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## Open U.S. Aid to Rebel Groups Is Urged

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 31 — The chairman of the House intelligence committee called today for an end to covert United States support for insurgents in Afghanistan and Angola.

The statement, by Representative Lee Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana, came after it was disclosed over the weekend that the Administration had decided to send portable anti-aircraft missiles to rebels in the two countries.

Representative Hamilton called for an open aid program that could be voted on by the entire Congress.

The United States has given the Afghan rebels hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons obtained from foreign sources. The approach preserves what officials call "plausible deniability," meaning that American involvement can be officially denied.

In a change of policy, the Administration decided to send the anti-aircraft missiles, known as Stingers, to Afghan and Angolan rebels, according to informed sources.

### Aid Provided Through C.I.A.

The American aid has been provided through the Central Intelligence Agency and has been treated as a covert operation that can be debated only by the intelligence committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, meeting in secret session.

Representative Hamilton, who has offered a bill requiring aid to the Angolan rebels to be open, said the full Congress should have a voice on major decisions.

"I don't think it is wise to proceed on these highly controversial foreign policy decisions without the support of the Congress," he said. "This is not a covert action in the ordinary understanding of the term, this is a war. That is the question: 'Should the United States enter into support of one side of the war in Angola?' It is a far cry from the sorts of situations Congress had in mind when it set up the procedure for handling covert actions."

**'We Are Playing Games'**

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

APRIL 2, 1986

## Sudan Begins a Long-Awaited Election

By SHEILA RULE

Special to The New York Times

KHARTOUM, the Sudan, April 1 — This vast and impoverished country is beginning its first multiparty elections since 1968 today.

The elections come nearly one year after the military overthrow last April of President Gaafar al-Nimeiry, who ruled Africa's largest country for nearly 16 years and suppressed political opposition in his one-party state.

As many as 30 political parties are fielding candidates for 301 seats in a National Assembly, which will choose a Government and write a Constitution. Politicians and Western diplomats predict that most of the seats will go to the two major parties that dominated Sudanese politics before Mr. Nimeiry's rule.

A senior government official said that he had received reports that "everything is going smoothly" in the voting, which is to take place over 12 days, with citizens lining up in "a very orderly way to cast their votes."

### A Show of Force

Soldiers and policemen were out in force around this dusty capital, a display intended to show, as one official put it, that the military rulers were serious about the elections and "safeguarding the democratic process."

Ali Ibrahim Imam, director of the Sudan's Elections Commission, said in an interview that votes were to be counted over three days but that the process could take a couple of days longer, meaning that the final results would be announced "on the 17th or 18th" of April or "something like that."

The new National Assembly is to take power from the Sudan's transitional military council on April 26 and then begin drawing up a new Constitution. Gen. Abdel Rahman Siwar el-Dahab, who last April overthrew the Government of President Nimeiry, had promised that elections would be held within a year of the coup.

Politicians and Western diplomats predict that, of the 30 political parties contesting the election, most of the votes will be won by the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party, the two major moderate groups that traditionally dominated Sudanese politics. The two, both of which advocate a major revision of harsh Islamic law imposed by Mr. Nimeiry, are expected to come together in what may be an uneasy coalition.

### Nonalignment and Mixed Economy

The Umma Party, led by former Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi, favors a mixed economy for a nation in eco-

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Mr. Hamilton scoffed at the argument that American interests were served by the ability to deny formal American involvement.

"We are playing games with ourselves," he said. "It is a contradiction in terms. The President has talked about this, the press writes about it. To say that we can deny we are doing it is a gross deception, it does not fool anybody."

Mr. Hamilton, who is also a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said the covert nature of the aid to the rebels tended to squelch public discussion.

Members of intelligence committees are barred from discussing the substance of closed meetings. Mr. Hamilton thus would not discuss the Stinger decision today, even though informed sources said his committee had been notified.

President Reagan has authority to initiate covert programs without approval, but is required to notify the intelligence committees. Objections raised by committee members have sometimes caused the Administration to withdraw or alter covert plans.

Congress can cut off support for a covert program by passing a bill to impose restrictions. Representative Hamilton said he would consider such an approach to Angola if his bill requiring open acknowledgment of American aid were not adopted.

American-Afghan Action, a group favoring aid to the Afghan rebels, today welcomed the decision to dispatch several hundred Stinger missiles. But Andrew L. Eiva, the group's executive director, said more missiles would be needed to turn the military tide.

He said that as many as four Stinger missiles were needed to shoot down one Soviet helicopter gunship.



# Israeli Project Aims at Ties to S. Africa Blacks

By DAN FISHER, Times Staff Writer

JERUSALEM—It was the beginning of winter in South Africa, but it was hot in the Johannesburg residence where Bishop Desmond Tutu and three other black leaders were haranguing an Israeli visitor.

They said it was abhorrent for any state to have ties with the racist South African government, and doubly so for a state founded on the ruins of Nazi death factories.

The criticism seemed to be even heavier than the Israeli emissary, Shimshon Zelniker, had expected it to be. And as the diatribe continued, Zelniker recalled the other day, he sought solace in the thought that with his mission collapsing around him, he would at least have some free time to explore the country.

Then the mood suddenly shifted. "After killing me for two hours," Zelniker said, "they looked at me and said, 'Now, what should we talk about?'"

And the conversation turned to how Israel could help South Africa's blacks.

The first tangible result of that meeting, which took place on June 17, 1985, is expected this morning, when about 20 South African black leaders are to arrive in Israel to begin a month of technical, organizational and leadership training at the Afro-Asian Institute run by Histadrut, the Israeli trade union federation.

The training program is so sensitive that most officials here refused to talk about it for the record until after they were sure that the trainees were safely out of South Africa.

The story of how it evolved, as pieced together from conversations with several people who were involved, features a cast of characters that includes, in addition to Tutu and Zelniker, California Assemblyman Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), experts at a Jewish "think tank" in Los Angeles, two representatives of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, people from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and an Israeli activist better known for her work on behalf of Soviet Jews.

The promoters have differing visions of how much they can accomplish. At the least, they hope, their efforts will lead to a dialogue between Israel and South African blacks, and in the process help to ease tension between American blacks and Jews.

Some see it as no less than the beginning of a major diplomatic

shift in which Israel forges ties with the blacks, who they believe will inevitably emerge as the leaders of South Africa.

## Hayden a Prime Mover

Hayden, who served as a catalyst to bring some of the participants together, said in a telephone interview that without a change in attitudes on both sides, "you're going to see another situation where a major revolution occurs in which the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) is viewed as a friend and Israel as part of the enemy camp."

"I don't think that's inevitable," Hayden said. "But time is short."

Israel's relationship with the white minority government of South Africa, which lies at the heart of all this, is one of the oldest, most complex and most controversial of the Jewish state's diplomatic ties.

The authorities in Pretoria were quick to recognize Israel after it was established in 1948, and in 1953, South African Prime Minister Daniel Malan made an official visit to this country, the first by a foreign head of government.

Relations began to cool in 1961, when Israel joined Britain and other countries in condemning apartheid, South Africa's policy of racial separation. In 1963, Israel downgraded its diplomatic mission in Pretoria.

Relations warmed again as criticism in black Africa and elsewhere mounted against Israel's continuing occupation of the lands it captured in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. The trend was accelerated by the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent Arab oil embargo, which strained ties between Israel and the Western nations that were the core of its international support.

In 1974, Israel named its first full ambassador to Pretoria, and by 1976 it was absconding itself from anti-apartheid votes at the United Nations, according to Naomi Chazan, an Africa specialist at Hebrew University.

Today, Israeli officials regularly and publicly decry apartheid. But the Jerusalem-based government is nonetheless depicted by its enemies as an economic, military and spiritual ally of the white South African regime. They contend that Israel's treatment of the Palestinians in the occupied territories is comparable with Pretoria's treatment of the blacks.

It is a comparison that Israel's

defenders blast as "the big lie."

Trade between the two countries grew thirteen-fold between 1970 and 1984, to a peak of \$275 million, but this is still only a tiny fraction of each nation's total trade.

Aharon Klieman, a Tel Aviv University political scientist and expert on Israeli arms sales, writes in a new book, "Israel's Global Reach," that South Africa is believed to have been the largest single customer for Israeli arms in the 1970s, accounting for 35% of purchases. But these sales were minor compared to those of Pretoria's principal arms suppliers—France, Germany and Britain.

There have been reports of nuclear collaboration between the two countries, but no hard evidence has ever been produced.

As critical as many Israelis and others are of government policies in the occupied territories, those who are familiar with South Africa insist that "it's not apartheid."

Although Israeli is morally opposed to South African racial policies, it maintains formal ties for legitimate reasons of state, defenders of its South Africa relations say. For one thing, there is a Jewish community of more than 100,000 in South Africa, and Israel considers the welfare of these South African Jews at least in part its responsibility.

About 4,000 South African Jews left the country last year, but according to Israeli officials, only about 1 in 10 moved here. About 16,000 former South African Jews currently live in Israel, with many who emigrated earlier having moved back. A trickle are still returning each year, joining up to 20,000 former Israelis now said to live in South Africa.

Those who defend recognition of South Africa argue that, as diplomatically isolated as Israel is, it is not in a position to reject recognition from a country that offers it. And they note that countries around the world have relations with countries whose values they condemn.

Israel's friends bristle at what they see as the other side's distortions of the Pretoria-Jerusalem link, but Harry Wall, director of the Anti Defamation League's Jerusalem office, concedes that the relationship "is somewhat disquieting to supporters of Israel who are strongly anti-apartheid."

It was this troubling ambivalence that became the backdrop for the black leadership training program.

The roots of the effort go back to a dinner in late 1984 at Hayden's home in Santa Monica. The guests included Tutu and a number of American black and Jewish leaders.

"Quite spontaneously," Hayden said, "in that dinner conversation there came to be a frank exchange about the question of Israel's relationship with South Africa, which has been one of several thorns festering in the relationship between blacks and Jews in this country."

Hayden said he found Tutu "critical of Israel" and "skeptical about an improvement," but "open to dialogue." At a follow-up meeting in New York, Tutu agreed in principle to meet with an Israeli representative in South Africa.

To get Israeli agreement, Hayden said, he approached a friend at the Los Angeles-based Center for Foreign Policy Options, described as a Jewish think tank.

Given the sensitivity of the situation, the Israeli government has kept its official distance from the project. But sources said that a key Peres political adviser, Nimrod Novik, took up the cause. Novik and Zelniker were members of the transition team that drafted key position papers for Peres in the summer of 1984, just before he took office as head of an Israeli coalition government made up of Peres' Labor Party and the right-wing Likud Bloc.

Hayden said he also discussed the subject of closer Israeli ties with South African blacks at meetings here last November with Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Likud's leader.

What came out of those early discussions—and follow-up work by a South African Jewish industrialist and an Israeli activist on Soviet Jewry living temporarily in Johannesburg—was Zelniker's trip to South Africa last June.

