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WASHINGTON ,

THE WASHINGTON Post

May 19, 1989

Asmara Mutiny Crushed,
Says Ethiopian President

Diplomats Cite Signs of Air Force Y&Inng Up Revolt

By Mary Battlata
Special to The Washiagton Post

NAIROBI, Kenya, May 18—Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam said tonight in an address broadcast live on nationwide radio and television that troops loyal to him had crushed an army rebellion in the northern provincial capital, Asmara, and recaptured a government radio station there that had been held for three days by mutinous troops.

Independent confirmation of his claims was not available. Diplomatic sources expressed skepticism and cited signs that the northern army revolt sparked by a failed coup in the capital of Addis Ababa on Tuesday had spread to the air force and a significant number of army troops in the rest of the country.

Meanwhile, one of two well-organized rebel movements in the troubled north, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, said it is ready and willing to give any kind of concrete support to the army with mutinied against the central government, according to a broadcast on rebel radio.

The front also announced a unilateral two-week cease-fire, intended to encourage the mutineers to press on with their military uprising. The front dealt the Ethiopian army a series of humiliating defeats last year and now controls most of the countryside in Eritrea, a northern province of which Asmara is the capital.

State-run Radio Asmara also reported the government's recapture of the provincial

city after fierce fighting. It said six generals who had led the northern army uprising had been killed.

Diplomatic sources said the government regained control of Radio Asmara for several hours this afternoon, but then the station went silent.

Earlier today, dissident army officers in Asmara broadcast their support for the over-

A
throw of Mengistu's Marxist government. They also read a list of demands, including a negotiated settlement of the 25-year civil war in Eritrea.

The mutineers in Asmara at one time included at least three army divisions, or about 30,000 men, according to western diplomats. There are 150,000 troops stationed in Asmara, which has a major air base, including a squadron of MiG fighter planes.

Air force officers, headquartered in Debre Zeit, just south of Addis Ababa, also are supporting the mutiny, according to Western diplomats. They said the base was surrounded today by an elite army unit loyal to Mengistu and tanks were parked on the runways to prevent military jets from taking off.

The commander of the air force, Maj. Gen. Amha Desta, was named in Addis Ababa as one of the plot's architects. He was killed by pro-Mengistu forces on Tuesday. -

Mengistu made no mention of the air force in his speech tonight, his first public appearance since the coup attempt Tuesday. ¶

The allegiances of an 80,000-man army unit in the city of Harar, in southwest Ethiopia, and 20,000 men stationed in Gondar

also are in question, according to diplomatic sources.

The mutiny, whatever its outcome, is the most serious challenge to Mengistu's military rule since he shot his way to undisputed control of the Ethiopian revolution 12 years ago.

In Asmara, the mutineers reportedly have, or had, access to the Soviet-supplied fighter aircraft that have been Mengistu's principal advantage in his uncompromising and, in the past two years, unsuccessful conduct of two long-running civil wars against both Eritrean and Tigrayan rebel groups in the north.

Continued on Ectellis

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 19, 1989

Bush Meets

Tutu and Vows
to Press Pretoria

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me., May 18 — President Bush met with Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the White House today, and American officials said later that Mr. Bush had vowed to use pressure, influence and leverage on the South African Government.

But Mr. Bush and Archbishop Tutu, South Africa's top Anglican leader and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, did not discuss the issue of further economic sanctions against South Africa, an issue on which they disagree.

Mr. Bush has said more economic sanctions against the Pretoria Government would hurt the black majority, while Archbishop Tutu contends that sanctions would deepen the pressures on South Africa.

The meeting occurred a day after the White House announced that F. W. de Klerk, the leader of South Africa's National Party, who is expected to succeed P. W. Botha as President, would visit the United States this year. Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, said Mr. de Klerk would meet with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, but not with Mr. Bush.

After the 20-minute Oval Office meeting with Archbishop Tutu, Mr. Bush flew to Rochester for a speech on education. In mid-afternoon Mr. Bush flew to his residence in Kennebunkport for the weekend.

Tutu Is Encouraged

Archbishop Tutu said after the brief White House meeting that he had urged Mr. Bush to take the moral leadership to end apartheid and that he was encouraged that Mr. Bush had a warm openness to that cause.

We do not want to be overly optimistic, Archbishop Tutu told reporters, adding he had been impressed that Mr. Bush seemed to abhor apartheid and that he wanted to be a catalyst for change and a positive influence.

The Archbishop's comments were strikingly different from the one he

| made in 1984 after meeting President
Reagan. Archbishop Tutu called Mr.
Reagan a "racist pure and simple"

Continued on Pg. 14

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Ui,

S. Department of State

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 14, 1989

ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

Luxury of Apartheid

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

or the first nine months of his

Two years in detention,

Zwelonke Sisulu was in solitary

confinement. All he was given to read

was the Bible in Afrikaans, a language he cannot read.

They are supposed to give you the Bible in English if you ask, Mr. Sisulu said here the other day, but they said they had run out of everything but Afrikaans.

Mr. Sisulu is a leading black newspaper editor in South Africa, and he made a profound impression when he was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard four years ago. How could a person of sharp intelligence stand isolation with nothing to read?

What you do is invent mental games, Mr. Sisulu said. The one thing that kept me going was to recite poetry...

He was released last December but put under severe restrictions. He was required to stay in the Johannesburg area, confined to his home in Soweto from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. daily, required to report to a police station twice a day, forbidden to edit or write for a publication or give interviews and prohibited from attending any gathering at which Government policies were criticized.

At the urging of South African and American journalists, the restrictions were lifted for a month so he could attend the 50th anniversary celebration of the Nieman Foundation here last weekend. The Government offered him a passport with conditions about what he could discuss abroad. When he refused to go on that basis, the conditions were dropped. But his wife, Zodwa, was denied a passport.

Mr. Sisulu is a member of an important political family. His father, Walter, a leader of the African National Congress, has been in prison

with Nelson Mandela for 25 years. His mother, Albertina, is co-president of the main internal anti-apartheid movement, the United Democratic Front. In a nonracial South Africa, Zwelakhe Sisulu would no doubt also play a political role.

Why was he released from detention? He was not given a reason, any more than he was when arrested. But the international community of journalists had been pressing the Government on his case, and he believes that may have been a factor. The release also came at the time Pretoria agreed to withdraw its forces from Angola and Namibia, and it may have been designed to suggest that things were changing inside South Africa, too.

Is the Government's policy changing? One cares about Angola and Namibia, Mr. Sisulu said. But on the ground inside South Africa there 'is nothing that amounts to real reform.

What about the economic changes? I asked. More blacks own good cars, shop in the best stores, even live illegally in white areas.

Yes, that struck me when I was released, Mr. Sisulu said. Today Johannesburg, I would say, is blacker than most African cities.

What I think is happening is that the logic of numbers is being felt. There is no way the Government control the inflow of black people into cities, or of blacks into what are known as white areas.

Does that trend suggest that economic change may be a way to empowerment of the black majority?

South Africa can no longer afford it.

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That the old expectation of a revolutionary crisis may be wrong? i

It could be both, you know, M#. Sisulu said. In the South African context you have to remember that the

falling into place of the logic of numy; bers is not evolutionary; it is revolue tionary.

â\200\234For decades Johannesburg was Â¢ white city with white suburbs evÃ©n though there were all those blacks whe needed homes. The reason that could happen was that South Africa was rich. enough to employ a police force to pey-! form that function. But now the eco- nomic situation is in shambles. il

â\200\234Apartheid used to be a luxury the country could afford. Now it is a luxury the country can no longer afford.â\200\235

Will the Government adjust to the changing reality?

â\200\234I think the adjustment will be & slow and painful one. The Govery: ment will not acknowledge the logic- of numbers yet but will want to pre: serve the illogic of its ideology. I don*t think there is yet in South Africa a dÃ© Gaulle-type of figure who is able to press ahead.â\200\235

So the struggle would just go ot angd. on?

â\200\230â\200\234That is my thinking. Except that there are certain pressures to bÃ© brought from outside. There is ng question in my mind that what weâ\200\231re seeing in Angola and Namibia is due in large part to the flight of American capital from South Africa. When the: countryâ\200\231s foreign loans come due next year, you can expect more talk about so-called reform.â\200\235 mg

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 17, 1989

REBEL ISSUE STALLS
PLAN FOR NAMIBIA

3 Nations Halt Talks Without
Consensus on Insurgents

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

RUACANA, Namibia, May 16 â\200\224
Namibiaâ\200\231s United Nations-sponsored transition to independence is being stalled because of difficulty in deter- thining whether Namibian insurgents, have withdrawn from the territory and returned to their bases in Angola.

After 16 hours of discussions near this town on the Angolan border, nego- tiators for Angola, Cuba and South Af- rica adjourned today without word of a

consensus on whether all the Namibian insurgents had left the territory. The delegations agreed to talk again on Friday on the Angolan side of the border.

The Namibian insurgents crossed the border into Namibia when the

SWAZILAND\200\235
SOUTH
AFRICA &7

The New York Times/May 17, 1989
Talks in Ruacana centered on
"whether guerrillas left Namibia.

United Nations plan went into effect on
April 1. They met with heavy resistance from South African combat policemen and military units.

Pretoria\200\231s Commitments

Clashes led to the deaths of 316 guerrillas and 27 policemen and soldiers. The Namibians say they crossed the border in search of United Nations relocation camps when they were set en by the South African forces.

: The independence plan for Namibia, which is being supervised by the United Nations, required that South Africa reduce its force in the territory to 12,000 men within six weeks of the start of the transition. Pretoria was also to abolish discriminatory laws that would interfere with elections scheduled for

November and allow for the return of Namibian exiles. Because of the dispute over the Namibian insurgents, those conditions have not been met.

