

AF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 27, 1990

XXV No. 16

THE NEW YORK TIMES
APRIL 26, 1990

Angola Expects New Rebel Talks

By PAUL LEWIS

UNITED NATIONS, April 25 — Angola's Foreign Minister said today that the leftist Government of President José Eduardo dos Santos will reopen peace talks with its American-backed rebels "in the next few days."

The official, Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, said Portugal, the colonial ruler of Angola until 1975, was arranging the talks with the rebels of Jonas Savimbi, which could be held either in Portugal or in the Cape Verde Islands. Earlier peace talks broke down last June after a mediation effort by 18 African leaders at Gbedoffe, Zaire, when Mr. Savimbi apparently refused to go into exile as part of a settlement with the nominally Marxist Government.

The door was opened for a settlement of Angola's 15-year civil war by the recent agreement providing independence for Namibia. Under this regional solution, Cuba agreed to progressively withdraw the tens of thousands of troops it had sent to Angola to help the Government resist the rebels of Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, who were supported by the United States and South Africa.

The Angolan Foreign Minister said his Government is abandoning its former commitment to Marxism by building "a free-market economy" and preparing for a "pluralistic political system" that will eventually permit multiparty elections.

As the Angolan development was announced, the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan pledged today to avoid another war over Kashmir, but both sides appeared as far apart as ever on the substance of the quarrel.

Diplomatic Code

After talks about the latest surge of tension in Kashmir, the officials issued a brief statement describing their meeting as "businesslike and useful" and saying they want to "reduce tension" and avoid another confrontation.

They said another meeting between them is likely, although no date or place has been set.

Control of predominantly Muslim Kashmir has been a matter of contention, and warfare, between India and Pakistan since the partition of the subcontinent at the end of British rule in 1947.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
APRIL 24, 1990

Sudan Reports Blocking a Coup And Arresting Over 30 Officers

CAIRO, April 23 (Reuters). — Sudan's military rulers foiled a coup attempt today without firing a shot and arrested more than 30 officers, a spokesman for the armed forces said.

"The coup attempt was crushed just before it started," a spokesman at the armed forces headquarters said by telephone from Khartoum, the Sudan's capital.

"Not a single shot was fired and we have in detention more than 30 of those involved," he said. "They don't include civilians."

The spokesman said forces loyal to the Sudan's leader, Maj. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir, and his 15-man military council were in full control throughout the Sudanese capital.

General Bashir seized power last June, toppling the civilian Government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, which had ruled since April 1986.

Two Coup Leaders Identified

The spokesman denied press reports that the El Shagara barracks of the armored corps on the outskirts of Khartoum was still in rebel hands.

Sudan's Information Minister, Mohammed Khogli Salhein, said earlier in Khartoum that the coup attempt had been led by a retired army major general, Abdul-Kader al-Kadro, and a retired air force brigadier, Mohammed Osman Hamed Karar.

General Kadro was a former chief of the artillery corps, and Brigadier Karar was governor of the eastern region during Mr. Mahdi's rule.

Mr. Salhein said the coup attempt was linked to another plot to overthrow the Government that was uncovered in March. Thirty-five people, including Mr. Mahdi's son, were later reported arrested in connection with the plot.

Since it gained independence in 1953, the Sudan has spent nearly 24 years under military rule.

Since seizing power in June, General Bashir has declared a state of emergency, suspended the Constitution and

THE NEW YORK TIMES
APRIL 23, 1990

Nigeria Reports It Foiled a Coup By Army Rebels

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, April 22 — Nigeria announced today that troops loyal to the military Government of Gen. Ibrahim Babangida had thwarted an attempted coup, forcing rebel officers to surrender after 11 hours of fighting.

Speaking on a Nigerian radio broadcast monitored here, Lieut. Gen. Sani Abacha, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, said the attempt had failed and that the President was "perfectly safe."

He said the plot was carried out by "a few disloyal and misguided soldiers" who had caused "sporadic fighting" in "some isolated parts of Lagos."

Earlier, a rebel spokesman said in a broadcast that the insurgents were fighting to end domination of the Government by Muslims from northern Nigeria.

No Official Casualty Tolls

General Abacha said that most the plotters had been captured and were being interrogated, but he did not say how many there were. A military aide to General Babangida was reportedly killed in a gun battle at military headquarters in Lagos; General Abacha gave no overall casualty figures.

Witnesses reported heavy fighting throughout the morning around the military headquarters, which is near the broadcasting center.

Continued on Pg. 15

dissolved Parliament, political parties and trade unions. He has placed the press under state control and has detained scores of politicians, trade unionists and human rights workers.

Over the last decade, the Sudan has suffered under a worsening economic crisis, a large foreign debt, famine, drought and floods.

A costly war against rebels in the south enters its eighth year in May. The war has worsened hunger and disease, which killed 250,000 people in 1988.

Torture Tales May Unsettle African Congress

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 24 — The African National Congress faced the prospect of embarrassing disclosures from within its own ranks as a group of dissident members returned home today with stories of torture and imprisonment at the group's hands.

The returnees — six men, two women and two children — were taken away by the police as soon as their airline flight from Malawi arrived at Jan Smuts Airport here, giving waiting reporters no opportunity to question them. But they are expected to tell their stories in coming days.

A police spokesman said the 10 exiles were being detained under the Internal Security Act, but indicated that this was merely to allow them to be debriefed before they were released.

Five other dissidents arrived unannounced earlier. There are reports that the returning exiles plan to set up a political movement opposing the African National Congress.

Walter Sisulu, a senior leader of the congress who arrived at the airport on

a flight from Transkei, said it was natural for the dissidents to get assistance from the Government in setting up their organization. But he told reporters that he was not worried.

In Cape Town today, a bill was introduced in Parliament enabling President F. W. de Klerk to grant immunity from arrest and criminal prosecution to anyone so designated. The legislation had been promised by President de Klerk to let officials of African National Congress in exile join in negotiations he has proposed with black leaders on a new constitution that would extend political rights to blacks.

The legislation could cover not only guerrillas accused of committing crimes like murder and arson in armed struggle against Pretoria, but also the dissidents, whose allegations could work to the Government's advantage.

On April 14, as he was leaving on a visit to Britain, Nelson Mandela admitted to reporters that the African National Congress had mistreated some of its members, but said those responsible had been removed.

"Unfortunately, it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," Mr. Mandela said. He indicated that it had stopped and said the group opposed torture.

But some dissidents who escaped to Kenya have asserted that the abuse goes on and that at least 120 people are still locked up by the African National Congress in Uganda and Angola. In an open letter, they asked Mr. Mandela to begin an inquiry. Those returning to South Africa have reportedly prepared a detailed account of mistreatments.

The disclosures could hurt the African National Congress at a time

when it is trying to broaden its base of domestic support in preparation for talks with the Government, which are scheduled to begin next week.

The state-run South African Broadcasting Corporation said in a radio broadcast that those who arrived today included Mwezi Twala, a former commander of Spear of the Nation, as the congress's guerrillas are known.

Mr. Twala reportedly helped lead a mutiny in 1984 by congress guerrillas deployed in Angola to help its Marxist

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Continued on Pg. 15

April 27, 1990

AFRIKANER EXTREMISTS

S. African Whites Prepare to Fight

By Ross Dunn

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE theft of ammunition and guns from a military armory by a white right-wing group April 14 has raised doubts about the loyalty of some African defense and security-force personnel and heightened fears that extremist Afrikaners are preparing an armed rebellion.

The mastermind behind the break-in at Pretoria's Air Force armory is alleged to be Piet Rudolph, the deputy leader of the ultra-right-wing Boerestaart Party.

Mr. Rudolph, a former policeman and ex-Pretoria city councilor, reportedly phoned the Pretoria News last week and said: "I have now crossed the Rubicon. The Boer now have a chance to arm themselves." Three of his alleged accomplices in the theft are servicemen in the South African Defense Force.

On Tuesday, Adriaan Vlok, South Africa's law and order minister, announced a proposed ban preventing policemen from being

a member of any political party.

The Conservative Party announced Wednesday that it would suspend the membership of anyone now in the police force.

Members of the security and police forces are already banned from being members of the Afrikaner Weerstand-Beweging (AWB) and other organizations.

The Boerestaart Party works closely with the AWB, led by the neofascist Eugene Terre Blanche, who claims that units of "Boer commandos" have formed and would act against anyone who "tried with violence to remove the freedom of the volk."

Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaart Party, freely tells reporters that commandos are being organized on a regional basis.

Contacted earlier this week, experts on right-wing organizations say that while the actual numbers in such groups might be small, it would be wrong to underestimate their potential to use violence to wreck negotiations.

"The events of last week prove . . . that you cannot ignore the white right wing and their determination for gaining power or sustaining a guerrilla campaign," says Richard Humphries, a re-

searcher at the Center for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Forthcoming negotiations aim at a new constitution in which blacks will be represented in national elections. The first stage of those negotiations begins next Wednesday with a historic meeting between executive members of the recently unbanned African National Congress (ANC) and a government negotiating team led by President Frederik de Klerk. These are the so-called "talks about talks," which will set conditions for actual negotiations.

Mr. De Klerk warned the police hierarchy earlier this year against pursuing a political agenda. Academic experts say that many members of white right-wing groups are ex-military personnel or are now serving in the defense or police forces.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman says: "We can't afford a biased police force. From a police and law and order point of view, we are very concerned about [the theft of] the weapons and the buildup of right-wing emotions, just as we are concerned about the situation in Natal."

De Klerk has recently criticized Andries Treurnicht, the Conservative Party leader, for publishing a secret security document that claimed the ANC was planning to assassinate right-wing leaders. De Klerk said the document was possibly fabricated in an attempt to create instability.

Experts on white right-wing parties suspect that the timing of the theft so soon before the meeting was not coincidental.

"From all accounts, three-quarters of the police in the Transvaal [Province] are supporters of the far-right wing and two-thirds nationally," says Mark Phillips, a security expert at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Robert Evans of the University of Natal says the theft from the air base in Pretoria was a symbolic gesture aimed at signaling that the rebellion was about to begin, rather than a desperate bid to gain arms. The theft included at least 80 guns of various kinds.

"They feel they have been sold down the river by the National Party government and the break-in was merely a demonstration of power. . . . It was a way of telling their supporters they are ready to start an armed rebellion," Mr. Evans says.

Chance for a Unified Policy on South Africa

By Stephen J. Solarz

DESPITE the recent speech by South African President Frederik de Klerk, in which he rejected majority rule in South Africa, it is possible for the first time since the establishment of apartheid over four decades ago, to see a ray of light at the end of a long tunnel of darkness, discrimination, and despair.

