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President de Klerk and ANC leader Mandela walk together before talks in Cape Town yesterday on the nation's future.

South Africa and ANC Begin Talks

Agenda Established for Clearing the Way to Write New Constitution

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, May 2—The South African government and African National Congress, long sworn enemies, sat down together today for talks that are expected to lead to full-fledged negotiations on a new constitution and an end to apartheid in South Africa.

[A communique at the end of the four-hour session said it was characterized "by openness and

straightforwardness" and an agenda was set for further meetings starting Thursday, Reuter reported. The delegations then went to a working dinner.]

"This is the first time in 78 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the African National Congress and the succession of white governments that have ruled our country for generations. This is a fact that is sobering in its implications," said the

ANC delegation leader Nelson Mandela at a brief ceremony marking the start of the talks.

Warning that there were bound to be many difficulties ahead, President Frederik W. de Klerk expressed "cautious optimism" of ultimate success and called the first formal talks with the ANC since its foundation in 1912 "another milestone on the road to a new, just South Africa."

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U. S. Department of State

S. Africa's Conference of Many Colors

■ The ruling Afrikaners are about to sit down with their longtime enemies of the African National Congress. Even if successful, these 'talks about talks' are only the beginning of a long and rocky journey.

By SCOTT KRAFT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAPE TOWN, South Africa—On one side is President Frederik W. de Klerk and the seven most powerful men in South Africa, each of them white and each of them an Afrikaner.

All but one were children when their fathers' generation forced apartheid onto South Africa, and they grew up in the cradle of white privilege. Now middle-aged lawyers, professors and businessmen, they say they want to break with the past and end apartheid.

On the other side, in a rainbow of colors, are 11 leaders of the enemy—the African National Congress, the guerrilla movement that has waged war on Pretoria for 30 years.

Older than De Klerk's men, most are in their 60s or 70s. They include a black economist, a white Afrikaner pastor, a mixed-race teacher and both black and white lawyers.

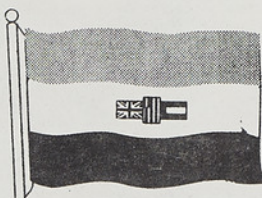
Five have spent half a lifetime in exile in Lusaka, Zambia, vilified by successive Pretoria governments as terrorists. Three have spent half their lives in prison here in this city. And three others have spent half their lives under police surveillance, banning orders and periodic detention inside their country.

These two warring sides come together Wednesday on the tip of Africa, where the Afrikaner ancestors of De Klerk's delegation first settled among the indigenous tribes of Africa three centuries ago.

Their three days of historic talks, coming amid a whirlwind of change in South Africa, will be the first important test of the chances for peace.

But even if the talks are successful—and there is no guarantee of that—they will mark only the beginning of a long, rocky journey to the negotiating table and, later, an even more jarring trip toward a new constitution.

"What we have at the moment is a compromise—the ANC and the government are talking to each other about talking to each other," said Mark Phillips, a researcher at the Center for Policy Studies in Johannesburg. "But neither side has met the other's preconditions for talks."



Teams at the Table

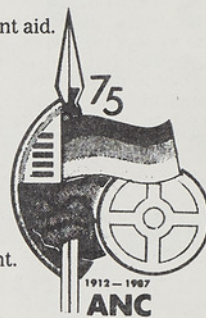
When the South African government and the African National Congress meet for talks on Wednesday, these people will be at the table:

SOUTH AFRICA

- President Frederik W. de Klerk.
- Gerrit Viljoen, minister of constitutional development.
- Stoffel van der Merwe, minister of education and development aid.
- Roelof F. (Pik) Botha, minister of foreign affairs.
- Hendrick (Kobie) Coetsee, minister of justice.
- Adriaan Vlok, minister of law and order.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

- Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president.
- Walter Sisulu, head of ANC Interim Leadership Core.
- Rev. Beyers Naude, patron of the United Democratic Front anti-apartheid coalition.
- Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front.
- Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general.
- Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs.



Los Angeles Times

On the table in Cape Town will be the ANC's preconditions for negotiations. It wants the four-year-old state of emergency lifted, returning exiles indemnified from prosecution for past crimes and political prisoners freed from South Africa's jails.

"It's going to be quite a difficult process to keep this thing on the rails," said Cheryl Carolus, a Cape Town anti-apartheid activist and one of the ANC delegates. "There need to be a lot more gestures on the state side."

Also up for discussion is increasing violence in the country and the government's insistence that the ANC end its armed struggle. The ANC's guerrilla war has been dormant for months now, and Anglican Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu has publicly urged its demise.

The ANC has refused, though, until the government agrees to a mutual cease-fire.

Most political analysts expect the government to meet some of the ANC's demands in the coming months, if not sooner. The state of emergency, key sections of which were abandoned by De Klerk in February, could be partially lifted, analysts say.

And the government may be prepared to begin releasing political prisoners as well. In recent weeks a few prisoners have been freed early, and restrictions on those activists still in prison have been eased.

Any progress will depend, though, on getting these two widely divergent groups of South Africans to see eye-to-eye. And that may hinge on personalities.

De Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, the delegation leaders, have met three times and spoken of their

mutual respect. While in prison, Mandela also met often with Gerrit Viljoen, a retired professor of classics who is minister of constitutional development, and Hendrick (Kobie) Coetsee, minister of justice.

But this will be the government's first encounter with ANC exiles such as Thabo Mbeki, 47, the pipe-smoking head of international affairs. Mbeki, a first among equals in the ANC's exile headquarters, has charmed hundreds of white South African visitors to Lusaka with his relaxed, urbane demeanor.

The most controversial members of the teams are likely to be Adriaan Vlok, the government minister of law and order, and Joe Modise, the commander of the ANC's military wing. The government's longstanding distaste for communism also may put it at odds with Joe Slovo, a white lawyer and former ANC military commander who is general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Even if the delegations manage to get beyond their immediate differences, a host of other obstacles to a peaceful future in South Africa lurk just beyond the meeting room. Among them are:

- The ANC wants a new constitution to be drawn up by a constituent assembly, elected in a one-person, one-vote election for all races. However, the government believes that the constitution can be drawn up by "recognized leaders" in South Africa without a vote.

- Violence in the black townships, which the South African Institute of Race Relations says is running at the highest level in modern times.

- Internecine warfare has been increas-

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Mandela Ally Speaks of Broader Talks

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

CAPE TOWN, May 3 — As talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress continued for a second day, a senior official of the Congress said today that other organizations should be represented at eventual negotiations on the country's future.

"The A.N.C. recognizes that there are many other forces that are involved in the struggle against apartheid, and the A.N.C. therefore believes that those forces ought to be involved in any process which is going to result in the remaking of our country," said the official, Thabo Mbeki.

Mr. Mbeki, who is taking part in the talks as foreign affairs secretary for the African National Congress, made his point in a speech to the Cape Town Press Club.

He was presenting the African National Congress's case for the election of a constituent assembly that would draft a new constitution extending

political power to the country's black majority. But he also addressed concern that the African National Congress wanted a monopoly in speaking for those opposed to apartheid.

Namibian Formula Opposed

President F.W. de Klerk, who is leading the Government delegation, has ruled out the creation of a constituent assembly that would function as an interim government during the drafting of a new constitution. This formula was used in neighboring Namibia, which achieved independence from South Africa on March 21.

Mr. de Klerk has proposed that black leaders across the political spectrum come to the negotiating table. Supporters of the African National Congress have contended that such people would not be representative because more popular leaders were imprisoned, detained or driven into exile by the Government. The African National Con-

gress was unbanned only three months ago after 30 years of outlaw status.

"There are many other political forces in the country who ought to be involved in that process of saying who is going to draw up the constitution," Mr. Mbeki said today.

These would logically include the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which are allies of the African National Congress, and the Pan-Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organization, rival black groups that have refused to talk to the Government. There is also Inkatha, a conservative Zulu political organization headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which Mr. Mbeki today implied belonged alongside the Government in any talks.

By electing a constituent assembly, Mr. Mbeki said, "you stop all the debates about who is bigger than whom and who is genuinely representative

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

S. Africa, ANC to Begin Groundbreaking Talks

May 1, 1990

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAPE TOWN

THE African National Congress and the South African government are poised to hold historic talks tomorrow as white extremists and black radicals step up the pressure to block a negotiated end to four decades of apartheid.

"The government needs to take every possible step to ensure that no one in its ranks is cooperating with those who want to derail peaceful negotiations," says Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The run-up to this week's historic talks has been marked by an escalation of threats by white extremist leaders. They claim to have launched an armed counter-rebellion to thwart what they see as the advent of black rule.

On the eve of the first round of talks, Anglican priest Michael Lapsley — who officiated at ANC ceremonies in neighboring Zimbabwe — had both his hands blown off in a parcel bomb attack.

On the left of the political spectrum, radical black leaders have accused the ANC of "arro-

gance" and of "selling out" the black cause by agreeing to negotiate with the white leaders of the ruling National Party.

"Slaves have nothing to gain from negotiating with their masters," said Zeph Mothopeng, president of the ANC's rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

Two weeks ago, President Frederik de Klerk pledged that all South Africans would have an equal vote and conditionally endorsed a common voters' role — providing there were the necessary checks safeguarding the interests of the white minority.

He said he would be going to the negotiating table to fight for a system based on free enterprise and property rights.

But on Sunday, at an open-air ANC rally near Cape Town, South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Joe Slovo warned that the constituency of the ANC-SACP alliance was restive.

"We are asked to have patience and remember that President Frederik de Klerk has a constituency he cannot ignore," said Mr. Slovo. "Well, [Nelson] Mandela also has a constituency which has been suffering from the shock of race rule for 300 years and it cannot wait much longer for a new life."

Slovo drew the biggest cheers of the day when he vowed that the ANC would not stop short of winning full majority rule and a redistribution of land and wealth for the black majority.