Continued on Pg. 14

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 16, 1989

Blacks Shaped Language Of Apartheid,

PRETORIA, South Africa

FRIKAANS, the language that sym-

bolizes white supremacy, has actu-

ally been heavily influenced by

ugala dialects and is widely spoken

by South Africans of mixed and black racial origins.

Its best-known word around the world is apartheid, which literally means apartness, signifying the determination of South African whites to separate themselves from other races. The 1976 riots in the black township of Soweto, touched off by the rebellion of school-children against being taught in Afrikaans, contributed to an assumption abroad that the language was synonymous with white supremacy.

But Afrikaans, which descended from Dutch, is far from being lily white in origin, linguistic experts at several South African universities say. Indebted to other languages spoken by slaves and aboriginal tribes, Afrikaans is not, and never was, the exclusive property of the white Afrikaner. Nearly as many non-white South Africans use Afrikaans as their mother tongue, and they seem likely to outnumber its white speakers by the next century.

There are no political boundaries where Afrikaans stops, said Prof. Louis Ecksteen, a linguistic scholar at the University of Pretoria. It's defined by the people who speak the language.

According to a 1980 census cited by scholars, Afrikaans is the mother tongue of 2.5 million whites, 2.2 million South Africans of mixed race, 77,000 blacks and 15,000 ethnic Asians,

The largest academic department of Afrikaans language and literature is at the mixed-race University of the Western Cape near Cape Town, which has 2,300 students, said Tony H. Links, the department chairman.

Professor Links said young nonwhites had not rejected Afrikaans as the so-called language of the oppressor. Last year, he said, more than 20,000 mixed-race high school students elected to take their final examinations in Afrikaans.

He said he considered the language indispensable to his own identity as a South African of mixed race.

My relationship to Afrikaans is as natural as a child to a mother," Professor Links said. "I grew up in Afrikaans. My whole social network is in Afrikaans, and I know no other language in which I can express my deepest emotions. I eat Afrikaans, I sleep in Afrikaans and I think my last word on my death bed will be in Afrikaans."

Afrikaans has been steeped in controversy since it became a manifestation of Afrikaner nationalism in the early 20th century as a reaction to Britain's colonial repression of the Afrikaners.

The major force in Afrikaners is our language," said Prof. Willem de Klerk, a liberal political commentator who teaches communications at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg. "Yes, we're proud of Afrikaans and we're really in love with

ng_iStS Say By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Roots of Afrikaans

BORROWED WORDS

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i o parot 0 Arabic L
Sosowy o T Boihe
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. 'lial ofan k
. accusation , T
% 2 Vo i 44 wa\200\230ay
: Malay
- ghonns1 , Yoo . English
gora _ 'shallowhol ina riverbed Khoi
« - wherewaterseepage
alot, \200\230 Malay dialect
otimmediately, but . \200\230Malay diaject &
ditsh :

ailhil

*Source: Elaine
our language. It's a subtle, singing
kind of language.

The roots of Afrikaans go back to
Hollands, @ Dutch dialect spoken
around Amsterdam that was brought
to the southernmost part of Africa in
the 17th century, when Holland was a

t maritime power. Many Afri-

rs like to trace their lineage to
these first' Dutch settlers around
what is now Cape Town.

The settlers acquired slaves from
Africa and Southeast Asia who
brought transactional dialects, used

for negotiating or bargaining, of Malay and Portuguese. The pioneers also encountered indigenous tribes like the Khoi, colloquially called Hot-

Language, based on Dutch dialect, borrowed from indigenous tribes.

tentots. In such close quarters, including some intermarriage, the Dutch speakers absorbed alien words into their vocabulary in what linguists consider a surprisingly short time. The original Hollands dialect underwent a simplification in grammar. The old past tense was dropped, for example, and traditional noun gender disappeared.

Forming the Possessive
Continued on

Reesberg, South African Embassy in Washington

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Afrikaans retains residual rules of Dutch, like the relegation of verbs to the end of the sentence.

The legacy of slave Portuguese and Malay dialects is apparent mostly in the grammar, but also in a handful of function words like the Malay

â\200\234banyaâ\200\231â\200\231 for â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230a lot.â\200\235â\200\235 An Afrikanerâ\200\231s

promise to do something â\200\230â\200\230now-now,â\200\235

meaning not immediately but quite soon, derives from Malay usage. The

use of a double negative was borrowed from the Portuguese. The sen-

tence â\200\234â\200\230I will not do itâ\200\235â\200\231 translates into

Afrikaans as â\200\234Ek sal dit NIE doen

NIE.â\200\235 And as in Portuguese, a sepa-

rate word in Afrikaans forms the pos-

sessive. Afrikaners would say

â\200\234Johnâ\200\231s coatâ\200\235 as â\200\230â\200\230Jan SE baadjie.â\200\235

The influence of the indigenous

Khoi becomes evident in words for

which the early settlers had no com-

parable word in Dutch. Afrikaners to-

day call a ditch a â\200\230â\200\230donga,â\200\235 a small

hill a â\200\234koppieâ\200\231â\200\235 and building mortar

â\200\234â\200\230daga,â\200\235 as the tribes did. They use

the Khoi â\200\230â\200\234abbaâ\200\231â\200\231 to speak of carrying

a baby on oneâ\200\231s back. To a lesser ex-

tent, words were borrowed from the

Zulu and Sotho.

â\200\234â\200\234I take the view that the Afrikaans language had become established

within at most two generations,â\200\235 said

Prof. Fritz A. Ponelis, a linguistic his-

torian at the University of Stellen-

bosch. â\200\230The changes in Afrikaans
were so fast that had it taken three
centuries to run its course, it still
would have been rapid.â\200\235

Influence of Women

Pg. 14

TE WASHINGTON Post
May 13, 1989

Majority Rule
Unjust, Says

Botha's Heir
De Klerk Dampens
Of Change in S. Africa

. By William Claiborne

* Washington Post Foreign Service
' JOHANNESBURG, May 12
Frederik W. de Klerk, minister of white education and the ruling National Party designated presidential successor, today unequivocally rejected the possibility of majority rule for South Africa because, he said, it would be unjust. : :

In a major policy address to the whites-only chamber of Parliament meeting in Cape Town, de Klerk said that including South Africa's black majority on common voter rolls on a one-man, one-vote basis would inevitably lead to majority rule by blacks. g . N

That is unjust toward the electorate of this house [whites] and certain other groups and therefore totally unacceptable, said de Klerk, who is widely considered to be in the progressive wing of South African white politics. 1 :

Instead of giving blacks an equal electoral franchise, de Klerk said, the government would seek to create a new political system of governance by consensus of nonelected representatives of racial groups. Such a system, he said, will not be conducive to majority rule or domination.

De Klerk's speech was clearly intended to lower growing public expectations that, upon the retirement of President Pieter W. Botha on Sept. 6, the National Party will embark on reforms that would give South Africa's black majority of 23 million a decisive role in running the country. 7

Those expectations were heightened last week when Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis said the government wanted to create a single national legislature that would include blacks. Heunis, the government's architect of constitutional reform, also proposed including blacks in the cabinet and on the parliamentary electoral college that chooses the president.

Amid signs of growing tension between Heunis and de Klerk, Heunis unexpectedly announced his retirement last night.

De Klerk's speech today made it clear that under the reforms to be pro-

posed, blacks may vote in some as yet unspecified kind of legislative institution, as long as they do not

M 18, 1989

Tutu Urges U.S. to Press
South Africa
Visiting Clerics Seek Financial Sanctions

David B. Ottaway
Post Staff Writer

Three South African religious leaders led by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Desmond Tutu yesterday urged the Bush administration to impose unspecified financial sanctions on the white minority government there and lead the West in pressing Pretoria to open talks with the black majority population.

Your intervention is critical, the Anglican archbishop told a gathering here of 80 members of Congress, civil rights leaders and corporate and

university - executives. Financial sanctions are crucial, he added. Tutu, together with the Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner cleric, presented a founding statement of shared views that called on President Bush to take early, pro-active and creative policy decisions to bring about democracy in South Africa. The Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, also signed the

Continued on Pg.115

outvote whites.

His remarks set the stage for an election campaign that is likely to be dominated by the issue of racial reform and not, as in previous elections, by such emotional issues as law and order and the security of the white minority.

De Klerk said he rejected both the majority rule policy of the Democratic Party, recently formed by white liberals, and the exclusively minority-rule policy of the white

supremacist Conservative Party,

The contrast is clear. The Conservative Party stands for a minority government in a South Africa that will, by their own admission, in perpetuity be populated by a majority of people of color. It is unfair and does not pass the test of justice," de Klerk said. :

The Democratic Party stands for a majority government. In a country with such a massive and wide diversity as ours, this is unfair toward the smaller peoples and population groups. Their policy, too, fails the test of justice.

De Klerk reiterated the National Party's long-standing proposal of a two-tier political system in which racial groups would separately exercise control over their own affairs while at another level of government their representatives, acting on the basis of consensus, would legislate matters of common or national interest. Failure to reach consensus should be settled by a trustworthy referee," de Klerk said, without elaborating on how the referee would be selected.

While the matters of common interest have not been specified,

party strategists have said they would include such issues as fiscal

affairs and foreign policy. The own affairs would include: as segregated education, "While neither Heunis nor de Klerk has been specific on the composition of the proposed-multiracial legislature, National Party officials have said it is not envisioned as a directly elected body, but would consist of selected leaders of various racial communities.

