, to trans-port and store and distribute 1.2 million tons of imported grain.

Big Need by May Seen

The food will start to be really needed by April and May, with June and July the critical months, the experts said. The Port of Sudan can unload only 150,000 tons of grain a month, and by the middle of next year the needs will be about 250,000 tons a month, officals at the World Food Program said.

Further complicating the dire needs in the Sudan are the food shortages in neighboring Ethiopia, which is experiencing its second year of drought.

The Port of Sudan is the unloading place for the grain that is donated by Western governments to the rebels in the northern Ethiopian province of Eritrea, the worst drought area in Ethiopia. Ethiopia, which has a more and efficient professional transportation system than the Sudan, has requested more than 800,000 tons in international

aid for next year.
But United Nations officials are worried that with such critical shortages in the Sudan, the Sudanese will either hi-jack grain intended for Ethiopia or give priority to the grain intended for the Sudan.

Unrest Fills Somalia's Capital as Rebel Groups Press Drive to City

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, Dec. 11 several years of increasingly brutal civil war in Somalia, the situation has taken a sharp turn, with near anarchy in Mogadishu, the capital, and rebel groups on the outskirts pressing in on the city, diplomats and people who have just fled the country say.

The United Nations has ordered the

evacuation of all its personnel after the shooting in the head of a United Na-tions official, and the United States has advised all dependents and nonessential personnel to leave.

Fairly typical of the violence was an incident at the Mogadishu airport over the weekend when the airport's chief of security apparently shot into a crowd, killing four people, a diplomat said. Armaments from hand grenades to rifles are so common that it is not unusual to see a car in Mogadishu being shot at by a bystander and the driver shooting back, said an American resident of four years who left over the weekend.

Presidential Guard Feared

"This is Somalia's version of the American Wild West" was how residents in Mogadishu were referring to the violence, the American said. The most feared group was the presidential guard, known as the Red Hats, after

their crimson fringed berets, and who were recruited from the Marehan clan of President Mohamed Siad Barre.

Until recently one of Washington's well-financed cold war allies in Africa, the Government of President Siad Barre, an octagenarian who grabbed power in a 1969 coup, is now "unable to function," a State Department official said.

Until two years ago, the civil war in Somalia was basically a clash between the northern Isaak clan, who form the Somali National Movement, and the southern based government. The human rights group, Africa Watch estimates 50,000 people died in the north-

ern war, most of them civilians killed by Government bombs, artillery shells and execution squads. In 1988, the Somali Army virtually destroyed the northern city of Hargeisa.

Since the 1988 fighting in which the national movement won control over much of the north, the disintegrating authority of the Siad Barre Government allowed clans in the center of the country, in particular the Hawiye, to grow in armed strength. The Hawiye form the backbone of the United Somali Congress, who 10 days ago were about 30 miles northeast of the capital. according to a correspondent of Agence France Presse.

Black Nationalist Opposition Emerges

By David B. Ottaway Washington Post Foreign Service

MAPUTO, Mozambique—The birth of multi-party democracy here is bringing into the open a black nationalist opposition that could pose a serious threat to the unity of the ruling party and upset the fragile racial equilibrium of Mozambican society, in the view of Mozambican and Western analysts here.

The hottest debate in the National Assembly in October over the new constitution centered on the question of whether whites, "mulattoes"—people of mixed parentage—and Indians should be considered "native" Mozambicans.

In addition, the first new party to emerge here, the Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (Palmo), is running on a strong black nationalist platform critical of the role played here by the estimated 200,000 non-blacks.

"The native Mozambican has no personality because he has neither political nor economic independence," Palmo's political platform says. "With the economy in the hands of Asians, Europeans and mulattoes, it is impossible to talk of independence."

The televised debate saw some of the most senior officials of the ruling party, Frelimo, pitted against each other in heated argument. Such black nationalists as Transport and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza, Security Minister Mariano Matsimha and Army Chief of Staff Gen. Antonio Hama Thai fought for a restrictive definition of Mozambican nationality. They wanted a requirement of two generations of Mozambican-born forebears for a person to be able to claim to be a native Mozambican.

President Joaquim Chissano and his supporters prevailed, however, and the principle that a person need only have had a father or mother born in Mozambique to qualify as a native was adopted.

But the heat of the debate shook many whites and mulattoes, who now fear there will be a campaign by up-and-coming black nationalists to displace them from the government, party and economy.

A number of whites and mulattoes already are abandoning politics to take advantage of Frelimo's new free-enterprise policy and become private businessmen. But they are unlikely to escape the verbal wrath of Palmo, which is accusing them of having a stranglehold on the economy as well.

"The group with privileges in colonial times is the same as those who have the privileges today," complained Palmo leader Martins Luis Bilal in an interview.

Mozambique's non-blacks, Bilal said, "don't fight for the unity of all Mozambicans. They fight to maintain the privileges they had in colonial times."

"We're not asking the whites to leave," Bilal said. "We're trying to educate them to feel Mozambican and contribute to the country."

Palmo's political platform sharply criticizes whites, mulattoes and Indians, who have been largely responsible for keeping the government and the Frelimo Party functioning since independence because of their Portuguese-provided education and skills. The vast majority of Mozambican blacks were given little education or training in colonial times.

One platform plank is that Asians "and other non-native Mozambicans" be barred from engaging in all commercial activity outside urban areas, an idea said to be particularly popular with many army veterans interested in going into business and fearful of the competition from Indian and mulatto traders.

Palmo also criticizes the "invasion" of Mozambique by white foreign technical assistants—cooperantes—whom it accuses of corrupting the Mozambican economy with their dollars and Western mores and treating the country like "a new American Far West."

Palmo blames the whites and mulattoes for the imposition of a foreign ideology, Marxism-Leninism, on the country immediately after independence and it also is exploiting fears that former Portuguese residents will return and try to take back their farms, businesses and homes

While Palmo seems to have seized upon the issue of black nationalism to promote his party's popularity, the guerrilla opposition Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) is known to share the views, as do many army officers and apparently even a significant minority in Frelimo's leadership.

Racial conflict periodically has

erupted in Frelimo since its foundation 28 years ago. But its early leaders, Eduardo Mondlane and then Samora Machel, held it in check and even promoted a nonracial policy that was widely admired abroad.

Mondlane, who was killed by a letter bomb in 1969, married a white American and Machel, Mozambique's first independent president, surrounded himself with nonblack ministers and aides. Four of Frelimo's nine Politburo members under Machel were whites or mulattoes as well.

"It was hard even to raise the issue with Machel," remarked one British analyst who was close to the late leader.

