

AF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 23, 1990

XXV No. 11

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH 21, 1990

Namibia Achieves Independence After 75 Years of Pretoria's Rule

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

WINDHOEK, Namibia, Wednesday, March 21—After 75 often restive years under South African control, Namibia was born today as the world's newest independent nation.

At a ceremony in Windhoek's sports stadium, the South African flag was hauled down. The new blue, red, green and gold flag of the republic of Namibia was then hoisted, shortly after midnight and slightly behind schedule, to jubilant cheers from the crowd.

"In the name of our people, I declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent," said Sam Nujoma, the leader of the South-West Africa People's Organization, the main Namibian nationalist movement. Mr. Nujoma was then sworn in as the country's first President by the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

"As of today, we are masters of this pastoral land of our ancestors," said Mr. Nujoma, whose guerrilla movement, popularly known as Swapo, fought a 23-year-long war against South African control. "The destiny of this country is now in our own hands."

South Africa's President, F. W. de Klerk, who came in person to hand over the territory, appeared solemn, in contrast to the broad smile displayed by Mr. Nujoma. Mr. de Klerk stood erect with his hand over his heart as the blue, white and orange flag of South Africa was taken down.

Mr. de Klerk declared that South Africa had lived up to its promise to give independence to the territory, which he and other South Africans long called South-West Africa. "We extend a hand of friendship to our new neighbors," Mr. de Klerk said in urging that the bitterness of the past be put aside. "Good-neighborliness is in our mutual interest."

A Long and Costly War

As recently as two years ago, South Africa had more than 50,000 troops committed to the war against Swapo. The nationalist guerrilla group has

been transformed into a political party that now dominates the elected Namibian Government. In 23 years of fighting that began in 1966, the South Africans suffered thousands of casualties in an effort to hold sway over the territory of 1.3 million, and the Namibians suffered casualties in the tens of thousands.

Mr. de Klerk's predecessors sought to justify their efforts to hold onto Namibia as necessary to stem the advancing tide of black Governments, a pattern that the South Africans feared would threaten its system of apartheid, or institutionalized racial separation. Pretoria's decision to let go of the territory ended a long and difficult history.

Germany declared what is now Namibia as its protectorate in 1884 and as its colony in 1890. In 1915, South Africa seized the territory from Germany during World War I and held onto it, initially under a mandate from the old League of Nations. Over decades, it ignored repeated calls by individual countries and by the United Nations to free it.

Diplomatic Breakthrough

Extensive diplomatic efforts were mounted to arrange Namibia's independence, with a near-miss in the late 1970's, when South Africa backed out of a United Nations Security Council plan for independence.

Finally in 1988, South Africa agreed to give up Namibia as part of a United States-brokered accord that also provided for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Elections for an assembly that would write a constitution were held late last year.

The agreement to end the conflict also paved the way for new domestic policies being pursued by South Africa, that so far have led to the release of Nelson Mandela and the legalization of the African National Congress.

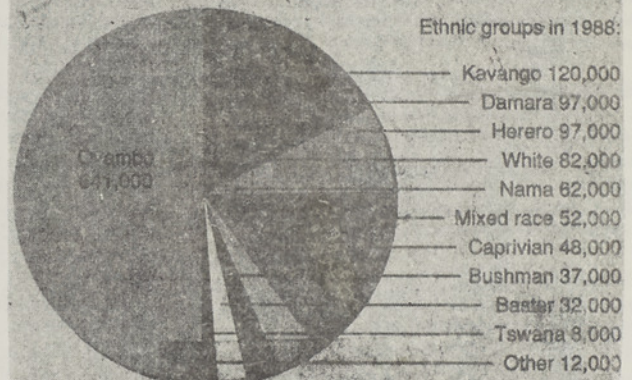
At the Namibian independence ceremony late Tuesday night and early today, Mr. Nujoma hailed President de Klerk for "active statesmanship and realism" in giving up Namibia.

"This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself," Mr. Nujoma said. He alluded to demands there for black majority rule and to the pending meeting next month between Mr. de Klerk and a delegation from the African National Congress led by Mr. Mandela.

Namibia

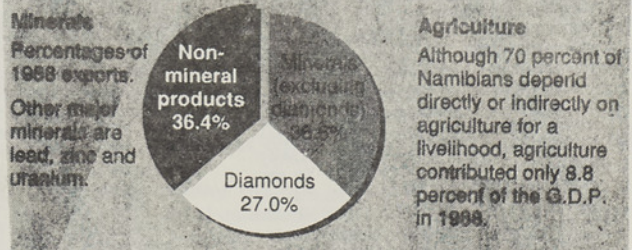
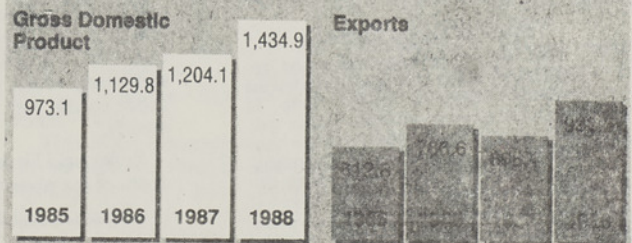
POPULATION

Namibia's population was estimated at 1,288,000 in 1989, which makes it 129th in rank in the world. The annual population growth is 3 percent.



ECONOMY

Figures are in millions of dollars. Converted at the current value (\$1 = 2.6 rand).



Agriculture
Although 70 percent of Namibians depend directly or indirectly on agriculture for a livelihood, agriculture contributed only 8.8 percent of the G.D.P. in 1988.

Continued on Pg. 10

Selected by AF/P for reference use by the Bureau of African Affairs,
U. S. Department of State

How Baker Would Aid Apartheid Foes

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WINDHOEK, Namibia, March 19 — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said today that the Bush Administration would like to use the National Endowment for Democracy to channel political and electoral advice to the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups in South Africa as it did in helping Solidarity in Poland and the opposition parties in Nicaragua.

Mr. Baker spoke to reporters as he flew to the Namibian capital to attend independence ceremonies for the African territory. He also plans to hold talks here with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union.

The Palestine Liberation Organization chairman, Yasir Arafat, and the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, are among the others with whom Mr. Baker will share the reviewing stand at the independence celebration in Windhoek Stadium on Tuesday night. Aides say the Secretary of State has no intention of making eye contact with either of them, let alone engaging in any discussions.

Mr. Baker was asked for his reaction to an appeal by Transafrica, a coalition of prominent black Americans, for the United States to give money directly to the African National Congress so that it could develop more of a political structure, capable of one day contesting an election, "in the same manner the Polish Solidarity and the Nicaraguan opposition parties were aided for years."

Mandela Appeal Expected

This request is expected to be repeated by Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, who is scheduled to meet with Mr. Baker this week in Windhoek. The time for that meeting has not yet been set, Administration officials said, apparently because Mr. Mandela still has reservations about meeting with the Secretary of State. According to some reports Mr. Mandela has been unhappy that Mr. Baker is going to South Africa as a representative of the American Government when the African National Congress is trying to isolate Pretoria.

Administration officials have been uncomfortable about the idea of giving money directly to any particular party in the South African conflict, especially the African National Congress. To the Bush Administration's chagrin, the organization has still not renounced violence as a means for achieving its ends, although it has accepted negotiations with South Africa's white minority leadership.

"I think it's important that we do what we can to encourage democracy non-racial democracy, in South Africa," Mr. Baker said. "That means, to begin with, we ought to see some ne-

Mandela Meets Baker, Criticizes Planned U.S. Talks With de Klerk

By John M. Goshko

WINDHOEK, Namibia, March 21—With Secretary of State James A. Baker III standing by his side, black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela said today that Baker's scheduled meeting with South African President Frederik W. de Klerk in Cape Town on Thursday is a mistake that could induce the international community to ease its pressure on the South African government.

Following a 30-minute meeting here, Baker and Mandela, the effective head of the African National Congress, stressed that their talks were dominated by what Mandela called "the spirit of friendship." But they also acknowledged that the ANC, the main black nationalist organization fighting Pretoria's white-minority rule, has not relaxed its opposition to Baker's meeting with de Klerk in South Africa.

"We do not think that there has been any fundamental change in the policy of the [South African] government," Mandela said. "There is nothing which Mr. de Klerk has done up to now which would require a change of strategy on the part of the international community."

"And the fact that the foreign secretary of a superpower now visits Mr. de Klerk can create a great deal of confusion, specifically that the [Pretoria] government has done something which requires a change of attitude on the part of the international community."

Baker said he understood Mandela's criticism of the planned meeting but added that

the Bush administration believes de Klerk is making "good-faith efforts" to pursue reconciliation with the black majority and that it is important for the United States to encourage him to do still more.

Mandela, 72, who spent more than 27 years in South African prisons, was released Feb. 11 as part of de Klerk's initiatives to change the country's apartheid system, which denies blacks political rights. His government is scheduled to begin preliminary talks April 11 with the ANC and other black groups about finding a formula for a new South African political system.

Mandela, as part of the ANC's strategy for the talks, wants other governments to maintain pressure on South Africa through economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation.

Mandela refused to meet with Baker in South Africa. It was not until Tuesday that firm arrangements were made for the two to get together here, where they are attending the celebration of Namibia's independence from South Africa.

President Bush extended full diplomatic recognition today to what he called "the world's newest country" and said he welcomed Namibia "as a full trading partner." Bush also lifted U.S. sanctions against Namibia, now that it no longer is under South African administration.

Mandela has been the undisputed star of the independence events, with his comings and goings attracting more attention than Namibia's new president, Sam Nujoma, and the many foreign leaders who have gathered here.

Mandela's star quality was demonstrated a few minutes before he was scheduled to arrive at the new U.S. Embassy residence here for the meeting with Baker this morning.

The huge crowd of reporters gathered outside was told that Baker had just been informed that Mandela's packed appointment schedule was making it difficult for him to get to the embassy. Baker, waiving what would have been normal protocol for meeting someone without official status, agreed to go to the villa where Mandela is staying.

The secretary, with the media retinue trailing after him, arrived at the villa literally on the heels of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who had just com-

Continued on page 16

South Africa Loosens Gag, and the Press Pipes Up

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, March 17 — When President F. W. de Klerk announced last month that the Government would release Nelson Mandela and legalize the African National Congress, he opened the door to another kind of liberty: freedom for South African newspapers, broadcasting outlets and book publishers to cover the country as they choose.