These would probably include, party officials said, members of the white, mixed-race Colored and Indian houses of Parliament; leaders of the self-governing tribal homelands; elected leaders of black townships; leaders of legally authorized organizations with constituencies of all races and a large membership of the proposed advisory National Council which the government is hoping to create as a forum to negotiate a new power-sharing constitution, ; - PR s

The governing principle, according to political analysts, would probably be consensus of concurrent majorities, meaning that minority racial groups—such as the 4.5 million whites, 3.1 million Coloreds and 900,000 Indians would, in effect, have the same power—as the black representative group. - X

Coloreds and Indians are represented in segregated and mostly powerless chambers of Parliament, while blacks have no vote and no representation in the central government. b -

The African National Congress, the main black nationalist movement battling white minority rule in South Africa, has flatly rejected all constitutional proposals based on the group concept. P

Tue WasuincTon Post

By David B. Ottaway

Nay 17,1989

US. May InvitÃ© S, African LÃ©ader For Talks Hefe

The Bush administratiog is considezing. invit-
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â\200\234A meeting with de Klerk is something bemg
considered but Â¢ i8 no dei-ï-\201ï-\202e an â\200\234and lo
invitation yet,â\200\235 ; Depnrtm{ sald

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White Housespokestan Marlia Fitzwater said
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minister in 1958, according to a Saith A%]
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president Rieter W, Botha after parmmntary
elec ons scheduled for S;pt. 6. De Klerk ls lead-
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ofstateforAihcm affaivs, will visit Soulh Africa
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visit by de Klerk, among other issues, the State

Department official said.
Yesterday, South Africaâ\200\231s state-fun - -vadio

brosdcast a commentary rsaid de Klerk
might be invited to meet wnâ\200\230:%nqdm

â\200\234Sugh an invitation would be an lmportsat

in South Africao-United States
relations,â\200\235 the commentary sgi particular, a
visit by Mr. de Klerk to the ite House would
be important in the context of the sanctions de-
bate.â\200\235

The commentary noted that Bush, Jike Pres-
ident Ronald Reagan before him, is a staunch
dppbi-\201ent of further sanctions og Afncâ.

Just how antiapartheheld m in ti-\201s
would respond to a visit by the South Africm

National Party leader remains unclear,

hile, four top South African religious leaders led by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace laureate, are scheduled to address a gathering here today of U.S. officials, foundation heads, business and civil rights leaders on a new peace plan for South Africa.

The Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Council of Reformed Churches; the Rev. Beyers

wude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev. Frank Chikane, council's secretary-general, also will address the forum.

It is being organized by TransAfrica, the African lobby group that led the grassroots campaign for the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa in 1986.

THE SUN May 17, 1989

200 black Mobil workers strike in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa
*More than 200 black workers at 4 Mobil Corp. fuel depots in South Africa have gone on strike to protest the oil company's decision to divest from the country without ne-

months for its employees.

The Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU), which represents strikers, said that it would hold a nationwide strike ballot later this week to decide whether to back the strike.

Mobil announced last month that it would sell its South African operations to the local mining and industrial giant, General Mining Union Corp. Mobil's action followed divestment from U.S.

t groups and legislation

at has increased taxes on U.S.

panies doing business in South Africa.

Although the CWIU advocates divestment, it immediately protested Mobil's actions, saying the company had failed to respond to the union's attempts to negotiate a divestment

t

agreement.

The CWIU says it has been trying since 1987 to get the 39 multinationals with which it has dealings to agree to a divestment package that

mâ\200\231!â\200\230lâ\200\230lâ\200\230m&m

worka-. Neagly all the . companies have ignored the unienâ\200\231s demand, The union is companies to

divestment deal; pay each worker a monthâ\200\231's wages for each year Wâ\200\230ked.wrltedâ\200\230allbamlncmdlng

Crompton said the balot would involve some 500 workers, inchading staff at Mobil's ofl refinery in Durban. Mobil employs almost 2,800 people, most of them black. Both Mobil and GENCOR have {o guarantee workersâ\200\231 jobs for one year, and GENCOR has undertaken to continue funding Mobil's social responsibility programs for at least five years. But Mr. Crompton said that this arrangement was reached withoyt consultation with the union, and that as a result it could not be trusted. : â\200\234Workers believe that the company deliberately lied to them about its intentions,â\200\235 Mr. Crompton said.

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ï-\201ebue â\200\230It was net necessary for the union to resort to work stoppages to tellmtheywnntedtntl:..â\200\230:lehave an policy.â\200\235 he Pl denied the anian's claim that thceutnpnyhadhlddenusmtentions to divest. 'Weneveruedwt!:munionme&â\200\230mn they were - Wmutfmuwymmt:emwved in the disinvestment process. How-

â\200\234Why did Mobil have to wait until the whole matter was settled?â\200\235â\200\235

Tug WasHincron Pess

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Anglican Arch&shog Smond Tutu,
1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner,
have supported that doctrine,

Tutu has said, â\200\234I'm tatking about a
moral issue, In moral issues you have
to say which is the lesser reater
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to allow Hitler %a'@0 an chucking
children into gm. chambers, or

whether to take action iï¬\2021stog {2
Atiis_this n nonon â\200\234just war"

that: sustaing . aid,- de-

spite his al of deaths

caused by car bombs, whether the
victims are security policemen or
civilians,

â\200\234The policy of the ANC is clear.

It is to avoid killing civilians. But in any war situation, civilians are bound to get caught up," he said, referring to a policy statement the ANC issued last August dissociating itself from attacks on civilian targets and saying it was taking steps to prevent their recurrence.

context, I wouldn't say it's significant. They are being forced to act not as soldiers, to retaliate; They are being forced by the racist regime to do that.

Gaqiba said he makes no distinction

6

May 16, 1989

Not of the same nature as the religious youths' frustration, the continuation of apartheid in Africa despite the ANC's victory since the movement was

in 1912. The military

was founded in 1961, but was outlawed by

But recently, he said, the morale of the guerrillas has been lifted by promises of independence - and a victory for the guerrilla movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), after its 23-year stalemated war of liberation was settled by an international agreement; - ..

They feel a victory for SWAPO is a victory for South Africa. They see that the movement is behind us," Gqiba said. "The light is getting brighter every day."

Washington Times May 10,

Effort to end Zulu war |

hits snag on venue
â\200\230JOHANNESBURG, South Africa
â\200\224 Prospects for an end to the â\200\234Zulu
warâ\200\235 between rival black political
groups. in Natal province floun-
dered yesterday when the two sides
failed to agree on where to hold
peace talks due to start tomorrow.
The clashes, in which 770 per-
sons have been killed in the past 12
years in the suburbs of Durban and
Pietermaritzburg, usually pit sup-
porters of the Zulu tribeâ\200\231s Inkatha
movement against those of the anti-
apartheid United Democratic
Front and the Congress of South
African Trade Unions. L
- COSATU and the UDF said yes-
terday they rejected the â\200\234insis-
tenceâ\200\235 of Chief Mangosuthu Bu-
thelezi, the Inkatha leader, that
Ulundi, capital of the Kwazulu tm-
bal homeland should be the =~ -
venue for the talks.

Why they fight on
IN Natal

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

THE most vicious conflict in South Af-

rica has little to do with race. Since August 1987 blacks have been killing blacks in the townships and villages around the city of Pietermaritzburg. Last year some 700 were killed; already this year the count stands at 200. The fighting is spreading to the townships and squatter camps around the nearby port of Durban: there the death toll for the first four months of this year is twice that for the same period of 1988. And although the bloodshed has spurred many peace talks, some observers are beginning to doubt whether any negotiation can succeed in bringing the killing to an end.

The peacemakers have tried to reconcile the identifiable parties to the conflict, the Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and its rivals in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). [Inkatha is a conservative movement that plays on the traditional loyalties of its Zulu supporters. Its enemies espouse a modern, leftist doctrine.

Last month Archbishop Dennis

Hurley persuaded the UDF and COSATU to attend a peace conference. Their mentors in the outlawed African National Congress gave the plan their blessing. But Chief Buthelezi declared that he wanted a conference without clerical mediation. No conference took place.

Last September COSATU and Inkatha managed to reach an accord which held out the hope of peace.

Both sides declared their rejection of

violence and committed themselves to free political association. They set up a Complaints Adjudication Board, headed by a retired judge and two assessors, one from each side. Any member of the public could complain if either party broke its word. The agreement produced no result.

The accord had several weaknesses. It applied only to the area around Pietermaritzburg even though the conflict was already spreading farther afield. The UDF was not a signatory although it was clearly a party to the conflict. Some people shrank from testifying before the board for fear that their evidence might later be used against them in

the criminal courts.

Yet even without these weaknesses the agreement might have failed. One study by Mr Gavin Woods, director of the Inkatha Institute, suggests that 95% of those involved in the fighting around Pietermaritzburg do not understand the differences between Inkatha and the UDF, even though they may claim allegiance to one or the other. Two researchers unconnected with

THE WasrmeTON Post

My 29, 1989

Time Is Running Out in the Sudan

The Post has provided excellent, coverage of the, devastating famine in Sudan, in which as many as 500,000 people died in 1988. I especially commend your May 6 editorial [The Train From Moglad] for bringing greatly needed attention to international efforts to prevent another massive death toll from starvation: this year, Having recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Sudan, including a brief stop at the town of Moglai, I fear the situation in that war-torn country is not very optimistic.,

The 49-car train is poised and ready as you state, but those who are merely running backwards. The train has been poised and ready since April 26, but it still has not budged one inch or delivered one grain of its 1,500-ton food stock. These supplies could feed 100,000 hungry people for 30 days, the exact number of people that the United Nations estimates will starve unless they receive food before the rainy season begins this month.