Pressed by its all-black officer corps, Frelimo adopted a policy immediately after independence in 1975 of excluding all non-blacks from the army. But this has now led to charges by Palmo that whites and mulattoes are unpatriotic and refusing to fight against Renamo.

"We are in a war situation but we don't find a single white, colored or Indian in the war," said Bilal. "They pay bribes to stay out of the war."

After Machel's death in a plane crash in 1986, Chissano set about to "blacken" his cabinet, government and the party. Today, there are only three non-blacks on Frelimo's 12-person Politburo and his cabinet is almost all black.

Whether black resentment of the white and mulatto elite is wide-spread enough to become the main basis for a successful political party remains unclear. This elite lives mostly in the cities, especially Maputo, and the depth of the appeal of black nationalism to the country's mostly peasant population remains unknown.

Palmo is also making a major issue over the fact that the northern and central provinces of the country are underrepresented in the government.

Some Mozambican and outside analysts say the problem of regionalism may prove more divisive in the coming elections than that of black nationalism. This is because Chissano has already taken action to "blacken" significantly his government and Frelimo's leadership but still has done relatively little to give northerners more representation.

LIBYA DENOUNCES

U.S. Accused of Flying Foes of Qaddafi Out of Country Against Their Will

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

NDJAMENA, Chad, Dec. 8 - Libya accused the United States today of airlifting hundreds of Libyans out of Chad against their will, and called for an emergency meeting of the United Na-tions Security Council to discuss what it described as an "act of piracy."

The accusation came after reports

from here that the United States has begun evacuating several hundred Libyan dissidents who had sought to overthrow the government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

The American Ambassador to Chad, Richard Bogosian, cofirmed reports today that a number of Libyans had asked for American assistance in leaving Chad, and were being evacuated to Nigeria and other countries. But he de-clined to give the exact number of Libyans involved in the operation and would not comment on charges that they were being forcibly evacuated.

Other Western diplomats estimated, however, that altogether about 500 Libyans would be evacuated.

Training by U.S. Advisers

American officials also would not comment today on reports that the Libyans had been trained by United States military instructors in camps near Ndjamena, the Chadian capital.

But according to diplomats and others stationed here, the Libyan refugees were originally prisoners captured by Chad during the Libyan intervention in Chad in the mid-1980's. They later turned against their country and were being trained by American military advisers as an opposition commando force, the diplomats said.

The diplomat said the United States created the dissident force because it hoped it would thwart Libya's designs for a merger with Chad that would have provided Colonel Qaddafi with a base for wider African opportunities.

But when the Government of President Hissen Habré fell last week to rebel forces backed by the Libyan leader, the dissidents, fearful of being sent back to Libya, sought American help in finding refuge, the diplomats said.

Chadian and Western diplomats said the state of the Libyan prisoners was a key'topic in talks held between the new Chadian President, Gen. Idris Deby, and a Libyan delegation that arrived here early this week from Tripoli. A Western diplomat familiar with those discussions said that Libyans had pressed General Deby to return the prisoners and had been angered by his decision to allow them to leave.

If was a stunning rebuff for Colonel Qaddafi, who had anxiously sought close ties with General Deby and had given the rebels significant support in their efforts to overthrow Mr. Habré.

Libya was the first nation to recog-nize the new Chadian Government.

Over the last two days, at least 200 Luyans have been evacuated by United States Air Force C-141 transport planes, and several hundred more are expected to be flown out over the weekend. Today, the French military base where the Libyans are believed to the several hundred may be where the Libyans are believed to have been housed, and the main airport here, were barred to reporters who sought to enter the area.

In a statement released from the Foreign Ministry in Tripoli, Libya ac-cused the United States of wanting to use the captured soldiers as hostages and described the evacuation as a breach of international law and human rights. Gheith Saif-Annaser, Libya's Ambassador to Chad, told reporters to-day that the United States had not asked Libya's permission to evacuate its citizens, consequently "what has

happened is piracy."
In a communique broadcast on the official Libyan radio, authorities there said 17 Libyan prisoners of war had been executed for disobeying an Amer-ican order to leave Chad. The report could not be independently confirmed.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Tuesday, December 11, 1990

Few Nigerians Vote in Multiparty Elections

IGERIA'S first contested local elections in seven years were held peacefully Saturday, but initial reports indicated a very low turnout.

The elections, described by the government-owned New Nigerian newspaper as "a referendum on democracy," were contested by two government-created parties the left-of-center Social Democratic Party and the conservative National Republican Convention.

The parties are meant to represent a break with old regional rivalries. Nigeria has been under military rule for 20 of the 30 years

since independence from Britain - years marred by ethnic and religious conflict, corruption, electoral fraud, and violence.

A vice president in the military government, Augustus Aikhomu, said the orderly election vindicated the government's approach. But the News Agency of Nigeria quoted him as saying that it was now necessary to address the issue of apathy among the country's 100 million people.

Under the planned transition to democracy, Nigerians will vote next year in state governorship elections, followed by presidential and national assembly polls in

The two parties have failed to generate much enthusiasm for their almost-identical manifestos, drafted for them by the armed forces' Ruling Council. Allegations of vote rigging have attracted more attention than policy issues.

"This election is a litmus test of how well they have been able to suppress the influence of the old brigade and establish their own political bases," said the Democrat newspaper.

One voter said "If there is apathy, it's because people have been made aware of what the robber politicians are up to.

- Reuters

ANC Shifts Tactics to Force New Concessions

Mass protests aim to make Pretoria accept an interim government

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

____JOHANNESBURG _____

HE African National Congress, heeding rank-andfile pressure, has launched a propaganda offensive with a successful round of protest marches aimed at shifting the government's stance in interracial negotiations.

'The marches signal the beginning of a process which could culminate in further concessions," said political analyst Khehla Shubane of the Independent Center for Policy Studies. The focus for the ANC now is to achieve as much control of the negotiation process as the government has already achieved.'

The marches appear to be part of a broader ANC strategy to pressure Pretoria to accept an interim government that would rule while a new constitution was being formulated by an elected constituent assembly. Pretoria rejects the idea of both concepts, but is prepared to discuss "transitional mechanisms."

Some ANC officials have argued that a combination of public protest, labor strikes, and unrest could threaten the economy, thus forcing further concessions.

New sanctions plan

The ANC also appears to be shifting its strategy on economic sanctions. An ANC discussion paper released last week suggests that the ANC should appeal to the international community to delay the lifting of sanctions for two to three months to help escalate pressure.

Frederik de Klerk ahead of his speech to the opening of Parliament at the end of January.

Mr. De Klerk is expected to New ANC demands spell out the segregation and the reservation of prime land for whites and set a timetable for phasing out race classification.

Once De Klerk has removed the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the ANC could bolster its position by declaring that it sees the process of change as irreversible and approving the lifting of international trade sanctions.

