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## Botha Imposes Emergency Law In South Africa

### Raids, Detentions Designed To Stop Rallies Planned For Soweto Anniversary

By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—South Africa declared a state of emergency, rounded up hundreds of anti-apartheid activists and issued severe press restrictions in a new attempt to stifle opposition.

It was the second time in less than a year that President Pieter W. Botha imposed emergency security measures regulations, and he will bring criticism and punitive measures from the outside world. But Western nations. South Africa will not "The government is aware that stricter to prevent it," Mr. Botha said on national television last night.

In Washington, the Reagan administration called the new measures a "serious mistake" that "show a lack of appreciation for the fundamental causes of unrest and violence." But the administration reaffirmed that the U.S. is opposed to further economic sanctions. "We still regard punitive sanctions as a blunt instrument that will not promote the U.S. goal in South Africa," said State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb.

In raids early Thursday, heavily armed South African policemen seized documents and arrested trade union officials, church leaders and activists. Scores of other activists had gone into hiding in recent days in anticipation of arrests. Among the places raided was the South African Council of Churches' downtown Johannesburg headquarters, Khotso House.

The emergency declaration is specifically designed to prevent rallies planned for Sunday and Monday to mark the 10th anniversary of fierce rioting in Soweto, the

## U.S. Voices Dismay at Pretoria's Crackdown

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 12 — The United States said it was concerned today that the latest crackdown in South Africa had seriously jeopardized hopes for a peaceful resolution of the growing crisis in that country.

Expressing frustration at South Africa's imposition of a state of emergency and arrests of many anti-apartheid activists, the White House and State Department issued identical statements saying, "Such repressive measures are a serious mistake."

"The South African Government's actions and decisions show a lack of appreciation for the fundamental causes of unrest and violence there," the statements said. "This resort to further repression dismays all who have looked to create the climate for negotiation and compromise. These measures will only serve to undermine opportunities

for dialogue and retard the restoration of public confidence and order."

The latest actions by the Pretoria Government were taken in advance of planned acts of disobedience by opponents of the Government on Monday, the 10th anniversary of the 1976 uprising in Soweto, the black community outside Johannesburg, that left more than 570 people dead. The Government has banned any organized commemorations of the anniversary.

The United Democratic Front, the leading nonparliamentary opposition group in South Africa, has called on South Africans to attend church services on Sunday and Monday to mark the anniversary.

Today, a spokesman for the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan said in Philadelphia that acting on the recommendation of a special task force, he was calling on all American corporations in South Africa to declare Monday a paid holiday for

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country's largest black township.

### Police Camp in Stadium

In defiance of a government ban on all meetings during the month of June, unions, churches and anti-apartheid groups had vowed to commemorate the anniversary. To preempt one rally, police have pitched camp inside one of Soweto's sports stadiums. A general strike by blacks is expected on Monday. Foreign embassies and major companies have made Monday a paid holiday for workers.

The government's effort to crush nearly two years of unrest raises the stakes this weekend. Blacks see it as a challenge to the exiled African National Congress to try to mount guerrilla attacks marking the anniversary.

The outlawed ANC is widely viewed as the most popular anti-apartheid group in the country. Mr. Botha's speech extinguished flickering prospects that the government would consider negotiations to end violence and draw up a new constitution. He said, "No one can enter negotiations with the ANC without knowing that he also is in negotiations with the Communist Party."

### Business Shaken Again

The government's clampdown dealt another blow to shaky business confidence. Just four days ago, 900 leading business executives appealed to the government to

make further reforms. Referring to depressed levels of consumer spending and capital investment, Barclays Bank South Africa Chairman Chris Ball said, "The state of economic anorexia isn't going to be cured by this."

The emergency declaration marks the triumph of hard-line cabinet members, especially Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange over more-conciliatory cabinet members such as Foreign Affairs Minister R.F. "Pik" Botha.

Under the new regulations, the law and order minister can authorize indefinite detentions. Police powers to search people and buildings are broadened and the already limited rights of detainees to counsel are curtailed.

Black leaders reacted swiftly. Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi called the declaration "tragic" and said it "interfered with movement toward negotiations." Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the new emergency shows the government isn't in control of events and thinks it can "bludgeon people into submission."

One clause of the new regulations enables the government to prosecute anyone who makes, prints or records a "subversive" statement, which includes any remark "weakening or undermining the confidence of the public."



## S. African curbs hinted if powers aren't approved

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — The government has threatened to reimpose a state of emergency or declare martial law if Parliament fails to approve sweeping new security powers by June 16, an opposition legislator said yesterday.

The comments came as fears grew that the June 16 anniversary of the outbreak of black rioting in Soweto 10 years ago will plunge South Africa into a new cycle of violence.

Johannesburg's English-language *Sunday Times*, a critic of the government, said "confrontation is inevitable."

The country's main Afrikaans-language weekly, *Rapport*, said President P. W. Botha's options were a state of emergency or martial law.

An official at Mr. Botha's office refused to comment.

The Soweto uprising set off a chain of riots nationwide that persisted for more than a year. Officials said that within nine months, 573 people were killed. Unofficial estimates put the death toll at more than 1,000.

Black militants regard the riots as the turning point in their bid to end apartheid, the system under which 5 million whites dominate 24 million voteless blacks.

Don Mateman, law and order spokesman in the chamber of Parliament for mixed-race people, said the white-led government was determined to have new security powers. The mixed-race and Indian chambers of the tricameral Parliament have stalled the security bills sought by the Botha government.

"They [government ministers] have said to us in no uncertain terms, 'Fine, we will have an alternative, an alternative is of an emergency, an alternative is of martial law if things become really bad,'" Mr. Mateman said in a telephone interview.

The government lifted a 15-month state of emergency March 7. Critics say the security bills are an attempt to reimpose under another guise the state of emergency — which failed to dampen the racial violence now in its 21st month.

Last week, when the bills stalled, Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange banned all gatherings to commemorate the Soweto anniversary. The move was widely criticized as likely to result in mass black defiance and bloody clashes with police.

Meanwhile, police reported yesterday that three more blacks were killed and said rioters had fired on police patrols in four townships since Saturday night.

## S. African business leaders back apartheid reforms

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — A reform plan issued yesterday with the support of white business leaders would scrap major aspects of apartheid to create a free-enterprise system in which blacks could compete equally.

The recommendations, contained in a report by the University of Pretoria, call for repeal of laws that restrict where blacks can live and travel and deny them property rights and political power.

Only the removal of such barriers to equal opportunity will create a genuine free-enterprise system in which blacks can participate equally, says the study called Project Free Enterprise. It is based on meetings in 1985 with 927 executives from 103 of South Africa's largest companies.

*Business Day*, the nation's leading financial daily, called the reform package "the most significant attempt ever made by the country's business community to draft a strategic solution for the country's economy."

Large majorities endorsed the proposed reforms.

None favored a one-man, one-vote system, but 93 percent endorsed inclusion of all races in the central government and 88 percent supported a bill of rights.

Only 17 percent backed the government's current process of negotiating change, 64 percent wanted a national convention of all groups to work out a future system and 67 percent called for a referendum to determine attitudes about change.

In accompanying letters released with the report, business leaders said the study made a significant contribution to helping business produce change.

"We all understand how years of apartheid have caused many blacks to reject the economic as well as the political system. But we simply must get the facts across," said Zac de Beer, a director of the Anglo American Corp. mining conglomerate.

"We dare not allow the baby of free enterprise to be thrown out with the bathwater of apartheid."

Meanwhile, thousands of rival black squatters clashed in bloody battles at Crossroads and nearby shantytowns yesterday for the second time in a month, killing at least five people and wounding more than 20.

## Commonwealth Group Ends S. African Effort

### Pressure for Sanctions Seen Mounting

By Karen DeYoung  
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, June 7 — The end today of a sixth-month effort by Commonwealth leaders to promote a peaceful settlement of South Africa's racial conflict is likely to lead to an increase in pressure on Britain to agree to economic sanctions against Pretoria.

In a final meeting here today, the seven-member Eminent Persons Group completed a report on its efforts, due to be distributed next week to Commonwealth heads of state and then made public.

[The South African government said Saturday it was studying proposals from the Commonwealth group, even though the group announced it was ending its initiative, The Associated Press reported from Cape Town.]

The group was created during the last Commonwealth summit, held in Nassau, the Bahamas, last fall, as a compromise between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who consistently has opposed sanctions, and the rest of the 49-member organization of Britain and some of its former colonies, which favors them.

Led by Australian former prime minister Malcolm Fraser and Nigerian former head of state Olusegun Obasanjo, the group's mandate was to "initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across the lines of color, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a nonracial and representative government."

Its mandate originally was scheduled to last at least until August. But the group suspended its nego-

tiating efforts following last month's South African military raids against Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia.

Although some members of the group subsequently went back to Pretoria, they left last Wednesday and a spokesman for the Commonwealth Secretariat said here today that they would not return.

According to a report in The Times of London today, the group has written a letter to South African authorities saying that it sees "no merit in further discussions" in the absence of movement toward two of its principal goals—the freeing of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of a ban against the ANC.

It is not known whether the group's final report recommends that economic sanctions be imposed against the Pretoria government. But even if it leaves the question open, the apparent failure of its overall mission will serve to increase pressure on Thatcher from both her domestic critics and Commonwealth colleagues.

Criticism of Britain's isolated position on sanctions stepped up markedly within days of the South African air and ground attacks against alleged ANC bases in neighboring African countries last month. In a heated session in Parliament, Thatcher "totally and utterly" condemned the raids, but insisted that "sanctions would not help to achieve the objectives that we seek."

But in addition to sharp criticism from her domestic political opposition, and restive feelings within her own Conservative Party, Thatcher reportedly has been pressed on sanctions by Queen Eliz-

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In raging, daylight fights using guns, clubs and knives, several thousand conservative vigilantes burst through police lines to charge against young anti-apartheid radicals and refugees, police said.

Hundreds of the wood, tin and plastic homes were set on fire in the KTC section of Crossroads and nearby Nyanga. The structures included a clinic and relief center housing 2,500 of the approximately 30,000 people left homeless after last month's clashes.



# Blacks Battle Again Near Cape Town

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, June 9 — At least five people died and thousands were left homeless in chill winter weather today after renewed fighting between rival black groups in a squatter camp near here.

The fighting and burning of shanties in the camp, Crossroads, sent up a huge pall of gray smoke. Witnesses, including clerics who saw the fighting, said the police seemed to have supported a group of about 3,000 avowedly conservative blacks, known as the vigilantes, against an estimated 8,000 radicals, who are known as the comrades.