Endless obstacles to the train's progress have been resolved from a rail workers' strike to the Moslem holiday of Ramadan and a dispute over armed escorts. The latest roadblock is that local authorities, despite earlier agreements,

now refuse to drop half of the food supplies in rebel-held areas. A similar problem plagues the barge in Malakal; it has sat in port for weeks, prevented from delivering 6,000 tons of food. The real reason for these delays is that the government of Sudan does not have effective control of local officials and cannot force them to carry out national policies. The government also arms local militias that disrupt relief deliveries and then disavows their activities.

The assertion that both sides in Sudan's civil war have agreed to a cease-fire also needs clarification. The Sudanese

People's Liberation Army declared a unilateral truce for the month of May. The

Inkatha who studied the fighting in Molweni, north of Durban, found that only a quarter of those who say they follow Inkatha can name the movement's leaders; similarly, less than a fifth of those who see themselves as pro-UDF can identify their supposed leaders.

The townships around Pietermaritzburg and Durban are desperately poor and growing fast. The unrest is caused partly by social dislocation: the new ways of the town, represented by the UDF and its trade-union allies, clash with the old rural order for which Inkatha stands. To some extent the conflict is part of the criminal behaviour which has become normal in the shanty towns around many third-world cities. Political differences stir the pot, but a peace agreement will not necessarily take it off the boil.

government has welcomed this peace initiative but has at yet offidhilly nceget-ed or rejected it. To be fil, Pritve

i time for both giles o stop playing word games; to demosttate gaod will by business of negotiating 2. parman@et

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THE Wasnivcyen Post May 17, 1989

Helen Suzman
To Retire at 71

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224Helen Suzman, South Africaâ\200\231s best known white civil-rights campaigner, said yesterday she will retireâ\200\231 from Parliament in September after 36 years in the forefront of the i medomsitim

Allies and opponents joned in praising her, and ruling National Party spokesman Con Botha said â\200\234she will be missed as a courageous fighter who was ahead of her time.â\200\235

Suzman, 71, campaigned for political rights for South Africaâ\200\231s black majority, and from 1961 to 1974 she was the only legislator opposing the legal policy of race discrimination. Many black nationalist leaders have referred to her as â\200\230â\200\234the con-

â\200\230science of white South Africa.â\200\235

â\200\234My most important task, the disappearance of apartheid, has not been completed,â\200\235 Suzman told reporters. â\200\234But a number of important laws have been repealed, laws which I opposed when they were introduced, and that's a source of considerable satisfaction for me.â\200\235

May 17, 1989

UN: World Population
Heads for 14 Billion

WASHINGTON

WORRY about having a
F world population of only
7.7 billion people.

There might be a leveling-off at
10.2 billion people, but experts
say even that is probably unrealis-
tic.

Consider instead, a global pop-
ulation of 14.2 billion human be-
ings by the year 2100 - the latest
projection from the United Na-
tions Population Fund (UNFPA).
At almost triple the current level
of 5.2 billion, that number could
become a reality, UNFPA says.
Some global environmentalists
contend that the world cannot sus-
tain that many people.

But the UNFPA, by sounding
the alarm now in a report released
today, hopes to galvanize support
for a new infusion of funds - \$2
billion a year - that it says would
cut the growth rate, eventually sta-
bilizing the world's ranks at 10.2
billion people. Total public and
private expenditures for third-
world family are \$3 billion.

The additional money would
meet demonstrated current de-
mand for birth control, says
Sharon Camp of the Population
Crisis Committee, which is help-
ing UNFPA promote its report.

Some demographers project
different population figures from
the UN's - some higher, some low-
er. But the UN figures and their
implications for the global future,
should be enough to make it clear
that the population crisis is a mat-
ter for action now, not next centu-
ry. By then it will be too late, says
the report entitled the State
of the World's Population.

Stirling Scruggs, a senior UNF-
PA official, hopes major donors
will heed the call for more money.
Where budgets are tight, a re-
assessment of priorities is in order,
among both donors and re-
cipients, he says. In the last four
years, however, 37 of the world's
poorest countries cut family plan-

ning programs because of eco-

By Linda Feldmann
SHIRLEY HORN - STAFF

_ Women
of Child-Bearing Age-
Using Contraception

=== â\200\230

Source: United Nations Population Fund

conomic difficulties, the report says.

Japan, now the worldâ\200\231s No. 1 overall provider of development funds, is UNFPAâ\200\231s biggest donor. Japanâ\200\231s contribution this year is expected to be more than \$40 million. The US gives no money to UNFPA, and is not expected to refund any time soon because of a dispute over reported government-coerced abortions in China. The US does contribute \$235 million a year to other family-planning programs, including one of its own run by the Agency for International Development (AID).

But money considerations aside, the USâ\200\231s lack of leadership in UNFPA is missed, family planning advocates say. Perhaps the biggest frustration for advocates is that, after years of resistance to such planning, a majority of third-world governments now welcome it â\200\224 but resources are not there.

AID, for example, will have more than 100 million fewer condoms than it needs to meet demand this year. According to the UNFPA report, if current demand for family planning of all types were met, there would be 35 percent fewer births in Latin America, 33 percent fewer in Asia, and 27 percent fewer in Africa.

If \$2 billion more were dedicated each year to family plan-

ning, the report says, birth control use would rise from 465 million couples today to 730 million in the year 2000 to 1.2 billion by the year 2025. Currently, 45 percent of all fertile couples use birth control.

The UNFPA report also points out the downtrodden status of women, who contribute two-thirds of all working hours in the world while earning just one-tenth of the income. The report calls women "the agents of change" in the global population battle. Access to family planning services, is only one recommendation. Others include more education, better health care, and access to career development.

"Investing in women means widening their choice of strategies and reducing their dependence on children for status and support," the report says.

Men, however, are not to be left out of family-planning decisions. A 1988 study of Yoruba women in

Nigeria found that the better the communication between husband and wife, the smaller families tended to be. It also found that the more educated the wife, the closer the emotional bond with her husband and the more they made decisions together.

Increasingly, however, men are migrating to cities to find work, leading to rising divorce rates in many third-world nations and more rural households headed by women, UNFPA reports. Many women get no support from estranged husbands.

Many of the recommendations proposed by the UNFPA do not necessarily require additional funds, for example: calling on parents to provide as much care and education for daughters as they do for sons; eliminating the legal basis for discrimination against women; guaranteeing women's access to technology and training. But as matters of cultural tradition and sometimes religion intercede, the recommendations may be just as tough to fulfill.

Third World Hope: African Ban
Transcends the Region's Despair

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast Measured by
name, the African Development Bank
would seem to be a miserable failure.

Some years ago
to help finance the economic and social
progress of the continent, the standard of
living in many African countries has actu-
ally declined. Africa is home to 22 of the
world's 30 poorest countries, The conti-

t's pile of debt is steeper than Mount
Anjaro, Health, education and social
programs are in retreat.

"African Non-Development Bank would
be more like it, it seems.

+ But in Africa, a continent of grand de-
ception, things are seldom as they seem.
For by other measures, the African Devel-
opment Bank is that rarest of African spe-
cies: a success.

Out of Africa's poverty has risen a \$22
billion bank with annual lending of more
than \$2 billion, nearly matching the mighty
World Bank's financing of the continent.
Out of Africa's legendary corruption and
mismanagement has come 4 Wall Street
borrower of triple-A standing, a degree of
credit-worthiness unheard of south of the
Sahara. Out of Africa's wars, coups and
tribal rivalries has emerged a genuine
model of pan-African cooperation.

A New Picture

What is truly impressive about the
bank, says Robert Hormats, a vice presi-
dent at Goldman, Sachs & Co. in New
York, is the fact that it operates so well
in a very difficult situation,

At the bank's slick 18-story headquar-
ters in this bustling West African port, its
exacting president, Babacar N'Diaye, ac-
cepts such compliments with pride and be-
musement. The word Africa, he says,
needn't carry the connotation of weak-
ness, laxity and unprofessionalism.

With its pin-striped economists, sophis-
ticated capital-market presentations and
no-nonsense attitude, the bank given
the business world a new picture of Af-
rica. Yet at the same time that it is rising
Africa and gaining acceptance from the
great financial institutions of New York,
London and Tokyo, the bank remains
bound to the primitive jungles, deserts and
slums of the continent. And there lies the
paradox, and supreme challenge: For the

bank to truly succeed, so must Africa.

A Matter of Accountability

* If the African countries don't overcome their economic crises, warns Bisi Ogunjobi, the bank's representative in Harare, Zimbabwe, the African Development Bank itself will become irrelevant.

- The bank is demanding less whimsy and waste and more discipline and accountability from Africa. And Africa is pushing the bank to take the lead in shaping development on the continent, rather

By Rocer THUROW

says Mr. N'Diaye, who has been with the bank since 1964 during the first post-colonial period. Everyone figured that with

"We know that acting alone won't lead to the need to integrate ideas with help to shape the development of the continent, he says. The available resources.

'Strange words for him - but Mr. N'Diaye is bouncing on the edge of his armchair as he speaks them. Our dream is to transform the Bank into a center of

malnutrition, they really need to create a healthier, #ounder Africa; At the same time, they are hoping to steer the bank out of the shadow of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which have traditionally dictated development patterns on the continent.

The one who wears the shoe knows where it pinches, says Mary Okello, a Kenyan who directs the bank's women-in-development program. It could well be the theme of the bank's new order. We believe that the eventual solution to Africa, she says, can be found by Africans themselves.