My optimism stems in part from South Africa's decision to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and to unban the African National Congress (ANC). It is absolutely clear that without Mr. Mandela and the ANC, there can be no solution to the turmoil in South Africa acceptable to the great majority of black South Africans, without whose support no settlement could possibly work.

Several weeks ago I was part of a congressional delegation which met with Mandela in Lusaka. One of the most impressive political leaders I've ever met, he struck me as a kind of African Abraham Lincoln, in the sense that he possesses a deep commitment to the principle of majority rule but also an acute sensitivity to the concerns of the minority.

Much of what he said echoed Lincoln's Second Inaugural, in which the great emancipator, in the waning weeks of the Civil War, called for "malice toward none and charity for all." Mandela made it clear he is just as opposed to black repression as to white tyranny.

In addition to a compelling personal presence, a quiet eloquence, and a gentle dignity, what is perhaps most remarkable about Mandela is that after 27 years in prison, during which the apartheid regime took away the best years of his life, he seems utterly unembittered and fully prepared to extend the hand of reconciliation.

I was also impressed by Mr. De Klerk. Compared to his predecessor, P. W. Botha, he is as day is to night. What most struck me about De Klerk was the extent to which he has broken with the conceptual rigidities and ideological shibboleths of the apartheid system.

He told us, for example, that he recognizes that for any settlement to work, it has to be acceptable to the majority of the black community. He seems to understand that the concepts of a separate black parliament, a separate white voter roll, or a race-based arrangement would be unrealistic and unacceptable as the basis for a future political system. And, perhaps most significantly, he appears to accept the validity of

the basic black demand for a universal franchise within a unified state.

President de Klerk has, to be sure, rejected the concept of an untrammelled majority rule as the basis for a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa. To the extent that De Klerk's preference for a system of checks and balances constitutes a means of giving the white minority the ability to maintain its political and economic domination, it will clearly be unacceptable to the black majority.

But if De Klerk is willing to accept constitutional arrangements that are primarily designed to provide political protections for fundamental freedoms, as distinguished from a white veto over government policy as a whole, a political settlement may still be possible.

As for US policy, President Bush now

has a rare opportunity to unite the Congress and the country around a new approach toward South Africa that would enable us to facilitate a settlement leading to the abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a new system based on the principle of majority rule and minority rights. Such an approach should have three components.

First, it should maintain the existing sanctions, which clearly played a critical role in leading the South African government to the conclusion that fundamental change was necessary, until such time as there has been irreversible progress toward the abolition of apartheid.

Even if negotiations begin relatively soon, there's still a long way to go before an agreement is reached. If the ANC and the other black organizations that partici-

Continued on Pg. 15

De Klerk's Meaning

CAN anything short of pure popular rule ultimately work in South Africa? President Frederik de Klerk believes so, and last week spelled out, a little more fully, his conception of a country where every citizen would have "a vote of equal value," but there would be built-in restraints to insure against domination by the majority.

On the surface, this sounds much like democratic systems elsewhere, with checks and balances and guarantees of the rights of minorities. But in South Africa the president's words spill over quite easily into the questionable realm of "group rights," with the added connotation of veto rights for whites.

Clearly, the country's black majority is never going to settle for a political setup that perpetuates white control over the government. Some commentators, seeing in De Klerk's message to Parliament in Cape Town just this aim, said his ideas were a roadblock to meaningful negotiations. Preliminary talks between the government and a delegation from the African National Congress are set to begin May 11.

De Klerk's words can, however, be taken in a different way.

Like other reformers, he is holding off the jaws of a political vise coming from left and right. His views about the nature of a future South African democracy express the concerns of large segments of his white constituency, which fear black majority rule and the reverse repression they feel it will bring. On the other hand, this is the same De Klerk who has already gone much further than any previous leader in dismantling apartheid and unloosing diverse political forces.

His stand for white rights should, perhaps, be no more disheartening than Nelson Mandela's stand for militancy and nationalized industry as an approach to addressing South Africa's obvious inequities. Both these stands are likely to evolve as negotiations proceed, though the concerns they represent will have to be fairly dealt with.

The process of change in South Africa is in a preliminary stage. Participants from all sides — including a multiplicity of viewpoints among both blacks and whites — will be making their concerns known. It will take tremendous goodwill, as well as strength of conviction, to bring the process to a peaceful conclusion.

Neutrality Has Its Dangers in the Blood Feuds of a South African Province

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa — Lillian Gebashe rummaged through the few possessions salvaged from her fire-gutted home in the black township of Imbali and lovingly held up a charred china cup given her by a son of the white family she had served as a maid.

She looked around her small four-room house, which had been reduced to a scorched shell by a fire set by intruders. "I think I'm going to try and rebuild it," Mrs. Gebashe said.

But first, she said, she needed a strong fence. "If I can get something to stop them from coming, I can start to wash the walls," she said.

Mrs. Gebashe, who now relies on neighbors for a place to sleep, is one of the thousands of bystanders caught in the cross-fire of factional violence among blacks in Natal Province. The fighting involves members of the predominantly Zulu movement Inkatha and supporters of the United Democratic Front, who, though also Zulus, owe their allegiance to an anti-apartheid alliance loyal to the African National Congress.

From Politics to Blood Feuds

Although the origins of the hostilities are traceable to political differences and competing strategies of the two groups, the conflict has degenerated over the years into blood feuds, vengeful or criminal attacks and gang struggles for turf dominance and local patronage.

Many of those who have been killed, crippled or burned out assert no political affiliations. Like Lillian Gebashe, they happened to be in the way.

Mrs. Gebashe, a widow who was compelled to stop working as a floor scrubber in other people's houses because of a heart ailment, said she was in her bedroom in the morning when she heard a noise and saw four young strangers. She said they carried guns and what she thought was gasoline sloshing in a yellow bucket.

"You dogs, are you still here?" the leader said, by her recollection.

Then, she said, they flung her and a grown daughter aside before setting the house on fire and leaving.

'I Was Just Praying'

"My daughter, she has crippled legs, so she fell and was crawling," Mrs. Gebashe said. "I was just praying."

The neighborhood in Imbali where they lived was considered partial to the United Democratic Front, and because Mrs. Gebashe lived on its edge, her house and four others were burned. She assumed her assailants belonged to Inkatha.

"God is wonderful, sir, because I don't know why they didn't shoot me," she said.

Days earlier, her grandson Freeman was found in the tall grass with his throat cut and with 35 stab wounds. He was 18 years old. "We buried him last week," Mrs. Gebashe said.

The Rev. Francois Bill, assistant secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, speaking at a funeral near Imbali for 15 victims, said 2,000 people had died in Natal's violence over the last two years.

By comparison, he said, 2,000 had died in Northern Ireland over 20 years.

Natal has witnessed nearly 500 such killings so far this year.

The latest wave of fighting around Pietermaritzburg, the provincial capital, sent more than 12,000 people fleeing their homes to take shelter in local churches, schools and community halls.

"Most of these people don't belong to any side at all," said Garth Japhet, a young doctor who has treated hundreds of refugees at Esigodeni for gunshot and other wounds.

"Most people are not political people," Dr. Japhet said. "But if you happen to live in an area labeled Inkatha or U.D.F., you become tied to it."

A retired truck driver who also lives in Imbali, Phillip Ndlovu, showed the bullet holes that pockmarked the concrete around his front window. They were left, he said, after he warned a local Inkatha leader to leave alone school pupils who supported the United Democratic Front.

"I said, you are not allowed to kill children," Mr. Ndlovu said. "That's why they want to hurt me."

He too said he did not belong to any group. "The Inkatha boys say if you say you are neutral, you are U.D.F.," said Mr. Ndlovu, who now keeps a homemade spear and a metal pipe wrapped in tape for protection.

Neutrality is impossible for the young, who are forced to join gangs fighting on both sides. In Mpumalanga, militant youths, colloquially called comrades, who support the United Democratic Front, objected when one of their peers preferred to stay home and study. By one account from a civil-rights group, they held a "neenie's court" and sentenced him to rape his mother to break free of her apron strings.

Another woman in Mpumalanga, a community numbed by violence, told a visitor that the worst part was that she could not sleep at night because youths kept blowing whistles as part of their warning system against attacks by Inkatha supporters.

A white businessman said his black employees skipped work after youths at bus stops hinted that their houses would be burned if they disregarded a work boycott organized by the United Democratic Front and its ally, the Con-

Riots Hit Pretoria Township Where Police Killed 5

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

VILJOENSKROON, South Africa, April 20 — Riots shook the black township of Rammulotsi in the Orange Free State today after five youths were shot to death by the police on Thursday.

Four victims died at the scene after the police opened fire on a crowd that had gathered to demand the resignation of the township's council. A fifth person died at a nearby hospital.

In response, youths today set fire to at least two houses and a funeral home owned by two of the township councilors. The police guarded the property of five other councilors.

The police rode through the shabby township in an armored car, chasing rioters and firing tear gas. The youths emerged from behind rows of small houses to pelt the armored car ineffectually with rocks and stones.

'Ill Disciplined' Policemen

The shootings on Thursday could cause the African National Congress to postpone pending talks with the Government for a second time. The organization canceled the original talks, planned for April 11, after the police opened fire on demonstrators in Sebokeng, a black township between Rammulotsi and Johannesburg.

Up to 17 people were killed and more than 400 were wounded in Sebokeng.

In announcing the new dates of May 2 to May 4 for the talks, Nelson Mandela warned that his organization would not tolerate more attacks on blacks by the police.

"The Government must seriously and urgently address itself to this crisis brought about by ill-disciplined and trigger-happy policemen whose agenda is to undermine and frustrate all attempts to normalize the political situation in the country," the African National Congress said today in a statement issued to protest the shootings.

But Walter F. Sisulu, a senior Congress official, told reporters earlier that the incident would not stop the new talks.

The police commissioner, Gen. Johan van der Merwe, has ordered an investigation into the shootings.

Residents of Rammulotsi said the demonstrators on Thursday were upset at the failure of the town councilors, who had won segregated elections in October 1988, to fulfill their campaign promises to check corruption, pave the streets and generally improve the community.

"They promised many things to make the township look good," one man said, but never delivered anything.

Continued on Pg. 14

Continued on Pg. 14

DE KLERK STARTS INQUIRY ON CLASH

South African Leader Names
a Judge to Study Violence
at a Protest in March

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 18 — President F. W. de Klerk said today that he had appointed a judicial commission of inquiry to look into the shooting by the police of demonstrators in a black township on March 26.

The panel is being headed by Justice Richard J. Goldstone, a prominent appeals court judge who is known in legal circles here and abroad as a scholar on civil and human-rights issues and a jurist of marked independence.

Up to 17 people died and more than 400 were wounded in the violence that followed the use by police of shotguns and tear gas to disperse a large crowd, which had convened to deliver a petition complaining of living conditions in the township.