Like much else about Mr. de Klerk's new policies, the leeway given the news media remains tightly hedged, with dozens of restrictive laws still in force that could be used to turn the clock back to a more repressive era. But for the moment South Africans are being exposed to the least inhibited coverage of their country's affairs since Afrikaner nationalists began building the apartheid system in 1948.

In articles splashed across front pages, on television news and radio talk shows, in popular magazines and in a range of hastily published books about Mr. Mandela and the African National Congress, people who by law could not even be quoted until a month ago, or have their photographs published, have become increasingly familiar.

Much About Mandela

Barely a newscast passes on the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation without reports on Mr. Mandela or other leading black figures who were previously ignored, including union leaders.

The network, previously a mouthpiece for the Government, has virtually stood on its head. In the first days after the release of Mr. Mandela, it sent two reporters to interview him in the garden of his tiny brick home in Soweto, the black satellite city outside Johannesburg, and 25 minutes of the interview ran after the evening news.

The image of a man routinely described in past newscasts as a Communist was beamed into millions of South African homes, speaking without bitterness of the injustices done to blacks, of his 27 years in prison, and of his hopes that whites and blacks can bury the past and agree on majority rule.

A prominent white businessman said he watched the interview with fascination and with a renewed hopefulness that the country's problems could be solved. "If that was the voice of black liberation, I'm all for it," the businessman said. "It leaves you wondering why we didn't do a deal with the man years ago."

In Soweto, television-antenna installers have had their busiest month ever, and newsstand sales of *The Sowetan*, a newspaper aimed at blacks, have soared.

Botha Is a Viewer

It is too early to say whether exposure to black nationalists and their views will soften or harden opinion among whites, but the appetite for information has been whetted in some unusual places. P. W. Botha, the former President, who resigned in August after 11 largely unyielding years as Government leader, is reported to have called the director of the publicly owned electricity utility in his home town, George, to complain that power failures were interrupting his evening television viewing, during which he could not avoid seeing a lot of Mr. Mandela.

From his first hours of freedom, Mr. Mandela has emphasized the importance of news organizations. Last month he invited editors and reporters from anti-apartheid publications that have consistently defied the press laws to his Soweto home. One of those present said he told them, "One of the tragedies of this country has been the suppression of the press, and the courageous stand which all of you have taken is to a very large extent responsible for the changes that have taken place."

Among some Government supporters, such remarks have been taken as evidence that newspapers here retain more freedom to attack the system, even in the harshest periods, than papers in many repressive countries. The argument was one much favored by Mr. Botha, the former President, and by his predecessor, John Vorster, who once told an American reporter: "You Americans are always saying there is no press freedom here. But there is more rudeness toward me in the South African newspapers than would be tolerated by any other leader in Africa."

How the Press Was Chained

While this was broadly true, the Government was not squeamish about curtailing press freedoms. Beginning in the 1950's, laws were passed that empowered the Government to close down newspapers and seize their assets; to detain and ban offending editors and reporters, and to restrict, in many cases severely, what could be reported about the activities of the armed forces, the police, the prison service and other agencies enforcing apartheid.

Newspapers here reported recently that the names of prominent reporters appeared on "hit lists" prepared by police death squads that are the focus of a judicial inquiry appointed by Mr. de Klerk. While there is no evidence that any journalists were attacked, many were harassed. Some fled the country. Others became heavy drinkers. But most stuck at their jobs and were there

SOUTH AFRICA SPIRALING BLACK VIOLENCE

Unrest Highlights Urgency of Talks

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE euphoria that followed the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of Nelson Mandela six weeks ago has given way recently to doubts about the ANC's power and Mr. Mandela's authority in the townships.

A renewed wave of violence in black areas — which has already claimed more than 250 lives — has raised fears that neither the government nor the ANC is able to control it.

During the first two weeks of March, the violence matched the level of conflict in the 1984-85 nationwide rebellion in black townships.

This has highlighted the urgency of the first scheduled talks April 11 between a Mandela-led ANC delegation and a government team headed by President Frederik de Klerk.

"The government and the ANC need each other to control their troops on the ground," says Mark Swilling, a political analyst at the independent Center of Policy Studies. "Neither side can do it unilaterally; but they share a growing need to end the violence."

This rapid convergence of interests between Pretoria and the ANC is the major force keeping the negotiating process on track, despite a deteriorating political environment.

The resurgence of violence in the townships is likely to feature prominently at the April meeting, which the government hopes will set the scene for negotiations leading to a cessation of hostilities.

This would involve the government lifting the 41-month-old nationwide emergency and a general amnesty for exiles and prisoners in exchange for the ANC suspending its 28-year-old "armed struggle."

But the spiraling violence makes the imminent lifting of the emergency unlikely.

The government acknowledged the urgency of raising the socioeconomic standard of blacks last week when it announced a \$1.2 million fund to begin closing the gap between black and white education and housing.

But critics of the ANC feel it has done little to match Mr. De Klerk's gestures and note that Mandela's repeated calls for peace appear to have been unheeded.

Mandela returned to South Africa over the weekend after a three-week foreign visit. But only one-tenth of an expected crowd of 100,000 turned up to hear the cream of South Africa's pop musicians welcome him home Saturday.

At a news conference on his return, Mandela described the violence as "unfortunate" but added that the uprisings in the tribal homelands showed that the "masses" rejected apartheid rule. Mandela said that, once he had received a full report from ANC leaders inside the country, "action" would be taken.

But serious doubts are emerging about Mandela's capacity to end the violence and the ANC's ability to enforce his calls. This could weaken the ANC's position at the negotiating table.

"Already it is plain — even to outsiders — that Nelson Mandela does not control the black people of South Africa. His authority is tenuous and limited," writes Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*, a financial daily.

SOME anti-apartheid activists now accept that it will take months — or even years — of grass-roots organization to transform the ANC into a sound and disciplined political party.

But both sides appear to realize that results have to be achieved quickly if negotiations are to have any chance of success.

Continued on Pg. 15

Continued on Pg. 14

DE KLERK TO MEET WITH DELEGATION LED BY MANDELA

By JOHN F. BURNS

CAPE TOWN, March 16 — President F. W. de Klerk announced today that talks between the Government and an African National Congress delegation led by Nelson Mandela would open in Cape Town on April 11.

The goal of the talks is to discuss obstacles to the negotiations that Mr. de Klerk wants to hold with leaders of the nation's black organizations on a new South African constitution. The new charter would offer political rights to blacks, Mr. de Klerk said.

The talks, with Mr. de Klerk leading a team of Government ministers, will be the first in decades between South African officials of Cabinet rank and a delegation from the African National Congress. Although Mr. Mandela met with Mr. de Klerk twice while he was imprisoned, the talks were informal and Mr. Mandela made it clear that he was not speaking for the congress.

Panel to Include Exiles

While there are precedents for talks between senior Government leaders and congress delegations, they mostly go back to the period between the congress's founding in 1912 and World War II, when the congress regularly petitioned the Government for redress of black grievances.

Mr. de Klerk's office said that the congress delegation to the Cape Town talks would include black leaders "from outside and within" South Africa, indicating that Mr. Mandela would be accompanied by leaders who have spent as much as 30 years in exile.

One of those is expected to be Alfred Nzo, who has been the congress's acting president during the absence in Sweden of Oliver Tambo, the president, who has been convalescing after a stroke. Another member of the delegation will be Walter F. Sisulu, who served more than 25 years in jail with Mr. Mandela.

When Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk meet in the Cape Town talks, the atmosphere is likely to be strikingly different from that of their previous meetings. The 71-year-old Mr. Mandela, who was recently named the congress's deputy president, or No. 2 after Mr. Tambo, will be returning here as a senior official of the African National Congress and speaking for it.

In his previous encounters with Mr. de Klerk he held no formal position within the congress and was acting on his own initiative, as he emphasized in statements before leaving South Africa three weeks ago on a trip that has taken him to the congress headquarters in Zambia and elsewhere.

Mr. de Klerk's statement today fol-

lowed by about a month and a half his announcement that he would free Mr. Mandela, who spent 27½ years in prison, along with the legalization of the African National Congress and a package of other political changes.

The President's statement today said the talks next month would cover "the obstacles perceived to be obstructing the progress towards negotiations," a reference to stipulations made by Mr. Mandela and other congress leaders. Among those demands has been the release from jail of about 3,000 blacks regarded by the congress as political prisoners, and the end of the emergency decree imposed by the Government in 1986. The congress has also demanded the withdrawal of 2,000 soldiers from the country's black townships, more than 1,000 of them in areas of Natal Province.

While the Government has made it clear that it welcomes the congress's decision to appoint Mr. Mandela to head the delegation to the April talks,

Mr. de Klerk implied at his news conference that the Government may be reluctant to acquiesce to the preconditions for negotiations that Mr. Mandela and other congress leaders have said must be met before the congress will join other black groups in broader political negotiations.

Mr. de Klerk said that while he did not agree with the "stumbling blocks" to negotiations cited by the congress leaders, he considered it reasonable to discuss them. Mr. de Klerk and other officials have said they are eager for full constitutional negotiations soon, with a view to reaching a settlement during the Government's current term, which expires in 1995.

Mandela to Return Early

Mr. de Klerk said the Government regarded the emergency decree as a "necessary in a volatile situation." Official attitudes on the issue appear to have hardened somewhat since Mr. Mandela's release from prison five weeks ago, which has been followed by a surge of protest in black areas.

In an incident today, a 40-year-old white businessman was dragged from his car, apparently at random, then hacked to death, by angry blacks blocking a major highway near Sebokeng, a black township south of Johannesburg.

Mr. Mandela, who has been out of South Africa for three weeks on a trip to African countries and to Sweden, announced that he would return this weekend, several days early, to resume his efforts to quell violence among rival Zulu groups that has turned areas of Natal into a war zone.

The official death toll in Natal over the last 30 months has been put at more than 1,370.

At his news conference, Mr. de Klerk

African Group Agrees to Pretoria Contacts

LUSAKA, Zambia, March 19 (Reuters) — The Organization of African Unity agreed today to begin direct contacts with the South African Government in an effort to find a peaceful end to apartheid.

Diplomats said the move was aimed at coordinating black Africa's contacts with South Africa and preventing direct diplomatic approaches by Pretoria to individual African countries.

The decision was made by leaders of 13 nations in the 51-member organization who met in the Zambian capital, Lusaka. The 13 make up a special committee on southern Africa. There was no immediate response from Pretoria.

