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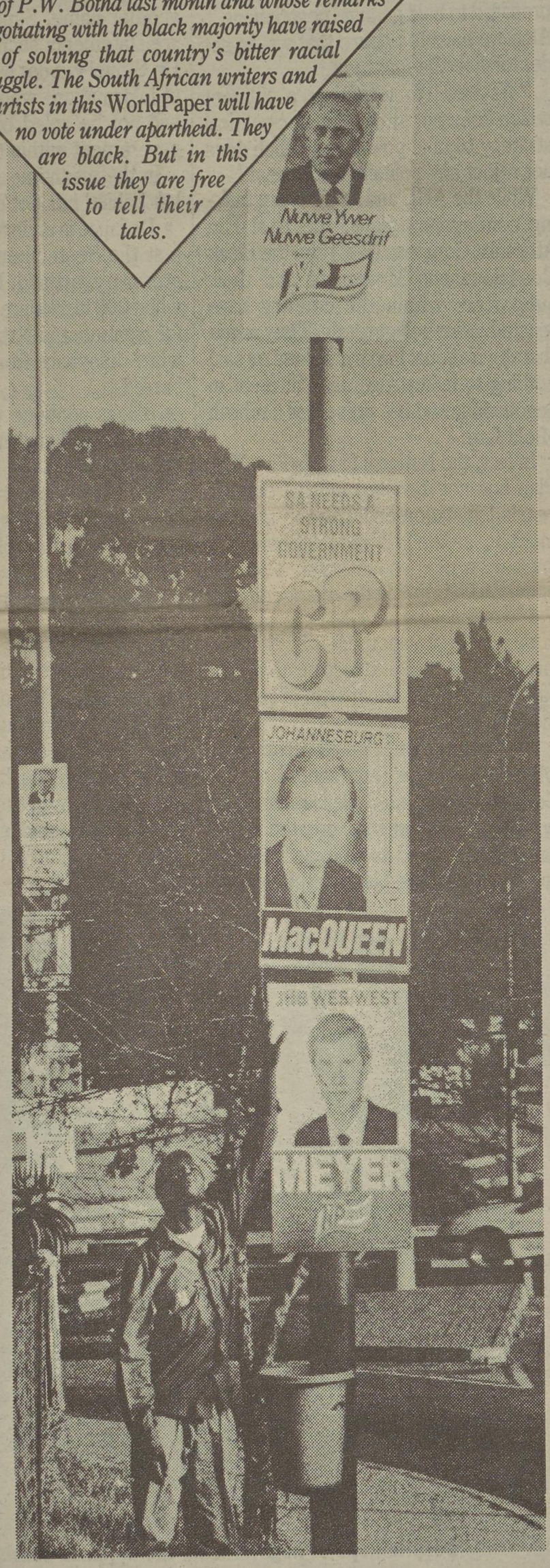
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CENTERPIECE: STALKING HIGH-TECH DOLLAR

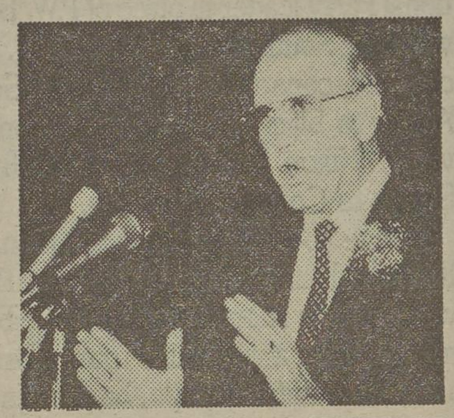
BLACK VOICES

South Africa's legislative election in September is expected to confirm as president F.W. de Klerk who took over after the surprise resignation of P.W. Botha last month and whose remarks about negotiating with the black majority have raised hopes of solving that country's bitter racial struggle. The South African writers and artists in this WorldPaper *will have no vote under apartheid. They are black. But in this issue they are free to tell their tales.*



ALF KUMALO AP WIDEWORLD

Which road, South Africa?


F.W. de Klerk

BY JOE THLOLOE
in Soweto, South Africa

I WALKED down a Johannesburg street on a cold morning in July after a nine-month absence from this heartland of Afrikanerdom, my attention struck by election posters high on lamp poles.

The National Party posters showed the smiling, bald F.W. de Klerk and the logo of the party he leads, an NP with an arrow pointing upwards.

"New Leader, New Drive," read a poster. "Your choice: NP Success or CP Dreams," read another. And finally: "Vote NP: New Action for a great and just South Africa."

The Afrikaner-dominated National Party has held virtually unchallenged power since 1948 when under D.F. Malan, Hendrick F. Verwoerd and B.J. Voster it institutionalized apartheid, the separation of the races.

The Conservative Party was not to be outdone. Touting separate residential areas for whites, its poster promised: "Restore Law and Order: Vote CP."

Founded in 1982 as a breakaway from the National Party's scheme to create a segregated parliament for whites, Indians and coloreds—but not blacks—the Conservative Party under Andries Treurnicht won nearly 30 percent of the vote in the 1987 general election and became the official parliamentary opposition.

For the blacks hurrying to work in this neighborhood that houses the Rand Afrikaanse University, the posters were literally out of reach.

As white South Africa and its colored and Indian partners in two junior chambers of Parliament go to the polls this month to elect a new parliament, blacks who are 80 percent of this country's 35 million people have no vote.

I returned from nine months at Harvard University in the United States expecting to read and to write the same old stories about South Africa; the ruling National Party, the

(Continued on next page)

Out of reach of the black man.

MAINICHI DAILY NEWS

(第3種郵便物認可)

BLACK VOICES



Mandela (left) and Botha. Their meeting electrified South Africa.

(Continued from previous page)

elections and black resistance.

In the United States, I had read the suggestion that De Klerk as new National Party leader in place of P.W. Botha would be South Africa's Richard M. Nixon, the conservative opening South Africa to black democracy as conservative Nixon had opened the United States to Communist China.

I came home to find new agitation. De Klerk had announced the National Party was ready to share power with the black majority. On a whirlwind tour of Britain and Continental Europe, he promised a new-look National Party and tried to sell a Marshall Plan for Southern Africa, using European finance and South African expertise to revitalize the region. He visited Mozambique. And plans to meet President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, where the African National Congress is headquartered in exile, an event that triggered a leadership crisis with Botha.

As part of its election manifesto, the National Party unveiled a five-year plan with the promise that leaders of all groups could participate in creating a new constitutional future. And Botha, the outgoing president and party leader, electrified the country in July by bringing to his official Cape Town residence, Tuynhuys, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, 71, imprisoned for life since 1962—two years after the ANC was outlawed. Mandela has rejected for years offers of release conditioned on his renunciation of violence.

The agitation boils down to talk, posturing and little movement toward a negotiated settlement. The National Party is taking full advantage, telling the world it is ready for negotiation and winning international sympathy.

Among the events contributing to the euphoria over negotations is the Tripartite Accord signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York last December. It has raised hope in the international community that an accord on South Africa's internal problems can be worked out along the same lines.

If his strategy of playing to this hope works, De Klerk will have broken the back of the sanctions campaign that has helped cripple a struggling economy—and will have bought a few more years for the National Party.

Mandela and other political prisoners may be released before the end of the year. But the core problems—who wields political power and the concentration of wealth that puts 99 percent of South African assets and 80 percent of land ownership into white hands—remain untouched. The National Party and De Klerk still do not have a long-term solution to South Africa's problems.

Opposition blacks were caught flat-footed. First, De Klerk's overtures were rejected, as usual. Then, suddenly, the word negotiation became the vogue, still hotly debated today in the black townships. The South African black liberation movements have been caught up in the debate.

Amid speculation, news appeared in July of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, in June among the African National Congress, founded in 1912, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid organization in South Africa.

The report of the meeting noted that in 1987, the Congress clearly stated:

"It could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled... that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency lifted." The ANC also demanded legalization.

Two years ago, the ANC concluded "the apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move."

But in July, the report said, "There are clear signs this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987."

The three organizations agreed they had to have a negotiating position to preempt any being imposed from outside by the United States, Britain or other countries.

They also wanted their position to be an African position—endorsed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

But the ANC and allies also noted that "in arriving at an acceptable proposal, we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations... Also we have to ensure that we do not demobilize the masses.

"We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement."

While the ANC and its allies are making contingency plans, the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement and their supporters within the country have reacted more belligerently. They argue that the National Party has done or said nothing to indicate genuine interest in negotiations and has presented a rehash of old fare.

In fact, the National Party's Five-Year Plan has not deviated much from last year's legislation enabling the government to create a National Council to draw up a new constitution. The National Party, insisting the membership of the council should not lead to domination of one group by another or by the majority, presented a structure that was based on the present apartheid government system.

The black homeland governments, which were to be represented on the Council, disappointed the National Party. These governments, created in the name of apartheid as an experiment in so-called separate black development, essentially were fictional independencies but were expected to be ordinarily compliant. KwaZulu, whose chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is widely acclaimed by whites as a moderate black, and others insisted they would not participate until Mandela and other political prisoners were freed.

The core of the National Party plan is the concept of "group rights," with whites dealing with their own affairs, Indians their own, blacks their own, etc. A parliament would deal only with common issues, such as defense, and foreign policy. The Nationalists essentially are talking about a fourth parliamentary chamber for blacks.

The overwhelming majority of South Africans reject it as apartheid under another name. Supporting this notion are statements such as the remarks of Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, the minister of information, who said South Africa will not be ruled by a black majority government within the next 10 years.

In the meantime, the South Africa I left behind has not changed:

- Defiance is underway not only to protest the September elections but oppressive apartheid. It started in August when 200 blacks presented themselves for treatment in Natal and Transvaal to white hospitals from which they are barred.
- Blacks continue to defy the Group Areas Act by living in suburbs reserved for whites only.
- Tin shacks mushroom in Soweto and other black townships because of the alarming shortage of housing.
- The rent boycott protesting the lack of real, representative black local government is costing the Soweto City Council millions of rand a year and continues with no solution in sight.
- The trade unions and political organizations continue to agitate against labor law changes that give companies and even individuals who claim they were unable to get to their jobs to sue striking trade unions.♦



Despite hope of negotiations, the defiance continues.

MIKE GREENLAR

Joe Thloloe is deputy editor of the daily *Sowetan*.

BLACK VOICES

South Africa

Glossary of two societies in black and white



Area: 1,272,037 sq. kilometers, about twice the size of Texas in the US.

Population: 35.6 million; black, 68 percent, about 26 million; white, 18 percent, about 5 million; colored, 10 percent; Asian 3 percent.

Population density: 75 per square mile. About 80 percent of the land belongs to whites.

Ratio of cattle to whites: In South Africa, 2.5 to 1.

Life expectancy at birth: whites, 70 years; Africans, 59.

Infant mortality per 1,000 births: whites, 14.9; Africans, 94.

