

# AF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 27, 1987

XXII No. 12

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH 26, 1987

MARCH 25, 1987

## South Africa Reaches Accord On Bank Debt

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PRETORIA, South Africa—South Africa and its major creditor banks agreed to a three-year rescheduling of payments on the country's \$23 billion foreign debt, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said.

The agreement will replace an earlier pact that expires June 30. It was reached much sooner and contains easier repayment terms than had been expected.

Besides continuing to make payments on \$10 billion of medium-term and long-term debt, South Africa under the new accord will repay part of its \$13 billion in short-term debt. The short-term payments were frozen under the moratorium on certain debt payments declared by the government in September 1985, after international bankers abruptly choked off credit lines to South Africa amid mounting fears over the country's deteriorating political and economic situation. Some short-term payments were made under the accord that expires in June.

Creditor banks had been expected to press Pretoria to step up its payments, particularly on short-term debt. But under the rescheduling accord, payments on the short-term debt decline from year to year.

Many South African bankers and finance ministry officials had expected prolonged sessions of hard bargaining in the coming weeks over the question of the nation's international financial position. Political considerations also were expected to complicate the talks. Banking sources said lenders felt pressured by customers and stockholders opposed to the country's racial policies.

Mr. du Plessis said, however, that "not one political demand was made" during the negotiations. "The desire all around was to reach a new arrangement as early as possible," he said.

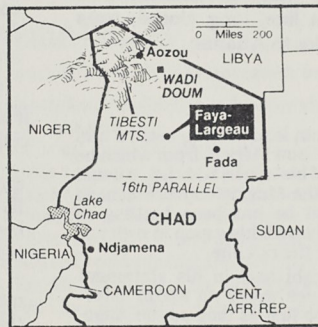
The governor of South Africa's reserve bank, Gerhard de Kock, added that the creditor banks "didn't enter into this deal with us because they are overcome with affection for South Africa." Rather, he

## Libyans Said to Begin Retreating From Last Major Foothold in Chad

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, March 25 — Libyan forces were starting to evacuate their last major stronghold in northern Chad today after a recent series of spectacular losses to Chadian troops, French military sources said.



The New York Times/March 26, 1987

With the Libyan troops on the run, President Hissen Habré's army appears poised to complete its reconquest of the country's northern region, which Libya has occupied since 1983, French officials said.

The French military sources said about 3,000 Libyan soldiers appeared to be pulling out of the oasis town of Faya-Largeau, which is also President Habré's birthplace, after blowing up fuel and ammunition dumps there during night. These sources said the Libyan soldiers were making their way northward toward the Libyan frontier after Chadian forces cut their resupply lines last Sunday by capturing the nearby Libyan airbase at Wadi Doum.

said, "They are entering into it because it's a good deal for them."

Mr. de Kock said South Africa continued to generate a healthy current-account surplus, had built up its gold and foreign-currency reserves to over \$3 billion over the past few months and had shown the fundamental strength of its economy.

### Loss of Important Runway

The loss of Wadi Doum deprived Libya of its only hard runway in Chad capable of receiving the heavy transport planes used to supply its forces at Faya-Largeau and in the surrounding regions, these officials point out.

Military experts here ascribe the poor showing of the Libyan forces to low moral, unsuitable tactics learned from Soviet advisers without experience of desert warfare. They also point to the superior equipment and tactics of the Chadian troops, who are using the modern Milan anti-tank rocket developed by Britain, France and West Germany and favor surprise attacks against the heavily armored Libyan columns.

### Libyan Ouster Predicted

Many of the captured and killed Libyan troops also belong to the Islamic Legion, a poorly trained, largely mercenary force founded by Colonel Qaddafi to fight in northern Chad.

There was no official comment today from the French Government, which is training and equipping President Habré's forces with significant help from the Reagan Administration. But last night the French Defense Minister, André Giraud, predicted that the Chadian Government would now succeed in ousting the occupying Libyan forces from the northern region of this landlocked African country that was once a French colony.

"The Chadians had no other choice than the reconquest of their country and that is what they are doing," Mr. Giraud said in a radio interview, adding, "The Libyan forces are now in an untenable position, with their communication lines cut and without air cover."

"The fall of Faya-Largeau would bring the central plain of Northern Chad under Habré's control," said Patrick Mercellin, who heads the Center for Defense Studies and Research at

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# Angola Rebels in Offer on Rail Link

By NEIL A. LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26 — Anti-Communist rebels in Angola said today that they would allow the Angolan Government to reopen the Benguela railroad, a move that would help the black countries of southern Africa reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

Opening of the line, which the rebels have frequently sabotaged, would also ease the economic plight of Marxist Angola by permitting the Angolan port of Lobito to become a major terminal for trade in the region.

The Washington office of the rebel group known as Unita made public a statement by its leader, Jonas Savimbi, saying he would permit the reopening of the Benguela line through Zaire and Angola, which has been largely closed for 12 years.

## Rebels Backed by U.S.

The Reagan Administration has been an ardent supporter of Unita. The State Department, however, has given priority to helping South Africa's neighbors reduce their dependence on Pretoria for trade and transportation. Western European governments have also been eager to help develop alternate transportation routes.

The black-ruled nations which make up the Southern African Development Coordination Conference — Mozambique, Angola, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania — channel almost 70 percent of their combined foreign trade through South African ports, which leaves them vulnerable to economic dislocation in any sanctions war with Pretoria.

Diplomats said the United States, acting on requests from African leaders, had strongly encouraged Mr. Savimbi to allow the Benguela line to reopen. But State Department officials asserted today that they had played only a nominal role.

"We didn't lean on anyone," one official said. "This was largely an African initiative."

## Decision 'Our Own'

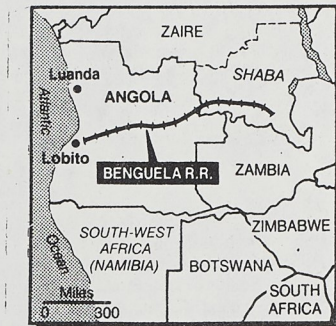
Another official said that Mr. Savimbi was aware of the American position but that no pressure had been applied.

"We knew the views of the United States," a Unita official in Washington said today, "but we made the decision on our own."

The Administration has provided \$15 million over the past two years in covert military aid to Mr. Savimbi's group, according to Congressional sources.

Mr. Savimbi said he was taking the step to help his black neighbors and to promote reconciliation with the Government in Luanda.

The change could also produce a rich political harvest for Mr. Savimbi. He has long had strained relations with



Benguela line, long closed, runs 1,208 miles to Atlantic.

black African leaders who regard him as a tool of South Africa, from which he gets most of his aid. In addition, it could help force the Marxist Government in Luanda that he has been battling to deal directly with his group in order to rehabilitate the rail line.

Mr. Savimbi said in his statement that his forces would no longer interfere with the line as long as the Angolan Government did not try to use it to transport military goods. He said he would insist on inspections to insure that.

"The railroad can be used to ship food, clothing — anything except for things related to war," he said.

A spokesman for the Angolan Government in Washington said officials were aware of the proposal but would not have anything to say about it.

The Benguela line runs 1,208 miles from Shaba Province in Zaire to Lobito. Mr. Savimbi's forces have prevented use of the line in eastern Angola, which they have controlled in the civil war since 1975 when Angola ceased to be a Portuguese colony.

A major question, according to a State Department official, is what South Africa's reaction would be to the prospect of much of the mineral and commercial wealth of the region bypassing its ports.

"That's a big question mark," the official said. "We don't know the answer."

The official said that Pretoria would have significant leverage in preventing Mr. Savimbi from following through on his offer if it chose to do so.

If Angola agreed to Mr. Savimbi's conditions, it would be at least a year before the railroad could be put back into operation, American officials say. Although the United States has promoted reopening of the line, Washington would be prohibited by law from financing it. Because Angola is listed as a Communist country, the United States is unable to provide aid to any project there.

# Mozambican Army gains as neighbors lend increasing aid

By Karl Maier

Tete, Mozambique

Bolstered by growing support and aggressiveness from its neighbors, Mozambique is slowly pushing back South African-backed rebels in three northern provinces.

At least 600 Tanzanian troops have joined 7,000 Zimbabwean troops and Mozambique's 45,000-strong Army in the decade-old fight against the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) guerrillas.

Officials of the leftist government here say that neighboring Malawi has stopped aiding the right-wing rebels and is seeking to curb their operations on its soil, which juts into Mozambique. "Malawi is at our side, and we are cooperating in the fight against the bandits," President Joaquim Chissano said recently. "Today the terrorists are losing more of their external bases."

Western military sources in the region confirm that Malawi signed an agreement with Mozambique last December to work together against Renamo, although they

question whether Malawi's small Army can control Renamo activities on its soil. "Malawi's Army is very inexperienced," said one source. "It will take some time before this cooperation really begins to work."

Lt. Gen. Armando Guebuza, Mozambique's transport minister, says that Malawi "is trying to work to control the bandits" because it needs Mozambique's Nacala railway as a foreign trade route to the Indian Ocean.

The Army of the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) receives critical support from Britain, which is doubling its commitment to train Frelimo commanders, and from the Soviet Union, which still provides the bulk of the Army's military hardware.

The poorly organized Army has stumbled badly in the northern part of Tete Province. Renamo raids have sent hundreds of refugees into the cities.

President Chissano is carrying out a modest reorganization of the Army high command. The most significant changes have been the replacement of Col. Gen. Sebastiao Mabote as chief of staff by Lt. Gen. Armando Panguene. And one of Frelimo's brightest military leaders, Lt. Gen. Domingos Fondo, has been sent to take command of affairs in Tete Province.

Frelimo has made some important gains against Renamo since the rebels stunned Mozambique last September and October by taking several strategic towns in the lower Zambezi River valley. Since then, Frelimo has retaken much of eastern Zambézia Province, reopening a major highway between the provincial capital of Quelimane and the central town of Mocuba, site of the provincial military garrison.

In January, the Army thwarted a major South African effort to resupply Renamo units based near the sea in Zambézia Province, according to Chissano. And early this month, the Army recaptured three towns in the lower Zambezi River valley. This move has given Frelimo control over most of the lower Zambezi valley. And according to the government relief agency, food is being airlifted to nearly 30,000 people in the area.

To support the Army's current offensive in Zambézia

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# Major donor nations to hold talks on how to help ailing Mozambique

By Donald H. May

The world's major donor nations will meet in Geneva Tuesday to consider their response to an economic and human crisis that has accompanied the civil war in

Mozambique.

According to reports by the United Nations, U.S. aid officials and voluntary relief agencies, the problem is a complex

combination of a food emergency, a health care crisis and deterioration of the entire economy of that East African country.

An estimated 5.7 million people — 40 percent of the population — currently depend on food assistance from abroad.

