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MARCH 14, 1990

## Mozambican leader vows direct talks with RENAMO

By Frank J. Murray  
and Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano told President Bush yesterday that his government would talk directly to rebels who have waged a 10-year civil war against his regime.

Mr. Chissano, a former Marxist, also asked the United States to increase economic aid to Mozambique.

THE WASHINGTON POST

bique, already the largest recipient in sub-Saharan Africa. U.S. aid was \$100 million in 1989 and \$110 million this year, with the extra \$10 million earmarked for railway locomotives.

"We pledge our assistance to help meet Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs," Mr. Bush said at a departure ceremony after the two leaders talked for 90 minutes and then lunched at the White House.

"I informed him on the decision of my government to enter into a direct dialogue with RENAMO as soon as possible, and about the measures already taken to bring this decision into effect," Mr. Chissano said, referring to the rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance.

"The president took particular note of President Chissano's decision."

Continued on Pg. 14

MARCH 13, 1990

## Baker Urged to Aid ANC in S. Africa

*American Group Cites U.S. Funding for Solidarity as Precedent*

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A group of prominent black Americans yesterday urged Secretary of State James A. Baker III to provide up to \$20 million to the African National Congress to help it become a fully functioning South African political party, but participants in the meeting said Baker was noncommittal.

The appeal for the United States to fund the ANC "in the same way we funded the Solidarity movement [in Poland] and opposition parties in Nicaragua" was among proposals made at the first meeting in 10 years between a secretary of state and American black leaders on U.S. Africa policy, according to a participant in the discussion.

The meeting was requested by TransAfrica, a lobbying group for black African interests. It came before today's scheduled visit to the White House by Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano and just before Baker's scheduled departure Sunday to attend independence celebrations in Namibia, a southwest

Africa territory controlled by South Africa since the end of World War I.

Baker is tentatively expected to visit South Africa for talks with President Frederik W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, recently released after 27 years in prison. Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, said that while American black leaders oppose the idea of President Bush inviting de Klerk to the White House, they do not object to Baker going to South Africa to urge further progress toward equality for the black majority.

Robinson said Baker "by and large agreed with our position" on keeping sanctions voted against South Africa by Congress in 1986 "until the government takes additional steps to dismantle the apartheid system."

However, Robinson added, Baker did not commit himself to aid the ANC or on another recommendation that U.S. aid to Namibia be raised to \$25 million a year. The United States now provides \$500,000 to the emerging nation, but has requested that Congress

raise the amount to \$7.8 million next year.

Robinson characterized the overall tone of the meeting as "constructive," but said Baker had "disagreed sharply" with TransAfrica's recommendation that the United States formally recognize Angola's Marxist government and end the approximately \$50 million in military aid that it now supplies to the UNITA rebels in the Angolan civil war. The administration position is that the government should negotiate a power-sharing arrangement with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

Others participating in the meeting were TransAfrica Chairman Richard Hatcher; National Rainbow Coalition leader Jesse Jackson; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Sylvia Hill, director of the Southern Africa Support Project; Coretta Scott King, president of the King Center for Non-Violent Social Change; Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Bill Pollard, representing the NAACP.



MARCH 14, 1990

## ISOLATE PRETORIA, MANDELA DEMANDS

In Stockholm, He Urges More  
Scorn and More Sanctions  
for the South Africans

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

STOCKHOLM, March 13 — Nelson Mandela called on foreign governments today to break diplomatic ties with South Africa and impose tougher economic sanctions to speed political change in the country.

After meeting for two hours with the Swedish Prime Minister, Ingvar Carlsson, Mr. Mandela said at a news conference that the problems facing opponents of apartheid required "massive amounts of assistance from the international community in general and the Swedish Government in particular."

Reaffirming the policies of the African National Congress, he said countries could best serve the cause of the nationalist movement by further isolating Pretoria. The congress is "far from" getting the South African Government to meet most of its conditions for opening negotiations on the political future of the country, Mr. Mandela said, and all of the "pillars of apartheid are still in place."

"The help that we require is firstly the intensification of sanctions," said Mr. Mandela, who spoke before the Swedish Parliament later in the day. "And secondly, the cutting of diplomatic ties with South Africa, and any other form of assistance which the international community is able to give."

### Swedish Sanctions to Remain

"We are not in a position to pick and choose," he said. "Any assistance which would help the liberation movement in the country attain its goals is welcome."

Sweden, an unflagging supporter of the African National Congress and one of many European countries that have diplomatic relations with South Africa, has said it believed that it could better monitor events and influence change by having a presence inside the country.

Prime Minister Carlsson, seated next to Mr. Mandela at the news conference, said that Sweden would not lift its sanctions against Pretoria until there were free and fair elections.

Mr. Mandela would not say whether he would meet with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain on a visit to London scheduled for next month. Mrs. Thatcher recently eased sanctions after changes announced in February by President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa.

"The question of whether I will talk to Mrs. Thatcher or not is to be decided by the national executive of the A.N.C. at the right time," Mr. Mandela said.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

## Will U.S. Promoters Give Mandela Time To Fight Apartheid?

Politicians, Campuses, Celebs  
All Want a Piece of Him;  
Getting a Foot in His Door

By GILBERT FUCHSBERG

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Barely free after 27 years as the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela faces many great challenges and a few not-so-great ones, like fending off the likes of Don Walker.

That one may not be easy. Mr. Walker, who books speeches for Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford, envisions Mr. Mandela as one of the all-time stars of the after-dinner speaking circuit. One of the richest, too. At up to \$40,000 a speech, Mr. Mandela "can do as many as he wants," Mr. Walker says.

With a 30% cut of the take, Mr. Walker wouldn't do too poorly himself. So he waited "a full 30 seconds" after Mr. Mandela's recent release before calling someone he will identify only as a "former ambassador" to help him get a contract with the South African black leader.

### Reach for Rolodex

Mr. Walker concedes he isn't anywhere close to a deal. But he is by no means the only person to reach for his Rolodex upon hearing of Mr. Mandela's freedom. President Bush, a half-dozen big-city mayors, Jane Fonda, several top universities and an assortment of others have been busily working their phones, fax machines and connections to try to win a spot on Mr. Mandela's social calendar.

They seem to assume the 71-year-old Mr. Mandela can squeeze some photo op-

portunities on the steps of America's city halls between negotiations in South Africa to end apartheid. And while Mr. Mandela may not be interested in personal wealth, he just might go for the idea of raising money for his financially strapped movement, the African National Congress.

Mr. Mandela, who is in Sweden this week after a whirlwind tour of four African nations, is badly in need of rest, according to his physician. He hasn't any plans yet to visit the U.S. and couldn't possibly accept more than a fraction of the invitations he has received. But all this hasn't stopped Americans from pressing ahead with their offers to heap praise, prizes and cash on him.

If Mr. Mandela showed up in Los Angeles, it "could be like the Olympics," gushes Bill Chandler, press secretary to Mayor Tom Bradley. The mayor has asked Mr. Mandela to address "a rally for interracial harmony" at the 92,000-seat Memorial Coliseum, site of the 1984 summer games.

Chicago has also invited Mr. Mandela. Officials there think they have what it takes to lure him: "A beautiful waterside, cultural diversity and great restaurants," says Avis Lavelle, press secretary to Mayor Richard M. Daley.

Duke University in Durham, N.C., has something more substantive in mind. A visit to North Carolina would allow Mr.



Nelson Mandela

Continued on Pg. 14

"But as I have said, we expect all countries to intensify sanctions against South Africa and if I visit any country this is the message I would put forward."

### Tambo's 'Tremendous Progress'

Mr. Mandela, on the last leg of a foreign tour that took him through several African countries before arriving for an official visit to Sweden, visited Oliver Tambo on Monday and said today that the congress president was making "tremendous progress" from a stroke that partially paralyzed him last year.

The subject of Mr. Tambo's health was among a wide range of questions for Mr. Mandela at the news conference, including what message he had for the children of Sweden — "We love you, too" — to concerns over his health in light of the hectic schedule he has had since his release last month after 27 years in prison.

"I think I am as healthy as you are," Mr. Mandela told a reporter.

Mr. Mandela said that a recent spate of violence in South Africa's black townships and so-called homelands illustrated that the apartheid system was being totally rejected by blacks.

### Praise for Gorbachev

When asked to discuss changes in Eastern Europe and the Baltic republics, Mr. Mandela praised President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and compared him favorably with Western leaders.

"I am impressed by the honesty of President Gorbachev," Mr. Mandela said. "He is the only world leader I know who can tell the world that the political system to which he has committed himself has serious weaknesses. I have yet to see a leader in the West of the same stature who can stand up and tell the world that the evils of imperialism have created immeasurable hardship for the people of the third world. I think President Gorbachev has emerged as a man of integrity and honesty."

The nationalist leader saved most of his praise today for Sweden. Speaking beneath a stained-glass skylight in Parliament's wood-paneled chamber, Mr. Mandela said that he was among "political neighbors" and "steadfast friends" and called on Sweden to continue sanctions and humanitarian assistance, as well as moral and political leadership in the struggle to end white rule.



# Military's Power Over South Africa: The Lid Is Off

By JOHN F. BURNS

CAPE TOWN

**S**INCE F. W. de Klerk became President of South Africa six months ago, he has taken bold steps to turn away from the dead end of apartheid. While he has been most visible in laying the groundwork for negotiations with the country's black majority, he has also been working in the mine field of white politics.

Over the long term, he must insure that he and other reformers hold the field against hard-liners who would rather fight for white supremacy. But first he has to secure something that was supposed to have been affirmed in the whites-only election last September that assured Mr. de Klerk the presidency — the supremacy of the country's civilian leaders.