Per capita income: 1985, US$4,000. Whites, $8,000; blacks, $2300.

Per capita GNP: 1987, $1,870; 1980, $2,160.

Literacy rate: whites, 99 percent; Africans, 50 percent.

Black unemployment: 40 percent; 30 years ago it was 25 percent. Nonwhites make up about 75 percent of the work force. White unemployment is 2 percent.

Languages: South Africa's official languages are Afrikaans and English.

More languages: Black South Africans fall into 10 main groups, based on their first language and in descending order of population; Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sepedior or North Sotho, Seshoeshoe or South Sotho, Swazi, Venda, South Ndebele and North Ndebele.

More divisions: The whites call black South Africans "Bantus", meaning "people". People of mixed white-black African or white-Malayan blood are called "Coloureds".

Black homelands: Legislation in 1951, 1959 and 1971 set aside 14 percent of South Africa's land for black Africans in what the whites said would become, ultimately, independent territories or "Bantustans". Ten "homelands" now exist. The rest of South Africa is reserved for the whites, 18 percent of the people inhabiting 80 percent of the land. "Coloreds" and Asians live within segregated areas within "white South Africa."

History: The first whites from The Netherlands settled in Southern Africa, establishing the Dutch East India Company supply base at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The Bushmen and Hottentots, nomadic African peoples, were the first black settlers in Southern Africa, Sotho and Swazi occupied parts of Southern Africa before the 17th century. The Dutch were beaten by the British in the Boer War, in 1902. An independent state, the Union of South Africa, was established May 31, 1910. It was changed to the Republic of South Africa by referendum in 1961.

Afrikaners: The Dutch settlers of South Africa.

Trek: An Afrikaans term originally meaning a journey by ox wagon, especially by farmers. The best-known trek was The Great Trek (1835-36) in which Boer farmers left the Cape of Good Hope to escape British domination, founding Natal, Transvaal and The Orange Free State.

Boer: The Dutch word meaning "farmer." An inhabitant of South Africa of Dutch or French Huguenot descent. Boers and South Africans of British descent get along begrudgingly.

Apartheid: A policy of racial separation which was implemented in 1948. The word is taken from the Dutch word meaning "apartness."

One-party: The National Party has ruled South Africa for 41 uninterrupted years.

Two groups, four parties: In the early 70s, the National Party was divided on race relations into two separate groups, the *verligte* (meaning "enlightened" in Dutch), and *verkramte*,("narrow-minded"). The *verligte* comprised the National Party until very recently when the more progressive Democratic Party was formed. In the early 80s the *verkramte* also split into two parties, the increasingly influential Conservative Party and the right-wing fringe group, the Herstigte ("reformed") Nasionale Party.

Three capitals: South Africa has three capitals: Pretoria, for its administrative government; Cape Town, for the legislature, Bloemfontein, for the judiciary. The largest city is Cape Town with 1.9 million people. Second largest is Johannesburg, 1.6 million people and also the commercial center for South Africa's diamond and gold industries. South Africa produces about 70 percent of the world's gold and is the world's fifth largest producer of diamonds.

Mandatory embargo: The only mandatory United Nations resolution restricting dealings with South Africa is Resolution No. 418, an arms embargo, adopted in 1977. Countries cited by the US State Department in violation of this resolution: France, Italy, Israel, Germany, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Switzerland.

Voluntary embargo: Although the UN approved a voluntary international oil embargo in 1973, South Africa has found exporters who supply about 220,000 barrels of oil daily to the country. Observers agree that oil is really the only raw material that South Africa must import. South Africa's oil reserves are a closely guarded secret.

Saudi shipments: Though denied by the Saudis, Saudi Arabia is responsible for the brunt of oil exports to South Africa, contends the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB) in Amsterdam. Since the shipments are unofficial and unrecorded, South Africa is a convenient place to dump oil in violation of OPEC quotas, says the SRB.

—Compiled by Assistant Editor Brad Durham

J. MASEKO SUSAN E DORFMAN

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BLACK VOICES

Good education a 'miracle'

Inferior schools widen gap between races

BY RUTH BHENGU
in Soweto, South Africa

ISAAC SHONGWE says he is a miracle. At 27, he is a management trainee at Barlow Rand Middleburg Steel, the sole manufacturer of stainless steel in South Africa. Shongwe holds a BA in economics and political science. He has won a prestigious Rhodes scholarship and soon will leave for Oxford University in England where he will read for his masters degree in management.

"Looking at my background, with a father who is a laborer and a mother who is a domestic servant, I think it is a miracle that I am where I am," he says. "I did not get my education because I am brilliant. I am just fortunate.

"Most of my childhood friends have long dropped out of school. The educational system for blacks is geared towards producing failures. Yet as inferior as the education is, it is the only way out for the oppressed. The more educated we are the more we will be able to break down the barriers that have been built by whites."

Black education essentially is ruled by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which wrested control of black schools from private organizations, such as church missions. It placed schools under the apartheid government, a move ensuring that blacks would be educated only for the inferior level of life reserved for them in a white-dominated society.

Student protests which erupted in violence in 1976 simmer today in frequent student boycotts.

Shongwe spent seven years overseas. He got his high school education in England and his degree in the United States.

Shongwe, who was born in Alexandra, a township north of Johannesburg, lives with his girlfriend in Yeoville, another Johannesburg suburb. According to the Group Areas Act, they are breaking the law. Yeoville is reserved for whites.

"I can be kicked out by the city council anytime," he says casually without a trace of apprehension. "If black people in this country took every law seriously, we wouldn't have survived apartheid for so long. Some of the laws we just ignore."

Sipho Makama, 23, is a first year law student at the University of South Africa and lives in Meadowlands, Soweto, with his parents, both laborers.

Makama, a founding member of the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO), which is effectively banned under emergency regulations since all its activities save administration are unlawful, has been detained four times without charge in the past six years.

"My studies have been disrupted so many times because of detentions," he said.

"White people are scared of an educated black," says Pelo Mathiane, 18, of Soweto, a standard 10 student at St. Anders, a black private school. "They know they can't push him around as they would an ignorant one.

"We need educated people in government who will represent us properly. Although armed struggle is justified, education is essential. Even if you are a soldier you still need to be educated.

"Whites have been trained to handle guns. They have all the sophisticated weapons. Most of us don't even know how to handle a gun, but we can educate ourselves and beat whites at their own game.

"Apartheid makes every aspect of our lives difficult. While some white schools are half empty and others are being closed down, schools for black children are desperately overcrowded. Some attend classes in the open under trees. Our parents have to make incredible sacrifices to see us through school, while whites are heavily subsidized by the government. Everything is easy for them.

"They have the best schools. They don't struggle to get bursaries. When they are through with school there are plenty of jobs to choose from. Even during school vacation they can find jobs while most of our parents have to struggle to get unemployment."

More than 10 years after black students rose up against restrictive Bantu education laws, blacks still are fighting for a decent system. The situation has worsened. Most school buildings are collapsing. Attendance is erratic. Student strikes are rife from primary level to university.

"Our rejection of the inferior education has reached a stage where it is detrimental to us," said Shongwe. "Although a lot has been done in terms of getting international focus on our plight, the school boycotts have led to a complete breakdown of discipline. Parents and teachers have lost control. School girls and teachers are raped right in the schools."

Shongwe does not believe in the popular slogan of the seventies, "liberation first, education later."

"If we talk about a future where black people have a say in their government, we have to prepare ourselves for that future," he says.

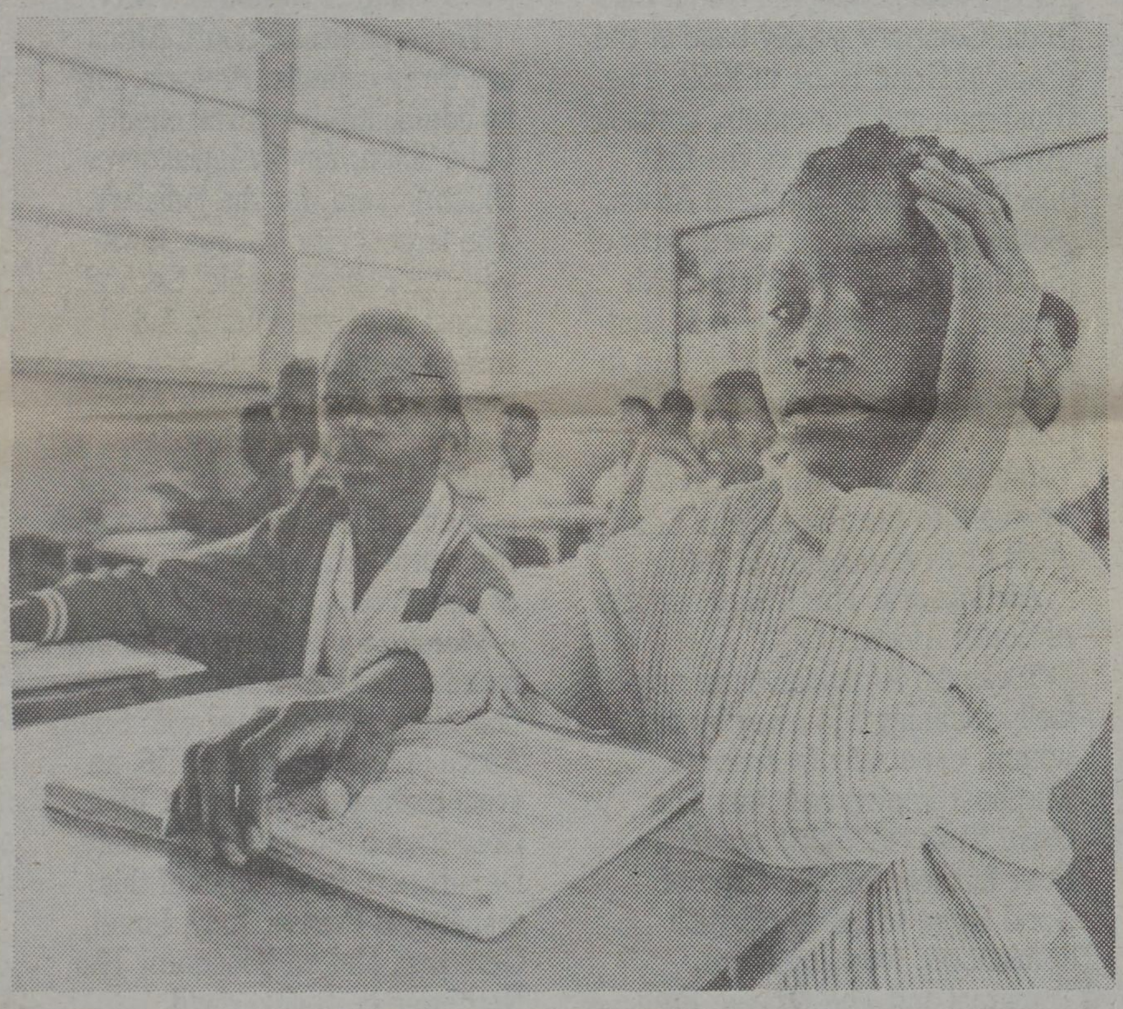
"As things stand, if we were to take over the running of the country tomorrow we would not be able to fill in the gaps that are not filled by whites. Most of the highly technical jobs in this country are held by white expatriates. We have to push so that we are in a position to fill those positions and that can only be done through education.