At that meeting it was made clear that the black leaders were looking for concrete action and not just dialogue, Zelniker said. "I told them, 'Look, I am not here in the belief that I can change (Israeli government) policy,'" he said. But he was authorized by Histadrut to offer training at the Afro-Asian Institute.

Over the last 15 years, the institute has given technical and leadership training to about 15,000 people, including 8,000 from black

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# U.S. Firms Toughen Stance Against S. Africa's Apartheid

## While Many Shift Strategy, Others Pull Out

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG — Robert White won a very small skirmish in a very large war last week when the city council of Port Elizabeth voted to desegregate its beaches.

The managing director of General Motors' South African subsidiary there had fired off an angry letter to the editor last month questioning the council's courage and integrity for, in his eyes, ducking the issue. He called the Jim Crow beach law "abhorrent" and its enforcement "incredulous."

White went a step further and pledged legal and financial support to any of his black employees who might decide to break the law by stepping onto the wrong sand.

His statement set off fireworks in the white establishment here, which accused GM of encouraging civil disobedience. Soldiers patrolled the beaches on the following weekend to keep blacks out, while a Cabinet minister told GM to "keep its nose out of South Africa's business" and a far right lawmaker called for a consumer boycott.

But last week the council caved in, spurred by White's letter and by a strong lobbying campaign from local business leaders.

In a country where blacks cannot vote in national elections and where schools and housing remain segregated, GM's stance on the beach issue symbolized a new mood and a new strategy among many of the 300 American companies doing business in South Africa.

Many companies, beset by the rising militancy of the black majority here, by proponents of disinvestment in the United States and by a faltering South African economy, are seeking new justifications for remaining here and are speaking out more loudly and often against the apartheid system.

"It seems quite clear to me that business is going to have to take a far more active role in pushing for change," said White. "Our involvement in politics has to move to another level, and we're all in a position of groping for an effective way of doing that."

In recent months, Citibank and Coca-Cola have announced new programs to support black economic development and education, while

the American Chamber of Commerce here and other business groups have made strong public statements criticizing the white-minority government on such issues as segregated schools and allegations of police brutality.

The efforts seem intended to demonstrate that big business and apartheid do not mix and that American corporations are committed to the system's peaceful but rapid demise.

Until recently that would have been a tough thesis to prove. South Africa was a relatively small, tranquil but lucrative outpost for American companies. Kenneth Mason, executive director of the American chamber here, cites Commerce Department figures indicating that the rate of return on investment was 15 percent in 1983, compared with 10 percent in the United States. "There has always been a strong profit motive in doing business in South Africa," he said.

But profits have been drained in recent years by a lingering recession whose impact has been compounded by two years of racial violence. Art Tregenza, a spokesman for General Motors, noting the general decline in South Africa's car industry, conceded that "for the past few years, we haven't done well, and it raises a question: how long does a company like GM continue to participate in a market if there's no return?"

The steep decline in profits has been more than matched by a plunge in the confidence of businesses in the country's white rulers. Just a few years ago, many businessmen were optimistic that the government's self-proclaimed "reforms" would ultimately meet black aspirations and maintain political stability. But the government's inability to cope with the violence, which has now claimed more than 1,300 lives, has led some businessmen to conclude that Pretoria is leading South Africa toward disaster.

"Time is very definitely running out," said David English, managing director of the South African branch of Rank Xerox, a British corporation that is 51 percent owned by Xerox of America. "A lot of people are thinking of pulling the rug

out for commercial and political reasons. They're frankly running out of patience with this government."

For some time has already run out. About 20 American companies pulled out of South Africa last year, according to the American chamber, and perhaps five more are in the process of leaving. Others are said to be quietly withdrawing their assets through a variety of backdoor methods, while many American banks have suspended further loans.

"We're seeing movement mostly among companies that are marginal," said Lionel Grewan, a Citibank vice president. "But the big giants—the IBMs, the Citibanks—plan to stay."

Since 1978, their showcase has been the Sullivan Principles, a code of business conduct proposed by the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia that commits 186 signatory companies to full integration of work facilities, pay scales and employment opportunities, as well as training programs and community development.

One indication of growing corporate concern is that the number of signatories increased 50 percent last year. Since January, under the executive order signed by President Reagan last year, all American companies with more than 25 employees here have been forced to comply with a Sullivan-based code or else be barred from government export assistance.

The code has been credited with improving the economic status of the 40,000 black employees who work for participating companies and with creating little islands of racial equity. But the signatories employ less than 1 percent of this country's work force.

A recent report by a political scientist and an economist at the University of Durban concluded that the code has had little or no impact here other than in creating "a small worker elite as a very expensive public relations exercise."

Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, last year's Nobel peace laureate, said it is "humbog" for American firms to argue that they are a progressive force for change here. At best, Sullivan has an ameliorative impact on apartheid, said Tutu. "But we don't want our chains made more comfortable. We want them

removed."

Stung by such criticism, the Sullivan signatories have pledged to move outside company walls and take a more active role in promoting fundamental social change. But success has been limited.

A prime example has been in education, where 12 signatories set up a task group in 1983 and, advised by black teachers' organizations, devised a plan to upgrade teachers' skills. It was the kind of nuts-and-bolts program that they believed would go to the heart of a major social and political problem. But it has drawn little support from American corporations.

Only about two dozen have contributed to the programs, according to task force chairman Patrick O'Malley, public affairs officer at Mobil Oil in Cape Town, who added, "Obviously we would like to expand."

One involved businessman, speaking not for attribution, explained the problem this way: "The companies back home have no problem with this kind of program. But most of the guys here are only interested in warmhearted gestures that improve their corporate image with blacks or alleviate shareholder pressure in the U.S. They're not interested in collective programs because they have no individual PR value."

O'Malley's group has also had trouble making impact on the government. Late last year, all of the Sullivan signatories sent a telex to President Pieter W. Botha urging that he intervene personally in the country's education crisis to allow boycotting students to reschedule their final exams. Botha reportedly responded angrily to what he saw as an unwarranted and overly publicized intrusion into domestic politics.

Gerrit Viljoen, the Cabinet minister in charge of black education, dismissed the telex and a follow-up report from the task group, saying in an interview that "in fact, everything they've called for has already been done for almost a year."

Angering the South African government is a secondary consideration for many companies: these days. White, of GM, noted that he

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# S. Africans Seek Shift On Schools

## Black Activists Call For End of Boycott, Takeover of System

By Allister Sparks

DURBAN, South Africa, March 30—South Africa's major black activist movements opted for a change of strategy today, urging students not to resume a boycott of classrooms but to attend school and try to seize control of the educational system.

Organizers of a conference here this weekend described the decision as an advance from mere opposition to the white-minority government's apartheid policies to a phase of "becoming actively engaged in formulating our own alternatives," in the words of one spokesman.

The spokesman added that the main thrust of black activism would now be work stoppages and rent and consumer boycotts, while the schools, empty throughout most of last year, would become "centers of strategic planning and organizational development."

More than 1,500 delegates from organizations of students, teachers, parents and communities, as well as all the major black labor unions, attended the conference, which was one of the most widely representative black gatherings ever held in South Africa.

Two dates for national work stoppages were named—May 1, the 100th anniversary of the international workers' day, which was declared a "public holiday," and June 16-18, to mark the 10th anniversary of a major uprising in Johannesburg's Soweto township.

The conference also termed the Reagan administration "an accomplice in the crimes of apartheid" and called on the American people not to support its policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria or its aid to rebels in Angola. Another resolution called for increased western pressure on the Pretoria government through the withdrawal of investments and the denial of landing rights to the national airline.

The attempt at a display of African nationalist solidarity was diminished by the activity of black-consciousness organizations called the National Forum, which was

holding a conference in Durban at the same time. The forum charged that the educational conference was dominated by the rival United Democratic Front, a much larger alliance committed to the principle of "nonracialism."

Bitter factionalism that divides black South Africans was evident in the streets even as the educational conference got under way. Members of the Inkatha movement, a Zulu group led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, clashed during the weekend here with rival political movements, and two persons were killed yesterday.

The conferees today formally declared the Zulu-based movement, which some whites see as a moderate alternative to African nationalism, to be an "enemy of the people" operating in league with the government.

Although Buthelezi was once a member of the African National Congress, which the United Democratic Front supports, and although he regularly calls for the release of the congress' imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, relations between the two sides have degenerated into often violent conflict.

The nationalists denounce Buthelezi as a "collaborator" because he heads a tribal administration within the apartheid system. It is a charge that the chief, who claims to be a more effective campaigner against apartheid than they are, strongly resents.

The decision to hold the education conference in this Indian Ocean port city was in itself a challenge to Buthelezi, whose Zulu tribe is dominant here, and it brought the conflict to a head.

Originally the conference was to have been at Durban's Natal University, but when the office of a sociology professor who had worked for Inkatha was firebombed 10 days ago, the university authorities withdrew their invitation. Other institutions also shied away as groups of Zulus armed with sticks and spears launched several attacks on delegates as they began arriving Friday.

Yesterday, two busloads of

armed Zulus—confirmed by police to have been Inkatha members—arrived at a community hall in an outlying white suburb that was being used as a temporary venue for registering conference delegates.

They stormed the hall, but this time some of the student militants were ready for them. They had stockpiled stones, automobile tires and gasoline plus, it seems, at least one pistol.

While terrified whites looked on from behind their high garden walls, a battle raged in the suburban street. One of the attackers was shot to death and another killed in a "necklace" execution, burned to death with a gasoline-filled tire around his body. Several more were injured, and at least six of the delegates were hospitalized.

To avoid further disruptions, the conference organizers kept secret their final venue—a school in an Asian township several miles outside the city—until the last moment, then continued debating through the night, finishing at 5 a.m. today.

Most of the conference was closed to the media, and the decisions were announced at a press conference this morning.

A forerunner of this meeting took place last December, when black parents, anxious about the effects a yearlong school boycott was having on a whole generation of students turned street fighters, formed a "crisis committee" to try to persuade the students to return to school for the 1986 academic year, which began in January.

The December conference produced a pact, in which the students agreed to return to school provided a list of demands put to the government were met by March 31, while the adult organizations, including labor unions, undertook to support a resumed boycott with a nationwide campaign of strikes and protest demonstrations if the demands were not met.

This conference was called to as-

sess the situation as the deadline was reached. Although the focus was on schooling, it was seen as an occasion for the resistance movements to reassess their overall strategy.

The conference decided last night that the demands, which included a lifting of the seven-month state of emergency that President Pieter W. Botha ended three weeks ago, had been "inadequately met" and that "the situation has been exacerbated by the government's intransigent attitude."

Nonetheless, it was decided that instead of resuming the boycott, students should return to school when the new semester begins Wednesday and that they should try, with their teachers, to seize control of the educational system and change it into what is described as "people's education."

A committee was formed to define that concept more precisely, but it appears to mean the inclusion of subjects designed to awaken black self-awareness and redress what is regarded as a "white capitalist" slant on what is taught. Above all it means that blacks themselves, not their white overlords, should devise the system.

