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Hospitals ending racial separation in South Africa

By Peter Honey

Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Apartheid in South Africa lurched closer to an end yesterday as top government administrators announced the end of racial segregation in state-run hospitals and promised to move away from segregated schooling.

Rina Venter, the national health minister, said the more than 240 state hospitals that had previously admitted only whites, or had treated blacks only as outpatients, would immediately be opened to all races.

Many of the hospitals that have been reserved for South Africa's 5 million whites stand partially empty, while most of the more than 300 hospitals that serve the country's 28 million blacks are overcrowded. The Baragwanath hospital in Soweto, for example, averages a 110 percent occupancy rate, forcing many patients to sleep on floors and in passages.

"The approach . . . will be that all hospitals are accessible to all persons and that no facility may remain underutilized while new ones are being built," Mrs. Venter said in a policy speech to the central Parliament.

She said scores of black patients would be moved soon from Baragwanath to underused white hospital wards in Johannesburg. Similarly, patients who have been sleeping on floors at the city of Durban's black hospital would be accommodated in the local white hospital's wards that were closed because of insufficient patients.

Nthato Motlana, a Soweto-based physician and anti-apartheid activist, described it as "a fundamental step forward."

Faizel Randera, spokesman for the anti-apartheid National Medical and Dental Association, said it was a breakthrough in the struggle for a non-racial health service.

"In the sweeping announcement by the minister, it appears that this

THE WASHINGTON POST

S. African President to Precede Mandela *Planners of ANC Leader's Trip Object to De Klerk's U.S. Visit*

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

South African President Frederik W. de Klerk will precede African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in a pair of historic visits to the United States late next month, administration officials said yesterday, and planners of the Mandela visit expressed anger that de Klerk will visit the White House first.

The scheduling of the two visits—and which would come first—has been a sensitive protocol question ever since President Bush invited them both to come to the United States after Mandela was freed Feb. 11 following 27 years in prison.

Bush's invitation to both men was

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is what South Africa is looking forward to," he said.

There was no immediate response from conservative white groups.

While state hospitals have been largely segregated, scores of privately run hospitals and clinics have been operated on a non-racial basis for years.

A spokesman for the National Health Ministry said yesterday that the desegregation of hospitals would be "handled in an orderly manner."

"We must take into account the sensitivities of patients and their families," the spokesman said.

Mrs. Venter said that if one applied a norm of three hospital beds for every 1,000 people, there was currently a surplus of 11,700 beds for whites and a shortage of 7,000 beds for blacks. This meant the government could absorb much of the current need without having to build new hospitals.

In another development, Piet

intended to be a gesture toward reconciliation between blacks and whites in South Africa, but it has been complicated by the difficulty of reaching an agreement on the order of arrivals.

U.S. officials said de Klerk would visit Bush on June 18 and Mandela some days later. A South African Embassy official said "we have no dates" for de Klerk's visit. Mandela is expected to be in the United States from June 20 to June 30, and his meeting with Bush is expected to be June 25. Details of his itinerary are to be announced today by the ANC.

But Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, one of the planners for Mandela's seven-city U.S. visit, sharply criticized the Bush administration

Marais, the deputy education minister, said the government was considering the establishment of a single, non-racial department to oversee teaching and administration of schools.

This did not mean that state schools were about to be desegregated, Mr. Marais said. However, he did foresee the end of racial schooling.

"Whereas I do not believe the schools of the future will be run along racial lines, there will not be forced integration either," he said in an interview on state television Tuesday.

State schools are administered by separate education departments for blacks, whites, mixed-race groups and Indians. State spending is heavily directed toward whites, although the gap has narrowed in recent years.

Mr. Marais said the opening of schools to all races would be done on an individual basis and the decision would hinge on parental discretion.

South Africa

You started it all

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

STILL basking in the afterglow of his successful meeting with the African National Congress in Cape Town the previous week, President F.W. de Klerk set out on May 8th for a tour of Europe. Now that he is at last talking to a free Mr Nelson Mandela, South Africa's president can be sure of receiving a polite, perhaps even warm, welcome in Paris, Bonn and London. But he left with one discordant note in his ear.

Two days before Mr de Klerk's departure his immediate predecessor, ex-President P.W. Botha, broke nine months of brooding silence to announce that he was resigning from the National party that he had served for more than 50 years. After suffering a stroke last year Mr Botha was forced out of office by Mr de Klerk, and has cause to be bitter. But his reasons for resigning, which he gave in the mass-circulation Afrikaans newspaper *Rapport* will strike a chord with much of the National party's rank and file.

As president, Mr Botha had tried hard to split the ANC's nationalists from its communists. For him the inclusion in the ANC's delegation at the Cape Town talks of Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist party, was the proverbial last straw. "The path that the National party has taken is the path of abdication," the former president declared.

Mr de Klerk hit back sharply. Nothing he had done, he argued, deviated from the course taken by Mr Botha when he was in charge. Mr Botha had started the contacts that led on to the freeing of Mr Mandela. Mr Botha had himself spoken to Mr Mandela last July. Mr Botha had championed the power-sharing policy. And Mr Botha had reached agreement in Namibia with the SWAPO leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, ignoring his links with communists and SWAPO's long war against the South African army.

The National party's top men rallied around their leader. Mr de Klerk got a unanimous vote of confidence from the parliamentary caucus, whereas Mr Botha got a drubbing from the pro-government Afrikaans press, which cruelly remembered how much he had complained after being criticised by his own predecessor, Mr John Vorster. Even so, the resignation caused glee among the National party's opponents.

One of these, Mr Andries Treurnicht, of the Conservative party, said it was "not impossible" that Mr Botha would join the Conservatives. Were he to do so, the wheel would have turned full-circle: the Conservatives were founded to oppose Mr Botha's "reformist" policies of the early 1980s. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Mr Slovo welcomed Mr Botha's remarks. "He makes me feel I have done my job properly," Mr Slovo told a cheering crowd at a mass rally in Soweto.

The resignation soured what was otherwise a moment of triumph for Mr de Klerk.

THE WASHINGTON POST

MAY 17, 1990

Dissidents Criticize ANC Leaders

Role in Fighting In Zimbabwe Cited

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, May 16—A group of African National Congress military dissidents charged here today that the ANC leadership had "never practiced democracy" and had obliged them to fight in other countries for causes other than ending apartheid in South Africa.

Led by Rodney Mueze Twala, a leader of a 1984 mutiny at an ANC camp in Angola, six men and two women told at a press conference here of deep dissatisfaction with the exiled top ANC military and political leadership based in Lusaka, Zambia.

The group arrived here in late April, but they were arrested upon arrival and held for interrogation until Tuesday.

Twala said he had no plans to form a rival party and that he considered ANC leader Nelson Mandela "a great man. I have no quarrel with him, just the exiled ANC leadership."

Asked how many such ANC dissidents there were, he replied, "I'm talking about hundreds of people."

The Twala group is separate from one of former ANC guerrillas living in Nairobi who also have publicly complained about the ANC military leadership, claiming that they were beaten for taking part in the mutiny.

Twala said one of their chief complaints was that instead of being sent to fight the "apartheid government" inside South Africa they were sent to fight against the former white Rhodesian government in 1979-80 and later against Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces in Angola.

He said ANC units fought during the Rhodesia war alongside Joshua

The meeting between the government and the ANC went as well as anyone had dared to expect. The two sides agreed, amid smiles all round, to set up a committee to deal with the release of the country's remaining political prisoners and to speed up the return of

Washington Times

S. Africa to issue reforms package

By Peter Youngusband

CAPE TOWN, South Africa—The government intends to announce a new package of reforms within six weeks, a senior South African official said yesterday.

The new package, intended to help clear the way for constitutional talks, will include a partial lifting of the state of emergency, the release of more political prisoners and arrangements to receive returning exiles.

Last week the government began spelling out its position for negotiations with blacks, proposing a 12-point plan of minority rights.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament the plan is designed to prevent a one-party state or communist dictatorship from being imposed by an "unsophisticated majority vote," a phrase that angered some black and white liberal leaders who said it re-

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Nkomo's black nationalist guerrillas against the rival group led by Robert Mugabe, who later became the first black leader of independent Zimbabwe.

The ANC and Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union, both Soviet-backed black nationalist groups, had had a longstanding alliance, Twala said.

He charged that the ANC had lost "a lot of comrades" who were "left lying in the bushes" during the fighting in Rhodesia.

He said he and others had pressed the ANC leadership to hold a conference to redraw its strategies and that this had led to their being labeled as "mutineers" and held in a prison camp in Angola for nearly five years, until being released in November 1988. The group was then sent to Tanzania, he said, but when he and a colleague were elected to the ANC regional political committee there, the top leadership removed them.

exiles. Mr de Klerk promised to "work towards" the repeal of the state of emergency and Mr Mandela promised to "look very hard" at the question of armed struggle. But the all-important constitutional negotiation lies farther down a road which, as Mr Botha has shown, is still full of ambushes.

Wilder Orders Cabinet to Begin Divestment Policy

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND, May 14—Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder told his Cabinet today to move deliberately to implement his new policy directing state agencies and boards divest themselves of as much as \$1 billion invested in firms that do business with racially segregated South Africa.

Wilder, the nation's first elected black governor, has been criticized during the first 100 days of his administration by some Democrats for touting a conservative "New Mainstream" agenda that has endeared him to party moderates and conservatives, and generated speculation that he wants a spot on the party's national ticket in 1992.

But Wilder's press secretary, Laura Dillard, said today that "it's cynical to think that this was calculated to get the liberals off his back," although she conceded that "it may well be a byproduct" of his action.

The governor is to sign an executive order Tuesday ordering divestiture by those agencies over which he has direct control, such as the state treasury. However, the greater impact will be on boards over which the governor has indirect control through his power of appointment.

By far the largest of these is the Virginia Supplemental Retirement System, which has about \$10 billion in investments earmarked for state employee and teacher pensions. Between \$400 million and \$700 million in the system's investments could be affected by the governor's sweeping order, according to preliminary estimates.

While details of divestment remain to be worked out, Dillard said the first step, being implemented immediately, will be "that there will be no new investments" in firms associated with the apartheid South African regime.

