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## South Africa Temporarily Halts the Relocation of Black Settlements

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 1 — The South African authorities announced today that they were temporarily halting the relocation of black people living in areas deemed to be for whites only. They said policies affecting the practice were under review.

But, at a news conference, Gerrit Viljoen, the Cabinet minister responsible for the destiny of many black people living within South Africa's traditional frontiers, seemed to qualify the moratorium by saying that if black communities agreed to be relocated, "further removals can take place while the review is under way."

He said the review did not affect communities of what are deemed to be

unlawful squatters, which will still be liable to removal.

The announcement, political commentators here said, seemed intended to lend credibility to the white authorities' avowed intention to improve the political standing of some of the voteless black majority without giving them the vote or real power.

South Africa has been criticized by the United States and other Western countries for forcibly moving communities of blacks away from their traditional lands to areas close to ethnic homelands where they stand to lose not only land but their claims to South African citizenship.

### Policy Changes Promised

In a major speech a week ago, President P. W. Botha promised changes both in the policy of moving blacks and in the restrictions on black access to "white" cities.

Mr. Viljoen, whose title is Minister of Cooperation and Development, said the review covered those communities the

Government had decided to move, including black rural settlements in "white" areas and black townships that are within 32 miles of tribal "homelands" and where development has been halted pending their transfer of the townships to the "homelands."

The policy of moving these blacks, he said, would be "drastically reviewed to limit it to the absolute minimum and insure that as far as is possible it be done by negotiation."

The official said the review would cover "25 or 30" such rural settlements and an equal number of urban townships in white areas.

The authorities had been prompted to review the practice by foreign and domestic criticism of removals, by the refusal of some communities to move and by the practical difficulties of moving communities that had greatly expanded since the initial decision to move them, he said.

Moving black communities to ethnic homelands set aside for each tribe has drawn much adverse publicity because the authorities have said in some cases that the people had agreed to the move while visiting reporters have gained the impression that most people did not want to go.

In the most recent publicized move, the settlement of Magopa, near the "white" town of Ventersdorp last year, the white authorities bulldozed churches and cut off bus service to try to force people to move, but they did not go. So the police cordoned off the settlement and forced people to move to a place called Pachsdraai. Many people said they did not want to go.

Community leaders in Magopa and elsewhere accused the Government of negotiating the move with leaders they called puppets, not with those accepted by most of the community.

Mr. Viljoen said two of the most controversial black communities, Kwa Ngema and Driefontein, 230 miles southeast of Johannesburg, were cov-

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## Reagan Meets Zulu Leader

### Chief Voices Support for U.S. Policy

From News Services

The chief of South Africa's 6 million Zulus met with President Reagan at the White House yesterday and strongly supported the president's refusal to impose economic sanctions on the nation because of its policy of apartheid.

In comments during which he expressed disapproval of any use of economic sanctions against South Africa's white-minority government, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi appeared sympathetic to the Reagan administration's controversial "constructive engagement" policy, which emphasizes quiet diplomacy and behind-the-scenes persuasion.

That policy has been a principal target of demonstrators who have been arrested in large numbers at South African facilities here and around the nation.

The demonstrators contend that the policy provides comfort to the regime. Since Thanksgiving eve, 792 persons protesting South Africa's system of apartheid, or white-

minority rule, have been arrested at the South African embassy here. Five were arrested yesterday.

In opposing economic sanctions Buthelezi told reporters that a halt to investment in South Africa would mean that "my people would suffer." He added: "It is no use throwing away the baby with the bathwater."

Buthelezi said that "in principle there is nothing wrong with constructive engagement if it is given flesh," apparently referring to the need for more funds for health and education. At present, he said "the ordinary black South African cannot say that he sees anything different in his life because of constructive engagement."

A spokesman for the group that has been coordinating the protests against apartheid expressed disappointment over the actions of the chief minister of the Zulu homeland, whom he described as "on the payroll of the South African government."

# Change in South Africa comes slowly

JOSEPH C. HARSCH

**M**OST blacks and civil rights leaders in South Africa and elsewhere are skeptical over the decision by the government of South Africa to delay its black resettlement program for "rethinking."

The skeptics are of course correct that white South Africa is not going to do an abrupt turn away from its policy of apartheid. Great social changes take time. How long has it taken the United States to achieve racial desegregation? Is the process that began at a high school in Little Rock, Ark., in the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower complete today?

South Africa, which has further to go than the US, is hardly going to take apart its own form of segregation this

year, or probably in this decade. But it has for the first time decided to rethink the policy of resettlement of all blacks in "tribal homelands" before going further along the road of tearing many thousands of black families away from their actual ancestral homes and condemning them to economic misery and squalor in areas unfitted for high-density occupation.

The essential fact in the background of this moment of hesitation is that white South Africa has been both unwilling and indeed unable to pursue a separation of white and black races to its true logical conclusion.

In theory it could be done and on terms acceptable to the black community, but to do it the white community

would have to deprive itself of all black labor in the white community. Also, it would have to be willing to share the land and its resources fairly between the majority black community and the minority of whites.

But black labor has become essential to the economy of South Africa. Industries, factories, mines — and many an office — would have to close down if all the blacks walked away. The white minority has made itself dependent on the labor of the black majority. If history teaches anything, it teaches that the working majority cannot be kept in a state of indefinite subjection by a ruling minority.

White South Africa has never been willing to separate itself truly from

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

## Speaking to Pretoria

TUCSON, Ariz.

**E**ven in this conservative state, South Africa is an issue. The Legislature is expected this session to consider bills requiring state pension funds to sell shares in companies that operate in South Africa. Across the country, across ideological lines, there is a concern about America's relationship to apartheid.

The question is what the United States can usefully do. What message can President Reagan or Congress or a state legislature send to Pretoria that has a chance of accomplishing something, of moving South Africa away from the structure of racism?

Of course interested Americans have different views. But I think there would be broad agreement on a number of points to be made to the South African Government now. The objectives would have to be limited, practical and consistent with the most basic American beliefs — the beliefs that moved 35 conservative Congressmen to speak out against apartheid last December.

First, the United States should call for an end to what is in a sense the most devastating violation of human dignity in South Africa. That is the system of rules that separate black families, that make men live apart from their wives and children.