Pretoria granted permission for the marches Thursday, although it had earlier warned that protest marches were contrary to the spirit of the ANC's Aug. 6 suspension of "the armed struggle and related matters."

Mandela's stance

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, adopting a tougher tone, warned that if the government did not grant permission for the marches, they would go ahead anyway and he called for an escalation of "mass action." His call was made at the funeral of an activist shot by police in a protest march two weeks ago.

"I think the government wanted to avoid a major confrontation," says Mr. Shubane. "With Mandela giving his personal blessing, they had little option."

The marches, the first organized by ANC leaders inside the country, drew more than 30,000 people in Johannesburg and Pretoria, where Communist Party Chief Joe Slovo and Winnie Mandela, the ANC leader's controversial wife, led the procession.

In downtown Johannesburg, white office workers leaned from The ANC could thereby exert overhead windows and balconies

maximum pressure on President watching columns of ANC supporters, 40 abreast, marching to the orders of ANC marshals.

A four-page memorandum, detailing ANC demands, was presented at police headquarters in Johannesburg, and at the Union Buildings, seat of administrative government in Pretoria.

The memorandum demanded that the government speed up the release of political prisoners, approve the indemnity of ANC exiles, suspend political trials, scrap security laws, and end police harassment.

The document warned that whatever trust De Klerk enjoyed had been lost in the last few months and that ANC members were beginning to doubt the value of negotiations.

"Your motives are becoming suspect and our people are questioning your sincerity," the ANC statement told De Klerk.

There is a growing and very palpable frustration within the ANC over the way the violence has been handled," says Shubane. Township violence claimed another 80 lives last week. "Unless something drastic is done to end the violence, the ANC could face irresistible pressure to disengage

from dialogue," he says. Hardening ANC attitudes were reflected by the warm reception protesters gave "Mac" Maharaj, the leader of the ANC underground who was recently freed on bail after four months of detention. "We want a solution not just behind closed doors - but where the people have a say," said Mr. Maharaj, who is facing terrorism charges for allegedly planning an insurrection should the negotiations fail.

Guns silenced in Liberia, but future remains unsettled

By Gus Constantine
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The shooting is virtually over, but little else is resolved in Liberia's civil war, a yearlong nightmare filled with grisly images of civilian corpses and a mutilated President Samuel Doe pleading tearfully for his life.

Close observers of West Africa say the prospects are strong for further talks before Christmas. But the outline of a settlement is far from clear.

"They've got a cease-fire and little else for now," a

NEWS ANALYSIS

else for now," a source in Washington said this week.

Charles Taylor, the controversial leader of the major rebel force, agreed just over a week ago in Mali to halt the fighting that has taken more than 10,000 lives.

So did representatives of rival rebel leader Prince Johnson and those who represented the remaining military forces of the defeated Doe government. The cease-fire appeared to be holding, and the first Liberian refugees were on their way home yesterday.

Mr. Taylor, who reportedly controls over 90 percent of the country, also accepted the idea of an interim government to prepare for internationally supervised elections. But he stopped short of accepting an interim government headed by Amos Sawyer, which was created with the backing of neighboring countries in September.

Mr. Taylor's concessions, nevertheless, were the biggest steps taken so far toward a peaceful solution to the conflict. Until his decision to travel to Mali, he had rejected numerous proposals for an all-parties meeting.

"Taylor's act is significant. He now has to be considered part of the solution," the Washington source

Mr. Taylor, in the short time he has



Liberians flee fighting in Monrovia last summer, during the civil war.

held the West African spotlight, has been the consummate outsider.

To one of his critics, he is "interested most in his own ascension to power." But to others, he is a man with a disguised agenda, based on close ties with radical states, which could work to the disadvantage of Western interests in the region.

The rebel chief launched the civil war against the Doe regime in December 1989, when he crossed into eastern Liberia's Nimba County from the Ivory Coast.

His National Patriotic Front of Liberia quickly capitalized on resentment against Mr. Doe, who himself came to power in a 1980 mutiny against an entrenched aristocracy descended from the former American slaves who founded the country more than a century ago.

Once in power, Mr. Doe dispensed benefits mostly to his numerically minor Krahn tribe, creating bitterness among other tribal groups, including the Mano and Gio, whom Mr. Taylor rallied to his cause.

The leader of the anti-Doe rebellion also harbored personal grudges against Mr. Doe, whom he had served. He had been accused by the Doe government of embezzlement and was jailed in the United States before he escaped to West Africa.

Mr. Taylor's rapid military gains alarmed the region's English-speaking states, who were concerned about his suspected links with radical Libya and with two French-speaking neighbors, Burkina Faso, a Libyan ally, and Ivory Coast

Led by Nigeria, these Englishspeaking states organized a peacekeeping force — in reality a "stop Taylor" movement — under the umbrella of ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States. Five nations, four of them former British colonies, have contributed forces.

In a recent tape-recorded conversation to an associate in the United States, Mr. Taylor accused the peacekeeping force of being an "occupation and invading force that has exacerbated the war and killed thousands of innocent civilians."

In the past week, however, the West African peacekeepers appear to have shifted their approach, turning their guns for the first time on the forces of Prince Johnson. The crackdown allowed relief workers to move ahead on the distribution of food to starving people in the capital.

Last summer, Mr. Johnson, a onetime Taylor follower, appeared seemingly out of nowhere on the Monrovia waterfront to halt Mr. Taylor's drive to power. Then, in September, he lured Mr. Doe to a meeting, where the president was seized and put to death.

Waiting in the wings for a share of power is the interim government backed by ECOWAS. In theory, it commands the peacekeepers, but for the most part it has commanded little more than office space in the capital of Gambia, whose aging president, Sir Dawda Jawara, is the chairman of ECOWAS.

King of the Zulus Sets Out to Unite His People

By Roger Thurow

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ISANDLWANA, South Africa - The green wind-swept hills are quiet now, befitting a graveyard. The silence is broken only when an infrequent bus rumbles up the gravel road and disgorges a swarm of - tourists, who reverently move from monu-

ment to monument.

But the echoes of Isandiwana - the whoops of war and the groans of deathare roaring across South Africa these days. It was here, on Jan. 22, 1879, where the Zulus defeated, at least for one day, the mighty British army. And it is here, now, where Goodwill Zwelithini Ka Bhekuzulu, the present king of the Zulus, returns in spirit to inspire and rally his seven million subjects in the face of the country's di-

visive political violence.
"When we faced the British army around the foothills of Isandlwana, we were not ripped apart by party political strife," exhorts the king. "With one great roar as one people, we thrust ourselves at the enemy and we succeeded."