Dillard said the state's order will "go beyond" the Sullivan principles formulated some years ago to encourage fair employment practices for South Africa's black majority population. The Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, author of the Sullivan principles, has since repudiated them as ineffective and has called for a total trade embargo.

Nearly 20 states have adopted some form of divestiture, and Dillard said Virginia's regulations will be among the strictest.

Karen F. Washabau, the state's director of planning and budget and a member of the state retirement board, said Wilder's proposal was "embraced as the right thing to do" at today's meeting of Cabinet secretaries and financial advisers.

But some legislative leaders expressed concern that the policy could endanger the pensions of thousands of state employees and teachers whose money is invested by the state retirement system. "It's okay for Doug [Wilder] to have a personal concern, but I'd be very concerned" about its effect on the pension fund, said House Speaker A.L. Philpott (D-Henry).

Senate Majority Leader Hunter B. Andrews (D-Hampton), who was removed from the retirement system board earlier this year by Wilder in a dispute over a now defunct railroad merger proposal, said he was concerned that the policy could affect economic development in the state.

Andrews, who has been at odds with Wilder much of the time since the governor's inauguration, also questioned why South Africa was being singled out "at a time when it is taking steps" to end apartheid. "Why not look at Red China, which certainly is guilty of civil rights violations," Andrews said.

Wilder announced the policy Saturday in a commencement address at Norfolk State University. "If we are to participate in the extension of liberties which we hold dear, we must take concrete actions which reflect our support," he told graduates of the historically black school.

Wilder today named a task force to formulate guidelines on what investments must be sold, and establish a timetable.

The policy will affect many of the state's colleges and universities, including the University of Virginia, where students have protested the school's investments in companies that do business in South Africa.

Concern about U-Va.'s investment practices helped prompt Wilder's decision, Dillard said. About \$15 million of the school's \$465 million endowment has South African ties, spokesman William Fish-

back said. The finance committee of the university's Board of Visitors will consider divestment at a meeting Friday.

Some schools, including George Mason University in Fairfax and Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, already are "South Africa-free," as VCU spokesman Thomas R. Poe put it.

State Treasurer Eddie N. Moore Jr. said it would be "rather easy" for

his office to comply with the governor's order while "complying with our fiduciary interest." Moore said that at any given time the state has invested about \$2 billion—from taxes and fees paid to the treasury—and nearly all of it is in short-term notes. None of it is in stock, he said.

Moore said his office "simply will mark those firms [that do business with South Africa] for no further investment" when the investments are redeemed.

The Washington Times

MAY 16, 1990

South Africa gives up on homelands effort

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (Reuters) — South Africa's white government announced yesterday that it has given up its efforts to turn self-governing black homelands into independent states, jettisoning a decades-old scheme to turn blacks into aliens in their own country.

Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe told Parliament independence was no longer considered a worthwhile option for the territories — dubbed "apartheid's garbage" by critics — and their constitutional future was a matter for negotiation.

"It's an acceptance by them that their [racial segregation] policies have failed," Peter Soal, spokesman for the liberal opposition Democratic Party, told Reuters.

More than half of South Africa's blacks, who outnumber whites roughly 5-to-1, live in 10 tribal homelands — dusty centers of underdevelopment widely regarded as pools of cheap labor for white-owned businesses.

Four of the 10 — Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda — have been declared independent by South Africa, but their sovereignty is recognized by no other country.

There have been coups and political turmoil in several of the territories this year, with repeated calls that they be reincorporated into South Africa.

The remaining six homelands, including the largest, KwaZulu in Natal, have been given increasing local autonomy.

Mr. van der Merwe made no mention of the four independent "states" but indicated the six self-governing territories might become local authorities under a new constitution to be negotiated by President Frederik de Klerk and black opponents, including Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

The 10, all funded heavily by Pretoria, were pillars of the 1950s grand apartheid policy of separate development under which blacks were to be gradually removed from white areas and allocated their own states along tribal lines, returning to whites-only cities only as "sojourners" to offer their labor.

Meanwhile, U.S. officials confirmed yesterday that Mr. de Klerk will visit Washington June 18, a week before President Bush is scheduled to meet with Mr. Mandela.

At a later news conference in Washington, angry black leaders called the de Klerk invitation an insult to Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Bush extended invitations to the two men as soon as the South African president freed Mr. Mandela in February after 27 years in prison.

"It is a slap on the face," said Mendi Msimang, the ANC representative to Britain, who participated in a news conference announcing details of the Mandela visit. "It is not too late for the administration to take corrective measures."

Outcry Over Visits From South Africa

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 15 — Administration officials said today that they were considering ways to revise the schedule for the White House visits of President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa and Nelson Mandela because of protests that Mr. de Klerk's visit comes first.

Officials said on Monday that the tentative schedule for the two groundbreaking visits had Mr. de Klerk coming to see President Bush on June 18 and Mr. Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, on June 25.

There was a sharp outcry from the planners of Mr. Mandela's trip to the United States, from June 20 to 30. They said scheduling Mr. de Klerk's visit before Mr. Mandela's was an insult to the 71-year-old black leader, who spent 27½ years in prison. Indeed, they argued, Mr. de Klerk should not be allowed to come at all until he had made what they termed substantive progress toward ending apartheid.

"It is a slap on the face," said Mendi Msimang, the African National Congress representative to Britain, who spoke at a news conference today giving the agenda for the Mandela visit. "It is not too late for the Administration to take corrective measures."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson pointed out that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d visited Mr. de Klerk in Cape Town in March despite Mr. Mandela's request that he not go. By inviting Mr. de Klerk to Washington, the civil rights leader said, Mr. Bush has "given the apartheid regime a level of credibility that brings it back into the family of nations before apartheid ends." With Mr. de Klerk's visit first, Mr. Jackson argued, Mr. Mandela would spend his trip "on the defensive answering the initiatives and gestures of de Klerk."

But Ibrahim Gassama, the legislative director of TransAfrica, a planner of Mr. Mandela's visit, said that "it is not just a question of sequence."

"It is symbolically bad to have our President meeting with the head of an apartheid state," he said. "There are still troops in the townships. The fundamental laws of apartheid are still on the books. The invitation is not justifiable by any means."

Protests Against Visit Planned

Sandra Hill, the head of a coalition of anti-apartheid groups in Washington, said today that the groups would stage protests and try to rally support to force the White House to cancel the visit of Mr. de Klerk.

Anti-apartheid campaigners argued at the African National Congress news conference that Mr. de Klerk still re-

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ON THE PATH TO NEGOTIATIONS

S. African Leaders Build on Trust

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE personal rapport between Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk, which is bringing their groups closer together at home, has begun boosting the country's fortunes abroad.

The "red carpet" treatment accorded President De Klerk in European capitals this week — Paris, Athens, and Lisbon — appears to be due to the success of his first public talks with the African National Congress delegation led by Deputy President Mandela in Cape Town May 2 to 4.

"There is an enormous sense of relief that the two men have found each other," said a Western diplomat. "They will find untold goodwill in the difficult task of delivering their respective constituencies."

This was acknowledged by Portuguese President Mario Soares when he played host to Mr. De Klerk in Lisbon on Monday — the third stop of a nine-nation tour of Western Europe.

Mr. Soares saluted both De Klerk and Mr. Mandela for getting talks going. He praised De Klerk for his reforms and Mandela for his "moderation."

It is the first time in more than four decades — since the days of former Prime Minister Jan Smuts — that a South African leader was given a reception free of diplomatic gestures of disapproval.

Soares said he accepted that the process of reform in South Africa was "irreversible" — a term that has become the criterion for lifting economic sanctions and other embargoes on South Africa.

Following a 90-minute meeting with De Klerk Monday, Portuguese Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva said his country favored lifting all sanctions against South Africa, but within the context of agreements within the European Community (EC).

The Netherlands, one of Europe's most outspoken critics of apartheid, has drafted a plan under which the EC would lift sanctions in six stages. The plan will be debated at the June 25 EC summit in Dublin.

It was after the tentative accord was reached at the Cape Town talks that Mandela subtly paved the way for a review of sanctions. At a joint press conference with De Klerk, he said that the ANC would not renew its call for the escalation of sanctions.

"We hope that — as a result of the agreement we have arrived at, as well as future developments — it will not be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions," Mandela said.

The encounter in Cape Town showed that a warm relationship had developed between Mandela and De Klerk since their first meeting in December last year.

At the press conference, each replied separately to most questions, balancing the demands of divergent constituencies. They exchanged several jokes and shared their impatience with repeated questions to Mandela about whether the ANC would suspend its armed struggle.

Veteran Afrikaner cleric Beyers Naude, a member of the ANC delegation, said that there appeared to be a special chemis-

try between the two men. "On both sides of the table, there was unanimous support given to Nelson on the one hand and De Klerk on the other," he said.

"If there were differences of opinion, both leaders asked for time — first of all to go and consult with their own constituency. They came back [to their groups after conferring with each other] and said: We have agreed. And everyone accepted that."

"I could not have foreseen the talks taking place without that personal relationship and the building of that sense of integrity," Rev. Naude said.

Mandela's role in persuading his colleagues to negotiate was acknowledged by South African Communist Party Chief Joe Slovo. "Mandela told us that De Klerk and his colleagues were people of integrity who meant what they said and that influenced us to come to the table."

While De Klerk was being feted in Western Europe, Mandela traveled to pay his respects to long-standing African allies — Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Libya, and Egypt.

Mandela has so far limited his travels in Europe to a visit to Sweden, the ANC's major financial backer, and an unofficial visit to Britain last month to attend a pop concert in his honor.

On June 20, he will travel to the United States for a meeting with President Bush and will address a joint session of Congress. He will then go to London to meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. De Klerk is scheduled to meet Mr. Bush on June 18 in Washington.

Mandela Says South Africa Persecuted His Wife

LAGOS, Nigeria, May 13 (AP) — Nelson Mandela, the South African black nationalist leader, today defended his wife, Winnie, saying she had been the victim of the "most scandalous persecution" by the Government.

It was Mr. Mandela's first comment on criticisms of Mrs. Mandela, one of whose former bodyguards is on trial in connection with the kidnapping and killing of a black teen-ager.