In the desolate "homelands," where millions of blacks are assigned by law, there are virtually no jobs. To survive, men go to work in the cities and send money home. Most are legally forbidden to bring their families with them. They live in single-sex hostels under grim conditions for as long as 10 or 15 years, going home for at most a month a year.

The message to Pretoria would not be hard for Americans to agree on:

"Let your people live where they can get work, and let their families live with them."

Second is the practice of transporting whole black communities from where they may have lived for generations because they are within what has been declared a "white area." Upward of 2.5 million people have been moved hundreds of miles to places where they have no decent land or homes or job prospects.

President Reagan condemned that practice last December, and hardly any American would disagree with his words as a standard now. He called on the South African Government to end "the forced removal of blacks from their communities."

Third, there is the question of citizenship. Four of the tiny homelands have so far been declared "national states." Millions of blacks have been told that they are citizens of those states, though many have never set foot in them and their independence is not recognized by any other country.

"Stop telling natural-born South Africans that they are citizens of another country." That is one more message that Americans should find it easy to send.

Mild as those proposals must seem, the South African Government would surely denounce them as interfering. But there is reason to think that

they might nevertheless be effective.

This is a time of increasing strain in South Africa. Urban blacks have made significant economic gains but remain totally excluded from the political system. Their frustration is increasing, and so is official repression; hundreds of people have been detained without trial in the last year, and the army has been sent into black townships. Foreign, especially American, concern is growing.

President P. W. Botha, in a speech two weeks ago, hinted at reforms. He mentioned the removal of black communities and said "Clarity must be reached soon on the question of citizenship." But it was all in vague language — far too vague to be meaningful to the black majority. Indeed, it sounded as if it was designed mainly to tell foreigners that change is coming and pressure would be counterproductive.

Mr. Botha has a white constituency that does not want to give up its power, so we can understand his reluctance to offer anything that blacks would regard as meaningful. But that way lies more bitterness, repression and radicalization of the problem.

That is why the United States would be right to press for those limited but significant changes — significant in human terms. We would be helping the by-now fragile chance of gradual change in South Africa.

It is too late for mere words. We should tell the Government of South Africa that unless it takes those steps within a year, sanctions will follow. Congress might use that approach as it considers the pending bills to block further U.S. corporate investment and take other economic measures against South Africa. Pretoria should be left in no doubt that the United States wants real change now. □

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What the  
U.S. can  
usefully do

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# S. African Blacks Perceive U.S. as Racist

## Administration Concerned Only With White Power Structure, Says Leading Clergyman

By Marjorie Hyer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

"At no time in my lifetime has the opinion of blacks [in South Africa] of the United States been so low as now," the Rev. Allan Boesak, a South African clergyman and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, declared here this week.

Blacks in South Africa "perceive the United States [government] to be on the side of the [white] minority rule" in the present situation in South Africa. "We perceive the United States to be racist," said Boesak, who was in the Washington area to speak to the National Presbyterian Peacemaking Conference, held in Arlington.

"We perceive the United States administration to be concerned only with the white power structure."

Boesak, 39, also is scheduled to preach tomorrow at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, a longstanding commitment that will keep him from attending the installation ceremonies back home of Bishop Desmond Tutu as Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

Last month Boesak and Tutu together hosted the visit of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to their homeland. Boesak had glowing praise for that visit, despite the stormy protests it generated in some quarters.

"The visit was very successful," Boesak said in an interview. "Sen. Kennedy came and highlighted the issues" of apartheid and discrimination against blacks. The visit was important "not because no one knew [the problems] were there," but because Kennedy's visit "highlighted the gap" that exists between South Africa's white minority government and the disenfranchised black majority.

It was also important that Kennedy "came as a powerful politician from the United States who came as a guest of black people . . . who saw

CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA COMES SLOWLY

### *Kennedy's visit "highlighted the gap" between South Africa's white minority government and its black majority.*

— The Rev. Allan Boesak

South Africa through the eyes not of the government, but of the opposition."

Kennedy, he continued, "came and was willing to listen. I remember, talking with people after he had left, ordinary people, [who] were absolutely amazed that he was willing to sit and listen, that he was willing to take a serious interest in what they had said."

Boesak criticized the anti-American demonstrations by the black-consciousness Azapo (Azanian People's Organization) that dogged Kennedy's visit and prevented him from speaking to a large crowd in Soweto, an all black suburb of Johannesburg. "Azapo has lost so much credibility in the black community because of this," Boesak said. "Azapo has effectively isolated itself now."

Boesak had high praise for the current apartheid protests in front of South African installations in Washington and other major U.S. cities. "As far as [South African] black people are concerned, it's one of the most important things that could have happened in the United States," he said, adding, "It's particularly important that black Americans are taking the lead" in such demonstrations.

South Africa's controlled press has screened out most information on the protests here, he said, but word is still getting through. "If only there was a way that blacks in South Africa could convey their

excitement" over the protests here, he said.

Boesak, who has done religious studies in the Netherlands and at Union Theological Seminary in New York as well as South Africa, said that the decision by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches two years ago to define apartheid as "heresy" was an important tactical move.

"It made very, very clear at the worldwide level how unacceptable apartheid is," he said.

In addition, he said, the action "helped to undermine the moral justification that is so important in the South African context" where the white Dutch Reformed church "really liked to think that apart-

heid could be justified by the Bible."

The South African Reformed churches were subsequently expelled from the World Alliance for refusing to renounce the "heresy" of apartheid.

Boesak said that those churches, to which most South Africans of Dutch ancestry belong, have "officially" shown no signs of moving from their support of the government's racial policies. "But within the church there are signs that people are very concerned . . ."

He said that Roman Catholics are playing "an increasingly important role" in the battle against apartheid "under the leadership of Archbishop [Denis E.] Hurley," president of the South African Bishops Conference.

Hurley faces trial in South Africa later this month for criticizing that government's racial policies.

Boesak himself was threatened with arrest last year after an Australian newspaper reported he had accused South African police of

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(Continued)

to own property.

The practice of apartheid may last in residual form for a very long time, just as the practice of racial segregation has survived in places in the US. But once the blacks of South Africa are recognized as having "rights" as permanent residents in South Africa, an enormous step has been taken. The philosophical basis of the white-black relationship has been transformed.