The 20,000 supporters, who braved a cold wind and heavy skies to attend, gave Slovo a warm reception, waving the red SACP flag throughout his speech. "If we see the real prospect of achieving democracy through negotiations, we will walk through the door. . . . But — short of this — we will have to break the door down," said Slovo.

THE ANC negotiating team, headed by Nelson Mandela, includes representatives from the country's four major racial groups as well as two women. The nine-strong government team, made up of senior white officials (all men), will be headed by Mr. De Klerk.

The purpose of the talks is to remove remaining obstacles to formal negotiations as spelled out in the ANC's negotiating plan.

Since De Klerk lifted restrictions on anti-apartheid groups on Feb. 2, there has been a dramatic escalation in political violence, much of it between rival black

groups. Mr. Mandela's stature as a leader has been challenged by his inability to curb the violence.

The issue of finding a formula to end the violence is expected to dominate this week's talks. Participants will also seek a formula for the release of political prisoners and the return of ANC exiles.

De Klerk last week submitted laws in Parliament allowing for temporary and permanent amnesty for exiles on a selective basis. But officials say a cease-fire must first be negotiated. The government claims that the ANC's refusal to renounce violence and suspend its armed struggle feeds the conflict. The ANC demands that the government curb excessive police action, abolish repressive security laws, and lift a nationwide emergency.

"With this week's meeting both the National Party and the ANC are entering the most perilous phases of their respective histories," said Hermann Giliomee, a historian from the University of Cape Town.

Constitutional and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in Washington last week that he hoped formal negotiations would begin this year and that a new constitution could be achieved within two years.

MAY 1, 1990

ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

Can Negotiation Work?

A minority Government that is in no danger of physical overthrow sits down for talks with opponents who challenge its legitimacy. Is there any chance that they can negotiate a new political order for the state?

That question hangs over the talks that start in Cape Town tomorrow between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress. As tests of politics, psychology and the limits of negotiation, there has never been anything exactly like them.

The South African Government is not disintegrating like the undemocratic regimes of Eastern Europe. It has not been worn down by war, as the white minority was in Zimbabwe. It is not beholden to any colonial power.

On the other hand, the A.N.C. is in a strong position. After 40 years of being hunted and jailed as outlaws, its leaders plainly speak for millions. It is gaining ground in the so-called black homelands. It is not the only anti-apartheid movement, but without it there can be no political legitimacy.

In sum, as a South African politician put it to me last month, "Neither side can impose its will on the other, but each is strong enough to frustrate the other's intentions." In that tension lies the logic of talking — and the very real danger of failure.

There are serious obstacles to overcome before there can be formal negotiation on a new constitutional structure. Those obstacles are what the two delegations are to address in three days of scheduled meetings this week in the official residence of the State President, F. W. de Klerk.

The Government insists that the A.N.C. give up the "armed struggle." It is largely rhetorical now, with guerrilla bases pushed far off in Africa. But the Government argues that the rhetoric contributes to the high level of violence in the society.

The A.N.C., for its part, insists that the police are responsible for much violence — as in the shootings at Sebokeng that led the A.N.C. to postpone these first talks. It says that the Government must call off the emergency, with its sweeping police powers.

Can those views be squared? The Minister for Constitutional Development, Gerrit Viljoen, said: "From both sides the elimination of violence or restrictions on the political process are accepted and insisted on. If both sides genuinely work for those goals, a solution by way of talks should be able to be found."

The obvious trade-off would be suspension of the armed struggle and withdrawal of the emergency. But

there are political difficulties in the way of neat solutions.

The Government has to worry about the reality of right-wing white extremism, some of it violent. Whites in the town of Welkom have set up vigilante patrols, a menacing example. An Afrikaner extremist group recently raided an air force arsenal and got away with guns and ammunition.

As for the A.N.C., young men have lived a rough life for years in its guerrilla training camps. Calling off the armed struggle that has been their *raison d'être* would not be so easy. And there are those in the A.N.C. who believe turbulence must continue in the country because only by making it ungovernable can the whites be persuaded to give up power.

Each side must gain something in the preliminary talks in order to deal

Both sides in South Africa are strong.

with its political problems. Mr. de Klerk must be able to say that the armed struggle will stop. Nelson Mandela must be able to tell A.N.C. cadres that there is real hope now of achieving a nonracial South Africa at the negotiating table.

The proper form for constitutional negotiation is itself a matter in dispute. The A.N.C. calls for a constituent assembly, elected on a universal franchise. The Government says that would concede the result before the negotiations.

The A.N.C. wants a one-person-one-vote system. Mr. de Klerk says that simple majorities can be oppressive; the Government is talking about constitutional devices to give the white minority a form of veto power.

Again, those differences seem insuperable, but compromises are imaginable. There could be a transition over years to majority rule. A Bill of Rights, which both the Government and the A.N.C. have endorsed in principle, could be a bulwark for minorities.

The question is one of will. The parties have been locked in combat, moral and physical, for decades. Do they have the will now to find agreement?

The logic of a negotiated solution is compelling. Both sides need each other to rule a free and prosperous South Africa. But politics is more than logic. □

Unpicking apartheid

It won't be easy, but don't exaggerate the difficulties

ANYBODY who thought that the world got too excited when Mr Nelson Mandela was freed from jail last February should prepare for a change of mind. On May 2nd Mr Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk are due to begin talks about South Africa's future. The meeting, if it goes ahead, will mark the start of the constitutional negotiation which the white government has been seeking for a decade but which was bound to elude it so long as it kept Mr Mandela in jail and the African National Congress in exile.

In this first meeting Mr de Klerk will probably press Mr Mandela to stop talking about "armed struggle". Mr Mandela will probably insist on an end to the state of emergency and the release of more political prisoners. He may table the ANC's unmeetable demand for Mr de Klerk to stand down right away in favour of an "interim government". Big obstacles of all kinds lie ahead. But, for once, it is as easy to exaggerate the difficulties as it is to minimise them.

Consider what has happened already. Only a dozen years ago Mr de Klerk's National party was adamant that blacks would never have the most basic of freedoms—over jobs, housing, education, votes—in the 85% of South Africa's territory that was declared to be white. Today the same party accepts that it must scrap its monstrous attempt at social engineering, and that it needs black help to do so.

Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk do not have to begin the job of demolition from scratch. Apartheid has been disintegrating for well over a decade, ever since its inventors discovered that institutionalised racism could become a vast economic inconvenience. Job reservation began to vanish in the 1970s, because white people could not work a modern economy all alone. White governments started pronouncing the death of apartheid in the early 1980s, and many of its outward pettinesses have since disappeared. Black trade unions have been legalised, the pass laws scrapped and the laws banning inter-racial intercourse and marriage rescinded.

Now at last comes the small matter of the vote. Here, too, there is some agreement. Mr de Klerk favours a power-sharing democracy, with "a vote of equal value for every adult citizen". The ANC argues for one man, one vote in a unitary South Africa. On the face of it, these rival formulations have much in common. They are not, however, identical. Mr de Klerk says that, in a multiracial society, "simplicistic" majority rule is liable to result in the suppression of the smaller groups. That is less bad than the present arrangement, under which one of the smaller groups suppresses the majority. Even so, Mr de Klerk's anxieties cannot be brushed aside. In South Africa, unlike Rhodesia in its last years before turning into Zimbabwe, white power is far from being defeated in any military sense. The whites' concerns simply have to be heard.

For Wyoming, read Blankesdorp

They also deserve to be heard. The assigning of every South African to a colour-coded group is the underpinning of apartheid, which is why most blacks are eager for the whole notion of groups to be swept aside. But it is simply not true to argue, as the ANC and many of its sympathisers still do, that true democracy can find no place for the protection of minorities.

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Bush Expected to See De Klerk, Mandela in June

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—South African President Frederik W. de Klerk and anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela are expected to visit Washington and meet with President Bush in late June, Administration officials said Monday.

Final dates and details are still being negotiated between the White House, representatives of the South African government and Mandela's African National Congress. But the separate visits are expected to be publicly announced soon, perhaps this week, sources said.

Earlier this year, when Mandela was released from more than 27 years in prison in South Africa, Bush invited both men to Washington. Since then, aides have been trying to negotiate the many sensitive aspects of a visit and to fit both Mandela and De Klerk into an increasingly hectic White House schedule that includes a summit meeting with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev starting May 30, a likely Atlantic Alliance summit in the middle of June and the annual economic summit of Western nations and Japan just after the July 4 holiday.

The Administration also has been trying to work out a way to offer some small "reward" to De Klerk for his willingness to release Mandela and open negotiations with the ANC that would not draw Mandela's public opposition and arouse loud protests from anti-apartheid forces in the United States.

Bush repeatedly has said he has no plans to lift economic sanctions against South Africa until De Klerk's government fulfills several conditions laid out in the 1987 law that imposed sanctions. Those conditions include lifting of the state of emergency that the South African government imposed 4½ years ago and repealing several statutes that form the cornerstone of apartheid.

But the Administration has been looking for some loosening of restrictions that officials feel would aid De Klerk with the opposition he now faces from conservative whites within South Africa.

Slovo Cheered on Return to South Africa

By ROGER THURLOW

Communist Chief to Join in Talks With Pretoria

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CAPE TOWN, South Africa—Joe Slovo, the leader of the South African Communist Party, was nearing the end of his first speech on home soil in 27 years when, from the multitude gathered at his feet, a voice cried out, "We love you, Slovo."

While Communist party leaders in the rest of the world are beating a fast retreat, Mr. Slovo who went into exile in 1963, has made a triumphant return to South Africa. His opening words to a "Welcome Home" rally here yesterday—"Comrades, we are together at last"—were greeted with wild cheers.