Ostracized for a Time

Three men have testified that they were abducted in December 1988 along with the teen-ager and taken to Mrs. Mandela's house in Soweto. They testi-

fied that she beat them with a whip and with her fists and permitted her bodyguards to assault them.

The boy, James (Stompie) Seipei, was later found dead in a field.

Mrs. Mandela has said she was not present during beatings. She was ostracized for a time by some anti-apartheid leaders over the activities of her bodyguards and questions over her own involvement.

But a few months later, she resumed making appearances with other anti-apartheid leaders, and has been publicly at the side of her husband since his release from prison in February.

Mrs. Mandela has not been charged in the case, and both the prosecution and defense have said they will not call her to testify.

Mr. Mandela made no specific reference to the allegations. But he told a crowd of 30,000 cheering Nigerians, "Even now as I am talking to you she is still being persecuted in South Africa."

He said Winnie Mandela was "the victim of the most scandalous persecution by the Government and its agencies." Despite Government restrictions on her activities during his 27 years in prison, she "fought back against all forms of injustice," Mr. Mandela said.

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May 17, 1990

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

A Fresh Start in Cape Town

By Robert I. Rotberg

SO far, so good. The African National Congress (ANC) and the white minority government of South Africa have met face to face in Cape Town, and both sides emerged smiling.

Apartheid is not yet dead. As Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC delegation, made clear, Africans are still denied the vote. Until 30 million Africans vote alongside 5 million whites, they will remain powerless in their own country.

The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, laws that mandate racial classification and residential segregation, are still very much in force. Police and soldiers led by white officers still patrol African townships.

Yet the talks in Cape Town symbolized the rapid erosion, if not quite the permanent decay, of white power. Until a few months ago, the white government refused to talk to the men and women it denounced as terrorists. Now those enemies of the state have been embraced in public.

Emerging from the final sessions in Cecil Rhodes's sun-drenched manor house near Cape Town, Mr. Mandela smiled and said that both the ANC and the government went into the discussions determined that there should be neither victors nor losers. At the conclusion of the talks, "not only are we closer to one another," he said, "but we are all victors." Moreover, South Africa

was the victor, a sentiment echoed not only by President Frederik W. de Klerk, but also by other members of the Cabinet.

The symbolic togetherness may be more important and more decisive than the concrete results of the talks. Nevertheless, the two sides did commit themselves toward ending violence and intimidation, to negotiate peacefully, and to seek stability for South Africa. The ANC, which for at least 13 years has attempted to overthrow apartheid by guerrilla attacks from outside the country, promised to reconsider its military struggle.

The government promised to lift the state of emergency once the ANC ended its own campaign of violence, and to review existing security legislation to "bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa." In other words, to normalize political activities.

Before the next negotiating session, probably in mid-July, a working group of ANC and white officials will meet to discuss the timing of further improvements in the climate of opinion. First on the agenda is the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to ANC members who have lived in exile and long been branded enemies of the state.

The working group was specifically asked to take into account the experiences of Namibia. Presumably, the cooperative and constructive manner in which the former white rulers of that nation and their long-time black antagonists negotiated a liberal and forward-looking constitution that included an American-style bill of

rights, was foremost in the minds of the ANC and the government. So must have been clauses 78 and 79 of the Namibian constitution, which sanctify private property and welcome foreign investment.

Yet fine words and good intentions may not mask major underlying conflicts.

The ANC is committed to one-man, one-vote in a unitary state. Mr. de Klerk, however, says that his National Party is determined to ensure that in any new constitutional system minorities are "protected against domination and against suppression in any form."

Constitution makers have talked about a parliamentary arrangement within which all minorities (not just whites) could veto legislation and thus protect fundamental interests. Whether embedded in the structure of a bicameral legislature with a strong, non-democratic upper house, or in a geographically decentralized, diffuse confederal setup, such a plan would differ fundamentally from today's highly centralized state, and elevate group rights over individual rights.

The hard bargaining will come over just those questions. But at least the discussions will be conducted within the same room by men and women now united fervently on the benefits and desirability of peaceful change and a just solution to the color cleavages of their country.

Among the many positive outcomes of this first meeting between former enemies is the clear understanding that South Africa is together their country. No

longer can whites claim sole authority; and blacks, at least the ANC, acknowledge the permanence of white involvement.

Yet there are important elements on both color flanks that will continue to oppose the new alliance that Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk have begun to forge so well. The abandonment of the armed struggle will not be popular with the militant youths who have been the leading edge of the black struggle against apartheid. Nor will it please Stalinists of the ANC in exile. The smallish Pan-Africanist Congress accuses the ANC of knuckling under to whites.

Right-wing whites will gather strength, too. The Conservative Party walked out of Parliament to protest the Cape Town talks, and it wants a national referendum on change. Just conceivably, its supporters within the ranks of the army and police could, down the road, become sufficiently agitated to stage a coup.

Given the rapid shift from apartheid to accommodation within the ranks of the ruling white party, and an equally felicitous movement in the ANC, the tides of progress at last seem to be surging relentlessly toward a safe harbor. That there will be serious constitutional shoals along the way is as obvious as is the new will to navigate those and myriad other obstacles. "We're at last under way," Mr. de Klerk said last week.

■ Robert I. Rotberg is academic vice president for arts, sciences, and technology at Tufts University.

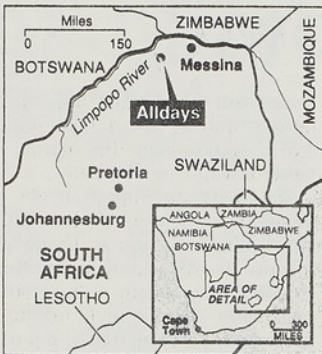
White Farmers, in Despair, Desert de Klerk

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

ALLDAYS, South Africa, May 11 — For the white farmers living along the Limpopo River on South Africa's northern frontier, worries about drought and the low price of cotton have yielded to a despair that President F. W. de Klerk is destroying the segregationist way of life that they took for granted.

African National Congress guerrillas once infiltrated from neighboring Zimbabwe and Botswana into the surrounding bush until the Government stretched a lethal electric fence along the sandy bank of the Limpopo. Now leopards or impalas are found electrocuted on the concertina rolls of razor-sharp wire.



The New York Times

The old segregationist ways live on, and will die hard, in Alldays.

The farmers in the Limpopo Valley grew accustomed to driving trucks heavily armored against land mines and carrying assault rifles. Their wives learned to shoot Uzi submachine guns supplied by the Government. But no one expected what now confronts them on television.

No Doubt of Intentions

THE WASHINGTON POST

2 Die in Clash

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, May 16—Black miners clashed with security officials at a gold mine outside a racially tense town today and two persons were killed, according to reports.

One of the reports said the two victims were whites, but two other accounts of the incident did not mention their race.

A spokesman for the National Union of Mineworkers, Jerry Majatlati, said tonight that two whites had been killed and 12 blacks injured during a clash between a small group of black miners and

Sitting in their living rooms after a hot day spent supervising the black fieldhands who pick the cotton and tend the cattle, the farmers have watched Nelson Mandela walk free and stand as an equal alongside President de Klerk. They have seen the governing National Party, which gave them apartheid, sit down with the African National Congress, whose guerrillas mined their roads and fields.

Critics overseas may question whether Mr. de Klerk is serious about ending white privilege. The farmers in the Limpopo valley expressed no such doubt.

"When I look at what de Klerk is doing, I can only shake my head," said Faan Lemmer, 71 years old, a white-haired cattle farmer. "This Government can't resist the call to majority rule. And what we are in for is majority rule, and that is black rule."

Like other farmers, Mr. Lemmer has embraced the right-wing Conservative Party. "My whole life I was a staunch supporter of the National Party," he said. "I not only voted for it, I worked for it. If people asked me now, I wasted my time. What I fought against is now the policy of the party I supported."

Enough whites share Mr. Lemmer's misgivings to make the area solidly Conservative. "Most of them think as we do," said his wife, Joey, 70, as she served homemade cake and tea. "We're all Afrikaners."

Tom Argyle, who grows cotton and runs a general store, reckoned that 80 to 90 percent of local whites once voted for the National Party. Now, Mr. Argyle said, the Nationalists would be lucky to win 30 or 40 percent of the white vote.

While Mr. de Klerk's white opponents are often considered synonymous with the paramilitary Afrikaner Resistance Movement, its khaki-shirted extremists are outnumbered by

less bellicose whites who, like the farmers along the Limpopo, are alarmed by the direction they see Mr. de Klerk taking them.

The Conservative Party wants to preserve apartheid, which the National Party introduced, or failing that, partition the country between whites and blacks. It won 31 percent of the white vote in national elections last September and now claims that more whites are defecting from the National Party.

The Conservative Party leader, Andries Treurnicht, contends that the National Party no longer represents whites. He hopes to prove it by summoning all Conservatives to a mass rally in Pretoria on May 26.

The view from Tom Argyle's cotton fields encompasses the stony hills across the river where he once farmed in Zimbabwe, which many whites here stubbornly call by its former name,

Rhodesia. Mr. Argyle, who is 38, fought as a Rhodesian Army paratrooper against black guerrillas, losing his right leg. He stayed on in independent Zimbabwe for three years and then crossed the Limpopo.

'Your Time Is Going to Come'

South Africans, he recalled, used to deride white Rhodesians for not hanging on to their privileges. "Sitting on the river bank, we'd say, 'Look, you can laugh now, but your time is going to come, and it will come a lot faster,'" Mr. Argyle said.

Mr. Argyle said he had tried to help black farm workers, who earn barely \$120 a month per family, by keeping his store prices low.

He also said he had read the Freedom Charter promulgated by the African National Congress 35 years ago and decided that 75 percent of what it said made sense.

"We could have a black president if he's the best person to run the country," Mr. Argyle said. "What I would totally object to is a one-man, one-vote system."

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MAY 17, 1990

At Gold Mine

In South Africa

security officials at the Anglo-American gold mine known as President Steyn outside Welkom in Orange Free State province.

Anglo-American spokesman Paul Plothier and a police official confirmed that two people had been killed in the clash.