No matter how slowly the implementation, there is no turning back from this historic step away from the dogma of apartheid.

Abraham Lincoln abolished slavery in the US in 1863. Not until the Roosevelt "New Deal" in the 1930s was a serious effort made to bring blacks into the political community. Not until the 1984 election did blacks vote in large numbers. Change comes slowly.

black Africa. It has never been willing to share the three main resources of the country — gold, diamonds, and farm-

land — with the blacks. It has kept these resources in white hands and expected the blacks to do the hard and menial labor, yet keep their families in remote and separated misery.

The resettlement program even called for uprooting black farming families who have owned and worked their land for generations to accept resettlement on land unsuited to agriculture.

There is no telling at this time just how much change the present process of "rethinking" will lead to, or how soon. The newly confirmed Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, is among the skeptics. He says

he will call for a worldwide financial boycott of South Africa unless President P. W. Botha goes much further, and faster, toward ending apartheid than he has yet proposed.

But there is change. President Botha is groping for some way of engaging the leaders of the black community in a dialogue. He says he is ready to consider giving them freehold property rights. He says he wants to discuss their future constitutional status.

Until President Botha announced this change in his thinking about white and black relations in South Africa, the blacks were supposed to be converted into foreigners by being relegated to the black "tribal homelands." Now he is talking about treating them as residents of South Africa with actual rights of their own, including the right

## South Africa

### But will any blacks talk to me?

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

When President P. W. Botha opened his new-fangled parliament in Cape Town on January 25th, his state-of-the-nation speech gave South Africans a glimpse of the future he has in mind. Life will be less harsh for blacks. They will be given more, but limited, political rights. Whites will retain overall control; and, for white, read Afrikaner. In Mr Botha's eyes, Afrikaner survival is still the be-all-and-end-all of white South African politics. And Afrikaner survival means National party control of the central government. No change there.

What Mr Botha's words did underline, however, was a change in party dogma. The attempt to turn all black Africans into foreigners by making them citizens of the tribal "homelands" has been abandoned. Mr Botha has now accepted that the 10.1m blacks who live in "white" South Africa are permanent. He announced that he would consider giving them freehold property rights, try to resolve the issue of their citizenship, and stop the forced removal of blacks from areas designated white. He said he might even scrap "influx control", the intrusive panoply of laws that determines where

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blacks in white areas may travel, work and live. And he has promised to create some new political "structures" beyond the existing black municipal councils.

He was vague. He failed to indicate the shape of the structures. Yet nobody familiar with the jargon of the National party doubts that the language means a break with past ideology. As Mr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the liberal Progressive Federal party, said: "It indicates a departure from traditionalist dogma and could constitute the beginning of meaningful debate about the future of black and white South Africans".

But how? The government learnt a sharp lesson last year when most Coloureds and Indians boycotted elections held under a new constitution which they had no part in writing. Before Mr Botha produces new structures for urban blacks, he may now think it wise to talk to them first. But most blacks who associate with what is pejoratively called "the system", or with those who control it, are rejected by the rest.

Two years ago Mr Botha appointed a cabinet committee to draw up a plan for the urban blacks' constitutional future. The committee has had trouble finding

blacks willing to testify, except for those already "collaborating" with the homeland administrations and township councils. Groping for a way around this, Mr Botha says he will set up a "forum" for blacks to meet government members informally. Still the blacks are hesitant. "It would be political suicide to participate," said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the moderate Zulu leader who must join in if there is to be even a semblance of genuine white-black negotiation. Leaders of more radical black movements dismissed the forum out of hand.

There are government inhibitions, too. Mr Chris Heunis, the minister of constitutional affairs, who will head the forum, says, "Anyone who opts for peaceful change and renounces violence can attend". But Mr Heunis also explains that this excludes "people who profess to support peaceful change but whose actions lead to violence". Does that mean Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel peace prizewinner, and others who advocate economic sanctions against South Africa? Mr Heunis would not say. If it does, and if Chief Buthelezi stays away too, then the "negotiations" will be stillborn.

FEBRUARY 3, 1985

## S. Africans Say U.S. Account Not Used for Atomic Workers

By Rick Atkinson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

South Africa's state-owned Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) has determined that its account with Chase Manhattan Bank in New York never has been used to recruit or pay U.S. nuclear technicians working in South Africa, a spokesman for the utility said last week.

The account had been linked through an ESCOM embezzlement scandal to 38 U.S. technicians working—in some cases illegally—at South Africa's new nuclear power plant near Cape Town.

An ESCOM attorney reportedly told South African journalists that the account might have been used, in part, to pay the Americans. An ESCOM spokesman, Etienne Duplessis, responded: "It could be used for that; it could be used for many other things."

In a telephone interview Friday from Johannesburg, Duplessis said, "I have established that that account was never used for recruit-

ment in Europe or the United States."

The Chase Manhattan account, which was disclosed after an ESCOM accountant allegedly stole \$3.65 million from it last month, is used to pay foreign contractors and in transactions involving money loaned or borrowed by ESCOM, Duplessis said. He said he could provide no further details on the account, which has been called a "strategic fund" by the South African press.

U.S. government and congressional investigators believe some of the U.S. technicians have violated nuclear nonproliferation laws by working at the reactor without authorization from the secretary of energy.

The Americans on ESCOM's payroll are paid partly in dollars and partly in rand, the South African currency, Duplessis said. He said they were recruited by "word of mouth," and in some cases by contacting the South African Embassy in Washington about employment possibilities.

## SOUTH AFRICA TEMPORARILY HALTS (Continued)

ered by the review. He agreed with a reporter's suggestion that the review might produce simply a revised list of communities set for removal. But, he said, the authorities wanted to frame a new policy that would insure that people would be moved only when the majority of them agreed to go and when the move would "enhance the quality of life of the community concerned."

He disputed reporters' contentions that, in the past, the authorities had dealt with unrepresentative people in black communities to obtain their agreement.

Church groups say that about 3.5 million blacks and a handful of whites have been moved under Government policies in the last 30 years, but the Government contests the figure.

Under a policy called influx control, South Africa's white authorities have traditionally tried to limit the number of blacks in urban areas to the level needed by the white-dominated economy. In what seemed more a change in terminology than in substance, Mr. Viljoen said the policy would now be controlled urbanization rather than influx control.