The African National Congress gave the shootings, in the township of Sebokeng, as its reason for postponing talks with the Government that had been scheduled for April 11. Mr. de Klerk met Mr. Mandela on April 4 and promised, among other things, to have the Cabinet consider an independent commission of inquiry.

Talks Are Rescheduled

As a result, the African National Congress has agreed to new talks, which are scheduled to begin on May 2.

Mr. de Klerk, in making the announcement in Parliament today, denied that the creation of the commission was a concession to Mr. Mandela or the African National Congress. He said he had told Mr. Mandela that he was already considering such a commission.

"My reaction was that I was positively disposed to the idea and that I would lay the matter before the Cabinet," Mr. de Klerk told Parliament, according to the South African Press Association.

Mr. de Klerk said the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan J. Vlok, and the commissioner of the South African Police, Gen. Johan van der Merwe, favored the appointment of the judicial commission to clear up the charges against the police.

Mr. de Klerk has appointed another judicial commission to look into charges that the police operated secret squads to assassinate or terrorize opponents of apartheid.

He has come under some pressure to create yet another independent commission to investigate the factional fighting that has ravaged black townships in Natal province. Nearly 500 people

Alleged Rights Abuses Hurt the ANC's Standing

Dissidents dispute claim that rights-abusers have been dismissed

By Sharon Behn

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

S EVEN former African National Congress guerrillas, embittered after many years of imprisonment and torture in ANC camps, are accusing South Africa's black nationalist organization of torture, murder by beating, and the suppression of democracy within the ANC.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela quickly acknowledged the claims. "Unfortunately, it is true that some of these people who have complained were in fact tortured," he said in a statement on Sunday. Mr. Mandela added that those responsible for the torture have been dismissed.

Five of the seven dissidents

disputed Mandela's claim in an interview in Nairobi. "No steps were taken. People like [executive committee member] Mzwandile Piliso and [head of Umkhonto we Sizwe] Chris Hani are still in power, and even today these monstrosities are continuing," dissident Amos Maxongo says.

In 1980, Ronnie Masango, like many of his friends, left his Pretoria home for Swaziland to join the ANC to fight apartheid. "We left South Africa because we wanted guns. We felt the best way to fight the racist regime was with guns," he says.

Now, 10 years later, he and six of the others who were expelled from the congress for disloyalty and defiance, are accusing the ANC of human rights abuses.

Continued on Pg. 14

Before Mandela's remarks, the ANC in Lusaka had denied the dissidents' claims, stressing that it had adopted a "code of conduct" in 1985 which forbade torture.

But ANC national executive member Steve Ishwete said Monday that "no army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal." He admitted that there had been "excesses" during the interrogations, but that "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with."

On Wednesday, ANC deputy representative for Britain, Billy Maseltha, also admitted that the punishments were out of line: "Some people got carried away."

The seven dissidents crossed the border illegally into Kenya and are being cared for by church groups here in Nairobi.

THE WASHINGTON POST

APRIL 22, 1990

What de Klerk Really Said

David Ottaway has created the misleading perception that President Frederik W. de Klerk has rejected majority rule for South Africa ["De Klerk Rejects Majority Rule," front page, April 18].

President de Klerk stated quite clearly in his speech that "the agenda [for negotiations] is open, and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans. Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programs directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all."

In fact, the president went even further by saying that his government

is in favor of "full participation [which] includes equality of treatment and opportunity for every citizen of the country, regardless of color, culture or origin. It means, therefore, that every citizen should be entitled to the rights and privileges that citizenship of a democratic country normally brings with it. Naturally, this entails a vote of equal value for every adult citizen."

The confusion arises from missing the point that de Klerk's opposition is against simple majority rule. The president's view accommodates majority rule in a system that has a balance "between fair and complete participation in government at every level by every citizen on the one hand, and the effective protection of minorities against domination and the dismantling of their values on the other."

PIET KOORNHOF

South African Ambassador to the United States
Washington

ple have been killed in the fighting since the beginning of the year.

But Mr. de Klerk today said the situation in Natal was different because the violence there was extensive and continuing, while the incident that caused the deaths and injuries in Sebokeng was clearly defined.

The President decided this month to send army reinforcements into Natal to help the police restore order. Today, Mr. de Klerk said he had yet not decided whether to appoint a commission to look into the Natal violence. The Government is watching the situation, he said.

Zimbabwe Voters Give Mugabe Mandate

To the Editor:

"King Robert of Zimbabwe?" (editorial, April 5) was tragic and lowly. Even your April 2 news article on President Robert Mugabe's victory in the March 31-April 1 election presented a balanced view.

The elections were free, fair and democratic. Two candidates ran for the presidency. Five political parties contested 119 parliamentary seats. All political parties campaigned freely, held rallies throughout the country and had access to the news media. The voting was by secret ballot. Was that not multiparty democracy? Or is your problem that Mr. Mugabe won the presidency by 78 percent and his party took 80 percent of the vote, to win 116 of the 119 seats?

Since 1980 South Africa has been destabilizing Zimbabwe. South African spies and agents operating in Zimbabwe have committed acts of sabotage resulting in hundreds of lives lost and great destruction of property. In 1983, for example, South Africa destroyed jet bombers Zimbabwe had just bought from Britain.

Civilian houses have been bombed in the capital, Harare, and Bulawayo by South African commandos. South African-sponsored Renamo bandits, who are fighting the Mozambican Government, make raids into the eastern parts of Zimbabwe, killing civilians, looting and burning villages. You have reported these events. Zimbabwe renews the state of emergency because of the external threat from the apartheid regime of South Africa.

President Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo have worked together since the liberation struggle. Their movements coordinated strategies in the Patriotic Front alliance. They signed the Lancaster House Agreement together. After winning the 1980 independence elections, Mr. Mugabe invited Mr. Nkomo to join him in a government of national unity. Since 1980, the two held more than 20 meetings to merge their parties. The agreement of 1987 was not a bolt from the blue. It is extremely cynical and patronizing for you to say that Mr. Nkomo and his movement were forced into unity

NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 25, 1990 I.O.C. Reaffirms Ban

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, April 24 (AP) — The International Olympic Committee reaffirmed its ban on South Africa today, despite recent liberalization by the country's white government.

The I.O.C.'s executive committee opened four days of meetings by deciding that since apartheid still exists in South Africa, there would be no change in policy.

Also, the I.O.C.'s medical commission will make its first report on its inquiry into boxing, which could eventually lead to boxing being banned from the Games.

with Mr. Mugabe's.

The people of Zimbabwe have known since the liberation struggle that Mr. Mugabe's party prefers a one-party system. They knew that the opposition was campaigning against a one-party state. In a democratic election, the people of Zimbabwe chose Mr. Mugabe and his party. Mr. Mugabe was right when he declared, "It's a mandate for all our policies."

STANISLAUS G. CHIGWEDE
Ambassador of Zimbabwe
Washington, April 5, 1990

THE WASHINGTON POST

ANC Condemns Killing Of Teenagers by Police

5 Shot as They Emerged From School

APRIL 21, 1990

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

RAMMULOTSI, South Africa, April 20—The African National Congress said today it was outraged at the killings Thursday of five black teenagers when "undisciplined, trigger-happy" police opened fire on pupils leaving a junior high school here.

But a senior ANC official, Andrew Mlangeni, gave no indication whether the black nationalist organization would call off talks with President Frederik W. de Klerk May 2-4, as it did to protest a police shooting last month in Sebokeng township, where at least 11 blacks died. The talks are planned to resolve remaining obstacles to the opening of full-scale negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

[In Johannesburg, ANC leader Walter Sisulu told Reuter news agency that the incident would not halt the meeting. "There are some people who want to stop the talks, but they won't," Sisulu said, adding that "I am very indignant. The police make the life of black people so cheap. It is like shooting birds."]

Police and hundreds of youth clashed throughout the day today in this Orange Free State township outside of Viljoenskroon, 125 miles

southwest of Johannesburg.

The five dead youths were between 13 and 16 years old. According to three officials of the South African Youth Congress, a militant organization, about 400 youths were parading through the streets Thursday morning singing ANC freedom songs when pupils from a junior high school came out to watch.

A van carrying three white and two black policemen pulled up outside the school and immediately opened fire on those streaming through the front gate, the youth officials said. They said the police mistakenly believed the pupils were about to join the protest march.

Four of the pupils died instantly from buckshot and the fifth died last night from a bullet wound, according to the youth officials, who asked not to be identified.

Police said they opened fire after the youths failed to heed calls to end their unauthorized march and to disperse. "When they ignored the warnings, tear gas and rubber bullets were used. The group then broke up and began stoning and petrol-bombing police vehicles," a police spokesman said.

The South African police commissioner, Gen. Johan van der

Merwe, ordered an investigation into the incident. But Mlangeni said the ANC wanted a judicial inquiry similar to the one that de Klerk established Thursday to investigate the Sebokeng shootings. He ordered the inquiry just hours before the shootings took place here.

Rammulotsi appeared today to have been turned into a battleground. Youth had placed crude barricades across the streets. Fires burned in the homes and businesses of several township councilmen.

Youth threw stones at two police armored cars that patrolled the streets. Occasionally, white and black policemen emerged from the "Hippos," as they are known, to shoot tear-gas canisters and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds. But today no shotguns were used by police, local residents said.

The three officials of the South African Youth Congress said Thursday's protest was part of a week-long campaign by their organization to force the resignation of the township's seven government-backed councilmen, who had failed to fulfill promises to improve road and sanitary conditions. Reporters who visited the township today saw pools of sewage collected in the rutted, dirt streets and garbage strewn about.

UNITED NATIONS

The New Colonialism

Africans Decry Potential Loss of Aid

By Ted Morello

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE prospect of diverting Western aid from the third world to newly democratized Eastern Europe seems certain to embitter debate at the week-long special United Nations General Assembly session opening here today.

Debt-burdened African countries have raised the issue with mounting insistence since the Soviet bloc began to crumble.

Assembly President Joseph Garba of Nigeria set the tone two weeks ago when he said "as Eastern Europeans open up to embrace democratic principles, they have instantly become the favorites to receive Western aid and assistance which have never so freely been given to African countries."

The outspoken Nigerian general said "I hesitate to bring up a matter of race," but "Western economic assistance, however minuscule, meant for African states will now be diverted toward the emerging, and white, democracies in Eastern Europe."

In 1988, when this special assembly session was authorized, it was envisioned as a "highest-level" conference to create a blueprint for action to rescue the third world from economic stagnation and retrogression.