Vusi Khanyile, a spokesman for the conference committee, said it was also felt that students were better able to organize and plan campaign strategies while they were together in school than when scattered during a boycott.

In the keynote address last night, Zwelakhe Sisulu, 32, son of jailed former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, warned blacks that the overthrow of apartheid was not yet imminent but that a critical moment had been reached in which "decisive action can propel the struggle into a new phase."

Sisulu said the resistance movements had succeeded in their first objective of rendering many black townships "ungovernable."



## S. Africa's blacks pull back, but vow to step up protest

Rifts in their community bring search for new strategy

By Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

A two-month countdown to a showdown — in the form of a general strike in mid-June — has begun.

This seems to be the consensus emerging from a weekend of black debate over how to seek an end to white-minority rule and race discrimination in South Africa. The conclusion of two meetings over the weekend, which were marred by black violence against blacks, has spotlighted deep political rifts within the black community.

There seems little doubt that the political violence that has plagued South Africa for 20 months will continue between now and June. Since March 7, when the government lifted the emergency decree, at least 115 people have died in what has been the highest casualty rate of violence since the decree was issued last summer.

Still, a national conference Sunday on black education came out against reimposing a nationwide school boycott — despite pressure from radical students who feel the boycott's demands have been far from satisfied.

A government spokesman welcomed the decision, as a vote for peace.

The education conference, held in Durban, came amid action from black rivals on both right and left. Vigilantes loyal to conservative Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — by police accounts — clashed with the arriving delegates. Two people were killed, more than a dozen injured. As a result, the conference organizers cut the planned two-day meeting, holding a single marathon session from Saturday evening until daybreak.

Leftist delegates from the "black consciousness" movement, the National Forum, held a strategy conference of their own in Durban over the weekend — rejecting political cooperation with whites.

Chief Buthelezi hopes to take the first step toward a regional power-sharing arrangement with the white government of neighboring Natal at a conference, also in Durban, that opens later this week.

Yet even the KwaZulu leader has been leery of taking up South African President Pieter W. Botha's call for consultation on a program of peaceful race-policy reform.

President Botha has said he plans to introduce specific reform legislation before Parliament adjourns in early summer — including a move to scrap "pass laws" that determine which blacks can live and work in and around white urban areas of the country.

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## South Africa: Vigilantes' New Violence Terror Gangs in Townships

By Eric Marsden

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's state of emergency ended officially three weeks ago but the terror in some black townships and in homeland areas is escalating—as is the death toll.

The partial withdrawal of security forces has led to an increase in the sinister activities of shadowy gangs of "vigilantes." They are mostly local, uncoordinated, but they do have a common aim: breaking the hold of left-wing radicals in the townships.

The left has its own terror gangs—youths who hold kangaroo courts and hack to death or burn suspected "collaborators"—though they represent only a fraction of the young radicals in the former emergency areas; a majority of the others play a positive role in their communities.

The right-wing vigilantes, mostly older men, are equally brutal and have even less excuse for mindless killing. Many are in the pay of black councilors or homeland officials.

There have been recent isolated cases of white vigilantes. In Krugersdorp, an industrial town west of Johannesburg, three Afrikaners await trial on a charge of burning a black man to death; they are believed to be the first whites accused of this horrific manner of murder.

Other whites in Krugersdorp have been arrested, accused of taking potshots at blacks from moving cars. The town is a stronghold of the Afrikaner resistance movement, with its own organized nighttime security patrols. But the movement's leader, Eugene Terre Blanche, denies that his members have any connection with the killing or attacks on blacks, claiming they have appalled him.

A human rights lawyer, Nicholas Hayson, who wrote "Mabangalala" a new book creating considerable controversy in South African political circles, makes the startling allegation that local officials, and in some cases police, are actively or passively supporting right-wing black vigilantes, leaving them free to operate against their enemies. The police have flatly rejected the charge.

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## South Africa Black Aim: Local Power

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, March 31 — After 19 months of violence that has claimed around 1,400 lives, some of South Africa's black activists say they are seeking to complement their campaign against white rule with alternatives to official control at the local level.

The strategy does not imply expectations of an immediate black takeover of the Government, but seems focused more on creating activist bodies to replace white, official control of black schools and towns.

In townships in the restive Eastern Cape, for instance, the activists say, the violent destruction of Government-sponsored black community councils has been followed by the creation of what are called "people's committees" charged with running the affairs of separate streets and areas and with spreading a radical political message.

The committees, run by militant blacks, seem still to be shadowy organizations, but they fit a pattern.

### Making Townships Ungovernable

Last year, the outlawed African National Congress, the most prominent of the organizations seeking the overthrow of apartheid, urged black activists to deny the Government control of black townships by making them ungovernable—a strategy that emerged only after some townships had become anarchic of their own accord.

Ungovernability of the townships, nonetheless, became a goal for many activists locked in daily confrontation with the police and the army.

The tactic now, growing from the townships themselves rather than from exiled ideologues, South African political analysts say, seems to be to seek to replace the authorities' writ with that of the protesters themselves.

Thus, a conference in Durban last weekend, which urged rebellious students to return to their classes, suggested that black protest in South Africa should henceforth challenge the authorities by setting up alternative centers of township power.

"In a situation of ungovernability, the Government does not have control, but nor do the people," said Zwelake Sisulu, the activist son of the jailed nationalist Walter Sisulu, in what was called the keynote address to the Durban conference.

"In a situation of people's power, the people are starting to exercise control," he said, referring to street committees in areas like the Eastern Cape.

The conference in Durban grouped scholars, parents and teachers under the auspices of the National Education Crisis Committee, a body of black parents and political activists that is acknowledged as a negotiating partner by the white authorities and that seeks to

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## Sudan Urged To Review Libyan Ties

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department said yesterday that Sudan had been "most unwise" in accepting military help from Libya to combat rebels in southern Sudan, and it urged the Sudanese government to reconsider its involvement with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi.

In response to a request this month from Sudanese Prime Minister Gizzuli Daffa-Allah, Libya has provided arms and planes to bomb strongholds of the rebels, who are trying—with help from neighboring Ethiopia's Marxist government—to break Khartoum's rule over the southern Sudan.

Reports of the deepening Libyan involvement in Sudan, a country regarded as important to U.S. interests in the Middle East and Africa, follow this week's clash between a U.S. naval task force and Libyan forces in the Gulf of Sidra.

The United States, which has denounced Qaddafi as a major supporter of international terrorism, has shown increasing concern over the Sudanese government's pursuit of closer ties with Tripoli. Daffa-Allah made his request for help against the rebels while in Tripoli to negotiate a military aid agreement.

"We believe [Sudan] was most unwise to have permitted the Libyans to become involved militarily," department spokesman Charles Redman said. "The presence of the Libyans and their bombing raids in the south will generate more southern support for the rebels."

Redman said Libyans were "for several years major arms suppliers to the southern dissidents" and added: "The bombing raids they are now conducting on their former associates should have a message for those who rely on the Libyans for support."

Over the past year, the United States has given Sudan about \$50 million in emergency aid to relieve famine conditions but has held up another \$100 million because of Khartoum's failure to meet financial austerity requirements.

Redman, referring to a new government due to take power after

## Libya Expanding Its Role in Sudan

### *Qaddafi Sends Planes to Aid Khartoum Against Rebels*

By Blaine Harden  
Washington Post Foreign Service

NAIROBI, Kenya, March 27—While confronting the United States off Libya's northern coast, Muammar Qaddafi has been maneuvering farther south to strengthen his military and political influence in Sudan, a country regarded as vital to U.S. interests in the Middle East.

The Sudanese government, the primary recipient of U.S. economic and military assistance in sub-Saharan Africa, earlier this month formally requested that Libya provide arms to help it fight rebels in the south of the country. The request was made by Sudanese Prime Minister Gizzuli Daffa-Allah, who traveled to Tripoli with his defense and foreign ministers to negotiate a military aid agreement.

As part of that agreement, two Libyan bombers reportedly have been used in air attacks against the rebel-held towns of Rumbek and Yirol in southern Sudan. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which controls much of the southern countryside, seized Yirol in January and Rumbek early in March and has threatened to mount a major offensive against the government.

Western diplomats in Khartoum said that the two Soviet-made Tupolev 22 bombers are on loan from Libya and are based north of the city. The bombers are the same type that the French government said was used by Libya in the bombing last month of the airport in Ndjamen, the capital of Chad.

[In Washington, U.S. officials said the bombings apparently were intended as a prelude to a government counteroffensive against the rebel forces. According to unconfirmed reports from southern Sudan, government forces have been massing near Wau, a town about 150 miles northwest of Rumbek.

[On Tuesday, the officials said, Sudan complained that neighboring Ethiopia, which supports the rebels, was violating its airspace by resupplying the rebel forces at Yirol, 50

April elections, said the United States hopes it "will weigh carefully the implications of its predecessor's request for Libyan assistance."

miles east of Rumbek.]

On the political front, a Sudanese-Libyan joint statement issued March 14, on Daffa-Allah's return from Tripoli, aligned Sudan with Libya's "legitimate defense" of its "sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra." U.S. officials said that the Sudanese Cabinet reiterated its support of Qaddafi's claim to sovereignty over the gulf in Khartoum yesterday.

Senior western diplomats in Khartoum said in recent interviews that Libya has given major financial support to all the presidential candidates in next week's national elections. Last weekend, Sadiq Mahdi, who is seen by western observers as the leading candidate in the election, reportedly was in Tripoli for a meeting with Qaddafi.

In addition, diplomats in Khartoum said that in the past year scores of senior officials in the Sudanese government have been taken on VIP tours of Tripoli, where they were entertained in luxury hotels and guest houses. The Libyan government also has hired between 3,000 and 4,000 Sudanese nationals, ranging from former state security officials to teachers to cooks, and brought them to work in Libya, diplomats said.

Growing Libyan involvement during the past month in Sudanese military and political affairs comes after a yearlong campaign by Qaddafi to increase his influence in a politically fragile country that the United States has long regarded as a key buffer for Egypt and Saudi Arabia against Libyan adventurism.

The Reagan administration has requested more military and economic aid again this year for Sudan, \$158 million, than for any other country in sub-Saharan Africa. In the past, U.S. military aid to Sudan—which totaled \$45 million in 1985—was intended to help the country defend itself from Libya.

The United States repeatedly has voiced concern over Sudan's new relationship with Qaddafi's government and last year warned Americans not to travel to Khartoum because of the danger of attack from Libyans who had come to the city.

The overthrow last April of president Jaafar Nimeri, a longtime enemy of Qaddafi, gave Libya its

opening in Sudan. Libya quickly ended support for the rebel army, which it had supported against Nimeri. Qaddafi made a surprise four-hour trip to Khartoum last May, and a Libyan "people's bureau," or embassy, staffed by about 200 Libyan nationals, soon opened in the city.

Early this month, hundreds of Sudanese continued to line up outside the embassy in hopes of getting jobs in Tripoli.