## S. AFRICAN BLACKS PERCEIVED U.S. AS RACIST (Continued)

brutality and "atrocities."

In his address here, he expressed thanks to American Presbyterians for their letter-writing campaign to intercede with South African authorities in his behalf.

# A South Africa 'Revolution' In Industrial Race Relations

*The Rev. Leon H. Sullivan is a veteran civil rights activist who has been a central figure in the debate over U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa. In 1977, he developed a voluntary code of conduct for U.S. companies operating in that country, pledging them to desegregate their facilities and pay equal wages to blacks. Currently, 135 companies, including General Motors Corp., Mobil Oil Corp. and virtually every other major U.S. employer in that country, are signatories to the Sullivan Principles.*

*Sullivan, 62, was interviewed last week in his office at the Zion Baptist Church in north Philadelphia by Washington Post staff writer Michael Isikoff.*

**Q** Has there really been racial progress in South Africa as a result of the Sullivan Principles?

**A** There's no question about it. The principles have created a revolution in industrial race relations in South Africa for black workers, a revolution that has its own momentum. And this is particularly important when you realize that, seven years ago, when I started the principles, a black man was not even considered legally a worker in South Africa and segregation in the plants was total.

**Q** What specifically is different today?

**A** Well, it's all very evident if you've been there. The plants were segregated, like in Mississippi. Now plants in American companies are desegregated. And not only in American companies. Now it's happening in other companies from other countries. People said this couldn't happen because it was against the law. And I said, "if enough companies do it, in spite of the law, it will happen."

**Q** Are American companies making these changes because they believe sincerely that apartheid is wrong, or because they're afraid of the kind of political pressure that you and others will bring on them?

**A** They're making the changes largely because of the pressures that are on them. When I started the principles, it took two years to get 12 companies to sign up. Two years. And I got all kind of letters from companies telling me they

wouldn't support it. They told me to mind my own business, that it wasn't the role of business to get involved in political affairs or to get involved in things that were happening in other countries.

But the pressures of the anti-apartheid movement—and hopefully some persuasion that I was able to exert—began to move companies to become signatories to these principles.

**Q** The advocates of South Africa disinvestment are really saying something very different. They're saying desegregated lunch facilities mean nothing in a country where blacks cannot vote. Many of them say the Sullivan Principles are a sham.

**A** I would agree with them. Did you hear what I said?

**Q** You would agree with them? But you just said that they have created a revolution.

**A** Of course. I would agree with many who would say they are a sham because they don't understand what my objectives are. . . . The principles are a beginning and a process, an evolving process that is strengthened with each step and with each phase.

Now my aim is that the impact of this will become pervasive enough so that, not only American companies, but companies of the world that have South Africa operations will add much, much more to the dismantling of apartheid—along with other thrusts. Remember, I keep saying 'along with other thrusts.' You must remember that I never saw the principles as being a solution to the apartheid problem in South Africa.

**Q** Specifically, on the issues raised by the disinvestment campaign: Should legislation be passed at the

state and municipal levels requiring disinvestment in companies that do business in South Africa?

**A** Yes, yes . . . . You must remember that I do not agree with the companies on disinvestment campaigns.

**Q** But these companies are saying exactly what you're saying. They're saying they are doing good in South Africa by being there.

**A** But I'm sorry. I'm telling you where I am. I am not representing the companies, I'm representing Leon Sullivan. And I'm using the companies as a strategy. . . . I think we need the disinvestment campaign to keep pressure on the companies.

**Q** How are your relations with the corporate executives who have signed? How do they like having their company's behavior in part dictated by a black Baptist minister from Philadelphia?

**A** It doesn't matter what they think about me. I know where I'm going and the only thing I want is the companies to be pushed on my wagon. Then it's up to me to drive them as far as I can to the ultimate objectives.

**Q** How do you decide whether a company is adhering to the Sullivan principles or not?

**A** There's a measurement process and there are minimum requirements. . . . These requirements are the nonsegregation of all facilities, equal and fair employment practices, equal pay for equal work. And freedom of association.

**Q** How much does this whole process cost in terms of doing the measurements?

**A** About \$300,000 a year, and the majority of it goes to the Arthur D. Little Inc. [which audits company compliance].

**Q** I believe you've supported making the principles mandatory, as has

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been proposed by Congressman William Gray (D-Pa.). Yet the companies say that would destroy the whole system by bringing in lawyers and tying up the process in bureaucratic red tape.

**A** That is their opinion. My opinion is . . . the principles would be far more effective if they were made mandatory. Then every company would be required to live up to them. And if they don't, there should be embargoes and sanctions and ultimately the loss of government contracts.

**Q** Some of the companies that have dropped out say you're engaging in

*Companies have vast lobbying strength. Vast. They can change presidents of America. Companies can elect United States senators. Companies in foreign countries can determine what happens in foreign countries.*

—The Rev. Leon H. Sullivan

corporate blackmail, threatening to tar them with the charge of supporting apartheid if they don't do as you say. How do you respond to that?

**A** I wouldn't call it blackmail. I would say that I'm diligent about my business!

**Q** These companies say that they're answerable to their stockholders, not the Rev. Leon Sullivan.

**A** And I'm answerable to God and my own sense of conscience.

**Q** You've recently added to the principles, requiring American companies that have signed to lobby to abolish apartheid laws. Is that an appropriate role for American com-

panies operating in a foreign country?

**A** There's no question I think it is, particularly in a country with such unjust laws. . . . Companies have vast lobbying strength. Vast. They can change presidents of America. Companies can elect United States senators. Companies in foreign countries can determine what happens in foreign countries.

**Q** Isn't it true that many of these companies are very uncomfortable about this requirement?

**A** Yes . . . So what? For seven years, I've had people expressing uncomfortable feelings to me on things. I intend to make them uncomfortable. That's the way you get change. But the companies supported the amplification unanimously. Publicly.

**Q** And privately?

**A** Well, privately is another matter. Some of them talked to me personally. They say, "Reverend, I think maybe you've gone too far. I don't think we can get too deeply into this kind of thing. Be careful."