But Mr. Slovo didn't return so much as a prophet of Marx as he did a fellow traveler in the struggle against the white government and its policies of racial segregation known as apartheid. Mr. Slovo is the highest-ranking white person in the African National Congress, the mass-based black liberation movement, and at one time he was the leader of the ANC's exile-based armed wing. Now, he returns as one of the 11 ANC leaders who will engage the government in three days of historic talks, beginning Wednesday, aimed at clearing the way for negotiations on black-white power-sharing.

"We have come to talk to the government in the spirit of conciliation," Mr. Slovo told the mass rally on a wind-swept soccer field in a colored, or mixed-race, township outside of Cape Town. An ANC flag fluttered to his right, a Communist Party flag (a hammer and sickle within a red star) to his left. "If there is a way forward without bloodshed," he said, "we will grab it with both hands."

But, in so doing, the ANC isn't about to let go of its demands for a new constitutional order. Mr. Slovo made it clear that the ANC won't compromise on its bottom-line goals of one-man, one-vote simple majority rule and a redistribution of the country's wealth and land, which is concentrated

Mandela, who was released from prison in February, is likely to stay in the United States for several days and make a number of speeches while here, according to Zeph Makgetla of the ANC's Washington office.

"He's been invited to every part of the United States" and wants an opportunity to thank American supporters, Makgetla said.



Joe Slovo

trated in white hands. The government opposes simple majority rule, claiming that it would lead to black domination (blacks outnumber whites more than five to one), and it dismisses redistribution as "theft."

Climate for Talks

To get to those issues, though, both sides will first have to create a climate suitable for constitutional talks. The ANC demands that the government lift the four-year-old state of emergency and release all political prisoners. Pretoria, which legalized the ANC and the Communist Party in February after a three-decade ban, insists the ANC give up its armed struggle. Both sides say this week's talks may just be the beginning of efforts to clear away the obstacles to real negotiation.

In the three months since President F.W. de Klerk's moves to free up the country's political activity, the level of nationwide violence has soared. Protesters taking advantage of the new opportunities have at times been met by strong police resistance, particularly in the rural areas. The "Zulu wars" in the Natal province, where the ANC and the more conservative Zulu political movement known as Inkatha are fighting for political supremacy, have intensified.

At the same time, the ANC and the government are under pressure from their constituencies not to concede too much at negotiations. The Pan Africanist Movement, which says blacks should just seize power and not bother with negotiations, accuses the ANC of selling out black interests and of appeasing Pretoria. On the other hand, the virulent white right wing accuses the government of surrendering white interests to the blacks.

"We know negotiation is a question of give and take," Mr. Slovo said. "But there is a limit to what one side gives and what one side takes. This is the gap that needs to be closed by dialogue."

Mr. Slovo's words, carried far by the strong winds, were echoed by cries of "Viva" from the crowd. For years, the name of this 64-year-old white man has been shouted in the same breath as the names Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, the ANC's two paramount leaders. And, during the years of banning and exile, the Communist Party's surge in popularity has mirrored that of the ANC. "The enemy of our enemy is our friend," said a young black man when asked why he was waving a Communist Party flag. "Slovo," in big capital letters, was emblazoned on a sticker plastered across the front of his sweater.

Most-Fear'd Bogeypman

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Transkei Leader Finds Politics Complicated

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

UMTATA, South Africa—The boyish-looking general gazed down from his office on the 11th floor of the main Transkei government building as khaki-clad policemen rushed at striking municipal workers demonstrating on the town esplanade just below.

"I just hope those policemen don't hit the people," he said, jumping up twice during an interview last week.

More than two years after he ousted the corrupt civilian leadership of the nominally independent homeland of Transkei, Maj. Gen. Harrington Bantubonke Holomisa, 34, is finding the politics of ruling here extremely complicated.

Holomisa, perhaps representing a new generation of military leaders in South Africa's 10 black homelands, has long been regarded as something of a hero by black nationalist groups because of his outspoken opposition to the white-minority South African government and open support for their cause.

But even a "progressive" homeland leader such as Holomisa seems to be having trouble staying afloat in the fast-moving currents of black nationalist politics, while running this "independent" government. In fact, Holomisa is even talking about the days when he can leave politics.

"I think I've had enough in the public life. It's not easy," said Holomisa, who sports a colorful orange beret and the insignia of a major general on the shoulder bar of his light khaki military shirt by day, and wears casual clothes and sometimes travels with no bodyguards by night.

This homeland was the first of 10 set up by Pretoria to become independent under apartheid, a policy that deprives the country's black majority of its political rights. The creation two decades ago of the homelands was an attempt to reduce South Africa's black population by giving marginal territory to blacks based on their tribes.

In addition to Transkei, three other homelands have been declared independent by Pretoria—although not recognized as such by any other country—and six have been placed under partial self-rule by leaders acceptable to Pretoria.

Transkei, which consists of three nearby but noncontiguous territories in southeastern Africa, has undergone several changes since it was established, the latest in December 1987 when Holomisa staged a coup and charged the previous government with fraud, deceit and rampant corruption.

Still in control of this homeland, which according to officials here has 6 million citizens, including those who live outside Transkei, he is finding that contradictions and dilemmas abound.

For example, Holomisa said he would like to hold elections to return Transkei to civilian rule. But neither the African National Congress (ANC) nor the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)—the black nationalist movements that are probably the two most popular parties here—will have anything to do with homeland elections, and Holomisa is worried about which faction might win.

He agrees with the ANC and the PAC in their opposition to the existence of the independent homelands, seen by many as a scheme by Pretoria to strip blacks of their South African citizenship, and has decided to hold a referendum asking residents of Transkei to approve the reincorporation into South Africa.

But even as he moves to do so, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, a Transkei native, has warned Holomisa against "blind enthusiasm and hasty actions" toward reincorporation, should the referendum be approved, until a "new South Africa" has emerged and apartheid is ended.

In addition, Holomisa is worried about what will happen to Transkei's legions of civil servants, including the small army he leads, if and when the homeland is no longer. The Transkei has built up a sizable government bureaucracy since becoming "independent" in 1976.

"We cannot just say overnight you don't have a job," he said. "It's very difficult to dismantle this apartheid system because it has its roots."

Politics is making it even more difficult than usual to raise funds to sustain his government.

Since his coup, Holomisa said, his government has not introduced new taxes and even reduced the pay-as-

you-earn taxes imposed on civil servants and small businesses. Now, the general is trying to generate new revenues to help meet the cost of maintaining Transkei's government and of developing the landlocked, peasant-based homeland.

But those efforts were complicated when at a public rally here April 21, Mandela called on his government to end the "unpopular taxes" imposed by the previous government on livestock, including goats and sheep—one of its chief sources of revenue.

Holomisa has asked the South African government to increase its already hefty subsidies and loans to Transkei from \$500 million to \$770 million to make ends meet, even while asking Pretoria's Interior Ministry to provide funds for a referendum that Pretoria would likely oppose and that would spell the end of his own government here.

Seeking to maintain his popularity with the ANC, PAC, and other groups here, Holomisa has drawn up legislation that will allow labor unions to function for the first time in Transkei.

As a result, pro-ANC municipal workers held an illegal strike and demonstration here last Tuesday.

which Holomisa watched from his office window, to demand increased benefits. Workers recently won a 60 percent increase in the minimum wage, to \$160 a month, that the government can ill afford.

Holomisa said he did not want the police to attack the strikers, but conceded that he was powerless to do anything about it despite being the ruler of Transkei. The decision to use force or not was up to the commissioner of police.

Now, Holomisa is talking about getting out of politics and trying to make up for lost time as a military officer. His service here has apparently disqualified him from any kind of study abroad.

"I have been disadvantaged by the homeland system. I would have loved to have had as many military courses as I could in international military academies," he said. "Now, I would like to go attend these courses and further my military career."

But if he can't do that, he said, he is ready—when South Africa has a nonracial government—to serve in "the department of sports," he said.

"I've got no problems doing that. But politics, I'm not interested."

APRIL 30, 1990

THE NEW YORK TIMES

South Africa Schools Aren't Leper Colonies

By Jean Mayer

Oddly, supposedly liberal academics outside South Africa who claim to favor a nonracial society there have ostracized the educators and researchers fighting an anti-apartheid war on the academic front lines in South Africa. If that country is to build a multiracial society, the ostracism must end.

By refusing to acknowledge the battle against apartheid waged by the administrators of South Africa's five nonracial universities and forcing them to operate in intellectual isolation, the world's academic community has done them a disservice.

High-quality, integrated higher education is the key to a multiracial society. South Africa needs a critical mass of educated blacks to participate in government and to improve the primary and secondary education

system for all people of color.

Western universities have largely ignored the fact that the open universities — Cape Town, Natal, Witwatersrand, Rhodes and the University of the Western Cape — have fought apartheid since it was imposed on them, often at great personal risk to the administrators.

Researchers are not invited to conferences that are vital for them to stay abreast of developments in their fields. Some professional journals return manuscripts from researchers unread. Many publishers refuse to supply South Africa with journals and textbooks. This ostracism has been especially costly to the medical-research community and all the citizens who depend on the country's health care system.

The U.S. boycott bars Federal money from going to South African universities. But the law does not affect foundations, which have given money for construction of dormitories. One reason the buildings are

Continued on Pg. 7

S. African talks smoothing rough edges for meeting

and who is not."

Mr. de Klerk has said that while white domination must go, it must not be replaced by black domination, and insisted upon protection for the country's whites, who number 5 million in a population of 37 million.

Today's talks lasted for three and a half hours. A joint statement released this evening said participants in the meeting tried to identify differences between the two sides more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge to bridge them.

The statement said Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela "expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far."

Mr. Mbeki said both delegations had agreed not to comment on the talks while they were in progress. But he described the atmosphere as very good. "It is serious, but it is not solemn," Mr. Mbeki said.