"Although I believe that political liberation is important I still think that we should fight to be economically independent.

"The more of us there are the better because we can form a cohesive group that will play an effective role in the mainstream of the country's economy. We have seen other countries in Africa gain political independence but still do not have economic independence.

"Political change does not necessarily go with changing people's lives for the better. People don't eat politics. Colonialism was based on economics anyway. It came because of economic reasons.

"When people talk about change they are talking about being able to send their children to good schools. They are talking about decent jobs and a decent standard of living."♦



Preparing for a future that remains uncertain.

Ruth Benghu is a freelance Johannesburg journalist.

Non-person, real person

Prisoner in his own home

BY SIPHO NGCOBO
in Soweto, South Africa

HOUSE NO. 1565 Dobsonville, on the western edge of the black township Soweto, is home to a peculiar resident of racist South Africa—a non-person.

Martin (Carter) Seleka, 32, a black anti-government activist who since 1977 has spent the equivalent of five years and five months during seven separate terms in jail, became a non-person by order of the South African police last March.

He must remain between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. confined to a rented four-room bungalow that was his birthplace and that is occupied by his widowed mother, his wife and their 3-year-old son under terms of emergency laws promulgated as a form of martial law designed to maintain law and order.

He must report once a day to a police station and cannot leave the magisterial district of Roodepoort, a neighboring conservative white man's town where if you are a black in the town, as local residents say, you know you are a black. Jobs are scarce. Carter, as he has called himself since he was first jailed in the administration of US President Jimmy Carter, can't find a job under those circumstances. His wife works. To help him and his family survive, he also receives a $60-a-month grant from the South African Council of Churches.

Carter is also forbidden to participate in the activities of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu). He was its publicity secretary. He may receive visitors but no more than 10 people may occupy the tiny home at any one time.

He cannot be quoted by a reporter, especially if he criticizes the South African white government. He is an old friend, and we discussed the South African situation. But the readers of this report will not know the substance of Carter's views. It is an offense for him to make comments which would undermine the government of South Africa.

The police visit Carter from time to time and without warning. If they discover he is not at home or has broken his restrictions, they can order him back to jail. The last time, constables turned up at 2 o'clock in the morning. Carter was at home.

His style of life is an example of what scores of blacks earmarked by the secret police as a government archenemy go through under the oppressive white minority racist regime. He may be luckier than most. At least

Sipho Ngcobo reports for *Business Day* in Johannesburg.

SUSAN E DORFMAN

(第3種郵便物認可)

BLACK VOICES

5,000 people, mostly blacks, are in detention without charge.

Until March, Carter was one of them.

He and more than 300 were imprisoned without trial in March of 1988. As a result, he lost his job teaching homeless children in Johannesburg. Last March, he and the other impatient inmates started an 18-day hunger strike that shook the white regime. He spoke briefly about that experience:

"On the fifth day, people started having stomach cramps. Some started vomiting blood and others had burning urine. Some started collapsing. On the fifth day I had burns around my back. That is a sign of failing kidneys. On the seventh day I ceased taking any water. I was very ill."

Carter was taken to the Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg. An intravenous drip was jammed into his arm, forcing nourishment in him. Others underwent the same treatment. When the strike ended and he was released from the hospital, he was restricted to his home.

Under terms of one of the country's most hated pieces of legislation, the Group Areas Act, which forbids blacks to live in the same residential areas as whites, only black people live in Soweto.

But what makes Soweto so well-known is its reputation as a citadel of resistance to the regime's racist laws. It is regarded locally and abroad as a symbol of the political fight against apartheid.

It is not only the home of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and the late Pan Africanist Congress President Robert Sobukwe, it is the birthplace of many trained guerrillas.

Carter and I sat in his tiny kitchen. He smiled. We had known each other for years as friends and political activists. We sometimes had sulked because of squabbles over the ideological approach to the struggle for liberation, then became comrades again.

He switched on his small 10-band radio to listen to the British Broadcasting Corporation news bulletin, which had been part of his life ever since I've known him. His right ear lobe almost touched the portable radio.

We talked about my accommodation problems. I'd moved into a bachelor's apartment in a whites-only area because of the housing shortage in Soweto. I am one of 50,000 blacks who defy the law in so-called "grey areas," in my case a building owned by the giant Anglo-American Corporation, which is powerful enough to rent to blacks and to defy the government ban.

I told him I understood clearly that I would be arrested one day and sent to jail for living in an area prescribed for whites. Because I had nowhere else to live, the "system" was at liberty to send me to jail ("system" is used by black South Africans to refer to the regime). We laughed.

Carter was arrested for the first time in April 1977 and released the following October. He was again arrested in November the same year and released in June 1978. He was arrested later in 1978 and stayed in jail without trial for nine months. In June 1981 he was imprisoned without trial for six months, then convicted and sentenced to 18 months for refusing to give evidence for the state against another black political activist.

He was arrested in September 1985, released in March 1986, arrested the next June, released in October 1986, then arrested again in March 1988.

Such is Carter's life.

Other such lives are those of Jacob Mtshali, 28, and Paul Mashatile, 27, respectively, general secretary and president of the Alexandra Youth Congress. Mashatile was restricted after being released from 34 months of emergency imprisonment without trial early this year. Under the terms of Mtshali's restrictions, he cannot even talk to the press.

They live in fear for their lives. Unknown whites set afire the apartment they share in July during an attack carried out at 4 a.m. as they slept.

"I was awakened by a loud bang of people breaking my window," said Mashatile. "I jumped out of bed and as I ran towards the door, the attackers threw something through the window, which caused a big fire in the bedroom. I rushed to the other bedroom to wake Jacob. We both tried to escape through the main door but it was up in flames. We then fought the fire with the water from the bathroom.

Mashatile blamed the agents of apartheid for the attack. Both view their house arrest as a trap.

"We are trapped here," said Mashatile. "Our attackers know they can find us between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. There is no way of escaping this. We are sitting ducks. If we leave this place we will be charged for breaking our restrictions. It is terrible."

Others shout the same cry. "It is terrible."

But under his restriction, Jacob Mtshali cannot utter a word. The South African government has muzzled him.♦

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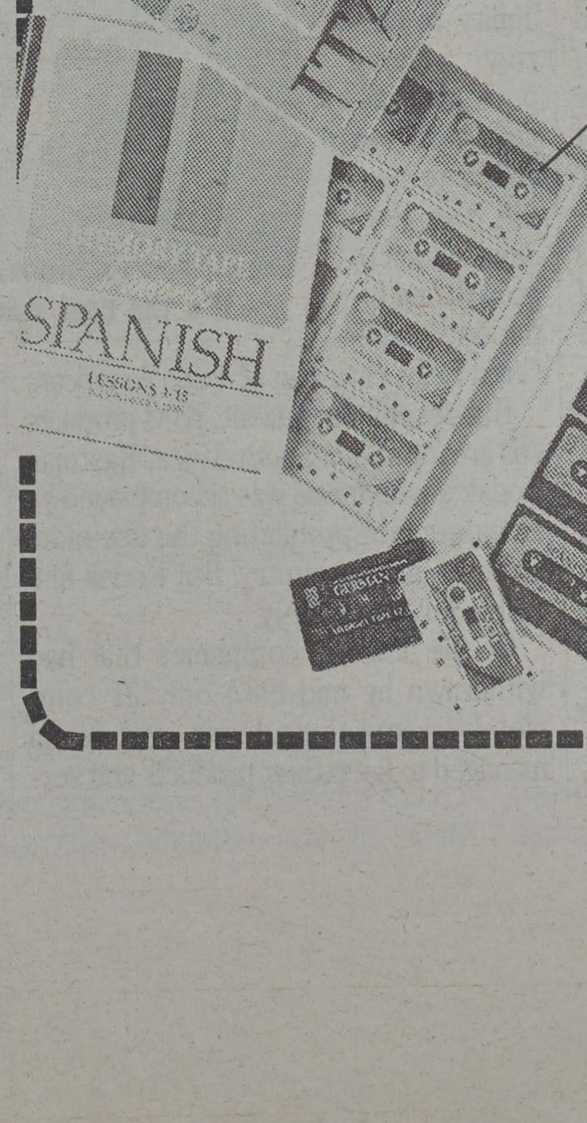
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— The London Times

Bearing pain of sanctions

Blacks hurt but see need

BY JOYCE DUBE
in Johannesburg, South Africa

"WE HAVE TO BE CRUEL to be kind," says Helen Molefe, a black who works in the advertising department of Drum Publications in Johannesburg.

She refers to the international economic sanctions which opponents of apartheid hope will pressure the white government to change its ways. Critics, such as Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, contend that they will hurt the black community more than the minority in power, especially since 40 percent of Afrikaner adults work outside the private economy and for the government.

To those who take the latter line, Molefe says:

"People have to suffer to achieve their liberation. Sanctions will pressure the government to bring about meaningful change. I am not referring to those cosmetic changes like multiracial hotels and restaurants. Meaningful changes will be equal distribution of wealth and a government that has been decided upon by the people."

Sanctions have hurt blacks. Frederick J. Du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam, a giant Afrikaner insurance enterprise, said sanctions have forced the loss of 10,000 black jobs in the coal industry. Skilled black auto mechanics still hunt jobs in Port Elizabeth, where New Brighton township has a 55 percent unemployment rate since the US auto maker General Motors pulled out in 1986.

The issues of sanctions and of divestment by international companies in the stumbling South African economy have divided blacks and whites.

"It is common knowledge that blacks are victims of retrenchments because of their lack of skills," says Phumi Maduna, who recommends sponsorship of scholarships to community projects by ISM, the local computer company that took over after the US giant IBM became one of about 200 US firms that have pulled out of South Africa since violence erupted in October 1984 and eventually triggered imposition of a three-year-old state of emergency.

"Whites can hop from one job to the other. Sanctions will never work in South Africa because international business has interests in this country. Business people will go to any lengths to secure what is of benefit to them.

"The most influential people are the rich. And the rich work closely to protect their wealth. So how can you convince the moneymakers to stop generating wealth from South Africa?

"Politicians who advocate sanctions should have looked at local giant companies first. They are the ones who should have been pressurized to force the government for change.

"For instance, Harry Oppenheimer is one of the wealthiest businessmen in the country. He and his peers can influence the South African government to dismantle apartheid. They have a much stronger say than anyone outside the country."

Oppenheimer, 80, the son of the founder, controls the Anglo American Corporation, South Africa's largest.