Libya also began funneling aid into war-torn, debt-hobbled Sudan. According to western sources, Libya recently gave 2.2 million barrels of fuel, enough to stave off a fuel shortage that would have interfered with next week's elections, which are to return the country to civilian rule after a year under a transitional military government.

In an attempt to influence Sudanese politics, Libya reportedly budgeted \$76 million to support Sudanese revolutionary committees that are supposed to promote the "Green Book" teachings of Qaddafi in Sudan. Western sources in Khartoum said the committees have recruited about 4,000 persons, most of them Sudanese exiles who returned last year from Libya after the coup.

The committees, however, have been plagued by violent internal conflicts. One of the senior leaders of the revolutionary committees, Abdullah Zakariya, who reportedly helped write the "Green Book," was kidnaped last year by rival committee members in a highly publicized intramural squabble that made the Libyans the subject of widespread derision in Khartoum.

Sudanese officials privately have criticized the Libyan-backed committees as heavy-handed interference in Sudan's internal affairs. Several committee leaders reportedly have been deported to Libya.

"The Libyans have squandered some of their opportunities for influence here," said a senior western diplomat. "Many of the members of the revolutionary committees behaved like juvenile delinquents."

Diplomats said, however, that the Khartoum government's need for arms in fighting the rebels, who control nearly a third of the country, is likely to ensure continuing Libyan influence in Sudan.



# When Ideology Is King

America's political genius has been pragmatism. We are not burdened as a people by the ideological formulas imprinted on the memory of, say, the French or the Irish. Our great political leaders — a Lincoln or a Franklin Roosevelt — have adapted to critical circumstances without regard to ideology.

The second Reagan Administration is an extraordinary departure from that practical condition. Ideology is king in the White House today. Its imperatives override common sense, experience, even legal judgment.

The supreme expression of ideology is the Reagan Doctrine. It is described as a commitment to fight for democracy everywhere, but in practice it is a crusade against left-wing governments in the third world. The doctrine requires U.S. support of armed attacks on those governments. And the crusade

based in nationalism and religion, has enormous popular support.

In Angola the crucial reality is the power of nearby South Africa. When Portugal gave up Angola in 1975, South Africa invaded to try to install one of several contending local groups — Unita — as the government. Another group sought Cuban support and won.

Over the last decade South African planes and ground troops have entered Angola again and again. South Africa has armed the Savimbi forces and supplied them.

In short, the Angolan situation is not a simple case of resistance to an external invasion by Communist forces. The United States is understandably concerned about the presence of some 30,000 Cuban troops in the country. But U.S. military intervention is more likely to make them stay than to leave

— and it will almost certainly damage American interests in other ways.

The problem is the South African connection. For the United States to join South Africa as military supplier to one side in the Angolan war is to tie us to the most hated country in the region. It is to create the perception of an alliance with apartheid.

The ideologues who have pushed for U.S. military aid to Unita have reluctantly granted that there may be unfortunate consequences in a link to South Africa. Hence the Reagan Administration is reportedly sending the Stinger missiles to Mr. Savimbi by way of Zaire, which borders on northeastern Angola, rather than through South Africa.

The notion that using Zaire as a conduit will keep the Stinger operation free of any South African taint is a wonderful example of how ideology can overwhelm reason. For the Savimbi forces are trained, led and

supported by South Africans, and it may even be South Africans who fire the Stingers. Sending them in through Zaire will convince exactly no one that the United States, in this intervention, is unconnected to South Africa.

Zaire presents other difficulties. Its ruler, Mobutu Sese Seko, is the Ferdinand Marcos of Africa: a corrupt tyrant with millions salted away in foreign banks. His stability is always at risk, and this operation may increase the risk.

The net results of U.S. military aid to Unita, then, are likely to be increased antagonism to the United States in the region and increased instability. And the Angolan Government may well turn away from its undertaking to send the Cubans home if and when South Africa stops its invasions and withdraws from neighboring Namibia.

Or consider a smaller, but still telling, example of ideology's grip on Washington today. That is the Reagan Administration's legal argument that Nicaragua has no right to pursue across the Honduran border the "contra" forces that find sanctuary there after raiding Nicaragua.

The United States has long supported the right of nations to pursue attackers across borders, as part of international law's right of self-defense. But now it has said that Nicaragua is "an aggressor state," and hence has no right to defend itself. It must just sit there and take the contras' terrorist attacks.

That legal "reasoning" comes from, the Legal Adviser to the State Department, Abraham D. Sofaer, a learned former judge who knows better. Thus does ideology override precedent, wisdom and self-interest. □

## Reagan is breaking a U.S. tradition

must go on regardless of local circumstances, regardless of realities.

Thus the Administration in recent days has begun supplying Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to mujahedeen rebels in Afghanistan and to Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas in Angola. The Reagan Doctrine, driven by anti-Communist ideology, treats both situations as the same. In fact, they are different in nature — and in the likely consequences of U.S. intervention.

Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet Union. Large numbers of Soviet troops occupy the country. Resistance,

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Rejoin Negotiations, Angolan Urges U.N.

APRIL 3, 1986

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Angolan government has sent a letter to the United Nations calling upon Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to resume his negotiations in southern Africa and effectively ending the primary mediation role the United States has played there during the past five years.

The letter from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, dated March 18, said Angola was "deeply outraged" by the Reagan administration's escalating military support for Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, which he said had "jeopardized its credibility as a mediator."

Dos Santos also charged that the United States had not fulfilled the terms of a secret and previously unpublicized document, which he called "the Mindelo Act." He said the document was signed by "leaders" of the Angolan and U.S. governments in January 1984, and provided for "the cessation of acts of aggression against Angola and support" for Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Dos Santos reminded Perez de Cuellar in his letter that the United Nations had held the initial responsibility for the implementation of a 1978 resolution providing for elections in South African-administered Namibia. The Marxist Angolan

leader called upon the United Nations to take "all necessary measures" now to implement it.

The Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, Paulo Figueiredo, confirmed that Angola was asking the United Nations to take over "the entire process" of negotiations over Namibia and said that "no way will the Angolan government accept the United States as negotiator in the process so long as it keeps on supporting UNITA."

At the start of the Reagan administration in 1981, the United States effectively took over from the United Nations and a group of five Western nations the delicate task of mediating between South Africa and Angola in an attempt to resolve

the intertwined issues of Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of an estimated 25,000 to 27,000 Cuban troops from Angola.

The Angolan decision now to revive the U.N. role thus represents a major setback to U.S. diplomacy in southern Africa. It raises doubts whether Washington, or anyone else, will be able to take advantage of the surprise South African offer on March 4 to begin implementation of the U.N. resolution on independence for Namibia Aug. 1, provided Angola agrees to a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

The administration recently dispatched Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Frank G. Wisner to south-

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# Stingers for Savimbi

MARCH 31, 1986

A secret decision to send Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jonas Savimbi's anticommunist rebels in Angola is a breakthrough for the Reagan Doctrine.

It marks the first time in the long history of U.S. clandestine operations that a president has decided that top-of-the-line American weapons, not foreign-made castoffs, can be used to advance U.S. interests. The Stinger is at the very top. The shoulder-fired weapon can penetrate titanium-protected cockpits of Soviet Mi-24 Hind helicopters, the gunships that control the battlefields of Angola as well as Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

The fact that previously skeptical Secretary of State George Shultz now is as enthusiastic about the Stinger as Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and CIA Director William Casey signals an end to prior restraints. That opens an important new chapter in the long struggle between the West and the Soviet Union where the ideological tide long has flowed for Moscow.

No other decision points up Reagan's heightened intent to bring to life his rhetoric that the West should be committed to widening democracy as the Kremlin is committed to the spread of communism. Just how seriously this is taken is shown by the secret dispatch of the director of Central Intelligence to Pretoria to make sure the white South Africa government is not connected to

covert U.S. help for Savimbi.

If the Stinger neutralizes the Mi-24 "flying tanks" in Angola, it almost surely will be sent to anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua once Congress finally approves Reagan's contra aid plan.

This represents a long path traveled by George Shultz, who started out skeptical about the whole idea of covert aid. When the secretary early in March journeyed up Pennsylvania Avenue for a crucial closed-door discussion of the aid program with Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and several other Republican senators, he had previously agreed to the principle of anti-aircraft and antitank weapons for Savimbi.

Now, Shultz insisted that whatever covert aid was given, it must guarantee "sustainability" for Savimbi's rebellion. That is, it would do no good to give the rebels weapons that did not prevent their annihilation by some 30,000 Cubans and their Soviet advisers.

In a scheduled 45-minute session, which lasted twice that long, the senators persuaded him that only Stingers would do that. They correctly argued that the most valuable part of the Mi-24 gunship is its Soviet-trained pilot, who would become vulnerable to the Stinger. Shultz agreed, and Reagan signed off on it.

But the president expressed special concern about what has always worried Shultz: the sub rosa alliance be-

tween South Africa and Savimbi. Reagan sought ways to insulate the U.S. aid program, particularly if sweetened with the potent Stinger, from any connection with the apartheid regime. He wanted South Africa, as one official told us, to be "hermetically sealed off" from any possible connection with the U.S. program.

That job, administration insiders told us, was accomplished by Casey himself. Although CIA officials never confirm or deny anything about their chief's travel schedule, it is known that Casey in mid-March spent several days in South Africa making Reagan's case.

Neither the Pretoria regime nor any South African nongovernment body will have any connection with the new U.S. program. No U.S. covert aid will flow to Savimbi across the border of South Africa or Pretoria-controlled Namibia, which separates South Africa from Angola. That makes Zaire, a longtime friend of the United States, the necessary gateway for new weapons into Savimbi-controlled eastern Angola.

It is far too soon to know whether the famed Stinger will prove effective in the African bush against the flying tanks. But if it pays off, the decision to break a 40-year ban on the use of top-grade American weapons in covert competition with the Soviets could be of historic importance in pumping life into the Reagan Doctrine.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH 30, 1986

## For Chadians, Small Loans Rebuild Hope

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

Special to The New York Times

NDJAMENA, Chad — Near where the one-lane asphalt bridge crosses the Shari River, Mariam Moutnon, like her father before her, runs a small drug dispensary for the people of the Chaguwa neighborhood.

"I've worked here since I was a child," Mrs. Moutnon said. "This is the only place in the neighborhood to get medicine."

As other small merchants here have also found, the last five years have not been easy. Fierce fighting in 1979 and 1980 gutted much of this town, and merchants everywhere closed their shops or, worse, saw them destroyed. Only in the last two years, with a semblance of peace returning to southern Chad, has economic activity slowly resumed.

Today, Mrs. Moutnon's dispensary is double the size of her father's. On neat wooden shelves, boxes and bottles of medicines are carefully arranged. There is a small white refrigerator in one corner for storing perishable vaccines. Her inventory is meticulously recorded in ledgers, and daily records are kept of sales — all of this a departure from the makeshift shopkeeping that is the rule here.

### Loans From an American

All this was possible, Mrs. Moutnon said, because of a loan.