The UN released a paper in advance of the session, pointing to the "tumultuous pace" of economic and social change in Eastern Europe. It says that "one troubling prospect is that foreign aid and credits from the most-developed countries might be routed toward Eastern Europe and . . . away from the debt-stricken and impoverished nations of Africa, Latin America, and South Asia."

Says the paper: "it is feared that business investment that otherwise would seek cheap labor

PROJECTED 1990 US FOREIGN AID BY REGION

Africa total	\$3.2 billion
Egypt	\$2.3
All others	\$0.9
Middle East	\$3.9 billion
Israel	\$3.0
All others	\$0.9
Pacific	\$1.7 billion
Philippines	\$0.6
All others	\$1.1
Central America	\$1.0 billion
El Salvador	\$0.4
Others	\$0.6
Europe	\$0.6 billion
Greece	\$0.4
All others	\$0.2
South America	\$0.2 billion
Bolivia	\$0.1
All others	\$0.1

Source: US Agency for International Development

from the developing countries will turn instead to the low-priced but relatively skilled labor market in Eastern Europe."

Similar expressions of concern, frustration, and anger have been voiced by third-world representatives in almost every development-related UN forum.

Recently, for example, the issue was raised at a UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) board meeting. Speaker after speaker hailed the changes in Eastern Europe — while reminding UNICEF Director James Grant of his pledge that there would be no cutbacks for children of developing nations.

Eastern European delegates echoed Hungary's Mihaly Simai, who disavowed any intention of diverting third-world aid.

But simultaneously, he insisted

Continued on page 16

Paris.

THE POOR countries of Africa are concerned that Eastern Europe is going to get most of the aid money still available from the Western nations. They are right, but the reason is not so simple as they would prefer to think.

Aid to Eastern Europe promises to work; most aid to Africa has not worked. The aid-giving countries are

By William Pfaff

not so much indifferent to Africa as ~~indifferent~~ and frustrated.

Sub-Saharan Africa is in terrible condition. The causes are complex, but the result is that most of sub-Saharan Africa has lost control of its own future. Its governments have become the stipendiaries of the International Monetary Fund and other international lending agencies. Economies have all but collapsed as prices have plunged in the markets for Africa's commodities.

One cause of the investment crisis is black Africa's political failure. Corruption is everywhere. Nowhere is there a fully functioning representative government. The high expectations of the first years of African independence were lost long ago; now frustration reigns. The people who were uprooted from agricultural subsistence by independence and an uncalculated urbanization are today without hope for jobs or social progress.

News from Eastern Europe, and the spirit of liberation it set loose in the world, has affected Africa, producing popular challenge to established authority in several of the Francophone West African countries and in Mobutu Sese Seko's Zaire — the United States' principal African client. In Western Europe, particularly in France — the one major European country still seriously interested in Africa — public opinion now questions support for dictatorial African governments, until now considered bad, but better than the visible alternatives.

But Africa's opposition forces are chaotic and fragmented, usually politically naive, without coherent programs. Opposition leaders often are as much the prisoners of obsolete or irrelevant ideologies as the people who govern. In fact, Africa has been stripped of its elites. Talented and educated people — the ones Africa desperately needs — have been driven into emigration.

In the past it has been convenient to blame Africa's problems on colonialism, or present-day "imperial-

Continued on page 16

Angola Railway Attacks Hit the Starving Hardest

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

LOBITO, Angola — The train lurched, screeched and shuddered to a halt. "Bandits!" a conductor screamed, but a crackle of gunfire from both sides of the track kept the passengers from scattering.

It was just after dawn, and in what has become a common scene of terror these days, the train to Benguela was being attacked by bandits looking for food. Wearing army fatigues and carrying automatic rifles, the four men moved quickly, pushing and tossing off half a dozen bags of grain before racing into the bush.

"See what hunger does to people," said Tona Kalombe, an Angolan Government official from Lobito, a town in Benguela Province. "They'll steal from their own neighbors, even their own families."

No one was hurt in this particular hijacking, but in other recent ambushes bandits have shot those who dared to resist, Mr. Kalombe said.

Hunger and malnutrition are increasing for the people of this anguished region, already tattered by rivalry and rebellion. The burden of prolonged drought is now compounding the despair and destruction of a civil war that has raged for 15 years.

Lobito is the starting point for the vital Benguela railroad, which has been sabotaged often by rebels in the years of civil war. The rail line is vital in letting black-governed nations like Zambia and Zaire ship their copper and zinc to the West while bypassing the traditional route through South Africa.

The 1,208-mile railroad, completed in 1929, goes from Lobito, on the Atlantic coast, and climbs 6,082 feet to the highlands, then crosses the savannahs of eastern Angola and cuts through Shaba Province in Zaire.

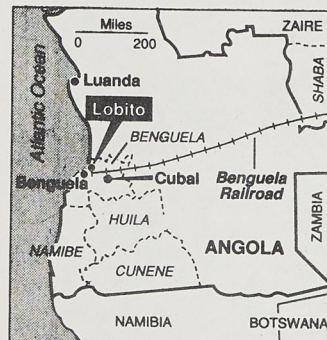
The choking of the railway as a lifeline for supplies, food and goods is one more act preventing Angola from earning the hard currency it needs to pull itself from the debilitating cycle of war and drought.

Distended Belly and Vacant Eyes

Along the railway, the misery of this land of eight million people is a visible as it is acute. On the other hills that stretch along much of the coast of Angola from Lobito to Benguela, the landscape is pocked with hundreds of mud-walled huts. The refugees from hunger and war who live in them seem long on resignation as they peer from their windows and doorways.

Outside one of the huts, a woman cowered in a ragged sack. She held her infant, a child with matted hair, a distended belly and dull, vacant eyes. They had not eaten for days.

At another hut, a tiny child, her skin



The New York Times/April 26, 1990

Lobito is the terminus for the Benguela Railroad, which serves the mines in Zambia and Zaire.

stretched taut over her bones, sat listlessly in her mother's arms. She looked perhaps 2 years old; her mother said she was 4.

"It is mostly the women and children who are left and who are dying," said Paulo Jorge, Benguela's provincial commissioner. "The men are mostly away fighting. And some, of course, are dead."

According to a United Nations study made public in March, severe drought has withered crops for two years, bringing on widespread starvation in much of Benguela, Huila, Namibe and Cunene provinces. It is a region where a peasantry now impoverished by war found cultivation difficult even when the rains were good.

Of the two million people affected by the drought, the study estimated that 782,000 were at serious risk because of the food shortage, and that 97,000 were threatened with starvation unless they quickly received aid.

To show just how dire the conditions are, the report offered the example of Cubal, a village 70 miles east of Lobito, where 592 "hunger related" deaths were reported in a 10-day period in February.

International relief workers and Government officials say thousands of people are wandering helplessly through the bush, often dying as they search for food.

'The War Has Picked Up'

If food is scarce, guns are everywhere, and marauding bandits, like those who attacked the Benguela train, are terrorizing region after region.

Relief officials say the rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or Unita, have expanded their war effort in recent weeks. In the territory between Cubal and Lobito, the guerrillas have made

overland routes impassable by blowing up bridges and railroads, and by mining roads and ambushing relief convoys.

"The war has picked up since December," said Terrence Ryan, a coordinator with Catholic Relief Services, an American relief group that has been giving out food in the region since October. "Unita said they were going to take the war to the rest of the country, and they've pretty much held to their word."

Many of Angola's problems are rooted in the civil war that broke out as Portuguese troops and colonial authorities withdrew in 1975. The Unita rebels, armed and aided by South Africa and the United States, have fought with ferocity against the Marxist-oriented Government in Luanda, which until recently was supported by the Soviet Union, and which was backed for many years by tens of thousands of Cuban troops.

Feed Stock Dwindles

Unless a temporary cease-fire or permanent settlement is achieved soon, relief officials fear that by the next harvest season, the effects of the drought could be worse.

For one thing, they note that because of the growing food shortage, many farmers have consumed their seed stock, in some cases going so far as to dig up seeds already planted. "When it gets to the point that peasants have to eat their own feed stock, it's because they have absolutely no other alternative," said Susan Hurlich, an anthropologist working for Development Workshop, a Canadian aid organization.

At the same time, dried-out pastures, lack of water and depleted cereal stock have taken a heavy toll on livestock. In Cunene Province alone, an estimated 225,000 head of cattle have died.

Until last October, the Angolan authorities refrained from acknowledging the crisis, apparently seeking to limit despair among citizens who had endured year upon year of civil war.

At that time, the authorities asked foreign governments and aid agencies, including the United States, for assistance in paying for corn and other cereals worth more than \$270 million. Aid officials here say \$15 million has been committed to the effort by various governments and relief organizations.

Aid officials say the shortages are caused by natural calamity and compounded by bureaucratic ineptitude. "The Angolan Government expected the world relief community to open up their wallets and just hand them money, and it doesn't work that way," a foreign specialist said.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

Tide Reaching Africa

Attenuated to be sure, little more than ripples, the tide of impulse to democracy is spreading from Europe to reach Africa.

In a sense, Africa is becoming the Dark Continent again, out of sight and almost out of ken. Asiaweek magazine recently pointed out that with attention focused on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, occasional headlines from Latin America and China, Africa has "disappeared. No effort has been made to find it."

That is the fear of many Africans now, after more than a generation of receiving lively international concern. A group gathered here by the former Nigerian chief of state Olusegun Obasanjo to discuss "The impact of change in Eastern Europe on Africa" took for granted that widespread aid for the East would leave their countries all but forgotten.

But there's a new tone among these representatives of the African elite

But it wasn't only the cold war. The pernicious idea that new African states and old African cultures couldn't be expected to strive for standards of civil and political freedom really came from the West. Liberals attacked critics of dictators and one-party states as "ethnocentric racists," and conservatives preferred to deal with autocrats in power.

Naturally, African regimes happily took up the theme, claiming the right not to be judged by what both sides called "Western values," but what must be seen as universal values.

One official, from one of the nastier extant dictatorships, confided: "We've been trying to say that too, for a long time. But you didn't hear us. You just listened to the regimes, and of course they called any domestic critics 'lackeys of imperialism.'"

A senior European aid official explained that dealing with governments was unavoidable and asked what the Africans wanted outsiders to do. He left unmentioned the charges of interference and lack of respect for sovereignty when the worst regimes were ticked off.

But Mr. Obasanjo had noted that "safe political conditionality" was being applied for Western aid to the East, requiring rule of law, human rights, free elections, multiparty systems and a market economy. And he expects the same for Africa.

"We have squandered almost 30 years with ineffective nation-building efforts," he said, and "it is high time to cast solid foundations for the legitimacy of our political systems."

Changes in South Africa will help. If apartheid can be negotiated into the dustbin, tyrants will find it harder to divert protest from their misdeeds. Meanwhile, the "Ceausescu factor," as one participant said, reminds leaders clinging to power that those who don't bend risk being broken.