The organization's move followed a recommendation by the African National Congress, the guerrilla opponent of the Pretoria Government, to set up a group to maintain contact with all parties to the South African political dispute.

The group, to be based in Lusaka, will be the first direct communication channel between the African organization and the white Government in Pretoria. Until now, the O.A.U. has shunned contact with South Africa over apartheid.

The meeting today took note of political reforms introduced in South Africa but said more needed to be done to build a climate for full negotiations leading to democracy.

implied that the Government may enter the April talks with a demand of its own, for a formal renunciation of the "armed struggle" that the African National Congress has been conducting against the Government since 1960. The white leader, who has been under pressure on the issue from within the ranks of the governing National Party, said he hoped "that the armed struggle terminology will drop away, so that a stage will be reached where all the leaders of the country would commit themselves to peaceful solutions, and reject violence."

Mandela Ties Talks to Results

STOCKHOLM, March 16 (Reuters) — Mr. Mandela said today that the first

meeting between the African National Congress and the South African Government would have to produce results if the congress was to continue talking.

"We are talking about the necessity of the Government meeting the preconditions we have set," he said, citing the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and an end to the emergency decree and political persecution.

Mr. Mandela said he was optimistic about negotiations but added that Mr. de Klerk is head of the party that introduced the most brutal form of racial oppression the country had ever seen. "He has merely tinkered with the problems," Mr. Mandela said. "The pillars of apartheid remain in place."

South Africa

Dominos down

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

UNPLANNED and unpredicted, the structures that white South African governments built to keep their power safe are tumbling. The foundation of grand apartheid was the establishment of "independent" or self-governing black states. Ten were established. They are falling apart.

In 1988 President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana was rescued by South African troops from an attempted coup whose leader got away and has since joined Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC). On March 7th he was rescued again, after a large anti-Mangope demonstration at which his troops shot dead at least seven people and wounded scores. The demonstrators were calling for abolition of their own artificial country.

Ciskei is collapsing too. In a pre-dawn coup on March 3rd the government of President-for-life Lennox Sebe was overthrown by Brigadier Joshua Gqozo of the Ciskei Defence Force. The coup was bloodless, but the crowds that celebrated it soon fell into drunkenness, looting and arson; 20 people were reported killed in the first three days. South Africa, having said it would stay clear, sent troops to protect government buildings and water supplies. Mr Gqozo aims to reincorporate Ciskei in South Africa.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are two of the four bantustans which accepted "independence" from South Africa. Transkei was the first (1976) followed by Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981). South Africa's Nationalist government had wanted to make all 10 tribal states "independent". The aim—daft as it may seem—was to clear South Africa of all its black citizens, who would belong to one bantustan or another. There were venal blacks, such as Mr Sebe, who collaborated. Most refused. After Ciskei's independence, KwaNdebele's leaders wanted to go the same way. A rebellion in 1986 forced them to change their minds.

The following year two successive prime ministers of "independent" Transkei were overthrown in coups led by Brigadier Bantu Holomisa. (The first of his victims, Mr George Matanzima, was later jailed for corruption.) Last year Mr Holomisa unbanned the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, both sworn enemies of bantustans, and announced a referendum on whether Transkei should rejoin South Africa. It will probably vote to do so.

Since Mr Mandela's release in early February, there has been unrest—marches, strikes, skirmishes with local policemen—in every bantustan except Transkei. Several times the South Africans have sent in police or soldiers. In Gazankulu, designated "homeland" of the Shangaan people, huts have been burned and 24 people killed. The pro-ANC forces fighting Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha loyalists in Natal have denounced Mr Buthelezi, who holds office

The Smart Money Says South Africa

By Eliot Janeway

In its preoccupation with Eastern Europe, American business may be overlooking another country whose revolutionary situation promises to unleash even more productive economic energy: South Africa.

America's lift from the revolution in Eastern Europe is essentially emotional and political, not economic. But South Africa, after the turmoil over apartheid and sanctions subsidies, should pay quick, large and steady dividends to the U.S. economy.

Turning Eastern Europe—including the Soviet Union—into a modern market economy will require hundreds of billions just for the infra-

structure. And even then, a unified Germany and its European partners will be better positioned than the U.S. to harvest the earnings.

South Africa, however, already has a first-class infrastructure capable of supporting a major industrial economy. Moreover, its economy is well matched with ours, balancing industry with mining and agriculture; neither Japan nor Western Europe match this balance. As a result, the U.S. is set to supply the explosive expansion ahead in South Africa.

To date, the blight of apartheid has blocked the South African economy from taking off. But three distinct and powerful sources of post-apartheid economic expansion are standing by.

The first is the lifting of U.S. economic sanctions. Before Washington imposed the sanctions, 350 of the Fortune 500 companies had operations in South Africa. Once Washington gives its blessing to the developing revolution, they will lead a rush back, bringing billions of dollars with them. An investment by each company of \$20 million—chicken feed for companies of this size—would inject \$7 billion into the South African economy.

The second source of economic strength for South Africa was pioneered in the U.S. by one of this century's great creative capitalists, Julius Rosenwald. Mr. Rosenwald, who used Sears, Roebuck to develop marketing methods to democratize affluence, was the first to proclaim that social justice for black people would be good business.

The social profile of the South African economy bears a striking resemblance to ours as recently as the 1950's. At that time, black people in the U.S. with good educations, income and savings were barred from making big investments in homes and were therefore forced to spend their money on cars, TV sets and clothes. Much the same thing goes on in South Africa today.

Home building is the biggest and best business in an open society with land to develop and an infrastructure in place. South Africa is the only new entry with an economy that meets this description.

Yet its building industry could not begin to meet the pent-up demand for modern, single-family homes that the end of apartheid will release. The U.S. has the only large-scale home building industry in the world, and it needs work. Credit conditions inside South Africa present no obstacle to an outpouring of black savings for homes.

The third source of economic energy will be an explosion of trade within Africa. The 53 countries of

Continued on page 15



in the Zulu tribal area of KwaZulu, as a bantustan leader.

Some bantustan leaders now support the ANC and Mr Mandela. Three years ago the chief minister of KaNgwane went to Lusaka to talk with the ANC, which has since given him its seal of approval; there has been relatively little violence in his territory. The chief ministers of Lebowa and Qwaqwa have also moved towards the ANC.

The chief ministers may help to dismantle the system that gave them their jobs. Some may hope for local office under a future ANC government. Mr Mandela accepts that some bantustan leaders took their jobs to serve their people, adding: "Nothing would please us more than that they should join us." He had sent an emissary even to the notorious Mr Sebe, urging him to line up behind the ANC. Mr Sebe hesitated and fell. His counterparts in other bantustans will take due note.

Baker Meets With de Klerk, Calls Talks 'Constructive'

By David B. Ottaway and John M. Goshko

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, March 22—Secretary of State James A. Baker III, the first American of such rank to visit South Africa in 12 years, met here today with President Frederick W. de Klerk over the objections of black leaders that it was too soon to end the white-minority government's diplomatic isolation.

Baker described the hour-long meeting as "very interesting, candid and constructive," while de Klerk said he regarded Baker's visit as "a great honor" for South Africa and testimony to American interest in the region.

A senior U.S. official said Baker came away from his talks with de Klerk and, earlier in the day, with a group of black opposition leaders with "the strong impression that both sides are totally serious and committed" to peaceful negotiations for an end to the country's apartheid system of racial separation, which denies political rights to the black majority.

The official described Baker as believing that de Klerk would move soon to end the 1986 state of emergency, which gives the government broad powers to suppress dissent. Under U.S. law, the United States cannot lift sanctions against South Africa while the state of emergency is in place. Asked if he and Baker had discussed the sanctions, de Klerk said they had not.

The U.S. official said Baker was convinced after his talks with de Klerk that the South African leader was serious about introducing irreversible political change, whereas Baker had his doubts a year ago when he met South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha in Rome. It was Baker's "best sense" that de Klerk intended to move "very quickly" to negotiate a new political system for South Africa, the official said.

The official said Baker pressed both de Klerk and Botha, whom he saw for lunch today, to continue the forward momentum of reform by moving quickly to lift the state of emergency and release all prisoners being held without charge under emergency regulations. Baker described the state of emergency as "a very important symbol" to the outside world of de Klerk's intentions, said the official, who briefed reporters accompanying Baker during their flight to Johannesburg after the meeting.

De Klerk, according to the official, responded that he wanted to end the state of

emergency and might have done so already except for the recent surge in violence both in the black townships and the nominally self-governing tribal homelands.

After his meeting with de Klerk, Baker went out of his way to repeat what he said the South African leader had told him in private, namely that "we are engaged here in South Africa in an irreversible process, and we will follow it to its logical conclusion."

Baker is the first secretary of state to come here since Cyrus Vance visited in 1978, and his presence highlighted the sea change in South Africa's international standing in the wake of de Klerk's decision last month to legalize all anti-apartheid organizations, release African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela from prison and offer to begin negotiations with black leaders on a new political system.

After decades of diplomatic isolation, de Klerk in the past three days has met—here and in Windhoek, where he attended Namibia's independence celebrations—far more foreign heads of state than all his predecessors combined since South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1960.

Immediately after Baker's departure from the presidential office, Somali Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Samantar arrived for talks with de Klerk, the first time an African head of government has come here since the late 1960s. During his two days in Windhoek, de Klerk met eight heads of state and six foreign ministers.

At a press conference this morning in Windhoek before returning home, de Klerk declared that a new era in South Africa's relations with the outside world had begun.

"Not only as a result of these discussions but also because of the dynamic situation inside South Africa, I seriously expect that South Africa's diplomatic relations will broaden within the next months and years," he said. "South Africa's bona fides are now accepted."

The campaign by the African National Congress and the Organization of African Unity to keep South Africa isolated appears to have collapsed in the heady atmosphere of independence celebrations in Windhoek, as one head of state after another rushed to meet with the white South African leader. Many of the leaders have come away from their meetings with de Klerk comparing him, in the boldness of his decisions and his political courage, to Soviet

South Africa Seen as Ready to Sign Nuclear Pact

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, March 17—After talks here in 1988 and last year, officials of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union say they believe that South Africa is poised to sign the 1970 treaty limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

At the last talks in December, officials said, Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha of South Africa left the representatives of the three Governments with the clear impression that his Government would agree to adhere to the treaty at another meeting in Vienna this spring.