* At the bank, they are looking particularly hard in three places:

- Debt. The bank proposed 18 months ago that all external debt of African coun-

tries should be consolidated and converted into long-term, low-interest bonds, which would be repaid according to the countries' capacity to generate export earnings. Now, with aggressive marketing, the proposal is gradually gaining currency among the continent's creditors, and the bank is fashioning specific debt programs for some 20 countries.

Development. The bank is championing new lending strategies that cater to the basics of African life, such as peasant farming, rather than the grandiose schemes of Western planners. A little well in the midst of a drought area will

do more than a

large dam on the Niger River. The bank is

channeling more aid to the most vital human resources, largely ignored in the past: rural

peasants. The bank is also providing technical assistance to improve agricultural productivity.

The bank is also providing technical assistance to improve agricultural productivity.

and "small-business - enterprises" who are the backbone of many national economies.

MAY 16, 1989

One of the reasons why the bank is so successful is because of the leadership of its staff, such as the Nigerian who has been in charge of the country programs. He has thrown up his hands in exasperation. Well, we do understand. We are Africans. But we are also

Continued on page 16

TuE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

May 19, 1989

Army Loses Patience Over Civil War

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROSI, KENYA

ETHIOPIA has hit a dead
end in its nearly 30-year

military effort to subdue
rebels in the north.

This week's coup attempt in
the Ethiopian capital between fac-
tions of the government highlights
growing discontent over President
Mengistu Haile Mariam's inability
to win the civil war.

British and US political ana-
lysts point out that:

° The Ethiopian Army, com-
posed largely of unwilling re-
cruits, is rapidly losing its morale
and its effectiveness. The Army
lost every major encounter with
separatist rebels this year. Rebels
in Eritrea and Tigre have greatly
expanded their control of these
northern provinces in recent
months, sometimes encountering
no resistance from the Army.

The Soviet Union, the main
military backer of the Ethiopian
regime, has made it increasingly
clear that it considers the war un-
winnable and wants a negotiated
solution.

These analysts speculate that
the Soviets might, in fact, have en-

couraged an attempted coup on
the part of disaffected Army offi-
cers willing to negotiate an end to
the war.

If such a settlement were
reached, it would remove the
need for more military aid for the
regime, which has amounted to
over \$11 billion since 1977. It
might also leave the Soviets with at
least nominal ties to Ethiopia, in
the absence of much public sup-
port for their intervention.

But regardless of the outcome of the factional struggle within the Ethiopian government, Eritrean insistence on independence will remain the primary challenge.

It's going to be very hard for any [Ethiopian] government to lose Eritrea," says Christopher Clapham, an expert on Ethiopia and professor of political science at Lancaster University in England.

A small measure of the public sentiment the government must deal with concerning possible loss of Eritrea was expressed by a resident of Addis Ababa, who wished to remain nameless. He said he was not happy with the war because it was ruining the country's economy, but did not want Ethiopia to give up Eritrea. He considered himself nationalistic and did not want to lose part of his nation.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) is seeking independence. Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia by the United Nations in 1952. But 10 years later, the Ethiopian government incorporated Eritrea into Ethiopia, defying the UN resolution.

Professor Clapham says the EPLF may eventually agree to a compromise settlement granting it independence but allowing the Ethiopian government access to or control of the Eritrean port of Assab. The government is determined not to lose that vital access to the Red Sea.

The government has often labeled the EPLF as "bandits." But even the term "rebels" is misleading, Clapham says. "The EPLF can put up to 30,000 soldiers in the field," he says. "You are not talking about people lurking behind bushes."

ART of the recent success of P the rebels against the gov-

ernment has come in the province of Tigre, next to Eritrea, where the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) scored major victories this March.

With the defeat of the Army in Endasselassie and the takeover of Makale, the capital of Tigre, the

TPLF took control of virtually the

whole province. The Army put up little resistance at Makale.

Conscription to the Army has become an issue of contention among many Ethiopians, especially in Addis Ababa. There has been some very brutal recruiting of teenagers, says Paul Henze, an expert on Ethiopia and an analyst with the RAND Corporation in Washington. The population is infuriated by the recruiting, he says.

The Soviet position in all of this is a difficult one, says Mr. Henze. They would like to close the book on [the war], but they also want to keep Ethiopia as an ally, he adds.

Except for a small Stalinist-oriented clique around Ethiopian President Mengistu, there is not a pro-Soviet element in Ethiopia, says Henze. Some Ethiopians do, however, admire Marxist ideals but criticize Mengistu for failure to put them into action.

Since 1985 the Soviets have pressed the Ethiopian government to reduce its heavy dependence on state-run agriculture. Some liberal reforms have begun, but the state continues to play the major role in the economy.

Ethiopia's government-controlled press has carried little news of the reforms under way in the Soviet Union.

May 16, 1989

Angola Pushes Plan To End Its Civil War

WASHINGTON

gotiated end to the highting.

US diplomats expect the meeting will not publicly press the from seven other African states to Luanda today. The

subject: ending Angola's 14-year civil war between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). ;

The Angolan government is trying to rally African support for its plan of ending the war by offering individual amnesty to

UNITA members. The government refuses to negotiate directly with the rebels, who control much of southeast Angola.

UNITA, on the other hand, wants to negotiate. As a gesture of goodwill, it has offered a cease-fire through July; named a negotiating team that excludes its forceful leader, Jonas Savimbi; and offered to keep Mr. Savimbi out of any transitional government for two years until elections are held.

The fact that the meeting is taking place legitimizes the concern and role of neighboring states, and shows how far consensus is developing on the need for talks, a senior US official says.

The US supplies covert military assistance to UNITA and has been strongly pushing, through diplomatic channels, for a ne-

THE government of Angola has invited representatives

10

Angolan government to negotiate. But the diplomats are hopeful that private discussions might move the process along and that some of those present may serve as mediators between the two Angolan parties.

US support for UNITA and national reconciliation seems strong. Charges by Angolan exiles that UNITA has violated human rights have had little effect on Washington's support for covert aid.

As one congressional critic of US support for UNITA says, Angola's government has to do something beyond amnesty, or they are really going to get clobbered by an increase in covert aid now with the possibility of more later on.

I think the . . . government has realized now that the Bush administration is committed to seeing the civil war through to the end, and that support for that policy is bipartisan, the senior official says.

Zambia, Zaire, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Sao Tome and Principe were reportedly invited to today's gathering. -E. A. Wayne

Ethiopia

A fatal bungle

AR away from the world's gaze, thousands of refugees in Ethiopia are slowly starving. They left northern Somalia in May last year, fleeing government troops fighting the rebel Somali National Movement. Once they reached the camps at Aware, Hartisheik and Harshin in the Ogaden desert, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees agreed to help look after them. Now a quarter of them are starving.

Most of the refugees had been well fed townspeople, unused to the harsh conditions of the desert. The decline in their health has been dramatic. A nutritional survey by two British researchers shows that by November 11% of the refugees weighed less

than four-fifths of the average for their height. By March the proportion had risen to 26% in one camp, 29% in another. Malnutrition reduces resistance to disease. Hepatitis is common in the camps.

The ultimate blame for this lies with the Ethiopian government, one of the least savoury in Africa. The Ethiopians are suspicious of foreign aid workers, especially in the many parts of their country embroiled in civil war. In western Ethiopia, for instance, the government allows the UNHCR little access to camps for Sudanese refugees, lest it observe the Ethiopians' involvement with the rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army. The Ethiopians are probably taking food from the refugees and giving it to the rebels.

But this does not entirely explain the problem in the Ogaden. The difficulties in the camps are not caused by a lack of food. In fact there seems to be more than enough. The UNHCR does not know how many refugees the camps contain. It has been working to a figure of 350,000, which is too high, so more food than is necessary is going to the camps. Even so, the malnutrition persists because of the UNHCR's maldistribution of aid.

Food handouts have sometimes taken place only once a month rather than every ten days. Ration cards have been distributed so unevenly that some refugees get much more than they need, others much less. The UNHCR has no permission from the Ethiopians to stay in the camps overnight, so strong refugees steal from weak ones when the relief workers are gone. Gaining permission to stay overnight among the refugees (some of whom may be guerrillas fighting the Somali government) is no easy task, but aid workers

say the UNHCR could have pressed harder.

Water has been as badly managed. In mid-September the UNHCR asked CARE, an

aid charity, to start taking water to the camps in tankers on October 1st. CARE could not respond at such short notice, but started working in November on the understanding that the UNHCR would cover its costs and provide the necessary transport.

That understanding has been broken. Nev-

THE ECONOMIST MAY 13 1989

Sudan

Getting there

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

IN MARCH the United Nations launched

a plan to get more than 100,000 tons of food into southern Sudan. It said last year a horrific famine might recur should the rains come before that food arrived. To speed the process along it committed \$132m and secured the co-operation of Sudan's government and rebels. The rains have now come, but less than half the intended quantity of food has moved. The UN bravely says that this is enough to prevent famine, if combined with shipments planned for the next six weeks. Those may not be possible.

The supply operation has faltered because it began late, and because the afflicted region is chaotic and primitive. Roads are unpaved, bridges are scarce. With few exceptions airstrips are short and earthen. The rains have been sputtering for several weeks. Roads become impassable and airstrips put out of action for hours, sometimes days, after each downpour. And the downpours become more frequent each week.