Economic protests against apartheid take two forms. One is international sanctions. The US Senate voted 79-21 on Oct. 2, 1986, to override a Ronald Reagan veto of a sanctions act that barred new loans, new investment, direct flights between the countries of US and South African airlines, the export of crude oil, petroleum products and computers and the import of Krugerrand gold coins, food products, iron, steel, coal and sugar.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, India, the Soviet Union and other socialist-bloc countries have imposed a total trade boycott, although some trade is carried out through third parties. Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand and West Germany all impose a range of restrictions on sales and credit.

Partly as a result, in constant 1980 prices, South Africa's exports declined by over $2 billion, imports declined more than $7 billion from 1980-87. A major gold miner, its gold reserves have dropped from $7.1 billion in 1980 to $2.8 billion in 1987.

But behind the facade, trade goes on. Japan has banned direct air links to South Africa, has never had an embassy in Pretoria nor permitted South Africa to have one in Tokyo and banned the import of South African uranium. But Japan has become South Africa's largest trading partner at $4.2 billion last year as US trade plummeted ($2.6 billion in 1987, down 56 percent from 1980).

The other form is divestment, which became four years ago a major issue of protest on US college campuses. Since the 1984 civil unrest that resulted in the deaths of at least 2,500 and the detentions of nearly 30,000 until a state of emergency was declared in June 1986, at least 201 US firms, 49 British, 12 Canadian, eight French, seven Australian and seven West German firms have withdrawn in some form, according to the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Center. But an estimated 1,200 large foreign firms still operate with no plans to depart.

The impact of the protests is questionable. International banks have refused loans. At least $10 billion in net capital has fled the country since 1985. "Our limited ability to borrow abroad puts a straitjacket on our ability to handle the cardinal issues of growth and inflation," says Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American.

But despite the pullout, IBM products still are for sale in South Africa. Eastman Kodak's withdrawal was accompanied by an agreement prohibiting the use of its products in the country. But Kodak film still is for sale widely.

Of the 132 US companies that had withdrawn by mid-1987, only 21 completely closed their doors—and seven managed to keep their products and services available. BCI Holdings, a US firm, sold out its Playtex line in November 1986 to PTX Inc., a firm created specially to take over the unit. But Playtex bras and girdles still are on sale. A company executive has said, "It's business as usual."

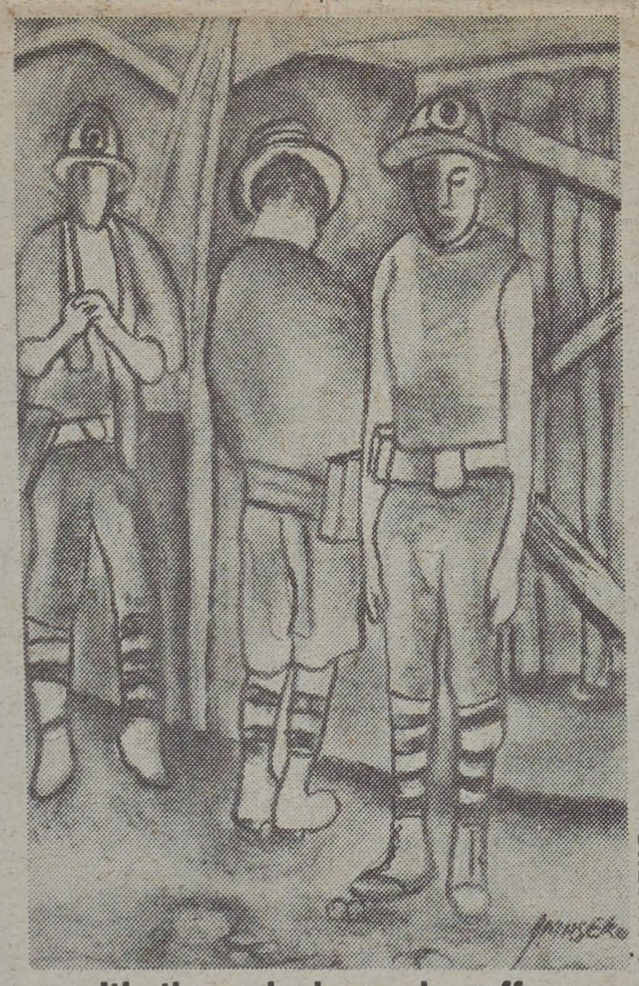
Marcus Ndlela, who works for the Urban Training Project (UTP), which teaches workers about trade unionism, dismisses not only whites but blacks, such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a Zulu leader and chief minister of the KwaZulu tribal homeland, who protest that sanctions injure blacks.

"If you take a closer look at blacks who are against sanctions you will find they are the Gatsha Buthelezis who operate within the system," he says.

"When it suits them they criticize the South African government but in reality they are employees of the state and are salaried by the state. Millions of rands are wasted on people like the Bantustan leaders and councillors. These are the people who do not consult us. People who are not even popular among their own people.

"All black trade unions except the Kwa-Zulu-based UWUSA support sanctions. Most of the companies which pulled out of South Africa were paying poverty wages. Most of them have moved to the Bantustans where trade unions are not allowed to exist.

"As a result of sanctions, South African whites have realized that it is time for sharing the wealth of the country. How else can one explain the trips by company directors to the African National Congress offices in Lusaka. Whoever thought that P.W. Botha could talk to Mandela?"



J. MASEKO

It's the coal miners who suffer.

But fashion designer Ntombi Mdunge still maintains that sanctions will cause more suffering for blacks.

"We must engage in other measures because sanctions lead to more unemployment and that leads to the escalation of crime," she says. "When there is hunger and idleness in the community there is a higher crime rate.

"I cannot support those who think that sanctions are a worthwhile sacrifice. American companies which pulled out were involved in self-help projects and offered bursaries to black students."

"Of course, blacks suffer when big companies who sponsor their small businesses pull out," journalist and supporter-of-sanctions Thabiso Leshoai responds. "But blacks have always survived. They have always looked for alternatives."♦

Joyce Dube is a black freelance writer whose work has appeared in *Drum*, the *Sowetan* and *Tribute*.

Business as usual for some

Largest international firms still in South Africa show true colors

	# Employees	African	Colored	White
Courtaulds (British)	9,283	8,059	399	707
BTR (British)	8,834	5,245	691	1,971
Unilever (British)	7,558	4,173	356	2,186
Royal Dutch Petroleum (Dutch)	7,002	3,717	934	2,902
Volkswagen (German)	6,800	3,190	1,470	2,080
BET (British)	6,466	5,333	56	686
The BOC Group (British)	5,718	2,500	461	2,365
Siemens (German)	5,299	2,397	658	3,081
Au Printemps (French)	5,200	NA	NA	NA
British Petroleum (British)	5,178	2,481	443	1,849
Northern Engineering Industries (British)	5,040	2,065	1,039	1,794

Source: Investor Responsibility Research Center, Inc.

MAINICHI DAILY NEWS

(第3種郵便物認可)

BLACK VOICES

The news eludes censors

Despite ban, blacks find ways to spread word

BEFORE THE municipal elections in South Africa last October, Nobel Peace Prize-winner Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop, in a Sunday sermon in Cape Town urged blacks to boycott the polls in protest against apartheid.

Newspapers throughout the world carried his appeal—but not in South Africa. To have quoted his fiery words would have violated the white government's press regulations.

But a record number of blacks stayed away anyway from the municipal polls Oct. 28.

South African newspapers that are aimed at blacks—all major newspaper chains are white-owned—simply reported that Tutu made a statement and to repeat its contents would be an offense.

Reading between the lines, blacks understood the message.

Government censorship has not stopped South African publications from telling the painful story of apartheid and its violence. Courageous men and women in the press daily risk jail to tell the story that remains largely untold outside the country.

The black National Congress of Trade Unions (NCTU) urged black workers all over the country in May 1988 to join a three-day, stay-at-home protest June 6-8.

Printing the appeal would have violated press restrictions. Most newspapers with black readers simply reported the union had urged a protest action, without specifying what it was.

But readers knew. The NCTU also spread the message by word of mouth, a mission that has made the trade unions increasingly important to the apartheid resistance movement.

The stay-at-home was the largest ever conducted in the country.

Now, whenever readers see the phrase "protest action," they know they are in for another stay-at-home.

Few people keep short-wave radios on which they can pickup foreign broadcasts from the banned African National Congress (ANC) or Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) or from the US Voice of America or the British Broadcasting Corporation. The sets are expensive in South Africa; listeners to ANC-PAC programs face prosecution for "furthering the aims of these illegal organizations."

The word also is carried informally through the black community by pamphlets from anti-apartheid and trade union organizations. The technique is so successful, some blacks suspect the government of distributing fake pamphlets as part of a disinformation campaign.

Pamphlets carrying the PAC letterhead and attacking Indian ethnic groups were denounced as government fakes designed to divide the races when they were found in August in Lenasia, an Indian township south of Johannesburg.

When pamphlets and other means fail to the carry the message, graffiti becomes part of the information struggle.

Lampposts are painted with the initials ANC and PAC or, in the case of Soweto's rent boycott protesting the lack of representative municipal government, the slogan, "Don't pay rent."

Being a journalist in South Africa is like "walking a tight rope," says Johannesburg lawyer, Paul Jenkins. "You've got to be an accomplished fence-sitter and an egg dancer. You have to be tough and street-wise. And a journalist has got to be something of a lawyer too."

Editors at *The Sowetan*, the country's largest English-language newspaper with a circulation of more than 150,000, consult daily with attorneys to make sure stories will not offend government censors. Even that precaution is not enough.

Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste and the newspaper owner, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, are charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by publishing a speech by African National Congress activist Harry Gwala, 68, last Dec. 13 on his release from Robben Island Prison after serving 26 years of a life sentence for his involvment with the banned African National Congress.

Klaaste said he had not checked the story with the newspaper's lawyer because the account had come over the wires of the country's major news agency, South African Press Association (SAPA). "Had it been written by one of our reporters we would probably have checked it," he said.

The charge is quoting a listed person without permission from the minister of law and order.

"It does not matter how careful you are," said Klaaste, "one way or the other they are going to catch you."

Journalists from three Johannesburg newspapers—*The Sowetan, Weekly Mail* and *The New Nation*—are facing charges under the censorship laws.

An international campaign was launched in 1987 by foreign anti-censorship groups to secure the release of *The New Nation* editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, who had been in detention since Dec. 16, 1986.

Sisulu was released this year and subsequently slapped with restriction orders that prohibit him from resuming his job.

Since the first state of emergency was declared in July 1985, the government has issued regulations under the Public Safety Act of 1953 to restrict the news media (both radio and television are government owned).

Following the appearance in January 1987 of advertisements by the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches calling for the lifting of the ban on the ANC, new government regulations gave the commissioner of police the power to ban the publication of reports or advertisements "calculated to improve or promote the public image or esteem" of outlawed organizations. Security police with search warrants seized material relating to the advertisement at 10 newspapers.

