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Asmara Mutiny Crushed, Says Ethiopian President

Diplomats Cite Signs of Air Force Taking Up Revolt

By Mary Battiatia
Special to The Washington Post

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

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

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

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

State-run Radio Asmara also reported the government's recapture of the provincial city after fierce fighting. It said six generals who had led the northern army uprising had been killed.

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

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

throw of Mengistu's Marxist government. They also read a list of demands, including a negotiated settlement of the 28-year civil war in Eritrea.

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

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

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

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

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

also are in question, according to diplomatic sources.

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

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

Bush Meets Tutu and Vows to Press Pretoria

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

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

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

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

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

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

Tutu Is Encouraged

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

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

The Archbishop's comments were strikingly different from the one he made in 1984 after meeting President Reagan. Archbishop Tutu called Mr. Reagan a “racist pure and simple.”

Continued on Pg. 15

Continued on Pg. 14

ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

Luxury of Apartheid

For the first nine months of his two years in detention, Zwelakhe Sisulu was in solitary confinement. All he was given to read was the Bible — in Afrikaans, a language he cannot read.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Sisulu is a member of an important political family. His father, Walter, a leader of the African National Congress, has been in prison with Nelson Mandela for 25 years. His mother, Albertina, is co-president of the main internal anti-apartheid movement, the United Democratic Front. In a nonracial South Africa, Zwelakhe Sisulu would no doubt also play a political role.

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

Is the Government's policy changing? "One cares about Angola and Namibia," Mr. Sisulu said. "But on the

ground inside South Africa there is nothing that amounts to real reform."

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

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

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

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

South Africa can no longer afford it.

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

"It could be both, you know," Mr. Sisulu said. "In the South African context you have to remember that the falling into place of the logic of numbers is not evolutionary; it is revolutionary."

"For decades Johannesburg was a white city with white suburbs even though there were all those blacks who needed homes. The reason that could happen was that South Africa was rich enough to employ a police force to perform that function. But now the economic situation is in shambles."

"Apartheid used to be a luxury the country could afford. Now it is a luxury the country can no longer afford."

Will the Government adjust to the changing reality?

"I think the adjustment will be a slow and painful one. The Government will not acknowledge the logic of numbers yet but will want to preserve the illogic of its ideology. I don't think there is yet in South Africa a *dé Gaulle*-type of figure who is able to press ahead."

So the struggle would just go on and on?

"That is my thinking. Except that there are certain pressures to be brought from outside. There is no question in my mind that what we're seeing in Angola and Namibia is due in large part to the flight of American capital from South Africa. When the country's foreign loans come due next year, you can expect more talk about so-called reform." □

REBEL ISSUE STALLS PLAN FOR NAMIBIA

3 Nations Halt Talks Without Consensus on Insurgents

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

RUACANA, Namibia, May 16 — Namibia's United Nations-sponsored transition to independence is being stalled because of difficulty in determining whether Namibian insurgents have withdrawn from the territory and returned to their bases in Angola.

After 16 hours of discussions near this town on the Angolan border, negotiators for Angola, Cuba and South Africa adjourned today without word of a consensus on whether all the Namibian insurgents had left the territory. The delegations agreed to talk again on Friday on the Angolan side of the border.

The Namibian insurgents crossed the border into Namibia when the



The New York Times/May 17, 1989

Talks in Ruacana centered on whether guerrillas left Namibia.

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

Pretoria's Commitments

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

The independence plan for Namibia, which is being supervised by the United Nations, required that South Africa reduce its force in the territory to 12,000 men within six weeks of the start of the transition. Pretoria was also to abolish discriminatory laws that would interfere with elections scheduled for November and allow for the return of Namibian exiles. Because of the dispute over the Namibian insurgents, those conditions have not been met.

Continued on Pg. 14

Blacks Shaped Language Of Apartheid, Linguists Say

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

AFRIKAANS, the language that symbolizes white supremacy, has actually been heavily influenced by tribal dialects and is widely spoken by South Africans of mixed and black racial origins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Other Roots of Afrikaans

BORROWED WORDS

Afrikaans	English meaning	Source
tjaila	to go, as to leave work	Zulu
pappagaal	parrot	Arabic
lobola	dowry	Sotho
aikonn	an interjection, an emphatic denial of an accusation	Zulu
kombuis	kitchen	Malay
tiekie	smallest silver coin	Malay
ghonnel	gunwale	English
gora	shallow hole in a riverbed where water seepage could be found	Khoi
banya	a lot	Malay dialect
now-now	not immediately, but quite soon	Malay dialect
donga	ditch	Khoi
koppie	small hill	Khoi

Source: Elaine Reesberg, South African Embassy in Washington

our language. It's a subtle, singing kind of language."

The roots of Afrikaans go back to **Hollands**, a Dutch dialect spoken around Amsterdam that was brought to the southernmost part of Africa in the 17th century, when Holland was a great maritime power. Many Afrikaners like to trace their lineage to these first Dutch settlers around what is now Cape Town.

The settlers acquired slaves from Africa and Southeast Asia who brought transactional dialects, used for negotiating or bargaining, of Malay and Portuguese. The pioneers also encountered indigenous tribes like the Khoi, colloquially called Hot-

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

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

Forming the Possessive

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

The legacy of slave Portuguese and Malay dialects is apparent mostly in the grammar, but also in a handful of function words like the Malay "banya" for "a lot." An Afrikaner's promise to do something "now-now," meaning not immediately but quite soon, derives from Malay usage. The use of a double negative was borrowed from the Portuguese. The sentence "I will not do it" translates into Afrikaans as "Ek sal dit NIE doen NIE." And as in Portuguese, a separate word in Afrikaans forms the possessive. Afrikaners would say "John's coat" as "Jan SE baadjie."