Down the avenue a bit, a young American named Richard E. Slacum lends money to people like Mrs. Moutnon. In two years he has given loans to a knitter of baby clothes, several brick makers, the owner of a small metalworks, a man who makes sandwiches, a tailor and several farmers.

"We lend money to people who can't get credit," said Mr. Slacum, whose family is in the construction business in New Jersey. "We provide credit to the private sector, to entrepreneurs who can't get credit from banks or elsewhere. We give management assistance, teach them how to keep books and hope they make a profit."

The director of a small, nonprofit agency called Volunteers in Technical Assistance, Mr. Slacum has access to \$400,000 made available by the United States Agency for International Development. Mr. Slacum says he is hoping to stimulate the sort of business activity that can help Chad's moribund economy recover.

### 'Amazingly Resilient People'

"The Chadians are an amazingly resilient people," Mr. Slacum said. "As soon as the war was over, they came

back and started over. The risks involved in commerce aren't new here, but people are hanging in there. What we're trying to focus on is what Chad is trying to do, where there is some employment opportunity and where it is profitable to some extent."

So far, Mr. Slacum has made 68 loans, averaging about \$6,000. The loans are usually for two years and are to be repaid with 12 percent interest. "The commercial banks are reluctant to make loans and are unable to give management assistance," Mr. Slacum said. "And the person without credit would be nowhere."

Across the Shari River, Robert Yowai looked over 10 manicured plots of manioc, peppers and carrots separated by irrigation channels carved out of the clay by hand.

"During the war I went to Bol," Mr. Yowai said, referring to a small town to the north on Lake Chad. "After, I came back here to farm." When Mr. Slacum opened his loan office in August 1984, Mr. Yowai asked for a loan for a pump to bring water from the river to his fields.

The area "was just a sandpile," Mr. Slacum said. "There's no way a bank would give him a loan." Mr. Slacum said the carefully stacked bags of grain

*continued on pg. 13*



## Kenya's Fertile Curse

NAIROBI, Kenya

Kenya seems a cheery place these days. After years of economic malaise, luck is smiling again on this island of stability in East Africa. Thanks to drought in Brazil, Kenya's long-stagnant earnings from coffee exports have skyrocketed. Tourism, another important source of income, benefits from the success of "Out of Africa." To compound this good fortune, Kenya's bills for imported oil and debt service are falling. More foreign exchange will thus be available to create jobs and boost productivity.

But for all the good news, one great, sobering fact clouds the country's prospects: The average Kenyan woman bears eight children — the highest fertility rate in the world. As a result, Kenya's economy must grow 4 percent a year just to maintain the annual per capita income of \$400. And as Nairobi's Western-trained economic planners reluctantly admit, the time for reform is running out. Without revolutionary gains in population control in the next decade, the likelihood of Kenya ever joining the developed world is remote.

Kenya, like most poor countries, is

struggling to industrialize. But with

terrible transportation, a shortage of capital and an internal market half the size of Akron's, the going is bound to be tough. Kenya's real economic strength, and the only realistic hope for growth in the near future, lies in agriculture.

Though ecologically fragile, the rich, volcanic soil of the country's central highlands supports very intensive cultivation. Kenya's Kikuyu farmers have proved to be classic "penny capitalists," as committed to profit through innovation and resource management as California's average artichoke millionaire. Even Kenya's notorious tolerance for official corruption seems to serve this vital sector. Much of the wealth skimmed by politicians has been plowed into farmland, creating a powerful lobby for continuing public support for agriculture.

Farm output can be doubled by the end of the century, planners figure, without heavy investment in irrigation. This would permit annual

growth of about 5 percent, enough to keep incomes rising and perhaps create the surplus needed to begin serious industrialization. But after that, returns will diminish sharply in agriculture. And unless fertility rates are cut in half, the burden of keeping bellies full will probably overwhelm the development effort.

The odds, alas, are long. Male-dominated tribal cultures count children as wealth. Their views are reinforced by Roman Catholic missionaries, who provide much of the schooling and health care in the poorest areas, and bitterly oppose family planning. The Government has only recently begun to challenge this received wisdom. Just one Kenyan in eight practices birth control.

The only thing outsiders can do is offer money and technical assistance. America, succumbing to domestic fundamentalists, isn't even doing much of that. Someday, perhaps, we will accept our responsibility to help these gentle, generous people achieve a decent living standard. Someday better be soon.

## The Washington Times

MARCH 31, 1986

## Some congressmen move to halt arms to Savimbi

By Thomas D. Brandt  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As American weapons begin filtering into the Angolan bush country to bolster Jonas Savimbi's rebels against the Marxist government's latest offensive, plans are evolving on Capitol Hill for a floor fight to stop the U.S. aid program.

The upcoming squabble parallels the recent fight in the halls of Congress over \$100 million in aid to the Contras trying to depose the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

In both cases, the Democrat-controlled House holds the linchpin vote on the Reagan doctrine of providing arms to anti-communist insurgencies.

"I don't think there's a chance in the world that we will approve any kind of military aid," said one House specialist working on the Angolan aid proposal.

The debate over military aid for the Angolan rebels will take place after the House resumes debate on the Senate's version of the aid package for the Nicaraguan resistance. A vote on Contra aid is scheduled for April 15.

Rep. Lee Hamilton, Indiana

Democrat and chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, has

drafted a bill that would allow aid to Mr. Savimbi's forces "only if the provision of that support is the openly acknowledged policy of the United States."

A joint congressional resolution to that effect is now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. Hamilton's measure faces Senate opposition from Majority Leader Robert Dole, Kansas Republican, and Sen. Richard Lugar, Indiana Republican and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Under Senate rules, however, they cannot block an effort by Democrats to offer the proposal as an amendment to legislation pending on the Senate floor — probably after it passes the House.

After Mr. Savimbi's high-profile, 10-day visit to Washington in February, Mr. Dole sponsored a resolution of support for aid to UNITA, Mr. Savimbi's National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola. But the measure died because supporters could not muster enough votes to pull it out of Mr. Lugar's Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Dole and several colleagues have sent Mr. Reagan an artfully

worded letter intended to lend the administration political support for aid to UNITA.

Despite concerns from Mr. Hamilton and the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Reagan administration is thought to have taken the highly unusual step of proceeding with covert aid for the Angolan rebels.

Since the administration's Angolan aid program of \$10 million to \$15 million is covert, no approval of Congress is required. No details are available about what type of hardware is being offered to Mr. Savimbi's rebel forces.

Prohibited by House rules from publicizing classified committee business or details of the covert aid program, Mr. Hamilton decided to introduce a generally worded bill that would allow only open aid to Angola.

One House source said the parallel between Nicaragua and Angola aid won't be played out and members' votes on aid in one region won't indicate support — or opposition — to aid in the other. The wild card for the Angola aid package is the apartheid government of South Africa.

*continued on pg. 13*



# Mozambique leader moves to give ruling party more power

By Sam Levy

The rebel Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) movement has grown from being a minor irritant to the central government in the Manica and Tete provinces to a significant threat throughout the country.

In response to this, and in order to give top officials of the Marxist-oriented ruling party complete control in running the country, President Samora Machel has given sweeping powers to three of his top aides. The changes are also considered to be an effort to tackle Mozambique's worsening economic situation.

Shortly before President Machel arrived in the Soviet Union on Sunday, the government announced changes that will leave virtually every aspect of Mozambican society in the hands of three men.

Mario Machungo and Armando Guebuza have been made new party economic chiefs, with the responsibility of 11 ministries and three state secretariats between them. The ruling party's ideological secretary, Jorge Rebelo, has been handed the social welfare ministries.

The most significant change, however, is the recall of Army General Alberto Chipande to take charge of the war against the South Africa-backed Renamo. Chipande, defense minister from 1975 to 1983, and a Mozambican folk hero, was sent back to his home province when Machel took over at the helm of defense. Since then, the conflict with the rebel forces has clearly worsened and is draining Mozambique's economy.

Civilian dissatisfaction with draft dodging, Army desertions, and the government's methods of dealing with a struggling economy are all helping the Renamo insurgency to lengthen its roster and increase its activity.

The rebels, who have been fighting the Marxist government since Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1975, have recaptured their base at Cavalo. That site is only seven and a half miles from their former headquarters at Mt. Gorongosa, which was captured by government troops last August. The rebels also took a key area near Manianje (220 miles north of Maputo) in early March.

Observers have been surprised by the level of rebel activity in the north and central regions. There, government troops are supplemented by up to 15,000 allied Zimbabwean and Tanzanian soldiers, who are better trained and supplied than the Mozambicans. Almost one-third of Zimbabwe's Army is deployed in Mozambique.

Renamo's recent success has been such that in February one government military spokesman remarked that, in central Mozambique, the resistance travels in "groups of 1,000 or more."

Western diplomats and Mozambique's ruling party, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo), often dismiss the right-wing Renamo guerrilla movement as having been created by white-ruled Rhodesia (now black-ruled Zimbabwe) and directed by South Africa.

Renamo's Pretoria-directed mission, they charge, is to

keep Mozambique weak and dependent by wrecking the country's economy and making it ungovernable. To back their charges, they point to Renamo's choice of targets for sabotage: factories, highways, and railroad lines.

The disruption in Mozambique's economy affects neighboring Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi as well. These landlocked countries depend on Mozambique's increasingly fragile port and railroad system to carry exports and imports. When these systems are disrupted, they must use more expensive South African facilities — risking political strong-arming by Pretoria.

Although Renamo's military wing was organized by what was then the Rhodesian Central Intelligence and has enjoyed massive support from South Africa, its origins and growth cannot be attributed solely to the governments of those two countries, say many analysts.

Some of Renamo's leadership is made up of dissidents from the Frelimo Party. Even before independence from Portugal, internal politics in Frelimo drove out some non-Marxist nationalists unhappy with the liberation movement's increasingly radical program.

After independence, Frelimo policies such as communal labor and nationalization of the economy provoked more dissent. The rebels' first military commander, André Matsangaisse, and his successor, Afonso Dhlakama, both fought for independence on Frelimo's side.

Renamo was supported by the former regime in Rhodesia. But white-minority-ruled Rhodesia became black-majority-ruled Zimbabwe in 1980 and the Mozambique rebels lost the bases they had been using in that country and turned to South Africa for support.

Since then, rebel numbers and the frequency of attacks have increased. More recently, drought and state economic mismanagement have helped the guerrillas recruit in rural areas.

Some government troops' aversion to combat has seriously harmed Maputo's efforts to regain control of rural areas. Morale is low because soldiers are often poorly fed and ill-equipped. These poor conditions spawn rampant draft dodging.

The US has made clear its support for the Mozambique government, and its reservations about the rebel's legitimacy. The Reagan administration, however, has been unable to overcome congressional opposition to giving arms to an avowedly Marxist-Leninist government, and the Mozambican President's visit to Washington last September didn't tip the balance in his regime's favor.

Machel's trip to Moscow could be a sign that Frelimo has lost all hope that it will receive any US military assistance that would allow it to reduce the country's dependence on Soviet arms.