SLOVO CHEERED ON RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

In the white community, though, Mr. Slovo's return to South Africa is causing more angst than the release of Mr. Mandela from prison in February. Because he's white, Mr. Slovo's actions have always seemed more treacherous, his calls for black liberation more ominous. He, more so than Mr. Mandela, has been the whites' most-feared bogeyman. And now that he's back, many whites are studying him closely to confirm their fears. When he flew into the country Friday, the pro-government media jumped on the fact that he was wearing red socks. No one chronicled what the black ANC members were wearing.

The government is hoping that the events in Eastern Europe will discredit Mr. Slovo and his party. But the stocky, gray-haired lawyer, who was born in Lithuania, seems to be adapting with the times. Once a hard-line Stalinist, Mr. Slovo recently examined communism's shortcomings in an essay entitled "Has Socialism Failed?" Yesterday, he warned Mr. de Klerk that the tide of liberation sweeping across Eastern Europe is also sweeping across South Africa. He praised the role of the churches in the anti-apartheid struggle, calling on "every good believer to become a witness for liberation." He said the ANC has displayed "the Biblical patience of Job" in its long battle against Pretoria. He embraced multiparty democracy. He talked about redistributing wealth and hailed the contribution of the working class, but he didn't rail about economic nationalization.

Make no mistake, he said in private, socialism is still his goal for South Africa. But, he added, first things first.

"When we left [South Africa] in 1963, the main slogan was 'Freedom in our lifetime,'" he said. "Today, our cry is 'Freedom now.'"

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (AP) — Optimistic government and African National Congress leaders said yesterday they were making progress in clearing the way for full-scale negotiations on ending white-minority rule.

The two sides issued a joint communique after a second day of talks saying "both leaders expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far" and would "continue tomorrow to work toward bridging... differences."

The delegations, led by President Frederik de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, met amid tight security at a suburban estate. They are the first formal talks between the government and the ANC since the black nationalist group was founded 78 years ago.

The first day of talks Wednesday concentrated on a general discussion of the issues each side regards as obstacles, the communique said.

Yesterday's meeting "was devoted to a wider-ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of these specific issues in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences," the communique said.

The talks were scheduled to end this evening. But the Argus newspaper in Cape Town said they were likely to be continued at a later date because agreement probably would not be reached on all issues by today.

The delegations are seeking to re-

move obstacles to formal negotiations on a new constitution that would give the country's black majority a voice in national affairs.

Thabo Mbeki, a senior member of the ANC delegation, expressed optimism when he spoke to reporters during a lunch break yesterday.

"When all of us departed [Wednesday's talks], the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, but that it is possible," Mr. Mbeki said.

"We had people sitting in that room who are perfectly reasonable and we are all committed to finding a solution."

Sources of the governing National Party, who refused to be identified, said the government also was confident the talks would lead to full-scale negotiations on changing the constitution.

As a precondition to those talks, the ANC is demanding that the government end a nearly 4-year-old state of emergency, release all political prisoners and allow anti-government activists to return from exile.

The government has countered with demands that the ANC renounce its "armed struggle" and help stop a wave of violence that has claimed hundreds of lives in recent months.

Officials of the ruling National Party said the government would insist in constitutional talks on a wide range of guarantees to safeguard the interests of the country's 5 million whites and other minorities.

SOUTH AFRICA SCHOOLS AREN'T LEPER COLONIES (Continued)

needed is that nonresident blacks spend hours daily commuting from rural townships.

Defying the Group Areas Act, which prevents blacks from living in areas designated as white, including most open universities, the universities have bought buildings and turned them into dormitories for black students. Since most white students commute from comfortable homes, most of the dormitory space is allocated to blacks. This has led to harsh criticism from outsiders that the dormitories are segregated.

Until 1985 these universities had to petition the Minister of Education for permission to enroll black students. In this year's entering class at the University of Cape Town, 39 percent of the student body consists of stu-

dents of color.

The open universities have committed themselves to remedial education and financial aid for blacks, who come woefully unprepared because they were "educated" in a system that spends five times as much on white students as on black. Illiteracy in South Africa is estimated to be as high as 50 percent.

The Government must allocate more money to primary and secondary education of blacks and to support a preparatory year at integrated universities to allow nonwhites to catch up with privileged whites.

The open universities should be able to count on U.S. universities and foundations for help. They need interchanges to accelerate the movement of ideas and research. □

Zimbabwe's literary voice

Talking to the soil

HARARE

AFRICA is searching for a sense of itself. Not much architecture, art or writing exists to recall the days before the European settlers came. The first written studies of those village cultures were produced by missionaries and white adventurers, whom many modern African nationalists resent. The struggle to build an African identity preoccupies the continent's intellectuals, especially in a young country like Zimbabwe, which celebrated the tenth anniversary of its independence on April 18th.

Thus Chenjerai Hove, one of Zimbabwe's foremost authors, believes the country's writers must see to it "that one day we shall dream like Zimbabweans, not like half-baked Europeans." He marks his affinity with Zimbabwean tradition by taking snuff in the way of village elders, and by writing partly in Shona, the first language to four in five Zimbabweans. His most recent work, "Bones" (Baobab Books, Harare, 1988), is in English; but it is full of Shona proverbs and popular myths. The liberation fighters were said to eat babies without roasting them; bullets bounced off their skin.

Mr Hove's dense, poetic writing celebrates peasant fortitude. The main character is so close to the elements that she "seems to be talking to the soil". The peasants have a horror of the town, seed bed of the foreign influences that Mr Hove resists.

"The city is like the throat of a crocodile," says one of them; "it swallows both the dirty and the clean."

The same theme runs through the work of Charles Mungoshi, a less self-conscious nation-builder. His stories describe the conflicts between new and old, doctor and spirit medium, schoolmaster and village lore. Sometimes the conflict burns within one person, as in the story of a proudly rational schoolroom graduate who scorns witchcraft, but still asks his grandmother for protective spells. Sometimes modern sons are pitted against illiterate parents.

With this author too, the transition to the modern towns is a fearful thing. The schoolroom casts doubts upon traditional beliefs and sows impatience with the peasant's life. But even the educated are hard-put to find jobs in the city. Their consciences trouble them for deserting their families, as well as the villages where the spirits of their ancestors watched over them. "Education is a western thing and we throw away brother and sister for it but when it fails we are lost."

The responsibility of nation-building can clash with writers' freedom. In Zimbabwe it clashed most violently with Dambudzo Marechera, who died in 1987 of AIDS. (Some of his works, as Mr Mungoshi's, have been published in Britain by Heinemann.) He refused to help found Shona literature, because those working in

HARARE, Zimbabwe (Reuters)—President Robert Mugabe yesterday ushered in Zimbabwe's second decade of independence with a pledge to a new parliament to redistribute land and bring home troops from Mozambique as soon as possible.

Land is an emotional issue in Zimbabwe, where some 4,000 white farmers own more than half of the most fertile land, and more than 8 million blacks are overcrowded on mostly arid land.

Mr. Mugabe, who has ruled since Zimbabwe won independence in 1980, promised yesterday to alter the constitution to make it quicker and easier to redistribute land to those who need it.

"Necessary amendments will be introduced to enable the government to distribute land more equita-

so young a written language are obliged to treat it gently. More provocative still, he lampooned others' efforts to create a national literature. One of his characters is suspended from his university job for refusing to translate Catullus into Shona. He derides poetry co-ops, where a group (preferably of ex-freedom fighters) sits in a circle putting in a word or two each.

Returning home from several years in British universities, Marechera attacked Zimbabwe's new black leaders, too. In "Blitzkrieg", a play set in the antichamber of a lavatory, a white businessman bribes a black minister and is seduced by the minister's wife. A poor man, speaking for the playwright, says he is fed up with ministers telling him that the poor are the backbone of Zimbabwe's struggle. He would rather be the big belly of the struggle, like the one hanging over the minister's belt.

Because of such vitriol, Marechera was cold-shouldered by his countrymen, despite the literary recognition he had won during his exile in Britain. He sat with his typewriter in Harare's central square, and often slept rough. Another of his autobiographical characters is a poet rejected by Zimbabwe's publishers for writing "capitalist trash"; the publisher demands poems that will "uplift" the people. "Why", asks the writer's alter ego, "does every revolution result in the alienation of its artists?" The forging of a national identity proceeds best when not directed according to powerful people's plans.

Zimbabwe leader pledges land-distribution changes

bly and speedily than has been possible hitherto," he said in an opening speech to Zimbabwe's new single-chamber parliament.

Government plans to resettle landless blacks were a central theme of March elections, in which Mr. Mugabe's ZANU-PF party won all but three of the 119 contested seats.

For the first 10 years of independence, his hands were tied by a constitution drafted at pre-independence talks at Lancaster House in London, which said the government could buy land only if it was freely offered for sale.

The agreement expired in April, giving Mr. Mugabe a free hand to alter the constitution.

Since 1980, the government has resettled only 52,000 peasant families, less than a third of the 162,000 families targeted for resettlement in the first three years of independence.

Mr. Mugabe also said some 10,000 Zimbabwean soldiers who are in neighboring Mozambique to protect key transport links from right-wing guerrillas fighting the Maputo government would not stay longer than absolutely necessary.

The British-inspired bicameral parliament set up at independence in 1980 has been replaced by a single-chamber body more in tune with Mr. Mugabe's aim of working toward a one-party state.

The new parliament is Zimbabwe's third since independence.

Thirty of the 150 seats are assigned to Mugabe appointees or chiefs. Mr. Mugabe's ZANU-PF party holds 116 of the remaining seats. Three are in opposition hands, and a fourth is unassigned.

NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 3, 1990

KINSHASA, Zaire, May 2 (AP) — The Government has denied reports that riot policemen killed two people at an unauthorized opposition demonstration that occurred a week after President Mobutu Sese Seko lifted a 20-year ban on opposition parties.

The official Zairian press agency on Tuesday disputed the reports, which had been confirmed by opposition figures and diplomats. Members of the group, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, said the killings took place when the police broke up a rally by 300 people outside the home of one of its leaders.

Last week, Mr. Mobutu lifted a ban on opposition parties and announced that multiparty elections would be held next year in the Central African nation. Mr. Mobutu, then the army commander, took power in Zaire in 1965 and outlawed opposition groups five years later.

In Coup-Prone Nigeria, 2 H²S Make a Crisis

LAGOS, Nigeria, April 30 (AP) — When army officers tried recently to overthrow Nigeria's Government, they renewed a conflict that has bedeviled the West African nation since independence: coexistence of the relatively wealthy, largely Christian south and the poorer but politically dominant Muslim north.

For Africa's most populous nation, the relation of the two halves has long been a source of tension and violence.

The middle-ranking officers who mounted the uprising on April 22 were seeking to expel five powerful northern states from the 21-state federation. They charged that the north, which has had a dominant position in politics since independence in 1960, exploits the rest of the country.

Military informants said 30 people were killed in fighting around army headquarters in Lagos and the national radio station. The President, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, who seized power in a coup of his own in 1985, escaped and remains in power.

For the few hours that the rebels controlled the Government-run radio, they broadcast complaints about northern domination, and accused the Government of corruption, asserting that its austerity program was meant to enrich military commanders. Nigeria's press, one of the freest in Africa, ridiculed rebel charges that the Government had been cruel in carrying out its economic strictures.

But no newspaper denied that there is an unfair distribution of wealth and development between the verdant, oil-producing south and the arid, agricultural north. Oil produces more than 90 percent of Nigeria's foreign currency earnings; the north, at the edge of the Sahara, produces meat and yams.

"We always have petrol shortages in the south," a southern businessman said. "But you never hear of cars queuing for petrol in the north."

"The asymmetry in the production and sharing of the national wealth has never been so prominently highlighted," the magazine *This Week* commented. "Sharing of the national burden as well as the national booty must be done with some modicum of fairness."

Coup leaders complained about the removal from the Cabinet in January of two leading southerners, the Defense Minister, Lieut. Col. Domkat Bali, and the Interior Minister, John Shagayi. General Babangida assumed command of those ministries, leaving no southerners in key positions and inviting charges that his Cabinet is heavily weighted in favor of the northern Moslems.

Similar fears of domination led to the coup and countercoup of 1966 that erupted into the Nigerian civil war of 1967 to 1970. At least half a million civilians and 100,000 soldiers died as the easterners tried to secede. The east-

THE ECONOMIST APRIL 28 1990

Nigeria

Another go

AT FIRST light on April 22nd, Major Gideon Orkah announced on Radio Nigeria that he had overthrown the "dictatorial, corrupt, drug-baronish, inhumane and unpatriotic" government of General Ibrahim Babangida. This could have been Nigeria's seventh successful coup in less than 25 years. But the major spoke too soon. General Babangida knows a thing or two about coups, having taken part in five himself, and put down two since he seized power in August 1985. Five hours after this one was crushed, the president, with his usual infectious grin, walked into a press conference and remarked: "I hope your Sunday wasn't as bad as mine."

The major's broadcast, confused as it was, went to the heart of the issues that confound stability in the country: the division between north and south, and the impact of economic reforms. "People just want a change," said a senior civil servant. "If you tell them you will provide food and transport at reasonable prices, cut rents, they will follow you. But some of the things Orkah said were so childish."

His list of grievances included the oppression and deliberate impoverishment of people in the middle-belt and southern states, the installation of an "unwanted" Sultan of Sokoto as head of Nigeria's 60m Muslims, and economic mismanagement. He announced that five Muslim-dominated northern states—Borno, Bauchi, Sokoto, Kaduna and Kano—had been "excised" from the federation, thus raising the possibility of partitioning Africa's most populous country between a Muslim north and a Christian-dominated south. That lost him much of the support he might have gained: Nigerians do not want a rerun of the Biafran civil war of 1967-70.

All Nigerian governments have searched in vain for a constitutional formula to bridge the north-south gap. The south has most of the Christians who form a third of Nigeria's 120m people, and the economic muscle of oil exports worth probably \$10 billion in 1990. The northern Muslims make up about half the population, carry the political clout and have always run the

erners, mostly Christians and animists, had accused the northerners of domination.

Most northerners speak Hausa or Fulani, while Yoruba is the main language in the south and Ibo in the east.

The nation's population, a politically sensitive matter, is estimated over 100 million, but there has been no reliable census in more than two decades. No region wants to wind up a well-documented minority.

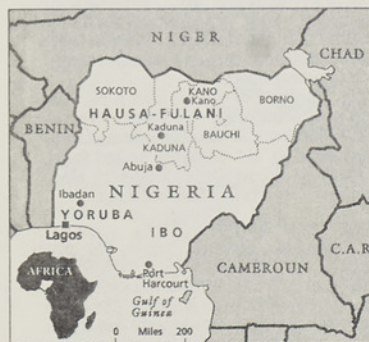
The Government-owned *Daily Times* criticized the rebels, saying "We are not only tired of coups but also feel insulted by the periodic emergence of self-appointed messiahs." But it added: "Sunday's events have once again raised the troublesome question of the role of the military."

army. President Babangida is himself a Muslim, but not an immoderate one, and he is from the country's middle belt. At first some northerners suspected him of inclining to his own middle-belt people. Latterly Christians too have been warily watching his appointments; many of them thought his January cabinet reshuffle tipped the pro-Muslim balance too far, when the last remaining Christian among six top military appointees was removed.

The president's programme for the transition to civilian rule (in December 1992, maybe) was meant to get Nigerians to back rival parties rather than rival creeds or tribes. It was naivety rather than bigotry that led General Babangida to commission two artificial political parties, one leaning right, the other leaning left, for which officials wrote virtually identical manifestoes—a choice between chalk and chalk. With nothing of substance to divide the two parties, what could be more natural than to fall back on tribe and religion?

The plotters said General Babangida wants to make himself life president. Few reasonable people, though, had questioned his commitment to give up in 1992. The abortive coup may increase both his determination not to overstay his welcome, and the difficulty of going. The underlying economic grumbles will not go away.

It is an iron law in very poor countries—especially those that briefly felt rich in the 1970s oil boom—that the more rational a government's economic policies, and the more it earns respect among foreign investors and governments, the greater its domestic unpopularity. The Babangida government inherited an appalling economic mess five years ago. Its impressive economic achievements have come at the cost of forcing living standards down, unemployment rapidly up, and discontent to fever pitch.



Western bankers and governments who want to see the general and his policies survive may want to give him a hand when debt-rescheduling talks come round at mid-year. In March the finance minister, Chief Olu Falae, warned international bankers that Nigeria simply could not afford to pay the \$3.3 billion service on its \$32 billion foreign debt this year. When he next meets the creditors, Mr Falae will certainly use the April coup attempt to back his plea for debt forgiveness and more favourable rescheduling terms. Major Orkah may have helped the president he tried to oust.

Troops Kill 2 at Zaire Dissident Rally

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

KINSHASA, Zaire, May 1 — Government forces killed at least two people in an attack on members of a leading dissident group at a political rally Monday evening, less than a week after President Mobutu Sese Seko promised to lift a ban on opposition parties, diplomats and witnesses said today.

Dozens of people were wounded in the attack on members of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress at a political rally. Diplomats and members of opposition parties who were witnesses said the attackers wore military uniforms and identified themselves as members of the security services.

Last week Mr. Mobutu announced that he was lifting Zaire's 20-year ban on opposition parties, opening the possibility of a multi-party government. He said that three opposition parties would be allowed initially, and also announced that the Constitution would be rewritten and a transitional government set up to run the country until elections are held next April.

The attack occurred at the home of Tshisekedi Wa Mulumba, a former Justice Minister and Interior Minister of this vast central African nation, who is now one of the leaders of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress.

Witnesses said Mr. Tshisekedi and his wife were among those who were attacked, but the extent of their injuries was unknown. Several reporters who tried to reach Mr. Tshisekedi at his home today were turned away by heavily armed military officers who declined to give details about his condition or whereabouts.

Mr. Tshisekedi has gained a reputation as a prominent opponent of President Mobutu. He has led demonstrations against Mr. Mobutu, called for a boycott of the nation's one-party elections and urged civil disobedience.

A Dozen Arrests

When Mr. Mobutu made his announcement, he said Mr. Tshisekedi and other political dissidents were free to engage in political activity. Over the last decade, Mr. Tshisekedi has been arrested nearly a dozen times, sent into internal exile in an isolated region, and of late held under house arrest in his large villa in downtown Kinshasa.

Since his release last Tuesday, Mr. Tshisekedi has played a prominent position in Zaire's growing political scene. He has given a number of interviews to the local and foreign press, accusing the Government of corruption and human rights violations, and called on Mr. Mobutu to resign.

Witnesses said three or four truckloads of soldiers in military fatigues arrived at Mr. Tshisekedi's home during a meeting of about 350 party supporters and began firing moments after their arrival.

U.S. Letting Aides Leave Liberia As Pace of the Rebellion Quickens

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — The United States has suspended the Peace Corps program in Liberia and told American diplomats they and their families could leave the country if they chose as fighting between the Liberian Army and rebel forces increased, the State Department said today.

In addition, the State Department recommended that other United States citizens in Liberia consider leaving because of "increased instability."

Administration officials said there were at least 5,000 American citizens in Liberia, including 500 who work for the United States Government or have close relatives working at the American Embassy.