The then-Deputy Minister of Information, Stoffel van der Merwe, said that since the ANC and other banned organizations could not function without publicity, "it is our intention to deprive them of the kind of publicity that assisted them to spread their message of violence and Marxism."

These regulations were subsequently overturned at the end of January 1987 in the Supreme Court. The government immediately issued new regulations which closed loopholes exposed in the court judgment.



Editors like these face constant harassment.

In March 1988, *The New Nation* became the first publication to be effectively closed down under the new regulations: it was closed for three months.

"It is important to note that there is a clear change of strategy," said co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Irwin Manoim. "In the past the minister of information would simply warn the newspaper twice. Now he has shifted the responsibility to the police, who are prosecuting.

"The regulations have been deliberately worded ambiguously so as to cover as many areas as possible. There is no precise meaning to any of them. As journalists we have no options open to us. We can either interpret them to suit the government or to suit us. We normally take the second option. The only way to get around them is to keep constant contact with our lawyers and even then they have to be specialists on press laws.

"In our last edition there were about eight stories which we discussed with the lawyer. That still does not mean that we observe all the regulations. On any given day the police can find half a dozen reasons to prosecute."

"A journalist can try to make sure that he is not breaching any regulation, but if in the opinion of the minister of law and order he is 'fomenting unrest' his newspaper can be closed down," said Sam Mabe, assistant editor of *The Sowetan*.

"So it is not so much the problem of breaking the law as it is of upsetting the government. We develop a sixth sense. The regulations have been deliberately made vague in the hope that we will apply self-censorship. It is up to the individual to either interpret them to suit himself and take a risk or to suit the government.

"Journalists are generally reluctant to check stories with the lawyers because lawyers are by nature conservative. Sometimes you send a story to a lawyer and by the time he is through with it there is nothing of it left.

"While we are doing all we can to avoid getting into trouble with the authorities, we also have to contend with the public, who accuse us of incompetence.

"We receive some strongly worded statements from some political organizations and we cannot use them. Sometimes one wonders if being a newspaperman is worth all the trouble.

"When *The World* was banned after being accused of fomenting the 1976 uprisings we all thought it was the end of journalism in this country. We did not know what was in store for us. We have since become resigned to the state of things."♦

By Ruth Benghu in Johannesburg.

MAINICHI DAILY NEWS Sunday, September 10, 1989

(第3種郵便物認可)

HIGH-TECH DOLLAR

Stalking the high-tech dollar



Young Indian technicians: Helping India find a high-tech niche.

TEXAS INSTRUMENTS

BY ARUN CHACKO
in Bangalore, India

THREE YEARS AGO, Texas Instruments, the US high technology giant, set up a unit in this pleasant 450-year-old metropolis, hired 70 Indian employees and began producing software that it transmits for its own use by satellite to Dallas, Texas.

In this same gracious southern Indian city, Microsoft has recruited young Indian engineers for three years of training in the United States. On their return, they will start a software development center here.

Digital Equipment Corp., a Massachusetts firm, invested 40 percent of the $29 million needed to build a plant in Yeshwantpur, 20 kilometers outside of Bangalore. The plant started in February to produce 32-bit DEC MicroVAX computers. The company employs 450 people, almost all Indians.

These events confirm two developments.

• In 40 years of Indian independence, this sleepy cantonment of the colonial British Indian Army, where Winston Churchill was once posted, has become a major commercial and industrial center with perhaps the highest growth rate in the country. From a post-World War II population of 500,000, the population has grown to nearly 5 million.

• Bangalore also has become India's high-tech capital. From here, this talent-rich, poverty stricken land of more than 800 million is trying to demonstrate to others in the Third World how to stalk the high-tech dollar that until recently has been a western monopoly.

Five years ago, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the country's first head of government with experience behind a computer keyboard, set a goal that Indian would produce US$8 billion in electronic equipment by the end of the country's seventh Five-Year-Plan in 1990.

Production of computer systems and peripherals in 1988 amounted to $300 million, up from $230 million the year before, according to the Ministry of Electronics. About 80 firms produce minicomputers and microprocessor-based systems. The Software Export Promotion Council of India projects software exports by 1995 at $600 million.

The high-tech industry in Bangalore produces 40 percent of all Indian software for domestic use and export. At least 80 percent of Indian software exports are to the United States, a trade worth $86 millon in 1988. US officials say so much of the software reaches the United States by satellite hookup, its total value is hard to track.

Some big-name producers are Infosis, PSI and Tata Unisys. But the industry still is small. Even India's cashew nut exports to the United States ($150 million last year) are worth more than its software trade. The business neither makes a dent in an often-desperate Indian employment situation nor competes with Singapore, Hong Kong or Taiwan, the newly industrialized Asian states that are giants of high technology despite being dwarfed by India's population mass.

Easily accessible at 900 meters above sea level, blessed with temperature that hovers between 25 and 32 degrees Centigrade, creating a cool, dust-free atmosphere, Bangalore is ideally suited for contemporary industry. It has a reasonably good infrastructure—although power and water remain in short-supply—and a vast reservoir of skilled manpower.

It got an early start when the prestigious Indian Institute of Science was established here in 1911. But the boom really started after independence in 1947 with the coming of Hindustan Aircraft Limited and Hindustan Machine Tools, both government-owned. Thereafter, both private and public sector organizations, including the Indian Space Research Organization, National Aeronautic Laboratories, Indian Telephone Industries and Bharat Electronics Limited, flooded Bangalore.

"We wanted to locate as near the upstream suppliers as possible," says Roger Ramaswamy, a Digital Computer strategic programs manager. "Since a lot of non-smokestack industries are locating near Bangalore, the area is becoming India's Silicon Valley."

Of Texas Instruments' choice of India, a spokesman added "the favorable government attitudes towards foreign investment and the common use of the English language in education, commerce and industry don't hurt."

"An abundance of well-educated people, especially in mathmatics and engineering, is India's forte." says Ramaswamy.

"The real reason for Texas Instruments and Microsoft coming here is the easy availability of talented manpower in computer science," said Dr. A.L. Rao, the general manager of research and development at WIPRO in Bangalore.

"The number of institutions and organizations offering computer science has increased greatly. With a strong computer science foundation, the potential is there. International companies are tapping into this potential."

Rao should know. WIPRO is perhaps the country's largest manufacturer of personal firms like Hindustan Computers Ltd. (HCL), Pertech and Sterling Electronics exclusively manufacture PCs.



ANTHONY SCHULTZ

Arun Chacko is *The WorldPaper* associate editor for South Asia.

WIPRO Systems also exports software. It has conceived, developed and independently produced Instaplan, a highly successful tool for project planning and monitoring of large projects that has done well in the United States. Despite stiff competition, Instaplan has been adopted by the Harvard Business School.

Other Indian firms collaborate. Raba Contel is linked with Apple Computers of the United States, Indchem with Norsk Data. A major mainframe maker is International Computers India Manufacture (ICIM), the Indian branch of British International Computer Ltd.

Does this mean that Bangalore can become a Third World Silicon Valley?

On the credit side, successful local companies like Infosis can do a job for a fraction of the cost abroad—perhaps as low as 60 percent.

Skilled Indians have proved themselves in world markets. Engineer Vinod Khosla, a graduate of Stanford University in the United States, was a founder in 1982 of Sun Microsystems, a *Fortune* 500 US company. Tandon Computers, which is quoted on the New York Stock Exchange, was started by another Indian engineer Sirjang Lal Tandon.

"The real creation of innovative, creative hardware is difficult," according to Rao. "The development of a product is not such a great problem. But bringing it to international standards for the international market is. It requires great investment in marketing, product engineering and packaging.

"Manpower is not the problem. Local companies don't really have the resources to develop and launch products internationally.

"The other problem is access to information and samples of latest technology. India remains behind by six to nine months because new information is only known here when it is available for public consumption in the United States. This time lag is enormous in the fast-developing computer industry."

Some dispute the general quality of technical skills.

"Conventional wisdom is that India has a huge pool of skilled manpower," said Lakshman Balaraman, a US-educated engineer who one year ago started the fast-growing Magnum Electric Co. in Madras to manufacture small electronic products like filters and sure suppressors, which put down high frequency electricity fluctuations.

"This is incorrect. We have a huge pool of unemployed graduates, but not necessarily skilled manpower. The level of education of some of our engineering colleges and polytechnics is inadequate. They are a huge static ineffective group incapable of doing anything. If they were a big pool of skilled manpower, we would have had a Silicon Valley.

"India is overproducing graduates with no capacity to absorb them. Here the skilled base is small and industrial base even smaller. We don't plan or think creatively, or even solve existing problem. So we are not an innovative or inventive people.

"India is not really exporting high-tech stuff. We don't sell cars or electronic items but jewelry. First of all there has to be a desire to export. There has to be a consciousness of the global marketplace. This is simply not there."♦

CIDA PHOTO: DILIP MEHTA

India's edge in software

Engineers good—and cheap

A SOFTWARE ENGINEER in India earns big rupees. But the sum is small bucks to US or European high-tech firms. As a result, software production and export to foreign markets is a boom industry in a subcontinent where high technology operates side-by-side with a water buffalo-driven economy that hasn't changed since the Moguls.

Software developers are becoming the new moguls of Indian high tech, according to US-trained Anil Nagar, 45, who started a software producer, Coretech Management Systems, in New Delhi two years ago.

In a domestic economy where to the local wage earner a rupee still is as valuable as a US dollar and the annual per capita income is $180, good software engineers can earn 100 rupees (about US$6) an hour and up to 70-80,000 rupees a year (about US $5,000).



Earning big rupees but small bucks.

But in the international market, that amount compares to up-to-$100 an hour demanded by good programmers in the United States.

As a result, firms like Coretech can mark up their labor costs 100 percent— and still offer foreign firms a price that is 15 percent to 20 percent of what software costs in the West.

To take advantage of the cheaper costs, major US manufacturers like Texas Instruments and Intel have established software production facilities in this country, some directly linked with their US units by satellite.

Writing software programs often accounts for 60 percent of a venture's cost, says Nagar. Foreign firms also can save more money on infrastructure, such as the leasing of premises. Non-manpower costs may be 30 percent less in India than similar expenditures in the United States, estimates Nagar, although the cost of communication, such as talking with headquarters in Dallas or London can be high. An hour of satellite time may cost about $3,000.

"One of the reasons for going into my own business was the potential in software exports," said the bespectacled Nagar. "Indians were already well regarded in the field. Thanks to previous international connections, I quickly got some contracts. We are now also involved in recruitment for international agencies.

"The major effort in computer projects is programming. Most organizations abroad either recruit a few people from India or, alternatively, companies like Texas Instruments, Hewlett Packard and Intel send their design here to units already set up by them.

"Their people here work on the programming until it is ready. Then they might go across to the United States to simply install it. Alternatively, they beam the program across through a satellite link. This is faster and cheaper.