Police spokesman Col. J.L. de Vries said mine security officials fired on about 50 black miners with rubber bullets and 9mm pistols after the security men had been attacked. One of security men was hurt in the attack and died later in the hospital, he said.

A second man who was taking a shortcut through the mine property

and ran into the confrontation also was killed. "He tried to run away, but the blacks got hold of him and killed him," de Vries said.

The incident was sparked by the dismissal Tuesday of 30 black miners who refused to accept the action and were staging a demonstration with their supporters outside the main mine shaft, according to de Vries.

But Majatlati said the demonstration was held to protest an incident last week in which whites assaulted black miners underground for wearing colors and badges of the black nationalist African National Congress.

SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTROVERSIAL ARCHBISHOP

Tutu Now Plays the Role Of Resilient Peacemaker

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAPE TOWN

WHEN Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu takes his brisk down walk through the tree-lined streets of Bishopscourt, the dogs of affluent white residents still bark at him as if he were an intruder.

As the short, energetic figure – clad in a jogging suit and sneakers – strides past the homes of the society's rich and famous, it is the black domestic workers and gardeners on their way to work who greet him.

But the hostile graffiti that once pointed the way to the archbishop's official residence – in the heart of Cape Town's most exclusive white neighborhood – has long been covered with layers of white paint.

Once reviled by many whites for his strident advocacy of sanctions and outspoken denunciation of white insensitivity to racial injustice, Tutu is seen today – even by some critics – as one of the country's most sincere and resilient peacemakers.

When he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 – after six years as general secretary of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches (SACC) – the jubilation of voiceless blacks was matched only by the prolonged silence among white South Africans.

When Tutu was elected spiritual head of the country's 1.5-million Anglicans – the majority of whom are black – there was talk among some whites about forming a breakaway church.

Despite Tutu's frequent comparison of South Africa under apartheid to Nazi Germany, and his claim that blacks would welcome invading Russians as liberators, a mass exodus of whites from the church never materialized.

While warning white leaders that violence would escalate if they maintained apartheid, he also passionately denounced black violence, intervened in several mob attacks during a nationwide black rebellion in 1985, and met with former President P. W. Botha in a quest for peace.

In recent months Tutu, for years the most visible and tireless campaigner against apartheid, has stepped back from the political limelight to make way for leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"I think on the whole we should stand back," said Tutu on the eve of historic talks between the Government and the African National

Congress (ANC). "We have done our bit; now we should let them do theirs," he said.

"We want to maintain a critical distance so we can criticize what is wrong. We will need to be credible to all if we are trying to bring people together."

Recently, Tutu called on the ANC to suspend its "armed struggle," urged it to probe claims of torture by ANC dissidents, and intervened in the conflict between rival black groups in Natal province.

He said he would have resisted an invitation to serve on the ANC's negotiating team and has a problem with the decision of Afrikaner churchman Beyers Naude – also a former SACC general secretary – to do so.

"The problem is that it will merely confirm the suspicions of people who always believed that the SACC was biased in favor of the ANC," said Tutu.

In February this year the Anglican bishops

decided to bar any ordained priest from being a card-carrying member of a political party.

"The principle is that – as a priest – you should be able to minister to all your congregants," he said. "If you cannot carry out your ministry, you should resign."

Tutu relinquished his position as a patron of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) before he became the first black Bishop of Johannesburg in 1985.

But when the UDF and other anti-apartheid groups were outlawed in February 1988, Archbishop Tutu threw open churches for political meetings and encouraged civil disobedience and defiance of apartheid laws.

His stand – along with other church leaders – provided the moral underpinning of a nationwide campaign of defiance that played a major role in persuading President De Klerk to abandon increased repression.

Tutu has also insisted on consensus in church decision-making, repeatedly condemned human-rights abuses during visits to black-ruled African states, and shown police using

force against militant black youths the difference between authority and power.

On the day a reporter visited Bishopscourt, it was the first celebration of May Day (May 1) as an official workers' holiday in South Africa.

The archbishop was preparing to leave later that day on a five-week tour of the United States, but he followed his structured daily routine which includes long periods of silence and prayer interspersed with official duties.

During an hour-long Eucharist in the small chapel at Bishopscourt, Tutu blended his native Xhosa language with the traditional Anglican recitations and prayers.

His activism, in the Christian tradition of "faith without works is dead," has often been taken by critics as an unseemly political zeal.

But Tutu has always made it clear that he was no more than a caretaker for the authentic leaders, and that he would willingly take a back seat once they were freed.

Today – in doing just that – his public profile has lowered and his stature increased.

S. AFRICA REFORMS (Continued)

ferred to blacks.

The plan was criticized immediately by anti-apartheid leaders, who said it would perpetuate racial division.

Among the 12 points, the plan stipulates regular elections, a ban on one-party rule, a free-market economy and government jobs for minority leaders. It guarantees that people may live in their own communities.

It also says there should be state funding for racially exclusive schools and no expropriation of property without compensation.

Mr. Viljoen said protection for minorities such as whites, Asians and mixed-race people was essential to build a new South Africa.

"These minorities, because of their particular values and aspirations, should have a special voice in the new constitutional dispensation," he said before Parliament last week.

Meanwhile, ANC military commander Joe Modise has said the ANC is prepared to suspend its armed struggle to give negotiations between the ANC and the government a chance.

He told the ANC-aligned Indicator newsletter that a cease-fire might be initiated if a working group

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Romania's Lesson for Ethiopia

MARY McGRORY

THIS IS a tale of two wretched countries: One, Romania, is accepting help from the outside world; the other, Ethiopia, is not.

The new Romanian government is still a puzzle. It may not be all that much better than the old. But at least it lets people from other lands minister to its hungry, abused citizens. The government of Ethiopia, which is run by a machine-gunning monster named Mengistu, bombs the port of Massawa, where ships would bring food to the starving. Mengistu is up front about using famine as a weapon in a 30-year war against the rebels who seized Massawa last February.

The world was slow catching on to the Ethiopian famine of four years ago. But once television sent the word, it went to work. Rock stars took up the cause. Food was rushed by plane, ship and truck. Millions were saved. Now, famine looms again, and the world is weary of it—and exasperated.

The private organizations keep at it. Governments, including our own, are generous. Food is available, but unless Mengistu relents, 3 million could die.

Herman J. Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, told the House International Task Force on Hunger that he had begged Mengistu to make Massawa an open city purely for relief purposes. The answer was no.

Task Force Chairman Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.) wants a U.S.-Soviet airlift. Tony Hall (D-Ohio), chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, wants Presidents Gorbachev and Bush to spotlight Ethiopia at the June summit.

Hall said he implores visiting Ethiopian officials to feed their own people. He charges them with uncivilized behavior. They shrug it off.

The private organizations and

the State Department agreed that it would be best to tell the Ethiopians that the world has better things to do than amass food that can't be distributed. They spoke sternly of "shifting the relief burden to the Ethiopians." Their hearts were not in it. The Ethiopian government would let them die.

"You can't shame the shameless," sighs Tony Hall. "It's been tried."

By comparison, the new people in charge in Romania are permitting all comers with supplies to cross their borders.

One such pilgrim is an American married to an Englishman. Kate Lilly Jarvis, heiress of the Lilly pharmaceutical firm, saw British television documentaries on suffering Romanian children; her heart was torn. She and friends in her village near Oxford prepared boxes for supplies food, clothing, medicine—and put them at schools, churches and shopping malls. In time they collected enough to fill 52 trucks.

Jarvis, a delicate blonde, drove a seven-tonner herself and led the convoy. She is a horse-lover, used to driving heavy vans. Other drivers were recruited from among friends, limousine chauffeurs, family. People and corporations sponsored trucks or donated them. Jarvis got antibiotics from the family firm. It took them more than a week to cross Europe. They kept a rendezvous at the border with a priest and a doctor from the World Free Union of Romania, an organization they had located before their departure.

Nothing prepared them for the reality at a pre-school home for 350 children, from newborn to 4 years old, at Oradea, a small town 100 miles north of Bucharest. They were seeing the full hideous flower

of the social policies of Romania's loathsome Ceausescu, who outlawed birth control and abortion and demanded five children of every family, many of whom had to give up these children to orphanages.

"There were children clutching at us," said Jarvis. "Most of them had eye ailments or respiratory diseases. They were malnourished and pale. They had one nurse for 40 children, so the diapers weren't changed. The actual smell was horrific."

"The handicapped were kept in a separate locked room, and they were lying in their own excrement. They were hosed down occasionally. The staff had no mops to clean the floor. We hadn't brought any mops with us."

They visited an orphanage for 8- to 12-year-olds. The children had no pens, no paper, no blackboard. Their heads were shaved against lice. They had to eat in shifts because they did not have enough forks and spoons. At the pediatric hospital, the visitors saw dirty syringes, filthy linen, two patients to a bed.

Since the February convoy, there has been one other, and two more are planned. Jarvis has joined Romanian Project UK, which aims at long-range help. She came here to find out from the State Department the criteria for aid to Romania; she also asked her family foundation to kick in more money.

She is doing it "because they are Europeans and they were cut off and forgotten and subjected to this horrific regime without our knowing it."

Doctors and nurses are flooding in, taking care of sick babies, 10 percent of whom have AIDS from dirty needles. The new Europe cannot tolerate such gross suffering in its midst. Old Africa does not care.

Tigray Province: A Land of the Night

By Neil Henry

ENDA SELASSIE, Ethiopia—The truck's headlights sliced through the dusty night, illuminating a world of startling vitality. Camel and goat herders ambled through the streets, leading their beasts to a midnight market. Sweating relief workers stacked bags of Canadian wheat by the flickering orange flames of oil lanterns.

As the truck rambled on, its lights shone on a young man in tattered green togs. His head was bandaged and he limped, using a wooden cane. Soon, hundreds upon hundreds of other ragged men were captured by the light, all trudging barefoot out of town.

"Mengistu's people," said a rebel soldier, automatic rifle in hand, as the truck slowly threaded its way through the silent multitudes. "Prisoners of war."