The central fact of South African life is that a minority of five million whites has held sway over a nation of 38 million people. What has been less obvious is that the limited democracy for whites has itself been undermined over the past 15 years by the incremental power of the army and the police. Mr. de Klerk is leader of the National Party, which holds the absolute parliamentary majority among whites that is supposed to assure the sovereignty of the elected government, but real power shifted progressively under his predecessor, P. W. Botha, toward a powerful but shadowy group of military and police commanders known here as the Securocrats.

The effects have been widely corrosive of political accountability. But even Government supporters were shocked by revelations made last week before a judicial inquiry into political killings. The judge conducting the investigation was told that a military unit called the Civil Cooperation Bureau, established in 1985, employed a posse of former policemen, some of them with prison records for drug dealing, diamond smuggling and murder, to wage a covert war against "enemies of the state." At its most bizarre, this produced plans to induce a heart attack in Dullah Omar, Nelson Mandela's lawyer. At its most sinister, it led to murder.

Before the military unit was set up, under orders that were originally issued by the then commander of the defense force, Gen. Constant Viljoen, such killing was apparently entrusted to police assassination squads. Last week's star witness was a former security policeman, Al-

Whites are shocked by stories of assassinations.

mond Butana Nofomela, who took the lid off the scandal by summoning a lawyer to the Pretoria Central Prison in October 1989, on the day before he was to be hanged for the murder of a white farmer, and confessing to the 1981 killing of Griffiths Mxenge, a prominent black lawyer with links to the African National Congress. With his execution stayed, Mr. Nofomela, who is black, told the inquiry that his police superiors had paid him 1,000 rand — about \$1,300 — to kill Mr. Mxenge. Asked if he had ever arrested anybody in his days as a policeman, Mr. Nofomela replied: "I don't arrest anyone. I kidnap or assassinate them."

While Defense Minister Magnus A. Malan and several generals denied knowing of the Civil Cooperation Bureau until recently, opponents of apartheid argued that what the military high command knew, and when, was less significant than its responsibility for creating the system that made the covert unit possible.

This carried the issue back to the mid-1970's when riots in Soweto, the black township outside of Johannesburg, fostered an atmosphere of increasing paranoia among the defenders of apartheid. While Mr. Botha, Mr. Malan and others talked of the "total onslaught" facing South Africa from black nationalism, Soviet Communism and American liberalism, power shifted progressively away from civilians toward Mr. Botha, who had been Defense Minister for 13 years before heading the Government, and to a military coterie led by Mr. Malan.

## Suppressing Upheaval

Some of what resulted was publicly known. The creation of the National Security Management System, a tightly organized network to deal with black upheavals, had the effect of giving army and police commanders in restive areas wide powers over civilian life. But what ultimately proved more damaging was the resort to covert measures. Of a military budget of nearly \$4 billion, nearly 60 percent was allocated by secret vote by 1989. Only an inner

# South Africa grows increasingly uneasy about future

By Peter Younghusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — A month after the release of Nelson Mandela, uncertainty has increased over whether South Africa will succeed in ending apartheid in a peaceful manner

without damage to its economy or its social fabric.

Discontent is growing among groups and institutions ranging from the government and its political opposition to business and the militant organizations seeking an immediate end to apartheid.

Renewed violence has struck the black townships near South Africa's large cities. In one of 15 killings reported by police yesterday, a mob in Soweto township beheaded a man, burned his body and delivered his head to the police.

Police said they arrested more than 511 persons Monday night for crimes such as looting and arson. Fifty-one persons were wounded. The Pretoria government is unhappy because Mr. Mandela did not call for an end to the "armed struggle." In the view of the authorities, his call for a continued struggle contributed to the surge of violence that has wracked the nation in recent weeks.

group in the Cabinet was informed.

Mr. de Klerk has made a priority of reasserting civilian authority. First he dismantled large parts of the National Security Management System. Then he announced a drastic cut in the military budget. In December, he summoned the country's top police officers and told them that the Government intended to get them out of politics and back to crime prevention. Then, before the death squad inquiry opened last Monday, he summoned Parliament into special session and promised that covert action would be kept to "an absolute minimum."

For the moment, Mr. Malan re-

The violence has approached the level of 1985, the peak year, with more than 200 people dead, and thousands injured.

[Yesterday, in Stockholm, Sweden, Mr. Mandela called for tougher sanctions and the breaking of diplomatic ties with Pretoria, in order to speed up democratic changes in his country.

["We are asking for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa," he said, adding that countries which had diplomatic relations with Pretoria should break them off.]

Businessmen have been shaken by Mr. Mandela's stated intent to nationalize mines, banks and industries if his organization attains power. The nation's currency, the rand, rose when Mr. Mandela was freed. But it has since fallen, and the local stock market plunged at the talk of nationalization.

Some major corporations, such as De Beers, are making strategic plans to move assets out of the country. This shaking of confidence, coming on the heels of the devastation of the economy caused by sanctions, threatens to lead to further damage.

The pro-apartheid Conservative Party has found vindication in these events of their warnings that this is exactly what concessions on apartheid would produce.

mains in the Cabinet, apparently because removing him might cause a revolt in the National Party's right wing. But some officials predict that the inquiry will ultimately make Mr. Malan's dismissal unavoidable, if the Defense Minister does not resign. And that, some officials argue, means that the damage done to the Government's image by the disclosures might ultimately be balanced by something to the advantage of Mr. de Klerk and others who have expressed support for a negotiated transition to majority rule: the assurance that civilians, and not those in uniform, will once more be the ultimate arbiters of policy.



# S. African Militants Agree to Press Fight

## Black Group to Form Political Party

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Foreign Service

BLOEMFONTEIN, South Africa March 11—Militant black nationalists opposing any compromise with the white South African government decided here this weekend to step up their political and military efforts to block any negotiations unless they involve handing over power to a black-dominated constituent assembly.

At a conference here, 300 delegates of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) agreed on a strategy of continuing the armed struggle by its forces based outside the country while establishing a party within the country to mobilize blacks opposed to the policy of negotiation of the rival African National Congress (ANC).

The militancy of the group was reflected in the yellow T-shirts worn by many members and delegates that said on the back, "One Settler, One Bullet," which has become the PAC unofficial motto. A "settler" means a white person.

The national conference, the first the PAC has held in South Africa since President Frederik W. de Klerk legalized black parties in early February, served to highlight the emerging opposition within the black community to the ANC's strategy of engaging the white government in negotiations over a new political order here.

The extent of such sentiment within the black community is far from clear, but local white analysts believe it could mushroom if the negotiation process about to begin falters. They also fear that there could be an escalation of internecine black warfare as the ANC and PAC struggle to mobilize support. Already, members of the two groups have fought battles in the eastern Cape Province town of Uitenhage, resulting in a score of deaths.

PAC officials assert that their "black power" cause—which stresses no compromise with the white government, armed struggle, self-reliance and rejection of cooperation with white liberals—is far more popular than the South African and foreign news media believe. They charge the press has engaged

in a deliberate "conspiracy of silence" about their activities because it doesn't like their militant policies.

The PAC's aging president, Zephania Mothopeng, gave a fiery speech at the opening of the conference Saturday, saying that Azania, the group's name for South Africa, was purely "a colonial question" and that the land had to be returned to its rightful owners "even if it sends shivers up their [whites'] spines."

This issue, which the ANC has not emphasized, is particularly sensitive among blacks because 87 percent of the land belongs to the whites by statute.

Mothopeng, 76, insisted that the only negotiation the PAC would participate in was to establish an assembly to draw up a new constitution whose delegates would be chosen on the basis of one-person, one-vote.

"We cannot allow a situation where de Klerk presides over that constituent assembly," he said.

The PAC, which broke away from the ANC in 1959, fell on hard times after both organizations were banned and forced underground a year later. It lost out to the ANC in exile politics, finding little African or other international support for its exclusive black nationalist cause.

The PAC still seems to be having a hard time getting financial support, which has raised doubts about its ability to compete effectively with the ANC.

Many of the delegates who attended the conference here complained the organization did not have enough money to pay their transportation here. Nearly all came by road, some traveling 10 hours or more, because they could not afford air fare.

Nevertheless, the PAC seems to be undergoing a significant revival. It is finding the greatest support for its message in its traditional strongholds, the black and colored townships around Cape Town and in eastern Cape Province as well as around Johannesburg and the Transkei homeland.

Its external wing held a conference last weekend in Harare, Zimbabwe, and—to underline its sharp disagreement with the ANC—Mothopeng refused to attend a dinner hosted by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe for visiting ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The hard-line talk of PAC leaders clearly is appealing to many black youths who are deeply suspicious of de Klerk's intentions and believe he is trying to co-opt the ANC into a political and economic system that

will remain dominated by whites.

Some PAC leaders said they realized the "One Settler, One Bullet" slogan of the organization was doing little good for its image abroad or in the white community. But Benny Alexander, the mixed-raced secretary-general, said it had a powerful appeal among the youth and was "more for psychological effect than anything else."

The PAC's "black power" ideology has been one of the main divisive issues in black nationalist politics for more than four decades. In 1959, the PAC split from the ANC because it didn't believe in the con-

cept of multiracialism and rejected the participation of whites, particularly those belonging to the South African Communist Party, in the black nationalist movement.

More generally, the PAC belongs to the school of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism that was popular across Africa in the 1960s, when many African countries were becoming independent.

But its roots here go back much further, to the 1940s, and to the thinking of Anton Lembede, who spelled out the tenets of the black power philosophy the PAC still holds.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## South African Death Squads

OVER the past few months, events in South Africa have spun a narrative of progress and cautious hope—the unbanning of the African National Congress and other opposition organizations, the dramatic release of Nelson Mandela, the inching toward negotiations to end apartheid and enfranchise blacks. The man carefully orchestrating these developments has been South Africa's reform-minded president, Frederik de Klerk.