Their jobs are considered glamorous and, says Nagar, not only do they make more money than their peers, after four or five years they basically can ask for what they want—and often get it. The market for good software specialists is still growing.

A mechanical engineer from Roorkee, where he attended the country's oldest engineering school, Nagar worked for two and a half years in Bombay before going on to the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, where he earned a master's degree in computer sciences.

He worked as a programmer in US engineering and construction companies before moving into airline reservation systems in the late 60s. Unlike many US-educated Indian engineers, he returned home in 1971 to join the fledgling Tata Consultancy Services in Bombay, now one of India's most prestigious enterprises.

For four and a half years, the sharp, articulate Nagar did computer systems analysis, design and financial accounting, sales analysis and production planning. Then he joined the Management Consultancy Division of the prestigious Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, but still did a lot of consulting and kept in touch with computers.

"I thought I had a fair amount of exposure on systems design and programming," he said, "and I wanted more exposure in applications systems from the outside. I thought I should see what these applications are. That is work in an actual business environment."

Nagar got his break with the international accounting firm, Price Waterhouse, in Kingston, Jamaica. He set up their computerization program and vastly expanded the company's computer department. In early 1984 he returned to India to head the computer consultancy practice of the accounting firm, A.F. Ferguson, before striking out on his own.

"In India the thing to look for is communications and networking," Nagar concluded. "They would require a great deal of software, both for domestic demand and exports. For exports, systems software specialists will be needed."

—By Arun Chacko, New Dehli

Entering market via Andes

Peruvian firm serves Eastern computer hunger

BY WILSON RUIZ
in Lima, Peru

TAKING ADVANTAGE of Soviet and Eastern European hunger for Western high technology, an engineer with degrees from Harvard University in the United States and the University of Dusseldorf in West Germany has founded a firm raking in high-tech dollars amidst the economic chaos of Peru.

"Novotec is the first Peruvian high-technology corporation," says Alfredo Novoa, 48, president and founder of the fast-growing computer manufacturing company. In three years, Novotec's annual sales have grown from US$300,000 to $8.9 million.

Novotec has specialized in penetrating the socialist Eastern European countries. In its early days, Novotec signed an agreement for computer design testing with Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Within a year both countries had approved the Peruvian models, and the Czechs had purchased $300,000 worth of Novotec computers.

The company signed a $2.5 million contract in 1987 and another worth $6.5 million in 1988 with Czechoslovakia and also sold $2.4 million worth of products to East Germany.

The Soviet Union recently ordered $450,000 in computers, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences has approved the use of Novotec computers in universities and research centers.

Today 600 business computers, ranging from small departmental systems to powerful superminicomputers capable of working with up to 1,024 terminals have been delivered to a score of Czech companies. Novotec computers are used in steel mills, research centers, banks and in the assembly plants of Skoda—the automobile manufacturer.

"The Czechs demand both quality and competitive prices, but we have never had one single computer rejected," said Novoa. Novotec prices range from $3,800 for a System 3200 personal computer, to $18,000 for the more complex CP1000 all-purpose unit.

Novoa has embarked on an ambitious sales program in Western Europe, Latin America and the United States.

"For us it's bad business to be only known as suppliers of equipment to Eastern Europe," he says. Two years ago, Novotec computers were practically unknown in Western markets.

"People didn't even know where Peru was located," said Novoa. All that is changing now. After signing a distribution contract with a West German agency early this year, purchase orders began to arrive at the company's head office in

Wilson Ruiz covers Peruvians affairs from Lima.



Profits high, so are risks

A warning to small lands

BY BARUCH RAZ
in Tel Aviv, Israel

NO WONDER decision makers in both developed and developing countries are paying attention to the link between high technology and the state economy. Industrial activities involving electronics and biotechnology gross profit margins of 40 percent to 50 percent and include labor costs that do not seem to affect the salability of the product. This combination fires the imagination of every national planner.

But the true picture is different from the fantasies of national planners.

While profits may be high, generating unjustified optimism in smaller developing countries seeking a quick solution to economic deprivation, so are the risks. The name of the game for developing countries is to diminish the risks.

For all the risk, no other way is possible. High technology is not a choice for the Third World, it is an inevitability. An India or Pakistan that does not seek high

Dr. Baruch Raz directs the Interdisciplinary Center for Technological Analysis and Forecasting at Tel Aviv University, Israel.

HIGH-TECH DOLLAR

Lima.

Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are the major players in the Latin American information technology industry. The estimated output of those three countries alone is at least $5 billion, with Brazil contributing $3 billion of that sum, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) reported in 1988.

While wild inflation and social disruption aggravated by a presidential campaign and rural guerrillas have plagued Peru, the country has a strong basis for high-technology development.

With nearly 300,000 scientists and engineers in a population of 21 million, Peru has Latin America's third highest ratio, with 164 such skilled people per 10,000 population, according to IADB figures. Only Venezuela (217) and Argentina (189) have more.

However, the $42.5 million spent in the country on research and development places it 11th on a list of 18 Latin American countries in R&D expenditure (the $1.5 billion spent in Brazil leads the list, although Argentina's $561 million is tops per capita at $19.57, compared to Brazil's $13.75).

Novoa argues that countries such as Peru are now in a position to design and manufacture everything from PCs to mainframes.

"I don't believe Soviet, Japanese or American engineers have some secret brain power which we don't have," he says.



NOVOTEC

All-Peru assembly line competes on global stage.

Novotec employs 270 engineers, technicians and other employees, all Peruvians. More than half the company's 50 engineers were trained in Western Europe, the United States or the Soviet Union.

After training as a mechanical engineer at Peru's National Engineering University, Novoa studied cybernetics at Dusseldorf. In 1982 he received a masters degree from the Harvard Business School and returned to Peru to start Novotec with no outside capital.

In its first year, his company designed and produced a basic personal computer. The design was entirely Peruvian, but the units were assembled with Taiwanese and Japanese components. Today Novotec manufactures from scratch in three plants a comprehensive line of professional computers in which only the Japanese microprocessors NEC V20 and V30, purchased in the international market, are foreign-made.

Novotec has yet to produce its own commercially viable microchips and is also behind in software. Novoa has began negotiations to produce memory chips in Peru under license from Brazil's largest computer manufacturing corporation—Cobra Inc.

Sales to Eastern Europe have increased dramatically with Peru's bid to reduce its $2 billion foreign debt with the socialist countries through a debt-for-goods arrangement.

On every three dollars of Peruvian goods purchased by socialist nations, one dollar is discounted from the foreign debt and the remaining two are paid in cash to the Peruvian government. Under these conditions, Peru will sell this year $28 million worth of computer equipment to the Eastern bloc, with Novotec's share about $8.9 million.

Although Peruvian officials claim that the debt-for-goods scheme will funnel advanced socialist technology to Peru's computer manufacturers, Novoa believes his country should develop its own technology. But he opposes shutting off Peru from the flow of technology in the information field because of extreme nationalism.

"Technology and computers are international in character," said Novoa.♦

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technology will lose its skilled manpower to countries that do.

In electronics and biotechnology, despite high margins of profit, the market life of the products and the technologies for producing them are short—from four to five years, or less. An author who starts his latest book may find the software for his personal computer word processor outdated by the time he finishes his work. Compact disks, still a rage in the music listening world, already are threatened by the development of the digital audio tape machine and its distribution in Japan, Europe and the United States.

Small countries outside the high technology culture may be pushed back even further by the polarization of high-tech developments. Operators outside the mainstream may find themselves in a worse position than before they tried to compete. The advantage lies with those able to receive information very quickly and equipped with manpower sufficiently abundant and of high quality to enable them to respond to the challenge. Oil-rich countries can buy all the high-technology hardware they can afford but how they develop depends on how quickly they can build a manpower base.

Israel had a large body of software programmers who were better than programmers in the United States. But Israel could not penetrate the US software market. Producing the software was only 40 percent of the job. Interaction and marketing, which comprise the rest of the effort, was done better in the United States. The farther from the market, the less able a country is capable of keeping up with innovation.

What makes the situation even more dangerous for smaller, less developed countries is that high technology has made labor-intensive industries such as textiles and food processing capital intensive, creating problems for countries with high unemplyment levels, abundant labor but scarce capital. In a small mass, or a small country, you have greater fluctuations. When Israel lost the Lavi fighter project, 4,000 of 22,000 skilled employees working on it lost their jobs. Many left to work in the West. Israel had no other high-level jobs to offer them. Small countries cannot afford this upset.

What can small countries do when faced with such a challenge?

- They must avail themselves of the latest in communications despite the risks of the high rate of change in the communications technologies themselves. Whoever sits at the end of the line of communications is at the center of events.
- They must create a wealth of skilled manpower. In the 19th century Industrial Revolution, industries were valued for their hardware; manpower was considered low-level. Today the situation is directly opposite. High technology is in the minds of people.
- They must build the already-too-small stock of potential managers. Coping with the problems of companies with exports of more than $100 million is no simple mission.
- They must seek out capital. Uziah Galil founded his Elron Electronic Industries Ltd. in a tiny apartment in the Israeli port of Haifa in 1962. His high-technology conglomerate of four state-owned and three private companies had annual 1988 sales on seven continents of $420 million. He raised capital in the United States, even opening a huge US office.
- Countries must understand the market. The Dutch understand that for their small country their market is all of Europe. An Israeli making kosher wine must understand that his market is the world's Jews.

Time and time again, Israel in its struggle for economic affluence, has created through a reservoir of brilliant, creative minds especally innovative products that enter the top ranks of the world's technological markets. Israel's marketing of high technology products encounter difficulties despite the fact that 40 percent of Israel's industrial output is high technology. The government expects high-technology exports by 1990 to reach a value of $1 billion a year.

The lack of capital, the distance of these markets from Israel and the lack of managers has reduced the probability of bringing these technological opportunities to full potential. Israel has become a museum of prototypes.

More than once, creative Israelis have been attracted to seductive opportunities overseas. The capital there is more abundant, the market closer, complementary innovative technologies abound, the probability of success is greater—and the result is called "brain drain."

There lies the real tragedy of high-tech industries in small countries.♦



Israel in the R & D pack

Research and development in selected countries

	Number of employees in R & D	% employees in R&D of total population
France	269,885	.49
Italy	112,884	.10
Canada	76,530	.30
Netherlands	58,400	.11
Australia	50,668	.32
Israel	**39,700**	**.97**
Spain	34,080	.08
Denmark	19,029	.37
Norway	17,230	.41
Portugal	9,268	.09

Source: Baruch Raz and Tal Soffer, Tel Aviv University



Author speaks: Questioning the pope

PEOPLE OF GOD: The struggle for World Catholicism, by Penny Lernoux, Viking Penguin. New York USA. 417 pp., US$19.95

BY FELIX BAUTISTA
in Manila, the Philippines

The latest in an occasional series in which authors discuss their new work. Penny Lernoux has reported for two decades from her base in Bogota, Colombia, on the Roman Catholic church in Latin America. She writes of the reaction her book, Children of God, *triggered in the United States:*

Undoubtedly, the most "turned off" Catholics are women, lay and religious. Nuns feel insulted by this papacy's frequent put-downs of women.