The influence of the indigenous Khoi becomes evident in words for which the early settlers had no comparable word in Dutch. Afrikaners today call a ditch a "donga," a small hill a "koppie" and building mortar "dagha," as the tribes did. They use the Khoi "abba" to speak of carrying a baby on one's back. To a lesser extent, words were borrowed from the Zulu and Sotho.

"I take the view that the Afrikaans language had become established within at most two generations," said Prof. Fritz A. Ponielis, a linguistic historian at the University of Stellenbosch. "The changes in Afrikaans were so fast that had it taken three centuries to run its course, it still would have been rapid."

Influence of Women

Continued on Pg. 14

Majority Rule 'Unjust,' Says Botha's Heir

De Klerk Dampens Talk Of Change in S. Africa

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

De Klerk's speech today made it clear that under the reforms to be proposed, blacks may vote in some as yet unspecified kind of legislative institution, as long as they do not

Tutu Urges U.S. to Press South Africa

Visiting Clerics Seek Financial Sanctions

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

university executives. "Financial sanctions are crucial," he added.

Tutu, together with the Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner cleric, presented a "founding statement" of shared views that called on President Bush to take "early, pro-active and creative policy decisions" to bring about democracy in South Africa.

The Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, also signed the

Continued on Pg. 15

outvote whites.

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

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

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

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

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

While the "matters of common interest" have not been specified, party strategists have said they would include such issues as fiscal

affairs and foreign policy. The "own affairs" would include such matters as segregated education.

While neither Heunis nor de Klerk has been specific on the composition of the proposed multiracial legislature, National Party officials have said it is not envisioned as a directly elected body, but would consist of selected leaders of various racial communities.

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

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

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

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

U.S. May Invite S. African Leader For Talks Here

The Bush administration is considering inviting the leader of South Africa's ruling white party, Frederik W. de Klerk, to Washington as part of a planned U.S. initiative to help bring about a compromise between whites and blacks there.

"A meeting with de Klerk is something being considered but there is no definite plan and no invitation yet," a State Department official said.

"He's obviously a very important person for us to be talking to if we want to get negotiations going," the official added.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said he did not anticipate "a presidential meeting" if de Klerk comes here, but added "there could be State Department-level meetings with him."

No South African president, prime minister or National Party leader has visited here since the late Hendrik F. Verwoerd, the man responsible for that nation's apartheid system, became prime minister in 1958, according to a South African Embassy spokesman.

De Klerk is expected to succeed South Africa president Pieter W. Botha after parliamentary elections scheduled for Sept. 6. De Klerk is leader of the ruling National Party.

Herman J. Cohen, the new assistant secretary of state for African affairs, will visit South Africa "sooner rather than later" to discuss a possible visit by de Klerk, among other issues, the State Department official said.

Yesterday, South Africa's state-run radio

broadcast a commentary that said de Klerk might be invited to meet with President Bush.

"Such an invitation would be an important breakthrough in South African-United States relations," the commentary said. "In particular, a visit by Mr. de Klerk to the White House would be important in the context of the sanctions debate."

The commentary noted that Bush, like President Ronald Reagan before him, is a staunch opponent of further sanctions on South Africa.

Just how antiapartheid activists in this country would respond to a visit by the South African National Party leader remains unclear.

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

The Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Council of Reformed Churches; the Rev. Beyers Naude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev. Frank Chikane, the council's secretary-general, also will address the forum.

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

THE SUN

May 17, 1989

200 black Mobil workers strike in South Africa

By Peter Honey

Johannesburg Bureau of The Sun

would grant financial security to workers. Nearly all the companies have ignored the union's demand.

The union is asking companies to give a year's notice of their intention to divest; disclose all details of the divestment deal; pay each worker a month's wages for each year worked; write off all loans, including housing loans, to workers; pay retirement benefits; and deposit all proceeds from the sale of the company into a workers' trust.

CWIU General Secretary Rod Crompton said the ballot would involve some 500 workers, including staff at Mobil's oil refinery in Durban. Mobil employs almost 2,800 people, most of them black.

Both Mobil and GENCOR have agreed to guarantee workers' jobs for one year, and GENCOR has undertaken to continue funding Mobil's social responsibility programs for at least five years. But Mr. Crompton said that this arrangement was reached without consultation with the union, and that as a result it could not be trusted.

"Workers believe that the company deliberately lied to them about its intentions," Mr. Crompton said.

"They are demanding that genuine negotiations on the CWIU proposals ... take place and that agreement be reached prior to Mobil's final pull-out."

Mobil's industrial relations manager, Jacques Franken, said the company was willing to meet union representatives to discuss the issue.

"It was not necessary for the union to resort to work stoppages to tell us they wanted to talk. We have an open-door policy," he said.

He denied the union's claim that the company had hidden its intentions to divest.

"We never lied to the union. But apparently they were under the impression that they would be involved in the divestment process. However, the divestment has nothing to do with Mobil South Africa, as it is the Mobil Corp. in the U.S. which is disinvesting," Mr. Franken said.

"We immediately informed the union when we were told about the Mobil U.S. decision to disinvest."

Mr. Crompton replied that Mobil informed the union only after the deal with GENCOR was struck.

"Why did Mobil have to wait until the whole matter was settled?"

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — More than 200 black workers at the Mobil Corp. fuel depots in South Africa have gone on strike to protest the oil company's decision to divest from the country without negotiating benefits for its employees.

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

Mobil announced last month that it would sell its South African operations to the local mining and industrial giant, General Mining Union Corp. (GENCOR). Mobil's action followed divestment pressures from U.S. anti-apartheid groups and legislation that has increased taxes on U.S. companies doing business in South Africa.