King Goodwill's enemy is the African National Congress, which, he firmly believes, is out to divide Zulu loyalties and crush the Zulu-based political organization known as Inkatha in the ongoing battle for black political supremacy. Already, some 5,000 blacks, almost all of them Zulus, have died in Natal province in the past four years. Another 1,000 blacks have fallen in just the past four months in the townships around Johannesburg. But these numbers are nothing, warns the king, compared with what may happen if his Zulus are denied an influential role in the shaping of a post-apartheid South Africa.
"If the new South Africa is something

that is going to be built out of crushing the Zulu nation, it will be a problem," King Goodwill vows during an interview in his office in Ulundi, no more than a mile from where several thousand Zulus died in their

last stand against the British.

In the current fighting there is none of the past glory. Instead, there is shame and ignominy all around, as the violence in Natal has pitted Zulu against Zulu and the turf battles elsewhere have ignited brutal and ugly tribal feuds-Inkatha's Zulus vs. Xhosas, who figure prominently in the ANC-that are tarnishing the country's rich black heritage.

For the Zulus, South Africa's largest single ethnic group-making up about onefifth of the total population-the carnage is the culmination of two volatile decades when they have been batted from side to side in the struggle between white supremacy and black liberation. Apartheid's ar-chitects reduced their "kingdom" to a "homeland" called kwaZulu, a bastard schild of the politics of racial segregation, which, in turn, made it a prime target of the anti-apartheid forces, led by the ANC.

-Their rural-based culture and family oriented society has been frayed by poverty and urbanization.

King Goodwill and the politicians of Inkatha condemn the violence, but argue that Zulus can't be blamed for retaliating, even when such action results in dozens of deaths. They call for peace, but then defend the right of Zulus to attend political rallies brandishing their traditional tools of war, such as spears and shields.

"It would be very stupid if I, as the Zulu king, didn't try to encourage the Zulus to be so proud of themselves," says 42-year-old King Goodwill, who is the hereditary leader of the Zulus but has no position in the South African state. "The Zulus were built out of spears."

The pan-tribal ANC accuses Inkatha of arousing Zulu nationalism and fanning the violence as a means to expand its support base in the larger cities, which are teeming with Zulus who have left the countryside looking for work. Inkatha denies it, but insists that Zulu nationalism can't be wished away.

Such ethnic pride is bringing the Zulus into an anomalous alliance with their old



King Goodwill Zwelithini Ka Bhekuzulu

enemies, the Afrikaners. Although the two fought epic battles in the last century, they are now linked by a common desire to preserve their cultural identities in a postapartheid South Africa. Both Inkatha and the ruling National Party support protecting minority rights in a new constitution, something the ANC stridently rejects as being apartheid in new clothes. Recently, Inkatha even had a high-level meeting with the pro-apartheid, Afrikaner-dominated Conservative Party to discuss their mutual fear of ANC domination.

'The Zulus' valor, their will to self-determination, their pride of nation—they are natural allies of the Afrikaner,"

Frank le Roux, a Conservative member of parliament.

"To speak the truth," says the king, 'the history of this country lies in the hands of the Zulu man and the Afrikaans

From the early 1800s, when legendary King Shaka's realm stretched over much of southeastern Africa, Zulu history has been a saga of defense against outsiders. First came the Dutch Boers and then the British, and then a series of South African governments usurping Zulu sovereignty.

From the moment he assumed the crown from his father in 1971, King Goodwill, an affable and plain-talking man, has been battling the conflicting forces of white

racism and black radicalism.

Inkatha and the ANC, two old antiapartheid allies, have come to disagree on most points of strategy: Inkatha refused to participate in ANC-led boycotts and strikes, rejected ANC attempts to make the country "ungovernable," railed against economic sanctions and rebuffed the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

At the same time, Zulus were streaming into the big-city townships, a process that inexorably weakened tribal ties. "Apartheid aside, nothing has been as vicious as the four-room township house in working against Zulu custom," says Musa Zondi, the leader of Inkatha's youth division.

Into this milieu came the politicking of the ANC's allies, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. As they moved into kwaZulu in the mid-1980s, they focused on the Zulu youth, arguing that Inkatha and the homeland government were impeding the revolution against apartheid. Zulu was set against Zulu.

King Goodwill, like the kings before him, donned his royal leopard skins and set out in defense of the realm. In a series of speeches to his subjects, he evokes the

lessons of Zulu history.

Anyone who wants to divide Zulu brother from Zulu brother, and Zulu sister from Zulu sister, husband from wife, parent from child and the modern generation from the older generation, shall henceforth be cursed amongst us," he said in an "address to the nation" in November 1989. He has reiterated his warnings since.

The king dismisses criticism that such rhetoric incites revenge, asking what father wouldn't defend his family from attack? A trio of Inkatha advisers murmur their agreement. "Of course," says one, "when they do retaliate, the unfortunate thing with the Zulus is they fight too thoroughly.'

King Goodwill nods, acknowledging the echoes of Isandiwana. "Even when they [Zulus] are still in their mother's womb, he says, "they always fight."

The Washington Times **DECEMBER 13, 1990**

Troops halt violence in capital of Somalia

Ethiopia Wooed

as Ally by U.S. in Gulf Crisis

By JANE PERLEZ

Special to The New York Time:

NAIROBI, Kenya, Dec. 13 more than a decade of being shunned and condemned by the United States for its orthodox Communism and poor record on human rights, Ethiopia now finds itself being courted as an ally by Washington.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf has made Ethiopia, with its long Red Sea coastline, suddenly more important to the West. In the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Ethiopian President, Mengistu Haile Mariam, has been able to gain additional credibility for the argument he has been addressing

to the West in recent years: that Ethiopia, a predominantly Christian nation, is a bulwark against turmoil in the Arab world and the rising tide of Islam.

With a seat on the Security Council at the United Nations, Ethiopia moved quickly to support the early resolutions against Iraq. At the time, the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Tesfaye Dinka, met with Secretary of State, James A. Baker 3d in New York, the first high level encounter between the two countries since Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to Washington in 1973.

Then three weeks ago, Mr. Tesfaye flew to Geneva to meet Mr. Baker and again offer his country's vote in sup-

port of the resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. The Ethiopian vote on the resolutions was all the more significant since it countered the position of Yemen, the Arab state lying just across the Red Sea.

"For the first time they are are cooperative and accepted partners and they are enjoying that," said a senior American official in Addis Ababa of the Ethiopians. "The gulf has been a real boon to them and their relationships.

In fact, under the Emperor, Ethiopia had very close diplomatic and military relations with the United States, while neighboring Somalia, maintained close ties to Moscow. By the mid 70's, after the Emperor was deposed, the two rival countries switched orientation.