South Africa is one of a small group of countries that have refused to give up the option of acquiring nuclear weapons by signing the treaty. Some of the nations may already have such weapons or be able to produce them. In August 1988, Mr. Botha said South Africa has the ability to produce a nuclear bomb "should we want to." Asked if South Africa already had nu-

Continued on page 14

President Mikhail Gorbachev. "There are some parallels," a senior U.S. official told reporters traveling with Baker.

Before meeting with de Klerk, Baker spent 90 minutes at the U.S. ambassador's residence here with a dozen black opposition figures, including ANC officials Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mhlangeni. ANC leader Mandela met Baker in Windhoek Wednesday, refusing to do so in South Africa on the grounds that it was too early to end Pretoria's diplomatic isolation.

Mbeki said the ANC, the chief group opposing white-minority rule in South Africa, was "not happy" with Baker's visit here because his presence weakens "the pressure we call upon the international community to impose on South Africa."

Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson, who also attended Namibia's celebrations, criticized as meager the \$500,000 that the United States has earmarked for aid to Namibia this year. The Baker delegation's "hotel bill could end up being the largest American contribution to Namibia during its crucial first year of independence," Jackson said.

Special correspondent Allister Sparks in Windhoek, Namibia, contributed to this report.

Enter Namibia

EVERYONE WAS in Windhoek the other day as Africa's last colony, South West Africa, joyously became its 52nd independent state, Namibia. F. W. de Klerk, president of the finally departing colonial power, beamed to be in the international company that apartheid has denied South Africa for decades. The secretary general of the United Nations took congratulations for his efficient service (under budget, too) in administering the country's transition to independence. The American and Soviet foreign ministers represented the great-power collaboration that had peeled away the intervening armies and prepared the move to constitutionalism. Chester Crocker was there—the American diplomat who put the pieces of independence together. So was Nelson Mandela, symbolizing the possibility suddenly now stirring of a nonracial future for South Africa too.

Not to omit Sam Nujoma, guerrilla-leader-turned-elected president, polarizer-turned-reconciler, Marxist-turned-something-in-the-middle. He has had to conquer the great skepticism that many of his countrymen and many foreign friends of Namibia have felt about his personal fitness to rule. He proclaimed his country independent, however, to a

rare wave of good feeling and high expectation. The international circumstances attending the birth of Namibia had much to do with it. Communism is in retreat at many points—a circumstance which means Namibia is taking its independence in an atmosphere of considerable consensus, not confrontation, about its economic and political future. Further, South Africa sits on the brink of what is widely and fairly regarded as one of the century's great experiments in democratization across ethnic lines. Namibia, with 80,000 whites in a population of 1.4 million, offers something of a trial run, and a propitious one at that.

Politically, Namibia enjoys the continent's most democratic constitution as well as a balance of internal forces providing a strong ruling party, Mr. Nujoma's, and a strong opposition too. The economy, which is dominated by whites with South African ties, is one of the more prosperous in Africa. The challenge for the new government will be to cope with fierce pressures to produce jobs and other early material rewards of independence, while consolidating democracy and maintaining the confidence of foreign lenders. The task has crushed many other Third World states, but Namibia has the chance to succeed.

The Washington Times

MARCH 22, 1990

Namibia overlooks Crocker's efforts

By Peter Younghusband

WINDHOEK, Namibia — The man who did most to bring about Namibian independence was given a back-row seat at the celebrations here.

Chester Crocker — former President Reagan's assistant secretary of state whose patient, eight-year struggle finally brought success in December 1988 — was not mentioned in any of the tributes and hardly noticed. He shared a back seat on the grandstand next to a South African homeland leader, Gen. Bantu Holomisa.

By comparison, and somewhat incongruously, Jesse Jackson, who did nothing to assist Namibia to negotiations at any time, sat well to the fore among the dignitaries present on the dais. So did Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat, who sported a revolver on his hip.

Such, it was remarked by one observer present, is the irony of politics — and more so in Africa than anywhere else.

Mr. Crocker, although many of his countrymen may not realize it, is considered here the most brilliant negotiator ever assigned by his government.

Learned, scholarly, and with a level-headed approach to the mind-boggling task of trying to unravel

the Namibia issue, he never allowed himself to be deterred or influenced by the volatility of the problem.

The South Africans, whose intransigence probably gave him some of his worst moments, privately concede that in Mr. Crocker they met their match.

"Sometimes he was on our side in the tough issues that had to be fought and debated with difficult opponents such as Cuba and SWAPO, but if he felt he had to pitch against us he did so — and he gave us no quarter," said a senior South African official who was deeply involved in the Namibia negotiations.

The long, tortuous negotiations that inched the Namibian situation forward during his years in office — sometimes in the face of heart-breaking setbacks — became an obsession with Mr. Crocker.

It was at these times that those who observed him at work — including officials and diplomats from South Africa, Cuba and Angola — came to recognize his ability and tenacity.

When, under Mr. Crocker's chairmanship in December 1988, the Angola-Namibia negotiations finally achieved success in a cease-fire agreement for both countries and in

dependence for Namibia, it was probably Mr. Crocker's finest hour.

But the true architects of Namibia's independence tended to be pushed aside as other contenders fought for the limelight in the celebrations. Veteran spotlight grabbers such as Mr. Jackson and Mr. Arafat seized the hour.

Lesser dignitaries crowded into chairs reserved for higher dignitaries. U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose task was to swear in South-West Africa People's Organization leader Sam Nujoma as Namibia's first president, had to struggle to get to his seat in the pushing crowd.

Martti Ahtisaari, the U.N.'s chief representative in Namibia and a man of considerable bulk, caused alarm when it appeared he might fall off the podium in the crush. Those seated below him scattered in panic.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha could not reach his seat, and eventually sat on a step of the podium. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen left his seat when people behind him leaned on his back.

"It was," a rueful diplomat later remarked, "a crushing success."

At Last, Namibia

Namibia, fitted out with a brand new, democratic Constitution and a freely elected, biracial, multiparty Government, becomes the world's newest independent state today. It also becomes the newest challenge to Western generosity and creativity in foreign policy.

Namibia gains its independence some three decades after most other African nations. In a rare triumph of American diplomacy in Africa during the Reagan years, South Africa agreed in late 1988 to cede control of the territory it had ruled as a colony since 1920.

The long delay provided Namibia with some chastening examples of what *not* to do with independence. Other African nations liberally borrowed ideology from the Soviet Union before it became clear that one-party rule and smothering state control could not foster prosperity or freedom. Namibians took that failure to heart in drafting their Constitution, which includes a two-term limit for the presidency and a strong bill of rights. And President Sam Nujoma no longer advocates nationalization of business and expropriation of property the way

he did during Namibia's war for independence.

Namibia is a needy country. For 70 years it was dominated and exploited by South Africa. And it reflects all of South Africa's distortions and weaknesses, especially a black majority poor in income and education. They are rich, however, in aspirations. The Constitution, for example, makes education mandatory for everyone up to age 16.

Paying for this and all the other needs of a new, developing nation will be a problem. Not only has South Africa milked mineral and other wealth from the country, it now is withdrawing its budgetary aid of up to \$200 million a year. Namibia needs help to fill that yawning gap.

In the current fiscal year, Washington has budgeted a mere \$500,000 in aid for Namibia; for the 1991 fiscal year, it proposes an increase to \$7.8 million. That's not enough, but neither is this solely an American responsibility. The entire international community rightly condemned South Africa for prolonging Namibia's bondage. That community is now obliged to take the next step by giving Namibia the help it must have to succeed.

THE SUN

MARCH 21, 1990

Birth of a Nation

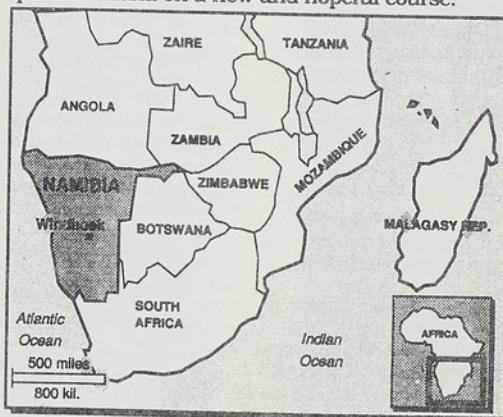
The world is witness today to the birth of a new nation — the large desert territory of Namibia in southwest Africa. When the South African flag was lowered and a new flag raised at midnight, the territory's transition was finally complete. That same moment marked the end of the colonial era on the African continent. Namibia had the distinction, unwanted by a majority of its people, of being the continent's last colony. It can now, at long last, be welcomed into the community of nations, where it should have taken its place years ago.

Namibia was colonized by the Germans in 1884 during a period when European powers, hungry to build empires, carved up most of the African continent. The scramble for Africa, as it was called, was dominated by France, Britain and Portugal, but other European countries such as Germany and Belgium rushed in to get their piece too. The Germans held Namibia only until they lost it in World War I. South Africa captured the territory, which was then called South West Africa.

After Germany's defeat, the League of Nations gave South Africa a mandate in 1920 to rule the territory. That mandate was terminated by the United Nations in 1966, but South Africa defied the U.N. and refused to give up its mineral-rich colony, despite a continent-wide rush to independence, beginning with Ghana in 1957. Only after

23 years of civil war, waged by the South West Africa People's Organization, did South Africa agree to allow U.N.-supervised elections as part of a regional agreement that called for Cuban troops to leave neighboring Angola.

Since that agreement was reached in late 1988, the independence process has been remarkably smooth and peaceful for a territory with Namibia's bloody past. Independence ceremonies, and the swearing in of President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, now the ruling party in a multi-party democracy, place Namibia on a new and hopeful course.



WINDHOEK, March 19—As Africa's last colony becomes independent in a ceremony here at midnight Tuesday, it will do so with the prospect of becoming the continent's only genuine multi-party democracy and its most economically viable black-ruled state.

It seems almost too good to be true, and some observers caution against a mood of euphoria, but many agree that Namibia is emerging from 75 years of rule by South Africa and 23 years of bush war in surprisingly good shape for the role of nationhood.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The outcome of last November's United Nations-supervised elections furnished the country with Africa's only authentic multi-party system, consisting of a government strong enough to rule—with 41 seats in the new National Assembly—and an opposition strong enough—with 31 seats—not to be obliterated.

Political analysts calculate that the opposition stands to win control of eight of the country's 12 regions in local elections due to be held next year, further checking and balancing government power.

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which led the bush war and now forms the government, was chastened by its narrow win in the election and by events in Eastern Europe—especially in East Germany, with which it had a particularly close relationship. It has abandoned the ideological rhetoric it used while fighting South African rule and has become conciliatory and pragmatic in tone.