Some 3.5 million of these are listed by the U.N. as "severely affected" by the crisis, which means they depend on outside aid not only for food but also for most basic needs including medical care, clean water, shelter and clothing.

Of the 5.7 million dependent on outside food supplies, an estimated 2.2 million, mainly living in the cities, have money to purchase food, but the only food supplies available for them to buy are those put into the commercial markets through aid programs from overseas.

United Nations, U.S. and private aid officials and the government of Mozambique are in fairly close agreement on these figures.

Mozambique is one of a handful of African countries which, two years after the severe drought and famine that hit much of the continent, still is suffering from a food emergency.

The major aid organizations working there say this is due partly to recent drought conditions in sections of southern Mozambique, but more importantly to the cumulative effects of prolonged armed conflict.

The former Portuguese colony became independent in 1975 after an 11-year insurgency. A Marxist government was set up. Since then, the Mozambican National Resistance, known by its Portuguese acronym RENAMO, has been fighting a guerrilla war to retake the country.

Regardless of the political pros and

Continued on page 16

NEWSWEEK: MARCH 30, 1987

## A Conservative Makes a Final Plea

MEMORANDUM: For the President

FROM: Patrick J. Buchanan

RE: The Reagan Agenda and the Legacy

### ■Southern Africa

Here, too, U.S. policy appears to lack clarity and coherence.

Today, we support the anti-Communist rebels in Angola against the Marxist regime. But in Mozambique, we back the Marxist regime against a pro-Western insurgency.

These contradictions are rooted in domestic politics. The anti-Communist Right won repeal of the Clark Amendment and aid for Jonas Savimbi in Angola, while the anti-apartheid coalition on the Hill won punitive sanctions against South Africa. In Mozambique and Zimbabwe, State calls the tune.

The wisdom of your veto [of sanctions] is now established. Following the imposition of sanctions, U.S. businesses sold out and cleared out; the standard of living of the black majority has fallen; black workers have been expelled by the thousands;

American influence has disappeared, and U.S. dependence on the Soviet Bloc for vital minerals has grown.

With State President P. W. Botha beset politically from the moderate left and extreme right, the time may be right to deal the United States back into the game.

The first requisite is early retirement for Dr. Chester Crocker [assistant secretary of state for African affairs]. He would be well replaced by assistant secretary Alan Keyes, an articulate black Reaganite, with experience in African and U.N. affairs.

Then an offer to Mr. Botha (or his successor) of a *secret* summit in the White House, followed by the lifting of sanctions (using increased dependency on East Bloc minerals as the legal ground)—as a condition of which the state president would agree in advance to accelerate the dismantling of apartheid, to Chief Buthelezi's power-sharing plan for Natal and to release Nelson Mandela.

only including Tupolev bombers, MIG-21 fighters, helicopter gunships and Soviet tanks and armored vehicles.

The Chadian Government gave its own casualties as 29 dead, 58 wounded and the loss trucks and light vehicles.

The capture of Wadi. Doum and the reports that Libyan is evacuating Faya-Largeau came after President Habré inflicted two other major defeats on the occupying Libyan forces during his current successful drive northward. These Government victories gravely weakened the Wadi Doum garrison and swung the war decisively in its favor, French officials say.

After first capturing the important oasis town of Fada on Jan. 2, Chadian forces ambushed and destroyed a Libyan armored column moving south from Wadi Doum last Thursday. Then on Saturday, they destroyed a second Libyan armored brigade based at Wadi Doum, trying to rescue the first. The Chadians claim they killed more than

1,000 Libyan soldiers in the two engagements and destroyed large numbers of Libyan tanks and armored vehicles.

President Habré promptly ordered his forces to exploit these victories with a lightning strike at the enfeebled Wadi Doum airbase, despite warnings from French military advisers that it was heavily defended. The gamble paid off and the base fell after a few hours' fighting, French sources say.

### U.S. Congratulates Chadian Army

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 25 — The latest losses inflicted on Libyan forces in Chad are a "serious defeat" for Colonel Qaddafi, a State Department spokesman said today.

The spokesman, Charles E. Redman, offered "congratulations" to Chad's Army, calling the capture of Wadi Doum "a major step forward in regaining control of their national territory."

Assas University in Paris. But he cautioned that the Libyans could still fight a rearguard action in the Tibesti mountains to the north where the terrain would favor them. "It depends on their morale, which doesn't look very good," he added.

The expulsion of Libya's armed forces from Chad would inflict a humiliating personal defeat on Col. Muammer el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader who sent them there, in the view of French and other diplomats here.

It would also represent a major turning point in the armed struggle for control of northern Chad, which has been underway for more than 20 years.

In the Chadian capital of Ndjamena today, the Government claimed its forces killed 1,269 Libyan troops during the battle for Wadi Doum, took 438 prisoners and captured or destroyed large quantities of advanced Soviet weap-



## U.S. to Report That Israel, Other Nations Break Embargo on Arms to South Africa

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Reagan administration is expected to report to Congress next week that arms suppliers in Israel and several Western European nations are providing weapons to South Africa in violation of a United Nations embargo.

The report, which was required by the anti-apartheid act passed last year over President Reagan's veto, is expected to say that the Israeli government condones the practice, according to administration officials. It also will state that arms are shipped to Pretoria from other nations—possibly including Britain, France, West Germany and Switzerland—despite efforts by those governments to block the sales, these officials said.

Although the report's findings about Israel have been expected, Jerusalem's supporters see them as another embarrassing disclosure that could worsen already strained ties between the U.S. and Israel. Already, many U.S. supporters of Israel have been shocked and angered by the recent promotions of two Israeli officials who were involved with Jonathan Pollard, a U.S. analyst convicted of spying for Israel, and by Jerusalem's role as an intermedi-

ary in supplying U.S. arms to Iran.

Some supporters of Israel are concerned that these events, combined with general U.S. budget austerity, could result in a move to make Jerusalem share in an overall reduction of U.S. foreign aid. Last year, when Israel and certain other major allies were exempted from such reductions, Jerusalem received \$1.8 billion in U.S. military aid and \$1.2 billion in economic assistance.

The anti-apartheid bill says the report should be used by Congress to consider ending military aid to nations that violate the U.N. embargo, but a complete halt in military assistance to Israel is unlikely.

The report could embarrass many liberal Democrats who led a fight in Congress to impose economic sanctions against South Africa but also are staunch supporters of Israel. Privately, many of these legislators have been urging Israel to begin breaking ties with Pretoria's white minority government, according to an aide to one important Democratic lawmaker.

Last week, partially in response to this pressure, Israel announced that it won't sign any new military sales contracts with South Africa and that it will limit other bilateral links.

U.S. lawmakers who are sympathetic to

Israel are expected to react to the report by publicly praising Israel for its recent steps. However, these legislators are worried about the details that might be included in the report. Also, since military contracts between Jerusalem and Pretoria are secret and it isn't known whether the pacts contain renewal clauses, it will be difficult to monitor Israeli compliance.

Some officials estimate that such contracts earn Israeli companies several hundred million dollars annually. Typically, arms are provided through cooperative ventures and the transfer of Israeli military technology to South Africa, rather than direct weapons sales, experts say. For example, Uzi submachine guns and Galil rifles are made in South Africa under arrangements with Israeli firms.

Israel once had warm relations with many black African states. However, in 1973, about two dozen of these nations, reacting to the Yom Kippur War and the new clout of Arab oil wealth, severed relations with Israel. Shortly thereafter, Israel began to build relations with South Africa, which has a sizable Jewish population.

The administration is expected to send Congress a two-page unclassified version of its report and a longer, classified one, by April 1.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

MARCH 25, 1987

## Pretoria's financial ties to West get a boost

By Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Pretoria's frayed ties with Western investors are suddenly looking stronger again.

Foreign capital is trickling back—enticed by an exchange-rate bonus and signs that the government has slowed

the momentum of easing a crisis that erupted when the black political unrest. And late yesterday, Pretoria announced a second-stage repayment accord on South Africa's debts to Western creditor banks—

resume its late-1970s strategy of expanding growth at home and financial links abroad, remains highly unlikely for the time being. Caution still seems the watchword for many Western banks; and divestment, a temptation for Western companies.

Two developments have officials

and businesses here hoping that the worst of their crisis with the kings of

Western capital may be over. One is the debt accord. The other is a demand-induced surge this month in the value of the "financial rand"—the discount-rate version of the South African currency available to foreign investors.

Once more than an American dollar, the undiscounted rand has sunk as low as 35 cents in the past year and

a half, with the financial rand has settled at about 48 cents.

Even the most optimistic of South African analysts expect the road back to be potholed and sinuous. The financial rand's advance, notes an economic expert, has been

largely because of the "attractive prospect of what amounts to half-price investment in areas like oil and mining." And the rand-dollar exchange has benefited from the weak dollar.

The debt-rescheduling accord—under which some \$1.4 billion of the \$13 billion in South African obligations due to private banks will be repaid in the next three years—is at best a first step toward re forging strong credit and investment lines with the West.

Analysts here see at least two prerequisites to such a rebound:

- The domestic economy must forge ahead with its incipient recovery from its worst recession on record.

- The government must make good on its hope to turn back twin challenges from left and right in a May 6 white national election, keep a lid on unrest, and bring credible black leaders into promised talks on "power sharing" at the national level.

The first challenge is likely to prove easier than the second. The domestic economy does seem resurgent. But there are potential hitches. Unemployment remains high among whites—and as high as 50 percent in some black urban areas. Inflation, already around 20 percent, shows signs of inching higher.

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# S. African Jews 'on a Tightrope'

## Israel's Reduction in Trade Ties Causes Fears of Anti-Semitism

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, March 20—Leaders of South Africa's small but influential Jewish community today sought to steer a cautious middle course in reaction to Israel's decision to reduce its trade and military links with Pretoria because of its policy of apartheid.

As they did so, there were growing signs that South Africa may be forced to turn its trading attention to two other countries that at times have been politically isolated or criticized for their human rights policies—Taiwan and South Korea.

So far, the government's reaction to Israel's decision has been restrained, with Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha saying today, "The decision of the Israeli government is clearly a direct result of pressure by the United States. The measures announced, however, do not go further than those adopted by European countries."

[In Jerusalem, an official with the Israeli Foreign Ministry said South Africa's charge d'affaires, Johann Kilian, delivered a letter of formal protest. The Associated Press reported.]

While recognizing Israel's need to protect its national interests, Jewish leaders here condemned both apartheid and punitive sanctions, saying that cutting economic ties with South Africa will contribute little to the dismantlement of apartheid, which by law and custom strictly segregates the country's 23

million black majority and perpetuates minority rule by the 4.5 million whites.

Sanctions and disinvestment, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies declared, "undermine the ability to create conditions in which steps can be taken toward the achievement of an apartheid-free and just society in which all the peoples can attain their legitimate aspirations."