During the same period, however, another, more ominous story has been unfolding in South Africa—disclosures of a secret army unit that for more than a decade has systematically murdered and intimidated opponents of apartheid, both black and white.

Last week a formal judicial inquiry began into the so-called Civil Cooperation Bureau. Allegations of its Gestapo tactics have been mounting since November, when a former member of one of the unit's death squads confessed to murders he com-

mitted. These squads may have been responsible for 100 assassinations since 1977.

The disclosures come at what seems, in some respects, an unpropitious time, for they divert government and public attention from the urgent need to get on with negotiations, and they could weaken Mr. De Klerk and undercut his program. They could also impede negotiations by emboldening black militants in their political demands or by provoking a backlash by white hard-liners.

But because the evil existed, it had to be exposed. De Klerk doesn't appear to be implicated in the terrorism, so the disclosures give him a chance to exert firm moral leadership. He should begin by firing Defense Minister Magnus Malan, whose weasel-worded assertion that he didn't order any murders leaves many questions unanswered.

Despite the government's political embarrassment, De Klerk can use the death-squad reports as a chance to distance his progressive vision from the savage element in the Afrikaner legacy.



# South African Violence Nears Level in Black Uprising of '80s

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Foreign Service

## Leaders of Both Races Cannot Restore Calm

JOHANNESBURG, March 9—South Africa is wracked by the most intense violence since the mid-1980s, and neither the South African government nor black nationalist leaders seem able to stem it.

President Frederik W. de Klerk's announcement Feb. 2 that he was lifting the ban on all black political parties, and his release from prison nine days later of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, seem to have unleashed pent-up frustrations and political energies that in turn have created a free-for-all atmosphere in South Africa's homelands and many of its townships.

White and black leaders are calling for a halt to the violence, but a younger generation of impatient anti-apartheid activists and newly emerging gangs of criminals are defying authorities of both races.

De Klerk and his ministers have been warning they will not tolerate the country slipping into "anarchy" and "chaos," but they have been reluctant to get the army involved again in policing black townships.

Urgent appeals by ANC leaders to restore calm in the townships also have failed to have an impact.

At a speech in Durban Feb. 26, Mandela pleaded with his largely Zulu audience to "take your guns, THE SUN

your knives and your pangas [machetes] and throw them into the sea." His dramatic plea calmed the situation for perhaps 24 hours, then fighting between pro-ANC elements and supporters of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi resumed—with the same weapons Mandela urged them to toss away.

Walter Sisulu, the top ANC organizer inside South Africa, issued a special plea Thursday to halt the killing in Katlehong, where rival taxi associations are battling over control of traffic routes. That night, 19 persons were killed in the township.

"The problem is that there are actors who have agendas different to ours," said Murphy Morobe, spokesman for the pro-ANC United Democratic Front, which sought to mediate a truce in the taxi war.

By Thursday, the death toll had reached 200 over a 35-day period, an average of nearly six deaths a day. The rate is almost at the level of the most violent periods of the 1984-86 township rebellions against the white-minority government's apartheid system, which denies political rights to the nation's black majority.

Many protests are against electricity and water rates, house rents and education issues that have sent hundreds of thousands of blacks into

the streets to march on local town halls or government offices in scores of townships. But some marches have degenerated into violence as youthful bands heading home begin throwing rocks at the police.

The government seems uncertain whether to blame the troubles on recently legalized black political groups or to play down their role for fear that right-wing white groups will accuse de Klerk of causing the turmoil by allowing the black organizations to operate freely again. Already, the Conservative Party is doing just this.

South Africa's constitutional affairs minister, Gerrit Viljoen, charged Thursday that the upsurge in violence was "certainly part of an overall plan to destabilize the country and make it difficult to promote peaceful negotiations."

But the chief spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry, Brig. Leon Mellet, said in a radio interview today that "it would be wrong to say at this stage it's all that much politically activated violence." He ascribed it to "criminal involvement in the violence."

Many analysts here see little evidence of any "overall plan" of destabilization, except for ANC efforts to take advantage of the new polit-

ical freedom here to encourage the collapse of the homelands, none of which is recognized outside South Africa. They were set up in the 1960s as part of the "grand apartheid" scheme to separate as much of the black population as possible from white South Africa.

De Klerk's decision to legalize black opposition political activities placed the often petty dictators of the four nominally independent and six self-governing homelands in untenable positions by allowing substantially more political freedom inside South Africa than in the homelands.

Activists there, undoubtedly encouraged by ANC attacks on apartheid and the homeland system, are pressing for a redress of local grievances and the ouster of homeland leaders. Sisulu issued a statement today saying the ANC welcomed "popular revolts against repressive dictatorships in the *bantustans*," a derogatory word for the homelands.

De Klerk already has ordered the army into Ciskei, one of the nominally independent homelands, where a successful coup last Sunday touched off demonstrations that led to massive destruction of property and industry and 27 deaths. Mandela's supporters have also sought belatedly to curb the violence there and arrested some of the looters in

an effort to restore order.

The army is on standby to go into Bophuthatswana, where at least seven people died and 200 were injured Wednesday during the biggest demonstration ever to take place in the nominally independent homeland.

Today, the government was reported to be weighing a more general clampdown, and the press reported the arrest of 53 persons in a police sweep of black townships in the Orange Free State and of 10 blacks in Transvaal Province. In addition, 67 whites who tried to stop black teachers from marching in the gold-mining town of Welkom were arrested.

South Africa is not a quiet place in the best of times. There were 600 "incidents" in December. But in January, the figure rose to 878 and in February to 1,127, according to local press reports. During the first seven days of March there were 300 incidents, a rate that, if sustained, would put the number over 1,200 for the month, the peak level of the uprising in the mid-1980s.

## 130 arrested as South Africa seeks to halt unrest

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (Reuters) — Police said yesterday they had arrested 130 people, black and white, in a bid to quell South Africa's worst political violence in four years.

Security sources said 63 blacks, some of them political activists, were detained in pre-dawn swoops in two provinces yesterday. Police also arrested 67 whites in Orange Free State.

President F. W. de Klerk's reformist white government said it would not tolerate a 5-week-old wave of anti-apartheid unrest in which up to 200 people have been killed.

"Enough is enough. Political freedom is not a license for political hooliganism," Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told a heated parliamentary debate on the violence.

He was replying to a determined attack on the government by the

white rightist Conservative Party, or CP, which said President de Klerk's reforms aimed at giving political rights to the black majority had plunged the country into a state of war.

Police said most arrests had been for criminal offenses like looting and arson and were not political.

Johannesburg lawyer Amichand Soman said 11 people arrested in Orange Free State early yesterday were members of the United Democratic Front anti-apartheid coalition.

Fifteen people were killed and 150 injured when raiders hacked and shot men and boys in a black township on Thursday night, community groups said.

They said the dead were victims of a war between two rival groups of taxi operators feuding for two weeks over routes in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg. At least 40 people died.

MARCH 10, 1990



# De Beers Moves to Fight Nationalization

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

**D**E BEERS, the South African-based diamond conglomerate, moved last week to put most of its assets beyond the reach of nationalization by a future black government. Last Tuesday De Beers cited purely financial reasons for the reorganization of its assets and made no reference to recent statements by ANC leader Nelson Mandela advocating nationalization as a formula for black advancement.

But financial analysts say that, whatever the motives for the move, it provides an almost watertight protection against the threat of future state control.

"Big business had decided even before sanctions that the declining South African economy, tainted as it is by apartheid, was not an appropriate base from which to conduct international business," says Stephen Gelb, a Durban-based economist. "But the move does have direct and serious implications for anyone thinking about nationalizing big companies," he said.

De Beers, the diamond arm of the giant Anglo American Corporation, announced Tuesday that it was transferring its foreign assets into De Beers Centenary AG, a new Swiss-based company. Centenary will be twinned with De Beers as "stapled units" which will trade together on international markets. Shareholders will hold the South African and foreign assets separately.

Should the need ever arise — the threat of nationalization is one example — it would be a simple process to "un staple" the two companies and allow them to trade as two separate entities.

Some four-fifths of De Beers earnings are derived from outside South Africa, mainly from its diamond-selling cartel and from mines in neighboring Botswana and Namibia. Namibia's SWAPO government, which has taken a pragmatic line on nationalization, has vowed to renegotiate the terms under which De Beers operates in Namibia after it takes power next week.

But Mr. Mandela affirms that nationalization of mines and banks remains ANC policy. And on Friday, ANC veteran Walter Sisulu told 500-odd businessmen and bankers that the ANC would not budge on nationalization. "Sometimes one must go to war to secure peace," he said. "We realize that in the short term, nationalization may discourage foreign investment, but in the long term it is the only solution."

Officials at Anglo American, De Beers' parent company, have warned that the day the first mine shaft is nationalized, it will suspend an estimated \$4 billion investment over the next four years.

But anti-apartheid critics contend that the conglomerate is shifting abroad its assets when they are most needed for black advancement in a new political order.

"I think that part of our attraction to nationalization is because we know that some industrialists will refuse to accept the social obligations of industry," said Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, in a recent interview.

Since major international banks withdrew loan facilities to South Africa in 1985 the country has suffered a net capital outflow of \$12 billion. "In the mid-1980s the government made the mistake of regarding the outflow of capital for political reasons as

# South African budget stresses racial reform

By Peter Younghusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — The South African government yesterday announced a virtual freeze in the growth of its defense spending and shifted its budget priorities to programs aimed at improving the life of the country's black majority.