**Q** And you said?

**A** I have my direction and I'm gonna follow it.

**Q** How did you get involved in the South Africa issue in the first place?

**A** Well . . . I've been a part of the civil rights movement all my life. When I was in New York, I was assistant to Adam Clayton Powell when he ran for Congress. I worked with A. Phillip Randolph when he was made president of the March on Washington movement, the first one when Franklin Roosevelt was president . . .

When I came to Philadelphia 35 years ago, I found a lot of unemployment among black youth, and I began to try to find jobs for them. But segregation was so strong, so prohibiting, that we couldn't get jobs for young blacks in businesses. So I created boycotts . . . I boycotted companies that discriminated against black people, one at a time, until the companies opened up thousands of jobs in Philadelphia to blacks.

During all this process, I got a call from General Motors and they asked me to go on their board of directors in 1971. . . . And one of the first things I ran into was South Africa.

When I left South Africa, they took me in a room and stripped me of my clothes, down to my underwear, to look and see what I was taking out. I realized if this could happen to me, in South Africa, even not living there, then what happens to the blacks who live there? The impact on me was devastating.

**Q** That was when you changed your position?

**A** It was a change in strategy. Because nothing had moved since I'd made my statement, my great speech [calling for General Motors

to pull out]. I hadn't moved anybody. I thought maybe I could use a strategy that would become a lever, an influence that could grow and develop so that the companies, starting in America, could become a force that would help lead to fundamental changes. I realized that you couldn't jump to the top of the mountain, you had to start at the bottom.

**Q** Some argue that only a revolution with violence is ultimately going to change the white Afrikaners.

**A** It might be so, yeah. What I'm striving for is to avoid it. I am in the tradition of Jesus Christ and Gandhi and, I hope, to some extent, Martin Luther King. I hope so, I knew him, and I'm black. I look upon myself as a man of peace who wants to find a way, along with others, to avoid violence.

**Q** You were pro-disinvestment then?

**A** I held that General Motors should get out of South Africa. I held that view until 1975. I made speeches on the stockholders' board, a major speech, one major speech.

**Q** What changed your mind?

**A** In 1975, I went to a place called Lesotho, it's a small kingdom surrounded by South Africa. They announced where I would be staying—which was the Holiday Inn—and I said if anybody wants to see me, they can. That next day and night, many people came to see me—black, white, coloreds, Asians. One group was union workers and they asked if I could not get the American companies to be an influence for change in South Africa. They said that it had never been tried before.

# The Manganese Factor

For several weeks now, members of Congress have been getting themselves arrested for illegal picketing outside the South African Embassy. As legislators, of course, they can have a significant impact on U.S.-South African relations—certainly far greater impact than your run-of-the-mill demonstrator. So I had my associate Vicki Warren query the members on exactly what specific steps they favor to make their displeasure with South African government felt.

Essentially, what the anti-apartheid lawmakers support is legislation that would impose economic sanctions against South Africa: prohibition of new U.S. loans except for schools and hospitals, an end to importation of gold Krugerrand coins, a ban on further investment by U.S. companies not already established in the country, and a crackdown on the sale of militarily useful material and technology.

Would this legislation accomplish what its supporters hope it will—a change in the South African government's apartheid policy?

Those who support economic sanctions say that even if they don't work, they will at least put the United States on the right moral side—and eventually on the right practical side. When the black revolution comes, according to this view, the United States would not be considered an enemy for having

stuck by the white-minority regime.

Supporters of the South African government have a radically different view of the situation. Their basic argument is unsentimentally pragmatic. It is that the United States needs its trade with South Africa far more than the South Africans do, and that economic sanctions will hurt Americans (not to mention black South Africans) more than it will damage the minority regime.

The pragmatists aren't talking about Americans who work for U.S. companies in South Africa. They're talking about thousands of Detroit auto workers whose jobs depend on the chrome and manganese their companies buy from South Africa.

The concern is that if the United States decides to punish Pretoria for its segregationist policies by restricting trade with South Africa, the retaliation—a cutoff of strategic materials to U.S. industries and defense plants—would wreak havoc with both the American economy and national security. In fact, a working group in the Cabinet Council on Natural Resources and Environment is studying that very threat.

Administration sources confirmed that a possible cutoff of strategic materials from South Africa has been discussed. But they said it's unlikely the effect of a cutoff would be as drastic as the South Africans claim.

Manganese, for example, is available

elsewhere. In aircraft manufacture, where manganese is vital, the Pentagon and the airlines would simply have to pay the price increase caused by buying the material from other suppliers. And Detroit car makers would probably have to raise their prices.

Lance Antrim of the congressional Office of Technology Assessment recently completed a study of ways to reduce U.S. vulnerability to political retaliation by countries such as South Africa. He noted that supplies of chromium and manganese dried up once before, when the Soviet Union halted its exports in 1949 at the height of Cold War tensions.

The United States responded by helping India and Turkey develop their reserves of the metals. Antrim's main criticism of the Reagan administration is that it has not taken similar steps that would minimize the effects of a cutoff of South African strategic materials—and by minimizing its impact, persuade the South African government that such retaliation would be futile.

In Antrim's opinion, South Africa's need for the income from strategic-materials sales already makes the option of retaliation an unpleasant one for Pretoria. He believes that whatever government is in power in South Africa will want to maintain trade relations with the United States.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY 4, 1985

## A Hint of Wisdom in South Africa

Armed with new constitutional powers, South Africa's President P. W. Botha now talks of some new concessions to a powerless black majority. He hints at reviewing cruel housing laws and providing some form of "consultation" with blacks inside the airtight compartments of apartheid. But more surprisingly, he has dared mention the hitherto unmentionable — the possible release from prison of Nelson Mandela. That could be something.

For 21 years, Mr. Mandela has been serving a sentence of life imprisonment for allegedly promoting violence and revolution. The African National Congress, which he led, has been outlawed as a "Soviet surrogate." What a surprise, therefore, when Lord Bethell, a British Conservative, was allowed to interview South Africa's best-known prisoner, who had this to say:

"The armed struggle was forced upon us by the Government, and if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalize us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle."

Taking up the ball, which he may have served in the first place, Mr. Botha told his Parliament he would consider releasing Mr. Mandela: "All that is required of him is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument."

If so, would the Government then deal with a legalized African National Congress? Might it oper-

ate under a new name? Could it and Mr. Mandela advocate peaceful change?