A reorientation of a different kind is taking place as the Sudan, Ethiopia's neighbor to the south and once a vaunted ally of the United States, has become increasingly shunned by the West because of the sympathy shown to Iraq by its Islamic fundamentalist

The Ethiopians appear to be trying to enhance their new found respectability by cooperating more than before in two areas: the emigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel and a fledgling peace process that Washington has initiated to try to resolve the 30-year civil war.

After stalling on the emigration of the Ethiopian Jews in the middle of the year, the Ethiopian Government agreed at a meeting in Addis Ababa in November with Israeli officials and the

Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Herman J. Cohen, to ease the exit permits of Jews who had family already in Israel, the American official said. In midyear, when Mr. Mengistu visited Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir set as 1,000 the number of Ethiopian Jews to emigrate each month, the American said.

"They are working toward that num-ber," the American said. Between 500 and 600 left in November, he said. The United States Embassy in Addis Ababa estimates there are 22,000

Ethiopian Jews in the Ethiopian capital, all of whom have come from their homes in the Gondar region in the expectation they would go to Israel.

On the question of working toward a solution to the civil war between the Government and secessionist rebels in the northern province of Eritrea, the Government has listened to proposals by Washington in the last two months, State Department officials said.

A meeting between the Ethiopian government and the rebel Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front was held in Washington in October and another is

expected in January, the officials said.

A key to any momentum for the American sponsored initiative is whether the Ethiopian Government will agree to the opening of the rebelled port of Massawa to the United Nations for food deliveries. tions for food deliveries.

The front, which balked all year at a United Nations presence, has now agreed, American officials said. And in Addis Ababa an active debate is under way within the Government whether to allow movement of supplies through the armies it has positioned in Eritrea.

MOGADISHU, Somalia (Reuters) Heavy fighting between government troops and rebels was reported north of Mogadishu yesterday, but military patrols in the Somali capital appear to have halted weeks of violence in which more than 150 people

Truck drivers returning from the Bulo Berti area, 125 miles north of Mogadishu, said government troops were defending themselves against rebels armed with heavy artillery and armored vehicles.

Army patrols in the capital were searching cars for weapons and explosives and detaining suspects, residents said.

The presence of troops brought an uneasy calm after two weeks of clashes between rival clans left an estimated 150 people dead and scores more injured, the residents added. They said militiamen were positioned at government installations and civil servants were being frisked as they entered offices.

Foreign nationals evacuated from Mogadishu said gunmen had been fighting each other and policemen were looting vehicles.

"Even bazookas and machine guns were used," said Finnish forestry worker Lauri Mikkola, after arriving on a Somali Airlines plane in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi yesterday.

Mr. Mikkola was among the first group of foreigners to flee the wartorn country since the United States advised its citizens to leave four days ago. The British, Italian and German embassies in Mogadishu said they were advising their citizens to do the

[In Washington yesterday, the State Department announced that it has ordered the departure from Somalia of all non-essential government personnel and advised private citizens to do the same.1

Fighting between rival ethnic groups began two weeks ago.

Uganda's Ties With Neighbors Strained By Role in Rebellion

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

GANDA'S President Yoweri Museveni can't seem to shake accusations that he broke a key principle of African politics – noninterference in other nations' affairs.

As the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity, he is supposed to uphold the OAU principle prohibiting interference in the internal affairs of member states.

Mr. Museveni's alleged role in allowing rebels to launch an attack from Uganda on Rwanda has robbed his OAU chairmanship of some of its "vigor" and strained Uganda's relations with several neighboring countries, a Ugandan official told the Monitor. Museveni may regain some credibility with his efforts to bring the rebels and the government to the negotiating table.

Another senior Ugandan official, meanwhile, says that the Rwandans invaded from Uganda "without our consent." (He did not use the words "without our knowledge.")

A United States official in Kampala, Uganda's capital, said: "We believe the [Ugandan] government got caught.... The Rwan-

dans [rebels] slipped one over on them." But, one of the Ugandan officials said, "the invasion had to be" with the knowledge of the Ugandan government.



A Ugandan academic contacted by the Monitor indicated that the official line between knowing and not knowing might be a very thin one. "Many of the individuals [Rwandan



might be a very thin one. "Many of the inleaders for ignoring killings by previous regimes.

rebels] were highly placed [in the Ugandan Army]. Does their position mean their actions are an expression of state policy?"

Another Ugandan official confirms something the government officially denies: that there are military training camps for Rwandan exiles in southern Uganda. The Ugandan academic says that most of one county in southern Uganda is populated by Rwandan-speaking people. And unconfirmed reports say that some of the Rwandans from camps in those areas have used arms to force civilians to give them food and land.

Many Ugandans resent the fact that the Rwandan rebels had taken so many jobs in the Army and that they deserted with a lot of money and Ugandan arms, says a Ugandan official. But, the official added, "Most of the [Ugandan] soldiers were happy they [the Rwandans] had gone away." Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda, and Zaire have agreed to work to find a solution for the hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees who have fled to these and other countries because of famine and tribal wars.

Before becoming OAU chairman, Museveni had already challenged the OAU's principle of noninterference. He has criticized his fellow African heads of state for not intervening to help Ugandan civilians being killed or tortured by the previous Ugandan regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote.

Other examples of interference between nations on the continent include the move made earlier this year by five West African nations to send a military force to Liberia to try to end the civil war there. They justified their actions by saying there was no effective government in Liberia. Intrusion in South African affairs by neighboring nations, and by South Africa in its neighbors' affairs, has gone on for years. OAU member states have provided money, arms, and land for training camps to the African National Congress in its fight against the South African government and apartheid. And South Africa conducted a long-term destabilization campaign against nations that supported the ANC.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1990 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1990

U.N.'S SUDAN APPEAL

The United Nations appealed for up to 1.3 million tons of food aid for Sudan in 1991, reporting that severe famine threatened the population in most parts of the country. "A major and immediate relief effort is required to avert large-scale food shortages and human suffering in the coming months," the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization said. Its latest report confirms an FAO estimate in October that at least five million people were at risk of death through starvation.

SOUTH AFRICAN HARDSHIP

The South African Black Taxi Association, representing thousands of owners and drivers of the vehicles used by most black commuters in Johannesburg, said members' earnings have dropped by about 50% this year. An association spokesman said that soaring transportation costs, plus disruption of services due to township violence and bloody "taxi wars" among rival drivers contributed to the decline. The drivers' average monthly earnings this year are the equivalent of about \$600.

ANC Shifts Its Strategy On Lifting of Sanctions

By Allister Sparks Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 7—The African National Congress has shifted its ground on international sanctions against South Africa, appealing to the European Community to maintain them for another two or three months, then to consider phasing them out if the government meets a number of key ANC demands.

Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, put this proposal to European Community leaders for consideration at a Rome summit next week in a letter the ANC released here Thursday night.

The ANC's international affairs director, Thabo Mbeki, is reported in South African newspapers to have addressed a closed meeting of diplomats in New York along similar lines sometime this week.

A draft policy document setting out the new sanctions strategy is also said to have been circulated among the ANC's "top and middle leadership" and endorsed by them.

Neither Mandela's letter nor the draft policy document lists the demands the ANC wants linked to the lifting of sanctions. Mandela said the ANC is still discussing these "specific measures" and will convey them to the European leaders later.

The measures are expected to include the repeal of security legislation, tighter control over the police, concessions to ANC demands on the structure of future constitutional negotiations for a new, non-racial system of government, and a role for black political movements

in running the country during any transition phase.

Political analysts here say the policy shift stems from a recognition by the ANC that national and international developments have spelled the end of sanctions, and rather than fight futilely to keep them in place, the ANC should take control of their dismantling and turn the process to its advantage.

By linking their removal to a demand for further specific changes by President Frederik W. de Klerk, the ANC can seize the initiative once more and step up pressure on the government to concede important pre-negotiation points, according to this view.

Key ANC leaders fear that at the moment the government has the upper hand. De Klerk has won international acclaim for his reforms, easing world pressure on South Africa, and the ANC suspects he is stalling on talks while ongoing violence in the townships sullies the ANC's image and causes growing disillusionment in the black community.

According to the analysts, the ANC has decided on a two-pronged strategy to revive pressure on de Klerk—a campaign of mass street action to dramatize the ANC's demands that began with peaceful protest marches through three cities Thursday, and the linking of an end to sanctions to a list of demands.

Both appear timed to press de Klerk into making another major reform announcement at the opening of the 1991 session of Parliament on Feb. 1—just as he did with his dramatic speech legalizing the ANC



NELSON MANDELA
... wants "faster movement forward"

when he opened the 1990 session last Feb. 2.

In his letter to the European leaders, Mandela asked them to postpone any decision on sanctions. until February or March.

"We are discussing the question of sanctions with the aim of ensuring that the international community continues to exert pressure for faster movement forward towards the end of the apartheid system," Mandela wrote.

"We are discussing specific measures in this regard and have begun consultations with other democratic formations inside our country . . . to evolve a position common to the majority of the anti-apartheid forces in the country.

"We would be honored to share with you our detailed views on these matters at a later stage, but soon, so that, if possible, we avoid adopting contrary positions which could undermine the consensus that obtains concerning what needs to be done to effect the necessary changes in South Africa."

Change Has Yet to Touch Blacks' Lives

In S. African Townships, de Klerk's Reforms Seem Distant Mirage

By David B. Ottaway Washington Post Foreign Service

CRADOCK, South Africa—For five years, Gertrude Calata waited for justice to be done, for the killers of her son to be arrested. Now she's given up, saying she doesn't care anymore.

"It will never be proved, but we know who killed them," she said, referring to her activist son, Fort, and his three colleagues—Matthew Goniwe, Sparro Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. They were dragged from their car and slain on the road to Port Elizabeth on the night of June 28, 1985.

Ask their families, or any resident of the black township of Lingelihle on the eastern outskirts of Cradock, and they will blame the South African police for the killings.

In the early 1980s, the four men—three teachers and a railroad worker—led the resistance movement in Lingelihle against the white government's apartheid system of racial separation. Their funeral, attended by 50,000, provoked the government into imposing the first nationwide state of emergency in June 1985.

A belated inquest into their deaths in 1988 got nowhere. Testimony presented earlier this year to a special commission in Pretoria strongly suggested the killings may have been the work of the police or the army's now defunct, secret Civil Cooperation Bureau.

But in an interview with family members of the slain activists, Calata said she no longer was interested in pursuing the issue. "Fort will not be resurrected," she said.



Like many blacks interviewed during a recent trip across central and southern South Africa, Calata, 71, does not believe there has been much change yet under President Frederik W. de Klerk.

"It is going to change, but it will take a very long time. I think I'll be dead by then," she said.

Often, however, blacks seem reluctant to admit those changes that have taken place, particularly regarding the new freedom of political activity.

The youth of Lingelihle no longer fear arrest for doing the toyi-toyi—a street dance set to liberation songs—and residents are free to hold rallies and march into the white town of Cradock, with police permission. Even members of the South African Communist Party, who were imprisoned just for unfurling a red banner at the slain activists' funeral in 1985, say they are no longer being harassed.

But white attitudes toward blacks have changed little, if at all, Calata said. "A few are greeting us in town, and that's a thing they never did before," she said. And the "white ladies" of the Cradock Wesleyan Church called her up about giving some aid to the nursery she runs, Calata said.

"We shop at the same stores blacks, whites and [mixed-raced] Coloreds. But at the end of the day, there are no blacks in town after 6 p.m.," she said of Cradock.

The same kinds of complaints and comments came from scores of blacks interviewed in a half-dozen other townships visited. Change, it seems, is coming slowly, too slowly for most South African blacks. De Klerk's reforms, except for the new political freedoms, still seem distant mirages to them.

"We're still being seen as 'things,' something less than human," said Tsiu Mtsepe, a local African National Congress official in Thabong, a black township on the eastern edge of Welkom in Orange Free State province. "Racism is still very much entrenched."

The white council of Odendaalsrus, near Welkom, recently opened the town's pool and library to blacks following the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, which had made all white public facilities off-limits to blacks. But entrance fees for these places were increased.

"They won't let you in," said Kodi Ditheb of the nearby black township of Kutloanong. "So we ask ourselves, is the government really sincere?"

Similar tactics are being used by whites in Cradock, and scores of other conservative rural villages and towns continue to keep blacks out of their public facilities, according to South African press reports.



Famine imminent in Mozambique

Mozambique will need more than a million tons of food aid next year to avert mass starvation, according to the government and the United Nations.

A report presented to the World Bank said "massive, direct emergency assistance is required now." Half the country's estimated 16.3 million population faces starvation or serious depriva-

Nearly 2 million of those people needing food aid are displaced within the country as a result of Maputo's 15-year-old bush war against rebels of the right-wing Mozambique National Resistance Movement, who have been fighting to topple the government. The rest of those threatened with starvation are urban and rural people with money to spend but little or no food to buy, the report said.

Somalian talks postponed indefinitely

Peace talks between the Somalian government and five rebel groups scheduled to start in Cairo Dec. 11 have been postponed

indefinitely, Egypt said last weekend.