The official police tally of deaths stood at five, but medical workers said 14 blacks had died, some of bullet wounds, others hacked to death with scythe-like blades called pangas. More than 1,600 people have died in the nation's bloodshed since September 1984.

## Many Are Made Refugees Again

Many of those made homeless today became refugees for the second time in a month. In May, more than 30 people died and 30,000 were made homeless by fighting in Crossroads, where well over 100,000 blacks have congregated since 1975 in defiance of laws forbidding their access to white-run cities.

The earlier fighting was ascribed by anti-apartheid campaigners such as the Rev. Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches,

to official subterfuge designed to chase many of the squatters away.

Witnesses said the vigilantes — who owe their loyalty to a squatter leader viewed as favorable to official intentions — gathered Sunday night and today and were confronted by large numbers of so-called comrades.

Groups of vigilantes moved forward, witnesses said, with police vehicles at their flanks.

The police rigorously denied favoring either faction and said they fired tear gas in a vain attempt to head off a clash. But the Rev. Johan Froeth, a white Anglican priest who witnessed the fighting with other clerics, told reporters: "The police were not doing a single thing to prevent it."

As in last month's fighting, the comrades seemed to have lost the battle.

## Many Combatants Had Guns

Witnesses said many of the combatants, on both sides, had guns. Some of the comrades were said to have fired Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles, a favored weapon of the outlawed African National Congress.

As the radicals fell back, witnesses said, the vigilantes advanced on an area of Crossroads known as K.T.C., a shantytown about a mile away from the main squatter camp. K.T.C., named for a trading store in the area, was home to thousands of squatters.

According to witnesses, the vigilantes — called "witdoeke" in Afri-

kaans for the strips of white cloth they wear as identification — set fire to many homes in the K.T.C. area, sending thousands of people fleeing.

## A Policy of Excluding Blacks

After last month's upheavals, many of those made homeless sought refuge in the K.T.C. area and were made homeless again today. A refugee center, set up after the May violence, was also reported razed and two big tents sheltering refugees were burned today, witnesses said.

Relief workers from the Red Cross and other services withdrew from the area after the fighting, witnesses said.

For years, the authorities have sought to control the influx of blacks into Cape Town, which is reckoned to be the only city in South Africa where blacks, as defined in South Africa's racial lexicon, are in an absolute minority, since for many years the authorities sought to exclude them in favor of people of mixed race.

Crossroads, peopled by those fleeing the unemployment and poverty of the so-called tribal homelands, thus became an emblem of defiance.

The Government of President P. W. Botha wants to rebuild Crossroads as a settled township for about 30,000 blacks, and to move the rest to a new place, 10 miles away, called Khayelitsha.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## More violence at Cape Town camp

Cape Town

Thousands of blacks armed with guns and clubs clashed yesterday on the fringes of the Crossroads squatter camp near here, relief workers and South African news reports said. At least five people were killed and hundreds of dwellings set afire.

The battles pitted some 3,000 conservative black vigilantes against 8,000 militant black youths and refugees, the South African Press Association said.

Crossroads, a shanty city 12 miles east of Cape Town, was the scene of fierce fighting between the two groups in May. The vigilantes, including the oldest residents of Crossroads, effectively defeated the militant anti-apartheid activists for control of the camp. At least 33 people were killed and 30,000 left homeless in last month's fighting.

Police in armored personnel carriers tried to separate the groups yesterday, but they could not immediately halt the fighting, a police spokesman said.

Fire razed an ambulance service and relief center that had been home to 2,200 refugees, and all the residents fled. Other reports said hundreds of shacks were burning in the KTC section of Crossroads, one of several settlements on the edge of the camp.

Anti-apartheid activists have accused police of aiding the vigilantes, known as "Witdoeke" (Afrikaans for handkerchiefs, which they wear to identify themselves), who are loyal to the conservative committee that runs the central camp.

The Rev. Allan Boesak, one of South Africa's most prominent civil rights leaders, said on NBC-TV's "Today" show yesterday morning that "South African police have been very heavily involved in creating those factions."

"In arming one of the factions with something like 600 guns and ammunition and protecting them as they were sent out to attack other black people," he said, "that is very disturbing thing that is happening."

Police and senior government officials denied any complicity after the May battles.

The Washington Times

JUNE 9, 1986

## Working for what?

Last September the administration established within the State Department a Special Working Group on South Africa, with the assignment of doing public diplomacy for administration policy. The public diplomacy it has done thus far, however, has been more to the advantage of the African National Congress. Worse, it has expanded its sphere of influence to take in, at a minimum, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi.

The working group's activities have consisted mostly of meetings. Lots of them. Public, private, breakfast, lunch, and dinner. If every person with whom the group has met were convinced of the need for moderate and slow reform in South Africa, sanctions would be as friendless as the tsetse fly. But urging reformers to proceed with caution does not appear to be the group's *modus operandi*, since its ranking staffers have compared Bishop Desmond Tutu to the Old Testament prophets, spoken glowingly of TransAfrica, and characterized apartheid as "a holocaust."

Eyebrows have been raised, too, by the makeup of the staff, about half of whom are affiliated with the Fellowship Foundation, a Christian retreat house closely tied to So-

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By Ned Temko  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

## S. Africa: tension rises over revolt anniversary

Johannesburg

A major showdown seems in the making between the South African government and its anti-apartheid foes over commemoration of a black uprising 10 years ago.

The June 16 anniversary's approach has found the government newly determined to crack down on unrest — and blacks newly united in defiance of the authorities.

Tension among blacks in the segregated townships near South African cities has been building for weeks in anticipation of marking the 1976 revolt by students in Soweto that sparked the most sustained round of anti-apartheid violence the country had seen. It lasted for about a year, and more than 500 people died, most of them blacks, in battles with police or soldiers.

That upheaval has since been overshadowed by violence which has left more than 1,600 dead in the past 21 months and which, in recent weeks, has caused a backlash in black areas by conservative vigilantes allegedly backed by whites. This unrest has also highlighted rivalries among anti-apartheid forces in the black community.

But the approaching June 16 anniversary has occasioned a unified push to demonstrate against the police and Army presence in black townships and against a government "reform" policy deemed too little, too slow, and too late.

Over the weekend the black violence — which so far has been turned mostly on fellow blacks al-

leged to be "collaborating" with the authorities — spilled into a white town just east of here.

Black youths fire-bombed a shop in Kempton Park, near the Johannesburg airport, stabbing two whites and hurling two petrol bombs before fleeing. The last two bombs did not explode.

On the government side, a "carrot and stick" approach seems to have been shelved for "stick" alone in the run up to June 16. President Pieter W. Botha's Cabinet, under pressure from right-wing whites in recent weeks, has put talk of race-policy reform on the back burner for now, and is flexing its police muscle.

Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange, frustrated in hopes to push toughened security legislation through Parliament, has issued a ban on meetings commemorating the June 16 revolt.

On Saturday, the progovernment newspaper, Beeld, predicted an announcement of "very important decisions" to head off trouble on the anniversary.

Beeld, whose report was echoed by a second Afrikaans-language newspaper Sunday, did not specify what it expected. But the paper implied that the government would either push through the new security laws — which it could do via an extra-parliamentary President's Council on which Mr. Botha commands an unassailable majority — or reimpose a state of emergency that was imposed last summer and lifted earlier this year.

The most prominent anti-apartheid clergymen in the country, Anglican Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu and Dutch Reformed Church minister Allan Boesak, have said they will go ahead with services commemorating the Soweto anniversary despite the ban. And Soweto clergymen of various denominations have said that services next Sunday will be devoted to praying for the demise of apartheid.

A white clergyman who works in the black township of Mamelodi, near Pretoria, says he fears serious violence if the police try to enforce the ban. "Black leaders have been planning commemorations for many weeks now, and the mood is to go ahead with these demonstrations," he says.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## Key Commonwealth negotiator pessimistic on S. Africa's future

By Chris Pritchard  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney

A key member of a Commonwealth negotiating team warns pessimistically that, if a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems can not be found "maybe even millions could be killed."

Malcolm Fraser, a former Australian prime minister, is co-chairman of the so-called Eminent Persons Group, established by the (British) Commonwealth. The group has the goal of bringing opposing groups in South Africa toward an agreed stance on the future of the nation, which is violently separated by the policy of forced racial segregation known as apartheid.

Following his recent departure from South

Africa, Mr. Fraser briefly returned home to brief Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke on the group's progress. The group had left South Africa hurriedly, following Pretoria's attacks on May 19 on alleged facilities of the resistance group the African National Congress in neighboring Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.

Fraser has now gone to London for further meetings on forthcoming strategy.

During his visit here, Fraser's pessimism was apparent. Indeed, following a confidential briefing with his predecessor, Prime Minister Hawke was also notably bleak in assessing South Africa's immediate future.

In comments on Australian television, Fraser said South Africa could slide into civil war.

But, he noted, "It is not going to be one major army clashing with another because the African National Congress has not got an army of that kind."

And, "if there can't be a negotiated settlement, there will be a war that will start off as a guerilla war and more and more people will get hurt," he predicted. "Hundreds of thousands of people, maybe even millions, could be killed and that sort of thing could go on for maybe 10 years," said Fraser.

According to Fraser, events of the past two years have shown that attempts by South Africa to restore "normality" through force, won't work. And, cross-border raids, he argued, only damage the willingness of black leaders to negotiate for peace.



## S. Africa's inter-black violence overshadows blacks' common struggle against white rule

by Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

The tragedy of Crossroads, a morass of mud and charred wreckage after two days of violence, has dramatized the increasingly tangled alliances in the battle over South Africa's future.

The latest fighting at the Crossroads black squatter camp and similar clashes last month are the most serious upheavals in the political violence that has racked South Africa for the past 21 months. Fighting yesterday left at least eight dead, more than 20 injured, thousands homeless, and refugee aid programs in chaos.

On the surface, the violence is a simple power struggle between rival camp factions. The struggle was sparked by an offensive staged by black

conservatives known as the "fathers" against young militants known as "comrades."

But according to black leaders, white opposition parliamentarians, and some reporters, it is more than just an internal camp struggle. They allege that the police have been arming and encouraging the conservative vigilantes.

The militant comrades have gained increasing sway around the country. They have frequently denounced, beaten up, or killed blacks alleged to be police informers or collaborators with South Africa's white-minority government. The great majority of the more than 1,600 victims in the months of political violence have been blacks — militants killed by police or Army fire, local officials, policemen, or alleged informers killed by the militants.