"It is in everybody's interest that a more acceptable and better-balanced situation with regard to living and other standards should come about in South Africa with all possible speed," Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said in submitting a budget to Parliament.

He said the budget proposals for the coming fiscal year were in line with President Frederik de Klerk's apartheid reforms and the promise of a new South Africa with equal rights and opportunities for blacks and whites.

The finance minister's speech to the legislature was laced with terms such as "restructuring" and "structural adjustments," which he said were needed in government spending to attack "past discriminatory practices" and restrictions.

Total expenditures budgeted for fiscal 1990-91 were \$28.05 billion with total revenues of \$24.98 billion.

The resulting deficit before borrowing \$3 billion would represent 2.8 percent of the estimated gross domestic product, which is within the 3 percent guideline suggested by the International Monetary Fund.

The major changes reflected in the new budget include a break with

years of escalating defense spending. Armed services expenditures would be held to \$3.9 billion, or an increase of only 1.3 percent.

The cuts reflected clearly the hostilities involving Pretoria and its northern neighbors, particularly the resolution of the Namibian question and the end of armed intervention in Angola.

Mr. du Plessis also delivered on election promises to reduce personal taxes, cutting \$1.743 billion from the tax revenue account by way of concessions and rebates.

The progress and earning capacity of black people has been retarded for more than 20 years because good jobs were reserved for whites and restrictions were placed on blacks, Mr. du Plessis said.

The shift in budget priorities came as another dramatic step toward a new system of race relations.

The budget document, with its underlying theme of redress, appeared to be aimed at drawing blacks to the negotiating table, a prime objective of the de Klerk government.

"The South African economy must be restructured to raise the standards of life of the whole South African population," Mr. du Plessis said in setting out broad economic policy strategy.

High priority would have to be given to the pressing socioeconomic questions of poverty, housing backlog, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, basic health needs and a host of other problems blocking the road to participation in the economy and toward progress, he added.

temporary," said South African Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals.

In announcing the complex restructuring arrangement Tuesday, De Beers chairman Julian Ogilvie Thomson insisted that "The rearrangement in no way reflects any particular view any of us may have on current developments in South Africa."

Although President Frederik de Klerk's political initiatives have been praised internationally, foreign investors are being cautious, and none of the 350 US companies which disinvested have indicated they will return.

However, the De Beers move was well received by foreign investors as its share price surged this week. "I think we are going to have a political settlement sooner rather than later," said a Johannesburg stockbroker. "But I fear we could also have an economic wasteland sooner than we thought."



# Mandela Reunited With Old Comrade

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

STOCKHOLM, March 12 — Nelson Mandela arrived here today to a statesman's welcome and was reunited with Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, whom he last saw nearly 28 years ago.

Congress officials said the two nationalist leaders, who met privately amid tight security at a castle on a lake near Stockholm, would discuss the future of their organization in light of recent political changes in South Africa.

President F. W. de Klerk legalized the African National Congress and released Mr. Mandela from 27½ years in prison last month as part of a package of political changes, and the formerly exiled organization is now restructuring

itself inside South Africa. The congress's national executive committee elected Mr. Mandela deputy president of the organization this month.

Officials said Mr. Tambo, 72 years old, and Mr. Mandela, 71, last saw each other in 1962 in Tanzania. Mr. Tambo, who led the congress from its headquarters in Zambia while Mr. Mandela was in prison, is recovering at a clinic here from a stroke he suffered last year.

Because of concerns over Mr. Tambo's health — he is undergoing therapy for partial paralysis — officials said no public meeting was scheduled between the men, longtime friends who opened a law practice together in Johannesburg more than 35 years ago.

Mr. Mandela and his wife, Winnie, re-

ceived a brief but enthusiastic reception from Swedish Government officials, South African exiles, Swedish anti-apartheid campaigners, delegates of the Organization of African Unity and others who gathered to meet them on the snowy, wind-swept runway at Arlanda Airport.

In a message to Mr. Mandela, Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson said: "It is a privilege to welcome you here. You will find you are among friends and you can count on our support for justice and liberty in South Africa."

In a five-day visit to Sweden, which has traditionally been one of the congress's most unflinching supporters, Mr. Mandela is scheduled to have talks with Mr. Carlsson and other members of the Government and to address Parliament.

THE WASHINGTON POST

MARCH 14, 1990

**JACK ANDERSON and DALE VAN ATTA**

## South African Steel Finds Way to U.S.

**T**he Reagan and Bush administrations have found enough loopholes in the 1986 South African sanctions law to drive a steel girder through. And that's exactly what has happened—billions of pounds of steel, to be more precise.

In 1987 and 1988 alone, according to Commerce Department records, 1.8 billion pounds of South African steel valued at \$350 million was imported into the United States, in spite of a law banning South African steel.

The point of the law was to squeeze the South African economy until the government there was forced to abandon apartheid.

The law is clear enough on its face: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no iron or steel produced, or iron ore extracted, in South Africa may be imported into the United States."

The Commerce, Treasury and State departments say they are enforcing the anti-apartheid law by not allowing raw steel and iron to be imported. But they say that fabricated steel products are exempt.

That was the rationalization Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.), was confronted with when he began asking questions. The steel issue has been boiling on Bryant's front burner ever since he discovered that a bridge to span the Houston Ship Channel is being built with South African steel.

Six months ago, Bryant started badgering two high-level Bush bureaucrats—Herman J. Cohen in the State Department and Richard R. Newcomb in the Treasury Department. He demanded to know why they weren't enforcing the sanctions law, but

the answers have been nothing but word games played out in memos.

So, the two men must have felt a twinge of indigestion recently when Bryant stalked into a House hearing room to confront them personally. Cohen and Newcomb had been summoned by a House panel to talk about South African trade issues.

Wasting no time, Bryant told the subcommittee on international development, finance, trade and monetary policy that the sanctions to discourage apartheid had been stymied by "the men sitting at the table before you."

Cohen was the first to get grilled, but he deferred to Newcomb, who responded in long-winded fashion on the nuances of the administration's interpretations of the law. Those nuances didn't impress Bryant any more than they would have impressed Nelson Mandela.

"You all have bent over backwards to make the impact of these sanctions as easy as possible on South Africa," Bryant charged.

Now Bryant has persuaded Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), to use his House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on oversight and investigations to look into the enforcement of the steel sanctions.

Our associate Jim Lynch has learned that after one of Dingell's investigators started asking questions at the Treasury Department, the administration offered a deal. The flow of steel from South Africa to the Houston bridge would stop if Dingell's committee would lay off the investigation. Dingell's staff refused and plans hearings on the duplicitous import policy.



## INTERVIEW ANTI-APARTHEID LAWYER

## Remaking South African Law

*Albie Sachs is helping to write the constitution for a future, nonracist nation*

By John Battersby

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

**A**LBBIE SACHS, a soft-spoken white South African lawyer driven into exile 23 years ago, was clearly overcome with emotion as he hugged Nelson Mandela with his left arm at Lusaka's international airport. His right arm, severed at the elbow by a car bomb two years ago, tried to close the embrace, emphasizing the poignancy of the moment.

The two lawyers had last seen each other nearly three decades ago, before Mr. Mandela was jailed and later sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in a plot to overthrow the white minority government.

Mr. Sachs, who was detained in 1963 by the South African authorities as an outspoken lawyer who defended black activists, went into exile in Britain in 1967 after his second spell in solitary confinement.

"A lawyer can survive one term of imprisonment, maybe two — but not more," he said in an interview in his Lusaka Hotel after the reunion with Mr. Mandela. Sachs is one of a small but influential group of whites in the upper echelons of the African National Congress (ANC) who have been central to its intellectual life. He is one of scores of white lawyers who, over the past three decades, have been politicized by defending anti-apartheid activists. Sachs also has a political background. His father, Solly Sachs, was a prominent trade unionist and a controversial member of the South African Communist Party. Albie joined the ANC's nationwide defiance campaign at age 17.

In 1978, Sachs visited the newly independent black-ruled state of Mozambique and felt so at home that he stayed for 10 years, serving as research director at the Mozambican Justice Ministry.

**Human rights guarantees**

It was here that the quiet intellectual set about formulating a range of human rights guarantees for a future South African constitution based on democracy.

He says the best formula is a strong parliament and a bill of rights enforced by a strong judiciary to protect South Africa's cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity.

Mr. Sachs is at pains to persuade whites that their future in South Africa is best served by not opting for any special political protection — as Zimbabwe's 100,000 whites tried to do by securing 20 guaranteed parliamentary seats. Sachs believes the success of any guarantees depends upon their being for the whole population and not select groups.

"It is very much in the interests of whites to become part of the majority and not to set themselves up as being part of a beleaguered minority," he says, stressing that he was speaking in his personal capacity. But his views represent mainstream ANC thinking on a new constitution.

In his 21st year of exile — on April 7, 1988 — Sachs was approaching his automobile outside his apartment in the Mozambican capital of Maputo when everything went blank.

"The next thing I remember was darkness, confusion, and arms tugging at me. I thought I was being kidnapped by South African agents," he says.

In fact, he was being rushed to a hospital; a bomb had been wired to the door of his automobile. As he lay in the darkness of a Maputo hospital a voice told him that he would have to face the future with courage.

"Then someone said the word 'car bomb' and I felt a tremendous sense of elation that I had survived," Mr. Sachs says.

Albie Sachs's only weapons

against apartheid have been his incisive legal mind and his literary pen.

"I once carried a rifle as a cadet at high school, but I always had a vision that one day someone would come to kill me and I wouldn't know how to release the safety catch."

He describes himself as a pacifist by nature, but not by philosophy: "The armed struggle came to me. I never went to the armed struggle," he says, referring to the ANC's decision in 1961 to resort to a limited campaign of violence after 49 years of nonviolent resistance to apartheid.