It has negotiated with its political opponents to produce the most democratic constitution in Africa, featuring an independent judiciary, guarantees for freedom of speech and the press, a bill of human rights and legally enforceable obligations to uplift disadvantaged sectors of the population.

At the same time, Namibia's economic prospects put it on a par with neighboring Botswana, which is Africa's solitary economic success story, with a per capita growth rate of 8.3 percent since independence in 1964 (compared with Kenya's 2.2 percent and Zimbabwe's 0.7 percent). Some economists think Namibia will be able to outperform Botswana.

Such prospects are adding extra excitement to the already heady independence climate here. Namibia has been in the doldrums for so long, and the efforts to negotiate its way out of South Africa's grip at times seemed so tedious and enervating that the popular feeling here now is that something unbelievable and almost magical is happening.

The key to Namibia's promising prospects is SWAPO's leader, Sam Nujoma, whom many observers dismissed over the years as a man of limited abilities. Now they are acknowledging that he has shown himself to be much smarter than they realized.

Since his return from exile last September, Nujoma has transformed himself from a shrill demagogue into a figure of reconciliation, reassuring whites and placating erstwhile enemies.

Far from pursuing an ideological line, which even people close to him expected, he has appointed non-political technocrats to the key ministries of finance, agriculture and planning.

There has been no talk of nationalization or expropriation of property. Nujoma has committed his government to a free-market economy and met with businessmen to express eagerness to work with them.

The result is that there has been no exodus of whites fleeing Namibia for South Africa. A few left after the settlement agreement was announced last

Prospects Bright for Namibia

Euphoria Sweeps Country as It Prepares for Independence

By Allister Sparks

April, and about \$550 million in savings and pension fund money was taken out of the country.

But most of the 78,000 whites, the bulk of them Afrikaners, are staying—in part because South Africa itself now is moving toward change.

Even the hard-line right wing seems to have faded. Kenneth Abrahams, one of the most respected political analysts here, believes the right-wingers have been isolated by the white community's general acceptance of independence.

"There will always be a psychopathic element," said Abrahams, "but to some extent their behavior is socially conditioned. They don't act if they feel they are not carrying out the will of their community."

The mood in the business community is bullish. "It ranges from cautiously optimistic to very optimistic," said Udo Freuse, who runs a consultative forum that brings government and business leaders together.

"SWAPO has been de-demonized, and now businessmen see that it is opening new doors to the world for them," Freuse said.

Namibia, at 320,000 square miles, is half the size of Texas but has a population of only 1,500,000—fewer than Johannesburg's black township of Soweto. It is an arid country bounded by two deserts, the Namib in the west and the Kalahari in the east, and has a population density of four persons to the square mile, compared with Africa's average of 47.

It exports diamonds, uranium oxide and other minerals, produces beef and karakul pelts for fur coats and has some of the world's richest fishing waters in the cold south Atlantic current that washes its hot desert shores.

The outlook is not without prob-

lems, though. One, which flows directly from South Africa's withdrawal, will be the loss of budgetary aid from the Pretoria government, which has run between \$160 million and \$200 million a year. Economists estimate that the social programs required by the new constitution, including free compulsory education for all children up to age 16, will cost at least \$100 million a year.

That means Finance Minister Otto Herringel, a tough-minded, Swiss-trained economist who is a company liquidator by profession, is budgeting for a \$200 million deficit in Namibia's first year of independence.

Namibia will have to look for foreign loans to cover the deficit, then hope for sufficient development to generate the extra revenue needed to keep it off the slope to debtor status that has ruined so many other African states.

The toughest problem, as in every other newly independent country, will be a crisis of expectations that the government cannot possibly meet.

The expectations will be highest in Ovamboland, the populous but undeveloped region in the far north where nearly half the population lives.

This is SWAPO's power base. Had it not captured more than 95 percent of the Ovambos' votes, it would not have won the election. Thus, the political debt is considerable.

Two decades of war have ravaged the quality of life in Ovamboland. Property has been destroyed, crops have gone unplanted for years, and people live in fear and uncertainty.

Violence is endemic in the region. Soldiers who lived by the gun for years find it hard to adjust to civilian life, and banditry has be-

Continued on page 16

NAMIBIA STRESSES A MIXED ECONOMY

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

WINDHOEK, Namibia, March 21 — As Namibia celebrated its first day of independence today, President Sam Nujoma proclaimed his Government's commitment to a mixed economy and invited foreign investors to come and help break the country's dependence on South Africa.

Mr. Nujoma expressed these views at an independence rally this afternoon, despite the preference for a socialist economy once articulated by the South-West Africa People's Organization, which Mr. Nujoma led from exile during its 23-year guerrilla war against South African control.

The organization, popularly known as Swapo, failed to achieve a clear-cut military victory but won 57 percent of the popular vote in elections held under United Nations auspices in November. As a result, Swapo's leaders have formed Namibia's first independent Government, with Mr. Nujoma as President.

In its election statement last year, Swapo declared that it still considered socialism superior to capitalism. But it admitted that a mixed economy might be in Namibia's immediate interests.

After having the opportunity to study the economic problems facing his Government, Mr. Nujoma sounded less equivocal.

"We are committed to a mixed economy," he told a crowd that overflowed a 17,000-seat sports stadium in Windhoek, the capital. "In this regard, we look forward to a good partnership between the state and the private sectors, because only through working together will our economy prosper."

Mr. Nujoma made no reference to nationalization of industries or to land distribution, two policies that Swapo initially endorsed. Rather, his speech implied that Namibia's economic independence from South Africa could be achieved fastest by cooperation with private enterprise.

The new Constitution says that Namibia's economic order will be based on principles of a mixed economy, and can include public, private and cooperative ownership of the means of production.

Today, Mr. Nujoma talked of private enterprise as a source of new employment and of development capital for the country. "We want to insure a more dynamic role for the private sector," he said. "This sector should be an engine for growth and prosperity."

The Government welcomes joint ventures with private ownership in fishing, large-scale farming and agriculture-related industries, the President said.

Mr. Nujoma added that the Government was drawing up a code that "will spell out our open and inviting attitude to investment and set out the kind of commitment that we would expect from investors toward our goals of national development."

The absence of an investment code in Zimbabwe, which gained independence in 1980, was a factor inhibiting Western companies from operating there, and

the significance of that has not been lost on the Namibians.

"Our young country will not be able to generate all the capital necessary for economic development," Mr. Nujoma said. "We welcome inflows of capital and technical know-how from abroad. Private enterprise will be needed to employ our work force."

He offered a sober assessment of problems that Namibia faces now that it is free of South African rule, but not of its economic influence. South Africa captured the territory from Germany during World War I and kept control of it, at first under a mandate from the League of Nations. In 1988, it agreed to Namibian independence as part of a regional settlement that included the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa's economic hold here is exemplified by its control of the enclave

of Walvis Bay, a deep-water port on the South Atlantic tucked into Namibian territory. The new Government regards the enclave as Namibian territory, and has stated so in its Constitution.

South Africa says that Walvis Bay, the only deep-water port on Namibia's coastline, was given to it by Britain and is therefore historically not a part of Namibia. By holding onto it, South Africa could cut off Namibia's imports and exports if the new Government becomes uncooperative. There is no prospect yet for a resolution of this issue.

In contrast to earlier speeches, Mr. Nujoma did not refer to Walvis Bay today and turned to Namibia's other economic problems.

"We have inherited a lopsided and underdeveloped economy," he said. "We confront major economic difficulties."

The President said he has inherited a budget deficit of \$200 million from the South African-backed territorial administration, which received about \$125 million in subsidies from Pretoria in 1989.

Namibia has been promised \$100 million in development aid from foreign donors, but such sources of money are often reluctant to see a Government spend it on day-to-day operating expenses.

"Two-thirds of our population are very poor by our standards and by the standards of the world," Mr. Nujoma said.

The per-capita income in Namibia averages a little over \$1,000 a year, one of the highest in Africa, yet many people eke out a bare subsistence in agriculture.

"One of the most crippling legacies of colonialism is Namibia's mass unemployment," Mr. Nujoma asserted. "More than 30 percent of our work force is unemployed and an even larger number is underemployed. This robs so many Namibian families of the chance to live a decent life."

But he urged poor farmers to keep working their land and not migrate to town in hope of better jobs.

NAMIBIA ACHIEVES INDEPENDENCE (Continued)

Here in the capital, the arrival of independence for this arid and sparsely populated area was greeted with a pealing of church bells and a cacophony of automobile horns.

In proclaiming its freedom to an explosion of cheers and fireworks, Namibia ended the long wait as Africa's last colony, joining the march to self-rule in black Africa that began with Ghana more than three decades ago.

Mr. Nujoma alluded to this when he described Namibia as "a new star that has arisen on the horizon of Africa."

An intermittent rain limited the size of the turnout but did not dampen the enthusiasm of the amiable crowds that filled the 17,000-seat stadium.

"It's a blessing from above on our new country," a television commentator said of the rain, which is usually welcome.

Foreign guests at the midnight ceremony included heads of government or senior ministers from more than 30 countries. Among them were President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, leader of the Organization of African Unity, and Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya. The United States was represented by Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, and the Soviet Union by Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

Other visitors included Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Mr. Mandela, senior figure in South Africa's liberation struggle, arrived late Tuesday as an honored guest. The crowd also included a contingent of black South Africans waving the banners of the African National Congress.

"The whole world, especially Africa, rejoices with Namibia," Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar said. "What is a triumph for Namibia is a triumph for Africa and indeed the principles that are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations."

South Africa finally agreed to let go

Continued on page 14

Under South African administration, Mr. Nujoma said, Namibia imported much of its food, including corn, rice and most fruit, which come from South Africa. Such a costly practice, he continued, "causes higher prices, increases our budget deficit and deprives us of jobs in the agricultural sector."

"Most, if not all of this food can be grown right here on Namibian soil," he said.

To create more jobs, Mr. Nujoma said, Namibia must start processing the raw materials it exports. He mentioned diamonds, beef, lamb pelts and fish. They account for nearly half of exports, which altogether totaled about \$850 million in 1988.

South Africa's President, F. W. de Klerk, speaking last night at the midnight independence ceremony, said South Africa had "made a massive contribution to the development and creation of infrastructure in Namibia and left it 'well equipped for the economic challenges that lie ahead.'"

Mr. Nujoma implicitly contested this optimistic assessment today.