More is at stake in the latest violence than control of the Crossroads area — a cluster of four shanty towns north of Cape Town. The recent push by the fathers and by similar conservative vigilante squads in other black areas has, in effect, allied them with the government's drive to contain more radical blacks.

The offensive at Crossroads comes only weeks after President Pieter W. Botha scrapped the pass-law system. The system limited the number of blacks allowed to settle near white cities, where the most promising jobs exist during a deep economic recession.

In place of the old system, the government has announced a strategy to encourage "orderly urbanization" by providing small site-and-service plots in officially approved areas. The prototype was set up several years ago near Crossroads, at Khayelitsha, 10 miles further away from Cape Town. After last month's fighting, the authorities tried with little success to get the homeless to move there.

The government has repeatedly denied supporting black vigilante violence. Officials have suggested that such "black-on-black violence" demonstrates that the real struggle in South Africa is not against the white government but among various black "minorities" and that it is bound to get worse if the blacks come to power.

For blacks not active on either side of the growing divide, the result has been terror, frustration, and suffering. During last month's fighting at Crossroads, conservatives torched dozens of shacks and drove an estimated 30,000 people into two hastily erected aid centers sponsored by relief agencies. These centers were set aflame Monday, as rival black groups battled with guns, machetes, knives, and wooden staves and then left when a flash rainstorm quelled the violence.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## S. Africa: protest and order

ON its face, South Africa's ban on public meetings this month, including the 10th anniversary observance next Monday of the Soweto uprisings and planned defiance of that order by leading anti-apartheid church leaders, has put the two groups on a collision course.

Clearly, such a confrontation is not in the long-term interests of either side. Protests and demonstrations are basic democratic rights. Pretoria, while responsible for maintaining order, must not use the ban to "give policemen yet another excuse to get at black people," as Bishop Desmond Tutu has suggested it may. In addition to attacks by police on blacks, one of the most tragic side effects of the continuing racial strife has been the brutal treatment by blacks of other blacks accused of collaborating with the white power structure.

Yet, government repression is no alternative to negotiation. No matter how strong the pressures from the now more vocal right-wing white minority, the government cannot continue to hold power by continual efforts to intimidate the black majority. The day of shared power must come, and the sooner the better.

Lately Pretoria has been retreating from what was starting to look like a somewhat more enlightened stance toward the black majority opposing apartheid. The recent raids against alleged bases of the outlawed and exiled African National Congress in three neighboring black-ruled states were a clear step backward from the days when the government spoke of releasing Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, and admitted that not all ANC members were necessarily communists or bent on violent change. The June meeting ban, which also covers

the anniversary later this month of the ANC Freedom Charter, is nothing novel to blacks who have seen it all before. But it clearly marks a further step backward. So, too, does this week's consideration by either South Africa's Parliament or President's Council of even more heightened security powers for the government.

Repercussions from this tightened-fist approach are already apparent. Just a few days ago the group of seven Commonwealth leaders which had been working to persuade Pretoria to lift its ban against the ANC and free Nelson Mandela decided there was no merit in continuing its efforts. And there is increasing talk in the United States of imposing stricter sanctions on South Africa. A group of 20 Democrats and Republicans is pushing a move in Congress that would ban new investment in private businesses in South Africa and could lead to the withdrawal of US computer company subsidiaries.

Pretoria must begin to move once again — and soon — in the direction of power sharing. Violent revolution appears ever more strongly as the only alternative to such negotiation. The US can help by encouraging South Africa to choose the peaceful route. Secretary of State George Shultz's strong comments a few days ago to American church leaders, echoing the "apartheid-is-wrong" theme and urging the South African government to move speedily toward a "democracy that knows no color," were right on the mark. Leaning further on Pretoria through endorsement of a new round of economic sanctions — strongly opposed by the Reagan administration — and by recognizing the legitimacy of the ANC as the chief organizational group speaking for anti-apartheid blacks could do much to give Washington rhetoric needed clout.



# Commonwealth report urges broad S. Africa sanctions

## Conclusion puts pressure on Thatcher to alter stance

By David Winder

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

London

South Africa, which is experiencing ongoing violence at home, must now brace for the impact of escalating economic sanctions from abroad.

A call for international action has come from the Commonwealth's so-called Eminent Persons Group (EPG), which sees sanctions as the only peaceful way to bring about change in South Africa.

The group of seven leading Commonwealth figures, including two former prime ministers, had their six-month peace mission to South Africa blown out of the water by Pretoria's raid last month into neighboring Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

The raid, which cut short the EPG visit, was cited as one indication that South Africa's white government is more inclined to tough it out, than to negotiate.

Unless the major Western powers, specifically the United States, Britain, and West Germany, act against South Africa, the group says, there is little prospect of avoiding a blood bath in South Africa.

The pessimistic report released at a

crowded press conference in London yesterday will almost certainly provide the impetus for the Commonwealth — an organization which fosters cooperation among states now or formerly attached to the British Crown — and then Western Europe to take much more stringent ac-

tion against the white-ruled Republic of South Africa.

Both groups were already on course toward doing that, but held back in deference to the group which had hoped to change South Africa through quiet diplomacy.

The US Congress already has stronger sanctions under active discussion. Democrats believe they have enough Republican support to push through a new sanctions bill banning new US investments and loans and halt imports of uranium ore, coal, and steel.

The key question is how far either President Reagan or British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would go along with a move for tougher sanctions. Both have dragged their feet on the question of South African sanctions. Mrs. Thatcher, a key supporter of the group's initiative, doesn't believe that sanctions work.

But the new report puts the Prime Minister in a quandary. Of the 49 Commonwealth heads of state, Thatcher alone resists taking firmer action. And her stance has put the organization, now representing a quarter of the world's population, under great strain.

British papers have been full of reports that Queen Elizabeth, who heads the Commonwealth, is troubled about the South African situation and the risk it poses to the organization. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has threatened to quit the Commonwealth if Britain fails to adopt firmer measures.

One Western diplomat says Thatcher is in a "very, very difficult position" and that she will attempt some kind of damage limitation. Diplomatic speculation is that while the Prime Minister opposes sanctions, she can hardly ignore the group's report and may feel

obliged to make some modest concessions. Two main impressions from the press conference were:

- That after initially showing encouraging signs, the South African government did not seriously contemplate negotiations, and, at times, actively obstructed it. The group regarded May's raid into neighboring African states as a political ploy to undermine the mission, particularly since no clear military targets were hit.

- All seven members of the group were impressed with Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). The group met with Mr. Mandela three times.

According to former Nigerian Prime Minister Olusegun Obasanjo, who together with former Australian Premier Malcolm Fraser presented the report, Mandela's response to the group's initiative was to say that he had "no hesitation in accepting this as a starting point." General Obasanjo says Mandela made it clear that he was saying this on the behalf of the ANC, but wanted to consult with his ANC colleagues in prison about the matter. Since Mandela was not allowed to meet the prisoners, the group concluded the government was not interested in furthering the cause of negotiations.

Mr. Fraser disclosed that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Zulus and often regarded as an implacable foe of Mandela, had indicated to the group he would be willing to work with Mandela.

In Fraser's view, the South African government's realization that it could find itself confronted with a united African leadership was a possible "turning point" in the government's decision not to negotiate.

## The Washington Times

JUNE 12, 1986

### Soviets send salvage ships to Angola

MOSCOW — Soviet authorities have sent two salvage ships to Angola after a raid on the port of Namibe in which Soviet and Cuban vessels were damaged, the official news agency Tass said yesterday. The Soviet government blamed South Africa for the attack last Thursday in which a Cuban freighter was sunk, two Soviet cargo ships were damaged and three fuel tanks destroyed. Tass said the attackers rocketed port facilities and planted magnetic mines on the Soviet ships. It said there were no Soviet casualties.

## The Washington Times

JUNE 5, 1986

### Nigerian police detain unionists

LAGOS, Nigeria — Police sealed off the headquarters of the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC), where trade unionists were to have met yesterday to protest police killings of students in the north 12 days earlier. Union officials outside the building said NLC President Ali Chiroma, acting secretary-general Lasisi Osunde and deputy president Lawrence Peterside had been detained. The NLC, reacting to a strong warning from the government, called off nationwide protest marches scheduled for yesterday and decided instead to hold meetings in its offices around the country. Demonstrations are banned in Nigeria.



Lee H. Hamilton

# Angola: Open Talk, Covert Aid

The president talks openly about providing covert assistance to rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who oppose the Angolan government. But this policy cannot succeed or be sustained without the support of Congress, and at present the president's controversial plan does not have congressional approval.

Concern about a U.S. role in the Angola conflict dates from 1976, when CIA involvement in that war led Congress to pass the Clark Amendment prohibiting U.S. assistance to military and paramilitary groups in Angola. Last year Congress repealed the Clark Amendment. The administration supported this repeal as a means of restoring the president's flexibility in foreign affairs, but it neither proposed nor supported funding for UNITA at that time. It has since changed policy.

Under the law the president must notify the House and Senate intelligence committees of planned covert actions. The committees' approval is not required for the president to proceed with covert actions. The administration apparently decided to move forward with a plan to provide UNITA and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, with covert assistance this year despite Congress' reservations on this issue.

My principal objection to this plan is a procedural one. Covert authority is intended as a necessarily secret tool in support of existing policy, not a means to change policy in secret. In Angola the administration seems to be using its covert action authority to change policy dramatically and avoid public or congressional debate. Aiding UNITA is funding a war, one of the powers of Congress enumerated in the Constitution. The president should not be able to circumvent a public debate in Congress on a significant foreign policy decision by calling this aid by a different name.

Moreover, no serious effort has been made to preserve the secrecy of this policy change. The president, the vice president and other officials have confirmed it and disclosed details about the number and types of weapons to be provided. This action is no longer "covert" under any reasonable definition of that term. If the administration can talk about covert action openly, so should members of Congress.

We need to resolve this procedural

## House Panel Backs New S.A. Sanctions

WASHINGTON, June 10 — The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved and sent to the floor today a measure that would impose a new range of economic sanctions against South Africa, setting the stage for another legislative confrontation with the White House.

The measure foresees penalties in three steps. Upon enactment, all new private investment in the country from American concerns and imports of South African steel, coal and uranium would be barred and landing rights in the United States for South African Airways would be suspended.

If, in a year's time, South Africa did not take certain steps to end apartheid, among them the release of "all political prisoners" including Nelson Mandela, the head of the outlawed African National Congress, the United States computer industry would be forced to cease all operations in South Africa.