Mr. Sachs survived 21 years in exile only to become the likely victim of shadowy South African agents who operated worldwide to disrupt the activities of anti-apartheid activists.

Last week a judicial commission in Pretoria began a public probe into these official — and quasi-official — "hit squads."

Human rights groups have named at least 45 activists believed to have been assassinated within the country over the past decade by units operating under the command of senior police and Army officers.

**Hit squads kill opponents**

In recent years, an increasing number of exiles have been gunned down or bombed by roving assassins in neighboring black-ruled states and even as far afield as France. This is believed to have been the work of a secretive military unit known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

The circumstances of the attempt on Sachs's life have not yet been disclosed, but neither he nor the Mozambican authorities have any doubt that it was the work of agents under the direction of the South African military.

Despite the attack, Sachs re-

Continued on page 15



## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS INTERVIEW

# Hard-Liner Set For Reconciliation

*Military chief sees switch to political struggle*

By John Battersby

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

CHRIS HANI, until recently the most visible and persuasive hard-liner in the African National Congress (ANC), today embodies a new optimism in exiled ranks.

"The process is irreversible unless [President Frederik] de Klerk and others want to plunge us into abysmal chaos," says the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing.

His view reflects an emerging trust between the ANC and the National Party government.

For four decades, ANC guerrillas and anti-apartheid activists were banned, detained, tortured, and killed. Now the De Klerk administration has lifted restrictions and vowed to negotiate a democratic constitution within five years.

Mr. Hani's hope has its roots in the belief that any attempt by Mr. De Klerk to halt or reverse the process of change would exact such a price in internal resistance and international pressure as to make the action unthinkable.

"He knows that if he stops the process, the white right wing will chew him up. We are his saviors, and he must know that," Hani said in a wide-ranging interview with the Monitor.

Hani envisages a protracted political struggle in which the ANC will have more space to build itself into a viable opposition party to challenge the government at the ballot box.

"For me, the unbanning of the ANC is a tremendous event. It means that the regime recognizes all that it has denied and refuted in the past," he says.

Hani is destined to be at the center of that process. He is as popular among the thousands of

exiled youths who left South Africa since the 1976 Soweto uprising as he is with militant black youths inside the country.

"I see young faces coming into the national executive of the ANC — young people who have been responsible for popularizing the ANC through the Mass Democratic Movement," says Hani.

And while he ascribes the new political changes both to internal pressure and to rapidly moving international events, he is generous to De Klerk.

"For him it must have taken a lot of courage and determination to make the sort of declarations he made on Feb. 2, where he recognizes that all South Africans must participate in the administration of the country."

But "at the moment I don't think he has any coherent ideas about the sort of South Africa that he wants to build," Hani says.

To Hani, a nonracial, democratic South Africa could come in less than 10 years. And within 5 years, the ANC and its military wing will be back home engaged in political struggle, he says.

His views reflect an adjustment of his position since an internal ANC executive dispute 18 months ago over how far the organization should take sabotage and bombings into white areas.

Hani argued in an interview in mid-1988 that the "sweet life" of white South Africans should end and they should be made to feel the connection between maintaining apartheid and the loss of human life. He has abandoned that view for the present, but insists it played a role in persuading whites to end apartheid.

"When we began to attack targets in the white areas, for the first time white South Africans began to sit up and say: 'This thing

is coming . . . .

"When they actually began to hear explosions in the center of Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban, they began to realize that what they saw happening in other countries . . . was beginning to take place in South Africa."

Hani says the strategy became difficult to regulate because of the spontaneous anger of ANC cadres. "We had to control it and it was a very difficult thing. . . . We felt that going for civilian targets would be counterproductive in terms of our broad strategy of uniting South Africans."

HANI says that before the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle there must be direct talks between senior officers of the South African Defense Force (SADF) and MK commanders.

"The SADF and MK, at the right moment, must sit down together and discuss the modalities and monitoring mechanisms for achieving a cessation of hostilities," says Hani. The recent revelations about "hit squads," he says, would have to form part of precease-fire talks between the SADF and MK.

"I was absolutely taken aback when I was told that senior officers of the SADF were involved in the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), because its operations have actually been responsible for the willful killing of civilians."

At its 1985 consultative conference, the ANC reaffirmed its policy of avoiding civilian targets.

Hani says "I have never taken part in an operation that has involved sending people into South Africa to kill white civilians. It is inconceivable."

He insists that MK has been in-

Continued on page 15



# U.S. backs peace talks to end Mozambique's civil war

By Warren Strobel

The United States has proposed that Mozambique's anti-communist rebels accept the once-staunchly Marxist government's terms for opening face-to-face talks to end the long civil war, Mozambique's foreign minister indicated yesterday.

The government's terms, which the rebels have refused to accept so far, include the acceptance of the government's present constitution and, in effect, its right to rule.

Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, in an interview with The Washington Times, predicted that the rebel Mozambican National Resistance, known by its Portuguese initials as Renamo, will agree soon to direct peace negotiations.

The seven-point U.S. proposal indicates that Washington has taken a far wider role than previously known in trying to negotiate an end to the conflict. Renamo, which has never enjoyed the full support of either the Reagan or Bush administration, is nevertheless backed by a number of American conservative groups.

While indirect talks on a political settlement to the disastrous war have been under way for some time, direct talks will be a first in the long conflict, which began as a Rhodesian attempt to destabilize a hostile Marxist neighbor. Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, was facing its own black liberation insurgency in the 1970s, with Mozambique assisting the foes of the white Rhodesian regime.

South Africa, a staunch supporter of white Rhodesia, took over as a key backer of Renamo when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980. Pretoria has since officially halted its intervention.

A key stumbling block to direct talks has been Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano's insistence that the rebels accept a new Mozambican constitution drafted by his ruling party, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, or Frelimo.

Mr. Mocumbi read from a document containing the seven principles, one of which says, "All the parties shall recognize the legitimacy of the Republic of Mozambique and its constitution, institutions and fundamental laws emanating from them."

The language appears to strongly support the Mozambican government's position.

The State Department, while confirming it has tried to assist in the peace talks, has never publicly confirmed the existence of a U.S.-drafted framework for such discussions.

"We don't comment on them publicly," an administration official said yesterday. "I'm not going to deny the United States has some ideas" that have been shared with the Maputo government.

While Mozambique has undertaken reforms that have separated it from strict Marxist ideology and brought warmer relations with Washington, it has insisted on maintaining a one-party state. And it has declined to treat as equals Renamo, a guerrilla force accused by the State Department of vicious attacks on civilians and other abuses.

Mr. Mocumbi, who is accompanying Mr. Chissano on a visit here that included meetings Tuesday with President Bush, predicted nonetheless that Renamo would soon take up the offer of direct talks to end a civil war that has left several hundred thousand Mozambicans dead and millions homeless.

"I have indications that they are closer to accepting those points," he said. If Renamo does not begin participating in discussions about Mozambique's political future "they will miss the train," he said.

Renamo spokesmen in Washington disputed this. They said Mr. Chissano has yet to reply to a letter from the presidents of Kenya and Zimbabwe, who have been mediating between the two parties, asking for immediate talks without preconditions.

The foreign minister said Mr. Chissano asked Mr. Bush in the meeting Tuesday for additional U.S. aid to help organize elections next year; help millions of refugees in Mozambique and neighboring Zimbabwe; and reduce an illiteracy rate estimated at 70 percent.

The U.S. official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the requests were under study.

However, Mozambique already receives the most U.S. aid of any sub-Saharan African nation — slated at \$110 million this year — and overall assistance to the region is being squeezed by demands from reformed nations in Eastern Europe and Central America.

# Bush Hails Mozambique's Move to Democracy

President Bush yesterday lauded Mozambique's move away from Marxism toward democracy and free enterprise, and he urged President Joaquim Chissano to begin negotiations "at the earliest possible opportunity" to end the civil war with the Renamo rebel movement.

Chissano, who conferred with Bush at the White House, assured the president that his government has decided "to enter into a direct dialogue with Renamo as soon as possible," and he added that "measures already have been taken to bring this decision into effect." He also expressed appreciation "for the positive role the United States has been playing in the peace process."

Mozambique had adopted Marxism after it won independence from

Portugal in 1975. However, under the leadership of Chissano, who became president in 1986, it formally abandoned Marxism last year, and Chissano said his government has prepared a draft constitution that would provide for universal suffrage including direct election of the president and parliament.

Renamo originally was created by South Africa to counter Mozambique's support for the African National Congress, the principal black opposition to Pretoria's white-minority rule. Although it has won support from some American conservatives as a foe of Marxism, Renamo has been denounced by human-rights activists, who accuse it of brutality that has caused widespread death and suffering.

South Africa's new president, Frederik W. de Klerk, has cut off aid to Renamo as part of his policy of seeking accommodation with black Africans, and that has spurred efforts to encourage the two sides in Mozambique to end their struggle.

"We urge all parties to talk at the earliest opportunity so as to avoid further suffering," Bush said yesterday.

To encourage Mozambique's movement toward free-market economics, the United States has opened the way for the country to get preferential loan and trade agreements by removing it from the list of Marxist nations denied such treatment.



## World Bank Renews Emphasis On Long-Term Project Loans

By Hobart Rowen

The World Bank has decided to gradually back away from its recent effort to make fast loan payouts to Third World countries in economic difficulties, according to a top bank official. It will return instead to its original mandate concentrating on long-term lending for large projects, such as dams and roads, designed to help those countries' development.