Mr. Botha did not say, but surely his suggestion points toward what could be a significant bargain.

Legalizing the black Congress would not abandon white rule, only provide blacks with an outlet for their grievances, a structure for developing leaders and an instrument for petitioning the Government. It would mark a return to the less repressive 1950's, when apartheid was aborning. Dealing humanely and politically with dissenters at home could be a pragmatic corollary to Pretoria's new policy of treating with leftists in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia.

If that is Mr. Botha's direction, he could not only improve South Africa's reputation but gain valuable time for a peaceful passage away from racism.

What truly threatens South Africa's social peace is a system that denies 21 million blacks the most basic political rights, even as 4.5 million whites prosper on their labor. The blacks are condemned as inferior in fact and law. They cannot vote. They must carry passes to travel from ghettos to work. And they cannot protest their bondage without risking jail. If victims of the system were at least free to challenge it, their oppressors would have much less reason to fear change or a devastating explosion.

# Tough choices face Hill as it considers policy on apartheid

By J.H. Doyle  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The anti-apartheid movement insists that Congress should take all necessary steps — from punitive sanctions to forcing U.S. corporations to pull out of South Africa — to foster democracy and freedom in that nation.

But U.S. business leaders, backed by the Reagan administration, contend that any dampening or withdrawal of U.S. companies operating in South Africa would hinder efforts to abolish that nation's system of racial separation.

U.S. lawmakers face tough choices: whether disinvestment or economic sanctions would accelerate the prospect of racial equality for South Africa's 22 million blacks, or could push that country toward economic depression and civil war.

"American companies in South Africa have nothing to be ashamed of," says Kathleen Teague, executive director of the American Legislative Exchange Council.

"Frankly, they [U.S. firms] have been more generous than other foreign-based

firms who would likely take over their plants if they left," she says. "So what is to be gained if the American companies leave?"

Since demonstrations began in front of the South African Embassy here in late November, anti-apartheid sentiment has swelled across America — raising the emotional temperature of an already volatile issue, if not sharpening debate on the wisdom of using sanctions as a tool of foreign policy.

Anti-apartheid leaders say black South Africans have reached their breaking point, and that unless the 5 million white-minority rulers move quickly toward social reforms, racial conflagration in South Africa is inevitable.

"South Africa is the only government in the world that constitutionally enshrines racism," says Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, which has organized daily demonstrations in front of the South African embassy here.

"After 40 years [since the implementation of apartheid in 1948], it must be clear to all observers that the South African government will listen to nothing short of economic sanctions," he says, adding that reforms have been limited to "cosmetic changes put in place for Western consumption."

The United States "is responsible for much of the propping up of this regime," he says. "I can't think of another situation in which our own country is more responsible for tyranny than in South Africa."

U.S. firms in South Africa control 70

percent of that nation's computer industry, more than 50 percent of its petroleum industry and about one-third of its auto industry, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center.

"The country belongs to the majority of its people to share in all its riches," Mr. Robinson says, adding that South Africa's white and black leaders should negotiate a new constitution to establish racial equality.

Anti-apartheid groups are lobbying at the federal, state and city levels to bring pressure on the South African government.

A variety of federal legislative packages calls for sanctions against South Africa — ranging from a mandatory withdrawal of U.S. companies to a ban on new investments in that country, loans to its government and the import of its gold-mined Krugerrands.

Four states — Michigan, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Nebraska — have passed pension-fund laws that force state pension portfolios and universities to divest themselves of stock in U.S. companies operating in South Africa. More than 66 similar disinvestment bills are pending in 22 states.

Some 20 city governments have passed similar laws banning pension-fund portfolios that include companies with South African interests.

These laws would penalize major electronics, chemical and drug firms that have large operations in South Africa, by excluding them from attracting invest-

## U.S. COMPANIES WITH LARGEST STAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In millions of dollars

Company	South African Assets
<b>Mobil</b>	<b>\$426.0</b>
<b>Caltex</b> (Owned by Texaco and Chevron)	<b>\$334.0</b>
<b>General Motors</b>	<b>\$243.0</b>
<b>Ford Motor</b>	<b>\$213.0</b>
<b>Chevron</b>	<b>\$167.0</b>
<b>Texaco</b>	<b>\$167.0</b>
<b>British Petroleum</b> (Parent of Standard Oil of Ohio)	<b>\$153.3</b>
<b>Phelps Dodge</b>	<b>\$130.0</b>
<b>Newmont Mining</b>	<b>\$127.0</b>
<b>Goodyear Tire &amp; Rubber</b>	<b>\$97.0</b>
<b>General Electric</b>	<b>\$93.0</b>
<b>IBM</b>	<b>\$88.6</b>
<b>Union Carbide</b>	<b>\$54.5</b>

Source: Pacific Northwest Research Center, American Legislative Exchange Council

ment dollars from lucrative pension funds.

"I don't see how any efforts at damaging the economy can be helpful with respect to the process of change in South Africa," says John N. Montgomery, deputy director of the South Africa Foundation, and a citizen of that country.

"The American presence in South Africa has been a force for good," he says, adding that the withdrawal of U.S. companies would only "reduce the amount in the kitty" for social programs and reforms.

U.S. trade with South Africa, which last year exceeded \$4.5 billion, ranges from the import of industrial diamonds and Krugerrands to U.S. exports of oil and cigarettes.

South Africa is the U.S. source for a number of rare metals and minerals needed to sustain a technological society — including raw materials involved in the production of gasoline, steel, washing machines, jet engines and electronic telephone circuits.

The list of major U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa, filled with familiar household names from Coca-Cola Inc. to Mobil Oil Corp. Major U.S. banks have extended millions of dollars of credit to the South African government.

But precise figures on U.S. dollars

Continued on pg. 10

# THE SCREWS ARE TIGHTENING ON U.S. COMPANIES

**T**he word had been out for months. Ford's South African auto operations were on the block. But its formal announcement on Jan. 30 that it was merging its auto business with Anglo American Corp. shook the U.S. business community like a thunderclap. Although Ford's nameplate will still appear there, the biggest U.S. manufacturer in South Africa is pulling back from its long struggle to find both profits and social progress in the racially torn country.