In December, guerrillas opposed to the Liberian President, Gen. Samuel K. Doe, entered the West African country from the Ivory Coast. Liberian officials said the rebels were staging an invasion. The Government sent troops and provincial policemen to oust the guerrillas.

The rebels and Western diplomats reported that the Liberian Army had committed many abuses, killing unarmed civilians and destroying Liberian villages near the border.

The abuses are documented in detail in a report issued today by Africa

Watch, a human rights group that interviewed many Liberian refugees who took shelter in the Ivory Coast.

"The army used brutal counterinsurgency tactics in its efforts to crush the rebellion, indiscriminately killing unarmed civilians, raping women, burning villages and looting," the report said. Further, it charged that Liberian soldiers had fired on civilians with machine guns and set fire to buildings that could have been used as "safe havens" by rebel forces.

About 80 of the 135 Peace Corps volunteers assigned to the country have left, and Peace Corps officials said the others would leave by the end of this week.

The Liberian guerrillas are led by Charles Taylor, a former member of General Doe's Government. The State Department said Mr. Taylor had been a fugitive since 1985, when the Liberian Government accused him of embezzlement.

"We have no information as to his political orientation," a State Department official said of Mr. Taylor. "However, we have evidence that some of his financial support has come from Libya. Many Liberians who joined forces with Mr. Taylor appear to be reacting to repressive actions against civilians on the part of the Liberian Army."

In January, two officers from the United States military mission in Monrovia accompanied Liberian troops into the field. The State Department said the American servicemen went along to help Liberian Army officers end the harassment of civilians and other human rights abuses.

However, Africa Watch said it was more plausible to suggest that the United States Government wanted to insure the success of General Doe's "counterinsurgency strategy," in view of reports suggesting that the rebels had received training and weapons from Libya.

NEW YORK TIMES, MAY 1, 1990

Nigerian Journalists Demand Freeing of 5 Held Since Plot

LAGOS, Nigeria, April 30 (Reuters) — Nigerian journalists today demanded the release of five colleagues who they said had been detained after the attempted coup on April 22. They also urged the reopening of a newspaper closed by the security forces.

The National Union of Journalists said the five detained journalists worked for the Government-run radio station, a weekly magazine and two daily newspapers. The radio station was briefly occupied by the rebels during the coup attempt.

On Sunday, security men ejected staff members at a popular Lagos daily, Punch, and sealed the premises.

Mobutu Reassures Party on Its Role

By Jonathan C. Randal

KINSHASA, Zaire, May 3—President Mobutu Sese Seko stressed his determination today to press ahead with limited multi-party elections in Zaire but hinted at second thoughts about becoming a mere "arbiter," above partisan politics.

Speaking in the same building in which he declared an end to parliamentary democracy a quarter-century ago, Mobutu made clear that political parties were not yet authorized to hold marches or public meetings despite his promise last week to authorize three political groups.

Security forces on Monday broke up what they said was an unauthorized political meeting of the opposition Union for Democracy and Social Progress and sacked its headquarters. At least two members were killed, according to various reports, which the government denied.

Mobutu's 23-minute speech was designed to overcome what he conceded were "ambiguities and misunderstandings" following his announcement 10 days ago of an end to the political monopoly of his Popular Movement of the Revolution (PMR).

To shore up shaken PMR stalwarts and cut opposition politicians down to size, Mobutu, 59, said presidential elections would precede elections for a new nationwide legislature and other, lesser offices.

Ten days ago, Mobutu suggested that legislative elections limited to three parties would take place during a transition ending next April 30, or seven months before the presidential race in which he is expected to run.

By holding the presidential race first, diplomats and local analysts said, Mobutu apparently hoped his political charisma would prove strong enough to limit the impact of his political opponents and help the unpopular PMR survive as a major political force.

Mobutu's new election sequence was interpreted as a tactical victory for the PMR, whose leaders said they had been stunned by the

speech last week in which he "took leave" of the movement and announced he would become "the arbiter, indeed the last resort," removed from executive management of everyday partisan politics.

Senior PMR leaders judged Mobutu's speech as "excellent" in reassuring the party. Three times the all-PMR legislators approvingly interrupted his oration by pounding on their desks, especially when Mobutu warned opposition political groups against "troubling public order."

Until the authorities formally decided which three political parties are to be authorized—and Mobutu did not say when the choice among more than a dozen candidate groups would be made—he said politicians could meet privately to discuss organizational questions.

A local political scientist who insisted on anonymity said that the "hawks" in the PMR "had won half a victory" in frustrating Mobutu's original intentions about the scope of his multi-party electoral reforms.

Mobutu dropped hints that the PMR and a closely allied group called the Joint Front of Nationalists would constitute two of three authorized parties. He also hinted that the Roman Catholic Church, an outspoken critic of the regime's excesses, should avoid involvement in politics. A self-described Christian democratic party is among the most prominent of political groups to spring up in the last 10 days, according to diplomats and analysts.

Starting last winter, when Mobutu traveled around the provinces listening to public remonstrances, and especially since his speech last week, ordinary citizens long cowed by a pervasive security apparatus have become outspoken in demanding a return to parliamentary democracy.

With perhaps two-thirds of the country's estimated 30 million citizens under the age of 20, official propaganda is proving less effective in recalling the civil war in the early years after independence, from Belgium, in 1960. It was against multi-party democracy, then held responsible for the country's problems, that Mobutu rebelled in 1965.

Liberian Rebels Detaining Peace Corpsman, Europeans

Washington Post Foreign Service

A U.S. Peace Corps volunteer and two Europeans are being held by rebel forces in the West African nation of Liberia, Peace Corps officials said yesterday.

The Peace Corps, which evacuated the last of 126 volunteers based in Liberia on Monday, learned on Tuesday that a volunteer from neighboring Guinea had entered Liberia near the town of Gahmpa and been taken captive with a German and a Belgian from the Paris-based relief group, Doctors Without Borders. The volunteer—whose name was being withheld pending notification of relatives—had been building wells and latrines in a refugee camp for Liberians in eastern Guinea.

The group crossed a river forming the border on Tuesday with a Guinean co-worker, according to Jack Hogan, Peace Corps chief of operations for Africa. Guinean officials later shouted across the river to Liberian soldiers who identified themselves as rebels and said they were holding the group, he said.

The Guinean was released yesterday and the soldiers reportedly said they planned to release the other three, but did not say when, according to Hogan.

"We do not know why they crossed the river," said Hogan, adding that the Peace Corps in Guinea had instructed volunteers not to enter Liberia. He said only sketchy reports had been relayed by radio from the border region to Conakry, the Guinean capital.

The group crossed into Liberia's Nimba County, which is the base of a five-month-old uprising that threatens the government of Liberian President Samuel Doe. The United States has recommended that the 5,000 Americans in Liberia consider leaving, amid growing violence by both rebels and government troops. An American missionary and his British wife were killed in Nimba County in March.

Marxist Ethiopia's Future Is Being Decided on the Battlefield

Popular discontent rises as rebels press Mengistu regime

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

A VISITOR to one of the main hospitals here finds it overflowing with wounded young men, part of a stream of victims from the battlefields.

With peace talks stalled and rebels winning one battle after another, Ethiopians here and in other parts of the country are becoming more discouraged and desperate. And as Africa's oldest civil war drags on toward three decades, it is becoming a war of teenagers.

A father of a 16-year-old boy in high school begs foreign friends for help to send his son overseas — for education, and to avoid almost certain conscription into the Army.

In March, Ethiopia's military dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam announced reforms of the country's political system. His speech, punctuated frequently with the term "comrades," invited "opposition groups accepting the democratic unity of Ethiopia" to join in "the political life of the country."

But this was clearly not a bid for multiparty democracy. The only opposition groups are rebels, and the main rebel group is seeking independence, not "unity."

"I don't think he [Mr. Mengistu] can be all that serious about democracy and stay on," says a Western diplomat from another country. But

Mengistu has no intention of stepping down.

In private conversations, Ethiopians and diplomats from both the West and from Eastern Europe speculate about how long the government here will last. One Western diplomat gives the Mengistu regime only until the end of the year. Most observers agree that the government is not popular. "Ninety-nine percent of the people don't like the government," says one Ethiopian.

Nevertheless, the regime can still invoke the

strong pull of nationalism. "[Mengistu's] appeal to nationalism is the only way he has survived," says a faculty member at the University of Addis Ababa, the nation's capital. After years of trying to play down the rebel threat, Mengistu is appealing to Ethiopians to not let the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) split the country by gaining independence for Eritrea. In March, Mengistu urged his countrymen to "not allow the destruction of [Ethiopia's] historical identity."

Mengistu knows his people may not like him; but he knows they like even less the idea of a divided Ethiopia. And diplomats say that if he lost control of Eritrea completely, he would probably be overthrown, perhaps by his own Army, or be pushed aside by top party officials.

Against a second major group of rebels, the Tigré People's Liberation Front (TPLF), who are seeking autonomy and his ouster, Mengistu has publicized the recent assertions by one of the TPLF leaders that the TPLF subscribes to a Stalinist philosophy and considers Albania a good model for government.

This frightens many Ethiopians, already unhappy with a decade and a half of Marxism forced upon them by their government. Though he is brutal at times, Mengistu is seen by many Ethiopians as the one man who can hold the country together. He survived an unsuccessful coup attempt last May, though many of his top officers were implicated. The failed coup left his military greatly weakened.

People fear what might come after Mengistu. One long-time resident here says people want to avoid a bloody transition to another regime, as happened in the long transition between the reign of the late Emperor Haile Selassie and the consolidation of Mengistu's regime in the 1970s.