The men around the meeting table were by no means dissidents, but neither can they turn their countries around on their own. Of course, the vast problems of Africa cannot be solved by African policies alone. Poverty breeds poverty by geometric progression. "Population growth will slow, either because birth rates come down or death rates go up," Lester R. Brown wrote recently in *World Watch*. "These are the only options."

But these leaders have seen that to get the help they need, their countries must put it to productive use. "Europeans aren't planning to help Europeans first for ethnic reasons, but because they have common values," said one. "We must build them."

The changes in the world are contagious. Much more than Eastern Europe is at stake.

Democracy's ripples spread from Europe.

from some 20 nations: no longer the reproach and indignation at being left behind that used to characterize such gatherings. There was a surprising unanimity on the theme of democracy as essential to development, no longer "people's democracy" or "guided democracy" but "plain democracy without mysteries," in the words of Olaru A. Otunnu, former Foreign Minister of Uganda.

They are aware of the new Eastern European maxim that "the third way [between Communism and capitalism] leads only to the third world," and what they want is out of it. They are groping for ways to better develop their countries.

Mr. Obasanjo didn't mince words. He spoke of the "ridiculously large number of often economically unviable states" that should look to a Western European style of integration to pool capacities. He urged a conference in Africa to take up human rights and defense, as the Helsinki process did in Europe.

"North-North peace must not degenerate into South-South violence," he said, and he decried the "perennial dependence fueled by massive external support for undemocratic regimes," largely as a result of the cold war.

U.S. Fears Iraq Is Seeking Long-Range Missile Site

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

WASHINGTON, April 23 — Bush Administration officials are concerned that Iraq is trying to develop a test site outside of its territory for firing new long-range missiles.

In a private diplomatic initiative, the Bush Administration has asked Mauritania, a West African nation that borders the Atlantic Ocean, about intelligence reports that it might permit Iraq to build a missile test range there.

Iraq does not have enough territory to test long-range missiles on its soil. The intelligence reports worry the Administration, which is trying to prevent third-world countries from developing long-range rockets that could be used to deliver chemical or even nuclear warheads.

Mauritanian officials are said to have denied the reports. But the Bush Administration is still monitoring the situation and there are conflicting assessments within the Administration.

A senior Defense Department official said in a recent interview that he believed Iraq was in the process of acquiring a test range outside its territory, but did not disclose the country involved. Another official said that Iraq had expressed interest in such a test site but that the Mauritians do not appear to have agreed to the Iraqi request.

Iraq's apparent quest for a new missile test range is the latest in a series of developments indicating it is working to acquire more advanced military technology. Earlier this month, Iraqi officials were arrested trying to buy electronic devices that can be used to trigger nuclear explosives. Iraq has also built missile launchers within range of Tel Aviv, according to American intelligence reports, and is increasing its chemical warfare capabilities.

Earlier this month, the British Government seized steel pipes bound for Iraq, which British officials said were for use in launching rocket bombs. A senior Defense Department official said that he believed the pipes were intended for a weapon because intelligence reports had established that the material was being purchased by the Iraqi military establishment.

According to the senior Defense Department official, Iraq is making strenuous efforts to build up its missile technology, including the development of longer-range missiles. Iraq announced late last year that it had developed a long-range missile with a range of about 1,200 miles.

The Defense official declined to disclose where Iraq planned to test its longer-range missiles, saying that the information was classified. But other Administration officials said intelligence reports identify Mauritania as the possible test site.

Mauritania could be well suited for

Continued on page 10

U.N. Says Ethiopia Thwarts Delivery of Food Aid

By PAUL LEWIS

UNITED NATIONS, April 21 — As the threat of famine grows in Ethiopia, the delivery of emergency supplies of food is being blocked by the refusal of President Mengistu Haile Mariam to guarantee the safety of relief workers using the Red Sea port of Massawa, United Nations officials and Western diplomats say.

Western donors and humanitarian groups are pressing the Mengistu Government to call off its campaign to recapture the port from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, which it has been fighting for years, so that supplies can be moved safely through Massawa to starving people in the northern provinces of Tigre and Eritrea.

The United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, is expected to ask the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Tesfaye Dinka, to allow the port to be reopened when they meet here next week to discuss the famine threat, officials say.

The Eritrean front has offered to declare Massawa an open city, saying it would withdraw its forces and give relief workers freedom to bring in food supplies if the Ethiopian Government promises not to attack.

But President Mengistu, who committed himself in recent broadcasts to recapturing Massawa, has refused to give assurances. Rebel forces control most of Eritrea and Tigre provinces and part of Wallo and Gondar.

While relief workers in Ethiopia have been frustrated in their attempts to help, in neighboring Sudan the Government of Maj. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir has opened the way for a partial resumption of an international relief operation to help starving people in the south, which has been mired in a civil war with the north for decades, the United Nations Children's Fund said on Friday.

Unicef said that after a five-month interruption caused by fighting and the Government's belief that relief operations help the rebels, it was allowed to resume relief flights to rebel and Government-controlled towns in the south on April 9. But the Sudanese Government is blocking plans to send in supplies by rail and barge along the Nile.

In Ethiopia, officials of United Nations and other relief agencies say that without safe access to Massawa they will be unable to take enough food into the north to avert famine by the time the June rains start and roads become impassable.

After the rebels captured the port town, Ethiopia said famine relief supplies should be shipped to the more southerly port of Assab, which it controls, and trucked north across Government and rebel lines into Tigre and Eritrea. It also proposed a large airlift using 14 heavy aircraft to ferry food three times a day from Assab to Asmara at a cost of \$10 million a month.

Southern Africa's wars

Peace on tiptoe

TWO of southern Africa's most vicious wars may, if present straws show a steady wind, be coming to an end. Although direct talks between the warring factions in Angola and Mozambique are no more than a hesitant step along an obstacle-strewn road, the mere fact that the two sides are meeting without preconditions is a sign that something new may be in the offing.

Since fighting broke out in these two former Portuguese colonies in the mid-1970s, many other countries have been drawn into the conflict: Cuba, South Africa and Zimbabwe directly, Russia and America indirectly, and Malawi, Tanzania and Zaïre in one oblique way or another. Now the Russians want to extract themselves from two of Leonid Brezhnev's farthest-flung adventures: the Cubans are pulling out of Angola, and the South Africans have more than enough to worry about at home. This is the combination of circumstances that gives peace a chance.

In Mozambique the regime led by President Joachim Chissano is on the run. Unlike his counterpart in Angola, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Mr Chissano gets plenty of support from the West, which is more inclined to believe his claim to have stopped being a Marxist. The rebel Renamo movement is openly supported by nobody, though white ex-Mozambicans now living in South Africa and Portugal slip it some money. For all that, the government's troops have no stomach for an unwinnable war. President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, whose 10,000 soldiers in Mozambique are the best fighting men around the place, is tired of keeping them expensively there. So Mr Chissano has reluctantly agreed to face-to-face talks with Renamo, probably in neighbouring Malawi, and has acknowledged the hitherto unthinkable idea of a multi-party election as the price of peace.

The Angolan government is economically better off than Mozambique's, with oil revenues of more than \$2 billion a year compared with Mozambique's export earnings of a mere \$100m. President dos Santos has been doing a bit better lately in his war against Mr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels; his army's recent offensive made some headway before his troops were halted at the south-eastern town of Mavinga. Yet he too, as support from Russia and Cuba fades, seems ready for compromise.

The previous attempt at peacemaking, at the Zaïrean town of Gbadolite last June,

At the same time, the Ethiopian Government raised its estimates of the number of people threatened by starvation in the country by 1.5 million, to 4.4 million, with a total need this year of some 910,000 tons of food.

Western donors and humanitarian organizations have rejected the proposed airlift, saying it would be too expensive and would distract attention from the need to reopen Massawa, which they see as the only viable long-term solution to the famine threat.

produced an "agreement" that collapsed within days. Mr dos Santos, it seems, had wanted UNITA to settle for a place inside the existing Angolan regime, and had also wanted Mr Savimbi to go into exile while the digestion process took place. Mr Savimbi declined, on both counts. The government has now dropped both demands, though (unlike Mozambique's) it still apparently rejects a free election. Mr Savimbi has stopped asking the government's army to pull back to the positions it held in mid-1989. The two sides will meet soon in Lisbon to discuss a ceasefire, and to set an agenda for peace negotiations.

One obstacle a little way down the Angolan road is the reluctance of both Russia and America to pull the rug from under their Angolan friends; but, since there can hardly be a compromise on that free-election point, a peace deal would mean that one of them would have to. Another difficulty is that in both Angola and Mozambique a ceasefire and the subsequent peace settlement, if there is one, would have to be supervised by some powerful outsiders, the United Nations or somebody else. Outsiders were found to superintend, rather successfully, the ending of the wars in Zimbabwe and then in Namibia. But Angola and Mozambique are much bigger countries, and large parts of them have for years been virtually ungoverned.

Above all, if Mr dos Santos and Mr Chissano have taken note of the recent electoral performance of communist parties in Eastern Europe, they may flinch from facing any sort of vote. Much can, and almost certainly will, go wrong before peace breaks out. Yet in both countries sheer exhaustion is reinforced by the recognition that foreign friends want to get the fighting over. That could be how peace comes limping in.

LONG-RANGE MISSILE SITE (Continued)

missile-testing purposes, Administration specialists said. The arid, sparsely populated nation has a territory of about 400,000 square miles, the size of Texas and California combined, and borders on the Atlantic Ocean.

But some State Department officials offered a more cautious assessment than the Pentagon.

A State Department official acknowledged intelligence reports about Iraqi interest in acquiring a test range in Mauritania, but said there was no firm evidence that the two countries have reached an agreement to allow tests or that Iraqi missile equipment had been shipped to Mauritania.

The official said the issue had been discussed with officials from France and Spain, which have long-standing ties to the region.

A spokeswoman for the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs said its officials would have no comment on any aspect of Mauritanian-Iraqi military relations. "We do not have anything to say on this subject at this time," the spokeswoman said.

A spokeswoman for the Mauritanian Embassy, Turkia Ould Daddah, said she was unaware of any reports that Iraq wanted to test missiles in Mauritania and said the idea was absurd.

Mobutu lifts 20-year ban on rival parties in Zaire

KINSHASA, Zaire (AP) — Bowing to weeks of pressure, President Mobutu Sese Seko said yesterday he had lifted a 20-year ban on opposition parties and would let a multiparty government replace his in a year.

Mr. Mobutu, absolute ruler since taking power Nov. 24, 1965, announced in a nationally broadcast speech that he was setting up a transitional government to rule until free elections could be held. No election date was set.