Savimbi Presses Demand for Elections

Rebel Leader Says Changes in East Europe

Improve Chances for Settling Angolan War

By David B. Ottaway

JAMBA, Angola—U.S.-supported Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi is pressing his demand for elections in Angola, convinced that the winds of democratic reform sweeping Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and some other African nations have strengthened considerably the chances for settling the Angolan civil war via the ballot box.

But in an interview last week in his bunker headquarters here, he also conceded that the outcome of the offensive by the Soviet-backed Angolan army against his stronghold in southeast Angola is likely to be the decisive factor in whether his election proposal emerges as the basis for a political settlement to the 15-year conflict.

Savimbi said he believes the time for negotiations is still another month or two away. "I'm thinking that by April, May there will be real talks depending on the result of this offensive," he said. "The offensive is the key."

Today, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, attending independence ceremonies in Windhoek, Namibia, became the first secretary of state to meet with Angola's Marxist president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos. U.S. officials said afterward that Santos indicated greater flexibility than his government has shown in the past about the possibility of a cease-fire.

A senior U.S. official said Baker, who will confer with Savimbi in Kinshasa, Zaire, on Friday, told Santos that the United States will continue its military aid to the rebels until reconciliation has been achieved between the warring Angolan factions. However, the official added, Baker stressed that the United States does not seek the overthrow of the Angolan government and is prepared to "improve relations" with Luanda if there is a cease-fire and a start of negotiations.

The U.S. official also said that during a meeting with Baker tonight, Soviet Foreign Minister

Eduard Shevardnadze cited Angola as a place where the United States and Soviet Union might cooperate.

Until now, the Soviet Union has shown little willingness to cooperate with the United States in the search for a political settlement to the war. Instead, it has supported—in Savimbi's view, encouraged—the Angolan government's efforts to seek a military showdown by pumping in well over \$1 billion in arms during the past two years and providing advisers for an offensive that has enabled government forces to push into Savimbi's heartland for the first time.

The Soviets appear to be following the same hard-line policy here as in Afghanistan, where after withdrawing their own troops they poured in arms at the rate of \$200 million to \$300 million a month last year to bolster President Najibullah's government, a tactic that has helped prevent the widely expected collapse of his regime.

Here it is 50,000 Cuban troops who are leaving. But the Soviets appear to be acting to compensate for the Cubans' departure by accepting a more direct involvement on the ground and helping the Angolan army organize and sustain its biggest and most successful offensive of the war.

In response, the United States has become more engaged in the war too. It is seeking to make up for Savimbi's loss of an estimated annual \$80 million in South African support and is escalating its arms and fuel deliveries to help him stave off the Angolan army's offensive.

After almost three months of intense fighting, it is not clear whether the parties to the conflict are ready to go to the negotiating table.

U.S. analysts note that the U.S.-brokered agreement of December 1988 providing for a withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia was preceded by a similar escalation in fighting that served to convince both South Africa and Cuba that it

was time to find a political solution.

Savimbi said it was his "feeling" that the tide of war was going against the Angolan army after its initial success in driving into territory held by Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). He said that the army was encountering increasing problems in resupplying its exposed forward units and that his troops had intercepted two convoys sent to their rescue.

Savimbi said, however, that he was ready to accept a cease-fire.

"A cease-fire will calm the atmosphere and get everybody to cooperate even if a political solution is unknown," he said. "Before you have a cease-fire, it becomes almost impossible to start talking."

Savimbi's idea of a political solution through elections has been rejected up to now by the government in Luanda. But Savimbi pointed to the elections in Namibia last November and noted that African leaders had pressed the nationalist South West Africa People's Organization to accept the results.

"If they [African leaders] have accepted that in Namibia why cannot we accept [elections] where you have another conflict," he said.

Savimbi said that events in Eastern Europe, where one Communist government after another has agreed to multi-party elections, showed that the "moral base for a one-party system has been eroded" worldwide, making his demand for elections in Angola more justifiable.

He also referred to a number of French-speaking West African countries with only one party that are now experiencing political turmoil and demands for multi-party democracy. "If you follow what's going on, all the one-party systems are having a lot of trouble," he said.

Staff writer John M. Goshko in Windhoek, Namibia, contributed to this report.

Food Convoy Makes Trek in Ethiopia

Associated Press

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, March 21—A convoy of trucks unloaded about 120 tons of food for famine victims today after passing safely through war-torn northern Ethiopia.

The 11 trucks reached Koboicha in Welo Province Tuesday night after leaving the government garrison town of Dese at dawn on a 75-mile journey over mountainous roads into an area controlled by rebels of the Tigray People's Liberation Front.

The convoy was the first relief effort since early February, when an offensive by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front against government forces in Eritrea Province closed the Red Sea port of Massawa, which had been the main unloading point for famine relief supplies.

The State Department said it welcomed the resumption of delivery of U.S.-donated food to rebel-held territory but added: "As positive as this development is, it is also important to note the magnitude of the problem. Some 4 [million] to 5 million Ethiopians are at risk [of starvation], and only a small fraction of them will be reached, whatever the success of this" food convoy.

Sponsors of the convoy hope to feed about 1 million people in the provinces of Welo and Tigray.

Hamed Bahget, deputy director of Catholic Relief Services here, said the convoy's "whole trip was a success. There was no hitch."

The trip was completed without a formal cease-fire between the government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front, which has controlled much of Welo Province since late last year.

The trucks are scheduled to return to Dese on Thursday, when a second convoy will leave for another destination in Welo or Tigray.

The Ethiopian government and Tigrayan rebels began a third round of preliminary talks today in Rome aimed at ending their 15-year-old

Again, famine is raging in Ethiopia

By Mary Anne Fitzgerald

IDGA HAMUS, Ethiopia — Yemani Gebre had the translucent face of a very old man on his deathbed. Even after the dirt had been washed from his matchstick limbs he was a pathetic sight, so shrunken he could be cupped in the palm of a hand.

Yemani was 7 months old and lived another month, thanks to the nuns who run a health clinic in this small market town in the Tigre province. He was discovered by accident, tucked beneath his sick mother's shawl when she came seeking treatment for an illness caused largely by malnourishment.

Yemani's father had not mentioned there was a baby dying from hunger. The survival of his 35-year-old wife was more important, as she had six children to look after.

There are difficult choices to be made in famines as to who survives. When relief rations are not enough to save all the family, who gets fed? When emergency food is being distributed a four-day walk away, who goes?

Some 2.5 million people are being faced with such grim choices right now in the Tigre province of northern Ethiopia, where in some areas 90 percent of the harvest was destroyed by drought. Another 2 million are on the knife's edge of starvation in neighboring Eritrea province.

Once again, Ethiopians are hanging onto survival by their fingernails. The famine will be worse than in 1984 if there is not immediate international assistance, relief workers and church personnel have said.

In 1984-85 more than 1 million people starved to death. Donors shipped in 1.7 million tons of grain

conflict.

[The Soviet ambassador to neighboring Sudan, meanwhile, said Moscow had withdrawn all its military advisers from battle zones in Ethiopia's two separate civil wars, the Reuter news agency reported.

[Valeri Soukhine said in Khartoum that hundreds of Soviet advisers had returned either to Addis Ababa or to the Soviet Union in a withdrawal completed early last month. "We don't have any counselors or experts or technicians helping to fight or advising," he said.

[Western diplomats in Khartoum estimate that until last year about 1,000 Soviet advisers were helping the Ethiopian government fight rebels in Tigray and Eritrea provinces.]

to contain the disaster. This time more than 1 million tons is needed to keep 4.5 million people alive until the next harvest in November.

For many, it is already too late. Families that have been robbed of their oldest and youngest, the most vulnerable age groups, sit on doorsteps awaiting their own deaths. Houses stand empty, the occupants relegated to the grave.

Next to the churches are other mass graves which will soon be filled. The men dug these gaping pits in the rocky soil while they still had the strength to do so. In several areas adults and children have existed for weeks on wild seeds, leaves and grasses.

The hallmark of other famines has been thousands of bicycle-chain-thin peasants congregated at food-distribution centers. This time, distribution efforts have been crippled by conflict; all of Tigre and most of Eritrea are held by rebels pitted against the government in Africa's oldest civil war.

The main Red Sea port of Massawa fell into rebel hands early last month, delivering the final blow to the government's plans for distribution along roads still held by the army.

Two weeks later, the government-run Relief and Rehabilitation Commission said it would airlift 97,000 tons of emergency food from the port of Assab to the Eritrean capital of Asmara, a round trip of 380 miles. Even if this precarious plan comes to fruition, it will be a drop in the ocean, leaving millions to be fed by the rebels or, as is already happening, to quietly starve to death.

The rebel-run Relief Society of Tigre (REST) is doing its best to avert catastrophe by trucking grain hundreds of miles from neighboring Sudan along hairpin dirt roads stitched to the sides of cliffs. The transport and distribution of food is done at night, as hungry peasants are easy targets for the bombs of the government's MiG fighter jets, which rule the skies by day.

The MiGs constantly search for the convoys, hidden during daylight under thorn trees. The convoy in which I traveled was bombed in two separate attacks. One-third of the vehicles were destroyed.

REST's valiant efforts will not be enough, partly because donor governments are reluctant to trust rebel-run organizations. Only one-quarter of the organization's re-

Continued on page 16

Liberia Seen Unable to Crush Rebels

By Jonathan C. Randal

MONROVIA, Liberia, March 18—Liberia's army, which brutally repressed a small invasion by political dissidents, has thereby ignited a burgeoning uprising that has become the greatest challenge to President Samuel K. Doe in his 10 years in power.

As recently as last week, repeated ambushes deep inside the country closed a strategic highway in the most telling indication yet that the former army master sergeant is unable to crush a nearly three-month-old uprising in northeastern Nimba County bordering Guinea and Ivory Coast.

A cross section of Liberians interviewed here suggested that the Nimba County disorders do not yet represent a direct threat to Doe.

But the primitive resistance in Nimba—in which local tribes are fighting with single-barrel shotguns and even bows and arrows against the army's modern infantry weapons and artillery—has surprised Liberians accustomed to Doe's past success in quickly crushing a series of plots against him.

Scarcely a year has gone by without a coup attempt since Doe and 16 other non-commissioned officers wrested power in a bloody 1980 putsch, ousting the tiny ruling elite of descendants of freed American slaves who founded Liberia in 1822.

The current conflict erupted on Christmas Eve when a force of perhaps 100 men, which the government said was trained in Libya, invaded Nimba County under the banner of the National Patriotic Front, led by a former Doe associate named Charles Taylor.