Lorry travel is already hellish. A UN convoy that reached the rebelheld town of

Torit (see map) in late April needed seven and a half

days to cover 381 miles from Kampala in neighbouring Uganda. One day of its journey north was wasted in covering a single mile of particularly deep muck. Another convoy attempting to make the trip from Kenya is bogged down this week at Narus, just inside Sudan. Two earlier convoys on the route were attacked by unknown gunmen, possibly the semi-nomadic Taposa, a fierce people little changed by colonists, missionaries or governments. The first convoy

ertheless, CARE is now delivering 1.2m litres of water a day to the camps, which ought to be enough. Refugees still go thirsty, because the water is poorly distributed.

Part of the agency's difficulty is a shortage of qualified people. It has only two full-time engineers at its headquarters (and equally few experts in other fields) so it depends on outsiders to do the work on the ground, from the building of supply roads to the hiring of the builders. Some critics say the job of subcontracting, at least, should be done by UNHCR experts. Others wonder whether new money would be well used.

In the 1970s the agency used to be regarded as one of the best in the UN. But in 1985 thousands of Ethiopian refugees arrived at the Sudanese border, where they starved to death because the UNHCR had failed to make preparations to look after them. The agency never published its report on this disaster. Its head, Mr Jean-Pierre Hocké, will be in London May 15th-17th and is to meet Mrs Thatcher and Mr Chris Patten, Britain's aid minister. Britain is among the largest donors to the Somali refugee camps. Some tough talking during Mr Hocké's visit would not come amiss.

1Lt

to be attacked suffered eight killed and turned back. The second suffered no casualties and went on to Torit.

If the roads from the south are mired, the main route from the east is moribund. The Ethiopian government, which has taken in thousands of tons of western food during and since its own great famine, has refused to permit operations across its western border.

Efforts to move food down from the north are similarly halting. The UN has plans to send supplies south by road into besieged Juba. Fear of bandits and land mines has prevented any lorries moving so far. Trains and Nile river barges offer the greatest chance to move lots of food in one go. For weeks UN officials have been saying they will go soon. Lorry shipments to South Kordofan are a bright spot. They have moved

nearly as much as planned.

Several airlifts were running before the UN launched its campaign. The International Red Cross has flown something over 7,000 tonnes to the government's garrison towns and to rebel hamlets. Other airlifts operate to Aweil and to Juba, which holds more war-displaced than any city save Khartoum. A new one has begun to Torit.

The UN says that only 30,000 tonnes of food were delivered in March and April. It now hopes to shift another 25,000 tonnes this month, and 25,000 more in June. This is possible: the lorries, aircraft and organisation needed are falling into place. It is also optimistic: the operation has missed each target so far set, and must now contend with foul weather as well.

The shortfall may have been inevitable, given the UN's late start. The important accomplishment is political. Both sides were made to recognise that relief supplies should flow unmolested. The attention of many governments has been focused on Sudan's plight. Relief workers despairing of timely shipments now count these gains as insurance that help will continue when the skies clear and the mud dries in November.

They are not sure what will happen in the meantime. Those in the afflicted zone are thin and poor, with food reserves tiny or (especially in the case of those huddling in government towns) non-existent. Whether the hungry are too thin to stay alive will become clear during the soggy months before harvest.

cantwei;nllmmw
ing in October at which it will

Such a classification under the provisions of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species would prohibit trade in elephant ivory.

If the ban is approved by two-thirds of the convention members at its October meeting in Geneva, it would take effect in January 1990. The classification would outlaw the commercial sale of all elephant products in nations that have signed the treaty.

The Kenyan Minister for Tourism and Wildlife, Katana Ngala, said it was a goal for the United States, Japan

to ban ivory from the market.

. Kenya's position, announced by Mr. Ngala, and vigorously supported by the new director of wildlife, Dr. Richard E.

ey, comes as the country faces uncontrolled poaching prompted by the soaring price of ivory.

It is our belief that this decision represents not only our best interest, but the continent's best interest, Dr. Key said.

Ten years ago, there were about 1.4 million elephants in Africa. Wildlife groups say that there are now 750,600 and that at the present rate of killing they would be extinct in a decade.

Most alarming for Kenya is not only the aesthetic loss of this elephant, but the tourism which now accounts

a large part of Kenya's foreign earnings.

& National Park, a haven for

nearly elephants - in the late

1960s, was estimated in an official

Wildlife preservation in
Unhedsml!;ssaldt#:) can be

at the national level (another administrative international activity; is taken
meeting, the press conference for the

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Mr. Ngala sajd today â\200\230that : &
would be financially penalized in
short term by a'ban because it would
not be gbie 'to sell tons of conï-\202sw
ivory stockplled in: wareha\tses.
ety

- Wildjife Experts ComÃ©at '

showed the Governmentâ\200\231s,Ã©
to use its influence to help
spread poaching. -

Curtis Bohlep, semor vice prÃ©siie
of the World Wildlife Pund; sam ot
addition to, g bat, the United Biats
Govern! 3
nations in irnproving their af

mTl;â\200\230a;t poachers. ,

â\200\234There jis so much economic incen-
tive in smuggling ivory, that â\200\230banning
the ivory trade is'not going to be suffl-
cient alone,â\200\235 Mr. Bohlen'said.

â\200\234It i3 a very. timely decision,â\200\235 said
David Western, a wildlife biologlst in
Nairobi, Kenya; who took part in & re-
cent stud of the African elephant
populatlon and the ivory trade.

Poachers are believed to kill between

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industry, whfchacnwnntaformuchâ\200\230dâ\200\230thewb'
tryâ\200\231s foreign earnings. The soating priceâ\200\231of ivoryâ\200\231
has led to virtually uncontroiled poaching in Ken-
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an international ban on thedvory tâ\200\230wp;llaymâ\200\230lt

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200 and 300 clephants a day. IYâ\200\230

elephant ivory can fetch up to
kilogram, oralnmta,ilo_

Kenya, Tan; pd Â\$ rth,e
largest illegal A , @
hï~\201nL \$500 Twillion
year. In 1986, the WW Â¢
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legal
ivory exports. But the limits have aften
served merely as a cover for a}hrlvlnngÂ»
illegat trade, â\200\230which atcounts for -as.
â\200\230much as 90 percent of the mrkÃ©

NEW YORK TIMES, MAY 15, 1989

Zimbabwe

Shifts

oA R e W

HARARE, Zimbabwe, May 14'â\200\224
Zimbabwe has announced a new in-
vestment code that represents a
departure from its avowed socialist
economic orientation.

The new investment code, an-
nounced last Monday, relaxes con-
trols on profits ea by new invest-
ors; bringing Zimbabweâ\200\231s policies in
line with those of neighboring coun-
tries. y i3

The new code, which is intended to
attract foreign and domestic invest-
. ment and ce unemployment, has
been attacked by leftist university
students and trade unionists as a be-
trayal of socialist principles. Some
are .calling it Zimbabweâ\200\231s â\200\234Satanic
Verses.â\200\235 At the same time, local busi-
ness interests are complaining that
the code does not give them enough.

But Finance Minister Bernard
Chidzero asserted that Prime Minis-
ter Robert Mugabeâ\200\231s Government re-
mained â\200\230â\200\230dedicated to the transfor-
mation of the. social system so that
the poorest can be included.â\200\235

â\200\230No Inherent Contradictionâ\200\231

â\200\234â\200\234The direction toward socialism is
clear,â\200\235 he said at a news conference
on Monday. â\200\234There is no inherent
contradiction between socialism and
market forces.â\200\235 He said the new eco-
nomic policy i6 to encourage the in-
vestment needed for economic
growth and increased employment.

More than one million"of the coun-
tryâ\200\231s nine million people. are said to
be unemployed. Lack of jobs, a stag-
nant economy, the aftermath of a
-political scandal in which five Cabi-
net ministers resigned and the chal-
lenge from a new opposition party
have combined to strengthen Mr.
Chidzeroâ\200\231s hand at revamping the
economy,

Mr. Chidzero said the announce-
ment of the investment guidelines â\200\234â\200\230is
not an event but the beginning of a

rocess.â\200\235 That process is a gradual
i-\201beralizatlon of Zimbabweâ\200\231s highly
closed and regulated economy, a pro-
cess that could see Zimbabwe chart a

new economic path between doctrinaire socialist planning and the wide-open monetarist policies pushed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

This is the first concrete sign of the Government's intention to move away from an economic policy imposed from the top to a more market-oriented policy, responsive to both foreign and domestic investors, an economist for a multinational bank here said. It could be the start of Zimbabwe moving to an outward-

THE ECONOMIST MAY 6 1989

Africa

Race and faith

IN AFRICA, as in paler continents, conflicts of culture can cause violent tensions. Between the Mediterranean and the Sahara most people are Arabs, by culture if not in appearance; south of the desert black Africa proper starts. Islam, spread by Arabs and bound to the Arabic language of worship, gives extra spice to the sometimes volatile mix. The desert itself is empty: without people there can be no conflict. There is a continuous population, north to south, only along the river Nile.

On the west coast, fighting last week between Arabic-speaking Moors and black Africans in Senegal and Mauritania left several hundred people dead and soured relations between the two West African neighbours. Ancient hatreds between the two communities helped turn a piddling dispute over grazing rights into bloody race riots. The victims were Mauritians who run the retail trade in Sen-

Continental rift

[Predominantly Muslim

[Strong Muslim minority

farmers along the Senegal river to the south. Slavery was officially abolished in 1980; in practice it still exists. Beydane army officers rule the country against a background of re-

cunning plot attempts by black Mauritians, allegedly supported from Senegal. The blacks resent moves to Arabise the country, and oppose government efforts to strengthen links with the Arab north.