"I am taking leave of the Popular Movement for the Revolution," said Mr. Mobutu, 59.

He said he would no longer be head of the party that supplanted the government in 1970, but would remain as president "at the request of the people of Zaire."

Mr. Mobutu said three parties would be allowed at first. His Popular Movement for the Revolution, which under Zaire's law was the country's government, no longer would hold any special status, he said.

Mr. Mobutu said one leading opposition figure, Etienne Tshisekedi, was released from detention yesterday

and his Union for Democracy and Social Progress Party legalized. He did not say which of several other opposition groups, whose leaders are in exile, would be selected as the third legal party.

He said the constitution would be rewritten and a transitional government established until elections were held.

The elections would produce a new government by April 24, 1991, he said.

In recent weeks, Mr. Mobutu had been battered by a wave of unprecedented criticism.

He began a tour of the nation in January, seeking public comment on his rule. Thousands of replies were sent in from business groups, churches, unions, students and individuals. Many bitterly criticized the government and Mr. Mobutu himself, accusing the president and his cronies of corruption and monopolizing power.

But the United States and other Western governments supported Mr. Mobutu, who was committed to opposing the expansion of Marxism in

the region. Critics of Mr. Mobutu in the U.S. Congress say the radical decline in East-West tensions has made cultivation of Mr. Mobutu unnecessary.

Like most African presidents, Mr. Mobutu has asserted that one-party rule was the only way to avoid tribalism. In the first five years of independence in the country that was formerly known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more than 100,000 people died in fighting attributed to ethnic or regional conflicts.

He renamed the country Zaire and ordered Zairians to replace their Christian names with African names. Men were required to replace Western-style suits and neckties with high-necked jackets.

As part of Mr. Mobutu's campaign to replace European influences, he ordered that people address each other as "citizen," rather than "sir" or "madame."

Mr. Mobutu himself changed his name from Joseph Desire Mobutu to Mobutu Sese Seko, translated as "the all powerful warrior who . . ."

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

APRIL 21, 1990

Why Bankroll Africa's Ceausescu?

Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in Zaire through a military coup in 1965, the same year Nicolae Ceausescu became the Communist boss of Romania. Mr. Mobutu is no Communist. But his methods of rule resemble those of the executed Romanian tyrant. Wholesale repression, corruption and megalomania have deformed Zaire.

There is a further regrettable resemblance. President Mobutu, like Mr. Ceausescu, has known how to profit from his outspoken opposition to Soviet foreign policy moves. Washington has winked at his disastrous misrule and made his regime the leading African recipient of United States economic assistance.

The end of the cold war removes any possible justification for this taxpayer subsidy to a repellent dictator. Representatives Howard Wolpe of Michigan, Stephen Solarz of New York, David Obey of Wisconsin and Ronald Dellums of California are proposing changes in the aid relationship. Their efforts deserve support.

American aid dollars have not measurably helped Zaire's people. Annual per capita income is about \$150; living standards are lower than when Mr. Mobutu took power. His Government has not built a single hospital in its 25 years. Only 3 percent of Zaire's budget goes to health and education while

23 percent goes to the military and 50 percent to "political institutions."

Meanwhile Mr. Mobutu's personal fortune has, by some estimates, grown to \$6 billion. His holdings include perhaps a dozen French and Belgian chateaus, a Spanish castle and a 32-bedroom Swiss villa. Mr. Mobutu protests that his fortune is a mere \$50 million, and that none of it has come out of the pockets of his people. But recent World Bank studies have found hundreds of millions of dollars in mineral revenues unreported in the national budget, and more gold and coffee smuggled out of the country than legally exported.

Mr. Mobutu has supported anti-Communist initiatives of successive U.S. Administrations, especially in Angola. But he has done so for his own reasons, not always in coordination with Washington. For him the U.S. has proved a useful ally. He uses his conspicuous access to American leaders to further discourage dissent.

Mr. Solarz, Mr. Wolpe and Mr. Obey would end military aid to Zaire and channel most economic aid through non-government organizations. Mr. Dellums would go further and press international aid institutions to consider the abuses and corruption in Zaire. Americans have better uses for their tax dollars than reinforcing the Mobutu tyranny.

East-Bloc's Admirers in Africa Draw Line at Multiparty Politics

By JANE PERLEZ

HARARE, Zimbabwe — African leaders who long admired Eastern Europe, accepted its aid and copied its political structures are vigorously resisting suggestions that multiparty democracy of the kind taking root in places like Poland and Hungary has any application at home.

And those African rulers who chose the West over the East as their main providers during the cold war battle of allegiances — in Zaire, Malawi and Kenya, for example — are showing no new appreciation for multiparty systems.

Of the 46 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, only 5, newly independent Namibia, economically booming Botswana, and Mauritius, Senegal and Gambia, qualify technically as multiparty democracies.

Multiparty Systems and Chaos

Adding an extra dimension to the resistance to political change, African critics point to the paradox of their black governments demanding democracy in South Africa but resisting pressure to democratize themselves. Zambia and Zimbabwe, for example, have longstanding and sweeping state-of-emergency laws that impose powers of detention similar to the emergency laws they are vociferously urging Pretoria to abolish.

The usually stated justification by those in power in Africa for retaining a one-party state is that it provides unity where otherwise tribal and ethnic differences would prevail. But African critics say that while that may have once been true, that reasoning has become an excuse for hanging on to power that in many cases has been accrued through corruption and patronage.

Noting that there was a "crisis in governance" in Africa that has contributed to the continent's economic morass in the last decade, the World Bank said in a recent major report on sub-Saharan Africa that there was widespread "appropriation of the machinery of government by the elite to serve their own interests." It is that vast array of power that the leaders are loath to give up, the critics assert.

Alex Chikwanda, a Zambian businessman and former Minister of Finance, disagrees with his President, Kenneth D. Kaunda — who he describes as an "absolutist but not insensitive" ruler — that chaos would follow if more than one political party was permitted. "No rulers want to leave of their own volition," said Mr. Chikwanda. "If a multiparty system were allowed, it would not be along ethnic lines. When rulers say that, it is only to defend themselves."

At a convention last month of members of the sole Zambian political party, the United National Independent

ence Party, labor-union leaders and businessmen, it was suggested by some speakers, including a Cabinet minister, that the validity of the one-party state had lapsed. The convention also passed a resolution asking for the Zambian state of emergency to be lifted.

'The Doom of Our Nation'

But Mr. Kaunda, whose largely socialist-oriented economy is in ruins, denounced multiparty systems as "Stone Age barbarism" and delayed for six months the meeting of the party's national council that has the power to adopt the convention's resolutions.

Here in Zimbabwe, as celebrations for the 10th anniversary on Wednesday of independence were being prepared, President Robert Mugabe was actively moving in the opposite direction to the trends of Eastern Europe. After winning national elections in which there was a surprisingly low voter turnout of only 55 percent and unexpected strength in urban areas by a new party, Mr. Mugabe said he intended to live up to his long-announced pledge of scrapping the multiparty system he inherited from Britain.

"A multiparty system in our circumstances is nothing but a disastrous way to the doom of our nation, a sure way to national destruction," Mr. Mugabe told the party's Central Committee last week.

The President, who hailed Romania, North Korea and the People's Republic of China at his party's congress in December and has accepted help from all three, continued, "Why must we ever listen to those who only yesterday were our oppressive colonialists, as they now seek to be our mentors of democracy and preach to us multiparty democracy, which they never practiced in respect of our countries?"

Parties and Tribal Unity

The former President of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere, who still heads his country's single party, began a debate in Tanzania in February saying that single-party states were not made by the hand of God. Mr. Nyerere, who adopted elements of the Eastern European political system for his own country, was said to have been taken aback that Tanzanian party members who had been sent as usual to East Germany for political training were returned to Tanzania after the German party school closed down.

But last week, his successor as head of state, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, gave the final word. After a six-month debate within Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the governing party, things would remain the same. "While a multiparty system would be suitable for Europeans, it might not be the same with Tanzania," he said. The single-party system, he insisted, had promoted

Americans Urged to Leave Liberia As Fighting With Rebels Increases

Associated Press

The State Department advised Americans yesterday to leave Liberia because of increased fighting between government and rebel forces.

The department also authorized U.S. government employees and their families to leave Liberia if they wish.

The decision comes at a time of growing tension between the two countries following the deaths of two Americans in recent weeks, Liberia's worsening human rights record and its failure to repay its debts.

The United States has been cautioning Americans to defer non-essential travel to Liberia since fighting broke out last December when the government attacked some 200 rebels it accused of trying to overthrow President Samuel K. Doe.

U.S. officials estimate there are about 10,000 Americans in Liberia, most of them missionaries and businessmen. The West African country was established in 1847 by former U.S. slaves.

unity among Tanzania's more than 100 tribes.

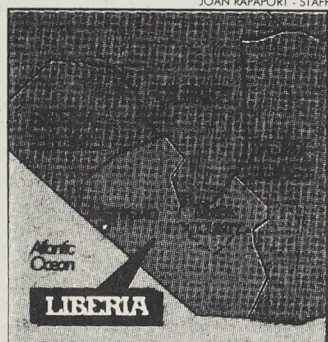
In Kenya, an outspoken Presbyterian minister, Dr. Timothy Njoya, delivered a New Year's sermon in which he said Kenya should heed events in Eastern Europe. In 1982, threatened by the creation of an alternative party, the Kenya African National Unity Party, under the leadership of President Daniel arap Moi, amended the Constitution to make itself the only legally recognized party.

For months now, the Kenyan newspapers have been dominated by a warning from leading party members denouncing Dr. Njoya and asserting that a multiparty system would lead to a breakdown in society and the emergence of rampant tribalism. President Moi, who had warm relations with President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania but has followed a basically capitalist economic course, dismissed those who advocated more political parties as "puppets of colonialists."

In reply, a lawyer who is one of Mr. Moi's critics, Gibson Kamau Kuria, wrote in the Nairobi Law Monthly, "Since the multiparty system works elsewhere and has previously worked in Kenya, one would like to know the aspect of our human nature which rendered us incapable of making it work after 1982."

Rebels Intensify Campaign — and Violence — in Liberia

By Deepika Mathur



LIBERIA'S INSURGENCY

December 1989 Nimba County is invaded by rebel forces. The insurgency, led by Charles Taylor, opposes the government of Gen. Samuel Doe.

January 1990 Troops are sent in to return Nimba County to government control.

February 1990 As the civilian death toll climbs, sentiment rises against the violent tactics used by government troops.

April 1990 Rebels capture key towns in Nimba County. Refugees continue to flow into Guinea and the Ivory Coast.

— DANANE, IVORY COAST —

AN estimated 150,000 refugees have fled from Liberia's north-eastern Nimba County since fighting began on Dec. 24.