The board added that South Africa's 120,000 Jews hope Israel's decision, which it also attributed to pressures from the United States, will not impair a relationship "based on deep-rooted religious and cultural affiliations."

Other Jewish groups adopted a similar stance, underscoring the traditional dilemma faced by South African Jews in trying to deal with the longstanding relationship between their country and Israel.

When that relationship is cordial, as it has been for most of the 40 years of Israel's existence, South African Jews tend to feel uncomfortable with the inevitable association between Zionism and apartheid made by militant blacks here and in such forums as the United Nations.

When the Israel-South Africa relationship deteriorates as a result of a human rights stance adopted by Israel, many Jews here fear that if they defend Israel aggressively they will be viewed as disloyal to South Africa and may even be subjected to anti-Semitism.

"At times like this, we walk a tightrope," said one well-to-do Jewish businessman from Johannes-

burg's northern suburbs.

Most South African Jews either eschew active participation in politics or support the opposition Progressive Federal Party against the ruling National Party, which actively attempted to keep South African troops out of the war against Nazi Germany.

While demonstrative anti-Semitism is not commonplace in South Africa, incipient signs of it occasionally surface, compelling Jewish leaders to express their concern publicly.

A survey of anti-Semitism published last July by the Board of Deputies warned of a backlash among extreme right-wing political parties.

The board's survey also expressed concern over signs of anti-Semitism within parts of the black community, specifically the black consciousness Azanian People's Organization and the United Democratic Front, that have equated Zionism with racism.

Israeli leaders have long shown a sensitivity to the potential effect that strident anti-apartheid actions may have on South Africa's Jewish community, which contributes generously to funds for Israel.

The Israelis have been mindful of the fact that when Israel began 20 years ago courting black African states that had broken diplomatic relations with it as a result of Arab pressure, the South African government tightened currency regulations to make it more difficult for Jews here to transfer money to Israel.

The South African government does not publicly acknowledge its

reportedly extensive arms trade and technology transfer arrangements with Israel, which are said to have included cooperation in nuclear development. Spokesmen for Armscor, the state-owned arms manufacturer, and the Defense Ministry refused to comment on the effects of the Israeli Cabinet's decision.

Israel has long been regarded by trade analysts here as a potentially important go-between for circumventing U.N. sanctions against South Africa by transshipping re-labeled goods from countries adhering to the punitive measures against South Africa.

If anti-apartheid pressure in the United States further closes that indirect channel of trade, South Africa is expected to turn increasingly to two other countries that often face criticism because of their human rights records—South Korea and Taiwan.

Because of their emerging prominence in high technology, and because they are under no pressure to close the door on South Africa, both countries recently have attracted the attention of South African marketing experts as ideal alternative trading partners.

While trade with South Korea so far is minimal, economic ties between Taiwan and South Africa already are extensive.

Taiwanese investors have been particularly attracted to the ostensibly independent tribal "homelands" because of generous tax incentives and the absence of labor laws guaranteeing minimum wages and the right to organize workers.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Israel Stumbles Into Virtue

MARCH 21, 1987

Even when Israel's coalition leaders do right, it seems to come out wrong. It's been an open secret for years that Israel has been a covert arms supplier to South Africa. All that has been hidden is the size of the trade; estimates vary from \$40 million to \$800 million a year. Now Israel is finally moving to halt what it has never acknowledged—but it won't say when, and its leaders imply that their welcome decision is somehow a favor to the United States. Perversely, the effect is to deny Israel the credit it deserves.

Certainly in the short term, Israel stands to lose jobs and contracts. But it is doing no favor to Washington by joining with all Western nations in halting arms sales to a racist police state. That stand is manifestly in Israel's own interest. To be seen as

Pretoria's secret partner mocks Israel's moral claims, affronts black Africa, provides a propaganda windfall for the P.L.O. and embarrasses all of Israel's allies. Why else would this trade be so furtive? Besides, why should Israel deepen its dependence on the arms bazaar, the riskiest commerce in the world?

It's also true that selling arms to Pretoria could, under United States sanctions legislation, jeopardize Israel's \$1.8 billion in annual American military aid. And yes, there's general nervousness in Jerusalem about the Pollard spy scandal. According to Israeli officials, those were factors that led them reluctantly to end a questionable traffic. Israel has made a wise decision. Now let it be a clear one.



# Kodak Products to Stay on Sale in South Africa

## Despite U.S. Firm's Complete Pullout, Local Distributor Promises 'Business as Usual'

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, March 19—When Eastman Kodak Co. announced last November that it was pulling out of South Africa, it was hailed by U.S. antiapartheid lobbyists for its unequivocally tough stance in refusing to allow any of its worldwide distributors to supply products to South Africa.

Unlike the nearly 100 other American companies that have withdrawn from South Africa since the disinvestment movement gained momentum in 1985—most of whom openly continue to profit here by making their products available through licensing agreements—Kodak was seen as applying genuine pressure on the white minority government in Pretoria by denying South Africans its film, photographic paper, equipment and other brand-name products.

In practice, however, that is not happening.

South Africa Druggists Ltd., which today announced it is buying up millions of dollars' worth of warehoused Kodak stocks, said that it had already settled "certain important alternative arrangements" that would leave the sale of Kodak products uninterrupted.

In fact, it will be "very much business as usual," said South Africa Druggists' executive direc-

tor, Sid Hurwitz.

The managing director of Kodak South Africa Ltd., Clayt Liljequist, said that all direct overseas imports from Kodak will cease at the end of next month, "but we can't stop all our 500,000 world customers from deciding to resell to the South African operations which replace us."

Hurwitz also stressed that Eastman Kodak Co. in Rochester, N.Y., will not directly supply its products to South Africa from anywhere in the world.

"But we are completely confident that with our worldwide connections we will continue to obtain all the Kodak products South Africa needs, as well as the latest technological developments," Hurwitz said.

He said that after approval by Kodak's corporate headquarters in Rochester, a letter "explaining the whole deal, and [declaring] that it had been signed and sealed, had gone to all in the South African photographic and equipment and service trade."

Hurwitz said that the continuing availability of Kodak products here would avert a potential supply crisis of consumer and professional film, printing papers, chemicals and photographic equipment. "We at South Africa Druggists were having to face the problem of pressure from Japanese manufacturers on the supply of film to this

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MARCH 21, 1987

THE NEW YORK TIMES

# South Africa Blames U.S. for Israeli Decision

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, March 20 — South Africa's Foreign Minister has blamed the United States for Israel's decision to ban new military contracts with Pretoria.

"The decision of the Israeli Government is clearly a direct result of pressure by the United States," Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha said.

"The measures adopted, however, do not go farther than those adopted by European countries," he said in a statement issued Thursday night.

Mr. Botha's statement was seen by political commentators here as an effort to limit the potential damage to the close relationship between Israel and South Africa and to acknowledge that Israel had taken the minimum measures needed to satisfy the United States Congress and Western European nations.

Today, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, which represents the country's 120,000 Jews, said Israel's action should not be allowed to hurt the special relationship between Israel and South African Jews.

The board met for more than two hours last night to discuss the matter. It issued a carefully worded statement today reaffirming both its opposition to sanctions against South Africa and Israel's right as a sovereign state to act in its interest in the face of significant

pressure from the United States.

The board said sanctions would hinder South Africa's movement toward a free and just society.

"Since the establishment of the State of Israel, a special relationship has existed between the South African Jewish community and the State of Israel," the statement said. "This relationship is based on deep-rooted religious and cultural affiliations, and it is sincerely hoped that this relationship will endure and not be impaired by Israel's future decision."

Political commentators here said the Israeli moves were likely to have more psychological effect on Pretoria than any other sanctions because it is difficult for the Government to dismiss the action as coming from a hostile nation.

A Member of Parliament and the chairman of the Jewish Board's international relations committee, Harry Schwarz, said the religious bond between Jews and Israel could not be broken, but he acknowledged differences with the Israeli Government over sanctions.

He agreed with Foreign Minister Botha that the pressure from deadlines set by the United States was the major factor leading to the Israeli decision. President Reagan must submit to Congress by April 1 a report regarding American aid recipients that also sell arms to South Africa, with a view to ending military aid to those nations.

Mr. Schwarz said that whatever loss of jobs in Israel or other economic repercussions resulted from the sanctions against South Africa, these would be small compared with the loss Israel would suffer if the United States stopped its aid.

"The South African Jewish community," he said, "must accept that it is part of the white community and that its future lies with the South African community."

## Tutu to Meet A.N.C. Leaders

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, March 20 — Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu will meet leaders of the outlawed African National Congress in Lusaka, the Zambian capital, on Saturday. It will be the first official meeting between South Africa's Anglican Archbishop and leaders of the rebel organization, which was outlawed by the Government in 1960 after 50 years of nonviolent resistance to white minority rule.

The meeting was announced in a brief statement, which said it was taking place by mutual request of Archbishop Tutu and the leadership of the African National Congress.

In the past, the Archbishop has met privately with the exiled president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, and has had informal contact with other leaders of the group.



## Keep pressuring Pretoria

SOME constructive impact may come from the May 6 parliamentary elections in South Africa – but by no means enough for the West to reduce its pressure on Pretoria to start power-sharing negotiations.

In calling the election last January, President Pieter W. Botha hoped his ruling National Party (NP) would recapture some conservative votes and net a fresh mandate for his emergency crackdown on black unrest and his slackening pace on apartheid reform.

In contrast to that expected scenario, a new challenge has developed within NP ranks on the left. It is a good sign. The new dissension on the left could affect the race for Mr. Botha's successor, the next set of parliamentary elections in two years, and the speed and determination with which the NP acts on apartheid reform and multiracial negotiations.

The main challenge in Parliament's dominant white chamber, the only one of the three up in this election, still comes from the right. Conservatives, who hold 19 seats now and are likely to pick up a few more, generally feel that Mr. Botha's apartheid reforms have gone too far and that any bend toward power sharing would leave whites powerless. But instead of forming an alliance, parties on the right have hurt their own cause by inter-party bickering.

The Afrikaner-dominated National Party, which has ruled the country with a tight hand for most of the last four decades, currently has 127 seats in the 175-seat white chamber and will easily keep a comfortable majority.

But the new challenge on the NP left is forcing a more moderate tone in the party's rhetoric.

- Recently a group of 27 academics from the University of Stellenbosch, long considered the center of Afrikaner intellectual thought, has publicly urged admission of blacks to Parliament and an end to all "residues" of apartheid.

- Former South African ambassador to Britain Denis Worrall, Parliament member Wynard Malan, and businesswoman Esther Latigan from Stellenbosch have left the National Party and are running as independents on the ballot. They favor keeping the state of emergency in place for now and agree with the NP position that any power-sharing agreement must safeguard white cultural and political rights. But they want a timetable for an end to all apartheid laws and a lifting of restraints on black political groups.