Leaders of the rebel groups said in Rome last week that they would boycott the talks because of a crackdown by their government's military. The government of Maj. Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre ordered a crackdown last week to combat unrest in Mogadishu, the capital. Somali hospital sources said last week more than 50 people had been killed in five days of fighting between rival clans.

"In light of contacts with Somalian parties, in which they expressed their desire for a postponement, it was agreed with Italy they should be postponed," Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Boutros Ghali told reporters.

Egypt and Italy (the former colonial ruler of Somalia), were due to have mediated in the talks aimed at ending 12 years of civil war in Somalia.

Angola moves toward multiparty rule

Angola's ruling party endorsed proposals on Dec. 8 to bring in multiparty rule after 15 years of government by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the state news agency reported. The MPLA's 700-member party congress, meeting this week to discuss proposals by the Central Committee, approved a plan to revise the Constitution to institute a multiparty

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would continue as head of state and MPLA party leader until a law allowing the formation of political parties was agreed upon, the news agency said. The

law should be ready by next March.

The United States-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said this week it would sign a cease-fire if the party congress approved multiparty rule. Mr. dos Santos acknowledged errors in 15 years of Marxism and said he was convinced the party would embrace democracy.

New ruler consolidates control of Chad

Idriss Deby, Chad's new military ruler, declared himself president on Dec. 4, three days after chasing out the government of President Hissein Habré.

Mr. Deby, the former Chadian military commander who invaded the central African desert state Nov. 10, said that the executive committee of his Libyan-backed Patriotic Salvation Movement had become the Council of State and that he had become president of the Council.

On national radio, Deby described Habré's seven-year rule as a dictatorship under which "people did not have the right to

France was accused by a former Habré minister of plotting to overthrow the Habré government. On Dec. 3, Deby dissolved the National Assembly and suspended the Constitution.

In Paris, French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement said 40 percent of the equipment used by rebels to take control of the country over the weekend was supplied by Libya.

- Compiled from wire services

DECEMBER 8 1000 THE NEW YORK TIMES

60 Die as Nigerian Boat Sinks

LAGOS, Nigeria, Dec. 7 (AP) - A boat capsized and sank and 60 of its boat capsized and sank and 60 of its passengers drowned in the Atlantic Ocean off Nigeria's Cross River state, newspapers reported today. Most victims of the accident, which occurred late Thursday, were traders carrying goods between fishing communities. Eight of 10 survivors saved themselves by clinging to fuel drums. Boating accidents are common in the area, where 70-vactioners drowned on Sept. 2 after their boat capsized off the neighboring state of Akwa Ibom.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1990

NATIONALIZATION IN ZIMBABWE

-Zimbabwe's parliament overwhelmingly approved a constitutional change that will empower the state to nationalize factories, farms and private homes. The bill will allow the government to resettle one million landless blacks. Two-fifths of Zimbabwe is settled by 100,000 whites, a wealthy minority among the nation's 9.5 million people. The bill, which requires the signature of President Robert Mubefore it becomes law, enables the state to buy any land at whatever price it chocses. Western diplomats expressed charpay at the move, arguing that it would block much-needed foreign investment.

Freedom Stirs in Africa

HE 1989 overthrow of dictators and tyranny in Eastern Europe created new hopes for liberty across the globe.

Africa is a prime example. Opposition groups in numerous countries have begun to challenge decades of one-party rule.

Two weeks ago, Mozambique established a multiparty constitution. Ivory Coast has had two sets of elections this year, and last month returned longtime president Houphouët-Boigny to power. Cameroon, Togo, and Benin in West Africa may open up. Kenya's longtime one-party president Daniel arap Moi faces democratic demands in Nairobi. Such is the power of an ideal.

African states – running on various combinations of "big man" leadership, tribal socialism, and military rule – won't change overnight. Opposition is centered in urban areas among students and intellectuals. The movement is fragile. Big men don't give up power easily.

Zaire offers a case study. This huge Central African state has been commanded since 1965 by Mobutu Sese Seko – one of the world's richest men (estimates run as high as \$10 billion) heading one of the world's poorer societies. Mobutu, long an ally of the United States, patterned his regime on Ceausescu's Romania (with a police force similar to the infamous Securitate) but now faces unrest among a repressed population that can barely feed or clothe itself.

Last April, under pressure from the US and local dissenters, Mobutu agreed to the need for a multiparty state. But when the main opposition group, Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), met, police shot them up. In May, 50 to 200 university students were killed by police. Many were bayoneted in their rooms.

Outraged, the US Congress voted to cut aid funds to Zaire. Another meeting was shot up in November, but Mobutu now says again that political parties are legal, and that he will hold elections next year. Let's hope so.

According to Monitor correspondent Robert Press, who recently reported from Zaire, many Zaireans say "major political violence" will erupt next year if conditions in the country don't im-

prove. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank have withheld debt relief from Zaire – though for reasons of economic non-performance, not human rights.

Opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba hopes for a peaceful transition to democracy in Zaire. But Zaireans are ready to rise up, he says. Mr. Tshisekedi's pleas for continued

US pressure on Mobutu ought to be taken seriously.

But how willing is Mobutu to relinquish power? His rural base is strong. He has a formidable private militia of 15,000 trained in Israel and run by Mobutu's nephew. A second police army, 10,000 strong (the Service for Military Action and Information), is controlled by another nephew. The 20,000-strong civil guard is headed by his cousin.

The only opposing military is the 30,000-member regular army, which for several years has been deprived of guns and resources.

The State Department still considers Mobutu a close ally. Yet US policy must consider openings to new parties in Zaire. The US cannot afford to alienate those struggling for greater liberties in any African country.

SUPERPOWERS TRY FOR ANGOLA PEACE, (CONT'D)

cally endorsed by meeting with Mr. Savimbi for the first time.

Mr. Van Dunem, after his meeting with Mr. Baker, said, "Progress is being made toward an agreement, which will lead to a cease-fire."

Now that the two sides have agreed to work for a pluralistic democracy, few major points remain to be resolved. A senior Portuguese diplomat monitoring the Angola peace talks said the meetings today increased the likelihood that a general peace agreement could be reached next month.

Details Not Settled

The two sides must still agree on the details of where they can station their armed forces during a cease-fire, and how and with what they supply those forces during the interim period.

More prickly is the question of the timing of elections. Luanda says it will

More prickly is the question of the timing of elections. Luanda says it will take three years after a cease-fire is reached to prepare for elections, since the country needs to complete a census and make a major effort to clear roads of mines before voters can register and go to the polls. Unita says it wants the balloting held at most one year after an agreement is signed.

Mr. Savimbi said in an interview that his conversation with Mr. Shevardnadze was "very constructive" because it showed that "the Soviet Union is prepared to work together with the United States to find a peaceful and constructive end to the conflict."