Rebels unsuccessfully attempted a coup against President Samuel Doe, and now reportedly control much of Nimba County. Government troops are fighting to regain territory.

Official sources say that more than 1,000 Nimba County residents have been killed in the violence. Another 135,000 Liberians are reportedly displaced within the country.

In recent weeks the rebels have intensified their guerrilla campaign by blocking major highways, garnering control of strategic towns, and ambushing trains.

Nearly two weeks ago the rebel National Patriotic Front (NPF), led by former government official Charles Taylor, ambushed an iron-ore train, seizing several people, including Mark Huband, a correspondent for the London-based Financial Times.

Mr. Huband was taken to the rebel base in Nimba County, where he met Mr. Taylor. The rebel leader returned to Liberia after his flight to the United States in 1984. He is wanted in Liberia's capital, Monrovia, on embezzlement charges.

Huband was given a four-day tour of rebel-held territory. He said his impression was that the NPF is in complete control of Nimba County.

The rebels also had a "plentiful supply of AK-47 automatic rifles, weapons, ammunition, and artillery," Huband says.

Mr. Doe himself came to power in a military coup in 1980 after he assassinated former Liberian President William Tolbert. Doe has survived eight coup

plots during his decade in power.

Aid officials estimate that nearly 70,000 Nimba County residents have sought refuge in Ivory Coast, and another 80,000 have escaped to Guinea during the last four months.

After receiving persistent reports that soldiers of the Krahn tribe raped women, executed ethnic rivals, and burned and looted villages, Doe in March replaced the troops by a mixed ethnic force and threatened to severely punish any soldiers caught killing civilians.

Still, an official in Monrovia said many citizens in the capital "are justifiably scared because criminal or rogue elements have recently been incorporated into the military."

Peter Zayzay is a refugee who was reportedly a victim of government attempts to neutralize rebel forces. He had returned to his hometown of Butuo to spend the holiday season with his family. On Christmas day he heard gunshots and went outside.

"I saw six persons with gun. They says, 'Don't move . . . kill him!' Right away they striking me with cutlass. . . . So right away I jumped in the bush and never went to my house again," Mr. Zayzay says.

About 5,000 Americans live in Liberia, a country founded in 1847 by freed slaves from the US. Two missionaries were killed there several weeks ago. That was the first report of expatriates being killed in the war-torn country of 2.5 million inhabitants.

International aid agencies, Western embassies, and the governments of Ivory Coast and Guinea, are trying to feed and care for the refugees.

During the last decade, Liberia re-

World Refugee Ranks Swell While Aid Shrinks

To the Editor:

Your March 18 report from Geneva on the decline in world aid to refugees notes that their numbers have increased 50 percent in the last five years. Nearly a quarter-million refugee children are acutely malnourished, which will result in permanent brain and development damage.

While refugee numbers grow, world donations have failed to keep up. The decade of the 1980's, a decade that means freedom for millions of Eastern Europeans, will mean only deteriorating conditions for the world's 15 million refugees. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the international agency with the mandate to care for the world's refugees, finds itself financially strapped.

It cannot meet food, water and shelter needs, much less invest in the repatriation, education and training essential to reduce permanently the number of dependent refugees.

As a short-term remedy, I and others in Congress have recommended a \$50 million supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1990. This modest amount (only about \$3.50 per refugee for the rest of the year) won't by itself change the present, much less prospects for the future. But we believe United States leadership will stimulate other nations to increase their contributions to the refugees agency in this and future years.

(Representative) TONY P. HALL

Chairman

House Select Committee on Hunger
Washington, March 27, 1990

ceived more than \$500 million in US aid, the highest amount per capita of any country in sub-Saharan Africa.

Now, the US mainly gives humanitarian aid to Liberia (not military aid) because of the country's mismanagement of its budget, its failure to pay outstanding loans, and ongoing criticism in the US Congress over human rights violations.

Liberia has a foreign debt of \$1.7 billion, and its economy suffers from the fall in world market prices of its major export, iron ore. Sales of iron ore account for about 70 percent of Liberia's foreign exchange earnings.

The country's largest mining company stopped production last year, leaving almost 15,000 Liberian workers jobless. And the International Monetary Fund suspended loans to the country in late 1986.

The current rebellion is proving to be the most serious challenge Doe has faced in his 10 years of military rule.

ALLEGED RIGHTS ABUSES HURT THE ANC'S STANDING (Continued)

They met South Africa's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he visited here two weeks ago. Archbishop Tutu has asked the All Africa Council of Churches - of which he is president - to investigate the claims and to help the men return home to South Africa.

Delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Nairobi say that South Africa has been contacted, and that it now depends on those authorities. "This is quite a long procedure," ICRC regional delegate Hans Leuenberger said.

Mr. Maxongo, who joined the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing in 1978, explains that discontent within the movement had started as early as 1981.

Based in Angola, where an estimated 2,000 to 5,000 fighters lived in eight camps, Maxongo spent years being trained in guerrilla warfare by Cubans, South Africans, and Soviets.

Fighters were isolated in the Angolan bush, with no outside news and little or no military activity, he says. Frustration in the camps grew. "People were not satisfied with the pace of the armed struggle. They had been in the camps five to six years, there were no schools, no supplies. There were a lot of suicides," Maxongo says. Like many others, he was never sent to South Africa.

Discontent among the rank and file coincided with the discovery of a spy ring in the ANC in 1981. A political crackdown followed.

At Pango Camp in eastern Angola, where Maxongo was based, this meant people were tied by their hands to trees so they had to stand on tiptoe. They were then beaten with Soviet Army belts. "They asked us what we were discussing about the leadership," Maxongo says. Two were taken to Quatro, an ANC prison set up in eastern Angola in 1979. The dis-

sidents say that people's arms and legs were tied, then up to 13 people at a time were shoved into a tiny cell, or locked into oven-hot metal containers.

By 1982, continued military inaction and abuse by security personnel led to demands for elections for a new ANC executive committee. Rebuffed, some ANC guerrillas mutinied in 1984.

Angolan troops subdued the mutiny, sending prisoners to Luanda's maximum security prison. "I was in that prison 14 months, until April 1985. We were never charged. We were beaten, interrogated, shocked with live electric wires," Mr. Molefe says.

In April, he was sent to Quatro. "Conditions there were horrific. . . . Every day there were beatings, cries, screams. We were told our release depended on whether we were ready to cooperate. No one was ever released."

While Molefe was in prison, another revolt broke out in Pango camp in May 1984.

Luvo Mbengo and 15 others fled into the bush. They were picked up and returned to the ANC by Angolan and Soviet authorities. "We were beaten and tortured. They wanted us to back down from our call for a national conference because we were threatening the leadership," Mr. Mbengo says.

A military tribunal finally sentenced them to death. But with the intercession of ANC representative Gertrude Shope, eight men were sent to Quatro and the others were released.

In 1988, Maxongo, Molefe, Mbengo, and others were released and taken to an ANC camp at Dakawa, in Tanzania. One year later, banned from all political activities, they and another 14 guerrilla veterans resigned.

Continued on Pg. 15
Continued (Continued)

NEUTRALITY HAS ITS DANGERS IN THE BLOOD FEUDS OF A SOUTH AFRICAN (Continued)

gress of South African Trade Unions. The action was called to mourn those killed in the violence.

But for the inherent tragedy, some predicaments seem almost ludicrous.

A relief worker encountered one black family near Durban that was forced to hand over money and other valuables as contributions to a gang asserting loyalty to Inkatha. Hours later, another gang purporting to solicit for the United Democratic Front cleaned out what remained. A police helicopter, drawn to the commotion, hovered over the family's house and blew away the corrugated metal roof.

Despite calls for peace by Nelson Mandela, among others, each side refuses to lay down its arms before the other does. President F. W. de Klerk has sent in troops to reinforce the understaffed police, but critics say it is not enough.

"We have asked the State President why is it that Natal was not declared a disaster area," said Patrick Terror Lekota, the African National Congress's representative in Durban, the largest city in the province. "Is a black life so cheap?"

In the meantime, the fighting grows, with more combatants, military tactics and some automatic weapons. And the oratory is hardening.

"We are going to defend ourselves very vigorously and the Government must understand that clearly," said Caleb Mogubane, a member of the Vulindela Youth Congress, which supports the United Democratic Front. "Every day, the Government is talking about law and order but never about justice. We say there can be no law and order where there is no justice."

"They blame us as if we started the violence," said V. S. Ndlovu, an Inkatha official from Imbali. "We are really the victims of violence now."

Pro-Inkatha forces have been accused of starting much of the fighting.

But V. S. Ndlovu, who is not related to Phillip Ndlovu, said it was hard to restrain people faced with provocations like the stoning of buses.

"What do you tell them - that you will help bury their brother and sister tomorrow and their mother the next

day?" Mr. Ndlovu said.

A coordinated attack late last month by thousands of Inkatha supporters on communities seen as sympathetic to the United Democratic Front followed the stoning of buses carrying people to their jobs from communities identified with Inkatha by youths in Edendale.

The police have been accused of standing by or even siding with Inkatha.

But Brig. Jac Buchner, police commissioner for the KwaZulu homeland, said the violence had become too random to prevent.

"If you go into the ghetto areas we have and there is such lawlessness, if the guy three doors away wants to take you out, he's going to take you out," Brigadier Buchner said.

As a result, those trapped in the conflict cannot rely on the police to protect them. In Mpumalanga, a KwaZulu policeman refused to accompany two foreign journalists to an adjacent neighborhood. "They are shooting at any fly who passes," the policeman said. "You can imagine what they would do to a human being."

RIOTS HIT PRETORIA TOWNSHIP WHERE POLICE KILLED 5 (Continued)

Pupils on Morning Recess

On March 17, a petition demanded that the councilors immediately resign. "The councilors didn't respond," a woman said.

On April 11, the residents began a rent strike and a boycott of businesses owned by the town councilors, including a taxi service to Viljoenskroon, where most of those who have jobs work.

On Thursday morning, the residents said, people gathered and began singing to inhibit others from using the taxis. Two police vans pulled up in front of the crowd, which began to retreat.

About that time, a high-school teacher said, pupils from the Mahlabatini primary school, who were let out for morning recess, ran up to see what was happening. Four policemen, one of whom was black, opened fire, he said.

Casualties Thrown Into Van

"We tried to stop children from coming out of the gates," the teacher said. "The police started shooting at us."

He and others denied that the crowd had thrown stones. Another young man said those killed were hit in the back while running away.

"When we tried to go to the injured, they stopped us," he said. Then, he

said, he watched the police throw the dead or seriously wounded into the back of a van.

About 150 teachers from three local schools gathered today and asked to see the bodies of the dead students. "We had a responsibility because it happened during school hours," one of the teachers said.