The "New Nats." as the breakaways

## S. African Exiles Run Network of Farms, Schools

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

ALPHA FARM, Zambia—Dressed in overalls and galoshes, Aaron Mafaja looked every inch a farmer as he strode among the cattle herd. Yet before he became a member of the antiapartheid resistance movement 10 years ago he was a city lad who had never seen a steer close up.

Joining the movement may seem a strange introduction to agriculture. But as Mafaja and his fellow black South African exiles here see it, their work on this African National Congress farm near Lusaka is part of the struggle to liberate their country from the apartheid system of segregation and white minority rule.

The farm is part of a vast network the congress has set up in several African countries since it was ousted from South Africa 26 years ago. Along with its guerrilla army, the network includes six farms, small factories, a large school and a system of university scholarships. Among its declared aims is to educate the thousands of exiles to build a new, nonracial society some day in South Africa.

The farm's produce is used to feed the congress' headquarters staff in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, plus scores of black refugees from South Africa who pass through there every month. Some is also flown to guerrilla training camps in Angola 900 miles to the northwest.

Mafaja, a one-time factory worker who fled South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprising, went on an aid scholarship to an agricultural college in East Germany. After graduating he worked on an African National Congress farm in Tanzania before becoming manager of Alpha and an adjoining farm called Tshongela, 30 miles north of Lusaka.

Now he and his Indian deputy, Sahdan Naidoo, who studied agriculture in Tanzania, are giving on-the-job training to 31 young ANC student farmers who help run the 7,160 acres of land with 89 locally employed farmhands.

They raise beef cattle, pigs, chickens, goats and sheep. They also have 1,070 acres under corn and soy beans, work a 25-acre vegetable patch, a small fruit orchard and a nursery for starting their own plants.

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are called, may capture one or two seats. They are unlikely to merge with the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the strongly anti-apartheid, largely English-speaking party to the NP's left. But in a wise strategic move the PFP, which currently has 26 parliamentary seats, decided not to run candidates in "New Nat" races.

In general, South Africa's black community views the election as a reminder that blacks have no national vote – and thus as a flawed symbol of democracy. Exiled leaders of the African National Congress have denounced the election and threatened to disrupt it. But several opposition leaders, including black-activist Alan Boesak, have stopped short of recommending a white voter boycott. Indeed, many of the disenfranchised are encouraged by the new strains on the NP left.

Meantime, Pretoria continues to grow more isolated in its foreign relations. US and West European sanctions continue. Their effect at this point is probably as much psychological as economic. Sweden announced a few days ago that it will ban

all trade with Pretoria as of summer. Israel's cabinet said last week that it will sign no new military sales contracts with South Africa. Israel wanted to announce its action before a US report on American aid recipients who sell arms to South Africa comes out April 1.

South Africa's May election may force some structural realignment of the National Party. But results of the voting are unlikely to have any effect on the state of emergency under which 25,000 people have been officially "detained" since last June; Pretoria appears well satisfied, too, with the way its censorship of the press has curbed stories on black unrest. And the election's outcome is unlikely to speed the pace of apartheid reform or the start of negotiations with representatives of the black community.

For these reasons, interested nations of the West should keep the pressure on Pretoria. The sooner the negotiations begin, the less either side has to lose. As the academics of Stellenbosch put it: Whites "must relinquish their exclusive and decisive ability to enforce decisions which have consequences for all South Africa's people."



## South Africa Continues to Evict Blacks, As Plight of Titus Kganakga Illustrates

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TSHIKOTA, South Africa—It is Sunday morning, and Titus Kganakga is all dressed up with no place to go.

Normally, he would be heading to church, looking smart in his gray suit and black tie with red polka dots. But things are different now: There's no church. The building is still there, just down the gravel road. But the congregation is gone. The families have been relocated by the government to other black townships. Mr. Kganakga is the only Methodist left in town.

"Can't very well go to church by myself," he says. So he stays at home in his square four-room shack, playing solitaire and listening to his radio.

Mr. Kganakga spends a lot of time by himself these days, for he is waging a lonely campaign against the South African government. The government—according to the precepts of grand apartheid—wants to eliminate Tshikota by moving all of its residents to black homelands, each tribe in a separate homeland. This would leave the area, dominated by the nearby town of Louis Trichardt, for the whites.

### Tribes Dispersed

Thus, the Vendas have moved 15 miles away to Vleifontein, which is in the homeland called Venda. The Tsongas have gone about 20 miles to Waterval, which is in Gazankulu. And the Sothos have left for Seshego, about 60 miles away in Lebowa.

Mr. Kganakga, a Sotho, isn't going anywhere. "My wife is buried here," he says, "and I also want to be buried here."

Now 80 years old, Mr. Kganakga figures he may soon get his wish. But until then, he will remain an angry and resolute old man—living proof that the government is still trying to force people to move, despite official claims to the contrary.

Last year, more than 64,000 blacks were resettled in South Africa. Government officials say they moved voluntarily under slum clearance projects and the state's program of orderly urbanization. But social workers and civil rights activists insist that many moved because the government left them no option.

"It's like a holdup at a bank," says Laurine Platzky of the National Committee Against Removals. "You don't have to pull the trigger to make people voluntarily hand over the money."

### Still to Be Moved

At the moment, according to government plans, nearly 22,000 people, from seven communities, are still to be moved.

### South African Consumer Prices

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Consumer prices in South Africa rose 16.3% in February from a year earlier and 1.1% from January, the Central Statistical Services Office said. The increase from the year-earlier month was slightly faster than January's 16.1% growth.



Mr. Kganakga is one of them.

A retired teacher and active community sage, he has lived in Tshikota since 1946, and has watched it die slowly. At one time there were 6,000 people living here; now there are fewer than 400. Grass and weeds grow wild everywhere. The dirt roads are scarred with deep gullies. All that's left of most of the houses are the foundations and the brick walls.

"The minute a family leaves, they [the authorities] break the houses so no one else can move in. They take the windows and the doors and anything else that can be used again," says Mr. Kganakga. "They don't waste any time. If I go today, tomorrow they break this down."

Mr. Kganakga spends most of his time in the front room of his house, sitting on an old couch in front of a table. The walls are barren, except for several calendars, one of which is from 1982. A gas lantern hangs from the ceiling, there is no electricity in the house. There isn't any running water, either; a pump is in front of the house, by the street, and an outhouse is out back.

### Cheaper to Build

"I've asked, 'Instead of moving us, why don't you fix up this place?'" says Mr. Kganakga, who needs a cane to move around. "They say it is cheaper to build a new settlement than fix up an old one."

The new houses, in the various homeland locations, come complete with electricity and flush toilets, and the possibility of adding rooms. For many people, this was an incentive to leave Tshikota.

But disillusionment came when they realized their new houses were in the homelands. For all the problems they have living under the South African government, most blacks would rather remain there than come under the control of homeland authorities. The homelands are, almost without exception, impoverished and offer few job opportunities. (Many of those who left Tshikota still work in Louis Trichardt, despite the distance.) The quality of schools is usually poorer, and the books and fees more expensive.

In Vleifontein, where a number of families are demanding to move back to Tshi-

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## Rift Widens Within White South Africa Rural Voters View Botha as Weak-Kneed Liberal

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MESSINA, South Africa — On Faan Lemmer's side of the Soutpansberg Mountains, where the Limpopo River separates white South Africa from black Zimbabwe, there's only one thing worse than the drought that has ruined his farm. It is all those liberals in government who are ruining his country.

"They're giving away South Africa," fumes Mr. Lemmer. "Everyone is pushing them around. That's the way it is with liberals, you know."

Many words have been used in many places to describe the government of President P.W. Botha, but liberal usually isn't one of them. To most of the outside world, Mr. Botha is a stubborn hard-liner, resolutely resisting the forces of change that are wrenching his country. But in some parts of South Africa, mainly the rural ones, Mr. Botha and his National Party are despised as weak-kneed liberals who have backtracked too far on the principles of apartheid and surrendered too much to those pushing for black majority rule.

### Unrest on Right and Left

The intensity of these right-wing feelings here is an indication of the deepening polarization within South African society. The political and emotional divide has always been great between the various color groups, but it is now widening even among the whites. As the May 6 white election nears, ideological unrest is raging on both the right and the left.

Here, in the shadow of the Soutpansbergs, the view of Mr. Botha is particularly harsh. The white farmers, the Boers who once were the backbone of National Party support, have become as unforgiving as the cruel weather. Many of them now pledge their allegiance to the Conservative Party, which campaigns under the slogan "Stop inflation, reject integration, save the nation."

Such rhetoric, aimed at the Afrikaner heart, is finding an easy mark here in the northernmost corner of South Africa, where international sanctions and the domestic recession are making it even harder than usual to eke out a living from the parched soil. The farms are plagued by all manner of predators, the worst being the anti-apartheid terrorists who slip across the Limpopo by night, leaving land mines and taking cattle.

The farmers are convinced that the forces of black-majority rule, which turned

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# Plan for pro-apartheid coalition collapses

By Peter Younghusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PRETORIA, South Africa — Coalition talks between South Africa's two pro-apartheid parties collapsed yesterday, easing right-wing pressure on President Pieter Botha before the whites-only election scheduled for May 6.

The Conservative Party and the Herstigte (Reconstituted) National Party had been negotiating an agreement not to contest the same seats in the white House of Assembly, but failed to reach agreement.

Political analysts said it could save Mr. Botha's ruling National Party up to 20 seats that the far right had been expected to win.

The president still has to contend with an election threat from moderate Afrikaners, who deserted his party because they were disillusioned with the slow pace of apartheid reform. But Mr. Botha was not as worried about the erosion of his support to the left as he was to the right, which contends he is leading the country down the road to black majority rule.

The latest opinion poll indicated that the Nationalists will end up with about a dozen fewer seats but still maintain a comfortable two-thirds majority in the Assembly.

The Conservatives are led by Dr. Andries Treurnicht, whose opposition to apartheid reforms has been so consistent and pronounced that he is nicknamed "Dr. No." The Herstigte National Party is led by Jaap Marais, a slight man with a club foot who gets so excited when he makes political speeches that he jumps up and down — and once fell off a podium.

Dr. Treurnicht and Mr. Marais share similar views on apartheid. Both want separate states for whites, blacks, coloreds and Indians in South Africa, each with its own national parliament and government.

But they have very little else in common. They don't like each other personally, and each regards himself as the true protector of white rights.

An even more extreme right-winger tried to bring the two together to form a coalition. He is Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a Nazi-styled pressure group whose meetings are disciplined by party officials wearing khaki uniforms, jackboots and emblems resembling swastikas.