During my recent visit to the United States to discuss *People of God*, a high-ranking Vatican official had just insulted US sisters who serve on marriage tribunals, by suggesting that they were not stern enough judges of requests for annulments because of their "tender, little hearts." The remark roused widespread wrath.

Many lay women said that they—and not some celibate men in the Vatican—would make decisions regarding their own bodies, particularly the number of children they would have. "You may still believe in the church," a former Catholic woman told me in Milwaukee, "but I've had it because of the Vatican's treatment of women."

"If this book had appeared two years ago," the editor of a US Catholic weekly told me, "a lot of people might not have accepted it. But even moderate Catholics are now unhappy with this papacy, and I think you'll find a strong echo in the United States for your criticisms of Rome."

As I set out on a tour of the United States this spring, I hoped the editor was right. *People of God* had not been my idea—I had written it at the urging of Catholic leaders in Latin America who feared that the current Vatican retrenchment would destroy decades of consciousness-raising work with the impoverished masses.

People of God took me beyond Latin America, my usual beat, to the United States, Italy and other countries, where I found that many of the same unpleasant things were happening. In Seattle, for instance, a saintly, popular pastor, Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, had been stripped by the Vatican of many of his powers because his administration was deemed too open, too American.

I was still nervous about my reception in the United States—after all, I had done the unusual, and for some Catholics, the unthinkable, in questioning the actions of the pope.

I needn't have worried: The audiences who came to my lectures were ahead of me. Across the United States, I heard Catholics speak of their pain and incomprehension at actions taken by Rome against popular bishops, theologians and others.

Many spoke disdainfully of a new loyalty oath to the Vatican that priests and theologians had been ordered to sign. In Seattle, where Hunthausen is a hero because he withstood Vatican pressures to resign, Catholics and non-Catholics are so disaffected that, were Pope John Paul II to visit that city, he would likely be greeted by the same anti-papal demonstrations that have marred his trips to Holland and Austria.

Of course, the Catholic Church is not a democracy, as the Vatican keeps telling Catholics. Whether such actions will have any impact is unknown. Still, the "children" have grown up. When they organize massive protests, as in Seattle because of Hunthausen's treatment, the pope listens (all of Hunthausen's powers were eventually restored).

Although John Paul had spoken eloquently about the need for social justice and respect for human rights, his words had been belied by Rome's disciplinary actions against the very church leaders who were working for social justice and human rights. Bishop Pedro Casaldaliga, for example, had received a gag order from the Vatican, which objected to, among other things, his use of local cultural symbols in church rituals. Casaldaliga, who is considered a saint by the peasants and Indians in the Brazilian Amazon, had repeatedly risked his life to defend the rights of the poor. The Brazilian military had several times attempted to expel him during the previous 21-year dictatorship but never succeeded because of the international outcry against such an action. Yet here was the Vatican threatening to do what the dictatorship could not, by forcing Casaldaliga to resign.

Such disciplinary measures have put liberal church leaders on the defensive. Although religious protocol forbids a frontal attack by bishops on Rome, a Catholic journalist unbeholden to the institutional powers could say publicly what the bishops repeated only privately, as forcefully pointed out to me by one cardinal. "If you want to help," he said, "write a book that will tell it like it is."

Twenty-five years ago the church underwent a major housecleaning at the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II. Catholics everywhere have become accustomed to its reforms, particularly a greater sharing of authority and more lay participation. To attempt to force them back into an authoritarian, pre-Vatican II mold will only lead to more disaffection. Yet I find it encouraging that, unlike the 60s, when large numbers left the church, many are staying to fight for their vision of Catholicism. Or as the US theologian Charles Curran said, after Rome attempted to silence him, "It's my church, too."♦

WHEN POPE JOHN XXIII convened the Second Vatican Council in 1964, he opened a few windows so that the fresh winds of change could come into the Roman Catholic Church. The winds blew the cobwebs away and breathed a new life, a new vitality, into an institution that had seen little change over the centuries. Because masses were said in the vernacular, even the unlettered peasants found them meaningful. And because Vatican II exhorted the laity to be more deeply involved in church affairs, the people rallied around their parish priests and busied themselves in the apostolate.

The changes were particularly sweeping in the Third World, notably in Latin America and in the Philippines, the only predominantly Catholic nation in Asia. The people broke with tradition and started believing that "everyone—black, brown, yellow or white, cardinal or peasant, Latin American or Roman was an equal in the sight of God."

The words are Penny Lernoux's, whose book bewails the fact that the reforms instituted by the Council fathers are being stifled by "a Eurocentric Vatican unable to perceive the needs and gifts of other cultures."

Lernoux views the struggle for world Catholicism "sometimes in despair but mostly with optimism." Why the despair?

She finds most disturbing the Curia's attempts to discredit advocates of liberation theology by tarring them with the communist brush. She condemns the efforts to gag such South American "radicals" as Gustavo Gutierrez, Jon Sobrino and Leonardo Boff. She speaks scathingly of the determined move to make liberal-minded and progressive US bishops conform with Vatican thinking.

She derides the attempt to censure Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen for speaking against the arms buildup and calling on the taxpayers to withold that part of their income tax that would be spent on arms. And she faults John Paul II for being too friendly with Catholic right-wing organizations like the Knights of Malta ("an old boy's club for the European aristocracy and the political right of the US and Latin America") and the Opus Dei ("secretive, elitist").

Why the optimism? Lernoux speaks glowingly of the formation of basic Christian communities in the depressed areas of Latin America and the Philippines where the poor learn to have faith in each other and in God's pro-



VIKING PRESS

vidence, where they become more politically aware and where, through self-help projects, they improve their standard of living.

She writes admiringly of the bishops' refusal to succumb to Vatican threats and of their insistence that the church be a force for democracy, justice and peace.

She is most enthusiastic about the new spirit animating the *People of God*. When Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns of Brazil called on the people to attend a mass to protest the murder of a young student by the security forces of the military dictatorship, the Brazilians turned out in the tens of thousands.

When Jaime Cardinal Sin of Manila urged his flock to protect a puny group of rebels against the despotic Ferdinand Marcos, two million took to the streets and sent the tyrant into exile.

More than anything else, these two incidents give bone and sinew, flesh and blood to the book's title, *The People of God*, a community of believers willing to accept the leadership and guidance of the church.

—Felix Bautista is a former spokesman for Cardinal Jaime Sin and former editor of the Philippine Catholic weekly Veritas.

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BUSINESS CURRENTS

BY BRAD DURHAM



Indo-exchange

A new tiger may be emerging in Asia, ready to gang up with South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore as a newly industrialized country (NIC). Already, the muffled growls can be heard from Indonesia's 187 million people as President Suharto's government pushes on with a sweeping overhaul of Indonesia's financial sector. Suharto's newest innovation is a private stock exchange, just opened in Indonesia's second largest city, Surabaya, to provide an alternative to Indonesia's only other exchange, the government-owned exchange in Jakarta.

The new Surabaya Stock Exchange (SSE) is still in its infancy. Owned and operated by a conglomeration of 41 licensed securities dealers, the SSE got its start with the offering of shares by two companies and the bonds of a third.

The exchanges in Surabaya and Jakarta will nurse each other, since they will share the listings of their exchanges. Combined, the two exchanges list 46 companies with over US$200 million of issued stocks and bonds, says Marzuki Uzman, chairman of the Capital Markets Executive Board, which oversees both exchanges.

Indonesia's Jakarta Stock Exchange grew faster last year than any other market in the world, according to a World Bank's affiliate, the International Finance Corporation, in its 1989 annual Emerging Stock Markets Factbook. The market capitalization of the exchange jumped from $68 million in 1987 to $253 million in 1988, more than quadrupling itself in one year.

In Europe's chimney

With the sly grace of a panther, the Japanese are maneuvering now to pounce on Europe 1993 from the perch of a fabled university way up in Scotland.

The Japanese **NEC Corp.** and **Fujitsu** are working with the administrators of the University of Edinburgh to open a research and development facility which will promote the exchange of Japan's reputed production technology and the British expertise in the area of basic science. The facility's name—surely pleasing to the Brussels-trained ear—is to be called the Japan-Europe Institute and is scheduled to open this month.

NEC and Fujitsu will be responsible for US$756,000 of the $15.2 million needed to adequately fund the the five-year management costs of the institute. Japan is sending researchers to the institute to give lectures on Japanese technology, management and history.

Dovetail for nature

Things are now green year-round in Canada, that collossal North American sovereign where winters can be harsh and nothing keeps its chlorophyl for long. The greening is not the result of the global warming trend but rather Canada's government warming to the Green revolution. To encourage businesses to befriend the environment, the Canadian government is offering businesses the rights to use a logo affixed to products which it considers to be "environmentally friendly."

Products which are recycled, recyclable, biodegradable or free of environmentally damaging chemicals could qualify for the logos, according to Canada's Department of Environment guidelines. The logo will be the image of a maple leaf composed of three doves—representing consumers, industry and government in alliance to protect the environment—that the eco-conscious manufacturer could stamp on the product to attract like-minded consumers. If accepted, use of the logo will cost the company $1,500.

A Toronto-based supermarket chain, **Loblaw's**, has side-stepped the government and developed an entire line of Green products, ranging from laundry detergent to tuna. The line of 100-plus products are wrapped in distinctive green packaging and come with the endorsements of Canadian environmental groups. After years of neglect, our ostracized environment is finally making some powerful and influental friends.



Napolean complex

Alone, like a singular atoll in the South Pacific, amidst an ocean of sophisticated Japanese information machines is the French business systems company, **Telic-Alcatel**. Telic-Alcatel is the only non-Japanese manufacturer of facsimile machines, that revolutionary office product that is making the exchange of corporate documents merely a phone call away.

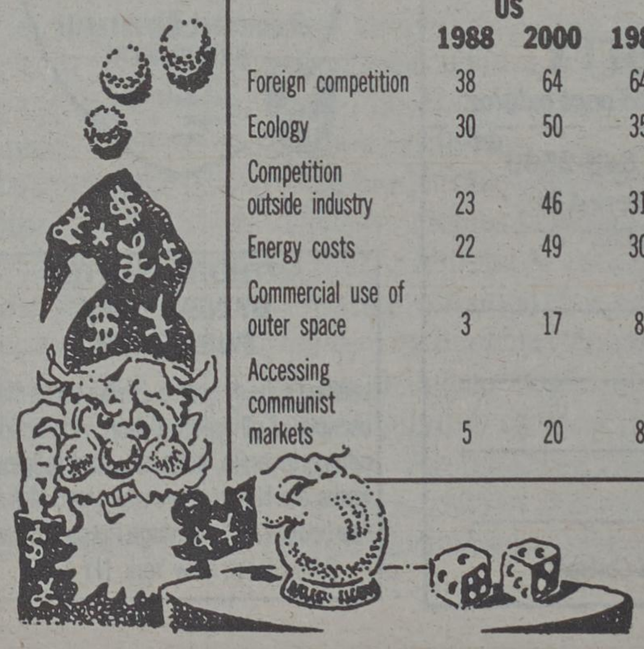
Clearly, the Japanese are the robber barons of the world facsimile market, controlling 95 percent. Telic-Alcatel is left to fill in the cracks, including 10-to-12 percent of the European fax market, mainly because it entered the business on the ground floor in the early 70s, explains Malcolm Butler, manager of public information. Even though Telic-Alcatel has roughly $1 billion in annual facsimile sales, Butler admits that Telic-Alcatel is only a "blip" in the total market. Whether that blip turns out to be friend or foe to Japan will be largely dependent on the malleability of Europe to the Japanese come 1993.