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

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

Chaplain Risks Life to Minister to African Guerrillas

By William Claiborne

LUSAKA, Zambia—The Rev. Pamanile Gqiba is a man on the move.

"Every night, even my friends don't know where I sleep," said Gqiba, chaplain to the outfit African National Congress, the main guerrilla force battling white minority rule in South Africa.

Referring to shadowy assassination teams that in the past 15 years have murdered more than 100 South African anti-apartheid activists—half of them outside the country—Gqiba said, "I know they would like to kill me. The only way I have to defend myself is to keep moving."

Virtually all of the assassinations have gone unsolved, leading to accusations by anti-apartheid activists that "death squads" are operating with tacit approval of South Africa's security police.

Four years ago, Gqiba was a newly ordained Anglican priest, assisting at the altar at St. John's Church outside Cape Town and on the side being outspoken about South Africa's apartheid system of racial separation.

When the police got onto his trail, he fled to neighboring Lesotho and eventually found his way here to the ANC's headquarters, where he administers to the commanders and fighters of the movement's guerrilla struggle against the white government in Pretoria.

He frequently visits training bases of the ANC's military wing, the Spear of the Nation, in Angola and other African states, and encourages young revolutionaries preparing to infiltrate South Africa to maintain their resolve in the face of the South African military that has decimated the ranks of the guerrilla movement during the 28-year-long armed struggle.

"Yes, I get some who are discouraged. My job is to convince them that we are about to reap the fruits of victory. I counsel them that we have to fight on," Gqiba, 36, said in an interview. "The current of history is on our side. The people at home are on our side. God is on our side. We are winning, because our cause is right."

Expounding a liberation theology adopted by the South African Council of Churches at a conference here on July 2, 1987, Gqiba said: "As a Christian, I find it difficult to pick up a gun and kill someone. But we have to realize, God has decided to put us in a hostile world. I have to preach the good news, which is liberation. What happens when I preach the good news? I am put in jail, detained. Should I not defend myself?"

In what has become known as the Lusaka Declaration, the South African church leaders recognized the use of violence as a "means to end oppression" that has been compelled by the actions of the government.

Many religious leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, have supported that doctrine.

Tutu has said, "I'm talking about a moral issue. In moral issues you have to say which is the lesser or greater evil, as it had to be decided whether to allow Hitler to go on chucking children into gas chambers, or whether to take action to stop it."

"It is this notion of a 'just war' that sustains him," Gqiba said, despite his abhorrence of deaths caused by car bombs, whether the victims are security policemen or civilians.

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

"Our soldiers go back to South Africa and adhere to military laws. But the racist regime forces them to violate these laws. They see black women and children being killed by the police, and they break the ANC code," Gqiba said.

He added, "In the South African context, I wouldn't say it's a sin. They are being forced to behave not as soldiers, to retaliate. They are being forced by the racist regime to do that."

Gqiba said he makes no distinction

between his political ideology and theological principles. "They are intertwined," he said. "If you are a true Christian, you cannot fold your arms to what is happening in South Africa. Yes, you have to take sides. God is on the side of the weak."

Gqiba said that whenever he visits ANC military training bases to "spiritualize" guerrillas of the Spear of the Nation, he encounters deeply religious youths frustrated by the continuation of apartheid in South Africa despite the ANC's liberation efforts since the movement was founded in 1912. The military wing was founded in 1961, after the ANC was outlawed by South Africa.

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

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

Washington Times MAY 19, Effort to end 'Zulu war' hits snag on venue

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Prospects for an end to the "Zulu war" between rival black political groups in Natal province floundered yesterday when the two sides failed to agree on where to hold peace talks due to start tomorrow.

The clashes, in which 770 persons have been killed in the past 12 years in the suburbs of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, usually pit supporters of the Zulu tribe's Inkatha movement against those of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

COSATU and the UDF said yesterday they rejected the "insistence" of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, that Ulundi, capital of the KwaZulu tribal homeland, should be the venue for the talks.

South Africa

Why they fight on in Natal

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

Last September COSATU and Inkatha managed to reach an accord which held out the hope of peace. Both sides declared their rejection of

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

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

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

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

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

Endless obstacles to the train's progress have been resolved—from a rail workers' strike to the Moslem holiday of Ramadan and a dispute over armed escorts. The latest roadblock is that local authorities, despite earlier agreements, now refuse to drop half of the food supplies in rebel-held areas. A similar problem plagues the barge in Malakal—it has sat in port for weeks, prevented from delivering 6,000 tons of food. The real reason for these delays is that the government of Sudan does not have effective control of local officials and cannot force them to carry out national policies. The government also arms local militias that disrupt relief deliveries and then disavows their activities.

The assertion that both sides in Sudan's civil war have agreed to a cease-fire also needs clarification. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army declared a unilateral truce for the month of May. The

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

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

Time Is Running Out in the Sudan

government has "welcomed" this peace initiative but has not yet officially accepted or rejected it. To be fair, Prime

Minister Sadiq Al Mahdi proposed a "month of tranquility" in April, which the rebels never officially accepted either. It is time for both sides to stop playing word games; to demonstrate good will by accepting legitimate offers by their opponents and to get down to the serious business of negotiating a permanent peace settlement.

During my trip to Sudan this March, I was critical of relief efforts that were long on optimism but short on such details as logistical support, trucks, and drivers. While enthusiasm and hope are desperately needed, overly optimistic strategies and assessments prevent us from squarely addressing the needs in southern Sudan. The international community must have concrete plans, realistic evaluations and hard, if troubling, facts in order to prevent the tragic Sudanese famine of 1988 from happening again in 1989.