But Mengistu's maneuvers and words aside, "the future of this country is being decided on the battlefield," a Western diplomat says. The TPLF now controls all of Tigré and areas to

the south. In the northernmost province of Eritrea, the 120,000- to 130,000-member remnant of the government's second Army (described by analysts as the country's best and accounting for about half the country's remaining forces) have been cut off in Eritrea by EPLF attacks from getting overland reinforcements. Diplomats here in Addis doubt the Army can hold its position. Tesfai Ghermazien, an EPLF spokesman, claims thousands of government soldiers have been killed, wounded, or captured since the EPLF took the Eritrean port of Massawa in February. According to diplomats, the government has bombed Massawa in an effort to retake the port. The EPLF claims the government has used cluster bombs and even napalm. Asked about that claim, a Western diplomat said: "They [the government] supposedly have them. We're not sure where they came from."

But a diplomat from another Western country says it is widely believed that Israel is "sending military aid and advisers into the hundreds" to Ethiopia. Israel denies sending cluster bombs. But Ethiopia and Israel did renew diplomatic relations several months ago. And Israeli officials have stated openly that they do not want to see Eritrea become an Arab stronghold.

An Eastern European diplomat here says "the timing was wrong" in Ethiopia's alleged request for Israeli help. The perception of Israeli support appears to have triggered increased military aid to Eritrea from several Arab countries, the diplomat said.

The Soviet Union is still the major supplier of military weapons to Ethiopia.

Continued on page 14

Food Relief Holdup Threatens Ethiopians

DESSIE, ETHIOPIA

SHIRLEY HORN - STAFF

ANOTHER major famine in northern Ethiopia can still be avoided — but just barely, say Ethiopian and Western relief officials and diplomats.

Drivers in the first truck convoys of international relief food reaching the heart of the drought area are returning with sobering eyewitness accounts.

"Mothers, children, aged people, seem to be very hungry," United Nations driver Tesfay Mesfin says. He and 55 other drivers had just delivered the first grain to Mekele, the main town in Tigré, a province now almost entirely in rebel hands. Rebel territory starts just 25 miles north of this government-held town.

"Some people were wearing rags, and might have come from other villages" in search of food, says Mr. Tesfay, standing beside his now-empty truck. "People were excited when they saw the trucks. They were clapping their hands."

Tesfay then drove to the series of giant tent storage shelters where Ethiopian laborers loaded the trucks with 100-pound bags of wheat from the United States and other countries for the next convoy.

Much more food is needed, quickly, by land and air. Several Ethiopian churches have formed the Joint Relief Partnership (JRP), which reached an agreement with Tigré rebels earlier this year to allow unarmed, unescorted truck convoys to haul food from government-controlled areas to drought-hit rebel areas.

Relief officials hope that a famine will be avoided with the combination of food delivered through this town, other food sent into rebel areas from neighboring Sudan, and additional help via an airlift or through the rebel-held port of Massawa.

But US Rep. Tony Hall (D) of Ohio, chairman of a congress-



sional committee on hunger, said that Yilima Kassaye, head of Ethiopia's relief agency, showed no interest in a military truce.

"Clearly they put military victory above saving the lives of people," Mr. Hall said in an interview with the Associated Press.

But "it's not too late to avert a famine," says John Wiater, country representative for the private, US-based Catholic Relief Services, a key relief and development agency operating in Ethiopia. "Hunger is acute. . . . But we believe getting food in [to Eritrea and Tigré] will avert a famine."

The rainy season expected to begin in June is likely to slow truck convoys, JRP relief officials here say. And they need more trucks, and bridge and road repairs. "It's within the power of both sides fighting in northern Ethiopia to determine whether food gets to those people or not," says Willard Pearson, Jr., director of the

Ethiopian office of the US Agency for International Development, which is a major relief provider.

But fighting, politics, and pride are slowing relief efforts, according to Ethiopian, rebel, UN, and Western relief officials and diplomats.

A prime example is the debate over use of Massawa, the port closest to the estimated 3 million drought victims in the war zones.

The port fell to the Eritrean rebels in February. Since then, the government has failed to take it back and is refusing to let relief supplies be delivered via the port. Rebels say they are ready to deliver relief supplies from the port to drought victims.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has called on the government to allow the port to be used for relief deliveries. The other Ethiopian port, at Aseb, is much further from the drought area.

The fall of Massawa sent political shock waves through the country. Before the fall, Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam called it a decisive battle over the future of Eritrea, which has been fighting for nearly three decades to gain its independence.

Allowing relief operations through Massawa (now under rebel control) could further weaken the government's claim over the city, and further undermine the government's stability.

United Nations official Timothy Painter, who directs relief operations for the UN in Ethiopia, says: "Without that route [Massawa], it would indeed

Continued on page 16

AIDS Virus and Its Stigma Plaguing Women in Zambia

By JANF PERI ¶7

Special to The New York Times

KATETE, Zambia — Rhoda Banda, a thin 20-year-old woman with an occasional broad smile and lively laugh, is one of only two people in her village who made it to secondary school.

She didn't rush into marriage, and she had fewer boyfriends than many of her peers. But one of them gave her AIDS.

Since last July, when Miss Banda's grandfather helped her make an arduous trip through a dry riverbed and down rocky tracks to a mission hospital, she has known that she is infected with the AIDS virus. But aside from her grandfather, Sainani J. Mwale, no one else in her village, Jabesi, knows. In light of the stigma attached to AIDS, it is important to both that it be kept secret.

"I don't want to be pointed at and hear people saying, 'She has AIDS, she has AIDS,'" Miss Banda said, confiding her plight to a foreign visitor. She was sitting on a reed mat on the concrete floor of her grandfather's thatched house, with her bare feet, rough and cracked, stretched in front of her. She likes staying with her grandfather, she said, because he is more understanding than her parents. "I can discuss a lot more with him," she said.

In Zambia, as in the rest of Africa, AIDS is spread primarily through heterosexual intercourse. The disease has hit men and women in almost equal numbers; 55 percent of those with the AIDS virus are estimated to be men, 45 percent to be women, according to international health organizations.

Zambia is one of the African countries where the toll of AIDS has been very high, and as in the other afflicted lands, its greatest concentration of cases is in the cities. Unlike other countries in the region, Zambia has been more open about publicizing information about the disease, particularly since President Kenneth D. Kaunda announced in 1987 that one of his sons had died of AIDS.

Recent statistics from the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka show that 22 percent of the blood donors in the capital are HIV positive, which means that they are carriers of the AIDS virus but that they may not have developed the disease. About one-quarter of the children in the pediatrics ward at the hospital are infected. The rate of infection is dramatically higher among truck drivers and prostitutes, and in



The hospital in Katete serves a large area of eastern Zambia.

the army, researchers say.

But even in the Zambian bush, AIDS "is everywhere," said Alic Eleveld, 31, a Dutch nurse who heads the AIDS team at the long-established and highly regarded St. Francis Mission Hospital in Katete, in eastern Zambia. There is not a village within the 100 miles that the hospital serves that does not have people who are known to be carriers, people who have died, and orphans whose parents have died, she said.

Most often, the very young orphans die, she said, because the two tins of powdered milk that they need each week to keep a young baby alive without its mother cost 400 kwacha, about \$10, an impossible sum for a rural family in Zambia.

Extended Families Help

Miss Banda is lucky because she lives near the mission hospital, where Miss Eleveld and her team of four counselors visit AIDS patients with the help of a four-wheel-drive vehicle. The St. Francis staff concluded that it was best for the patient and best for the hospital if, after immediate counseling, AIDS patients went back to their villages, where the extended Zambian family can give better care than the overtaxed hospital.

In another village not far from Miss Banda's, Fannely Zulu, also 20, came home by bus from Lusaka last December believing that she had a bad case of malaria. Mrs. Zulu was diagnosed at St. Francis as having the AIDS virus. Both she and the AIDS counselors feel certain that she picked up the HIV virus from her husband, who remains in Lusaka. Last month, her 10-month-old baby, who stayed in Lusaka, died, most probably of AIDS.

Mrs. Zulu, her head shaven in the

MARXIST ETHIOPIA'S
FUTURE IS BEING
DECIDED ON BATTLEFIELD

(Continued)

pia. But Soviet officials have said they do not intend to continue. "Increasingly, Soviet arms have been sustaining all sides in the fighting because demoralized Ethiopian forces lose control of much of the material they acquire, and it falls into the hands of their opponents," says Paul Henze of the RAND Corporation.

The government says it is ready for peace talks. But procedural terms have yet to be worked out with the TPLF. And the EPLF is balking at substantive talks, claiming the government refuses to allow the United Nations to participate as an observer. "The EPLF is not interested in talks until they've played their military card," says a diplomat here.

traditional custom of bereavement, looked deceptively well. But as she rested in her uncle's small hut, about 10 feet in diameter, she told Miss Eleveld that she was suffering from diarrhea, an ominous sign; the counselor said later that death might come quickly.

Mrs. Zulu said she had been trying to keep healthy by eating well and "not sleeping with other men."

"Refuse but tell them nothing," she said. Like Miss Banda, Mrs. Zulu keeps her illness a tight secret; only her three aunts and uncles and her grandmother, whose hut she sleeps in, know.

Mr. Mwale, Miss Banda's grandfather, explained the shame associated with AIDS in village society.

"My family may lose its reputation because this is a sexually transmitted disease," he said. "And many people in the village may stop coming to my house."

One of the difficult chores of the AIDS counseling team is to overcome superstitions about the disease — for example, that it is caused by mosquito bites or by entering a house like Mr. Mwale's.

Medical people give credit to President Kaunda for publicly attributing the death of his son to AIDS, saying that this paved the way for some limited discussion of AIDS in official circles.

But among ordinary people, in both urban and rural areas, there is still widespread disbelief that AIDS could affect them, doctors say. Among Zambian men, a sense of sexual bravado seems to dominate, said Dr. Pieter Reijer, the medical coordinator for the Ndola Roman Catholic Diocese west of here.