Mr. Terreblanche, whose organization has always been regarded as the lunatic fringe of the far right, wants a totally Afrikaner nation — no blacks, no coloreds, no Indians, no Jews and no English-speaking whites — in some cho-

sen corner of South Africa.

His offer to act as middleman astonished everyone. And the fact that Dr. Treurnicht and Mr. Marais accepted it indicated that he had achieved respectability among Afrikaner conservatives.

Mr. Botha's National Party, ever sensitive to the grass roots of Afrikanerdom, is sharply aware that Mr. Terreblanche's emotional brand of racism appeals to its own right wing.

The president called the election — and halted his cautious dismantling of apartheid — specifically to stop the erosion of his right-wing supporters. And even though the threat of a right-wing coalition has receded, he is not likely to resume apartheid reforms before the election for fear of reviving it.

This could cost the National Party more defections by progressive Afrikaners, the so-called "new nationalists," who feel he should stop catering to pro-apartheid hard-liners in the party and speed up the pace of reform.

The defectors are not ready to cast their lot with the liberal Progressive Federal Party, the English-speaking official opposition party, and they are running as independents in the election.

But insiders say they will form a new party of their own after the election, aligned with the PFP.

THE SUN

MARCH 23, 1987

# Tutu's non-violence plea fails to sway guerrillas

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that he had made a personal appeal to black guerrilla leaders to halt their armed struggle in South Africa but that rebel leader Oliver Tambo had refused.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner spent the weekend in Zambia for talks with Mr. Tambo and other leaders of the outlawed African National Congress. He hugged Mr. Tambo in public but said he could not embrace his methods.

The Anglican archbishop, a leading anti-apartheid campaigner, said he had asked the guerrilla movement to consider renouncing violence. Such a declaration would "throw the ball back into the court of the South African government," he said.

The archbishop acknowledged that his appeal was unsuccessful. Mr. Tambo had responded that armed struggle was forced on his organization and that it constantly reviewed its policy, the archbishop said.

Mr. Tambo told reporters in Lusaka after his talks with Archbishop Tutu that the armed struggle would go on.

"Both groups [the ANC and Pretoria] are holding pistols at one another's head," Archbishop Tutu said.

Pretoria has refused to consider discussions with the ANC, the biggest guerrilla group fighting white domination in South Africa, until it renounces violence. The ANC says the government must first release its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, and lift a ban on the organization.

Archbishop Tutu also met yesterday with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. He said Mr. Kaunda suggested it might take more than one meeting "to bring the ANC to see some of the points I was trying to convey."

The archbishop, whose brief trip was expected to anger Pretoria, reiterated he shared the objectives of the ANC, although he opposed vio-

lence.

"These are not blood-thirsty vampires but people who love South Africa," he said. "It saddens me that people in this country are not given the opportunity to encounter the ANC as they really are."

Statements by the ANC leadership are banned from publication in South Africa. In the run-up to a whites-only general election in May, the government has stepped up its propaganda war against the organization.

Last week, Foreign Minister Rieff "Pik" Botha charged ANC insurgents not only brought bombs but were also importing the killer disease AIDS into the country.

Two newspapers reported yesterday that the government was threatening to confiscate and sell the property of white landlords who allow people of other races to live in whites-only areas.

The Sunday Times and Sunday

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# — And Still Underfed A Country Under Guns

By JAMES BROOKE

**T**HE 18th-century English historian Edward Gibbon once wrote: "Beset on all sides by foes, the Abyssinians slept for a thousand years forgetful of the world by which they were forgotten." Now, after a decade of revolution, war and famine, modern Ethiopia is wide awake to the 20th-century world of superpower politics. To stay in power, the Marxist rulers of this land, officially classified by the World Bank as the poorest on earth, have turned to the West for food and to the East for guns.

The arms suppliers unquestionably have the upper hand. "Military aid is the most important. One million people died of hunger and nothing changed for the Government," a Western diplomat said here. Over the last decade, the Soviet Union has provided \$3.5 billion worth of arms, with which the Ethiopian leader, Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, has pursued continual wars with hostile neighbors and domestic guerrilla groups.

Last month, Western reporters in Somalia inspected the latest evidence of Mr. Mengistu's dependence on Soviet military aid. Six miles inside neighboring Somalia, reporters were shown the smoking wreckage of 11 Soviet-built T-55 tanks of the Ethiopian Army. Somali officials said they had been destroyed during a cross-border raid.

In an interview, Mikhail N. Botcharnikov, press counselor of the Soviet Embassy, said: "We continue to help Ethiopia maintain her defense capability, for which the Ethiopians are really grateful to the Soviet Union." Stressing that the relationship is wide-ranging, embracing education, development and famine relief, Mr. Botcharnikov said 600 Ethiopian undergraduates enroll in Soviet universities every year. He produced a list of 38 Soviet development projects: an oil refinery, hydroelectric dam, tractor assembly plant, irrigation project, oil and gas prospecting, and also the supplying of Soviet professors to the three Ethiopian universities.

Soviet aid during the two-year famine, which eased last year, consisted of providing Antonov-12 transports and MI-8 helicopters to move grain and to resettle famine victims. Some Western aid workers have said that the resettlement program was involuntary and resulted in thousands of deaths.

Apparently unmoved by Soviet largesse, many Ethiopians remain doggedly, if discreetly, pro-Western. "Russians no good. Americans, Italians, we like," an Ethiopian man said, summing up a pervasive attitude. Italy administered the Ethiopian region of Eritrea for more than 50 years and occupied all of Ethiopia for five years in the 1930's. Recently, Italy has intensified its Ethiopian trade and aid.

Warm feelings toward Americans were evident at a literacy reading room in a school that still bears the name of John F. Kennedy. A teacher showed a visitor reading materials for newly literate students, pamphlets on breast feeding, gardening, maintaining clean water supplies — and identifying imperialists. A moment later, the worker fondly recalled learning to play baseball from a Peace Corps volunteer in the 1960's.

Despite American educations acquired in former days, many Ethiopians have managed to adapt to the circumstances of rule by revolutionary Marxists. An Ethiopian who is a Yale Law School graduate helped write and promote the new socialist constitution, which is based on Soviet and Rumanian models. Until a Cabinet shuffle last week, a Harvard Law School graduate was Minister of Law and Justice in a country where, the State Department recently reported, people are routinely imprisoned without trial and citizens "have no civil or political freedoms."

## 'Back in the Ring'

At the United States Embassy compound, a park-like expanse shaded by eucalyptus trees, James R. Cheek, the chargé d'affaires, said he believes the Government has not closed its doors to the United States. Relations had soured in early 1977 after Government expulsion orders reduced the American diplomatic staff from 375 to 28. "When I got here the attitude was, 'If a light bulb goes out, why replace it? — we may be leaving tomorrow, anyhow,'" Mr. Cheek said.

"We were thrown back in the ring by nature," he said. During the drought and famine of 1985 and 1986, the United States was the largest source of private and public food aid.

In one sign of improved relations, Mr. Cheek and a visiting Congressman, Representative Mickey Leland, Democrat of Texas, dined with Mr. Mengistu at the Ethiopian's palace last month. And last year, Ethiopia started making payments under an agreement to pay American companies \$7 million for properties nationalized after the 1974 revolution. Perhaps reflecting growing confidence, three new houses were built in the American compound last year.

Some American Congressmen — not Representative Leland — argue that Washington should adopt trade sanctions against Ethiopia to push for human rights improvements. Sponsors of a sanctions bill in the House note that Ethiopia is the third-largest American trading partner in Africa.

But many diplomats here argue that imposing sanctions would be quixotic. "The idea that economic pressure can change Ethiopian policy is ridiculous," a European diplomat said. "It will just mean that more people will die of hunger."

# Resolution Backs S. African Children

By Eric Pianin  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A resolution seeking the release of children being detained in South Africa under emergency government regulations was introduced yesterday by Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.) and eight other senators.

"The imprisonment and torture of children is an affront to civilized principles everywhere," Mikulski said in announcing the resolution. "Expressing U.S. concern over this matter through normal diplomatic channels is not sufficient."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a cosponsor of the resolution, said that, by their own admission, South African authorities have singled out black children as a target of their efforts to enforce apartheid. Kennedy said reports of torture and abuse of detained children under the age of 18 "are too grotesque to repeat."

"Short of the Holocaust itself, I can think of nothing in modern history that approaches the horror of the brutality in South Africa," he said.

A spokesman for the South African Embassy could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Last month, Adriaan Vlok, the South African minister of law and order, issued a list of 3,857 names of persons, including 281 under the age of 15, he said had been detained since the government declared a state of emergency in June 1986.

However, opposition groups contend that more than 25,000 blacks have been detained, including 10,000 children. More accurate figures are not available because the South African government has refused to release the names and locations of those being detained.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee in South Africa and other civil rights groups say that thousands of children being held have been tortured, and that some have died as a result of serious injuries inflicted.

"Young people have reported being beaten, whipped, raped, having their bodies burned by boiling water and burning plastic, given electric shock . . . tear-gassed, threatened and ill fed," said Damu Smith, executive director of the Washington Office on Africa.

Mikulski's resolution calls for the immediate release of all children detained under the emergency rules. Short of that, the resolution urges the Pretoria government to allow parents to see their children; provide the children with adequate food, clothing and protection, and permit an international organization to verify conditions.

Other cosponsors include Sens. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.),

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# African ire expected over US bid for base in Zaire

By Colin Legum

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

London

The United States proposal to acquire a Zairian air base is widely expected to prove highly controversial.

The US is trying to expand its military role in sub-Saharan Africa, analysts say. Final arrangements have not yet been settled with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko. But the Pentagon has tentatively agreed to allocate a "few million dollars" to bring the base at Kamina into proper working order in exchange for the right of the US Air Force to have full access to its facilities.

The US plan for Kamina will predictably raise an outcry for three reasons:

- Because of the high profile it gives to direct US intervention in the Angolan civil war on the side of the rebel forces against that nation's government.

- Because it will be seen by most members of the Organization of African Unity as increasing international involvement in a domestic conflict and as heightening superpower rivalry in the area.

- Because the deal with President Mobutu will increase the US commitment to ensuring the survival of one of Africa's most controversial leaders.

Last week, Angola's Marxist government denounced the US plans. The state-run radio in Luanda warned that Angola "will not remain in the position of spectator in the face of these facts."

The proposed deal with Zaire would give the US its first base for military intervention close to the troubled region of southern Africa. Its only other military presence in the region is the important base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. That base's primary purpose is to maintain an air and naval task force for regional security purposes in the Indian Ocean. Kamina, on the other hand, is a land base in the heart of Africa.

Its immediate purpose is clearly linked to the recent US decision to give military aid to rebel leader Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence

of Angola (UNITA), diplomats in Britain say. There are well-corroborated reports that Kamina is already used to fly arms to UNITA forces. Washington much prefers this route to the alternative of shipping supplies through South Africa and Namibia (South-West Africa).