GARY L. ACKERMAN

U.S. Representative (D-N.Y.)

Member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Select Committee on Hunger.

Washington

THE WASHINGTON POST MAY 17, 1989

Helen Suzman
To Retire at 71

JOHANNESBURG—Helen Suzman, South Africa's best known white civil-rights campaigner, said yesterday she will retire from Parliament in September after 36 years in the forefront of the anti-apartheid political opposition.

Allies and opponents joined in praising her, and ruling National Party spokesman Con Botha said "she will be missed as a courageous fighter who was ahead of her time."

Suzman, 71, campaigned for political rights for South Africa's black majority, and from 1961 to 1974 she was the only legislator opposing the legal policy of race discrimination. Many black nationalist leaders have referred to her as "the conscience of white South Africa."

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

UN: World Population Heads for 14 Billion

By Linda Feldmann

WASHINGTON

FORGET about having a world population of only 7.7 billion people.

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

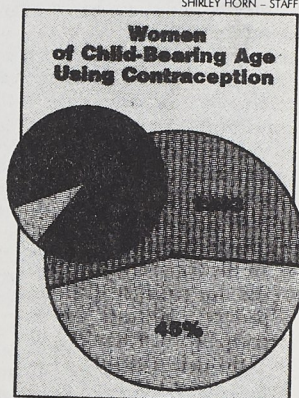
Consider instead, a global population of 14.2 billion human beings by the year 2100 – the latest projection from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). At almost triple the current level of 5.2 billion, that number could become a reality, UNFPA says. Some global environmentalists contend that the world cannot sustain that many people.

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

"The additional money would meet demonstrated current demand for birth control," says Sharon Camp of the Population Crisis Committee, which is helping UNFPA promote its report.

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

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



Source: United Nations Population Fund

nomie difficulties, the report says.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Men, however, are not to be left out of family-planning decisions. A 1988 study of Yoruba women in Nigeria found that the better the communication between husband and wife, the smaller families tended to be. It also found that the more educated the wife, the closer the emotional bond with her husband and the more they made decisions together.

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

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

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

By ROGER THURLOW

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

Since the bank's creation 25 years ago to help finance the economic and social progress of the continent, the standard of living in many African countries has actually declined. Africa is home to 22 of the world's 30 poorest countries. The continent's pile of debt is steeper than Mount Kilimanjaro. Health, education and social programs are in retreat.

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

But in Africa, a continent of grand deception, things are seldom as they seem. For by other measures, the African Development Bank is that rarest of African species: a success.

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

A New Picture

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

At the bank's slick 18-story headquarters in this bustling West African port, its exacting president, Babacar N'Diaye, accepts such compliments with pride and bemusement. "The word Africa," he says, "needn't carry the connotation of weakness, laxity and unprofessionalism."

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

A Matter of Accountability

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

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

than merely bankrolling it.

"There is little chance that traditional ways will see us through the years ahead," says Mr. N'Diaye, a Senegalese who has been with the bank since it was created in 1964 during the first heady years of the continent's post-colonial era. Back then, everyone figured that with enough money, mineral-rich Africa couldn't go wrong. But it did.

"We have realized that project financing alone won't lead to development. We need to integrate ideas which will help shape the development of the continent," he says. "Ideas are more important than resources."

Strange words for a banker, but Mr. N'Diaye is bouncing on the edge of his armchair as he speaks them. "Our dream is to transform the bank into a center of knowledge for African development," he says. "We must serve as a catalyst."

At the bank's headquarters, some of the best and brightest minds on the continent, from Egypt to Lesotho and Senegal to Somalia, believe they really can create a healthier, sounder Africa. At the same time, they are hoping to steer the bank out of the shadow of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which have traditionally dictated development patterns on the continent.

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

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

—Debt. The bank proposed 18 months ago that all external debt of African countries should be consolidated and converted into long-term, low-interest bonds, which would be repaid according to the countries' capacity to generate export earnings. Now, with aggressive marketing, the proposal is gradually gaining currency among the continent's creditors, and the bank is fashioning specific debt programs for some 20 countries.

—Development. The bank is championing new lending strategies that cater to the basics of African life, such as peasant farming, rather than the grandiose schemes of Western planners. A little well in the midst of a drought area in Mali, the thinking goes, can do more good than a huge dam on the Niger River. The bank is also channeling more aid to two of Africa's most vital human resources, largely ignored in the past: rural women, who produce more than two-thirds of Africa's food, and small-business entrepreneurs, who keep many national economies afloat with

their informal market trading.

—Excellence. In pursuing its mission, the bank is trying to turn itself into an all-purpose research and development institution, a "center of excellence." In the bank's words, that will mean pan-African cooperation in the sciences. For starters, it is working to create an African export-import bank that will not only increase business with the outside world but also foster intra-Africa trade, which at the moment amounts to a paltry 5% of the continent's aggregate trade.

But even the big thinkers at the African Development Bank know they can't pull Africa out of its economic quicksand single-handedly. In 1987, for example, the bank tripled its capital base to \$2 billion and committed itself to investing \$11.3 billion in Africa during 1987-1991, which is more than it lent in the previous 22 years combined. Still, the bank's economists figure that Africa is facing an annual \$5 billion gap between what it needs to effect a genuine economic recovery and what is available to the continent in total aid.

And for all of the bank's ambitions, it is still hemmed in by the limitations and foibles of the world's most impoverished continent. For example, an appalling lack of financial skills in some countries, such as Mozambique, makes even applying for development aid an overwhelming task. A weak infrastructure and industrial base means that most of the material and expertise for projects must be imported, which in turn means that much development money donated or lent by outside countries goes straight back into First World pockets.