Ford's decision only tightens the screws on the more than 300 U.S. companies in South Africa. At home, they are feeling the heat from protests in Washington and other cities, calls for disinvestment by big pension funds, churches, and universities, and fresh resolve in Congress to enact sanctions. And business in recession-plagued South Africa has rarely been worse.

Inside South Africa, political ferment has made the outlook even more uncertain. Early last month a conservative business group joined others in urging political rights for blacks and an end to the hated laws that control where they

can work and live. President P. W. Botha outraged hardliners by offering a new political dialogue with blacks. But moderate Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, rejected the offer. Tutu said that unless U.S. companies act by the end of 1986 to help blacks get political rights, he will for the first time endorse economic sanc-

reduce its exposure and take a 40% minority position is likely to encourage followers. Says one businessman: "There are strong rumors here that it's just the first step. Other U.S. companies will do something similar." General Motors Corp. says it will stay independent. But Louis H. Wilking, managing director of General Motors South African Ltd., admits that Ford's move will be seen as disinvestment. David Willers, London director of a South African business group, blames Ford's decision on "the hassle factor." As an American Cyanamid Co. executive noted at the peak of the 1980 gold boom: "South Africa is 1% of worldwide sales, 2% of worldwide profits, and 10% of boardroom time. At some point... it isn't worth it."

Polls show that Americans oppose closing U.S. operations in South Africa to force an end to apartheid (box). But organized pressure for disinvestment is mounting. The House of Representatives passed two bills last year, one setting minimum standards for U.S. companies in South Africa, and another banning new U.S. investment there. Sponsors Steven J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) and William H. Gray III (D-Pa.), the Budget Committee chairman, expect to do better this year. Gray's aides say economic sanctions will be "a very high priority."

Laws in 11 U.S. cities and five states require public funds to divest some or all of their stock of companies operating in South Africa. Major New York banks have seen large depositors withdrawing. Clients have told fund managers, such as Kemper International Fund, to dump the stocks of South African companies from their portfolios. Under a New York City proposal, companies with operations in South Africa would be penalized when they bid for city contracts.

Voluntary programs to raise the living standards of black South Africans, such as the Sullivan Principles, are also biting into company time and earnings. U.S. multinationals claim they have spent up

to \$100 million on education, health, and training since the principles were signed in 1977. But the 134 companies that have signed the code devised by Leon H. Sullivan, a minister and former General Motors Corp. board member, are chasing a moving target. They must contend not only with fast-changing politics in South Africa and in the U.S. but also with Sullivan's ever-increasing demands.

**PRIORITIES.** Last December, Sullivan upped the ante again. His revised code requires U.S. companies to take public, political action to encourage the abolition of apartheid, South Africa's institutionalized form of racism. That leaves the companies wedged even deeper between an obdurate South African government and increasingly outspoken employees.

The companies will act to lobby Pre-

toria, probably through the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in South Africa. One executive predicts a convocation of black leaders this year that will pave the way for black talks with Botha. Another priority is lobbying to let blacks set up businesses in central business districts.

Some companies worry that Sullivan's latest requirement, which will not be finalized until mid-March, will force them to break more laws in South Africa. And the Sullivan group has yet to decide how to measure compliance. Such measurements, by Sullivan's auditor, consultants Arthur D. Little Inc., have become more important, since some state laws require divestment of stock in companies that do not get the highest grades.

**UNDER CONTROL.** The most vulnerable companies are probably those that have refused to sign the Sullivan code, because U.S. state and federal lawmaking efforts are likely to concentrate on them first. Roughly half the U.S. companies in South Africa, such as Chesebrough-Pond's, Ingersoll-Rand, and Newmont Mining, refused to sign the code, claiming they wanted to avoid the dictates of a "third party," though many say they live up to the code's standards anyway.

The biggest success of the Sullivan group, says one executive, was gaining government support for recognizing black unions. Since 1980 the number of black union members has more than tripled, to 670,000, or 15% of the urban black work force. The National Union of Mineworkers has grown to 100,000 members since its founding three years ago.

The NUM has vowed to overcome government and white-union resistance to greater job mobility. Its pressure is aimed at relaxing the migratory mine-labor system and eventually ending the controls that keep rural blacks out of the main cities. But the Pretoria government has not hesitated to use force to keep change under control. Last fall it jailed 11 union leaders without trial, prompting a massive general strike. Later riots over rent and utility-rate hikes resulted in the deaths of 100 blacks.

If unionization continues to grow, blacks may have enough economic power in another 15 years or so to force political changes on their own. Simple demographics and the need for skilled labor require change, businesses say they regularly tell Pretoria. But most apartheid foes, U.S. companies among them, have a far shorter timetable.

By Frederic A. Miller and Bob Arnold in New York, Jim Jones in Johannesburg, Jonathan Kapstein in Brussels, and Carla Anne Robbins in Washington

**A**merican corporations may be reassessing whether it's worth the trouble to do business in South Africa. But if they choose to leave, it will not be because the U.S. public demands it. By substantial mar-

## THE 12 LARGEST U.S. EMPLOYERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Company	Number of workers
Coca-Cola.....	4,800
Ford Motor.....	4,600
General Motors.....	4,000
Mobil.....	3,300
USG*.....	2,600
Goodyear.....	2,600
Caltex Petroleum.....	2,200
Allegheny International.....	2,000
IBM.....	1,900
General Electric.....	850
Dresser Industries.....	800
Xerox.....	800

\* Formerly U.S. Gypsum

DATA: BW INVESTOR RESPONSIBILITY RESEARCH CENTER

tions against investment in South Africa.

One of the most progressive, highest-paying employers in South Africa, Ford Motor Co. (page 48) was also the U.S. company most beset by increasingly militant black unions. The company insisted its move was not a pullout, just rationalization. With slim profits in just two of the last five years in a crowded market, Ford will close one of its heavily unionized auto plants, eliminating 2,000 more jobs in depressed Port Elizabeth.

**'THE HASSLE FACTOR.'** Ford's decision to

Continued on pg.

# Castro Outlines Goals in Africa

FEBRUARY 6, 1985

By Jim Hoagland

HAVANA—Cuba is prepared to cooperate with an American-sponsored peace effort aimed at getting all Cuban troops out of Angola in return for withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and independence for that disputed territory, Cuban President Fidel Castro has said.