Kamina was originally built as an air base in 1953, during Belgian colonial rule over the Congo (now Zaire).

It is situated in the Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) close to the Zaire-Angola border.

It has deteriorated considerably since Zaire's independence in 1960 and needs considerable work to modernize its installations.

Just how much the US administration intends to spend on improving Kamina will depend on the kind of agreement finally reached with Mobutu over freedom of access to the base allowed to the US Air Force.

The US State Department has expressed misgivings over the costs of this venture. The Pentagon, which has agreed to provide the initial funds for urgent work, strongly favors strengthening the potential for American intervention in the region.

But Mobutu's dictatorial rule, his record of flouting human rights, and his unsavory personal financial reputation have made him unpopular at home and abroad. He is heavily guarded against repeated coup attempts, and harshly criticized by human rights groups and foreign governments.

The so-called front-line African states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zaire, and Zimbabwe — have in the past strongly criticized Mobutu's role in allowing clandestine military support for Dr. Savimbi. By allowing the US to openly use his territory to ship arms to Savimbi, he will be seen to be openly flouting the wishes of his influential neighbors. Their hostility

is thus likely to be turned more fiercely against the US.

The Organization of African Unity makes a clear distinction between, for example, the presence of Soviet-bloc and Cuban troops in Angola or the French military presence in Chad with the proposed US military presence in Zaire. In the former two cases the military agreements with foreign powers relate to the host countries' internal requirements, whereas the agreement over the use of Kamina Base is clearly intended for external intervention in the conflict being waged in next-door Angola. Observers draw a close parallel with Libya's military support for rebels fighting the recognized government of Chad — an inter-

CONTINUED ON PG. 13

# Nigeria Torn With Rioting Over Religion

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

KAFANCHAN, Nigeria, March 17 — The manager of the Christian Challenge Bookshop here, Usman Bidoli, recalls a sense of relief at seeing his night watchman appear just as a Moslem mob started attacking his bookshop.

"I thought he was coming to help us," Mr. Bidoli said of his guard, a Moslem. "Then he opened his boot and pulled out a knife."

Northern Nigeria, part of Africa's often frayed seam between Moslem north and Christian south, was abruptly torn apart last week by Nigeria's worst Moslem-Christian rioting in memory.

The spark was a public slap delivered by a Moslem woman here to a Christian pastor she accused of misinterpreting the Koran at a weekend evangelist revival meeting.

## 8 Koran Teachers Killed

Within hours, slaps escalated to stone-throwing, beatings and the destruction of three mosques. Two days later, on March 8, a Christian mob laid siege to a hostel for itinerant teachers of the Koran here. When the fires died down, eight teachers lay dead, seven with their throats cut and one killed by an arrow.

Vowing revenge, Moslem students fled this majority Christian city in southern Kaduna state for northern cities in the state, where Moslems are in the majority.

What they wreaked in those cities was, in the words of P. Y. Jatau, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kaduna, a "horrible pogrom" against Christians.

Mobs chanting "Islam Only!" and "Allah is Great!" invaded dozens of churches, doused them with gasoline and burned them to the ground. In Zaria, a university city of about 300,000, Christians interviewed this week said that all of the city's 75 or so churches had been burned.

## About 15 People Killed

The mobs also burned Christian-owned businesses, the homes of Christians and hotels serving beer. About 15 people are believed to have died in the riots, but no tally has been made of the widespread property damage, much of it in the Wusasa section of Zaria.

"They carried gallons and gallons of petrol and shouted, 'Either Wusasa will accept Islam or it will be burned to ashes!'" Chief Daniel Gowon, brother of the former Nigerian head of state, Yakubu Gowon, said in Zaria.

The mobs burned down the Gowon family homestead and then crossed a street to set fire to St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church. The church, believed to be the oldest in northern Nigeria, was built in 1929 after Zaria's emir set aside Wusasa for the city's growing number of Christians.

CONTINUED ON PG.



## HUNDREDS ORDERED TO LEAVE BY KENYA

MARCH 25, 1987

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, March 24 — Kenyan courts have ordered the expulsion of hundreds of foreigners accused of being in Kenya illegally in a crackdown begun after President Daniel arap Moi blamed illegal aliens for causing unrest in this east African country.

About 600 Ugandans arrested by the police over the weekend appeared in one Nairobi court, Reuters reported. About 400 were sentenced to 30 days in jail and then deportation. Another 50 were dismissed after they presented their residence permits, and the cases against 150 others were pending after they promised to produce identity documents within two days, according to the news service.

In addition, more than 500 people accused of being here illegally appeared on Friday in three Nairobi courts and were fined or jailed pending repatriation. Besides Ugandans, Ethiopians and Somalis, they included Tanzanians, Rwandans and Zaireans, according to local press reports. Fines ranged from 300 to 600 shillings — about \$19 to \$38. Those who paid were to be held in custody pending deportation; those who could not pay were ordered jailed for as long as three months, after which they were to be deported.

Some Kenyans who failed to produce their identity cards also were arrested

in local bars and night clubs and were released only after relatives produced the necessary documents. Several usually busy bars in this capital city closed down last weekend to avoid police raids.

## Order Came in Speech

In a speech last week after he returned from official visits to the United States and Britain, Mr. Moi ordered the arrest and expulsion of all illegal aliens in the country. The President, whose pronouncements carry the force of law, appeared to be particularly critical of people from Somalia and Ethiopia.

"The police must get down to work now," Mr. Moi said. "All illegal aliens must go back to their countries. Those from Somalia should go back to Somalia. Those from Ethiopia should go back to Ethiopia, and soon."

"We cannot give them hospitality to come and disrupt our peace. Action must be taken now. I will not condone actions which undermine our peace."

Mr. Moi's order came after the killing of 13 bus passengers by armed robbers in central Kenya. Some witnesses said the robbers were of Somali origin. The comments also came amid an ongoing crackdown against socialist-oriented dissidents belonging to a clandestine group that Mr. Moi has accused of seeking to overthrow his pro-Western government.

## Indication of Vulnerability

The nationwide roundup of illegal aliens was seen by some foreigners and Kenyans here as yet another indication of the Government's ever-growing sense of insecurity, vulnerability and intolerance.

While the number of illegal aliens in Kenya is unclear, thousands of people from neighboring countries long have moved unchecked across its borders. The most recent official census in 1979 showed that 358,000 ethnic Somalis and 57,000 ethnic Ethiopians were living legally in Kenya.

The Kenya Times, the ruling party newspaper in this one-party state, today quoted the nation's police commissioner as saying that the crackdown on illegal aliens would continue "until the Government gets rid of all of them."

Mr. Moi's comments on aliens came as he defended his Government's human rights record. International human rights organizations and others have accused Kenyan authorities of torturing prisoners and committing other abuses. Mr. Moi has strongly denied the charges. While the President was on his official visit to Washington earlier this month, the United States State Department issued a statement expressing concern about new allegations of torture and urging the Kenyan leader to order an investigation into the charges.

## In the heart of the plague

MARCH 21, 1987

Uganda, like several other central African countries, has an epidemic of AIDS far worse than America's or Europe's. Unlike some of its neighbours, however, Uganda openly recognises the fact and is trying to do something about it. It is the first African country to begin a systematic control programme. The programme, due to last five years, was drawn up last month by Uganda's health ministry and the World Health Organisation.

Nobody knows how many Ugandans have caught the AIDS virus. The best estimate is that 16,000 people, out of some 500,000, are infected in Kampala alone. Up to 12% of donated blood and 13% of mothers attending pre-natal clinics in the capital are infected. Tragically, about 5,000 of the babies born each year in Kampala have caught the virus in the womb. At this rate, and without any changes in sexual habits, almost every adult in the capital will have the virus within ten years.

The capital is not Uganda's worst-hit area. Its infection rates are following, with a delay of about two years, those in the south-west of the country, the part of Uganda closest to the world's worst-affected areas: Burundi, Rwanda, eastern Zaire and the West Lake district of

Tanzania. It was in the small Ugandan fishing villages along the shore of Lake Victoria that the prevalence of "slim", as Ugandans call the disease, was first noticed four years ago. The few studies carried out suggest that a third of the people in this part of the country are already infected.

The rest of Uganda is better off. In the northern town of Gulu, 13% of the people have the virus. In the rural West Nile and Mukono districts, fewer than 4% are reacting positively to blood tests. Yet AIDS is being spread to relatively untouched areas by two means.

One is the army. Its soldiers are now mopping up rebel forces in the rural north-east, but most of the soldiers come from the heavily infected southern regions. An ominous epidemic of venereal disease in the northern garrison over the past two years has been reported by doctors working at nearby mission hospitals. A team of Cuban doctors recently completed a two-month survey of AIDS infection in the army: unofficial preliminary results are that one soldier in three is infected.

The virus has also been hitching a lift on the trucks that move along Uganda's main highway, which runs from the stricken areas of Zaire, Rwanda, Burun-

di and western Uganda eastwards to Kenya and the port of Mombasa. Tests by one large freight company in Kampala found that 30% of its truck drivers were infected. Prostitution is common along the route. In one town in the Rakai district on the main trucking line from the south-west, thin girls can no longer get jobs as barmaids, because it is believed they may have AIDS. Too late: 80% of the barmaids in one town were found to be carriers.

The five-year programme, which will cost \$6.8m, is intended to put blood-testing kits into all 46 government hospitals and to upgrade the once-excellent East African Centre for Virus Research. This would allow an end to the present laborious procedure of sending all blood samples to Britain for testing. For prevention, the government is pinning its hopes on an education campaign. The health education unit of the National Committee for the Prevention of AIDS, set up a year ago by the health ministry, is convinced that a low-key approach is best. It advises people to "love carefully" and practise "zero-grazing" (an agricultural metaphor for monogamy, meaning do not seek pastures new). It needs to do more. Condoms, for instance, are still viewed with suspicion by both sexes.



## NIGERIA TORN (Continued)

In modern Nigeria, religious tolerance has been strained by spreading fundamentalism, increased proselytizing and a sharpening fight over a shrinking economy. Secular by law, Nigeria is believed to have a slight Moslem majority in its population of 105 million, the largest in Africa.

Moslems want to extend the Islamic legal code of Shariah from the north to the entire nation. Christians were outraged last year when Nigeria joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Rivalries among the country's 250 ethnic groups often parallel religious rivalries. In the north last week, it was largely Hausa and Fulani northern Moslems who attacked Yoruba and Ibo southern Christians.

In the late 1960's, Nigeria was torn by a civil war that pitted Ibos against Yorubas and northerners.