In revealing the policy shift, the World Bank's vice president and chief economist, Stanley Fischer, said the bank had come around to the view that "for development purposes, most countries will be better off" if the bank resumes the practice of putting more money into long-term projects and reduces its effort to crank short-term help into poorer countries facing debt problems.

Overall, 75 percent of the bank's loans last year went to projects and 25 percent into structural adjustment loans for such purposes as alleviating poverty, promoting exports, reducing balance-of-payments deficits or accomplishing economic reforms.

The re-emphasis on project lending will probably be welcomed by the larger developing countries, such as India, for which the bank already has \$12 billion in the pipeline, and regretted by some smaller countries that had begun to regard the fast-paying "structural adjustment" loans as a convenient, quick fix in an economic emergency.

Fischer indicated that the surprising decision was triggered in part by the need for the bank to protect its high credit rating. Experts note that the bank could be affected by its recent expanded exposure to risks, especially in Latin America, where 40 percent of all of its lending is now quick-disbursing, and aimed at economic reforms, rather than projects.

Fischer promised that the withdrawal of structural adjustment loans would be undertaken slowly, making sure that they will still be available to "countries where there is a clear need."

The bank first began to experiment with "structural adjustment" loans in a small way in 1979. Such loans, with the bank's standard long-term maturity, are "quick-disbursing"—that is, paid out in periods up to 18 months. Money for project loans is paid out over periods as long as 15 years. After about 1980, the bank steadily increased the percentage of its structural adjustment loans.

The bank's entry into quick-disbursing lending also generated some conflicts with its sister agency, the International Monetary Fund. This was formally settled by an accord

in April 1989, under which the bank deferred to the IMF whenever disputes might arise on how a proposed loan would affect the economy of the borrower.

But even within the bank, a belief has spread recently that it should become more selective in choosing countries eligible for quick-disbursing loans, because some of the results had been disappointing.

The new policy, revealed by Fischer in the course of a briefing on other matters, appeared to reflect less the squabble with the IMF, and more a new evaluation of the international debt crisis, as well as the bank's need to protect its triple-A rating on global bond markets.

Fischer said that in the last year or so, "there has been a change in perception" at the bank in evaluating the debt crisis. He cited specific, if limited, success under the debt-reducing proposals of the Brady Plan in coping with problems among some of the major debtors, including Mexico, the Philippines and Costa Rica, with prospects now good that a Brady Plan package may be worked out for Venezuela.

While the bank is thus "a little more relaxed" about the big creditors, it sees a continuing problem for smaller countries suffering under a load of official debt, rather than commercial bank debt, as is the case in Africa. There is another group of countries, such as Morocco and Nigeria, where only 20 percent of their debt might be eligible for Brady plan relief.

Therefore, Fischer said, the bank believes that there must be increasing attention focused on the kind of debt relief that individual governments can provide through the Paris Club, a group of Western creditor countries that reschedules the payment of official loans. And inasmuch as no additional new money is in evidence for the Brady Plan to support debt relief through the IMF and World Bank, Fischer said, "the process seems to be slipping away from the fund and the bank."

"It's not being coordinated by anybody. There's no ringmaster in this business."

## The Surge to Democracy

London.

WHEN NAMIBIA gets its independence from South Africa next week it will boost the number of African countries that are democratic from a paltry three to a meager four, joining Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius.

Africa, the Middle East and China, are the backwaters of democracy. The rivers of liberty do not flow well here. But in the rest of the world, in the long history of mankind, the cup has never been fuller.

By Jonathan Power

The surge to democracy is not just an East European affair. More people now live under democratic rule in the Third World than in the West, and there are more democratic Third World countries than democratic western ones.

In 1977, according to the New York-based Freedom House, only 20 percent of the world's population lived in full democracies, with strong opposition parties, a vigorous press, independent courts and an army under control of the government. Another 36 percent were partly free, with democratic government but with a powerful army in the wings or with a weak system of law and justice.

Today 39 percent are fully free and another 22 percent partly so — 61 percent of the world's people seriously attempting to practice democratic government. We can begin to tantalize ourselves with the thought of an almost completely democratic world by the end of the century.

In the last 12 months, Gambia introduced pluralism and multi-party democracy; Namibia had its first free and fair elections; Zimbabwe allowed the emergence of a multi-party system; Nigeria and Madagascar permitted opposition groups to function, and South Africa is taking the first serious steps toward allowing the black population to vote in national elections.

In Latin America, Chile returned to its 50-year tradition of democratic government; Paraguay held a more or less free election; Jamaica had its calmest and most violence-free election of the decade. In Panama, General Noriega is out and the democrats in; in Nicaragua the Sandinistas recognize an election that has gone against them, and in Haiti earlier this week military strong man Prosper Avril was put on a plane into exile.

In Asia, Thailand consolidated its democracy as military influence on the government declined. In the Middle East, Jordan allowed political parties to campaign for an elected parliament.

There were setbacks too in 1989 — the slaughter and clampdown in China; the brutal squelching of opposition groups in Burma; in the Philippines the weakening of Corazon Aquino's tenuous authority; a military

Continued on page 15



## TRAVEL AFRICA

# Finding Hope in Africa

*Poverty and a lack of basic human rights are perhaps more acute here than anywhere in the world; but there is joy, generosity, and optimism, too*

By Robert M. Press

NAIROBI, KENYA

**R**EPORTING Africa's story of hope and hardships is, in some ways, harder than reporting on either South Africa or Eastern Europe: There are fewer dramatic individuals or events for reporters and TV crews to focus on here.

Yet the number of people living in harsh poverty, without a genuine vote, freedom of speech, or other basic rights, is far greater in East, Central, and West Africa than among the combined populations of South Africa and Eastern Europe.

But there is hope, too. You see it in the eagerness of a child going to school in a war zone in Uganda or Sudan, and in the Ethiopian farmers who are slowly turning a once-barren valley into a fertile hillside using hand-dug terraces to reduce soil erosion.

To try to dig out these stories, helping readers and listeners (half my work is for the Monitor's radio programs) better understand Africa, we travel thousands of miles at a time.

The "we" includes my wife, Betty, a photographer. We work as a team, exchanging ideas on stories and photos, going over each other's work, and sharing the excitement – and frustration – of African reporting.

Our work together has given us a deeper sense of "home." Because we also travel together, we never really leave home. Dinner together after a long day of interviews and photos on a trip is more than just nice. And the Africans we meet often make us feel very much "at home," with kindness and hospitality.

Here are some vignettes from our reporting:

## Nigerian hospitality flows

An intangible part of African reporting is trying to capture the spirit of the people. As I write, I'm listening to Nigerian singer Christy Essien Igbokwe, who sings in her song, "Can you imagine": "Can you imagine, what this world would be like if we live as one? Can you imagine,

what this world would be like if we give peace a chance? It shouldn't matter if you're black or white. Is it so difficult to live as one family?"

We found her at home, bathing her fourth child (her last, she says). She welcomed us to her home, modest by Western standards, upscale by African standards. Christy spoke with disarming candor, punctuated with a warm laugh. Such hospitality and laughter often flow from Africans like a spring. A couple of hours later, we emerged from her home uplifted – and Christy fans.

We saw the hopefulness Christy expresses about her country in many other Nigerians.

Their country has twice seen civilian governments thrown out

by military coups.

The current military regime says it's going to step down in two years. No one is sure it will actually happen, but everyone is hoping it will.

Generalities on Africa are dangerous, but I'll venture that many Africans are similarly hopeful about their countries, their continent. Even when tired, Africans often show that spark of hope for tomorrow which we saw in a village in Senegal.

## Dish-pan band in Senegal

A rule of thumb in African reporting: After stopping in the capital to meet government officials, diplomats, and others, get out into the countryside to see how most people live.

So, after a few days, Betty and I crammed into a taxi with other passengers, leaving Dakar behind, with its French flavor, crowded sidewalks, traffic

jams, and hurry. A young Senegalese man had invited us to his village where he had managed to get a water pump and well installed, easing the burden of the women who used to spend hours each day hauling up water from deep wells, a bucket at a time, for their families and livestock.

Our would-be host had been delayed in another city. But his parents welcomed us to their compound: several mud-walled huts with thatched roofs. We slept on a bed of boards (no mattress or padding) and ate a chicken they had cooked in our honor.

Late one evening, four village women showed up in the compound, asking to be tape recorded. One of them turned a dish pan upside down and gently began tapping her fingers on it. Their long day of hard work over, they sang and danced for almost an hour to the dish-pan beat, with energy that surely must have surprised even themselves.

The next morning we awoke to the thump-thump-thump of women arduously grinding grain by hand – slamming a pestle-like stick into grain held in a hol-

Continued on page 16



After inflicting years of untold human tragedy on his people, the president of Ethiopia's Marxist government has proposed that its Stalinist-style economic system be replaced with a market-oriented economy.

The pictures of emaciated, bony bodies of starving Ethiopians are forever burned into our consciousness as we have witnessed the widespread famine and starvation in this sub-Saharan African nation.

Tragically, the television news has never been very informative about the reasons for the continuing hunger and poverty in Ethiopia and many neighboring countries. According to reporters who went over there to record the devastating death tolls, the problems were due to drought, inadequate foreign aid, falling commodity prices, civil war or foreign debt.

I always waited in vain, while listening to these news broadcasts, for some reporter to say that the food shortages and starvation were largely the result of the country's rigidly socialist system, which placed sharp prohibitions on private enterprise, property ownership and trade. But such simple yet truthful observations were virtually absent from these reports.

Last week, in what could turn out to be one of the landmark economic transformations in sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam urged his party to junk the government's long-discredited economic system.