# Breezes of social change sweep slowly through Senegal

By Kristin Helmore

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dakar, Senegal

Dakar, on the westernmost tip of Africa, is a city swept by ocean breezes. The voluminous, jewel-colored robes of its women swirl and billow in the warm, soft wind. The Senegalese have innate grace and elegance. All the women look regal. They glide proudly, straight-backed, their heads supporting large turbans of wound and piled cloth.

Yet the majestic bearing of *les Sénégalaises* is a paradox. In general, these women gain respect only in old age, and only if they are the mothers of many children, particularly sons. Hence, on average, they bear at least seven children. They are often married by age 16, and their husbands usually have more than one wife.

But Marie-Angélique Savané is a distinct exception to the rules of traditional Senegalese womanhood. Her marriage is monogamous. "One thing I was sure of was that I would never accept a husband who had other wives. I never could imagine that," she says flatly. She has only two children, and her time and energies are occupied as much by career as by family.

Savané is a Catholic in a country 80 percent Muslim and got her education in a school geared to Europeans. Now, she's a member of the urban elite — known in Senegal as *les intellectuels*. A sociologist and author, she is president of AAWORD, the Association of African Women for Research and Development. During the 1970s she founded and edited the African magazine *Family and Development*. She is currently employed by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, and has completed a study on the impact of socioeconomic change on the women of rural Senegal.

In her comfortable, stylish, distinctly African home, Madame Savané serves a traditionally generous lunch of *thieboudienne* — a huge communal dish of couscous loaded with meats, vegetables, and spices. During the interview that follows, she talks about herself, about the realities of life for Senegalese women today, and about the changes she sees just over the horizon.

## Do the teachings of Islam have much impact on women here?

Of course. Women's entire lives are controlled by these teachings. That's why they marry young. That's why they want to have children as soon as they get married. One of the criticisms one could make of the Islamic fundamentalist groups is their attitude toward women. They are against the emancipation of women. I think that's one of the reasons why women will understand more and more that they will reap no benefits from fundamentalism.

## Do many women even have a chance to make their feelings known?

No. Women are so vulnerable when it comes to motherhood. Not many are going to dare run the risk of saying, "I want very few children, I want a professional life." Men want many children and women must prove that they can have many children in order to gain status.

In our society if a woman says, "I want a successful career instead of having children," it's not accepted. It's a scandal. "What? You can't! Motherhood is everything. A profession is nothing. You should drop it. You can live without a profession, but your children. . . ." That's why it's hard. But I think that more and more women will realize that there is no alternative — that they want to express themselves in another way.

## Well, do Senegalese women have any say about polygamy, for instance?

[When they marry] people have to choose, are we going to be monogamous or polygamous? In theory, the law requires both spouses to agree to polygamy. But in practice [the authorities] only ask men their opinion. They don't ask the women.

## Women would never agree if they were asked?

No, of course not. But women are afraid to upset things, especially when the whole marriage has been planned, everything is arranged. We are a society where marriage is very important for a woman. A woman only exists when she is married, when she is a mother. If she isn't married, she has no rights. So every woman wants to do everything possible to get married. The race to get married is incredible. A girl of 20 who doesn't have anyone yet, she thinks, what's happening to me? She's ready to do anything to get married.

## Do African women have any autonomy?

I think that they have a great deal of autonomy. A woman here can control what belongs to her, her money. For example, if she is in trade, if she makes and sells something, it's her money.

Here there is a kind of veneration for motherhood and for elderly women. So a woman says, OK, I may have problems in my life, but if I have children, when I get old, I will be honored, I will be respected. I think these are the conditions which have meant that African women haven't felt slighted. They haven't been made to feel as if they didn't exist. They had a role to play in society which was recognized, accepted. Everything was done to help them fulfill that role, even if there were forms of alienation.

You can't say women were liberated. But they accepted their role because at a certain time in their life this role could bring them honor.

## What success have women had in changing discriminatory laws?

Women's organizations here have their work cut out for them. But as the result of one publicity

*continued on pg. 13*



# Congress Units Seek to Halt Delivery of Angolan Missiles

## Ban on Winnie Mandela Ends; Tutu Joins Call for Sanctions

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

WASHINGTON, April 2 — Senior members of the House and Senate intelligence committees are trying to prevent the Reagan Administration from delivering portable antiaircraft missiles to rebel forces in Angola, according to congressional and Administration sources.

These sources said Representative Lee Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat who is chairman of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, has told the White House he will try to get a bill enacted that would cut off covert aid to the rebels if the decision is not reversed. Other Congressional officials said the Administration had notified the intelligence committees of the decision to send the missiles last Thursday, the day Congress adjourned for its week-long recess.

Senator Patrick Leahy, the vice chairman of the Senate committee, has expressed support for Mr. Hamilton's position, the sources said.

The conflict between some members of the intelligence panels and the Reagan Administration reflects deep disagreements over the wisdom of providing covert American support to guerrilla movements around the world.

### Open-Request Bill Offered

Mr. Hamilton has already introduced a bill that would require the Administration to make an open request for aid to the Angolans that would be voted on by the entire Congress. But the sources said if this maneuver failed, Mr. Hamilton has spoken of going further and trying to cut off or restrict the covert aid program, which is estimated at a level of about \$15 million.

By law, the President must notify the Congressional oversight committees of anticipated intelligence operations.

The committees have no authority to overturn a Presidential decision, but in practice the executive branch has generally heeded Congressional concerns about covert operations.

The committee has two options to cut off aid. It can eliminate all funding for the operation from the Central Intelligence Agency budget or it can pass a resolution barring the use of any money for the operation.

In 1976, Congress passed the Clark Amendment, which cut off all aid to the Angolan rebels. In 1983, Representative Edward Boland pushed through an amendment that cut off aid to the Nicaraguan contras. The Clark Amendment was repealed last year.

In February, the House committee wrote to President Reagan asking him to reverse his decision on aiding the Angolan rebels. Meanwhile, Mr. Hamilton began moving his bill through the House committee. The bill has cleared the intelligence committee and is still before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

This week, it was disclosed that the Administration had decided to expand its covert programs in Angola and Afghanistan by sending rebel forces in those countries hundreds of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to the Angolan

and Afghan rebels. It marked the first time that the Administration was willing to introduce American-made weapons on a large scale into the conflict. Previous American support had been limited to Eastern bloc armaments that could not be directly traced back to this country.

REJOIN NEGOTIATIONS..

(CONTINUED)

ern Africa to discuss Pretoria's offer with various governments. But Wisner did not visit Angola and returned to Washington without making visible progress.

The Dos Santos letter made no mention of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, apparently because U.N. resolutions have never addressed the issue as part of the Namibian problem.

The disclosure that the United States had signed a document with the Angolan government, with which it has no diplomatic ties, surprised even close observers.

A U.S. official said that what the Angolans called an "act" was actually a "memorandum of understanding," what diplomats call an "aide memoire," signed at Mindelo in the Cape Verde Islands following talks between Wisner and Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura in January 1984.

The document spelled out what the two sides understood to be an agreed course of action, according to both sides.

The Angolan view, according to Figueiredo, was that the United States "certainly agreed" not to provide any aid to UNITA as one of its undertakings. But a U.S. official said the document simply contained the Angolan viewpoint "urging" the United States to use its influence with South Africa to stop South African "acts of aggression" against Angola and aid to Savimbi.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

APRIL 4, 1986

LONDON, April 3 (Reuters) — Britain today rejected calls from Bishop Desmond M. Tutu for sanctions against Pretoria, saying trade boycotts would only hinder political reforms and moves toward ending apartheid.

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

SOWETO, South Africa, April 2 — The South African government today abandoned restrictions on Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, ending 24 years of almost continuous confinement.

In another major development, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel peace laureate, joined the call for economic sanctions against South Africa, saying he had "no hope" that the white-minority government would dismantle the apartheid system of segregation unless forced.

The end of the restrictions on Mandela follows a test-case judgment in South Africa's highest court, the Appeal Court, two weeks ago that has thrown the government's controversial system of banings and detentions without trial into disarray.

Moments after officials told Mandela's lawyers that they were abandoning the restrictions on her, the black nationalist leader's wife headed for her family home in Soweto from which the latest order, issued in December, had banned her.

She was given a triumphant welcome by relatives and a crowd of neighbors and passersby, who quickly gathered at the little three-room, red-brick bungalow where Mandela is now living legally for the first time in 10 years.

Mandela, whose long defiance of the authorities has made her a major symbol of resistance to South African blacks, made no display of satisfaction, declaring that "there can be no particular excitement while our people are suffering so much oppression."

[State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said the United States "would obviously be pleased that Mrs. Mandela's ban is lifted. We have long opposed banning any person for his or her political beliefs."]

The Appeal Court judgment two weeks ago declared 14 orders for detention without charges to be invalid because the minister of law and order, Louis le Grange, had failed to state his reasons for issuing them.

Le Grange merely had stated that in his opinion the detentions

were necessary "in the interests of the security of the state," as has been the government's practice since the system was introduced 34 years ago.

It was the first time detention orders had been invalidated by the courts. Immediately after the judgment, five appeals were lodged on similar grounds by people under "banning orders."

The orders limit an individual's movements in a variety of ways. They prohibit banned persons from being quoted in the media, usually prevent them from being in the company of more than one other person at a time and sometimes banish them to remote areas or place them under house arrest.

Mandela has been under all these forms of restriction during the past 24 years.

Le Grange, acknowledging that the judgment meant that those five orders were also invalid, withdrew them, including one against a white lawyer, Roley Arenstein, who had been banned almost continuously since 1953.

Mandela's case is slightly different. She challenged her banning order last December, lost the case in the Transvaal provincial Supreme Court, but gave notice that she intended to appeal.

Her lawyers began the appeal process yesterday, and today officials told them the state was abandoning its opposition to the case, meaning it acknowledged that her banning order was also invalid.

There are now only five persons still under banning orders and these are likely to be freed soon as well.

There is speculation that le Grange may issue rewritten banning orders to comply with the judgment, but legal experts point out that if he gives detailed reasons for issuing the orders, as the judgment requires, he may be challenged on the facts, resulting in further court actions.

Alternatively, the government may amend the law to make reasons unnecessary, the experts say.

This is only the second time Mandela's restrictions have been lifted since she was first banned after her husband was imprisoned for life 24 years ago for plotting the overthrow of white-minority rule.

continued on pg 13



## BREEZES OF SOCIAL... (CONTINUED)

campaign it is now illegal for men to repudiate their wives. Now, divorce is legal, and quite easy to obtain. Before, all she could do was leave her husband, but now she can officially ask for a divorce and get one.

**Do you think steps like this will create a conflict between men and women? That the men will react out of fear of change?**

Here in Africa the relationship between men and women has never been antagonistic. When the feminist movement started in Europe and North America and took a militant stance against men, African women couldn't understand that. We would say, OK, maybe men aren't always nice, maybe they have problems. But our fight is not with them.