This is the northern Ethiopian province of Tigray, home of 2.6 million people, a cradle of Ethiopian cultural and religious history and the heart of a powerful rebellion that is threatening to sweep away the 13-year-old Marxist-led government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

In a civil war that has claimed about 400,000 lives here and in the neighboring region of Eritrea in the past 30 years, few in northern Ethiopia are untouched by terror. It underscores nearly every aspect of human existence. Most routine activities of daily life must take place after dark because of frequent raids and daytime bombings by the government's Soviet-made MiG fighters.

Village marketplaces open only after dark. Many fields are plowed and sown after dark. Distribution of grain to needy peasants is often carried out by moon-

light or the glow of lantern. It is a world whose mysteries are revealed to a visitor only with the aid of a flashlight or a candle or the headlights of a passing truck.

It is a land of the night.

Fourteen months ago, rebels of the Tigray People's Liberation Front crushed Mengistu's soldiers in a series of furious battles here. More than 75,000 government forces—indeed, all vestiges of the Addis Ababa-based government itself—were ousted from this province.

Since that time, the 70,000-strong rebel army has not only consolidated its military and political control of Tigray, but marched scores of miles even farther south to threaten the nation's capital. Far from their homes, Tigray's peasant rebels—vowing to depose Mengistu and to form a broad-based government—occupy a front about 120 miles north of their objective.

In many ways, Tigray is a land cut off in time and place not only from Ethiopia, but from the rest of the world. The only way for a visitor to enter the rebel-held province is to

hitch a ride with a convoy of relief trucks that leave nightly from the Sudanese border. The grain-bearing convoy—a frequent target of attack by nomadic bandits and government fighter jets—is a lifeline without which many in Tigray would starve.

This is one of Ethiopia's poorest and most backward regions, prone to drought and famine. The once-rich farmland of Tigray has been so severely eroded during centuries of overuse that hundreds of thousands of acres appear little more than barren expanses of stones, dead trees and ankle-deep dust.

It is a nation without a state whose character has been shaped by years of warfare. Scores of rusted Soviet-made tanks and armored carriers lie dormant on roadsides and pastures, ubiquitous ornaments on the landscape.

The central squares of even the most remote villages here feature handpainted caricatures of the hated Mengistu, with swords and knives stuck in his head or throat. Most of these squares are decorated with spent artillery shells and other twisted implements of death collected by local children.

Tigray is host to more than 35,000 Ethiopian prisoners of war, some as young as 13. Many were forcibly conscripted into Mengistu's army to fight the advancing rebels. Allowed to go home if they desire after completing a six-month "reeducation program" run by the rebels, most seem to prefer to remain in Tigray rather than face the possibility of execution as traitors or spies if they return to government-held territory.

"It is better to stay here," said Girma Mengistu, 47, an Ethiopian army medical officer who was captured by the rebels seven months ago and now lives in a labor camp in western Tigray. "The government believes all prisoners have their heads poisoned by the TPLF. I know they will kill me."

Life in this hard land is perhaps best symbolized by a maze of more than 800 hand-dug bomb shelters that run beneath the rubble-strewn streets of Mekelle, the provincial capital. This is one of dozens of Ti-

grayan towns scarred and cratered by bombs dropped by government aircraft. Many of the shelters, occupied by orphans, are lined with burlap sacks stenciled with greetings such as "Gift of the U.S.S.R." The bags once contained grain to feed the hungry but now are filled with dirt and sand to protect human flesh from shrapnel.

A recent 13-day journey by a group of famine relief experts from Norway and Denmark and a Washington Post correspondent behind the lines in rebel-held Ethiopia, a 900-mile odyssey, provided a rare look at a region that has been largely hidden from the outside world for more than a year, since the rebels took over in March 1989.

The overland route carried us to a political command center of the rebellion and stretched past the dry, desolate farmlands of the east where millions of peasants are threatened by famine. A little-known aid organization, the Relief Society of Tigray, is distributing tons of internationally donated grain to drought-stricken peasants whose relatives died of starvation and disease by the hundreds of thousands during a famine here five years ago.

But it is war, not sustenance, that continues to be the most salient fact of life. As the fighting goes on, Mengistu—the Marxist ruler who came to power in a military coup three years after the 1974 revolution that toppled the 44-year rule of Emperor Haile Selassie—finds his army in trouble on every front.

Just to the north of here, in Eritrea, another group of rebels is steadily tightening a military noose around the government's finest force, the 100,000-member 2nd Army. After a truce that lasted for more than a year, rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front captured the Red Sea port of Massawa in February during an offensive that has cost an estimated tens of thousands of lives on both sides so far.

Last week, the Eritrean Front

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announced that the rebels had repulsed two major counteroffensives by the 2nd Army at the town of Ghinda, a strategic point on the main road between Massawa and the Eritrean capital, Asmara. At the same time, rebel troops were reported to be advancing on Asmara from the southeast. Earlier this month, the Eritrean Front proclaimed its capture of the towns of Senafe, Adi Kiyo and Digsu on the road north to Segeneti, site of one of the few remaining government garrisons protecting Asmara.

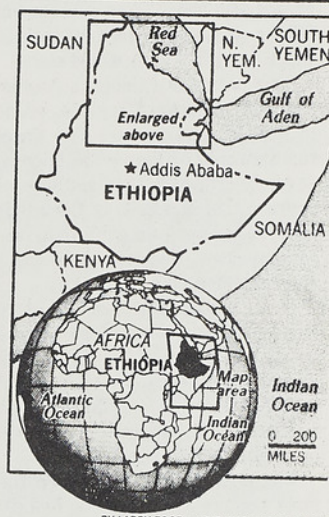
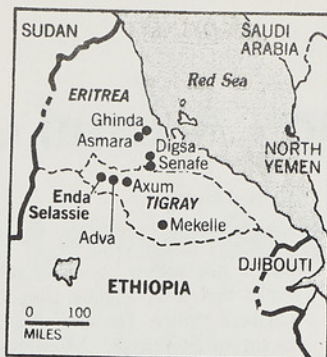
Largely abandoned by his chief benefactor, the Soviet Union, which provided about \$1 billion in economic and military aid during the last decade before sharply cutting back support in the last 18 months, Mengistu recently has attempted a number of economic and political reforms. These range from the cosmetic (the great color portraits of Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and Friedrich Engels that once adorned Addis Ababa's main square, for instance, have been pulled down) to the fundamental (freeing state controls on private enterprise).

But many analysts see the moves as being insignificant.

On May Day, in a somber address to the nation, Mengistu called the recent fighting in the north the "most momentous and decisive" of the civil war. He excoriated the Eritrean and Tigray rebel fronts as "devils" and "traitors," accused members of his own government of being "spineless" and "plotting to defect" and lamented that he was the only man in Ethiopia dedicated to the nation's union.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front—by far the most powerful of no less than 21 rebel fronts and movements active in Ethiopia—share a goal of destroying Mengistu's army. In fact, the two rebel groups have fought in tandem several times in recent years.

But while the Marxist Eritrean rebels are fighting for what they claim to be a right to secession and independence of the coastal region—and boast offices around the Western world to serve a polished public relations campaign in support of their 30-year-old cause—little is known about the Tigray Front other than its commitment to capture Addis Ababa and grab the reins of



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

power.

Indeed, at a time of stunning transformations toward democracy in the Communist world, the Tigray Front's elusive leaders seem a throwback to a distant age. They are commonly recognized as staunch Marxists, strict revolutionaries who believe in class struggle and the orthodox Stalinist models of socialism.

However, during a recent interview in Mekelle, Sibahat Nega, a top official of the Tigray Front, insisted that the rebel leaders are undergoing changes in their political thinking and that the 15-year-old group was no longer strictly Marxist nor anachronistic but "democratic" and "nationalist" in its beliefs.

"We want peace. We want a free expression of ideas," declared the rebel leader. He said the Tigray Front proposes to form a broad-based provisional government made up of all opposition movements when and if Mengistu's government falls. That government would be charged with drawing up a new Ethiopian constitution.

Such rights would certainly represent a sea change in Tigray, a region long oppressed or neglected by generations of Ethiopian rulers who have been frustrated in their efforts to unify the nation because of its diversity. Ethiopia is made up of at least 70 ethnic groups who speak more than 100 languages.

The Amharic-speaking population of the central region and the Tigrinya-speaking people of the northern highlands make up a third of Ethiopia's population, but for more than a century the Amharic have dominated political power and have sought to contain their northern rivals.

While Eritrea is renowned in the region for the legions of intellectuals, professionals and traders it has produced, impoverished Tigray is recognized, in the words of Roman Catholic Archbishop Kidane Mariam of the Tigrayan city of Adigrat, as a "spiritual heartland" and "mecca of history."

The ancient city of Axum is here, capital of the great Axumite kingdom that ruled the Red Sea before the birth of Christ and the birthplace of the 1,500-year-old Ethiopian Orthodox Church around which much of the nation's spiritual life revolves. The town center is graced by sacred granite obelisks and some of the oldest Christian churches in the world.

Adua is also here, site of sub-Saharan Africa's first, and one of its greatest, military victories over a European power: the defeat of Italian invaders by forces of the Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II in 1896. Indeed, Abdul Mohammed, an Ethiopian relief expert and prominent human rights activist, describes this region as critical to Ethiopia's national identity, a place of "faith and pride."

But Tigray also has known its share of oppression by foreign dictators. Amid a collection of corroded machine guns fronting the ruins of an old castle in Mekelle—which served as a home to generations of Tigrayan kings and more recently as headquarters of the Mengistu government—sits an up-ended copper bust of Benito Mussolini, Fascist leader of Italy during its occupation of Ethiopia in World War II.

Haile Selassie was treated internationally as an elder statesman in the post-World War II period and

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Liberian rebels ready 2-pronged attack on capital

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

SEATA, Liberia (Agence France-Presse) — Liberian rebels yesterday were just outside the key iron ore port of Buchanan and preparing to attack the capital, Monrovia, some 60 miles to the west.

More than 3,000 insurgents of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia were taking part in the offensive, NPFL commanders told Western journalists on a tour of the rebel-held region.

[Diplomatic sources in Abidjan, capital of neighboring Ivory Coast, said an undetermined number of rebels had been seen within 15 miles of Monrovia and around Roberts International Airport, some 35 miles east of the capital.]