A smaller force succeeded in reaching this capital city, only to be arrested. By Dec. 30 Doe said on nationwide radio and television that Nimba also was under his "complete control." It looked like a rerun of a short-lived National Patriotic Front invasion of 1985 under a onetime Doe fellow non-commissioned officer named Thomas Quiwonka. Quiwonka's body later was dismembered as the price for his treachery.

This time, Doe's army went on a rampage, according to documented accounts from among 150,000 Nimba County refugees who sought refuge in Guinea and Ivory Coast.



BY JOSEPH ROBINSON—THE WASHINGTON POST,

They complained of indiscriminate summary executions, rape and pillage by his troops.

International relief organizations and human rights groups charged that 500 civilians were killed in the early phases of the uprising. Following such reports, Doe threatened in late January to execute any soldiers caught killing civilians.

Rebels from Nimba's Gio and Mano tribes have continued to ambush Liberian troops near the Nimba town of Saclepea. Last week, the U.S. Embassy advised American citizens over its radio network that fighting had closed the road from Gahnpe and Tapeta since Monday. The government has remained silent about both the ambushes and the highway's closure.

The road passing through Nimba County, which is rich in agriculture, timber and minerals, is the only surface link between the capital, Monrovia, and the southern third of the country. Its continued closure would be a serious blow to Liberia's long ailing economy. If the resistance were to make further inroads and spread beyond Nimba, observers say it is unclear whether the government would be able to pay for an extended war.

During the Reagan administration, Liberia received nearly \$500 million in U.S. aid, the highest amount per capita in sub-Saharan

Africa. That assistance has virtually ended because of Liberia's failure to repay overdue loans and congressional exasperation over human rights violations.

Amid the conflict, more than half of Nimba's residents have fled abroad or to other parts of Liberia. With the violence continuing, it appeared unlikely that they would return. Liberian sources said Doe is worried that refugee camps abroad could serve as potential recruiting centers for the rebels.

With no government victory in sight, Nimba County remains under dusk-to-dawn curfew. Since January, Doe has recruited as many as 2,000 troops to flesh out his army of 5,000 men and form a force to pacify Nimba County. But he does not have enough equipment, weapons, ammunition, food or money to provide them with serious basic training, according to observers.

Although detailed, reliable information is scanty, observers here suggested that the rebellion was virtually leaderless and no longer directed by the remnants of Taylor's initial invasion force.

In any case, Taylor does not inspire great confidence among many Liberians who remember him as a former Doe government official who was dismissed as chief of procurement on embezzlement charges in 1984 and subsequently jumped bail in the United States, where he was facing extradition.

Rather, the uprising apparently stems from outrage at heavy repression by the army. Those Nimba residents who did not flee apparently decided to fight back.

Nervously mopping his brow in a meeting Tuesday at the Monrovia city hall with Nimba residents, Doe indirectly admitted as much, saying his soldiers were no longer fighting Taylor's rebels but "little disgruntled elements" among the population.

But he reacted angrily when one Nimba woman blamed army excesses for provoking the refugee flight. Another woman, the wife of Brig. Gen. David Kimeh, who had taken part in the coup that brought Doe to power, complained loudly that her husband had been arrested by soldiers in Nimba and had not been seen since.

Such outspokenness is rare, for

Continued on page 16

S.AFRICA READY TO SIGN (Continued)

clear weapons, he said he would not elaborate on his statement.

There was no immediate comment from South Africa.

A total of 137 countries now adhere to the treaty. Those that do not include Israel, Pakistan and India.

In 1987, South Africa said it was considering signing the treaty, a move that helped Western countries block an African drive to expel it from the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Vienna-based organization that inspects plants of countries that have signed the treaty to insure that they are used only for peaceful purposes.

South Africa then asked for discussions about signing the treaty with the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, the three countries that can, under the accord, keep nuclear weapons in return for a pledge to work for disarmament and a ban on testing.

The development that appears to have swung South Africa around in favor of signing the treaty, officials say, was an assurance from the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union that for procedural reasons the International Atomic Energy Agency would not be in a position to start inspecting South Africa's plants for about two years after it signed.

Britain also assured South Africa that if it signed the treaty, European countries were likely to lift their ban on nuclear cooperation with South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader who was freed from prison last month, has been urging the West to maintain economic sanctions until South Africa's white-dominated Government carries out its promise to abolish apartheid.

During the discussions, officials say, South Africa sought assurances that if it signed the treaty it would gain access to Western technology, be able to take part fully in the scientific work of the atomic energy agency and benefit from the help it gives its members.

Although the agency's African members have been trying to expel South Africa from the agency since 1987, their drive has been successfully

NAMIBIA ACHIEVES INDEPENDENCE (Continued)

of the territory as part of a regional agreement that included the withdrawal of about 50,000 Cuban troops from neighboring Angola.

The United Nations monitored Namibia's yearlong transition to independence under Resolution 435, enacted by the Security Council in 1978.

When the transition got under way last April 1, border fighting broke out as Swapo guerrillas crossing the border from Angola were attacked by South African security forces who left the bases to which they had been confined.

After fierce clashes, a cease-fire and withdrawal of the guerrillas was arranged. The transition process subsequently unfolded smoothly. In elections in November, 97 percent of registered voters turned out to cast their ballots

Continued on page 15

blocked so far by the United States, the Soviet Union and their allies, who want as large a membership as possible.

The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union told South Africa that the three would not agree to any further talks on any topic related to the treaty because it cannot be changed in any way to accommodate new members.

They said they would meet with South Africa again only to accept its adherence to the agreement.

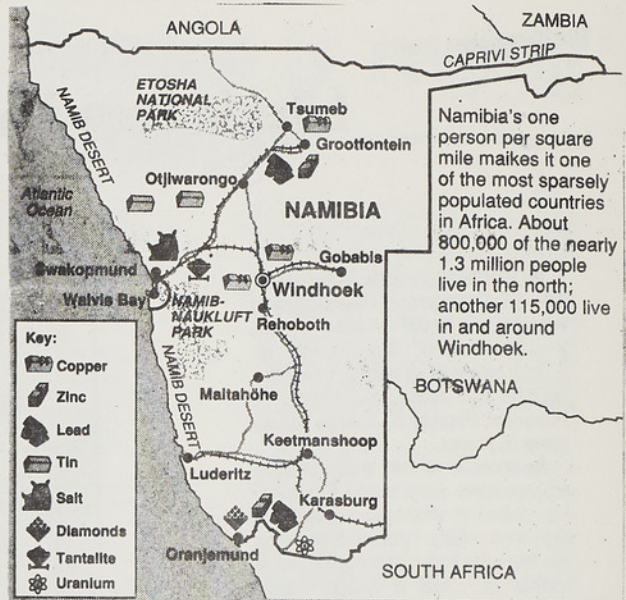
The international agency now inspects South Africa's two nuclear power reactors at Koeberg near Cape Town at the insistence of France, which supplied them. It also inspects the small Safari research reactor.

But the South African authorities never allowed any outside inspection of their pilot uranium enrichment plant, which could be used for military ends. South Africa may also have other nuclear plants as well.

Diplomats say they have evidence that South Africa has never tried seriously to develop nuclear arms.

Agency officials say South Africa sees itself as a growing industrial power in Africa and has expressed interest in expanding its nuclear generating capacity to cope with demand.

Although South Africa has much coal, there is concern about reliance on coal-fired generating capacity alone.



HISTORY

1884 Germany declares Namibia a protectorate and makes it a colony in 1890. It is officially called South-West Africa.

1915 South Africa seizes the territory from Germany in World War I.

1920 The League of Nations gives South Africa a mandate over South-West Africa.

1946 South Africa attempts to incorporate South-West Africa as a fifth province, but it is blocked by the United Nations.

1986 The South-West Africa People's Organization launches

a guerrilla war for independence.

1971 The International Court of Justice declares South Africa's presence illegal.

1978 The United Nations adopts Security Council Resolution 435 as a blueprint to lead Namibia to independence.

1988 South Africa agrees to give up Namibia as part of a regional agreement that also provides for a Cuban military withdrawal from neighboring Angola.

March 21, 1990 Namibia becomes independent.

Sources: Namibian territorial government; The Europa World Yearbook, 1989; The Statesman's Yearbook, 1989-90.

The New York Times/March 21, 1990

UNREST HIGHLIGHTS URGENCY OF TALKS (Continued)

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result," Mandela said last week.

The township violence seems to be - in part - a delayed reaction to hopes created by Mandela's release but since dashed. There is evidence in some areas that the rival Pan Africanist Congress is gaining ground on its hard-line platform of "no compromise."

For the average township resident - beset by the specter of poverty, unemployment, and violence - there have been no tangible benefits to match the political euphoria of Mandela's release.

"One of Mandela's big mistakes is to have made public calls

for peace without ensuring that mechanisms are in place to implement the calls," says Swilling. "It makes him look like a loser."

Western diplomats, eager to avoid derailment of the negotiating process, were puzzled by Mandela's call from Sweden last week for the international community to sever all diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

"One would have thought Mr. Mandela would have been sufficiently astute not to call for something which is so obviously not going to succeed," says a Western diplomat.

Some analysts believe the calls by Mandela reflect the hard-line position of influential anti-apartheid leaders inside the country

like mineworkers' boss Cyril Ramaphosa.

The diplomats believe that this hard line may also explain Mandela's public criticism of United States Secretary of State James Baker III's planned meeting with De Klerk in Cape Town Thursday, following Namibia's independence celebrations.

Mandela said he would meet Mr. Baker outside South Africa - presumably in the Namibian capital of Windhoek - "if he wants to see me."

While some of the recent township violence has been between black communities and security forces, there has been a

growing trend toward internalized violence between opposing black factions.

Sporadic and factional violence which has erupted in Transvaal townships like Katerhonge - where at least 30 people have been killed - bears many of the hallmarks of the 1984-86 rebellion.

The macabre "necklace" - a gasoline-soaked tire placed around the victims neck and ignited - has returned and so have mob killings and the crude justice of "people's courts."

"As each day passes, the choice between violence and peace becomes ever starker," says Swilling. "But there is still time to negotiate before all hell breaks loose."

SMART MONEY (Continued)

black Africa have declared their intention to invite South Africa to join their Organization of African Unity once apartheid is ended.