There are a lot of men who have been sympathetic to this movement. They have been afraid, they have been shocked, but they realize that being a woman can mean other things than simply having children, taking care of the house. They recognize that women can make a contribution.

We will have other struggles. The question is how will we conduct them? Will we be aggressive — strike out against men? Or will we start a much more significant social process that will include men? In the beginning the feminist movement consisted of women only. Then we started to bring men in. Now where are we going? I think we have moved beyond the kind of struggle that was antagonistic and anti-men. Now we have to find alternatives *with* men.

**Has women's access to education improved?**

There are more girls in school now than before. Even parents realize that it's important to send girls to school. But if the girl arrives at the point where it's a choice between her continuing school and getting married, her parents usually decide in favor of marriage. And if there's competition between the girl and her brother as to who will go to school, they choose the brother. The parents say, the girl will marry and move away. Everything she earns will belong to someone else. Why invest in her if her earnings won't stay in the family?

**Do you feel the attitudes of African women have changed as a result of the UN Decade for Women?**

Because of the crisis in Africa, women want to draw up strategies in order to survive. But in that survival they are also saying we no longer want to be women with an inferior status. . .

I think a new direction is in the making. This time African women listened to feminists whom they never would have listened to before. Women have been able to find a solution to their isolation by creating networks. There is an incredible network system now. Me, in Senegal, I know that there is a woman in Peru who is struggling. Here in Africa, I know there is a woman in Asia who has done something. And the same applies to the US.

All these women's projects, all these women who had an opportunity to speak and who had never spoken before — I think it's fantastic. The result is that from now on women all over the world know that they can speak out. They can refuse certain things. They can also accept certain things. And that's enough for me. Now it's up to us.

## BAN ON WINNIE...!

(CONTINUED)

Her banning order expired briefly in 1976 after she was released from a six-month prison sentence for violating it. It was then renewed in even more severe form. For the next nine years, Mandela was banished to a remote country village.

This restriction was lifted last December when a new order was issued allowing Mandela more freedom but prohibiting her from entering the Johannesburg area, where her home is.

The media still may not quote Mandela because the government long ago declared her a "listed person" under another security law. She still will be unable to address meetings because of a new decree that came into force today prohibiting all unauthorized meetings for a year.

Asked at a brief press conference at her house today whether she believed her husband might join her there before the end of this year, Mandela discounted recent speculation that the government was considering releasing him.

"It is quite obvious now that the government never had any intention of releasing him and the other political prisoners," she said. "It was merely strategizing."

Bishop Tutu, who is the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, said at a press conference today that he had decided to call for economic sanctions after 10 years of fruitless attempts to persuade the government to relinquish white domination.

"Nothing [President Pieter W.] Botha has said has made me believe he and his government are serious about dismantling apartheid," Tutu said. "We face a catastrophe in this land, and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us."

"Our children are dying. Our land is burning and bleeding, and so I call on the international community to apply punitive sanctions against this government to help us establish a new South Africa, nonracial, democratic, participatory and just. This is a nonviolent strategy to help us do so," Tutu went on.

Tutu said he was not directing his appeal to President Reagan or British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "I put my hopes on the young, especially at the American universities, to exert the pressure," he said.

[In Washington, State Department spokesman Kalb said, "The United States does not believe that punitive sanctions will help promote change in South Africa. . . . In the U.S. view, punitive sanctions would

## SOME CONGRESSMAN MOVE..

(CONTINUED)

Mr. Savimbi receives support from South Africa. Some members of Congress object to U.S. aid to Mr. Savimbi because they believe his ties to Pretoria may not be compatible with U.S. interests in the region.

## FOR CHADIANS.. (CONTINUED)

outside Mr. Yowai's red mud house persuaded him to make one.

Now Mr. Yowai has six farmhands and a pump that irrigates all his fields, and he wants to rebuild his irrigation channels with cement. "Yes," he said, "I'm a little bit rich."

Mr. Slacum said his loan program had been overwhelmingly successful, and he estimated that the group had created "a couple hundred jobs."

"Sometimes we've gotten loan applications on the back of a paper bag," he said. "We take them and we work with them. We show people how to keep books. And we're getting paid back. We're talking about a psychology of using a credit system that is fairly new."

THE NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 3, 1986

## Liberia Government Foe Is Indicted for Treason

MONROVIA, Liberia, April 2 (Reuters) — A grand jury indicted Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a leading opposition figure, on treason charges today for her reported involvement in an attempt to overthrow the President, Gen. Samuel K. Doe, last year.

The indictment was made public after a 42-day session. It means that Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf — Finance Minister in the former William Tolbert Government as well as a Harvard-educated economist and former Citibank representative in Nairobi, Kenya — will be tried by a criminal court.

She could receive the death penalty if found guilty.

No date has been set yet for the trial.

hurt South Africa's economy, which is central to the region's stability and a major force for change domestically. Secondly, they won't be effective in ending apartheid and could escalate the level of violence and polarization within the country."

Tutu said arguments that sanctions would hurt blacks more than whites were hypocritical. It was remarkable that "those most vehement in their concern for blacks have been whites," he said, while two recent surveys showed more than 70 percent of blacks supported sanctions.

The Nobel laureate faces possible arrest under the security laws, which make it treasonable to undermine the country's economy.



## ISRAELI PROJECT AIMS AT TIES TO S. AFRICA BLACKS (Continued)

Africa. And it had two other selling points. It has no official government tie, and Histadrut has a long and vocal anti-apartheid record, including refusal to have any relations with South Africa's white unions.

Zelniker and the head of the institute, Yehuda Paz, returned to South Africa in January to work out the final details of the program. The Jerusalem Post reported at the

time that an unspecified Histadrut delegation was to meet with leading figures in the Congress of South African Trade Unions, a new black trade union federation.

The organizers refused to disclose the names of the prospective trainees or how they were chosen. But they said all are established community leaders. They include not only unionists but leaders from women's, health, religious and edu-

cational organizations. Some have spent time in South African prisons, and the first group is said to be largely from Soweto.

South African sources Saturday identified two of those aboard the plane as Sally Motlana, president of the South Africa Black Housewives League, and Legau Mathabathe, former principal of a Soweto high school and one of those who participated in a mass resignation of black teachers after the Soweto

uprising of 1976. Mathabathe is currently the only black director of Premier Milling Co, a large South African firm.

Tutu, it is said, is not involved in any details of the effort.

Each group of 20 to 25 trainees is expected to remain at the institute for a month, his or her expenses paid by Histadrut and the Center for Policy Options. The Anti-Defamation League is also supporting the program, Wall said.

## SOUTH AFRICA: VIGILANTES' NEW VIOLENCE (Continued)

Last year Haysom was a member of the late Molly Blackburn's team investigating the police shooting in Uitenhage and the mysterious disappearance of United Democratic Front officials in the Eastern Cape. Now he is warning in his book that unless the vigilantes are curbed, the level of brutality will escalate dramatically. That warning seems already to be coming true.

"Mabangalala," subtitled "The Rise of Right-Wing Vigilantes in South Africa," is based on research conducted by Haysom and his colleagues since the state of emergency was declared last July. It describes a clear pattern of support for the "fascists" by local authorities in black areas, down to allowing the vigilantes to use township council facilities.

Despite the police denial, Haysom claims that black vigilantes "believe they have police support." They strike against anti-apartheid leaders and aim to neutralize "victories" by community leaders in black townships. "When leaders are systematically assaulted or killed and the police appear unwilling to curb the activities of the vigilantes," writes Haysom, "it is obvious that no popular organization can continue to function openly. In such cases it is not only vigilante interests that are served but also those of official agencies that the popular organization has challenged."

Haysom believes that in black homelands such as Kwandebele, where vigilantes were blamed for killing 19 people at Moutse in January, the violence had tacit approval from "the formal political structures."

In Natab, which has seen some of the most savage mob action in South Africa, many incidents have been attributed to warriors linked with Inkatha—the cultural organization formed by the Kwazulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. This allegation has been denied by Inkatha's secretary general, Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, who says it has repeatedly denounced black-on-black violence.

"Mabangalala" carries gruesome pictures of men—and some women—bearing marks of savage *sjambok* (hide) whippings allegedly inflicted by vigilantes.

Black vigilante groups are now believed to be behind the unsolved murders and disappearances of UDF officials in the Eastern Cape last year. Four Cradock officials—including Matthew Goniwe, the town's popular education leader—were found dead, their bodies mutilated, after being missing for three weeks. Another three UDF leaders from Port Elizabeth disappeared while driving to the airport; they are still missing 10 months later.

Chief Ampie Mayisa, of Leandra in Eastern Transvaal, was killed before a

scheduled meeting with Chester A. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Mayisa is also believed to have been a vigilante victim. Community leaders claim the chief had asked, unsuccessfully, for police protection.

Despite government denials, suspicion that police and black councils do nothing to stop vigilante terror grows daily.

Last week, 29 people were killed in two days, including 11 in the Bophuthatswana homeland. This is more than double the daily death rate at the height of the emergency. Blacks are asking what the emergency achieved and why the government seems complacent about renewed violence.

Government leaders dismiss criticism of police action by repeating that they are merely carrying out their duty to maintain law and order. But a year after Uitenhage, and 26 years after Sharpeville, security forces are still often unable to restrain rioters without using live ammunition.

The government must now find ways of stopping the violent deaths in black townships, whether from police fire or black lawlessness; otherwise, South Africa's international stock will sink even further. □

*Eric Marsden is South African correspondent for the Sunday Times of London.*

## S. AFRICA'S BLACKS PULL BACK, BUT VOW TO STEP UP PROTEST (Continued)

Yet these pledges have been met with skepticism and continued violence in black townships.

Both weekend conferences in Durban, meanwhile, agreed on one score: a bid for mounting work and rent protests, and consumer boycotts, that would culminate in a national strike starting June 16. That date is the anniversary of the 1976 uprising in Soweto that ushered in weeks of violence leaving 575 people dead.

The education meeting's resolutions were a retreat of sorts by black leaders—and a victory of sorts for the government. The minister in charge of black education issued a statement on the eve of the conference detailing moves to upgrade black schooling and calling for a decision to keep the kids in class.

Black parents, teachers, and community leaders had persuaded students to

suspend the boycott earlier this year—pending government action on a list of black political demands.

Some of the demands were met: the end of the emergency decree, release of blacks detained under emergency laws, the provision of more textbooks.

Yet other items on the list remain: legalization of a militant black students' group, the Congress of South African Students; and withdrawal of police and soldiers from black townships.

Vusa Khanyile, a conference organizer, explained to reporters the reason for its outcome. It was felt that the school boycott and accompanying incidents of violence were hurting blacks more than whites. Black youths were being killed. It was time to seek a more "cost effective" strategy.

It has long been an open secret that

black parents, teachers, and mainstream leaders are worried by the rise of a new brand of youth whose determination to fight apartheid has led to a scattershot violence that is approaching anarchy.

The open question before the Durban education conference was not so much whether these organizers wanted to end the boycott, as it was whether they would feel politically strong enough to make such a move.