Last year companies were barred from selling computers to South African Government agencies on the

issue so that important, substantive questions can be debated. How will aid to UNITA serve U.S. interests? How will it affect Angolan dependence on Soviet and Cuban support, possibilities for a negotiated settlement in Namibia and U.S. credibility as an honest broker in southern Africa? How will it be viewed in black Africa? How will it affect substantial U.S. commercial ties with Angola?

These questions should not be avoided by simply notifying a handful of members on the intelligence committees. They are among the most serious issues for U.S. policy in Africa today. They deserve to be weighed by Congress as a whole. Legislation will soon come before the House which would restrict temporarily the president's authority to conduct covert action in Angola and require open acknowledgment and congressional approval of any proposal to aid UNITA.

The purpose of this bill is to strengthen U.S. policy in Angola, to ensure that it reflects American values and interests. Debate in Congress can help answer many of the questions concerning aid to UNITA and generate the political backing the president will need if he is to sustain any policy in Angola over time.

American foreign policy is most successful when the president and Congress cooperate. While the president needs flexibility in the implementation of foreign policy, Congress has a constitutional role to play in its formulation and review. That role must be respected if we are to have a sustainable policy in Angola that reflects U.S. interests.

*The writer, a Democratic representative from Indiana, is chairman of the House intelligence committee and ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.*

By NEIL A. LEWIS

theory they are used to administer the system of apartheid. Sponsors of the current measure said a total ban on computers would be needed because it was difficult to distinguish which computers are used for the administration of apartheid and which for business.

The full House is to take up the measure next week and it is expected to pass easily because of the Democratic majority. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill told reporters: "The House will accept anything that the committee sends it." The legislation's fate is less certain in the Republican-controlled Senate.

The 26-14 committee vote today was mostly along partisan lines and came in the face of a last-minute plea by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, who sent a letter arguing that sanctions would "backfire" by weakening the forces of moderation.

"We do not believe it should be our purpose to harm the South African economy, nor do we believe that such action will hasten the end of apartheid," Mr. Shultz said in his letter today. Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, appearing at the committee session, buttressed the Administration argument against sanctions.

Mr. Crocker said progress was being made in South Africa and neither South Africans nor Americans who are hoping to bring about peaceful change "want to destroy the South African economy."

The consideration of the new round of sanctions comes 10 months after President Reagan reluctantly imposed a series of economic penalties against South Africa by executive order. Both the House and Senate last year had passed versions of a sanctions bill. Mr. Reagan, who had strenuously opposed any sanctions, issued the executive order when it became apparent that some form of legislation would be enacted over his veto.

His sudden change of position deflated the opposition, and the Republican leadership in the Senate was able to shelve the issue, sparing the President the embarrassment of losing on the issue.

But several events are coming together during the current effort to increase pressure on the Administration on the issue. Democratic strategists moved the bill quickly so that it will be debated at the same time further violence is anticipated in South Africa, where on June 16 blacks will be observing the 10th anniversary of riots in Soweto, the sprawling black community adjacent to Johannesburg.

The bill approved by the committee today would prohibit investment in South African companies through the purchase of stock on American stock exchanges. It comes at a time when American companies are drawing down their investment in South Africa even without any Government pressure to do so.

Three Republicans on the committee voted for the measure and against the Administration today: Jim Leach of Iowa, Olympia Snowe of Maine and Christopher Smith of New Jersey.



# How to Help Africa Help Itself

JUNE 10, 1986

BY RAY WILKINSON

Nairobi Bureau Chief

**A**t the birth of postcolonial Africa, Ghana's late dictator Kwame Nkrumah predicted independence would lead to "the new Jerusalem, the golden city of our heart's desire." Today, less than 30 years later, that dream is a shambles. Many Africans are poorer than they were under the colonial yoke. The continent is on the brink of an economic crisis so vast that many countries, according to their leaders, could eventually disappear. Clearly, there is a need for swift and drastic action to alleviate Africa's plight.

Last week, at a special session of the United Nations, 50 members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) proposed an ambitious five-year rescue plan for Africa. They urged Western states to increase their aid to Africa from \$7 billion to more than \$9 billion a year until 1990. They also asked developed nations to write off one-third of the continent's \$175 billion debt. In return, the Africans pledged to raise \$80 billion on their own. They also vowed to put their own house in order by improving economic management, curbing corruption, encouraging private enterprise and revamping Africa's long-neglected agricultural sector. While the Africans aren't likely to get close to what they've asked for, their appeal has merit. But to be useful, the

money will have to be spent differently than in the past—and Africa's leaders will have to implement genuine reforms to which so far they have just paid lip service.

All too often, Western aid has only made a bad situation worse. Over the past 20 years Tanzania has absorbed some \$600 million a year, making it one of the world's largest aid recipients. Yet it is still one of the world's poorest nations. One problem is

that Tanzania's rulers became so dependent on handouts that they no longer looked to themselves to solve the country's problems. Another is that aid was often granted without conditions—and spent on projects of dubious economic value. Just a few months ago a multimillion-dollar paper mill that was supposed to make Tanzania self-sufficient in paper was closed down shortly after its opening. The donors and the Tanzanians failed to anticipate soaring operating costs, and the mill's products turned out to be twice as expensive as imports. The rest of Africa is littered with the carcasses of similar white elephants.

**Free-market approach:** Things have already begun to change for the better, at least in some countries. Increasingly, donors are insisting on proper accounting and an increased say in how their money is spent. The Reagan administration has favored countries that adopt a free-market approach to development: in Kenya it has set aside funds specifically for launching small businesses. The World Bank and other donors are beginning to attach similar strings to their aid.

Naturally, African leaders resent being told how to run their economies. But several have decided to swallow the medicine, despite the threat of social upheaval that often comes with austerity measures. Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has complained bitterly about the arbitrariness of conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund; but he has also concluded that he has no choice but to abandon 20 years of mild socialist policies and liberalize his economy. Under the IMF's direction, Ghana has become one of

Africa's success stories. Three years ago its economy had virtually ceased to function. Since then a series of IMF austerity measures has helped slash inflation from 123 percent to 10 percent, boosted stagnant exports and increased Ghana's gross domestic product by a healthy 5.3 percent last year.

Such reforms are only a small beginning. With population increasing twice as fast as food resources in Africa, more foreign aid and domestic revenues need to be directed toward farming. The Africans say they would spend most of the funds they've requested on agricultural projects. This plan should be encouraged—especially their proposal to create new incentives for farmers to grow more. African states now spend between 4 percent and 7 percent of development funds on agriculture; this should be expanded to at least 10 percent.

**Bloated bureaucracies:** In exchange for belt-tightening promises, Western states should heed Africa's cry for greater stability in world commodity markets. Most African countries have one-crop economies at the mercy of pricing decisions made in New York and London. Donors should encourage recipients to slash bloated bureaucracies like Uganda's state airline, which employs 1,400 people to run a two-plane fleet. Perhaps most urgent, more aid should be directed toward family planning. As things stand now, Africa's population of 432 million will triple by 2025, overwhelming the continent's scant resources and scuttling any hope for meaningful economic reform.

Senegal's President Abdou Diouf told the United Nations that more funds should be committed as "an act of faith" in Africa. But it's time for Western donors to stop operating on faith—and to start making sure the money they give to Africa actually does some good.

THE SUN

## State of Emergency

JUNE 13, 1986

It is difficult to quarrel with the nomenclature. South Africa is truly in a state of emergency. That stems from the insistence of the regime — and particularly its police and military components expressing extremes of Afrikaner nationalism with overtones of racism and undertones of Nazism — to control its black majority with a tyranny that blacks will no longer accept and the Free World will no longer excuse.

Whatever the stated purpose of the State of Emergency measures President P. W. Botha's government imposed, they will not restore law and order. These are fearsome measures, including the arrest of at least 1,000 political activists, the right to invade premises, to suppress publications, to detain people for two weeks without cause, to withhold the names of the arrested and to arrest anyone who advocates disinvestment (as Archbishop Desmond Tutu once again has done).

These do nothing to stop the youngsters who riot and murder suspected collaborators. It will not stop the commemoration Monday of the 10th an-

niversary of Soweto disturbances. What it will do is increase the number of American and Western companies cutting their losses in South Africa, the pressure on institutional investors to divest securities of firms that remain there, the contemplation in Congress of economic sanctions, and the movement within the Commonwealth of Nations to impose sanctions, blocked now by the British government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, which is increasingly isolated on the matter.

The State of Emergency came a day after the Commonwealth's "Eminent Persons Group" made a particularly gloomy report to the 49-nation body on its failure to mediate a dialogue between the Botha government and its opponents. There is no doubt of a fierceness of resolve among many of the Afrikaans-speakers in the white minority to damn such interlopers and cling to the national myths.

By refusing to consider transition, the ultras make the inevitable transition inevitably more traumatic. The State of Emergency exacerbates the real state of emergency.



# How much Africa needs

JUNE 7 1986

Africa's desperate dependence on external finance rarely attracts attention except when millions die. It is overshadowed by Latin America, the developing world's biggest debtor, and by East Asia, the most successful. The \$29-billion plan of Mr James Baker, America's treasury secretary, to relieve the developing world's debt burden while encouraging economic growth applies, for now, to only two sub-Saharan African countries. African countries will get most of the IMF's new trust fund, but even 100% of the fund's \$3 billion over six years is probably too little to meet repayments of earlier borrowing from the IMF. More World Bank money for Africa is caught up in a fund-raising wrangle among governments.

African countries have told the UN that their continent needs \$26 billion a year for five years—\$9 billion of it from external sources—to fix its agriculture, build the infrastructure to support it, fight the encroaching desert and train people. In April, the World Bank said that a smaller group—the 29 poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa—need \$13 billion a year from abroad to restore their 1980-82 levels of imports per person and to achieve an annual 3-4% real

growth in GDP from 1990. Given the population increase, that is barely enough to raise average incomes. Middle-income Africa, said the Bank, needs \$7 billion-10 billion a year. The needs of most of Africa could be met for little more than three times the \$6.5 billion that Mexico has asked for this year.

Net external flows to sub-Saharan Africa (that is, after payments of capital, interest and dividends) have shrunk by two-fifths in dollar terms over the past five years. In 1980, the 44 countries' net new borrowing was \$8.2 billion. They got grants netting another \$3.2 billion, but saw a small outflow of private investment. The total net transfer of resources was \$11.8 billion, against a current-account deficit of \$6.9 billion. In 1985, the net transfer was only \$6.9 billion, about the same as the current-account deficit.