Most Mauritians, dark or pale, are Muslim. Farther east, religion complicates the picture. Where the desert starts to be watered, and settled farming begins, many of the people stand by their traditional animist beliefs, and the educated elites tend to be Christian. The history of Chad since it gained independence from France has been dominated by tensions between the Muslims of the north and centre and Tuareg nomads and Islamicised blacks and the Bantu cultivators of the south. In the 1960s the government was run by French-educated Christian southerners. The northerners rebelled. Libya meddled in the resulting civil war. The conflict is over for the time being, but Chad is not

egal, and Senegalese labourers

working in Mauritania. Before France colonised the region, the lighter-skinned Arabic-speaking Moors used to dominate and enslave the blacks of Senegal. That memory, and the Mauritians' un concealed sense of superiority, stirs deep resentment among the Senegalese.

Mauritanian society is itself deeply divided. The Beydane, the white Moors of Arab-Berber descent they used to live by herding camels dominate their former serfs, the Harratine or low-caste black Moors and the black Fulani and Wolof

looking, yet self-determined economy that would be in Africa and spark international interest.

The new package also includes the signing of investment deals with the World Bank, the United

- States, Britain and West Germany. Another incentive is the creation of a one-stop investment center that will approve investment proposals within 90 days, a major improvement from the wait of 18 months or longer that investors have faced.

Relaxation of Control

Mr. Chidzero said the code would

be followed by a relaxation of wage and price controls and further changes in Zimbabwe's restrictions on the movement of hard currency in and out of the country. This would be a gradual trade liberalization expected to begin in 1990 and take five to seven years.

Another measure to come is the reduction of the country's budget deficit, currently \$500 million out of overall Government spending of \$2.5 billion. At 10 percent of the current gross domestic product, the budget deficit is viewed by both local and foreign economists as too large.

Zimbabwe's highly developed in-

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really a united nation.

Sudan's mix has been even more troublesome. The British ran separate administrations in the Arab, Muslim north and the black, non-Muslim south. When they left they handed power to the northerners, who were the majority. A year before independence, in 1955, the southerners rebelled against what they saw as inevitable repression. They have been fighting almost continually ever since, most hotly since 1983 when the northerners imposed Islamic sharia law on the whole country. This week's offer of a ceasefire may not be the end; war and famine have driven many non-Muslim southerners into the north, so the dividing line is more blurred than ever.

Nigeria has no Arabs: its Muslim invaders came, early in the nineteenth century, from the heart of the Sahara. The legacies of British rule—indirect in the Muslim north, direct in the largely Christian south—sowed the seeds of Biafra's attempted secession in the late 1960s. Migration and intermarriage have since jumbled up faiths and tribes: Muslims like their beer, Christians take several wives. Yet the issue of sharia law divides the north from the south. Last year the civilian assembly, supposed to prepare a constitution for the years to follow the present army dictatorship, argued so long and fruit-

Continued on page 19.

Infrastructure, wealth of minerals and agricultural

in foreign investment has been limited to about \$50 million, and the lack of investor guarantees has been cited as a reason that it has been so low. Mr. Chidzero said he

hoped that the new economic policies could bring as much as \$250 million in investment.

REBEL ISSUE STALLS
PLAN (Continued)

The chief of, the South African military here, Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys, said today that talks on resuming the transition would resume after the delegations reported back to their governments. General Geldenhuys, who led South Africa's delegation at the meeting, said the participants had agreed not to release any details. He played down speculation about a deadlock.

Namibian Return

" Cedric Thornberry, a senior United Nations official, said today that it was not possible to make any assumptions about whether the postponement of the meeting today would delay the arrival of thousands of Namibian exiles who are expected to begin returning home next week. But Mr. Thornberry, speaking in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, said calm had to be restored and an amnesty announced before the Namibians could return. -

The South African Foreign Minister, Roelof F. Botha, said on Monday that his Government would press Angola and Cuba about what would be done if the Namibians, members of the South-West Africa People's Organization, crossed the border while the South African forces were confined to bases or being withdrawn from Namibia.

BUSH MEETS TUTU AND VOWS TO PRESS PRETORIA

after he vetoed a sanctions bill. Congress later overrode the veto, * Mr. Fitzwater told us on the way to Rochester that Mr. Bush's session with Archbishop Tutu was a very good meeting. : :
Other Clerics Present

The President shares the Archbishop's abhorrence of apartheid, Mr.

ersaid. - e
. The President promised to press

'his opposition in every way

possible:
The Administration will be looking at ways to best use American pressure, influence and leverage to bring about justice and equality in South Africa. : :
Attending the meeting with Arch-South African clerics, the Rev. Allan Boesak and the Rev. Beyer's Naude. All three were in Washington to present a peace plan for South Africa that calls for stronger economic sanctions.

New Sanctions Urged

Mr. Boesak has urged Congress to adopt new sanctions aimed at industries

(Continued)

tries in which the Pretoria potentially vulnerable: coal, iron and transportation.]

Mr. Fitzwater said Wednesday that generally speaking we have not found sanctions to be particularly effective. Sanctions in 1996 included a ban of new investments by American businesses and individuals and private loans. A ban on

foreign Congress would be directly

trade with South Africa, asked about the White House

Archbishop Tutu said we wanted to help the United States to take the moral leadership of the world in helping to end apartheid and bringing the South African Government to the negotiating table, which is our primary end.

Mr. Fitzwater said President Bush had invited the leader of the United Democratic Front, Albertina Sisulu, to visit the United States, but that no date had been discussed. Mr. Fitzwater described her as a patroness of the black opposition group: Her husband is in prison, and the group is banned in South Africa.

BLACKS SHAPED LANGUAGE OF APARTHEID, LINGUISTS SAY (Continued)

One reason, Professor Poselis suggested, was the paucity of Dutch women in the Cape to maintain traditional values, including dowry. By comparison, the first English immigrants to America brought their families. The wife in the family is the greatest factor of linguistic continuity, he said, and they were few in the first Dutch colony. The family was not an institution in the Cape.

What developed in its place was an extended household encompassing slaves and other servants who contributed what philologists call lan-

guage interference in learning. The master's Dutch dialect. Linguistic intermingling was facilitated by sexual relations between the masters and slaves.

The upper class could not isolate itself from the changes in the Dutch language in the lower class, Prof-

sor Ponelis said. This cannot be stressed too much. Despite the difference between upper and lower class, they were a linguistic community, and a very tight community.

Huguenots fleeing religious persecution in France arrived in the Cape - in 1688, just a generation or two after the Dutch. French surnames like Malan or du Toit are common among Afrikaners today, yet their language absorbed remarkably few French words. Professor Ponelis surmises 'that this was because the Huguenots were dispersed among the Dutch communities and rapidly assimilated. German immigrants in the 18th century and English settlers in the 19th century exerted more impact on Afrikaans. When Afrikaners curse, they often use words of English origin. ! '

Differences in Accent

The language remained intact when Boer pioneers carried it north to the interior and later into what is

now Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya, despite their isolation. Afrikaners in the Transvaal pronounce some vowels more broadly than those in the Cape and do not trill their r's. But the differences are not much greater than in the American accents of Vermonters and Texans.

We don't speak of various dialects in Afrikaans, said Professor Ecksteen. It's more of a uniform language. One exception is the Afrikaans dialect Fly, spoken by some blacks in the Transvaal.

The maturation of Afrikaans went unnoticed for many years, because Dutch was preserved as official language in South Africa, only in 1875. a movement began when people consciously called it Afrikaans, Professor Ecksteen said. |

The grammatical simplicity of Afrikaans has caused it to be sometimes derided, not least by English-speaking South Africans, as a kitchen Dutch, a condescension that upsets philologists. That stereotype derives from jingoism, Professor Ponelis said. :

Kitchen Dutch is a racist term, because people who worked in the kitchen were colored, he added,

using the South African term for those of mixed race.

Capacity for Innovation

While Parisians despair over the infiltration of words like *week-end* and *drugstore* into French, Afrikaans has been flexible enough to create its own words for modern usage. Madalein Gericke, a spokeswoman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, offered some amalgamations that Afrikaansers use: *koostrooster* (brood pacifier) for babysitter, *vuurpyl* (fire arrow) for spaceship, *naweek* (after the week) for weekend and *skemerkelkie* (little glass before

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sundown) for cocktail:

This capacity for innovation is one indication of the vitality of Afrikaans, scholars say. 'We can converse' in Afrikaans from the Big Bang to the Day of Judgment,' Professor Ponelis said. 'Afrikaans can cover the full spectrum of human life.'

Another barometer has been the richness of modern Afrikaans literature, which is graced by writers like the 'poet Breyten Breytenbach and the novelist Andre Brink. A cultured language has a literature of quality,' Professor Ecksteen said. 'That means Afrikaans has a certain quality that makes it admirable for expressing the Afrikaner experience.'

The biggest challenge facing Afrikaans, scholars believe, is the competing popularity of English, South Africa's other official language. 'There is always cultural influence, and American influence is very strong, including film, television and vocal culture,' Professor Ecksteen said. 'There's a new wave of loan words coming into Afrikaans, and I think the language is strong enough to accommodate it.'

Professor Ponelis suggested that the stigma of apartheid posed a greater threat to the survival of Afrikaans. He observed that blacks were gravitating to English rather than Afrikaans and that a white youth in a bilingual family tended to speak English if he found the racial segregation associated with the Afrikaner objectionable. Such a burden, he feared, could reduce Afrikaans to a secondary language. .