At that point, South Africa could emerge as a major exporter of food to black Africa. Only U.S. companies, the undisputed world leaders in food production, will be able to provide the technology, equipment and knowledge needed for the rapid expansion of South African agriculture.

Should U.S. companies ignore attractive investments in Eastern Europe? Of course not. But South Africa is our gateway to black Africa, which is the new market about to explode in the world. Our companies — and Washington — should recognize that a greater payoff lies just ahead, in a post-apartheid South Africa. □

SOUTH AFRICA LOOSENS GAG, AND THE PRESS PIPES UP

(Continued)

to cover the events of the last month.

So far, Mr. de Klerk's changes have not extended to the main body of restrictive press laws. The steps he announced to lift the ban on certain organizations and people did not extend to more than 350 people who are "restricted" — and therefore cannot be quoted — under sections of the Internal Security Act. Those sections deal with people considered responsible for acts of terrorism, murder and sabotage. As a result, it is still theoretically an offense to quote many major figures in the African National Congress, including some of the leaders of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military arm.

Still, Mr. de Klerk's announcements in Parliament on Feb. 2 made a major difference. The President also ended restrictions imposed under the state of emergency declared by the Government in 1985 and enforced, with a brief break, ever since. This has meant that direct censorship, in the form of police officers forbidding the publication of whole articles, has now been ended, as have regulations restricting the reporting of clashes between the security forces and black protesters to "unrest reports" issued by the police.

Apparently the message has not completely penetrated the bureaucracy. Three days after Mr. de Klerk spoke, riot policemen trying to suppress protests in a black township outside Johannesburg ordered reporters and camera crews out of the area, citing the powers over reporters granted to them under the emergency. And the editors of an Afrikaans "alternative" newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad*, were told in a Johannesburg court that it would have to face trial for quoting "listed" people in 1988, although the people involved are no longer banned.

But Mr. de Klerk appears to have had had few if any second thoughts about the rush of publicity given to black organizations, and he has even implied that it is something that the Government should have permitted long ago. In a television interview with the South African Broadcasting Corporation, he referred to the attention given Mr. Mandela's repeated statements about the need for a black gov-

NAMIBIA ACHIEVES INDEPENDENCE

for a 72-member assembly that drafted a constitution.

The South-West Africa People's Organization won 57 percent of the vote in November but failed to win the two-thirds margin that would have allowed it to write its own constitution. Nonetheless, Swapo's leadership in the war against South Africa now constitutes the independent Government.

Although the new Government has inherited good telecommunications and some other aspects of an advanced society, it also confronts a high illiteracy rate and extensive poverty that will be difficult to end, given the new country's limited economic means. The economy is closely tied to South Africa's, and its potential deep-sea port, at Walvis Bay, remains a South African-controlled enclave cut into the Namibian coast.

Namibia has accepted an invitation to become the 50th member of the

ernment to nationalize the country's mines and banks, and said: "Previously, their weak policies were not under the microscope. What was in the spotlight was that they could not expound their views."

More than anything else, what has intrigued opponents of apartheid and angered those who believe that it should never have been weakened has been the performance of the state-run radio and television network. At times, this has been spotty, as when the television network's chief political correspondent, Clarence Keyter, struggling to fill air time during live coverage of Mr. Mandela's release from prison, referred to the Victor Verster jail in the wine country outside Cape Town as "the most beautiful prison in the world." But generally the network appears to have made a serious effort to achieve a new balance in its reporting.

Carel van der Merwe, a widely respected reporter who was appointed the network's news director after Mr. de Klerk became President in August, said the network would strive to present the news in a "fair, understandable and gripping manner." But that has met with skepticism from longtime critics of the network, including Gavin Stewart, a professor of journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, in Natal Province.

"The new approach does not mean that the SABC is independent of the Government," he said. "It just happens that Government policy is now more reasonable."

Newspapers published in Afrikaans, the language of the white Afrikaners who have dominated the Government for four decades, have also adjusted. They too have given blanket coverage to Mr. Mandela and the African National Congress, and one, *Beeld*, a Johannesburg paper, greeted the black leader's release with a banner headline reading "Here He Is!"

When Mr. Mandela made a hard-line speech at a rally three hours after he walked from the prison, one of the most conservative Afrikaans papers, *Die Burger* of Cape Town, counseled its readers to be calm, noting that the black leader had followed the speech with remarks that showed an understanding of "white fears."

(Continued)

Commonwealth. It was considered eligible because of its links with South Africa, a former British colony not welcome in the Commonwealth because of its apartheid policies.

The new country is also expected to become the 52d member of the Organization of African Unity, which also excludes South Africa, and the 160th member of the United Nations.

Hifikepunye Pohamba, a Swapo official who will be the new Home Minister, told reporters that March 21 was chosen as the independence date to express solidarity with South Africa's black majority in its struggle against apartheid. It is the 30th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, in which South African police killed many township demonstrators.

The only country not invited to Namibia's birth was Israel, because of its military links to South Africa and in deference to the Arab nations who sent representatives.

Among those who reacted quickly to the new freedom were the country's book publishers. Leading bookstores have given prominent display to books that were allowed in print within days of Mr. Mandela's release, after nearly three decades in which the mere possession of them was a criminal offense. One of those has been a new edition of "No Easy Walk to Freedom," a compilation of Mr. Mandela's writings and speeches.

In an editorial, *The Sowetan* reminded the Government of how counterproductive the censorship had been. Referring to Mr. Mandela and other black leaders, it said: "Legends grew around them as their publications were passed under cover of darkness from one reader to another. The forbidden tastes even sweeter."

But even as some books have been released, others have been added to the list of thousands proscribed by the Directorate of Publications, the Government's censorship agency. So far, additions to the list have mostly been obscure political tracts, like the treatise on "People's War" by a little-known South African writer. It appeared on the weekly list of newly banned publications alongside the notice of the release of "No Easy Walk to Freedom." But the fact that bureaucrats in Pretoria can still decide what is fit for their fellow citizens to read has been a sobering reminder that many of the Government's restrictive powers over freedom of information remain in place.

Harvey Tyson, editor of *The Star*, a Johannesburg newspaper that greeted the legalization of the African National Congress by running a 10,000-word profile of Mr. Mandela, summarized the situation.

"We intend taking the de Klerk declaration in the spirit in which it was delivered, and we will now operate as if we are part of the world's free press," Mr. Tyson wrote. "The South African press, though by no means free, appears at the moment to be 'more free' to report events than are the media in at least a half of the countries of the world. But the fact remains that there are still many bad laws on the statute books affecting freedom of expression."

ETHIOPIA: AGAIN FAMINE
IS RAGING (Continued)

quests for food have been met, and there has been almost no response to a request for more trucks and money to buy surplus harvest from areas in Tigre where the rains were good.

[In Washington, the view of the crisis is even more grim than it is in the field. An Agency for International Development official said the United States estimates that, in a worst-case scenario, 3.5 million to 4.5 million people could die.

[The United States has pledged almost 50,000 tons of grain for the African nation.]

The government recognized the existence of the famine in October and has taken part in talks to set up a "corridor of tranquility" to allow relief food into zones of conflict.

REST officials are eager to see the open-roads policy implemented, but they insist that if an operation is mounted it should be monitored by an impartial international body such as the World Food Program, a point

that Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam will not concede.

They also believe that with conventional supply lines engulfed by the war, their own route from Sudan must be used as well. The 97,000 tons that might be airlifted to Asmara would be many days' walk away for the Tigre residents, they point out. It is also a pitifully small fraction of what is needed.

"We are trying to avert the skeleton scenario. If all the governments made a concerted effort, something could be done. The international community is not taking it seriously," complained REST field coordinator Teklewoini Assefa.

International relief officials who work with REST say the organization has a sparkling reputation for honesty and efficiency. The government's image as a savior, on the other hand, has become tarnished.

When the Ethiopian authorities get their hands on relief food, they often give it to army conscripts in lieu of salaries or sell it in the marketplace.

PROSPECTS BRIGHT FOR
NAMIBIA (Continued)

come a problem. The area is still strewn with large quantities of unexploded munitions, including 4,000 land mines, and there are frequent accidents, often involving children.

With the prospect of independence, thousands of people are flocking from Ovamboland to the cities farther south; 30,000 have arrived in Windhoek's Katatura township since November, causing a burgeoning squatter problem and raising the unemployment level in the township to 50 percent.

Gerhard Totemeyer, a sociology professor at the new University of Namibia, said there also could be a backlash from students and trade unionists disillusioned with what they may regard as SWAPO's betrayal of radical causes.

Absorbing thousands of ex-guerrillas into civilian life will be another problem. Some will be integrated into the regular army, and Britain has been asked to help with this as it did in Zimbabwe, but the result is that Namibia will be burdened with an oversized army of some 10,000 men.

Everything depends on the country's ability to realize its economic potential. "If we can get our development going, everything else will fall into place," said Harold Pupke-witz, a leading Namibian businessman.

MANDELA MEETS BAKER
(Continued)

pleted a meeting with Mandela. Shevardnadze later held a 90-minute talk with de Klerk here.

When Baker and Mandela emerged from the house a half-hour later, they were smiling broadly. While Mandela gave no ground on his opposition to Baker's meeting with de Klerk, he said, "I regard Mr. Baker, the American government, the Congress and

LIBERIA UNABLE TO CRUSH
REBELS (Continued)

Liberians have learned to fear the Doe government.

Twelve days after the rebellion began, Robert Phillips, a 46-year-old descendant of a former Liberian president and himself briefly active in politics in the early 1980s, was found dead in his home with his head and hands severed.

No official investigation has been opened, prompting rumors that a government death squad carried out the assassination as a warning to Doe's political opponents.

Rumors abound in Monrovia that troops buried alive as many as 125 children under the age of 7 who were said to have been picked up in Nimba and trucked here after their parents either were killed or had fled to safety across the border. The purported motive for the alleged killings was fear that the children would grow up and avenge their slain family members.

Much of the fighting follows ethnic lines with the Gio and Mano tribes opposing Doe's army, which has been recruited increasingly from his Krahn tribe, and its allies among Mandingos, who control the county's commerce and transport.

Human rights activists abroad—and many Liberians privately—complained when it was revealed that two U.S. military advisers accompanied Liberian troops in Nimba in January. While Washington argued that their presence helped reduce human rights violations, critics suggested that the United States was motivated by interest in Taylor's alleged involvement with Libya.

the people of America as true friends.

"The important thing to bear in mind is that our discussions were dominated by the spirit of friendship that exists between the ANC and the American people. That was the dominating element."

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

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