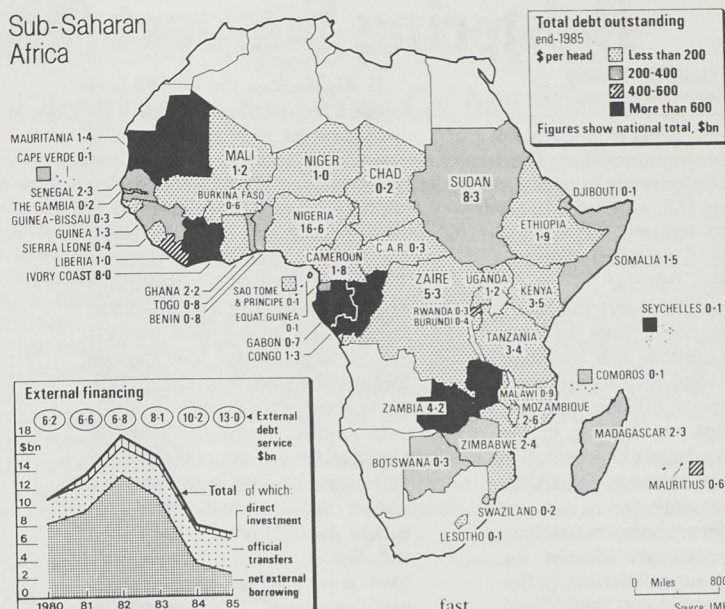
These external financing flows show three significant changes:

- An increasing reliance on official sources rather than private ones. In 1980, African countries got close to \$1.5 billion, net, from private creditors; in 1985, there was a net outflow of \$700m. This matters. Many official lenders, notably the World Bank and the IMF, cannot reschedule their loans.

- A growing use of short-term finance, especially purchases from the IMF, which averaged SDR1.1 billion a year between 1979 and 1984. In 1985, African countries began paying the Fund slightly more than they borrowed. Mr John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics in Washington reckons they could end up having to repay up to SDR1 billion (\$1.5 billion) a year for each of the next few years.

- The size of Africa's debt, though much smaller than Latin America's \$370 billion, is growing faster. Sub-Saharan countries owed something between \$90 billion and \$125 billion at the end of 1985—nobody can be more accurate than that. Their ratio of outstanding debt to annual export earnings doubled to

## Sub-Saharan Africa



more than 200% in the five years to 1983. Between 1980 and 1985, the ratio of debt service to export earnings tripled to almost 35%. If African debtors were to pay what is due in 1986 and 1987 (which they will not), they would hand over at least \$15 billion a year.

So where is the money to come from to help countries pay their debts and have enough left over to invest and grow? The World Bank estimates that the poorest countries face a \$2.5 billion gap every year, even after slightly improbable calculations, like a \$1 billion increase in commercial-bank lending. Africa's middle-income countries need to find another \$1 billion-3 billion. The UN figures show the continent is still looking for about 60% of the \$46 billion it needs from outside over the next five years. Multilateral donors will make up a bit of it. But bilateral donors are likely to find it hard even to maintain present real levels of aid and commercial banks are cutting their exposure to black Africa

fast.

Mr Richard Moose who handles third-world debt at Shearson Lehman Brothers, an American investment bank, says that African countries can do a number of things to help scarce resources go further. These include hedging against interest-rate and currency upsets; stopping the flight of capital abroad and into black markets; liberalising domestic capital markets; and easing restrictions on foreign direct investment.

More significant than any of these measures, though, would be persuading creditors to restructure debt on terms more like those negotiated by Latin American countries, with multi-year reschedulings, lower spreads, and longer grace and repayment periods. Nigeria's creditors expect it to take a step towards restructuring its debt, which banks put at \$20 billion, in New York on June 12th. This may prove the first test of how far both Africa and its western creditors are prepared to go to meet Africa's needs.

JUNE 12, 1986

## THE WASHINGTON POST

### For the Record

Today, the greatest problem facing all of us who are dealing with the emergency situation in Africa is the perception that the emergency is over. The latest drought has been broken by the best rains for some time, and on the whole, the crops that this has produced are the best in years. Much of sub-Saharan Africa now has a small surplus in local food grains. Perhaps this might suggest that the emergency is over. But it is not, because like so many things in life, the rainfall was not spread equitably.

The emergency is not over. The U.N. Office for Emergency Operations in Africa estimates that some 19 million people, most of them in four countries, are still acutely in need of emergency relief, compared with the 35 million people who were

From an article in the May-June edition of *Africa Report*:

at risk a year ago.

It is a cause for some satisfaction that the emergency effort was quite effective. Despite the stories about port congestion, roads clogged with transport and railways breaking down, the real story of 1985 is that most of the aid did get through. Most of the 35 million people whose very survival was in doubt a year ago did in fact survive. The deaths that occurred were at the front end, when the local capacities of the governments and the field were overwhelmed.

... However, we should not congratulate ourselves for very long because a good many of the 19 million people, who continue to need relief supplies are still on the edge of survival. ... They could slip back into the abyss very abruptly.



# U.S. and Rebel Sources See Soviets Bolstering Support for Third World

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet Union is stepping up support for its embattled Third World allies, apparently in response to increasing U.S. assistance to anticommunist insurgencies, according to Reagan administration officials and rebel sources.

These sources report that more sophisticated Soviet arms are being used in Afghanistan, that additional Soviet pilots and advisers are arriving in northern Ethiopia and that Cuban troops are moving to the front lines in Angola in preparation for new government offensives against the insurgents.

U.S. Soviet analysts are watching these developments closely for clues to any new directions in Soviet policy toward its Third World allies since Mikhail Gorbachev took power 14 months ago.

Of particular interest to these specialists is the Soviet leader's attitude toward the five regional conflicts—Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia and Nicaragua—that the Reagan administration has singled out as battlegrounds for challenging Soviet influence.

To date, these analysts note a continuing strong Soviet commitment to their closest allies. Moscow has just pledged additional military support for Libya, and already sent SA5 antiaircraft missiles. It has also promised Syria more arms and there are unconfirmed Israeli press reports that Moscow is about to give the Syrians the highly accurate SA23 ground-to-ground missile with a 250-mile range.

Despite this Soviet response to U.S. pressure, U.S. Soviet experts detect a reluctance by Moscow to take on any new burdens.

In the case of at least one ally, Mozambique, the Soviets seem hesitant to increase their aid significantly, even though the Marxist regime there is engaged in an uphill struggle against a spreading anti-communist insurgency and is dependent mainly on Soviet arms.

But this general lessening of Soviet interest in Third World affairs has not been evident in the nations where the superpowers have clients vying for power.

In Afghanistan, the Soviets have begun a new offensive against U.S.-backed rebels, increasing the size of their forces there by several thousand to about 120,000 and making wide-scale use for the first time of their fastest ground attack plane, the Su25, to avoid rebel missiles. They have introduced longer-range artillery to bombard mountain rebel strongholds, wire-guided rockets and "seismic mines" that explode through vibration, according to U.S. officials and rebel sources.

In Angola, the Soviets have replaced all the war materiel the army there lost last year in its offensive against South African- and U.S.-backed guerrilla forces. Top Cuban and Soviet military commanders have been involved in planning a new government bid to capture the headquarters of the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, in southeast Angola.

A new Angolan offensive against rebel strongholds in the south, with the participation of Cuban troops, began on May 27, according to spokesmen here for Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. This claim could not be independently confirmed.

After initiating a \$15 million to \$20 million covert aid program to anticommunist rebels in Angola late last year, the administration decided in March to send shoulder-fired Stinger antiaircraft missiles to Angola and Afghanistan—the first U.S. arms to be introduced in either conflict.

In Ethiopia, rebels fighting for the independence of Eritrea Province say 4,000 to 5,000 additional Soviet technicians and pilots have recently arrived in the provincial capital of Asmara in preparation for the ninth Ethiopian attempt to seize their headquarters at Nakfa. A new Soviet-backed government offensive is expected to begin there late this month or early July, according to Bereket Habte Selassie, spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front at the United Nations.

Of the five major East-West regional conflicts mentioned repeatedly by President Reagan, only in Cambodia and Nicaragua have there been any signs of a lull in the fighting this year. Analysts say this is mostly because Soviet-supported

governments in both countries made major military gains against their guerrilla opponents last year.

U.S. analysts say the Soviets are just beginning to devise a counter-insurgency strategy to deal with the U.S.-backed insurgencies.

While tactics have varied from country to country, one common Soviet objective for two years has been to invade the heartland of the insurgency in an attempt to occupy its headquarters, apparently in hopes of dealing it a knockout blow and demoralizing supporters. This tactic has been followed in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Angola as well as Mozambique.

In Afghanistan, the Soviets have also tried to broaden the government to include noncommunist elements. But this tactic has not been tried in the other conflicts.

Despite this stepped-up Soviet commitment, administration analysts say they see no evidence the new Soviet leadership under Gorbachev has devised any special new "doctrine" to deal with the Reagan Doctrine of aid to anticommunist resistance movements.

"What seems to be happening is that they are trying not to respond to the Reagan Doctrine by finding a different doctrine but by pursuing their own long-term interests, just like they always were, in all five regional conflicts," said one defense analyst.

Administration analysts say Moscow has been in the throes of a full-scale reassessment of its relations with its Marxist allies for several years, and their interest in the Third World has waned since Gorbachev took office. Gorbachev, they note, scarcely made any reference to the Third World in his speech to the 27th Soviet Communist Party in February.

Francis Fukuyama, a former State Department policy planner now with the Rand Corporation, calls the Soviet policy "muscular consolidation" rather than retrenchment. In an article appearing this spring in *Foreign Affairs*, he summed up the Soviet attitude as one of "greater caution" in taking on new commitments and of concentrating on the problems of protecting established Soviet positions.

Fukuyama and other U.S. Soviet analysts also detect an increasing

continued on pg. 16



# Zimbabwe Frees Rights Activists

## President Overturns Arrest Order by Senior Cabinet Minister

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe, June 6—Prime Minister Robert Mugabe overruled a senior Cabinet minister late last night and ordered the release of two human rights activists arrested by police.

Michael Auret and Nicholas Ndebele, the chairman and director respectively of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Zimbabwe's foremost rights monitoring group, were freed after Auret's wife, Diana, phoned Mugabe to plead for their release. They were

arrested yesterday afternoon.