In Zaria on Monday, Lazarus Azeru, a 26-year-old Ibo electrician, sat on a bench in front of the gutted shell of the California Hotel on Ibo road. The neighborhood seemed unnaturally quiet. Shards of green and brown glass sparkled in the street, the remainders of cases of beer that rioters had pulled from a bar and smashed.

"I sent my wife and children away last week," Mr. Azeru said. "I don't know if they will attack again."

On highways here, open-roofed tractor-trailers piled high with mattresses,

sofas, stereos and bicycles can be seen heading south.

In Kaduna, the Rev. Stephen Ola Ayodele stood in the ruins of a 800-seat Evangelical Church of West Africa. The church was opened in November after eight years of work and savings by the congregation.

"I want to move south to the Christian side," Mr. Ayodele said, his shoes crunching on clotted bits of aluminium, all that remained of the church's roof.

Mainstream Moslems and Christians here expressed shock at the outbreak of violence.

In Zaria, Moslem rioters burned a 2,000-seat ecumenical Christian chapel at Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria's largest university.

The chairman of the faculty association, Abdullahi Mahdi, promptly issued a statement expressing his group's "horror and disgust" at "the obviously premeditated and coordinated acts of arson and assault."

A Zaria businessman, Aminu Zakari Bagobiri, attributed the violence to "small boys with strong minds who have been affected by all these Iranian ideas that have come into the country."

About 1,000 people were detained for rioting. Visits to police headquarters in Zaria and in Kaduna found hundreds of boys from 8 to 16 years old squatting in the shade awaiting disposition of their cases.

## AFRICA IRE EXPECTED (Continued)

ventionist role that is strongly criticized by Washington.

The US administration's decision to establish a military presence in Zaire is also bound to meet with vigorous opposition in the US Congress. Now that the Democrats control Congress, the decision - which was taken while the Republicans

were still in a majority - is certain to produce a major conflict with the administration. A US State Department source says that the administration is preparing to resist a strongly backed move to overturn last year's decision to supply arms to Savimbi.

## TUTU'S NON\_VIOLENCE... (CONTINUED)

Star said the confiscation policy was part of a two-pronged strategy drafted by the government in connection with the Group Areas Act, a law that mandates racial segregation of residential neighborhoods.

The other element of the strategy would be to halt prosecutions of people already living in areas that have become multiracial despite the law,

the newspapers said. Most of these so-called "gray areas" are in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the country's largest cities.

The newspapers quoted government sources as saying white landlords, rather than non-white tenants, would become the main target of authorities.

## RESOLUTIONS BACK ..... (CONTINUED)

Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.).

Mikulski met last month in Washington with the South African ambassador to protest the detention of the children. She also has sent letters concerning the children to Secretary of State George P. Shultz and South African President Pieter W. Botha.

## MOZAMBIKAN ARMY GAINS (Continued)

Province, Tanzanian troops are being airlifted in. How much actual fighting has taken place, however, is unknown. One Western military expert said, "If you move a lot of troops in and get some outside help, Renamo are not the kind of people who are going to stand and fight."

By far the biggest blow to Renamo came early last month, when Zimbabwe's Army launched a ground and air assault to recapture a key railway bridge over the Zambezi River and five river towns in the provinces of Tete and Sofala, apparently with little Frelimo support.

Renamo was thought to be planning to set up permanent military bases in the area, from which it could launch attacks on the Beira Corridor, a 196-mile-long railway, road, and oil-pipeline system that links Zimbabwe to the Indian Ocean.

Observers say that the Zimbabwean Air Force showed surprising range in the attack, venturing several hundred miles north from its bases along the Beira Corridor. Some analysts and officials say this could indicate that the elite paratroop corps is already using the 10 Augusta-Bell 418 troop carrier helicopters that US and British military attachés say it purchased last year.

## PRETORIA'S FINANCIAL (Continued)

Yet more important seems the likelihood that any overall recouping of Pretoria's international economic links will require moves to reduce the *political* liability in foreign banks' and businesses' dealings with South Africa. On one score, the government has made progress, conveying a sense that a measure of stability has been restored after two years of escalating violence.

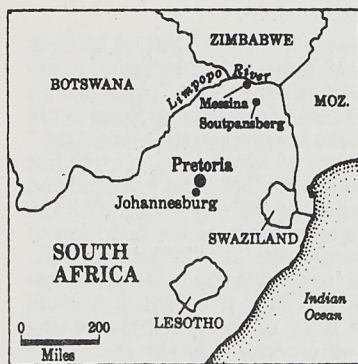
Still, the authorities have yet to win credible black support for the official strategy of race-policy reform.

Yesterday's rescheduling accord, in this context, was an important yet partial victory. Successful Western bankers get that way by making shrewd dollars-and-cents judgments. No matter how they may feel about the politics of South Africa, the country's strong showing on last year's first-stage rescheduling commitments - and agreement on the second-stage repayment - stands in stark contrast to the recent debt-payment moratorium of some developing nations. With huge gold reserves, South Africa remains a relatively good credit risk.

Yet a political challenge remains. "There are," declared moderate South African business leader Fred du Plessis some weeks ago, "critical [political] choices to be made. A government that moves to the left will almost certainly alienate the right; but if, at the same time, it fails to win approval and support to its left, it is in danger of bleeding to death..." Without a convincing move forward on reform, he reasons, any economic resurgence "is likely to be somewhat short term and ephemeral..."

*This report was written in conformity with South Africa's press restrictions.*





neighboring Rhodesia into Zimbabwe in 1980, are camped literally at their doorsteps, ready to storm South Africa and wipe out everything they have achieved.

# SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO EVICT BLACKS, (Continued)

kota, residents say Venda security troops have forced them to carry Venda identity passes and have beaten those who refused. Several community leaders have been arrested.

## Prefer Quiet

"We've always been one of the most quiet places in the country," Mr. Kganakga says. "We aren't used to the violence

## U.K. Economy Grew 0.3% In Fourth Quarter of 1986

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LONDON—The Central Statistical Office, in an upward revision of a preliminary report, said Britain's economy grew 0.3% in 1986's fourth quarter from the prior three months. In February, the office had reported no fourth-quarter growth.

The quarterly growth was measured by using output-based gross domestic product, considered the most reliable indicator of short-term movements in the economy.

The government also announced that the average estimate of British GDP showed a 2.6% increase for all of 1986, slower than 1985's 3.4% expansion. The estimate is an average of the output-based, income-based and expenditure-based measures of GDP, and is considered the most accurate gauge of the United Kingdom's long-term economic movements.

of elsewhere, and we'd prefer to remain that way."

But the breakup of their town has turned the people of Tshikota into fighters. "In the olden days," Mr. Kganakga remembers, "when we saw a wagon coming we would jump around and say, 'There's a white man's wagon, there's a white man's wagon.' Then we'd run away, because they would whip us."

Today, Mr. Kganakga isn't running away any more. "I've told them that I would be the last one here," he says. "They will have to carry me away and throw me down somewhere."

## Bitter Mood

"A black man has never ruled a country and can't rule a country. The same will be proven here," says Mr. Lemmer. He's in a particularly bitter mood these days: Last year, 25 head of cattle were stolen by raiders from across the border; later, he sold off the rest of his stock as the drought persisted. Gesturing north toward the country he still calls Rhodesia, he adds, "The blacks over there are starving. P.W. Botha talks about power-sharing, but it will end up like over there."

Thomas Langley, the area's Conservative Party member of parliament, whose farm is a long stretch of dirt road away from Mr. Lemmer's, says his constituents are "strong-minded people who know what they want." And that, he says, is a government that will put the blacks in their place and reassert South Africa's interests abroad.

Such harsh views bother Pieter Vorster, the National Party organizer in the Soutpansberg constituency. "This is a crucial time in our history, for the Afrikaners are divided as never before," Mr. Vorster says. "Here, we're battling the right. The Conservatives are fanatics. They are always the rebellious ones, against any change no matter what it is."

The Conservatives' rebellion began in 1982, when they split from the National Party and formed their own political movement. This revolt shattered the Afrikaner power monolith that ruled the country since 1948, opening a way for the unabashed expression of Afrikaner nationalism.

As South Africa's racial conflict intensified, support mushroomed for the new pro-apartheid Conservative Party, as well as for the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging*, an extreme right-wing group dedicated to preserving white domination.

Today, the Conservative Party claims about 15% to 20% of the white electorate and holds 18 seats in the 177-seat parliament. Its influence on the government, however, is much greater than its size would indicate, political analysts say.

"The government knows that it can't leave these people behind. After all, they are all Afrikaners," explains a former South African diplomat who now runs a private business. "P.W. Botha won't move forward without the right wing."

As a result, the National Party has put the brakes on its cautious program—initially designed to appease the country's liberals—of dismantling some aspects of apartheid. The state president and top cabinet officials have become more bellicose, belittling domestic opponents and threatening foreign ones. The government imposed its state of emergency last June partially to satisfy right-wing demands. And it called an election for May 6 in the hope of recapturing the conservative ground.

In so doing, the National Party touched off a wave of left-wing dissension that is causing some of the more enlightened Afrikaners to defect to the campaigns of independents or candidates of the liberal-minded Progressive Federal Party. And on the right, the government's tough talk is

being drowned out by the even tougher talk of the Conservatives. Although the National Party is in little danger of losing its big parliamentary majority, it most likely won't get the resounding endorsement it is seeking.

## Doing the Impossible

"The National Party is trying to do the impossible by appealing to the right and appealing the left," says Connie Mulder, a leading member of the Conservative Party. "But a middle-of-the-road party never succeeds in South Africa."

Which is why the Conservatives are steering far to the right. No attempt is made to hide their support of grand apartheid, as they loudly advocate a "partition" scheme which would put each of the black tribes in a designated area where they could rule themselves. Nor do they try to hedge their deep conviction that the Afrikaner identity must be defended at all costs, even if it means bloodshed.

"Integrated power-sharing is suicide and that is why it's out for whites," says Mr. Langley.

At his headquarters in Louis Trichardt, the biggest town in the constituency, there is an atmosphere of urgency. Koeks Terreblanche, the Conservative Party campaign organizer, says the National Party is leading the country into a future of one-man, one-vote, and must be stopped—quickly. "Time is short," he says.

At the religious video shop directly below the Conservative Party offices, a similar message is heard—this one urging sinners to repent before it's too late. The store is filled with tapes of Jimmy Swaggart, the American television evangelist who preaches that old-time religious values are the only road to salvation.

"Mr. Swaggart is very popular here, particularly with the Afrikaners," says Elma van Niekirk, the shopkeeper. "He doesn't beat around the bush like the liberals. He goes straight to the heart."

## KODAK PRODUCTS TO STAY ON SALE IN SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

country. Without Kodak, there could have been ongoing shortages," Hurwitz added.