The preliminary answer to that question seems to be yes. Yet there were reports of grumbling from a group of student delegates who gathered after the conference for a debate on its resolutions.

Conference spokesmen, meanwhile, presented the no-boycott move as part of a tacit contract with student militants—involving a serious campaign to escalate political protest on other fronts.



## SUDAN BEGINS A LONG-AWAITED ELECTION (Continued)

conomic ruin and a nonaligned foreign policy. The party leader has established good relations with Libya, according to diplomatic sources.

The traditionally pro-Egyptian Unionist Party, expected to come in second to Umma, has called for unity among Arab nations and favors an economic policy with both capitalist and socialist aspects.

Sources characterize as a possible "spoiler" the National Islamic Front, made up of Moslem fundamentalists who want to build on existing Islamic law. The party is led by Hassan al-Turabi, who was attorney general in Mr. Nimeiry's one-party state and was largely responsible for the enforcement of the strict Islamic statutes.

Many Sudanese have enthusiastically looked to the elections to begin finding solutions to the nation's enormous problems. These include an intensifying guerrilla war in the southern region, as well as economic difficulties, the threat of famine for at least four million Sudanese and the presence of tens of thousands of refugees from neighboring countries who are straining the Sudan's limited resources.

### Relations With U.S. Strained

Relations between the Sudan and the United States, its largest aid donor,

were strained when this nation's new military rulers quickly re-established ties with Libya after the coup last year. Libya then shut down an anti-Sudanese radio station and promised to stop supporting the rebels in the south.

"Only over our dead martyrs' shoulders will liquor, gambling or loose women ever return to Sudan," one candidate of the Islamic Front said in Arabic to hundreds of potential voters, looking in the distance like a sea of white turbans, at one of the many political rallies that have been held after the scorching sun has set on this sprawling, sandy capital.

Politicians and diplomats say that the number of seats gained by the Islamic Front could affect the bush war in the southern region, where the Sudanese Government postponed elections in many of the constituencies because of what it said was a security situation that prevented a sufficient number of voters from registering.

### Rebel Opposes Election

Of the nearly six million people who have registered to vote, only about 560,000 are from the south, which has about a quarter of the nation's 22 mil-

lion people. Among other demands, the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which is supported by Ethiopia in its war against Government troops, has insisted that Islamic law must be repealed before it will talk of peace with any Khartoum Government.

John Garang, leader of the rebels, has said he would not allow elections to take place in the south because his group had not been consulted before the elections were organized. Elections in the north would be considered "fake and partial," he has said.

To try to neutralize the appeal of the Islamic Front, which politicians and others say stops just short of calling for a major military offensive in the south, the two major moderate parties have adopted a harder line toward the rebels.

"Some people tend to forget history," a businessman here said. "Back in the 1960's, the north went ahead and voted while the south was at war, so the southerners felt totally disenfranchised and the war kept on. And then we got Nimeiry." He was referring to a situation that some diplomats said Mr. Nimeiry used to his advantage, staging a successful military coup in 1969.

## U.S. FIRMS TOUGHEN STANCE AGAINST S. AFRICA'S APARTHEID (Continued)

was more concerned about reaction among his black workers. His response to government criticism was, "That doesn't bother me. What else would you expect?"

But White conceded he was more bothered by the possibility that the government might stop buying GM's products. Last year, about 7 percent of GM's vehicles were sold to government agencies—more than 2,000 cars or trucks, 916 of them to security forces.

Spokesman Tregenza said that

while driving to work in the morning he has occasionally seen GM pickup trucks, outfitted with cages, in use as police paddy wagons. "It makes you uneasy," he conceded. But there are practical reasons for such sales, he said, the main one being that if GM refused to sell to the Army and police, it would likely lose the rest of its governmental contracts.

The government forces the company into other dilemmas as well. When Botha declared a state of

### SOUTH AFRICA BLACK AIM: LOCAL POWER (Continued)

represent the nation's restive black high-school students.

The committee has grown as part of an effort, predominantly by black parents, to end the crisis over inferior black education that has fired unrest in South Africa on many occasions in the last decade.

The committee's existence, and the Government's acceptance of it, seems to reflect a victory for blacks intent on obliging the authorities to acknowledge black representative groups other than those set up by the authorities themselves and deemed by black critics to be surrogates of white influence.

The school term is to resume this week, and there has been no indication so far of how many students will heed the committee's call to attend classes.

### School Boycotts for Years

Tens of thousands of black high-school students have boycotted classes in recent years, in a protest that has widened from educational grievances to encompass the more generalized

harshnesses of apartheid.

But the call to return to classes—and to seek to implant what is called "people's education" in schools—seems to reflect a sense that confrontation in the schools alone will not hasten the end of white rule, and that the protest must be widened to encompass parents, workers and others.

The committee has called a general strike for three days later this year around the 10th anniversary on June 16 of the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

"We are not poised for the immediate transfer of power to the people," Mr. Sisulu said. "The belief that this is so could lead to serious errors and defeats."

Throughout 1985, black activists pursued violent campaigns designed to deny the white authorities the ability to run many of the segregated black townships. Some township residents refused to pay rent. Black community councils and policemen, viewed by activists as stooges of the white authorities, were rounded from their homes.

emergency in Port Elizabeth last July, one of the first people picked up was a part-time union shop steward named James Tamboer. He was held for 14 days and, according to an affidavit he has filed in a lawsuit here, was physically assaulted by police while in detention.

Yet GM concedes it made no effort to ascertain Tamboer's whereabouts or seek his release. When he got out, he got his job back—but forfeited his pay for the two weeks he missed. Said Tregenza, "We

Once the campaign was under way, the African National Congress depicted the nation's protest as one directed at rendering segregated black townships ungovernable.

### Challenge for Activists

The challenge facing black activists today, South African political analysts say, is to transform the often anarchic results of township protests into a new form of protest based on black control of township destinies, despite the authorities' denial of a formal political voice to the country's 23 million blacks.

"What we are seeking to do is to decisively shift the balance of forces in our favor," Mr. Sisulu said.

Thus, if radical political activists have their way, street and area committees will become the alternatives to official municipal bodies, and black students will return to classes only to remold their education to their own liking, offering a more insidious and intractable form of rebellion.

The tactic seems to imply both an acknowledgment of the armed superi-

would not pay any employee for a period of time not worked like that."

Tamboer said he was not surprised by the company's attitude. "We have to fight the company for every little thing we get," he said. "Sullivan is just window dressing for them."

Businessmen worry that an increasing number of blacks will come to agree with Tamboer. "If we don't get our act together, Sullivan won't survive because the blacks will kill it themselves," said one who insisted on anonymity.

ority of Government forces and the inability of the authorities to prevent township activists from setting up their own alternatives to official control.

### Widening of Black Protest

The statements, by the Government's foes, seems familiar in a subcontinent used to the upheavals of black protest against white domination. But it seems to reflect, too, the urge to widen black protest beyond the immediate confrontations of the black townships so as to create back areas where the writ of the white authorities no longer reaches.

In the language of those black South Africans who call themselves revolutionaries, the notion is to create "semi-liberated zones" where blacks control their own destinies irrespective of Government policies.

"People are beginning to exert control over their own lives in different ways," Mr. Sisulu said. "There is a growing tendency for ungovernability to be transformed into elementary forms of people's power."



# Deadly Politics of Famine Aid

By Blaine Harden  
Washington Post Foreign Service

NAIROBI, Kenya, March 28—In the first direct attack by rebel soldiers against relief workers in Ethiopia, two employees of the American relief agency World Vision were shot to death early this month in the dining room of their residence compound in the northern town of Alamata.

Western diplomatic sources said the attack marked the beginning of a new guerrilla offensive by the Tigray People's Liberation Front, a well-armed, highly disciplined rebel army that has been fighting for more than a decade in northern Ethiopia against the Addis Ababa government.

According to these sources, who are in contact with the rebels, the group has warned since the Alamata shooting that it does not want western relief workers in its area and that it will continue to attack them.

The warning threatens a U.S. Agency for International Development effort to feed 270,000 famine victims by moving food north beyond government-controlled territory into a region contested by the Tigrayan rebels.

"It appears that the TPLF does not want its people to get food from the government side," Fred C. Fischer, chief AID official in Addis Ababa, said today in a telephone interview.

While food supplies in northwest Tigray are adequate at the moment, Fischer said it is likely that the area will need large shipments of food aid in late April and May to avoid widespread famine.

The March 8 killing of the two World Vision workers, both of whom were Ethiopian nationals, puts the U.S. government in an awkward and politically embarrass-

The U.S. connection to the rebel group has been tolerated quietly by Ethiopian government officials for more than a year.

In a statement on the Alamata shooting, the rebels have said that the death of the two World Vision workers was an accident resulting from their being caught in cross fire between rebels and government soldiers.

World Vision and AID officials in Addis Ababa, however, said today that the killings were deliberate and that there were no government soldiers within 20 miles of the incident.

"It is clear that the TPLF knew who they were killing," said Fischer, the AID official. "They were in a World Vision compound. They went into the World Vision dining hall. All the people identified themselves as World Vision employees, and they systematically shot them," said Fischer.

A senior World Vision official familiar with the shooting said today that five gunmen broke into the dining position, because it draws attention to discreet American ties to the rebels.

At the same time it is distributing food through World Vision in Ethiopia, AID is also working in Sudan to distribute food "through the back door" to famine victims in rebel-held parts of Tigray.

According to a Sudan-based official for the Relief Society of Tigray, an arm of the rebel front, that distribution is handled for the U.S. government through the American-based Lutheran World Relief organization. Lutheran World Relief, in turn, hands American food over to the Relief Society of Tigray, which trucks it across the Sudanese border into rebel-held areas of Ethiopia.

Alamata compound at 8 p.m. on March 8, while the staff was eating dinner. He said the gunmen forced people to lie on the floor while they ransacked nearby offices. As the gunmen were leaving, he said, they opened fire "indiscriminately."

"They wounded five of our people, killed one outright and one of the wounded died the next morning," he said. The dead were two women, a nurse in her mid-fifties and a nutrition assistant in her mid-twenties. The World Vision official said one man in the compound was kidnapped by the gunmen and later released.

World Vision, one of the largest private relief organizations in the world, has seen its Ethiopian program grow dramatically during the past year. It now has 1,600 employees in the country and a cash budget this year of \$50 million.

The senior official of the California-based organization, who declined to be quoted by name, said that World Vision would continue with the Tigray feeding program despite the shooting, but that "we have to be far more involved in security."

Since the March 8 shooting, the rebel front has increased guerrilla violence sharply in the north-central region of the country known as "greater Tigray."

During the past week, relief officials said the rebels attacked eight large trucks traveling inland from the Red Sea to the port of Assab. All eight trucks were burned, and one driver was killed, the officials said.

The U.S. government also supplies food to rebel-held areas of Eritrea, in the far north of Ethiopia. That program, according to Fischer, has not been interfered with.

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