Instead, he said, the police gave the teachers five minutes to disperse. They sat down in the road, and the policemen fired tear gas at them.

With that, the township youths began rock-throwing and barricade-building. "They tried to attack us so we put barricades in the road so they couldn't get us," one young man said.

NIGERIA REPORTS IT FOILED A COUP BY ARMY (Continued)

The revolt began early this morning when artillery and automatic weapons fire were heard in Lagos, the capital, near the barracks where the President lives. Soon afterward, a man identifying himself as Maj. Gideon Ngwzor Oka went on the radio, saying that the Government had been overthrown.

Major Oka said the revolt was being carried out on behalf of the people of central and southern Nigeria, many of them Christians, who he said had been reduced to "slavery" by the Muslim northerners.

Major Oka accused the northern states of Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto of ruining the rest of Nigeria. He said those predominantly Muslim states would be excluded from the 21-state federation until they prove their loyalty to a new government.

Major Oka accused the Babangida leadership of being "dictatorial, corrupt, drug-baronish, inhumane, sadistic, deceitful, homosexually centered and unpatriotic."

Another radio broadcast from Lagos monitored here called on students, workers, lawyers and shopkeepers to take to the streets to support the coup. It also said military and police officers were confined to their bases and an overnight curfew was being imposed.

But about noon, there was still another broadcast, this time from the

Government, announcing that the rebels had been routed. Radio stations in the cities of Benin and Kaduna broadcast announcements by officers saying their troops remained loyal to the Babangida Government.

The whereabouts of President Babangida remained uncertain tonight.

In most of northern Nigeria, Islam is the dominant religion, crossing tribal and linguistic boundaries. But across much of the south, from the eastern Ibo to the preserve of the Yoruba in the big cities like Lagos and Ibadan, Christianity is dominant and Islam is regarded by many as a threat to secular government.

Moreover, rivalries among the country's 250 ethnic groups often parallel religious rivalries. In the late 1960's, Nigeria was torn by a civil war that pitted Ibo separatists who attempted to set up an independent nation, Biafra, in the east, against the Yoruba in the south and a coalition of northerners dominated by the Hausa and the Fulani.

If the coup had succeeded, it would have been the seventh since Nigeria, the most populous nation in Africa, obtained independence from Britain in 1960. The military has ruled for about 20 of the 30 years since independence. General Babangida himself took power in a coup, overthrowing the civilian Government of President Shehu Shagari in August 1985.

Foreign and Nigerian political experts said today that they were not surprised at the timing of the coup attempt. Speculation about the possibility of military intervention had been rife since last winter, when General Babangida, as part of Nigeria's return to civilian rule, introduced a transition plan that has proved widely unpopular.

ALLEGED RIGHTS ABUSES HURT (Continued)

"We left the ANC . . . because the crimes have not been corrected and the elements responsible . . . have not been gotten rid of," Molefe says.

The dissidents say their call for an investigation into ANC human rights violations "will not weaken the ANC, but will demonstrate to our people and the world the ANC's uncompromising commitment to justice and democracy."

And while they disagree with Mandela's statement that those responsible for torture have already been dismissed, they feel he is the only leader capable of resolving their grievances.

"It's difficult to say whether Mandela can change things in the ANC, but we are banking our hopes on him," Mr. Masango says.

Southern resentment of northern dominance was deepened in December with the dismissal of the Defense Minister, Lieut. Gen. Domkat Ball, a Christian.

Of late, President Babangida has also been trying to shore up Nigeria's economy. A potentially wealthy country with the beginnings of a significant middle class in the 1970's, Nigeria, an oil producer, was badly hurt by the drop in world oil prices.

Last month, several hundred students in Lagos and nearby cities rioted and set buildings and automobiles ablaze to protest hardships that they attributed to President Babangida's austerity measures.

TORTURE TALES MAY UNSETTLE (Continued)

Government fight pro-Western guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. The guerrillas objected to being diverted from the armed struggle for South Africa's liberation.

CHANCE FOR A UNIFIED POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

pate in the negotiations are going to be able to get an acceptable agreement, the playing field needs to be leveled.

Given the vast military, political, and economic resources available to the government, sanctions are one of the few conditions that create some equality at the bargaining table.

Second, American policy should include a program of increased assistance for Namibia, which has just received its independence, and which has adopted one of the most democratic constitutions and established one of the most multiracial governments in all of Africa. The administration's current aid budget for Namibia is \$500,000. In view of its significance, however, something on the order of \$10 million would be more appropriate.

What happens in Namibia is far more important for the future of South Africa than anything we say or do. If Namibia succeeds in preserving political pluralism, protecting human rights, and fostering a prosperous economy, it will clearly have a salutary effect on the willingness of South Africa's whites to adopt a similarly nonracial democracy for their country. But if Namibia should succumb to chaos and anarchy, or if there should be widespread po-

litical repression or an economic collapse, it will strengthen the hand of those in the white community of South Africa who argue that any change will necessarily produce a disaster for the country.

Third, we need a "democracy initiative" for South Africa in which we provide resources to multiracial organizations committed to the creation of a nonracial democracy. Such a program would be conducted through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), along the lines of NED help in Poland, Nicaragua, and Chile, where it supported pro-democracy movements.

An NED-sponsored program would make resources available to the ANC. It's important to recall that within the framework of the black political community, the ANC is not only the most predominant but also the most responsible of the principal groups. Compared to the Pan African Congress, for instance, or the black consciousness group AZAPO, both of which are opposed to negotiations, the ANC is a middle-of-the-road force for moderation.

Some may argue it's inappropriate to provide resources to the ANC because of its commitment to armed struggle. Yet the

ANC has denounced "necklacing" and has said it would be prepared to suspend armed struggle for serious negotiations.

Furthermore, it would hardly be appropriate to reject funding for the ANC for the purpose of developing an above-ground, legal, democratic political movement in South Africa because it has not yet rejected armed struggle — when we haven't hesitated to provide millions of dollars to Jonas Savimbi in Angola or the contras in Nicaragua in order, so we say, to facilitate a settlement and the establishment of democracy in those countries.

The congressional delegation that went to South Africa several weeks ago, led by Democrat Bill Gray and Republican Dean Gallo, contained both Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives. Yet despite our political and philosophical differences, we all returned from our trip believing that an approach based on these three components could unite the administration and the Congress, as well as the country, behind a policy that could make a real difference in South Africa.

■ Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D) of New York is a member of the House Foreign Affairs committee.

THE NEW COLONIALISM
(Continued)

ism." Today it is evident that it makes no difference who is to blame. Colonialism lasted just long enough to destroy the indigenous economy and social structures of the continent, but not long enough to put anything lasting in their place. The simple pastoralism, the hunting and gathering economies of the past, were ruined, tribal monarchies and alliances wrecked, a fragile human ecology existing in extreme climatic conditions jeopardized.

The Europeans then tried to remake Africa and Africans to their own advantage and in their own image. Whatever the merits of that effort, which was based on a conviction of European superiority, but was not without altruism and sacrifice, it came to an end in the 1950s and 1960s. The moral upheaval produced by the two world wars, and the revolutionary doctrines preached from Moscow and Beijing, destroyed both the Europeans' belief in their right to rule Africa and the Africans' willingness to be ruled.

The new African governments mostly chose state-socialist models of development — the furthest possible from their European colonizers' model. They sought forms of industrialization irrelevant to African needs, and wrecked native agriculture. The governments themselves usually were one-party affairs, professedly "revolutionary," actually relying on tribalism and clientism.

At best the result was inefficient and repressive. At worst it produced the depravities of Idi Amin and the Emperor Bokassa. The blind ideological rivalry of the superpowers, and the ignorance and self-interest of all too many of the foreign advisers, development theorists, bankers, traders and adventurers who interested themselves in Africa's affairs, contributed to this outcome.

Today, in fact if not name, a new colonialism exists. The World Bank, the IMF, the French government and the aid agencies of the other developed countries, together with the private lending institutions, set the

WALL STREET JOURNAL

APRIL 27, 1990

UGANDA TO OUTLAW PROSTITUTION

Uganda plans to outlaw prostitution, ban sex under the age of 18 and increase the penalty for rape in a bid to control AIDS. The nation has 12,444 confirmed AIDS cases. A law to be discussed in parliament next week would impose seven-year jail terms for prostitution and under-age sex in a country where there is now no legal age of consent. It would increase the maximum penalty for rape to life imprisonment from seven years.

terms on which Africa's economies function, or malfunction.

The implications of this situation are not yet clearly grasped. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the U.N. Secretary General, said recently that the major countries cannot, even in their own interests, continue to tolerate the cruelties and misery of the backward world. He spoke of a "right" of international interference when conditions are as desperate as they are in some countries today. In Africa this interventionism is practiced but not acknowledged.

A unique opportunity exists. The Cold War struggle over Africa's ideological orientation is finished. The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate. The United Nations needs a serious role to play in today's world. Africa's post-independence models of state-socialist development and one-party rule are completely discredited. The human needs of Africa are desperate. Disease as well as hunger and chaos threaten its people.

What about a new, declared, internationalized colonialism for Africa? A disinterested international interventionism? What about installing a frankly paternalist international authority in Africa and a continent-wide development structure and program? The idea may be outrageous in terms of the political pieties of the last 50 years, but those pieties helped put Africa where it is today. What is the alternative to neo-colonialism? Africa's condition demands desperate measures.

AFRICANS DECRY POTENTIAL LOSS (Continued)

on the right of the reformed European governments to receive additional assistance to buttress their transition to "a democratic pluralistic system."

Most observers agree that because of budget constraints, UNICEF cannot satisfy both the East and South.

Earlier this month, European integration and East Europe-Soviet restructuring dominated debates at a conference of the Commission on Transnational Corporations. Delegates were concerned that transnational corporations would divert investment from developing countries.

In Venice, diplomats at a Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) conference advocated active support for Eastern Europe's reforms. They said that additional funds would be poured into Eastern Europe, though not at the expense of undernourished developing countries.

But observing that FAO conferees represented East and West European nations exclusively, diplomats here were skeptical.

Meanwhile, in Geneva, the so-called "Group of 77" developing countries demanded that the UN Conference on Trade and Development safeguard third-world interests "irrespective of whatever social and economic systems" evolve in Europe.

And Egypt's Mohamed Rifaah Sard says "the dramatic political and economic changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union do not and should not diminish the importance of these countries in our foreign economic sector." He hopes East-South trade will expand via greater access to the East of third-world manufactured goods.

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

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE \$300

If address is incorrect
please indicate change.
Do not cover or destroy
this address label. Mail
change of address to
PAVOAP, Rm 5815A

BULK RATE
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
U S Department of State
Permit No G-130