In ordering the release, Mugabe overturned an arrest order from Home Affairs Minister Enos Nkala, a senior Cabinet member and the fourth ranking member of the ruling party's Politburo. Nkala's ministry oversees the police.

Western diplomatic sources said they could recall only two previous occasions when the prime minister had intervened to have political detainees released, and then he did so quietly. Last night's action was the first time Mugabe has openly reversed the arrest of a major public

figure since Nkala launched a crack-down on opposition politicians and other government critics following Mugabe's landslide reelection victory last July.

"Auret was a big fish and a number of people in government were obviously appalled when they heard about his arrest," said a diplomatic analyst. "It seems like an individual minister got out of line and my guess is that things will cool off for a while."

The government has not made any statement on the arrest and release of Auret and Ndebele. Mu-

gabe's press spokesman did not return phone calls today seeking comment.

Until now, the commission, a lay arm of the Catholic Church, Zimbabwe's largest denomination, was one of the few institutions of public dissent that had been allowed to function undisturbed by the government. It maintains an extensive network of priests and lay people who report to it on allegations of rights violations.

While it has maintained a cautious public stance, the commission has on occasion gone to court seeking the release of detainees when it believes they are being held illegally. Auret has spoken out strongly several times against alleged rights abuses.

Auret appeared at police headquarters here this morning for questioning about papers police had seized from his office yesterday. He later said at a press conference that his arresting officer had accused him and Ndebele of possessing "prohibited documents," a criminal offense with a penalty of up to five years' imprisonment. He said the officer never indicated what documents he was referring to.

Auret said he believed the real reason for his arrest was Nkala's belief that the commission had supplied information about allegations of police torture to Amnesty International, the London-based rights organization. Amnesty published a report in November citing "persistent accounts of torture" of detainees by police, including beatings and electric shocks.

Nkala has branded the report and a subsequent report by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York as lies and has repeatedly accused Amnesty of conspiring with local church groups, British and American diplomats, foreign journalists and even the CIA to smear Zimbabwe's international reputation.

Auret denied that he or Ndebele had provided information to Amnesty. Richard Carver, the organization's spokesman on African affairs, supported Auret's denial in a telephone interview.

"The intention of these kind of arrests obviously is to make people think twice about talking to us," said Carver.

JUNE 8, 1986

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

## A Nation Learns to Feed Itself

# Zimbabwe's Fertile Fields

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

CHITOMBORWIZI, ZIMBABWE

MAREVA GURAJENA, a stocky bearded man wearing a beige baseball cap, peeled the husk from a thin ear of corn and muttered. At his side, Jeff Chirisa bent down and shook his head. "The plants are too close together," said Mr. Chirisa, spreading his fingers between two stalks. "And the rows are too close together."

Mr. Chirisa is one of 600 agricultural extension officers helping turn men like Mareva Gurajena into successful farmers. In the process, they are also changing the face of agriculture in Zimbabwe and providing a model for a continent struggling to survive.

At the time of independence six years ago, virtually all agricultural production in Zimbabwe came from sprawling commercial farms owned by whites. Under both the British colonial government and 15-year rule of Ian Smith, white farmers were given exclusive access to the richest land. Blacks, whether struggling on small spreads of their own or trying to scratch out a living at traditional communal settlements, got second best.

Today, the pattern of ownership has changed only slightly. There are still vast white-owned farmlands worked by small armies of black laborers, although there are now 4,500 white farmers, 700 fewer than in 1980. During the same time, the number of small black-owned commercial farms — from 100 to 300 acres — has risen from 9,000 to barely 10,000. More than 850,000 farmers work communal lands, fields allocated by village chiefs.

In terms of production, however, change is evident. Not far from Mr. Gurajena's farm, there are 14 massive concrete silos filled to the brim with corn and surrounded by mountains of neatly stacked burlap sacks bulging with it. That is last year's crop, uneaten and unsold. This year's harvest is expected to be larger.

Unlike many African countries, Zimbabwe not only feeds itself but also produces huge surpluses of grain. At a time when the United Nations holds a special session on plight of Africa — and agrees, as it did last weekend, to a five-year, multibillion-dollar recovery effort — that is a striking accomplishment by itself. What makes Zimbabwe's success more remarkable is the degree to which small farmers and peasants on communal lands are par-

ticipating in it. This year, estimates are that half the 2.5 million tons of corn grown will be produced by these newly emergent agricultural entrepreneurs.

Mr. Gurajena's father obtained his land in 1953, when several hundred square miles near here were designated "purchase areas" for blacks seeking more than the eight or ten acres available in the communal tracts. "When I inherited this farm, we had a drought," Mr. Gurajena said. "I had a tough time. Last year, I sold 530 bags of maize, so that's when I started thinking farming is a good thing. This year I expect roughly 600 bags."

If the crop is that good, Mr. Gurajena will earn about \$5,900, a substantial amount for a small farmer here. Mr. Chirisa, the extension worker, said it could be more.

"I try to talk to as many farmers as possible," Mr. Chirisa said. "Sometimes I can see 10 a day. There is a big difference between big commercial farmers and small-scale farmers. The commercial farmer has all the machinery he needs — tractors, combines. He's ready to do a job whenever it needs to be done. A small-scale guy cannot do things in time. You tell him to plow early, but because he doesn't have a tractor, he can't do it."

Even so, Mr. Chirisa said, small farmers are improving their techniques rapidly. "Now farmers are getting the idea that farming is a real business," he went on. "They are getting away from subsistence farming." And as they do, farmers are for the first time becoming participants in the cash economy, a phenomenon that is largely unfamiliar elsewhere on the continent.

Gary S. Magadzire, president of the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union, cites several reasons for the success of black farming. "Marketing arrangements are better," he said. "And the prices are right. The Government policy has been to pay farmers a good price for their crops." But in the end, he believes the work of extension agents makes the difference. The Ministry of Agriculture has worked aggressively to train extension workers, who move around on red Honda motorcycles.

"We teach farmers how to use fertilizers, how to spray herbicides," said Mr. Chirisa. "We tell farmers how important it is to plant early. You must prepare for the season, because nobody knows when the rain begins. If you miss even one inch of rain, you are finished."

Mr. Gurajena nodded as he spoke, then looked along the overcropped rows of corn. "Next year I will do better," he said. "It will be completely different next year."

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# Engaging With Liberia

JUNE 11, 1986

**P**RESIDENT Samuel K. Doe of Liberia has now released most, though perhaps not all, of the several hundred military men and politicians he locked up after an attempted coup last November. It follows, he appears to believe, that the United States should release the aid it had slowed or held up to focus his attention on matters of democracy and human rights, and that it should otherwise act to fix Liberia's troubled economy and his own tarnished image.

But wait. Then-Master Sergeant Samuel Doe came to power by coup in 1980. He killed his repressive and corrupt (and elected) predecessor and came increasingly to mimic his political style. Last fall he finally held elections but won, it seems, only by fixing the count. Frustrated officers mounted another coup; it failed, and many were killed. President Doe, a high school dropout, detained a considerable number of real and imagined rivals—including Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a Harvard-trained opposition figure who was charged with treason for, among other things, being “in a festive mood, showing joy and happiness” on the day of the abortive coup. Meanwhile, Mr. Doe had himself inaugurated under a consti-

tution whose ample guarantees of civil liberties he was by then honoring mostly in the breach.

The Reagan administration, like its predecessors, has tended to treat this West African country with an indulgence flowing from its history as a client state founded by freed American slaves. This has been especially notable in a period when Washington was leaning hard and often publicly on two somewhat similarly situated right-wing rulers in the Philippines and Haiti. In Liberia, the State Department has tended to keep its appeals for democracy and due process in a low key. The operating theory has been that working with the known quantity of President Doe is the best way to help Liberia sort out its problems. This means encouraging him to reconcile alienated Liberians and to swallow the medicine prescribed by the international bailout agencies.

The administration's critics see it practicing “constructive engagement” with Liberia—a slighting reference to the besieged American policy toward South Africa. It is a criticism the administration cannot afford to ignore. The United States has a special exposure in Liberia. It needs a sure and strong hand.

JUNE 10, 1986

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Liberian leader attempts to defuse unrest at home and criticism from abroad

By Peter Blackburn  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Abidjan, Ivory Coast

Liberian President Samuel Doe's decision last Friday to free all remaining prisoners held in connection with last November's attempted coup should help to defuse the tense political situation in Liberia and focus more attention on solving the country's financial crisis, according to analysts.

The political and social unrest in Liberia stem from the country's deteriorating economy and growing opposition to Mr. Doe's brand of “democracy.”

Unemployment hovers around an unprecedented high of 50 percent, the public-sector wage bill is bloated, civil servants are not receiving paychecks, and Liberia has an estimated \$1.4 billion of foreign debt.

In addition, Doe's regime is continually being questioned on its human rights record. Reports of abuse include: detention and beatings of political opponents, as well as

coups staged by Doe in order to discredit and, in at least one instance, justify arrest and execution of opponents.

Last October's elections, the first one-man, one-vote

ever held in Liberia, were rigged, according to foreign reporters and Doe's political opponents.

Among those freed “unconditionally” last week were number of political prisoners — some held without charge — who had heavily criticized the Doe regime for election fraud and human rights abuses. Many were allegedly involved in last fall's attempted coup. Of these, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and 20 others had been charged with treason.

Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf, a Harvard-educated economist and former Citibank representative in Nairobi, was a Liberian finance minister in the ousted regime of President William Tolbert. She is also a leading member of the opposition Liberia Action Party.

Her arrest and trial have caused an international outcry, especially in the United States, where officials saw her as being made a political scapegoat.

Doe said in an unscheduled radio broadcast that the release of the prisoners had been made in the interest of national reconciliation and to promote “peace and

stability” in the country.

Observers point out that the decision should help defuse a call in the US Congress that aid to Liberia be cut because of reported human rights abuses, and thus guarantee the continuation of aid from the United States. Since the US gives more aid per capita — \$40 a person — to Liberia than to any other country, good relations with the US are crucial to its economic survival.

The proposed 1986 aid to Liberia from the US is \$93

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# Ethiopian Resettlement Foments Hostility

By Blaine Harden

Washington Post Foreign Service

ED DAMAZIN, Sudan—An article of faith behind the Ethiopian government's famine resettlement scheme is that southwestern Ethiopia, where famine victims are sent to rebuild their lives, offers plenty of fertile, empty land.

Those who have escaped from the program, which has been temporarily suspended by Ethiopia because of international pressure, said in a refugee camp here, however, that while southwest Ethiopia is fertile, it is not empty.