Coups, wars and musical-chairs governments create such instability that loans sometimes can't even be disbursed. The Sudan government, for example, has been so shaky lately that there's been no one to handle the money the bank earmarked to relieve last year's flood disaster.

Despite a general rule of thumb around the bank that says "If a head of state proposes a project, it probably stinks," the bank can't totally escape the tangled web of African politics. A \$110 million loan to Zaire for the purchase of petroleum products last year struck some bank executives as log-rolling for the past support of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko. Then, once disbursements began, a Zaire politician allegedly banked some of the money in his personal account.

"One head of state who was in arrears on a project told my staff, 'You are my brothers, you should understand,'" says Wole Sangowawa, a Nigerian who oversees country programs. He throws up his hands in exasperation. "Well, we do understand. We are Africans. But we are also

Continued on page 16

Army Loses Patience Over Civil War

By Robert M. Press

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

ETHIOPIA has hit a dead end in its nearly 30-year military effort to subdue rebels in the north.

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

British and US political analysts point out that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART of the recent success of the rebels against the government has come in the province of Tigre, next to Eritrea, where the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) scored major victories this March.

With the defeat of the Army in Endaselasie and the takeover of Makale, the capital of Tigre, the TPLF took control of virtually the

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

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

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

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

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

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

May 16, 1989

Angola Pushes Plan To End Its Civil War

WASHINGTON

THE government of Angola has invited representatives from seven other African states to Luanda today. The subject: ending Angola's 14-year civil war between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The Angolan government is trying to rally African support for its plan of ending the war by offering individual amnesty to UNITA members. The government refuses to negotiate directly with the rebels, who control much of southeast Angola.

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

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

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

gotiated end to the fighting.

US diplomats expect the meeting will not publicly press the Angolan government to negotiate. But the diplomats are hopeful that private discussions might move the process along – and that some of those present may serve as mediators between the two Angolan parties.

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

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

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

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

—E. A. Wayne

Ethiopia

A fatal bungle

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

Most of the refugees had been well fed townspeople, unused to the harsh conditions of the desert. The decline in their health has been dramatic. A nutritional survey by two British researchers shows that by November 11% of the refugees weighed less than four-fifths of the average for their height. By March the proportion had risen to 26% in one camp, 29% in another. Malnutrition reduces resistance to disease. Hepatitis is common in the camps.

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

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

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

Water has been as badly managed. In mid-September the UNHCR asked CARE, an aid charity, to start taking water to the camps in tankers on October 1st. CARE could not respond at such short notice, but started working in November on the understanding that the UNHCR would cover its costs and provide the necessary transport. That understanding has been broken. Nev-

Sudan

Getting there

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

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

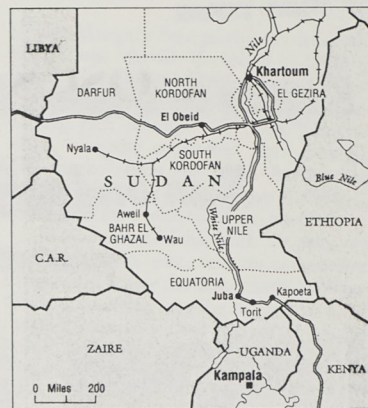
The supply operation has faltered because it began late, and because the afflicted region is chaotic and primitive. Roads are unpaved, bridges are scarce. With few exceptions airstrips are short and earthen. The rains have been sputtering for several weeks. Roads become impassable and airstrips put out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

Lorry travel is already hellish. A UN convoy that reached the rebel-held town of Torit (see map) in late April needed seven days to cover 381 miles from Kampala in neighbouring Uganda. One day of its journey north was wasted in covering a single mile of particularly deep muck. Another convoy attempting to make the trip from Kenya is bogged down this week at Narus, just inside Sudan. Two earlier convoys on the route were attacked by unknown gunmen, possibly the semi-nomadic Taposa, a fierce people little changed by colonists, missionaries or governments. The first convo-

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kenya to Press for Worldwide Ban on Ivory Trade

By JANE PERLES

NAIROBI, Kenya, May 11 — In a reversal of position, Kenya announced today that it would seek a worldwide ban on the trade of ivory, a move intended to preserve its fast dwindling elephant herds.

The announcement came a day after the United States Interior Department, citing the rapid slaughter of the African elephant by poachers, said it would urge a ban on the ivory trade. Tanzania, which borders Kenya and is also suffering elephant losses, called for a halt to ivory trading last week.

The announcements by the three countries are expected to carry significant weight at an international meeting in October at which it will be decided whether to classify the elephant as an endangered species. Animals currently listed as endangered species include the black rhinoceros, the cheetah and the leopard.

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

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

The Kenyan Minister for Tourism and Wildlife, Katana Ngala, said it was critical for the United States, Japan, Canada and the European Community, to ban ivory to dry up the market.

Kenya's position, announced by Mr. Ngala, and vigorously supported by the new director of wildlife, Dr. Richard B. Leakey, comes as the country faces virtually uncontrolled poaching prompted by the soaring price of ivory. "It is our belief that this decision represents not only our best interest, but the continent's best interest," Dr. Leakey said.

Ten years ago, there were about 1.4 million elephants in Africa. Wildlife groups say that there are now 750,000 and that at the present rate of killing they would be extinct in a decade.

Most alarming for Kenya is not only the esthetic loss of the elephant, but the threat to tourism, which now accounts for a large portion of Kenya's foreign exchange earnings.

Tsavo National Park, a haven for nearly 50,000 elephants in the late 1960's, was estimated in an official

count last year to have only 5,000 left. Flying over the park in the last few months, tourists have seen an elephant graveyard — piles of bleached white elephant bones — instead of an elephant habitat.