â\200\234It survived because of a vigor
within jts community, and the com-
munity was vigorous because of_ its
diversity,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234The ideological
whitewashing of a language â\200\224 the use
of Afrikaans. by the advocates of
apartheid â\200\224 will spell its end.â\200\235

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Washington . Times to begome..
ambaseador to Kemya, adminis-
â\200\230tration officials said yesterday, Â»
. , News media executives and,
well-known journalists joinisig the:
â\200\230ambassadoridl tarikis i nothingâ\200\231
â\200\230new, but â\200\230Hempstone'is the first
of 'His, profession to be' sejected
for' Stich #'8lot By Bush: ' 1
. His paper his been a favorite
of conservatives: since jt iopened
inithe, Reagan. years, but. Hemp-
stone has reported and com-

TUTU URGES U.S.

statement but was not present: be-
icanse of illness. A
. Tutu, Boesak and Naude are
scheduled to meet with Bush eaxly
today to present their view on the
South African situation before the
ident leaves for Rochester, N.Y.,
Maine. Yesterday, the three
s said that present U.S. eco-
Homic "sanctions, which impose ex-
port and import bans on a variety of
U.S. and South African goods, have
not been enough to force negotia-
tions between the government and
South African blacks. â\200\231
White House spokesman Marlin
Fitzwater said yesterday that the
Bush administration, like its prede-
Ce8s0r, Opposes additional sanctions
mm?ei-\\201f m:h best posture is to
ve the :
be able to work with the [Sout!l Af-
rican] government for â\200\230change, he

ASMARA MUTINY CRUSHED,

Mengistu returned to Addis
Ababa %Vednesday night; after cut-
ting short a state visit to East Ger-
many. His first action was to sever
communication with the outside
world. The airport was stifl closed
today, but phone lines were re-
opened by this evening. :

Meagistu was greeted at the air-

-port Py â\200\230a large contingent of gov-
emni-\\201n(officials. The airport road
was cdrdoned off and heavily guard-
ed, diplomats said.

The city was reported quiet today
after two days of scattered fighting.

Shops were open, and government radio repeatedly urged all civilians to report to work. Some Western ob-

Columnist, Newya Paired

â\200\224Annam

mented on foreign affairs for 40 years, including at The Washington Star, which was gwhed inâ\200\231 part by his gzutfmî-\201Ã©? Hefpstone, 60, was named â\200\230editor of The Times in 1984, after the original editor, James Whelan, was ousted. Less than a year later, Col. Bo Hi Pak, president of the affiliate of the Rev. Sun Myung Moonâ\200\231s, Unification Church, that owns The Times,â\200\231 hired Arnaud De Borchgrave as editor. And Hempstone was informed in a lawyer's call that hisâ\200\231

s here to attend a forum organized by TransAfrica that, together with a large number of Democratic lawmakers, is seeking public support for legislation to impose sanctions on Africa. Wi-\201fÃ©i-\202friw is the lobby group that spearheaded the grass-roots campaign that led to imposition of limited U.S. sanctions in 1986.

The statement issued by the four leaders said that â\200\234various forms of economic and diplomatic pressureâ\200\235 are needed to force the South African government â\200\234to sit down and talk to our people.â\200\235

But the four seemed to favor selective sanctions, rather than the comprehensive ones being proposed by House and Senate Democrats. They said in their statement that there is â\200\234a new emphasis on the ways in which financial sanctions in particular could achieve that aimâ\200\235

and said they are watching â\200\234exploration of that option.â\200\235 They

did not elaborate on what any
SAYS ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT (Continued)

officials said that life in the capital had returned to normal. Others described the situation as â\200\234fluidâ\200\235 and tense. The U.S. Embassy asked employees to remain there. Government radio announced a funeral for the defense minister, Maj. Gen. Haile Giorgis Habte Mariam, who it said was shot by coup plotters during a meeting at his office Tuesday afternoon. One of the alleged

conspirators, Minister for Industry Fanta Belai, a former commander of the air force, was arrested this afternoon after pro-Mengistu forces found him hiding in a sewer pipe in the basement of the Defense Min-

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May 19, 1989

new job would be associate editor and twice-weekly columnist, =

Since then, his column on international affairs has mostly, but: definitely not always, been in line with Republican ideology. And; unlike a goodly number of Bush appointees to the diplomatic ranks, Hempstone has some knowledge of the country to which he is being posted, having lived and traveled throughout the continent from 1956 to 1964. He also has written two books on

TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICA

politics and government in Africa

(Continued)

financial sanctions would take.

But Boesak noted that South Africa, financially straggled already faces a : terms on part of its money to western creditors' by June 1990,

However, he also argued that Bush administration to support the imposition of mandatory sanctions by the U.N. Security Council based on those approved by Congress in 1986 over the opposition of the Reagan administration..

The call for more sanctions came as the Chamber of Mines of South Africa issued the results of a Gallup survey in March of 2,192 South Africans, including 1,400 blacks; that found 84 percent believe sanctions are a bad idea and 85 percent hold the same view of divestment by American firms. The survey was conducted by Gallup's South African affiliate, Markinor.

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

istry, the government said.

The attempt to overthrow Men-

gistu began when a group of senior military officers, including the second in command of the large northern army, arrived at the Ministry of Defense on Tuesday afternoon for a meeting with Mengistu's defense minister, according to governmental, independent Ethiopian and diplomatic sources. - :

The coup plotters apparently explained their plan to the defense minister in the belief that he would join them. When he did not, they shot him several times, according to state radio. The coup plotters immediately were surrounded by members of the internal security branch.

THIRD WORLD HOPE :AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT BANK (Continued)

Tankets T o â\200\224â\200\224

|A Bankâ\200\231s Commitment .

. Still, much like a bank in rural Iowa
'that sticks with a local farmer, through
tough-times, ' the --African Development
| Bank often walks a mile or two with
' the continentâ\200\231s troubled countries. It is this
commitment to helping them, with
ideas and understanding as well as financ:
ing, that fuels the dreamersâ\200\231 ambition to
â\200\230help Africa rise above Africa itself.
While the World Bank begins cutting off |
| new funds to a country 75 days in arrears, |
the African Development Bank waits at |
| least six months. Through its â\200\230â\200\230soft-loanâ\200\235
â\200\230program, funded by donations, the bank
lends for 50 years with an initial â\200\230-year

grace period on repayment) W&my
ensures that more : L more |
In one year the bank gives a
given year. - , S

The bank also tries to keep African
countries from becoming

the international community.
â\200\230Thus, when Zambia madeâ\200\231; with the Inter-
national Monetary Fund in 1987, refusing

it was only a matter of time
before the bank was

anticipate) agreed to take on Fâ\200\230
partners. But then only on 2 min

â\200\231s share. Today, the bank's lend-
ing base is funded by contributions from
these member countries, as well as by
bonds issued in international (IMR
kets. i .
â\200\234Whenever a
European African
Sherif, a Libyan who is
executive director:

will make annual payments until m

larity; into 2 s redemption fund mas-
5 by a board of that will -
chide representatives of classes omod-
flegs. This way, the bank maimi-

country will gradually pay off its debt
S enough money o Mvest
n mucilve p;ogrnas at home -
M in-Benin
The bank also feels i&ismngpr@
with its new strategy on developm@nt
ncing, which was prompted primdly
W Afri s increasing i

for a broad, scatter-gun
mi-202m that provided @everything frein
s@eds to health facilities; whether the local
population needed these things or not,
Now, says Mudiumbula Futa, a Zairean
whp is one of the bank's agricultural spe-
ciglists, the-bank is promotng simpler,
humbler projects focusing on the basic
needs identified by the local population.

Thus, instead of forcing the corn
growers of Benin to raise rice, as it once
did in a notable failure, the bank is trying
to help them grow the best corn they can.
Similarly, drought-stricken farmers in the
Sudan are getting water wells instead of
grain storage bins, and cattle farmers in
Burundi are being trained in animal hus-
bandry rather than in crop.rotation.

*In another five years, we'll be able to
see whether what we're doing now is the
right solution, says Mr. Sangowawa. I
think it is.

So do the rest of the best and the bright-
est at Africa's bank. If you aren't opti-
mistic, says Mr. Futa, then there is no
need to be here.

RACE AND FAITH (Continued)

lessly over sharia that the generals imposed
their own compromise. In the city of
Kaduna, roughly three-quarters Muslim, re-
ligious riots last year cost several lives and
the head of a statue at a traffic roundabout
(a profane effigy, said the Muslim rioters).

Zanzibar, last century, was a colony of
Arab Oman, where the sultans gathered
black slaves for export. Though Zanzibar is

now part of Tanzania, the bitter legacy lives on. The islanders live in fear of a repetition of the events of 1964, when Zanzibar's black majority under John Okello overthrew Arab rule. More than 5,000 Arabs and Muslim Indians were killed; a similar number of the most prominent Arabs fled, and the remainder were dispossessed.

But Arab-African tensions are sadly not exceptional; they pale into insignificance alongside inter-African tribal rivalries like last October's massacres of Hutu by Tutsi in Rwanda, or the continuing struggles between Muslim clans in Somalia. Most of the time, Arabs and Africans live as neighbours along the fault-line on which history has placed them.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 10, 1984
Firm to Appeal US. Order

In Consolidated Gold Case

Minorco S.A. has filed notice that it will appeal a U.S. judge's refusal to lift a preliminary injunction that prevented its bid for Consolidated Gold PLC from going ahead: offer lapsed Wednesday. The preliminary injunction, arising from an antitrust suit filed by Consolidated Gold and its Denver-based affiliate, Summit Mining Corp., blocked Minorco from buying more than 30% of Consolidated Gold's shares. Minorco owns 29.9% of the shares and had received acceptances that would have increased its holding to 5%. Minorco's continued efforts to overcome the U.S. court injunction are seen as an attempt to clear up any antitrust concerns in the U.S. should the company seek to expand in the U.S.

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

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