UNDERCURRENT

Corporate prophets

The French astrologer and physician, Nostradamus, claimed in the 16th century to have seen the future and set about recording some remarkable, and some contend true, predictions in a book of rhyme entitled *Centuries*. Likewise, the executive search firm, **Korn Ferry International** has recently tried their hand at a bit of soothsaying; to predict what the major challenges for the world's businesses will be in the 21st century.

According to the responses to 150 questions posed to each of 1,500 business executives in 20 countries, here are some of the fresh challenges for business into the next century. The answers point to an impending energy crisis, growing concern over the environment, foreign competition and the anticipated rise of the communist economies. The following represents the fastest growing challenges to those executives questioned, from the United States, Western Europe, Japan and Latin America. The numbers represent the percentage of respondents ranking the factors as "very important" in 1988 and the prospects of it being so in the year 2000:



	US		Japan		W.Europe		Latin America	
	1988	2000	1988	2000	1988	2000	1988	2000
Foreign competition	38	64	64	96	44	81	36	70
Ecology	30	50	35	53	20	61	13	63
Competition outside industry	23	46	31	84	13	37	7	31
Energy costs	22	49	30	52	22	30	19	50
Commercial use of outer space	3	17	8	42	12	29	9	27
Accessing communist markets	5	20	8	28	6	24	7	26

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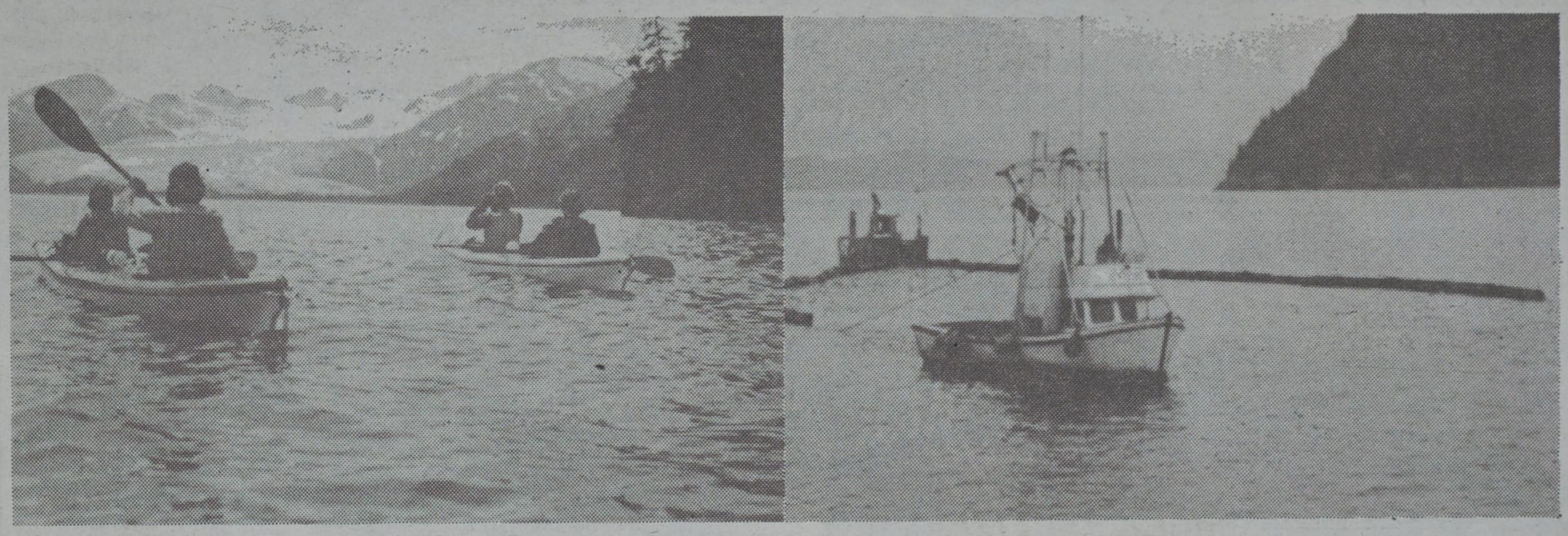
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In the mucky aftermath of the Exxon Valdez

BY CROCKER SNOW, JR.



Side by side: Kayakers paddle through Prince William Sound (left) while cleanup goes on a few miles away.

The perpetrator of the crime, Exxon, is pumping oil and cleaning up its aftereffect in Prince William Sound with equal fervor, while lobbying for the right to drill more in Barrows Bay and applauding a new Arco strike on the North Slope.

• State officials are demanding help, from Washington and from the oil industry, while playing prosecutor, judge and jury.

• Environmentalists are howling for more in Exxon's cleanup effort, while worrying that its very magnitude is more disturbing to Alaska's wilderness and wildlife than the original spill itself.

• And scientists are experimenting with all manner of mechanical and chemical cleanup devices while acknowledging that they have little empirical evidence to determine which works best—or at all.

These are the most dramatic of the many confusions and contradictions left in the wake of America's largest oil spill—the spill of almost 11 million barrels of heavy and toxic Alaskan crude from the beached, 295-meter supertanker Exxon Valdez into the cold wilderness waters of Prince William Sound last March 24.

The spill, the initial ineptitude of efforts to quell the petroleum hemorrhage, and the flagrant politicking by all parties since has dominated the life of Alaska, America's largest, most northern, most resource-rich state.

The environmentalists, that part of the population attracted by the grandeur of Alaska and its limitless opportunities to hunt, fish, trek, sled, climb and kayak, have been given a cudgel with which to flog the petroleum people and other development-oriented interests. The oil industry which accounts for 85 percent of the economy of the state (including an oil dividend payment of US$800-plus annually for each of the state's 530,000 residents) and production for roughly 10 percent of US oil consumption has been knocked on its heels, and is reacting with defensiveness, obfuscation and subtle hush money to stem the tide. The latter comes in the form of exorbitant fees that VICO, the cleanup company contracted by Exxon, is paying Prince William Sound boaters, fishermen and others for their services.

To visit the Sound, as a guest of NOLS (the National Outdoor Leadership School), is to feel the tension and experience the conflict and contradictions first hand. But ironically, dramatic evidence of the spill itself cannot be seen.

The kilometers-square seas of black oil that first floated from the Exxon Valdez down each side of Montague Island when a northern storm hit three days after the March spill (and before any substantial containment had taken place) have dissipated leaving little visible sign on the surface of the Sound.

Pink and coho and silver salmon still jump and slap in every bay and inlet and fiord in the final midsummer days before their spawning run. Though commercial salmon and herring fishing has been halted, giant halibut are still taken and consumed throughout the Sound. And sea otters still frolic on their backs in the runoff waters from the Columbia and other glistening glaciers.

Prince William Sound is vast, the largest bay in North America, 15 times the area of San Francisco Bay. Though some 500 miles of coastline was affected by the spill, (and much more on Kodiak Island and the Kenai Peninsula nearby), this is a small percent of the 3500 of miles of coastline that the Sound, and its many islands encompass.

Even on the stricken shores, the combination of wind, weather, 10- to 14-foot tides, and Exxon's cleanup efforts have left rock beaches where the worst to be seen is an oil skim, blackened driftwood and occasional globs.

At Eleanor Island, one of the half dozen in the heart of the Sound that took the full force of the spill, Exxon's Task Force IV (of a total of six) mounts an impressive campaign to scour the shores and cliffs. In the island's Northwest Bay, the mother ship of the cleanup flotilla and a vast hotel barge dispense beach workers, equipment, rations, advice and helicopters in equal measure. A total of 34 ships, barges, fire boats, fishing boats and runabouts are visible at one time, variously skimming slicks, steam cleaning and hosing cliffs and stacking piles of transparent garbage bags filled with oil refuse. It has all the hum and hurry-up-and-wait flavor of a US Army fire control base in Vietnam.

Exxon's on site commander P.G. Cavazos, who like many Exxon personnel is a volunteer from his posting as an operation superintendant in the Louisiana oil fields, is polite but hardly forthcoming. Neither are the well paid local workers and fishermen involved in the task. Even a team from the US Fish and Wildlife Service, taxpayer-supported and science-oriented, who are monitoring the spill's effect on local waterfowl and bald eagles are wary of speaking with the press.

"We've been told not to talk about any of our findings," explains young researcher Una Swain. "There's a fear that what we say could be used by one party or another in the many suits and legal proceedings in the future."

Observing the close-mouthed cleanup teams, one concludes that they have both a humorless and hopeless task.

The combination of the Sound's jagged rock formations, porous shale beaches, significant tides and rugged weather make man's best efforts seem almost inconsequential.

Indeed, the inexactness of the cleanup science coupled with growing public awareness of the ecology-crushing nature of the current operations in such wild and remote islands as Eleanor means that many Alaskans seem almost ready to let nature take its course. The most tantalizing aspect of this were sudden signs in mid-August that a particular bacteria that feeds on the hydrocarbon residue of Alaska's evergreen trees are multiplying rapidly on the shores of the Sound as they attack and feed on the oil deposits. The Environmental Protection Agency is now treating certain beaches with nitrogen phosphorous fertilizer to encourage the oil-consuming micro-organisms.

The oil spill occurred 25 years to the day after Alaska's greatest natural disaster, the Good Friday earthquake of 1964, and roughly 25 miles from its epicenter. The Exxon Valdez grounded on Bligh Reef, named for the real Captain Bligh of *Mutiny on the Bounty* literary fame.

These connections provide a reminder that fact can be as dramatic—and destructive—as nature or literature itself. Or, as Alaskan Malcolm Roberts writing about the spill in the magazine, *For a Change*, published by the organization Moral Re-Armament, put it: "The most important lesson has already emerged. As the world's population grows and mankind harnesses technology to raise the living conditions of all peoples, the individual is tempted to feel more and more insignificant. Not true. One tanker captain, one railroad engineer, one airline mechanic and (most frightening of all) one person in charge of a nuclear silo—all of us are dependent on now, not just by family and neighbors, but by entire industries, entire states, even nations."♦



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