The dissidents are led by fugitive former Liberian civil servant Charles Taylor, whose men invaded Liberia from neighboring Ivory Coast on Dec. 24 in a bid to unseat President Samuel Doe. Mr. Doe seized power in a bloody coup on April 12, 1980.

The rebels have reached and taken control of the Liberian Agricultural Corp. rubber plantation, an American-owned operation some 12 miles from Buchanan. A railroad links Buchanan to the iron ore mines at Yekepa, in northeastern Nimba County, which the rebels also claim to have captured.

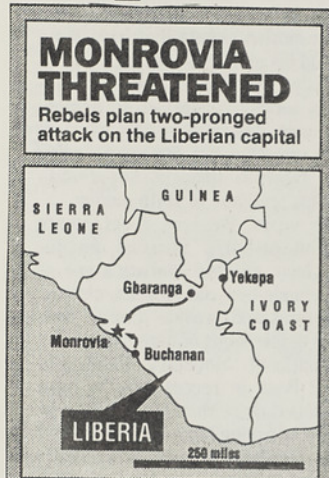
The rebels say they are planning a two-pronged attack on Monrovia: one group of about 1,000 is to move in from Buchanan, while another group is to arrive from Gbarnga in Bong County, some 75 miles northeast of the capital.

On Monday, the rebels attacked several government positions in Mr. Doe's native Grand Gedeh County, Mr. Taylor told reporters yesterday, adding that his forces also control the Nimba towns of Yekepa, Sanniquellie and Ganta.

[An independent newspaper in Monrovia carried a report yesterday quoting the British Broadcasting Corp. confirming rebels had taken the mining center of Yekepa.

[Workers at the Yekepa iron ore mine told the BBC that government forces fled into neighboring Guinea when the rebels attacked. The mine workers, who also went to Guinea, said the soldiers crossed the border when they ran out of bullets.

†Before the government took over



Map by Paul Woodward / The Washington Times

the iron ore mine at Yekepa last year, it provided 70 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. No recent figures are available.]

Residents inside the rebel-held areas charged that government troops massacred at least 32 persons before fleeing advancing rebel troops earlier this month. Reporters were shown 15 bodies in a freshly dug grave.

Survivors said soldiers rounded up people in six villages and shot many before fleeing the rebels April 9. They said they knew of 32 killed and it was likely there were additional dead that had been dumped in the bush.

Since invading, the rebels have pushed out of Nimba County to the south into River Cess County, to the southwest into Grand Bassa County and to the west into central Bong.

Nimba County, the second-largest in population in the West African nation, produced more than 20 percent of the country's food. But more than 80 percent of its 350,000 people have fled to Ivory Coast, Guinea and other parts of Liberia, which was founded by freed American slaves in 1847.

The rebels largely control Nimba County, home to the Gio and Mano tribes that are their ethnic base.

U.S. officials and Liberian sources in Washington said Monday the State Department had been actively pressing for a meeting between Liberian officials and NPFL rebels.

The U.S. Embassy in Abidjan con-

Liberian Bloodshed, U.S. Diplomacy

By J. Brian Atwood

J. Brian Atwood is president of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, which is affiliated with the Democratic Party.

WASHINGTON
A war is being fought in Liberia, which has close ties with the U.S., and very few in Washington have taken notice. Active diplomacy is urgently needed, not only to prevent further bloodshed but to preserve prospects for a democratic political solution.

The war has its origins in corruption, human rights abuses and ethnic tensions exacerbated by the Government of the President, Gen. Samuel K. Doe.

These problems were particularly acute in Nimba County, a large area bordering the Ivory Coast and Guinea. Abuses of the local population by President Doe's military turned the county into fertile ground for an insurgency.

The leader of the insurgents, Charles Taylor, is a former high official in the Doe Government who fled the country after having been accused of embezzlement. His supporters say he is fighting for democracy, but Liberian democrats are skeptical. It is unlikely, they say, that he possesses either the commitment to democracy or the political leadership necessary to bring about a democratic transition on his own.

The best hope for a peaceful reconciliation would be a negotiated settlement and an agreement to hold elections to determine the nation's new leadership. There is little time. Mr. Taylor's forces are closing in on Monrovia, the capital. Only the U.S. has the influence and leverage needed to achieve a cease-fire and begin negotiations.

In the minds of many Liberians

Continued on page 16

firmed yesterday that "the U.S. State Department has been in touch with a number of parties as it continues its efforts to encourage resolution of the conflict in Liberia."

Mr. Taylor, who fled to the United States in 1984 after authorities in Monrovia charged him with embezzling almost \$1 million, said his forces now number 10,000, with more than half of them currently active.

Sources say more than 1,000 people have died in the fighting so far.

Mobutu Faces Mounting Economic Problems

By Jonathan C. Randal

KINSHASA, Zaire—President Mobutu Sese Seko styles himself "Son of a Leopard, Son of the Great River and Greatest Marshal in All History." In the view of diplomats, politicians and analysts in this capital, Zaire's autocratic leader for the past quarter-century is likely to require all of these attributes—and more—to stay in power after embarking on a limited political liberalization.

Increasingly, observers of events here doubt that Mobutu's jewel-studded marshal's baton and leopard-skin hat can recreate the magic aura of absolute power that has seen Africa's ultimate survivor through many a crisis since Zaire became independent from Belgium in 1960.

Their pessimism is rooted less in Mobutu's hazy outline of political reform than in his mismanagement of the economy. This, they say, constitutes the gravest threat to his continued rule.

Last month, Mobutu unveiled a plan to institute multi-party democracy to replace the one-party state embodied by his Popular Movement of the Revolution. His willingness to allow even a controlled experiment limited to three parties set off genuine euphoria, as did his announcement that he would remove himself from day-to-day governing and become the "arbiter, the final resort" in Zaire's freshly coined "Third Republic."

But his initiatives appear to have alienated not only powerful figures inside his party but also political hopefuls on the outside, according to dozens of diplomats and politicians interviewed here.

In their view, Mobutu was caught off guard by the reaction and stiff resistance of the "barons," as the powerful old guard party stalwarts are called, to their president's plan to end the primacy of his party. They have since extracted concessions from him, forcing him to slow the reform process and to return many long-discredited veteran politicians to senior government positions. As a result, many younger Zairians who had hoped at long last to share in power have grown discouraged.

Now, these analysts say, Mobutu has left himself open to charges of merely going through the motions of

instituting political change, and has set in motion events that have gone beyond his ability to control.

Analysts and diplomats say Mobutu's sudden conversion to democracy was designed mainly to persuade Western aid donors to relax their rigorous financial supervision over his spending of state money.

For years, Western governments and international financial institutions have charted Mobutu's use of state funds to build palaces, charter Concordes and provide himself with other visible signs of high living. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank in recent months have suspended more than \$100 million in quick-disbursing balance of payments funds. Further, there have been calls in the U.S. Congress to cut the \$60 million a year in foreign aid that Zaire has been receiving.

The analysts here said Mobutu has rejected as offensive to him World Bank stipulations that its financial aid will remain suspended until Zaire accepts quarterly audits of its treasury accounts and of Gecamines, the nationalized copper company that is the primary foreign exchange earner.

With foreign exchange rapidly drying up, some economists here predict that the treasury will be empty by early summer. Mobutu once again is printing paper money to pay government bills, they said. On the black market, the local currency, known as the zaire, is trading at 30 percent below the official exchange rate.

Mobutu has shown no sign of wanting to abandon the presidency. In fact, he has hinted that he will run again in December 1991. And the politicians and diplomats interviewed here discern no drive to remove him from office.

"No one knows if Mobutu is indispensable," remarked a West European observer, "but no one seems in any hurry to find out any sooner than necessary."

This wariness to precipitate his departure bears testimony to Mobutu's generally acknowledged political charisma.

Few African leaders rival Mobutu's longevity in office. The Zairean leader knew Presidents John F. Kennedy and Charles de Gaulle

and has survived civil war and repeated insurrections.

His main rival to this claim, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, is preparing to retire. He was forced to do so, in part, by economic mismanagement of a much less imposing magnitude than the state to which Mobutu has reduced his country, whose wealth under Belgian rule was second on the continent only to South Africa's.

In the past, the very steadiness of Zaire's economic decline—real wages in Kinshasa have been calculated at 6 percent of their value on the eve of independence—was widely invoked to explain the population's great reservoir of patience bordering on passivity.

"Revolutions only happen in rich countries" was the standard explanation provided those who wondered why Zaire had not been the scene of civil disturbance years ago.

But that was before the fall of Communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe, especially the overthrow and execution in late December of president Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, who was Mobutu's close friend.

Soon, in what amounted to desecralization of Mobutu's person, punsters were cracking unkind jokes playing on the similarity of sounds between Ceausescu and Sese Seko.

For two months this winter, Mobutu traveled across his immense country, as large as the United States east of the Mississippi, listening to ordinary citizens, encouraged to unburden themselves without fear of reprisal.

By all accounts, what he learned in 6,128 memoranda sent to him came as a shock since the criticism focused on the Popular Movement of the Revolution party, his personal creation. It was denounced as ineffective, oppressive and wasteful.

Nor was he himself spared criticism.

An old woman near Kisangani in the northeast handed Mobutu two 5,000 zaire banknotes, representing the average monthly salary—\$10. She told the president, "Ask your wife what she can buy with them."

Continued on page 13

Is Botswana a Model for Democracies in Africa?

By JANE PERLEZ

GABORONE, Botswana — In the African context, an unusual event occurred in Botswana last October: national elections were held among eight competing political parties. When some of the results were disputed, the judiciary, not the politicians, interceded.

Multiparty elections, held every five years since Botswana won its independence from Britain 24 years ago, have earned it applause for being one of a handful of democracies on the African continent.

Now, as the leaders of Africa are pressed to take a cue from Eastern Europe and open up their political systems, Botswana, a Texas-size nation of only 1.3 million people on the northern doorstep of South Africa, is held up as a possible model.