Hurwitz maintained that despite the continued sales of Kodak products here, the parent firm was adhering to the letter and spirit of its original disinvestment announcement.

"Believe me, they are the only company which has truly disinvested. I can tell you categorically that there is no way that Rochester will give me one roll of film. If I am able to buy it, it is in no way connected with Rochester," Hurwitz said.

He added, "The dust will settle in this country one day, and I want to be the guy who keeps a damned good product here. Kodak's getting out, and I'm going to try to keep them in—or at least keep their product in."

On Nov. 19, a Kodak spokesman in Rochester said in a telephone interview, that after April 30, "No Kodak unit anywhere in the world will be

Continued on Pg. 15



## KODAK PRODUCTS TO STAY ON SALE IN SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

permitted to supply products to South Africa. We can and will enforce the policy."

Asked whether Kodak would monitor efforts to circumvent the ban by shipments through intermediaries, the official conceded then that "it will be difficult for us to control the actions of dealers or third parties."

Kodak does not disclose figures on its sales and assets, but its sales in South Africa have been reported to be over \$100 million a year.

While Kodak South Africa Ltd. is far from the largest U.S. subsidiary to withdraw in the escalating disinvestment campaign, its manner of pulling out appeared at the time to be more punitive than some of the giant American-owned operations—including General Motors Corp. and IBM Corp.—that have sold their South African operations to local business interests or trusts while continuing to market and service their products here.

Most of the U.S. firms that have divested have recently faced growing pressure by antiapartheid lobbyists to sever their business ties with South Africa completely and not just hand over local operations to South Africans.

Guidelines issued in January by five major U.S.

antiapartheid lobbying groups urged state and local governments to tighten their laws to produce a nearly total ban on U.S. corporate contact with South Africa and the continued marketing of U.S. products here.

Hurwitz said today that South Africa Druggists Ltd., a large pharmaceutical company, had considered buying Kodak South Africa's nine film processing laboratories here, but had decided that with the continuing availability of Kodak papers, equipment and chemicals, South African customers would continue to be served adequately by whoever buys out those operations.

Liljequist said that some South African Kodak employees have set up a firm to take over the Kodak Service Division and microfilm services. A core of 12 senior executives previously with Kodak South Africa Ltd. will head the new photographic division of South Africa Druggists.

Local Kodak officials said all of the firm's 567 employees will be absorbed by the divested operations.

## S. AFRICAN EXILES RUN NETWORK OF FARMS, SCHOOLS (Continued)

Interviews with ANC sources in some of the host countries has revealed the extent of the congress' network and what happens to the thousands of black South African refugees after they leave home to link up with the exiled organization.

According to these sources there are at least five guerrilla training camps in Angola, a large school for students of all ages in Tanzania, furniture and clothing factories, brickworks, a medical clinic staffed with the congress' own doctors, a printing shop, a radio station and foreign missions in 26 countries—only four fewer than the South African government's embassies abroad.

The organizational structure resembles a government-in-exile, although the African National Congress does not call itself that, with a series of "departments," like ministries, and a National Executive of 30 headed by a president, Oliver Tambo.

The National Executive members are widely scattered—Tambo lives in London, although he visits Lusaka often—so that the day-to-day running of the organization is in the hands of a working committee of members based in Lusaka. Full executive meetings are held two or three times a year.

The organization's guerrilla arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Zulu for Spear of the Nation), falls under a separate Revolutionary Council, also headed by Tambo.

The exiles have been pouring out of South Africa for 30 years, with

two big surges coinciding with the peaks of racial unrest in 1976 and 1985-86.

Most have been accommodated in a series of residences in the black states bordering South Africa. Some residences, called "Charlottes" after an ANC heroine named Charlotte Mxeke, are for mothers with young children whose husbands are active elsewhere in the organization.

According to Tom Sebina, a headquarters spokesman, South African commando raids on these residences and pressure by Pretoria on neighboring states to expel ANC members has resulted in the flow of refugees to Lusaka becoming a flood over the past year.

Lusaka is the clearing house, said Sebina. Essentially refugees arriving there have two choices—to join the army or further their education.

Sebina said an unmanageable number, embittered by their clashes with the security forces in South Africa, want to become guerrillas.

"The numbers are huge," he said, but the ANC is selective.

Those selected are sent directly to the guerrilla camps in Angola. Little is revealed about these camps. According to South African Security Police sources there are five.

These South African sources, whose information comes from infiltrated agents, said Soviet, Cuban and East German instructors train the recruits and that the training lasts up to two years.

Selected individuals are sent for specialist training to the Soviet Union and East Germany, the sources in Pretoria said.

The trained guerrillas are infiltrated back into South Africa. The number of guerrilla attacks has increased steadily over the years, but their casualty rate is high and military specialists still classify it as a low-intensity war with little more than publicity value.

While communist countries provide the ANC with military aid, western countries, particularly Sweden which is the biggest single donor, give the bulk of the financial and other aid that keeps its civilian programs running.

These are mostly educational. Exiles who miss out on the selection for guerrilla training are sent to a "re-orientation center" near Morogoro, in central Tanzania, where, according to ANC sources in that country, educational standards are checked and aptitude tests are carried out.

Most go on to complete their schooling at a large educational establishment north of Dar es Salaam called the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, after a guerrilla who was executed. Others stay at the re-orientation center where a vocational training unit is being developed.

Solomon Mashlangu is an extensive complex with preschool, primary, high school and adult education sections. According to African National Congress sources in Tanzania, it has more than 1,000 stu-

dents and about 300 staffers, including a number of foreign volunteer teachers.

Attached to the school is a brickworks, a furniture factory, a clothing factory and a farm. According to a group of American academics who visited the complex recently, it is self-supporting in what is one of Africa's poorest countries.

Graduates from Solomon Mahlangu and refugees who already have their high-school certificates can get scholarships to universities in more than 20 countries, including the United States, Canada, Britain, Sweden, the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba.

Although the support system in Zambia is extensive, many exiles lead a life of anguish, cut off from family and friends.

Lenford Ganyile, 63, who runs the nursery at Alpha Farm, led an anti-apartheid revolt in the Transkei tribal reserve in South Africa in 1957. He was detained for 2½ years without trial, then was banished to another tribal region 1,000 miles away where he could not speak the local language.

After a year he slipped across the Botswana border into exile where he has been ever since. In 30 years he has had no contact with his family. He had a 2-year-old daughter, Buza, when he left home and a boy of 1 named Sibongeni. He said he had no idea what had become of them.



## MAJOR DONOR NATIONS (Continued)

cons of this struggle, aid organizations agree the effects on the economy have been devastating. According to one U.N. report, income per person is about \$140 per year, 60 percent of the 1981 level.

Some 42 percent of the government's budget is allocated to the war effort.

Agricultural production, which accounts for 50 percent of economic output and 80 percent of employment, declined sharply between 1981 and 1985. At the end of that period, cotton production was one-tenth its 1981 level. Cereals marketed by the government last year were half their 1982 level.

Most of the railroads have been damaged or closed. As a result, one of the country's major sources of revenues — the transshipment of goods from neighboring land-locked countries to the sea — has been cut by about two-thirds.

Parts of industry are operating at 15 percent to 20 percent capacity. There is an acute shortage of foreign exchange.

Other statistics suggest that the effects on people are increasing.

The United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, estimates that of every 1,000 children born in Mozambique, between 325 and 375 die before reaching the age of 5 — or, about one child in three. That is one of the highest child death rates in the world. The comparable mortality per 1,000 for the United States is 13.

Malnutrition and lack of immunization makes children in Mozambique vulnerable to diseases that are under control in the industrial world. UNICEF estimates that between 20 percent and 40 percent of children in Mozambique are stunted in their growth because of poor diet.

In 1984, according to the organization, 50 percent of children under 5 in Mozambique were vaccinated against measles, but this fell to 39 percent in 1985. Polio immunization fell from 32 percent of the children that need it to 25 percent, the group estimated.

According to UNICEF, 484 health posts and centers have been destroyed by armed conflict in the country since 1982 — 42 percent of the total. "This means that 2 million people had, by 1985, been deprived of access to health care," a UNICEF

report says.

According to a U.N. report, clean water is available to less than 13 percent of the country's population. According to U.N. officials, millions of people have lost most of their possessions and need clothing, blankets, soap and other necessities.

Farmers displaced from their land need agricultural tools to resume planting and harvesting in new locations. Vehicles, fuel and spare parts are needed to distribute the aid.

A U.N. report estimates Mozambique's food aid needs at 676,000 tons during the crop year starting in May. If donors maintain past levels of aid, they would supply about 450,000 tons, leaving a gap of 226,000 tons, the report said.

U.N. officials estimate the entire need for food and relief aid at \$245 million during 1987.

The purpose of Tuesday's meeting, called by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, is to discuss among donor nations what they can provide and how to coordinate it.

The United States has provided 150,000 tons of grain a year to Mozambique for the past three years, and is considering increasing that amount.

U.S. aid, totaling \$30 million in fiscal year 1986, also has included logistic support and life-saving supplies. U.S. aid also has financed imports of seeds, tools and other supplies needed for agriculture in a section of the country relatively secure from insurgency near Maputo, the capital.

Farm goods now are flowing from those small areas into Maputo markets that were nearly deserted two years ago, U.S. officials report.

U.S. and other aid officials say large areas of the country are inaccessible to them because they are in RENAMO or contested areas. Estimates by relief organizations of the number of people in these areas vary from 600,000 to 2.2 million.

Tom Schaaf, spokesman for the

Mozambique Information Office in Washington, which supports the rebel side, says 10 million Mozambicans are under RENAMO jurisdiction and that there is no food problem in those areas. Relief organizations say refugees from those regions indicate there are food problems there.

"RENAMO has said to the international organizations, 'Please by all means come into the areas it has liberated and make an accurate assessment,'" Mr. Schaaf said.

U.S. conservatives have criticized the Reagan administration for providing aid in a communist country. Administration officials reply that the aid is humanitarian in nature and that, by act of Congress, as much as possible of it is required to be given through the private sector.

U.S. relief supplies are distributed in Mozambique through private groups such as CARE, UNICEF and World Vision Relief Organization.

Administration officials also report that the Mozambique government, while keeping its leftist orientation, has been moving pragmatically in a number of ways toward greater reliance on market forces in its economy.

It began decontrolling agricultural prices in 1985. Last month it devalued its currency — a step toward bringing it to a market level — resulting in a 426 percent increase in the price of U.S. dollars for its citizens.

It has imposed restrictions on how much its state-owned industries can borrow from the central bank for operating expenses, in effect relating this amount to their production. It has raised interest rates to encourage saving. It has begun reducing its bureaucracy, divesting itself of state enterprises and attracting foreign investment.

Most of these reforms have only just begun. Administration officials say the government is limited in how far it can go in this direction while the insurgency continues.

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