Among other things, he proposed allowing unlimited private investment; permitting construction of privately owned factories, hotels and other developments on government property; allowing private entrepreneurs and investors to build, rent and sell houses, apartments and

*Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

## Ethiopia shaking loose?

office buildings; and permitting peasants to own the land they farm and to sell their products on the private market.

All of this sounds like common sense to those who live and prosper under democratic capitalism. But it is the absence of capitalism and a free market that has held back sub-Saharan Africa and denied its people the kind of rapid economic growth and prosperity they are capable of achieving.

In his recent background paper titled "Why Asia Grows and Africa Doesn't," Edward Hudgins, director of the Heritage Foundation's Center for International Economic Growth, tackles this subject with intelligence and some stunning statistics.

Over the last three decades, the United States has poured nearly \$12.5 billion into sub-Saharan Africa alone but with little, if any, success. The United States has "transferred some \$400 billion in foreign assistance to the less-developed world" in general, but this is less "than the amount that Africans themselves might have created" if they had deregulated their economies, slashed their extremely high tax rates and allowed private investment, development, banking and trade, Mr. Hudgins writes.

For example, he notes that Tanzania has been given "more funds per capita over the past two decades than almost any other less-developed country." Yet its state-controlled economy today "is in shambles. In fact, it appears in worse shape than it was a quarter-century ago."

What makes Mr. Hudgins' recent study especially timely and impor-

tant is the way he compares the economic catastrophes of African countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda or Zaire, the recipients of huge amounts of U.S. aid, to four newly industrialized countries (or "NICs") in Asia: Hong Kong, Singapore, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan.

The latter have not only eliminated hunger and diseases commonly associated with the Third World, but several of them also have per capita incomes that equal those of some European countries.

Consider this: Five years ago the Asian NICs had a total gross domestic product of nearly \$270 billion, a 434 percent increase since 1965. Their per capita annual income, now at \$3,948, expanded by a robust 266 percent.

By comparison, the gross domestic product in the sub-Saharan countries rose by an anemic 74 percent during this same period, and their per capita income (\$505 for every man, woman and child) is unchanged.

"If between 1965 and 1985, their economies had grown at the same rate as the four Asian NICs, the countries of black Africa today would have a combined gross domestic product of \$648.3 billion rather than the actual \$211.8 billion," says Mr. Hudgins. "This \$436.5 billion in additional wealth would go very far to eliminate hunger, increase people's life expectancy and raise living standards."

But these African countries have pursued Marxist-socialist economic models, which have eliminated all incentives for individuals to work hard and produce wealth. At the same time, the NICs have pursued capitalist models much like our own, and their peoples have prospered.

Sub-Saharan Africa could learn a lot from the Asian success stories. The long overdue economic reforms proposed by Ethiopia's president suggest that perhaps Ethiopians are finally catching on to what creates economic growth and eliminates poverty and hunger.

### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MARCH 13, 1990

#### 'We Are the World'

The latest communist domino to topple may be Ethiopia, where Stalinist forced resettlements, Marxist economics and a bloody civil war led to widespread famine. Dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam recently announced that peasants will be allowed to own the land they till. His government will legalize private investment. There are even plans to turn over public land for private development and to give opposition groups some say. Thus ends a

### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

#### DESPERATE ETHIOPIA

Relief workers called for urgent action to see that food reaches more than four million people facing starvation in war-torn northern Ethiopia.

"A major famine remains avoidable, but the intensification of fighting means that the international community needs to

brutal 15-year experiment with African communism. We eagerly await Western rock stars celebrating the news from Ethiopia by singing the praises of free markets, privatization and the rule of law.

MARCH 13, 1990

act swiftly to ensure supplies get through," said the Save the Children Fund, a British charity.

The fighting between government forces and rebels in Tigre and Eritrea provinces has seriously hit food distribution. Jim Maund, field director for Save the Children, said an attack by forces of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front on the Red Sea port of Massawa last month stopped all relief operations in Eritrea.

"In January, the world community had provided two-thirds of food-aid requirements for 1990, mostly through Massawa," Mr. Maund said. "But now it's impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation since the attack."



scription of the suffering caused by the war in Mozambique and strongly endorsed the decision of the Mozambican government to begin direct discussions with RENAMO as soon as possible," said a statement issued by the White House.

A Bush administration official told reporters that Mozambique is reforming its Marxist policies and, in effect, meeting RENAMO's demands for a multiparty democracy.

"They're changing the constitution, they're instituting a democratic system, restoration of private property, church property, and it is our belief that because so many of RENAMO's demands have been met already, it should not be too difficult

to enter into a negotiated settlement in the near future," the official said.

Mr. Bush said, "We've seen your government take significant steps to heal divisions which threaten your nation, and we urge all parties to talk at the earliest opportunity so as to avoid further suffering."

A spokesman for the guerrillas, who have fought a devastating civil war with the Maputo government since 1975, asserted yesterday that Mr. Chissano has made only cosmetic changes in Mozambique's political and economic system.

"To me it's like plastic surgery. . . . Basically, there is absolutely no change," said Henrique Nyankale, a Washington-based spokesman for RENAMO.

Mr. Nyankale accused the Mozambican president of negotiating in bad faith and said the rebels would never accept a government peace plan, which would require RENAMO to accept the ruling party's existing constitution.

The RENAMO spokesman called for free, internationally supervised elections in Mozambique, noting that the United States has used these as a test of reform in Eastern Europe and Nicaragua.

RENAMO has been accused by the State Department of severe human rights abuses, a charge Mr. Nyankale denied, and never received military aid like that the Reagan administration provided to other anti-communist insurgencies.

WILL U.S. PROMOTERS GIVE MANDELA TIME TO FIGHT APARTHEID? (Continued)

Mandela to witness "a very successful evolution away from" conditions that not long ago were akin to apartheid, argues Edward A. Tiryakian, director of international studies at Duke.

That isn't the only incentive the university will offer. "It would be a package that would capture his attention," promises Mr. Tiryakian, including perhaps a fellowship for South African blacks to study at Duke, an advisory appointment for Mr. Mandela and "what would certainly be a competitive honorarium."

Mandela-mania has been building for decades. While he was behind bars, Florence, Rome and nine other Italian cities conferred honorary citizenship upon Mr. Mandela, as did Athens and Glasgow, Scotland. He has received prizes from Cuba's Fidel Castro, Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, and governments in India, East Germany, Austria and Venezuela. The Soviet Union put his image on a stamp. In Britain, nuclear physicists once even named a subatomic particle after him.

With hundreds of accumulated accolades, Mr. Mandela may well be the most honored-in-absentia man alive. And now that he is free, it's hard for any promoter to resist rushing after him.

But Bob Katz, for one, says he will wait about a month. "Anyone who talks about the commercial booking of Nelson Mandela at this point in time is not only being reckless, but insensitive to the political situation he is facing in South Africa," says the Cambridge, Mass., booking agent.

Mr. Katz's patience might be rewarded. He arranges speaking engagements for Maki, one of Mr. Mandela's daughters and a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Since Mr. Mandela's release, Mr. Katz has jacked up Maki's fee to \$7,500, about \$1,000 higher than before. "What I do with the money is not for public consumption," she says.

Mr. Katz won't say whether he has asked Maki to approach her father on his

behalf, but allows: "I'm not saying that I'm above it." After all, he points out, Mr. Mandela "embodies those qualities of oratorical skill, dramatic profile and quality message that make him the synthesis of all that is attractive in a public speaker."

And a lengthy imprisonment has boosted his potential market appeal, adds Mr. Katz. "He's not overexposed, to say the least."

Maki isn't the only person who can get a foot in her father's door. South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Jesse Jackson have delivered some Mandela-bound mail from friends in the U.S.

Mr. Bradley, the Los Angeles mayor, and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young conveyed their invitations through Archbishop Tutu, while Mr. Jackson served as a courier for New York City Mayor David Dinkins. Upon returning from South Africa, Mr. Jackson told Mr. Dinkins that Mr. Mandela plans to stop in New York if he ever travels to the U.S. "The response was immediate and direct," says Albert Scardino, press secretary to Mr. Dinkins, "and that was 'New York is the first place I'd come.'"

Not that Mr. Scardino thinks his boss really needed Mr. Jackson's help. "There is a very warm relationship between Mr. Mandela and Mr. Dinkins and there is also a close personal bond," Mr. Scardino says.

"Although," he concedes, "they've never met."

Chicago officials didn't "know anyone in particular to pull strings for us," says Ms. Lavelle. So they called the State Department, and got some solid government advice: Prepare the invite in triplicate. Two copies—one by fax, another by diplomatic pouch—went to an official of the U.S. consulate in Johannesburg for delivery by hand to the Mandela home. The third copy went to Mr. Mandela's post office box—by telegram.

"You don't just pick up a phone and

talk to Mandela," says Richard Knight, a researcher with the American Committee on Africa, a New York group that has long tracked Mr. Mandela's plight.

Tell that to Ted Kennedy. The Massachusetts senator called Mr. Mandela and got through, with an invitation for him to visit the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. "Mandela said he hopes he can come," the senator's spokesman says.

Mr. Bush used the phone, too. But the White House won't have a monopoly on his time should Mr. Mandela come to Washington. A delegation from Capitol Hill visited Mr. Mandela and asked him to address a joint session of Congress. The District of Columbia City Council has invited him, and Howard University wants a visit, too. And then there is Transafrica, the anti-apartheid group, which has its own scenario for Mr. Mandela.

"I would see a major address at some important location in Washington to tens of thousands of Americans who would come from all across the country," says Randall Robinson, Transafrica's executive director.

Back on the West Coast, Jane Fonda is offering to hold a Hollywood fund-raiser for Mr. Mandela. To get him to attend, she is counting on good will from a benefit she ran for Archbishop Tutu a few years ago, as well as help from Paula Weinstein, who built contacts within the ANC while producing the anti-apartheid film "A Dry White Season."