Some Critics of Ban

Not everyone involved in the effort to preserve the African elephant agrees that banning the ivory trade is a good idea. Some conservationists say they fear that a ban would merely drive the trade underground, make it impossible to control and possibly end in the disappearance of the elephant as a species of major importance.

They cite the example of the black rhinoceros. When trading in rhino horns was internationally banned, they say, the illegal market flourished, with the result that only 3,700 black rhinos remain in Africa.

But the conservationists concede that if no other sort of effective international action is taken at the October meeting, the pressure for a ban will increase.

And until now, Kenyan wildlife experts and politicians have opposed a ban on ivory, arguing that it could not be effectively policed and that the trade would be pushed underground.

The Kenyans had also argued that continentwide solidarity was important. Some African countries, particularly Zimbabwe and Botswana, have increasing numbers of elephants and would be harmed financially by a ban. Both kill a number of elephants each year and gain substantial revenues from ivory and elephant meat.

Mr. Ngala said today that Kenya would be financially penalized in the short term by a ban because it would not be able to sell tons of confiscated ivory stockpiled in warehouses.

Wildlife Experts Comment

Wildlife preservation experts in the United States said the American move showed the Government's willingness to use its influence to help stop widespread poaching.

Curtis Bohlen, senior vice president of the World Wildlife Fund, said that in addition to a ban, the United States Government should assist the African nations in improving their ability to combat poachers.

"There is so much economic incentive in smuggling ivory, that banning the ivory trade is not going to be sufficient alone," Mr. Bohlen said.

"It is a very timely decision," said David Western, a wildlife biologist in Nairobi, Kenya, who took part in a recent study of the African elephant population and the ivory trade.

Poachers are believed to kill between

Endangered Elephants

The slaughter of African elephants has wreaked such havoc in game preserves and parks around the continent that some African governments have joined in calls for a worldwide ban on the trade of ivory. Kenya is the latest country to call for such a ban, following the lead of its East African neighbor, Tanzania, and of the United States, which is pressing for strong measures to protect the animal from possible extinction.

The very fact that the African countries have appealed for such an extreme measure tells how serious is the disaster they face. The Kenyan government makes money by selling tons of ivory confiscated from illegal traders. Other African countries such as Zimbabwe and Botswana, where elephants remain plentiful, gain substantial revenues from their legal ivory trade.

The problem is continent-wide, and it can be illustrated with just a few numbers. A decade ago, there were 1.4 million elephants in Africa. Now, there are half that number, an estimated 750,000, surveys by international conservation groups

show that some 70,000 elephants are killed illegally each year across the continent. In Kenya alone, the population has dwindled from 120,000 in the 1970s to fewer than 20,000 this year, a decline that seriously jeopardizes Kenya's tourism industry, which accounts for much of the country's foreign earnings. The soaring price of ivory has led to virtually uncontrolled poaching in Kenya, and the elephant is facing virtual extinction in Africa by the end of the century if poaching continues at its present rate.

Some conservationists have opposed the idea of an international ban on the ivory trade, saying it would drive the illegal trade further underground. But, with the illegal trade already so far out of control that the very existence of the elephant is threatened, the times have become desperate enough to require desperate measures. The proposals to ban the ivory trade to save the elephant deserves to get serious attention in October when representatives of 101 countries meet for an international conference on endangered species.

200 and 300 elephants a day. Quality elephant ivory can fetch up to \$250 a kilogram, or about \$2,500 for two tusks.

Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire are the largest illegal exporters of ivory, a business involving up to \$800 million a year. In 1988, the African nations voluntarily set limits on the amount of legal ivory exports. But the limits have often served merely as a cover for a thriving illegal trade, which accounts for as much as 90 percent of the market.

Zimbabwe Shifts Investment Rule

HARARE, Zimbabwe, May 14 — Zimbabwe has announced a new investment code that represents a departure from its avowed socialist economic orientation.

The new investment code, announced last Monday, relaxes controls on profits earned by new investors, bringing Zimbabwe's policies in line with those of neighboring countries.

The new code, which is intended to attract foreign and domestic investment and reduce unemployment, has been attacked by leftist university students and trade unionists as a betrayal of socialist principles. Some are calling it Zimbabwe's "Satanic Verses." At the same time, local business interests are complaining that the code does not give them enough.

But Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero asserted that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's Government remained "dedicated to the transformation of the social system so that the poorest can be included."

'No Inherent Contradiction'

"The direction toward socialism is clear," he said at a news conference on Monday. "There is no inherent contradiction between socialism and market forces." He said the new economic policy is to encourage the investment needed for economic growth and increased employment.

More than one million of the country's nine million people are said to be unemployed. Lack of jobs, a stagnant economy, the aftermath of a political scandal in which five Cabinet ministers resigned and the challenge from a new opposition party have combined to strengthen Mr. Chidzero's hand at revamping the economy.

Mr. Chidzero said the announcement of the investment guidelines "is not an event but the beginning of a process." That process is a gradual liberalization of Zimbabwe's highly closed and regulated economy, a process that could see Zimbabwe chart a new economic path between doctrinaire socialist planning and the wide-open monetarist policies pushed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

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

Africa

Race and faith

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

On the west coast, fighting last week between Arabic-speaking Moors and black Africans in Senegal and Mauritania left several hundred people dead and soured relations between the two West African neighbours. Ancient hatreds between the two communities helped turn a piddling dispute over grazing rights into bloody race riots. The victims were Mauritians who run the retail trade in Senegal, and Senegalese labourers working in Mauritania. Before France colonised the region, the lighter-skinned Arabic-speaking Moors used to dominate and enslave the blacks of Senegal. That memory, and the Mauritians' unconcealed sense of superiority, stirs deep resentment among the Senegalese.