According to the escapees, Ethiopians already living in the south, most of whom are members of the Oromo ethnic group, view settlers from the north as land-stealing interlopers. They said the Oromo are not shy about showing their displeasure.

Atsbha Ambaya, 27, a northern Ethiopia farmer who was resettled in the southwest, said his new village frequently was attacked by angry, ax-carrying Oromo. During one attack last year, Atsbha said he used his own government-provided ax to cripple an Oromo man who was trying to kill him.

"The Oromo tell the northerners to leave and then they burn their new houses," said Kebede Mekuria, an Ethiopian defector who said that he traveled widely in southwest Ethiopia for the government's coffee and tea ministry before fleeing in January to nearby Sudan.

"The Oromo people dislike our face, they despise us, they degrade us and don't want us near them," said Mohammed Yasin, another northern Ethiopian who lived in Asosa, a southwestern resettlement center, before escaping west to Sudan.

The Oromo, who for centuries have occupied a vast area of southern Ethiopia, have been largely ignored in the international dispute created by the Ethiopian government's plan to ease famine by moving 1.5 million people from the denuded northern highlands to the verdant southwest.

Most of the attention has been focused on charges by western relief

officials and escapees that northerners were forced at gunpoint to move, that their families were split up and that many were made to live in resettlement areas in concentration camp-like conditions. Western donors have criticized Marxist Ethiopia for diverting famine-relief food aid to the resettlement program.

Reacting to its critics, the Ethiopian government put resettlement on hold earlier this year. Officials in Addis Ababa said they would discipline the "overzealous local officials" responsible for the abuses.

The government also has suspended its so-called "villagization" program, another much-criticized plan that is expected to move about 33 million people from isolated farms to nearby centralized villages over the next nine years.

The government maintains that the plan is intended to help improve social services for peasants. But international relief officials in Ethiopia have said it appears to be aimed at cutting off peasant support for antigovernment separatists.

The villages program in southeast Ethiopia, where more than 1 million people were relocated in 1985, has induced more than 40,000 Oromo people to flee the country for bordering Somalia. In a Somali refugee camp, disgruntled Oromo have told refugee and relief officials that government soldiers forced them to move away from their farms and into villages.

In addition, refugees have told relief officials that the plan interrupted their farming and, in some cases, ruined their crops. Some refugees have reported to relief officials that government soldiers shot or raped many of those who resisted the move.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's leader, has vowed to restart both programs in the fall.

According to relief officials and northern Ethiopians interviewed here, the Oromo also have been victimized by resettlement. A report last year by the London-based human rights group Survival International said that "the impact of resettlement is one of the major reasons for the presence of some 15,000 Oromo" refugees in eastern

Sudan.

The Oromo Liberation Front, a guerrilla force fighting the Ethiopian government, said in a recent statement that "no people whatsoever will happily accept the colonization of their homeland by total strangers."

The Oromo make up 35 to 40 percent of Ethiopia's 40 million people and are believed by demographers to be the country's largest ethnic group. They were first conquered by the Ethiopian empire around the turn of the century. The Oromo are predominantly Moslem while northern ethnic groups, including the dominant Amhara, are mostly Christian.

In an interview in southwestern Ethiopia last year, Simon Galore, regional chairman of Ethiopia's ruling Worker's Party and the senior government official in charge of resettlement in the area, said that he did not anticipate conflict between local Oromo and northern settlers because "there was no problem of [resettlement farmers] taking away the indigenous farmers' land."

He said that the Oromo in his region had "volunteered" to build new houses for many of the famine-weakened newcomers, and he said they also had been willing to give away plow oxen to the new arrivals.

Because the Ethiopian government restricts access to resettlement areas, it has not been possible for westerners to examine firsthand the relations between the Oromo and settlers.

But here in Damazin, a camp near the Ethiopian border where about 1,000 resettlement escapees gathered earlier this year, northern Ethiopians said the Oromo they encountered in the south resented them and often attacked them.

In an interview in Khartoum, Fakadu Wakira, a leader of the Oromo Liberation Front, said that there are not enough resources in the southwest—good land, oxen, transportation facilities—to accommodate the Oromo along with the 600,000 resettlers brought there in the past two years.

"The scarcity of resources is making the Oromo much more jealous of people moving into their

continued on pg. 16



By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

PEKING, June 9 — A noisy campus party celebrating African Liberation Day provided the spark for a confrontation between the authorities and African students, who used the occasion to charge that their treatment in China was racist.

The affair began on the night of May 24 when a crowd of 400 Chinese at the university in Tianjin besieged 40 Africans and their guests at a party in a campus dormitory.

It has continued through two weeks of recriminations, a protest march by Africans through Peking, and news conferences at which officials have denied racism exists in China.

Although confrontations between Chinese and Africans are not new — in the early 1970's, more than a dozen Tanzanians at the Peking Railroad Engineering School were sent home after burning portraits of Mao Zedong — the Tianjin melee was one of the worst.

#### Police Arrive After Five Hours

In the five hours before the police intervened, two Chinese are said to have been injured with beer bottles, while three Africans are said to have suffered superficial wounds from a barrage of rocks that had the Africans and their guests, including at least two Americans, barricading themselves into the dormitory kitchen.

Feelings among the 1,600 Africans studying in China, almost all on Chinese scholarships, have not been helped by lesser incidents in Peking, Nanjing and Shanghai. In the Nanjing incident, Africans occupied a university president's office last week to protest the expulsion of an African accused of fighting.

In Peking last week, four Chinese beat a Moroccan who had upbraided one of the youths for touching the

in a Tianjin hotel, but reports of their comforts prompted Chinese students to set out after them once more.

The Tianjin authorities, saying that the foreigners' lives were endangered, moved them a second time, again in the small hours of the morning. After some of the Africans had begun walking to Peking, the Education Ministry provided a bus and brought 18 of the students to Peking, where about half have remained ever since.

The Government has tried to discount the affair. A Foreign Ministry spokesman, calling it "an unpleasant incident" that could happen in any country, said it had "nothing to do with racism."

This was followed by a march of 200 African students through Peking to the State Education Commission, where they sat down in the street while their leaders made speeches charging that Chinese professions of friendship were a mask for racism.

"The Chinese deceived us," said Solomon A. Tardey of Liberia. "We know the truth now. We are going to tell our governments what the truth is."

The Tianjin students have been pressing for assurances that there will be no punishment of two Africans questioned by the police on assault charges in the original fracas. Meanwhile, the Education Ministry has called a news conference to confront the charge of racism afresh.

"It is the consistent and long-term policy of the Chinese Government to oppose racism," said Yu Fuzhen, the ministry's spokesman. He added that the Tianjin incident "does not affect the friendly relations China enjoys with the countries from which the students come."

Moroccan's Japanese girlfriend.

The incidents have demonstrated a broader current in Chinese life, the propensity among frustrated young people to strike out, sometimes violently, against foreigners who arouse their resentment.

#### Anti-Foreign Sentiments Linger

Although condemned by officials, the outbursts serve as a reminder that antiforeign instincts linger despite an open-door policy that stresses the benefits of foreign contacts.

Three months ago two American students were injured when Chinese youths angered by a bicycle accident stormed into the Americans' dormitory at Xian University and set about the Americans with a bicycle chain.

A year ago Peking soccer fans, angered by the loss of a match to Hong Kong, went on a rampage in which foreigners and their cars were the principal targets.

Other incidents involving foreigners have occurred in various parts of the country, usually touched off by trivial disputes that get out of hand.

In the Tianjin case, the undercurrent was indicated by Chinese complaints after the melee that foreign students were receiving privileged treatment, in the form of better rooms, food and stipends. In this context, Western diplomats say, the noisy music played by the foreigners may have been the occasion, but not the underlying cause, of what followed. One of those in the dormitory, David Fraser, an American correspondent for Reuters, said later that some of those inside the building had feared for their lives.

#### Feelings Fail to Subside

After the police had escorted the foreigners away, feelings failed to subside. The foreigners, mostly Africans and Asians, were quartered for a week

## Refugees in Sudan Find Welcome Wearing Thin

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

SHOWAK, the Sudan — As the glimmering haze of a steamy afternoon yielded to dusk, the Karkora refugee settlement was overflowing with activity.

Men and women haggled over prices at a small souk, while children congregated at a makeshift juice shop. Other refugees sat attentively at an English lesson, slowly pronouncing the words presented by their American teacher.

People in the settlement near this town in the eastern Sudan say they will go back to their homes in Eritrea, a stretch of land in Ethiopia along the Red Sea, when peace is restored there. But the rebel war has been raging for 26 years and shows no signs of ending. So the 12,000 refugees at Karkora wait and fashion a life in the Sudan.

The Eritreans are among more than 1.2 million people that the Sudan, the largest country in Africa, has taken in over the years as part of its open-door policy toward refugees. Most are Ethiopians, mainly from the northern

provinces of Eritrea and Tigre, who began arriving in 1967 to escape guerrilla wars. There are also Ugandans, Chadians and Zairians.

#### A Cause of Growing Resentment

Their effect on the fragile social and economic fabric of this nation, one of the world's poorest, is causing growing resentment among the 20 million Sudanese, some of whom complain that the refugee population enjoys far better conditions than their own. Sudanese say that many of their compatriots are going hungry themselves because of drought, a costly civil war in the south and a ruined economy.

"The problem is that the big influxes are lessening but the total number is increasing," said Hassan Attiya, the Sudan's Commissioner for Refugees.

"Repatriation is slow," he said. "The local people, who have been suffering from drought, feel that assistance is confined to refugees. So while the Sudanese are still very generous, we are beginning to see the sort of jeal-

ousy that was never the case before."

The resentment is perhaps felt most deeply here on the flat, featureless plains in the eastern Sudan, where hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians have come over the last 20 years. Nearly 130,000 live in the sprawl of Wad Sherife, the largest single refugee camp in the Sudan, near the town of Kassala.

Tens of thousands of others have settled in towns and villages in the east, where the Sudanese complain that the refugees' arrival has badly strained the deteriorating water and sanitation systems, has contributed to the spread of disease and has increased vagrancy and crime.

#### Food Center and Medical Services

Other refugees live in places such as Karkora, which has health, community development and sanitation projects, a food center and medical services that some relief workers say surrounding villages can only hope for.

Al-Tiraifi Younis Ibrahim, the Government's deputy general project man-

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## ZIMBABWE (Continued)

Diana Auret said at the press conference that when she reached Mugabe by telephone last night the prime minister told her he had already heard about the arrests and had immediately ordered the releases.