The enthusiasm for Botswana's political system has been led by the World Bank and the United States. Both cite Botswana's extraordinary economic growth rate during the post-independence period, when most of Africa got poorer, as a product not only of its diamond deposits but its democratic politics and its capitalist economic policies. They said the growth rate was an average of 8.8 percent in per capita income terms for the 20 years after independence.

To an outsider arriving at this capital city's airport, the contrast with much of sub-Saharan Africa is remarkable. Rifle-carrying soldiers are absent and the usual detailed currency declaration forms, routine in countries with shortages of foreign exchange and flourishing black markets, are nonexistent.

Botswana's democracy appears to be firmly rooted. The first President, Sir Seretse Khama, was a former tribal chief who in 1948 shocked his tribe and scandalized the British colonialists by marrying a British woman. The British, under pressure from South Africa, banished the couple from its protectorate, Bechuanaland, later Botswana.

Sir Seretse — the British made up to him for the banishment with a knighthood — was appalled at the apartheid policies adopted in South Africa in the 1950's. He was determined when he returned from exile to establish an independent nation with democratic institutions that would stand in stark contrast to South Africa. As it turned out, educated people in Botswana and others now remark on how they stand in contrast to much of black Africa.

But some African scholars, including some in Botswana, are asking how much of a multiparty state Botswana really is and, given its small population and relative tribal unity, how much of a model can it be for larger, more diverse African countries. The argument in favor of one-party states in Africa often revolves around the single party being a unifying force for discordant and competitive tribes.

"We have a weakling but existing

multiparty state," said Patrick Mloti, a lecturer in sociology at the University of Botswana and a co-director of the Democracy Project, a group of academics that analyses the political processes in Botswana. "If you look at the prerequisites of liberal democracy, the rule of law has been highly respected. A lot of people can say a lot of things with relatively little fear. There has been a lot of response by the ruling party to debates with the opposition."

That being said, Mr. Mloti and others point out that the governing party, the Botswana Democratic Party, has dominated the country's politics since independence. The major opposition party, the left-of-center Botswana National Front, has failed to ever win more than six seats in the 34-seat Parliament. In the last election, the party only won three seats, although for the first time it contested every seat.

"The fact that the opposition is represented by three seats in Parliament is not a test of the strength of the democracy but the strength of the opposition," asserted Johnnie Carson, deputy chief of mission at the United States Embassy. Mr. Carson noted, as do others, that in Mexico and Japan, also cited as democracies, one party has had a virtual monopoly on power.

However much the one party's domination may diminish Botswana's status as a democracy, there is a tolerance for dissent that is rare in other African nations. The Government daily newspaper, compared to most strident Government publications on the continent, is rather feeble at pushing a point of view. And the three privately owned weeklies can be barbed and were highly critical of the Government recently over the shooting of an 18-year-old female student by a soldier.

Indeed, it is the way the 6,200-member army, established only 11 years ago, is growing that worries people here about the strength of their democracy. With foreign reserves of \$2.5 billion — on a per capita basis probably the highest in the third world — the Government is flush with cash. Last year, it quietly doubled the capital budget for the military, from \$40 million to \$80 million.

The money is being spent on a new military air base west of Gaborone. But the Government has not explained why Botswana needs the base and the jets to go with it. The threat from South Africa, which carried out bombing raids in the mid 1980's in pursuit of accused members of the African National Congress, has faded.

Another failing that Mr. Mloti and others on his Democracy Project point out is the domination of an elite. That is reflected, they say, in the failure of the Government to distribute the benefits of the country's diamond wealth to the rural poor.

MOBUTU FACES (Continued)

Foreign Ministry staff warned in their memoranda that he risked sharing Ceausescu's fate unless he accepted profound reforms, the sources here said.

When pamphlets in Kinshasa called for three days of mass demonstrations against Mobutu in mid-April, the president called in troops and raised government pay by a weighted average of 55 percent, they said.

Then, in a speech April 24, Mobutu scuttled the Popular Movement of the Revolution, announced that three political parties would be authorized, restored the independence of the three traditional branches of government and removed himself from day-to-day control of the executive.

Abolished as well were requirements for Zairians to call each other "citizen" and for men to wear *abacos*, literally "down with suits," the collarless, tieless dress that Mobutu imposed in 1972 as part of his "authenticity" campaign.

Overnight, neckties, outlawed for nearly two decades, were hawked in the streets. Government ministers removed from their lapels previously obligatory Mobutu pins.

Within days, more than a dozen political groups registered in the hope of qualifying as one of the three authorized parties.

But either inadvertently or by design, Mobutu failed to define the registration criteria, the sources said.

And, apparently much to Mobutu's surprise, the party barons fought back. One member of the Central Committee termed Mobutu's dissolution of the party-state "the supreme catastrophe" and a violation of his hand-tailored constitution.

Last week, the barons prevailed on Mobutu to postpone a rapid implementation of multi-party politics.

And in a further indication of party muscle—and the limits of political liberalization here—the government that Mobutu named to preside over Zaire's transition to multi-party democracy included more old faces than new.

Mobutu has made clear he does not intend to become a mere figurehead in the transition government. Despite his promised reforms, Mobutu announced that he will keep personal control of defense, foreign affairs and security.

And economists, wary of the relative powerlessness of transition governments in general, doubt that Mobutu can be prevented from indulging what one specialist called his "insatiable hunger for foolish," and costly, prestige projects.

Nairobi Journal

An Envoy Who Starts Fires to Get Things Started

By JANE PERLEZ

NAIROBI, Kenya, May 11 — Smith Hempstone, the American Ambassador to this East African nation, was not bashful about coveting the job. He recounts approaching George Bush before he won the Presidential election and saying quite bluntly: "When you are President I would like to be your Ambassador to Kenya."

A former executive editor of The Washington Times and a columnist with a definite conservative point of view, Mr. Hempstone had the correct political qualifications, and, as it turned out, appropriate, although dated, knowledge.

For eight years in the 1950's and early 60's he traveled through Africa, including a period as a correspondent for The Chicago Daily News in Kenya, when he wrote about its transition from colony to independent nation.

In the six months since his return, this time as a diplomat, Mr. Hempstone has broken the traditional diplomatic mold. Gray-haired and 60 years old, he greets weekend visitors on the back porch of his residence in plaid shirt and khaki shorts.

He was quick to tell the Kenyan Government that if American business investment was going to return, something had to be done about the pervasive corruption, a subject more delicate in Kenya than human rights. Then last week, he stepped into a heated domestic political debate.

To a speech that an aide had written about the economy, Mr. Hempstone added a sentence: that in handing out economic assistance, Washington would give preference to those nations that "nourish democratic institutions, defend human rights and practice multiparty politics."

Almost any mention of multiparty politics in this one-party state draws furious responses from the leaders of the ruling party, the Kenya Africa National Union, including its head, President Daniel arap Moi.

Mr. Hempstone made it clear that he was reflecting official Washington's point of view and not his own. But Mr. Moi took offense and effectively told Mr. Hempstone not to meddle.

The controversy grew and threatened a project dear to Mr. Hempstone, an American-Kenyan trade show. It was the first in Kenya's 27 years of independence, and President Moi was to open it. After Mr. Hempstone's multiparty comments, the President threatened to back out, and

the Ambassador had to engage in some backstage diplomacy.

Mr. Moi not only appeared, but in a carefully crafted speech on Wednesday he avoided the shrill language that had marked his attacks on the multiparty proponents. He encouraged the debate and said Kenya was not wedded to the past, a greater concession to the possibility of change than had come from any senior Government official.

A senior staff aide at the American Embassy said, "For the first time the Government is on the defensive." A Kenyan Government official said that many Kenyans, yearning for a substantive rather than a name-calling debate on how Kenya should mold its political system in the wake of democratization in Eastern Europe, were grateful to Mr. Hempstone. "He is our friend," the official said.

While Washington had been clear about the need for political change in Africa, Mr. Hempstone is the only American Ambassador on the continent to have publicly raised the matter. "It's ironic," he said, explaining that he is probably the most conservative American Ambassador in Africa.

Mr. Hempstone said he was not sure whether Western models of democracy were appropriate. It is probable, he said, that new political parties will form along tribal lines, a common fear expressed by African opponents of the idea. Further, Africa did not have the same historical background as the developed world.

"Africa missed a few things: the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution," he said. "Maybe everything that is desirable is not possible at this time."

At a Washington meeting last month of American Ambassadors in Africa, Mr. Hempstone was cast as the devil's advocate on a panel arguing the merits of multiparty systems. "I said that multiparty systems will not necessarily lead to Jeffersonian democracy and one-party systems do not necessarily lead to repression or lack of political freedom. I found myself defending Kenya — which I do."

Nevertheless, he has chosen to raise the issue. He says he is only doing it because he wants Kenya to get the best from the United States, and he fears Congress will cut aid if there are not political reforms.

Mr. Hempstone is one of six political ambassadorial appointees to the

Kenyan Alleges Plot

Reuter

NAIROBI, Kenya, May 11 — Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi said a group of dissidents planned to destabilize his government by carrying out political killings.

His accusations coincided with a government campaign to silence calls for multi-party politics in Kenya. Moi, speaking at a rally in central Kenya Thursday, said the dissident group was based in Scandinavia and was supported by members of the Church of the Province of Kenya, a branch of the Anglican Church. Kenyan authorities often accuse church leaders of meddling in politics in the country, which banned opposition parties in 1982.

Moi did not identify the dissidents, but said they planned to kill public figures, whose deaths would be blamed on the government. Foreign Minister Robert Ouko was killed in February and student demonstrators have blamed his death—which is being investigated by British detectives—on the government.

Moi hinted at a crackdown on dissidence, saying "I will have to swing into action now." He criticized two ex-ministers who last week made the strongest appeal yet for multi-party politics in Kenya. Moi, who has said pluralism would split Kenya along tribal lines, accused Charles Rubia and Kenneth Matiba of trying to plunge the country into civil war.

more than 40 American embassies in Africa. The most significant other political appointment in Africa is that of J. Steven Rhodes, whom Mr. Bush sent to Zimbabwe. Mr. Rhodes was a staff assistant to Mr. Bush in his first term as Vice President and subsequently became managing director in Los Angeles for the brokerage house Smith Barney Harris Upham.