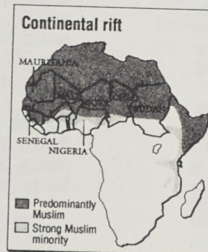
Mauritanian society is itself deeply divided. The Beydane, the "white" Moors of Arab-Berber descent—they used to live by herding camels—dominate their former serfs, the Haratine or low-caste "black" Moors and the black Fulani and Wolof

farmers along the Senegal river to the south. Slavery was officially abolished in 1980; in practice it still exists. Beydane army officers rule the country against a background of recurring plot attempts by black Mauritians, allegedly supported from Senegal. The blacks resent moves to Arabise the country, and oppose government efforts to strengthen links with the Arab north.

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

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

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



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

The new package also includes the signing of investment agreements with the World Bank, the United States, Britain and West Germany. Another incentive is the creation of a one-stop investment center that will approve investment proposals within 90 days, a major improvement from the wait of 18 months or longer that investors have faced.

Relaxation of Controls

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

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

Zimbabwe's highly developed in-

Continued on page 16

frastructure, wealth of minerals and agricultural production make the economy one of the most productive in Africa. But since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's foreign investment has been limited to about \$50 million, and the lack of investor guarantees has been cited as a reason that figure has been so low. Mr. Chidzero said he hoped that the new economic policies could bring as much as \$250 million in investment.

REBEL ISSUE STALLS PLAN (Continued)

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

Namibian Return

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

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

BUSH MEETS TUTU AND VOWS TO PRESS PRETORIA (Continued)

after he vetoed a sanctions bill. Congress later overrode the veto.

Mr. Fitzwater told reporters on the way to Rochester that Mr. Bush's session with Archbishop Tutu "was a very good meeting."

Other Clerics Present

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

"The President promised to press his opposition in every way possible. The Administration will be looking at ways to best use American pressure, influence and leverage to bring about justice and equality in South Africa."

Attending the meeting with Archbishop Tutu were two other prominent South African clerics, the Rev. Allan Boesak and the Rev. Beyers Naude. All three were in Washington to present a peace plan for South Africa that calls for stronger economic sanctions.

New Sanctions Urged

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

tries in which the Pretoria regime is potentially vulnerable: coal, oil, gold and transportation.

Mr. Fitzwater said Wednesday that "generally speaking we have not found sanctions to be productive." Sanctions in 1986 included a ban on new investments by American businesses and individuals and private loans. A bill before Congress would bar all direct trade with South Africa.

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

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

BLACKS SHAPED LANGUAGE OF APARTHEID, LINGUISTS SAY (Continued)

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

What developed in its place was an extended household encompassing slaves and other servants who contributed what philologists call language interference in learning imperfectly the master's Dutch dialect. Linguistic intermingling was facilitated by sexual relations between the masters and slaves.

"The upper class could not isolate itself from the changes in the Dutch language in the lower class," Professor Ponelis said. "This cannot be stressed too much. Despite the difference between upper and lower class, they were a linguistic community, and a very tight community."

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

Differences in Accent

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

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

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

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

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

"Kitchen Dutch is a racist term, because people who worked in the kitchen were colored," he added, using the South African term for those of mixed race.

Capacity for Innovation

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

sundown) for cocktail.

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

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

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

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

"It survived because of a vigor within its community, and the community was vigorous because of its diversity," he said. "The ideological whitewashing of a language — the use of Afrikaans by the advocates of apartheid — will spell its end."

—Ann Devroy, Gwen Ifill,
and Michael Isikoff

■ Smith Hempstone, who spent eight years in Africa early in his journalism career, will leave The Washington Times to become ambassador to Kenya, administration officials said yesterday.

News media executives and well-known journalists joining the ambassadorial ranks is nothing new, but Hempstone is the first of his profession to be selected for such a slot by Bush.

His paper has been a favorite of conservatives since it opened in the Reagan years, but Hempstone has reported and com-

mented on foreign affairs for 40 years, including at The Washington Star, which was owned in part by his great-grandfather.

Hempstone, 60, was named editor of The Times in 1984, after the original editor, James Whelan, was ousted. Less than a year later, Col. Bo Hi Pak, president of the affiliate of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church that owns The Times, hired Arnaud De Borchgrave as editor. And Hempstone was informed in a lawyer's call that his

new job would be associate editor and twice-weekly columnist.

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

TUTU URGES U.S. TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

statement but was not present because of illness.

Tutu, Boesak and Naude are scheduled to meet with Bush early today to present their view on the South African situation before the president leaves for Rochester, N.Y., and Maine. Yesterday, the three leaders said that present U.S. economic sanctions, which impose export and import bans on a variety of U.S. and South African goods, have not been enough to force negotiations between the government and South African blacks.

White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater said yesterday that the Bush administration, like its predecessor, opposes additional sanctions on South Africa.

"We believe the best posture is to be able to work with the [South African] government for change," he said, adding that "we are opposed to apartheid as being an affront to all mankind and should be eliminated."

The South African religious lead-

ers came here to attend a forum organized by TransAfrica that, together with a large number of Democratic lawmakers, is seeking public support for legislation to impose comprehensive sanctions on South Africa. TransAfrica is the lobby group that spearheaded the grass-roots campaign that led to imposition of limited U.S. sanctions in 1986.

The statement issued by the four leaders said that "various forms of economic and diplomatic pressure" are needed to force the South African government "to sit down and talk to our people."