"I said, 'Well, he's still sitting in the jail in Harare and nothing has been done about it,'" Diana Auret recalled. "So he said, 'I will look into it immediately and do something about it.' And he appears to have done so."

Auret called her an hour later to tell her he had been released, she said. She said of Mugabe, who was educated by Catholic missionaries, "He's a good man. I believe he felt immediately that something had happened that he wasn't actually aware of."

abeth II, who takes very seriously her role as head of the Commonwealth and chief unifying force within the organization.

Several press reports here over the past month have said that the queen is increasingly concerned about the deterioration of the situation in South Africa and Britain's

all employees, "to stand with the black community in this important day of their mourning."

Mr. Sullivan, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church and a member of the board of directors of General Motors, is the author of principles by which 195 American companies operate in South Africa.

Just a week ago Secretary of State George P. Shultz appealed to the South African authorities to open a high-level discussion with black representatives. He also asked them to pledge to end apartheid and bring about representative government in which blacks would play a leading role.

But today's events were seen by Administration officials as reflecting the continuing inability of Washington to prevail upon South Africans to reconcile their differences by negotiation.

The State Department also said the

United States Embassy in South Africa had lodged an official expression of concern over apparent Government connivance in the continued violence between black groups in the black squatter camp in Cape Town known as Crossroads, where dozens have been killed, many injured and as many as 70,000 left homeless.

Bernard Kalb, the department spokesman, said "there are widespread and well-documented reports of police complicity" with one group, known as vigilantes, who have razed the shanty homes of thousands of blacks. The vigilantes are opposed by blacks who are fighting the Government's efforts to relocate the population of adjacent squatter camps.

Despite the latest actions, the Administration made it clear that it had no intention of dropping its opposition to stricter economic sanctions against

the South African Government. Ever since South African troops attacked targets in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, moves have been under way in Congress to impose tighter sanctions.

A bill passed the House Foreign Affairs Committee this week that would immediately ban loans to South African companies and new investment by American companies. It would also impose additional trade penalties in a year. It is to be voted on by the House next week.

To the calls for sanctions, Mr. Kalb said: "We still regard punitive economic sanctions as a blunt instrument that will not promote the U.S. goal in South Africa. Such sanctions would hinder the process of bringing the parties together by fostering polarization and intransigence instead of moderation on the part of both the Government and its opponents."

## COMMONWEALTH GROUP ENDS S. AFRICAN EFFORT (Continued)

isolation. Thatcher's office yesterday repeated a standard policy of refusing to comment on "private conversations" between the prime minister and the queen.

Commonwealth Secretary General Shridath Ramphal has made his dissatisfaction with Thatcher's position increasingly public. Late last month

he warned that "those who, for ideological or other reasons, believe that sanctions may not work, must themselves be helped to recognize that sanctions represent the course of conduct most likely to help the process of peaceful change."

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has threatened to withdraw

from the Commonwealth, and said in a recent interview with The Observer newspaper here that he had had similar "representations" from Commonwealth colleagues. Accusing the British government of openly supporting apartheid, Kaunda said he found Thatcher's position "morally and politically unacceptable."

## S. AFRICA: TENSION RISES (Continued)

The proposed new security legislation would allow police commanders discretion to declare "areas of unrest" and make use of widened powers of arrest and detention without trial. Existing legislation gives police these powers, but with a tighter time limit on detentions and greater judicial accountability.

While President Botha's comfortable parliamentary majority has in the past guaranteed passage of such proposals, a "reform" Constitution he introduced in 1984 created separate legislative chambers for Asians and "coloreds" (people of mixed racial descent). The nonwhite chambers have managed to delay passage of the security law. The President's Council can overrule them, but at the risk of embarrassing the government by emphasizing the limits of the nonwhite influence.

Any sustained police crackdown risks encouraging new economic pressure from the West. A British Commonwealth committee is winding down a mission to explore chances for negotiated change in South Africa as an alternative to economic sanctions advocated by some Commonwealth leaders. A decision on sanctions is expected this summer.

## BLACKS BATTLE AGAIN (Continued)

Crossroads residents have largely refused to leave their homes, so the fighting has achieved in a few weeks what the authorities had been trying to do for years. In both last month's fighting and today's battles, thousands of squatters have been made homeless, and the site of last month's violence has been flattened by bulldozers in readiness for the area's redevelopment.

### Cleric Protests and Is Arrested

"There was not a single piece of evidence in the one and a half hours of our presence of police action to prevent the burning," said Mr. Freeth, the Anglican priest.

The cleric said he had sought to intercede with the police and had talked with senior police officers. "I said it was an observable fact that nothing

was done to prevent the Witdoek burning, looting and setting fire to houses and so on," he said. "And at that point, they arrested me."

The priest was later freed and talked to reporters. A television team for Worldwide Television News was also detained during the upheaval, television colleagues said.

Seen from close by, the fighting left scores of homes and other buildings ablaze. Policemen sealed off the area.

At evening, a convoy of at least 15 armored trucks bearing white soldiers in combat gear pulled out of the area. In the opposite direction, thousands of residents, away at work for the day, returned to what in the morning had been home and, for many of them, is now only embers.

## S. AFRICA'S INTER-BLACK VIOLENCE OVERSHADOWS BLACKS' (Continued)

In renewed violence there yesterday, at least four South African reporters and cameramen were injured. Further casualty details were not immediately available. Last month's clash left 33 dead, and at least 10 had been killed in the recent fighting as of yesterday afternoon.

The Crossroads unrest comes only days before the 10th anniversary of the black student uprising in Soweto, which has produced a rare show of unity among most black leaders. They have vowed to mark the date, June 16, despite a government ban on commemorative meetings.

Typical of the confusion and agony the black infighting has sown was a tearful plea by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu over the weekend for blacks to stop killing each other and concentrate on a common effort to end apartheid.

## WORKING FOR WHAT? (Continued)

journers, a far-left religious movement. (Recent foundation guests have included Sen. David Durenberger, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.)

Now that the working group has been working for nine months, it would hardly be amiss for the secretary of state to ask what kind of critter its labor has brought forth.



## REFUGEES IN SUDAN (CONTINUED)

ager for the eastern region, said in an interview that the establishment of two new refugee settlements had been delayed because of local opposition. Among other issues, he said, there is concern that the construction and habitation of the settlement could cause a further loss of fertile land to deserts.

In addition, Mr. Ibrahim said there was growing hostility among local residents because they felt the refugees received much for doing little.

Not long ago, he said, farmers went from one refugee reception center to another in search of laborers to gather the harvest. The refugees were "not enthusiastic to work," he said, because they already received free and full rations. They preferred to remain in camp, selling part of their wheat ration for cash or bartering for coffee or other items, which depressed the local market and angered farmers, he said.

"Something should be done for nationals in compensation for what they lost in receiving the refugees," Mr. Ibrahim said. "It's no longer a matter of giving food rations or building schools or clinics. The refugees want to marry, have children and social security, and we must reconsider all this. Sudanese are crying that they want other countries to take 2,000 or 3,000 of these refugees."

Some international relief officials suggest that objections to the refugees'

presence might be politically motivated. The Sudan "survives on donations," one official said, and this could be a way of generating them.

The relief officials insist that help for the refugees has translated into assistance to the Sudanese. When land was tilled for the refugees, they say, it was also tilled for local villagers. Hospitals, schools, roads and water supplies, used by both groups, have been improved, and the Sudanese also receive food assistance, the officials say.

The relief workers say refugees have not taken advantage of all opportunities to work, but they say many prefer to stay in reception centers with their families because they hope to cross the border and return home.

In addition, the workers say they have tried to help the refugees become self-sufficient by starting projects to raise vegetables and poultry. But the refugees' possible contributions to the economy are limited because of laws that restrict their movement and block them from owning land or housing, an official said.

"I hope the open-door policy continues," said Michael L. Menning, head of the local office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. If resentment among Sudanese is a growing issue, he said, "it is really too bad that the refugees have to suffer for it."

## RESETTLEMENT . . (CONTINUED)

### ETHIOPIAN

neighborhood," Fakadu said. "These are marginal grain areas. For the Oromo to willingly forgo their oxen for people from the north is very, very unlikely."

The Damazin refugees were moved in April to other refugee camps in Sudan and some walked back to Tigray province in Ethiopia.

Much of Ethiopia is made up of ethnic and regional groups that see the government in Addis Ababa as a colonial power ruling their lands by force of arms.

Rebel armies in Tigray and Eritrea, which claim military control over large portions of their regions, represent a much more substantial threat to the Ethiopian government than the forces of the relatively disorganized and ill-equipped Oromo

Liberation Front.

The Oromo rebels, operating primarily with weapons they say were stolen from Ethiopian government forces, have been limited to hit-and-run guerrilla operations. Interviews here indicate that several resettlement camps have been destroyed by Oromo rebel attacks.

"We view ourselves as a colonized people," said Fakadu, the Oromo rebel spokesman. "The current resettlement is an attempt to rebuild the state machinery and northern influence that was spread to the south in 1990. The only difference now is that Russian Antonovs [transport planes] and trucks are bringing in the people and international food aid is facilitating it."

## LIBERIAN LEADER ... (CONTINUED)

million. And many US officials considered the outcome of the treason trials a testing ground for Doe's human rights policies.

It remains to be seen whether opposition leaders will cooperate with the Doe regime and take up their seats in parliament. So far, there is no sign that they intend to abandon their opposition struggle.

According to observers, Doe, distracted by political problems, is trying to give greater public attention to Liberia's financial crisis, which is seen as the root of much of this political and social unrest. The recent appointment of Robert Tubman, former head of the West African Economic Community's development fund in Rome, as finance minister is seen as a move to soothe Liberia's foreign creditors.

The government's most daunting economic task is clearing its foreign debt, of which \$60 million alone is owed to the International Monetary Fund. Until it is clear with the IMF, Liberia will be unable to reschedule its \$1.4 billion external debt or draw new aid. And, with little improvement forecast for earnings on the country's main export commodities — iron ore, rubber, and timber — it cannot rely on its own resources, say economists.

## U.S. and REBEL SOURCES... (CONTINUED)

emphasis by Moscow on seeking closer ties with "regional influentials" such as Algeria, Mexico, India and the Philippines and on trying to establish diplomatic relations with the Arab monarchies of the Persian Gulf, most notably Saudi Arabia. Two of them, Oman and the United Arab Emirates, agreed to do so last fall.

JUNE 13, 1986

*Decline by Rand*

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