He said that while Mr. Shevardnadze did not commit himself, "he agreed with my argument that the longer the truce, the more the possibility the cease-fire will be violated."

Truce and Election Date

"After today," he continued, "I amconvinced that the sixth round will produce results: a cease-fire and a date for elections."

Mr. Schevardnadze told reporters that he and Mr. Savimbi "had a good and positive meeting." When asked by a reporter if he thought Mr. Savimbi was a democratic force in Angola, he said, "I think things are moving in that direction."

Thursday, President Bush and Mr. Savimbi are to meet at the White House and delegations representing Luanda, Unita, Washington, Moscow and Lisbon will meet at the State Department.

Quotation of the Day

"We welcome him with open arms as one of the greatest heroes of Africa!"

— Nelson Mandela, welcoming Oliver Tambo back to South Africa. [A12:4.] to apartheid by blacks, could dissolve in painful soul-searching at the crucial ANC meeting.

The conference is aimed at charting strategy for negotiations

with the white minority government on scrapping apartheid and giving blacks the vote.

Analysts said many members felt the organization had lost the initiative during preliminary reform talks with President Frederik de Klerk and had no clear strategy to force the government to accept ANC plans for sweeping political change.

"The ANC is a very troubled organization that needs to catch up with the pace of events set by de Klerk," said Willie Breytenbach, professor of African politics at Stellenbosch University.

"Its biggest challenge at the weekend is to restore the coherence its policies enjoyed at the time of Mandela's release in February," Mr. Breytenbach said. "That is perhaps an unrealistic demand to make of an organization just recovering from a 30-year ban, but that is what the world demands."

Mr. Tambo will give the conference a pyschological boost by his presence but may not have the energy to tour ANC regions or exert much sway on the movement's day-to-day activities.

After three weeks in South Africa, he will go back to his exile home in Britain before returning for good

Activists at the conference want to discuss what they consider the ANC's organizational disarray, slow recruitment, lack of communication between grass-roots groups and leaders, divisions between moderates and hard-liners over suspension of the group's armed struggle, and tension between exiled members and internal activists.

Another obstacle to re-establishing the ANC on the political stage has been black factional fighting around Johannesburg that has cost more than 1,000 lives since August. Many ANC activists have spent their time on rescue and relief work and peace talks, with no time for recruiting.

Mr. Breytenbach said the ANC also had to formulate a clear policy on the phased lifting of sanctions against South Africa as international support for the measures crumbles in the face of Mr. de Klerk's moves toward reform.

But analysts said a wholesale facelift of ANC policy would not take place before a conference in June next year when key leadership elections will be held.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, December 10, 1990

AFRICA

Angered by the US evacuation of dissident Libyans from Chad, Libya called for the expulsion of Paris and Washington from the United Nations. A US transport Saturday whisked more than 200 US-trained Libyans opposed to Col. Muammar Qaddafi out of Chad... South African police found six people shot to death in new violence at Thokoza near Johannesburg, where 52 people were killed last weekend. The victims fell in factional fighting between migrant workers sympathizing with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and township people backing Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.... The Pan African Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday wound up separate conferences to restructure and prepare them for major roles in South Africa.

- Kurt Shillings

The Washington Times

PAGE A2 / TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1990

Uganda police kill 2 university students

KAMPALA, Uganda — Police shot dead two students and injured three when they opened fire as a rally was about to begin on campus here yesterday, witnesses said.

Hundreds of students later took to the streets of the capital to protest the killings as policemen armed with automatic rifles patroled the campus of Makerere University. The students were meeting to discuss a week-old boycott of classes to protest the failure of authorities to provide textbooks, student leaders said.

State radio said the shooting was unauthorized. It called for calm and promised action against those responsible for the killings. The two slain were second-year students. A fellow student said they had been heading for a lecture, not the rally.

The Washington Times

DECEMBER 13, 1990

Gadhafi warns Africans against siding with U.S.

TUNIS, Tunisia — Libyan strongman Moammar Gadhafi warned pro-U.S. African governments yesterday that Libya would encourage local rebels to overthrow them.

Speaking at the funeral in Tripoli of two Libyan officers killed in Chad, Col. Gadhafi said the overthrow this month of Chad's Hissene Habre by former aide Idriss Deby with Libyan material support was a victory for Libya and a defeat for the United States, which helped Mr. Habre against earlier Libyanbacked attacks.

"America has been defeated in broad daylight. Its base in Chad has been destroyed and its agents have scattered like dogs to the end of the earth," he said in remarks reported by the Libran payer occurred.

by the Libyan news agency JANA.

"We tell every African state...
that any African state which connives with imperialism to oppose
the revolution, we will create another Idriss Deby to destroy its
capital city," Col. Gadhafi said.

Mandela on Sanctions' End

The closer Nelson Mandela and his African National Congress get to sharing power with the government of South Africa, the greater will be their need to produce higher living standards for the black majority they represent. It can't be done while South Africa's stagnant economy fails to keep pace with population growth. It can't be done without importing capital. It can't be done in economic isolation, of which foreign economic sanctions are a part. With constitutional talks scheduled, it is certain that at some point Mr. Mandela will become a spokesman for lifting sanctions.

Mr. Mandela's latest maneuver on the subject suggests that such a time has not arrived, but is drawing closer. He announced that the ANC, which will hold a major conference next weekend, is reviewing its support for sanctions and consulting the religious and labor organizations that, with it, constitute the moral force for sanctions. But he did-this in a letter asking European Community government chiefs not to reconsider their sanctions at their summit meeting in Rome just before the ANC deliberations.

Mr. Mandela hinted at February or March, after the expected repeal of key apartheid laws by the government of F. W. de Klerk when the white parliament convenes Feb. 1. European governments approve of the direction Mr. de Klerk is taking and are tempted to reward him, though the leader most impatient to do so, Margaret Thatcher, is no longer prime minister of Britain.

Mr. Mandela and elderly moderates at the top of the ANC structure are caught between young radicals who have gained nothing and want no truck with the de Klerk government, and black business and labor people who want economic progress to begin. It is a difficult orchestration. Bringing foreign governments and pressure groups into the basic timing is even more daunting. The ANC would not want sanctions to dissipate without its approval, and to prevent that must assure that its approval would come when events justify.

There are still political prisoners in South Africa, detentions without trial and apartheid laws. There will be segregation and inequitable distribution of wealth after the legal underpinning is abolished. The conditions set in U.S. law for ending sanctions have not been reached. Nor have the conditions that would make it possible for Mr. Mandela to urge their end. But Mr. de Klerk's policy is heading there.

Mr. Mandela is going to have difficulty keeping his side together on the timing, and deserves cooperation from the outside world.

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