But the four seemed to favor selective sanctions, rather than the comprehensive ones being proposed by House and Senate Democrats. They said in their statement that there is "a new emphasis on the ways in which financial sanctions in particular could achieve that aim" and said they are watching "exploration of that option closely." They did not elaborate on what form any

financial sanctions would take.

But Boesak noted that South Africa, financially strapped already, faces renegotiating repayment terms on part of its \$23 billion debt to western creditors by June 1990.

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

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

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

ASMARA MUTINY CRUSHED, SAYS ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT (Continued)

Mengistu returned to Addis Ababa Wednesday night, after cutting short a state visit to East Germany. His first action was to sever communication with the outside world. The airport was still closed today, but phone lines were reopened by this evening.

Mengistu was greeted at the airport by a large contingent of government officials. The airport road was cordoned off and heavily guarded, diplomats said.

The city was reported quiet today after two days of scattered fighting. Shops were open, and government radio repeatedly urged all civilians to report to work. Some Western ob-

servers said that life in the capital had returned to normal. Others described the situation as "fluid" and tense. The U.S. Embassy asked employees to remain there.

Government radio announced a funeral for the defense minister, Maj. Gen. Haile Giorgis Habte Mariam, who it said was shot by coup plotters during a meeting at his office Tuesday afternoon. One of the alleged conspirators, Minister for Industry Fanta Belai, a former commander of the air force, was arrested this afternoon after pro-Mengistu forces found him hiding in a sewer pipe in the basement of the Defense Min-

istry, the government said.

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

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

bankers."

A Bank's Commitment

Still, much like a bank in rural Iowa that sticks with a local farmer through tough times, the African Development Bank often walks an extra mile or two with the continent's troubled countries. It is this commitment to helping their own, with ideas and understanding as well as financing, that fuels the dreamers' ambition to help Africa rise above Africa itself.

While the World Bank begins cutting off new funds to a country 75 days in arrears, the African Development Bank waits at least six months. Through its "soft-loan" program, funded by donations, the bank lends for 50 years with an initial 10-year grace period on repayment. The program ensures that no country pays back more money to the bank than it receives in a given year.

The bank also tries to keep failing African countries from becoming isolated from the international financial community. Thus, when Zambia broke with the International Monetary Fund in 1987, refusing to accept the IMF's harsh economic reforms, the African Development Bank continued to finance projects and act as a go-between with Zambia's creditors. Today, Zambia and the IMF are back at the negotiating table.

"We are the last resort for African countries," says Ernest Achonu, one of the bank's many young economists. "If we don't stick with them, who will?"

Outside Partners

The bank is proud of what it calls its "African touch," and jealously preserves it. It was only after long and acrimonious debate in 1982, when the bank was in need of an injection of capital, that its 50 African members (South Africa is the only country on the continent that doesn't participate) agreed to take on First World partners. But then only on a minority basis: The 26 non-African countries, including the U.S., hold about one-third of the bank's shares. Today, the bank's lending base is funded by contributions from these member countries, as well as by bonds issued in international capital markets.

"Whenever possible, we want to maintain our African identity," says Mustafa Sherif, a Libyan who is one of the bank's 10 executive directors. "This is our strength. We feel that speaking as an African to an

African is better than if you send a Dutchman or a German to talk to an African."

Now, with its emphasis on ideas, the bank is also beginning to speak for Africans. On the crucial debt issue, the bank argues that conventional rescheduling hasn't worked, and has instead led to an increase in the continent's outstanding debt and to higher servicing payments. In more than a handful of African countries, the per capita debt now exceeds the per capita gross national product. Repayment under normal schemes is impossible.

Thus, the bank has tailored a plan to the dimensions of Africa's problems. Under the plan, after a country's debt is converted into long-term bonds, the debtor will make annual payments, until maturity, into a single redemption fund managed by a board of trustees that will include representatives of all classes of creditors. This way, the bank maintains, the country will gradually pay off its debt while still having enough money to invest in productive programs at home.

Corn in Benin

The bank also feels it is making progress with its new strategy on development financing, which was prompted primarily by Africa's increasing inability to feed itself. The traditional approach to rural development called for a broad, scatter-gun program that provided everything from seeds to health facilities, whether the local population needed these things or not. Now, says Mudiombula Futa, a Zairean who is one of the bank's agricultural specialists, the bank is promoting simpler, humbler projects focusing on the basic needs identified by the local population.

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

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

So do the rest of the best and the brightest at Africa's bank. "If you aren't optimistic," says Mr. Futa, "then there is no need to be here."

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

Zanzibar, last century, was a colony of Arab Oman, where the sultans gathered black slaves for export. Though Zanzibar is now part of Tanzania, the bitter legacy lives on. The islanders live in fear of a repetition of the events of 1964, when Zanzibar's black majority under John Okello overthrew Arab rule. More than 5,000 Arabs and Muslim Indians were killed; a similar number of the most prominent Arabs fled, and the remainder were dispossessed.

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

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
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Firm to Appeal U.S. Order In Consolidated Gold Case

Minorco S.A. has filed notice that it will appeal a U.S. judge's refusal to lift a preliminary injunction that prevented its \$2.5 billion (\$4.02 billion) bid for Consolidated Gold Fields PLC from going ahead. The offer lapsed Wednesday.

The preliminary injunction, arising from an antitrust suit filed by Consolidated Gold and its Denver-based affiliate, Newmont Mining Corp., blocked Minorco from buying more than 30% of Consolidated Gold's shares. Minorco owns 29.9% of the shares and had received acceptances that would have increased its holding to 55%.

Minorco's continued efforts to overturn the U.S. court injunction are seen as an attempt to clear up any antitrust concerns in the U.S. should the company seek future expansion in the U.S.

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