And, if Mr. Mandela isn't too tired after hitting New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Washington, Atlanta and Durham, the University of Michigan also would like a bit of his time. In 1987 it broke with tradition by awarding him its first in-absentia honorary degree, and now it wants him to drop by. Says Walter Harrison, head of university relations: "It would be a wonderful occasion to give him a degree in person."



## REMAKING SOUTH AFRICAN LAW (Continued)

mains a dogged optimist about the prospects of a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

"Broad sections of the white community are taking pride in the international prestige of their compatriot, Nelson Mandela," he says. "They are beginning to think as South African nationals — not as whites."

Soon after the bomb blast, Sachs learned to write with his left hand and now uses a word processor to publish his ideas about guarantees for minorities in a new South Africa.

He shows no trace of bitterness toward the faceless assassins who tried to kill him. He wanted to meet the man arrested by the Mozambicans in connection with the attack.

"I was very anxious to meet him," says Sachs. "I wanted to confront him with the reality of a human being. I couldn't bear the cold, passionless act of 'taking out' another human being."

The meeting never took place, but Sachs still talks about a "soft vengeance."

"When I was in hospital in Britain, a very good friend said: 'Don't worry, Comrade Albie, we will avenge you.'"

"I started thinking about what vengeance meant — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an arm for an arm," he says.

"But that is not what we are fighting for. If we are the same as the other side, then what is it all about? If we can achieve a democratic South Africa in which all are equal — that is the finest vengeance. This is the soft vengeance — to have a different morality."

The sense of elation that Albie Sachs experienced on surviving the car bomb remains with him today — particularly when he thinks about going home.

He has told the leadership of the ANC that he is ready — even impatient — to return to Cape Town, the scenic Atlantic Ocean port he left reluctantly 23 years ago. His elderly mother in Cape Town will believe it when she sees him in the flesh.

"In 1984, when the revival of the anti-apartheid movement raised my hopes, I telephoned her and told her to put a chicken in the refrigerator," says Sachs with a smile. "In 1986, when the emergency was declared, I told her to take it out again."

## ALBIE SACHS BIOGRAPHY

**1952:** Joined the African National Congress's nationwide defiance campaign at age 17. (Whites were not allowed in the ANC.)

**1960:** Rose to prominence as a civil rights lawyer defending many black activists from the ANC and the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

**1963:** Detained under secu-

rity laws for activities connected to the ANC.

**1966:** Detained a second time.

**1967:** Went into exile in Britain, and later married South African activist Stephanie Kemp.

**1969:** Joined the ANC when ranks became open to whites.

**1977:** Went to Mozambique for independence celebrations, and was later appointed senior lecturer at the Eduardo Mond-

lane University in Maputo.

**April 7, 1988:** Severely injured in car bomb attack while serving as director of research in the Mozambican Justice Ministry.

**1988:** Appointed director of research of the South African Constitutional Studies Center at London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies.

**1989:** Visiting lecturer in law at Columbia University in New York City.

**January 1990:** Published booklet called "The Constitutional Position of White South Africans in a Democratic South Africa."

— John Battersby

## THE SURGE TO DEMOCRACY

(Continued)

coup in the Sudan that ended the beginnings of democratic rule, and in Surinam an increase in military influence on the civilian government.

The reverses, however, were relatively few. Democracy continues its advance over most of the planet, leaving us with only three principal laggards — China, the Arab states of the Middle East and Africa.

Of these Africa gives the most hope, partly because of the progress of the last 12 months and partly because of the restless urge for democracy now apparent. In the last few weeks the former French colonies of Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger and Gabon have all experienced serious political disturbances. Benin's government, which has been in power for 15 years, decided to abandon Marxism-Leninism and authorized the formation of rival political parties: 52 parties registered in 24 hours!

Nevertheless, the image of the traditional strong man is bedded deep in the African psyche. Much is going to rest on Namibia — whether the father figure of the liberation war, Sam Nujoma, will respect the tightly drawn constitution; on Nigeria, Africa's largest nation, which appears to be preparing for one of its periodic lurches toward democracy, and, not least, on South Africa where Nelson Mandela has yet to use his public pulpit to show that his fight is for democracy, not just for the defeat of apartheid.

In the Middle East, of the 16 Arab states six are absolute monarchies and five are secular dictatorships. Iraq, Syria and Libya are worse than anything ever found in Eastern Europe, but Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Jordan and Algeria have introduced or are introducing elements of pluralism.

If only President Hosni Mubarak would take the plunge in Egypt and hold free elections — which he would probably win on the village vote, if not the urban — the Arab world would be challenged by its intellectual and emotional epicenter. But fear of the possible electoral appeal of Islamic fundamentalism appears to freeze Mr. Mubarak in the status quo.

Which leaves us with China. Before the Tiananmen Square massacre many mistakenly believed China was on a reform course. In truth, Deng Xiaoping has been fairly consistently turning the clock back ever since he closed down the wall-postering on "Democracy Wall" in 1979. We now wait the end of Mr. Deng's rule as we waited the end of Mao Zedong's, hopeful that then humanity can take a great leap forward to the freedom it clearly yearns for.

## HARDLINER SET FOR RECONCILIATION (Continued)

strumental in building the ANC into the force it is today. "Had it not been for MK the younger generation would not have known of the ANC."

He says MK also played a pivotal role in building up the ANC underground inside the country.

"If there is a breakdown in the talks and we see that there is no seriousness on the part of the government — and it is resorting to its old ways of violence against us — then those units will be given instructions to fight back to continue with armed struggle."

Until six weeks ago, Hani called for an escalation in armed struggle with a passion that has become his hallmark.

"The times have changed," he says. "That was the time of [former President Pieter] Botha . . . the enemy was sending its forces across the border and killing our people."

"It was a very difficult period so my language had to reflect that sort of climate. But now there is a climate in South Africa which demands responsible statements from the ANC — including myself. We are calling for unity and reconciliation. We want to defuse the emotions and the passions."

The most immediate reason for Hani's transformation seems to be the influence of Nelson Mandela, who after release from prison last month, was named ANC deputy president. Mandela presided over his first executive meeting here last week.

"Here is a man who has been incarcerated for 28 years and there is not a trace of bitterness," Hani says. "For us this is an important lesson."



lowed-out stump. They lift up the stick and slam it down: up, down, up, down. The village is trying to find outside funding for a grinding machine. But will the men – often found to be playing checkers or sipping tea as the women grind grain – just think up other tasks for the women to do in their free time if the grinding machine is obtained?

#### **Under fire in Sudan**

War-zone reporting is not easy. But our 10-day trip in late 1989 into rebel-held territory in southern Sudan went smoothly – except for the bombing. We rode relief supply trucks to the town of Bor, where the rebellion began in 1983. About a year ago, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) took control of Bor. The government bombs the area from time to time. When a bomber appeared overhead, I hit the dirt. Betty was still taking photos of the plane. And she took one of me lying on the ground, tape recorder in hand, interviewing a Sudanese rebel relief official.

The senselessness of the whole thing struck me when the plane, whose bombs missed us, circled a farming village about six miles away and bombed it, injuring 19 civilians, including an 11-year-old girl who had just returned from one of the grass-roots primary schools the SPLA has launched in recent months.

On the same trip, we met a Dinka fisherman in a small clearing on the Nile. Dinka is the main southern tribe in Sudan. He knew little of the details of the war. In both Sudan and Ethiopia, where rebel leaders claim to represent the people, you wonder just how much ordinary people

## **FINDING HOPE IN AFRICA** (Continued)

support the wars, which have taken so many lives and ruined the economies.

#### **Truth or fiction in Ethiopia**

One of the hardest things about African reporting is sorting out truth from fiction. In Ethiopia, for example, there is no shortage of official statements by the government. But much of that has no relation to the feudalistic conditions prevailing in most of the country, or the brutal power struggles that have taken place in government.

Where you have access to government officials, personal relations are the key to approaching the truth. Phones may be tapped; officials may be sacked for being quoted and named. So you listen to a variety of sources – official and private, sometimes not even pulling out a notebook. And you never, never violate promised confidentiality.

Many top government leaders don't want unbiased reporting; they want their version of things printed. They consider reported criticism of their ideas as a personal attack, rarely separating ideas from personalities. And most African heads of state spend more time consolidating their power than on developing their country or encouraging such things as freedom of speech. Citizens speaking out against government policies often face censure – or detention. The rule of law is far weaker in Africa than the rule of one person: The person running the country.

#### **Home again in Kenya**

But reporting has to look beyond what leaders say to how people live in places such as Nairobi, Kenya's capital.

Tourists stop in Nairobi for good meals at the numerous high quality hotels before heading off on marvelous game-viewing safaris. But away from the downtown hotels and tall, modern office buildings, out beyond the expanding middle-class apartments is another world, where most of Nairobi's poor live.

Sometimes we visit a friend in his one-room, cement-floored home in a slum on the edge of the city. To reach his place, we walk down narrow dirt passageways between rows of similar, tiny shacks, then step over a raw sewage creek.

His room has no heat, no electricity, no running water, and only one small window. A sheet hung from a rope divides the bedroom and cooking area from the sitting area.

But inside this modest home we find friendship and good food, typically *ugali* (corn meal ground to a consistency of mashed potatoes), spinach, and perhaps a few small pieces of meat.

My friend earns about \$40 a month in a factory. His wife is unemployed, but would like to find work as a seamstress.

Kenya is our base, a nice one. When we return from trips to other African countries, we're tired. We recuperate in our apartment with our two cats. Often we sit on the balcony, overlooking the garden – planning our next trip.

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