"They say to me, 'If I go to a town away from here, you don't expect me to abstain,'" said Dr. Reijer.

SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

Mandela said he hoped the talks would help end "the terrible tradition of dialogue between master and slave" that had characterized white-black relations in the past and begin a process of resolving conflicts between the races "through discussion among equals."

Speaking directly to the 3 million white Afrikaners in their native language, Afrikaans, he assured them

that they had "nothing to fear from the ANC."

The opening ceremony took place in the garden of the former official residence of South African presidents and prime ministers at Groote Schuur, which dates back to Cecil John Rhodes when he led the British Cape Colony in 1890. The two delegations will meet for the next three days to discuss remaining obstacles to the start of future negotiations for a constitution that would give the 26 million black majority a voice in national affairs for the first time.

Today was the first time Mandela and de Klerk have been seen standing side by side since the ANC leader was released Feb. 11 after 27 years in prison. Secret talks between the two men, while Mandela was still in jail, laid the groundwork for the start of the process.

The controversy within the white community over today's meeting was highlighted when all 39 members of the official opposition Conservative Party walked out of Parliament and delivered a letter protesting the talks to the presidential office.

The de Klerk government has promised to give up white rule but opposes a one-man, one-vote system that it says would replace white domination with black domination.

The ANC, on the other hand, is committed to full democracy with no special rights for any minority.

The government and the ANC are under considerable pressure to show results from the talks because right-wing white extremists and militant blacks are vehement in their opposition to the whole process. The former say de Klerk is about to sell out the 5 million whites to majority rule by the 26 million blacks. The radical blacks accuse the ANC of being ready to compromise and accept "reforms" rather than fight for real black power.

While the local press has been calling the meeting "historic" and "epoch-making," what has struck South African commentators as extraordinary is the government's willingness to sit down with an ANC delegation that includes the secretary general of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo, and Joe Modise, the commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), which remains committed to armed struggle.

The Communist Party and Umkhonto have been vilified by successive white governments for decades as part of a Soviet-directed conspiracy of subversion and armed struggle to install a Marxist-oriented black regime. Even de Klerk used these charges in the campaign for parliamentary elections last September.

Slovo, who returned here Friday after 27 years in exile, got a roaring reception Sunday when he addressed a crowd of 20,000 in a mixed-raced Cape Town suburb. The podium was decorated as at past rallies for Mandela with a Communist Party banner as big as that

of the ANC.

The meeting today is the first of what is likely to become a three-phase process of negotiations lasting two years or more. The first phase will be devoted to discussing what the ANC regards as obstacles to creating an atmosphere conducive to substantive talks.

These include the main ANC demands that the government release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency and declare a general amnesty for all political exiles. The government, in turn, is insisting the ANC has created its own obstacle to negotiations by refusing to declare an end to its armed struggle.

"We insist on an unequivocal commitment to peaceful solutions, which includes the cessation of violence and of preaching the armed struggle," de Klerk said in a speech to Parliament last month.

The South African Institute of Race Relations just issued a report saying politically related violence, including that by blacks against blacks, has reached an all-time high. If killings continue at the present rate, it said, 4,000 people will die by the end of this year. In the first three months, 996 people were killed compared to 1,403 for all of last year, according to the institute.

"Political conflict is now at its highest in modern times," it said.

The ANC's initial objectives in these preliminary talks were summed up in a few words by Thabo Mbeki, the head of the organization's international affairs department, when he and four other externally based delegation members arrived here last Friday.

"All the issues we want to discuss have to do with creating a situation of equal opportunity for everybody," he said. "Let's all proceed

from the same base, the same rules, even, level ground for everybody."

Once a solution is found to these obstacles, a second phase of talks about talks will try to decide who will participate in the constitutional talks and how they will be carried out. The ANC wants to hold elections for a constituent assembly, as was done in Namibia.

The government has rejected this approach but has not made its position clear. But de Klerk has repeatedly denounced what he sees as an ANC attempt either to eliminate all other black groups and leaders from the negotiating table or to co-opt them into its own delegation.

Once these issues are resolved, during a second phase of negotiations, the third and final one devoted to bargaining over a new constitution will begin. But both sides seem to think this stage of the process is unlikely to begin before next year.

The government and ANC delegations to these preliminary talks are quite different in makeup and political significance.

The nine-man government team includes de Klerk's inner circle of ministerial advisers and policymakers, with the exception of Defense Minister Magnus Malan. The delegation is all white, all male and has no members of English descent. All are Afrikaners, the governing elite of this country since the National Party gained control in 1948.

The ANC has put together a carefully balanced 11-person delegation that includes all races, both sexes and other anti-apartheid political groups. In an apparent effort to balance Slovo's presence, the ANC included white Afrikaner church leader Beyers Naude. The Indian community is represented by Ahmed Kathrada, an ANC publicity officer.

UNPICKING APARTHEID (Continued)

Although the safest protections against state power may well be the entrenchment of individual freedoms in bills of rights, groups can be protected too: even peaceful Belgium's constitution demands "parity" in the cabinet for French-speakers and Dutch-speakers.

A solution for South Africa lies somewhere along these lines. One possibility is to satisfy the black demand for majority rule in a lower house of parliament, and to make whites feel safer by protecting minority rights in a less powerful but still influential upper house. The lower house could be elected on the principle of one man, one vote, from a common voters' roll; upper-house elections could be based on voting by

areas or groups (perhaps defined by language, not colour, in order to increase the psychological distance from apartheid). The votes cast for the upper house would not, it is true, be of equal numerical value; but most representative democracies have to live with some such oddity. The 28m people of California send the same number of senators to the United States Senate as do the 500,000 people of Wyoming.

It would be a pity if either side entered talks armed with an inflexible blueprint. Constitution-writing is an exercise in political compromise, not a science derived from first principles. In South Africa, at last, a white leader speaks with contrition, a black leader without bitterness. If compromise fails now, history may not grant the beloved country a better chance.

S. AFRICA'S CONFERENCE OF MANY COLORS (Continued)

ing in Natal province, where supporters of the ANC are fighting those aligned with Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. Some anti-apartheid leaders had hoped that Mandela and Buthelezi, who represents about 2 million Zulus, could resolve their differences and present a united front

in eventual talks with De Klerk. But Buthelezi seems destined to occupy his own seat in any negotiations with the government.

• The role of the government's nominal independent black homelands. The rulers of two of the four homelands have been

overthrown in recent weeks, and angry residents want their South African citizenship back.

One of the larger issues is the future of apartheid. The government has promised to remove or amend most racially discriminatory laws, but dismantling the system will be a topic for negotiations.

Angola, Rebels Said to Hold Direct Talks

By Peter Wise

Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, April 28—The Marxist Angolan government and U.S.-backed UNITA rebels met secretly near here earlier this week for face-to-face talks on ending the 15-year civil war in Angola, a Portuguese official disclosed today.

Portugal's secretary of state for foreign affairs, Jose Durao Barroso, said delegations of high-ranking officials from the two sides met Tuesday and Wednesday in Evora, 60 miles east of the Portuguese capital, for exploratory talks on basic principles for future negotiations.

The talks came amid a deadlock in peace efforts mediated by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and were the first direct contact between the Angolan government and the rebels since a short-lived cease-fire agreement was signed in Gbadolite, Zaire, last June.

Barroso, who attended the Evora talks at the invitation of both sides, said a calendar for further meetings had been drawn up. But he stressed that the location and substance of future negotiations would be kept secret.

Barroso said UNITA, the Portuguese acronym for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, was preparing a response to a negotiating position put forward by the government delegation at the meeting. A "long, long road will have to be run" before a lasting peace settlement was likely to be achieved in Angola, he said.

FOOD RELIEF HOLDUP (Continued)

be very difficult to get enough food into the area."

Mr. Kassaye says Ethiopia wants donors to airlift food from the port of Aseb to Asmera, the main city of Eritrea, which is still in government hands. An estimated 400,000 persons are stranded in and around Asmera, cut off by the rebels.

But a Western diplomat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital,

calls the government's insistence on an airlift "black-mail." Why, he asks, should donors be asked to pay for such an expensive operation just so the government can continue to refuse to acknowledge rebel control over Mas-sawa? "The donors are fed up," he says.

Food deliveries from Sudan directly into rebel-controlled Eritrea and Tigré are jeopardized by government threats to bomb the trucks. They are forced to travel only at night, slowing deliveries considerably. The government may suspect rebels are delivering military supplies.

Neither the UN nor any other neutral organization has set up a cross-border delivery system, as the UN has for war zones in neighboring Sudan. UN and Western relief officials, in fact, won't even speak on the record about cross-border deliveries to avoid irritating the government.

Ethiopians belonging to churches

Diamond Sales Outlook

JOHANNESBURG, May 2 (Reuters) — Diamonds are headed for an eighth consecutive year of record sales, the world's biggest producer, De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., said today. The South African-based company's chairman, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, said that world retail sales rose 4 percent in 1989 in terms of United States dollars. Growth was particularly strong last year in Europe, where economies were buoyant, and in Japan, where a tax concession on jewelry purchases helped to increase sales. In the United States, the world's largest market for polished diamonds, growth was modest because of an easing in economic activity, Mr. Ogilvie Thompson told the De Beers shareholders.

represented by the JRP plan to help monitor food distribution in the Tigré rebel areas. So far, the JRP has no agreement to deliver food to Eritrea rebel areas.

A number of donor countries, including Canada, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, U.S. and the 12 nations in the European Community, issued a statement of principles last week on humanitarian

aid. The statement called on all parties to the civil war in Ethiopia to stop fighting immediately and to guarantee safe passage and distribution of relief supplies through neutral organizations.

Ethiopia's armed forces are the largest in black Africa, numbering 315,800.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, based in London, estimates the Eritrean rebel force at 30,000, and the Tigreans at 20,000.

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