Not one for protocol, Mr. Hempstone turned up for a visit recently to a family-planning project in rural Kenya wearing shorts, shirt and tennis shoes while other guests had on office attire.

And he drew even more attention when he visited a prominent Kenyan politician, Shariff Nassir, in the coastal city of Mombasa. Mr. Nassir gave the Ambassador the usual arguments for a one-party state. Rather than remain diplomatically silent, Mr. Hempstone forcefully articulated the American policy in favor of more open political systems.

The influential Weekly Review, a news magazine, observed that Mr. Hempstone's rebuttal to the powerful Mr. Nassir was "a fleeting breach of protocol."

Mr. Hempstone was not troubled by the magazine's criticism. "I'm not a diplomat," he said with a chuckle.

MANDELA SAYS SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

He thanked the Nigerian Government and people for support during his time in prison.

Earlier, in the Angolan capital, Luanda, Mr. Mandela urged the West not to end sanctions against South Africa.

"Our policy is very clear," he said. "We have called on the international community to isolate South Africa and that is still our position."

President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa is on a European tour, during which he has been touting progress made in ending apartheid and arguing that it is time to end the diplomatic and economic isolation of South Africa.

WHITE FARMERS, IN DESPAIR, DESERT DE KLERK (Continued)

Though none of the farmers talked of fighting back, Mr. Argyle said he expected a national white backlash against Mr. de Klerk's policies.

"It's coming," Mr. Argyle said. "It's got to come. It's just a matter of time."

Mr. Lemmer, articulating the nightmare of white conservatives that faithful black retainers would rise up against them, displayed a flash of gallows humor. "I tell my wife, when they come to kill you with the kitchen knives, let them be sharp," he said.

S. AFRICAN PRESIDENT TO PRECEDE MANDELA (Continued)

for setting the de Klerk visit before Mandela's. He said black leaders, including himself, Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King and others had objected to any de Klerk visit a month ago in a meeting with Secretary of State James A. Baker III on grounds that de Klerk had not yet earned it by dismantling apartheid, freeing prisoners and changing laws. Baker did not respond to the objections, Robinson said.

"No American president has ever invited a South African president presiding over an apartheid state to visit the United States. Not even Ronald Reagan," Robinson said. "Since 1948, no American president has ever done this. Then to do it in the face of objections and the weak

The South African Government outlawed the African National Congress in 1960, and the organization began a guerrilla campaign the following year to overthrow white minority rule and end the system of racial segregation.

Mr. de Klerk legalized the A.N.C. in February and met with Mr. Mandela last month. Delegations from the Government and the A.N.C. reached a broad agreement to work for an end to political violence and to prepare the way for black entry into government.

Mr. Mandela indicated that the congress was prepared to compromise with Mr. de Klerk on several points, but said demands for full voting rights were not negotiable.

"The demand of one person one vote is one on which it is inconceivable to expect us to compromise," he said. "What would this fight have been all about, if we are not going to press that demand exactly as it is?"

He promised that the A.N.C. would work to address white fears about black suffrage.

"We mean to remove any concerns ... because it is absolutely necessary for the future of South Africa to retain white expertise and skill," he said.

Asked whether he intended to run for president in any future democratic elections in South Africa, Mr. Mandela, who is 71 years old, said he had "no such ambition."

But, he said, "I will do what the A.N.C. and the South African people require me to do."

before Nelson Mandela comes to the United States is a demonstration of insensitivity of which I did not know George Bush to be capable."

Robinson added that the de Klerk visit "will provoke enormous consternation, demonstrations and turmoil in the United States."

In a written statement yesterday, the ANC said Mandela will address a joint session of Congress, meet with Bush and receive a ticker-tape parade in New York City. His visit is being organized by a group that includes the heads of international unions, U.S. mayors, African-American leaders, religious authorities, entertainers and businessmen, the statement said.

OUTCRY OVER VISITS FROM SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

sisted giving blacks an equal vote and was trying to enable the nation's white minority to maintain veto power.

Administration officials, who said the order of the trips had been decided simply by available dates and not by a desire to promote one leader over the other, said there was no chance of Mr. de Klerk's visit being canceled. President Bush decided on Feb. 1 to invite both men to the White House, as a way to encourage Mr. de Klerk to release Mr. Mandela from prison.

After Mr. Mandela was released, the President extended the invitations, hoping to spur the talks between the two men to give political rights to South

Africa's disfranchised black majority.

"The protests of the A.N.C. and others compels us to discuss whether we should change the sequence of the visits," an Administration official said. "But nothing has been set in concrete, and the dates might be switched for both. There's still a possibility that Mandela might come before de Klerk."

But the official added that there was a strong possibility that the dates would be left where they were, since the White House felt that the anti-apartheid groups would protest Mr. de Klerk's visit no matter when it came.

At the African National Congress

S. AFRICA REFORMS (Continued)

of ANC and government officials reaches agreement on opening talks about South Africa's future.

Mr. Modise, who was in the ANC's nine-member delegation to the Cape Town talks May 2-4 to discuss obstacles to full-scale negotiations, warned that the ANC's military organization, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), had the capacity to "create real trouble" but said if there was a better alternative, "we will opt for it."

President Frederik de Klerk, currently on a nine-nation tour of Europe, is being welcomed by European heads of state with a warmth not experienced by South African leaders since World War II.

There have been indications during the trip that Europe is now prepared to scale back its sanctions campaign in recognition of South Africa's reform efforts and in the hope of strengthening Mr. de Klerk's hand in the face of serious pressures from the right.

The 12-nation European Community will review its sanctions package next month. This was confirmed in Athens by Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis after he met with Mr. de Klerk and Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha.

Mandela intends to use the visit to "urge this country to keep up the pressure on the South African government to end the apartheid system" of white minority rule, the statement said. Mandela also will "express his gratitude to the American people and the anti-apartheid movement," the group said.

Mandela and de Klerk held a first round of talks in Cape Town May 2 designed to lead to negotiations toward a new constitution and an end to apartheid in South Africa. The de Klerk government has offered to give up white rule but opposes a one-man, one-vote system, which it says would replace white domination with black domination. The ANC is pressing for full democracy with no special rights for any minority.

news conference, the schedule of Mr. Mandela's 10-day trip was laid out. He will appeal to Americans "to maintain the sanctions and intensify the sanctions," said Tebogo Mafale, the A.N.C. representative at the United Nations.

He will receive a ticker tape parade in New York City, address a joint meeting of Congress, attend a gala held by the entertainment community in Los Angeles, receive an honorary degree in Atlanta from a consortium of black colleges, speak to trade unionists and meet with heads of American corporations to talk about their investment policies in South Africa.

LIBERIAN BLOODSHED (Continued)

U.S. policy has placed us too close to President Doe. This is the case even though the U.S. has cut back economic and military assistance from a high of \$80 million in 1985 to about \$10 million last year.

This was done in large part at the insistence of Congress, which required the executive branch to certify that Liberia was making "significant progress" in political and economic reform. Even the most creative diplomats and lawyers could find no progress.

The leaders of various political parties and civic groups in Liberia are impressive. Many are living in exile but are prepared to return when they can do so safely. They had looked forward to elections scheduled for November 1991 as an opportunity to topple the Government at the polls. But now it doesn't look as though it will survive until then.

The election in 1985 was widely believed to be fraudulent. Large piles of ballots were seen burning and a significant defeat for President Doe turned out to be a narrow victory after a delayed and manipulated vote count.

The U.S. Government contributed to the legitimization of the result when a statement by Secretary of State George Shultz seemed to endorse the process.

In 1985, the international community did not pay much attention to Liberia. Had international observers been present, the outcome might have been different.

The experience of U.N. observers in Namibia and Nicaragua and large numbers of official and unofficial observers monitoring elections around the globe gives Liberia's democrats more confidence that the 1991 election will reflect the will of the Liberian people.

On May 8, a delegation sent by the Liberian Government was in Washington to seek advice in setting up an

TIGRAY PROVINCE (Continued)

became one of America's closest African allies, as well as the largest recipient in Africa of U.S. military and economic aid during the 1960s. But U.S. military advisers were expelled after the 1974 revolution and, in 1978, Mengistu signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Moscow, formalizing a relationship that made the Soviet Union Ethiopia's new chief benefactor and political model.

Tigrayan leaders are quick to point out that between 1945 and 1974, not one public project—not a school, hospital or road—was funded or built in Tigray by the imperial government, a plan of neglect that was purposely intended, these leaders say, to keep the province underdeveloped.

But it was the strict repression and autocratic rule of the Mengistu years that gave rise to rebellion.

There was the regime's forced collectivization of the peasants that upset traditional social ties and cus-

electoral system that would inspire confidence. The group said President Doe would welcome international observers of the election. The delegation has much to overcome in convincing fellow Liberians of President Doe's sincerity, but they have made an important beginning.

What is now needed is for all the important actors to negotiate a transition to democratic rule via a free and fair election, roundtable-style and with no conditions.

Such an outcome would establish a moral and political basis for ending the civil war and beginning the reconciliation process. □

toms.

There was a new method of education imposed in Tigrayan schools in which pupils were forced to read and write in Amharic rather than their native language.

And there was a constant undercurrent of fear and tension fueled by the military government's clampdown on free speech and association and frequent detentions of civilians suspected of disloyalty. No one was immune from arbitrary arrest.

"My brother worked as a civil servant for the government for many years," said Heshe Lemma, 26, a Tigrayan aid worker in Adua.

"There was no question about his loyalty. But because he was Tigrayan they arrested him one day. He was held in Mekelle and tortured for several weeks.

"One day," Lemma said, "the soldiers came and took him out of town with some other prisoners. All of them were lined up and shot."

"I think everyone in Tigray has been touched by such pain," he said. "But I still haven't told my mother. She still thinks he is alive and happy. I think she would die if she knew."

More than a year after the government was cast away, life in Tigray is as austere and difficult as it ever was. Fresh water and electricity are scarce.

But in most places the harshness seems superseded by an almost palpable sense of relief.

Many people seem cheerful and restored—not so much because the rebels have brought to their lives anything profoundly new, but, they say, because something cruel has gone.

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