Castro also said in an interview here last week that Cuba's troop strength in Ethiopia has fallen to a "symbolic" level. He declined to give figures, although U.S. officials have put the current number at 5,000, down from an initial 17,000 in 1977.

In his first full account of the Cuban reaction to a series of diplomatic developments in southern Africa in recent months, Castro endorsed the U.S. mediation effort there as having the potential to "exercise a positive influence in the international sphere" and improve relations between Washington and Havana if it is successful.

While hinting at a substantial lowering of Cuban military ambitions in Africa, Castro also warned that his units would stay in Angola "5, 10, 15 years" or longer if the regional peace settlement sought by the United States is not achieved.

But behind the strong assertions by Castro and other officials of Cuba's commitment to staying in Angola as long as needed, there are emerging signs here of a lessening of public enthusiasm for the nine-year-old war effort in which an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Cuban soldiers have died.

Castro declined to give any casualty figures, saying only that 200,000 Cuban soldiers and civilians have served in Angola, where an estimated force of 25,000 to 30,000 Cuban troops has been supporting the Marxist government against a series of South African invasions and the guerrilla forces led by Angolan rebel Jonas Savimbi, which are allied to South Africa.

One of Cuba's most popular folk songs today carries veiled allusions to a war weariness with Angola, according to Havana residents who report that, in contrast to earlier years, they are now aware of growing numbers of Cuban soldiers refusing to serve in Angola. Cuban forces in Angola reportedly are volunteers, mostly drawn from reserve units.

After three years of conversations with the Reagan administration and the South African government, Angola announced in November the conditions it had put to South Africa for a settlement. They included implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for independence for Namibia, a complete South African military withdrawal from that territory and a halt to logistical aid to

Savimbi's UNITA guerrilla group.

In return, Angola said it would agree to a phased withdrawal of 20,000 Cuban soldiers from southern Angola over a period of three years. A residual Cuban force, the size of which is not disclosed in the published Angolan proposal, would remain, for an indefinite period, north of the 13th Parallel around the capital city of Luanda and in the oil-producing enclave of Cabinda, which is separated from the rest of Angola by a strip of Zaire.

South Africa swiftly accepted the principles of withdrawal outlined by the Angolans but rejected the procedures. Frank G. Wisner, deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, has engaged both governments in a new round of discussions in recent weeks in an effort to break the deadlock.

In his remarks to three Washington Post editors, Castro provided some new details of the proposals as understood by the Cubans.

He indicated that the Cuban force that would remain behind would number up to 10,000 soldiers and would be garrisoned around airports, communication points, the capital and Cabinda, where Gulf Oil produces 155,000 barrels of oil a day.

"Cabinda is vital for the Angolan economy. Gulf Oil works there, and I think they are satisfied, they have

been well defended. Clearly we don't do it to defend the interests of Gulf. We are defending the interests of Angola, and the oil suits both Angola and Gulf. Our forces there are not part of those covered in the negotiations taking place," Castro said.

"If an agreement is reached, we will comply rigorously to the part which involves us," he continued, speaking of the Namibia negotiations. "It is the Angolans who have to decide." Castro said it would take the Angolans three years to "replace our troops with their troops. . . . Our troops in the south approach a figure of 20,000 men and constitute the bulk of the Cuban forces" in Angola.

Withdrawal of the residual force in the north "could be discussed and agreed upon between the Cubans and Angolans in conformance with Angola's security needs," he said.

Explaining his willingness to consider cooperation with the U.S. dip-

lomatic effort, Castro said, "I believe that the United States is interested in its relations with black Africa and really doesn't want to appear tied to the policy of apartheid. I believe the United States also has an obsessive desire for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. For the United States, a small country like Cuba having some troops in some places seems to be a violation of tradition, of the norms."

But he seemed to indicate that other African states may have misgivings about the negotiations. Citing public declarations by neighboring African states criticizing the U.S. effort, Castro said, "The frontline states, black Africa in general, is not pleased about the idea of a Cuban troop withdrawal. They feel very threatened by 'South Africa. . . . The only outside forces that have supported them have been the Cuban forces, and they feel that when these forces are withdrawn, they could be at the

mercy of South Africa."

Castro drew a contrast between Angola and Ethiopia, where up to 17,000 Cuban troops arrived in 1977 to help repel an invasion from Somalia.

"In Ethiopia, our force is very small, composed of well-armed units, with a good fire potential," he said. "Our presence there now is more symbolic at the side of the Ethiopian force; it is not the same as Angola."

## TOUGH CHOICES (Continued)

invested by these companies and the amount of their bank loans to the South African government are difficult to obtain.

U.S. firms — often scorned for their dealings with South Africa, and rarely praised for their recent assistance to its black-majority population — are hesitant to talk about apartheid or the extent of their investments. Mobil and Chase Manhattan Bank, which has made substantial loans to the South African government, declined to comment.

Some 135 U.S. firms operating in South Africa are signatories of the Sullivan Principles, a voluntary code of conduct that calls for desegregated facilities, trade union rights, minimum wages and equal pay for black workers. In recent years, U.S. firms have poured more than \$70 million into education and housing for black South Africans.

"We think that the Sullivan Principles provide an excuse for the corporations to continue their investments in South Africa," says Kenneth S. Zinn, associate director of the Washington Office on Africa. "We think U.S. investment props up apartheid."

The Reagan administration, in renouncing the use of punitive sanctions against South Africa, has stressed the strategic importance of that nation and voiced concern that it could fall under Soviet influence.

It also says that sanctions would hurt black South Africans.

"The administration is opposed to disinvestment and punitive economic sanctions on the grounds that it would harm people for whose benefits they are made," said Robert Bruce, a State Department spokesman.

"Black South Africans have waited long enough for equal rights and an equal role in that country. They want majority rule now," says Gay McDougall, a spokeswoman for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

The group has defended South African political prisoners and U.S. anti-apartheid protestors, but has not taken a position on disinvestment.

# Drought Weakens Age-Old Social Fabric in Chad

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

NDJAMENA, Chad — Many pairs of eyes watched anxiously as gruel was ladled from two large caldrons into the enamel or tin bowls that children thrust up at women serving two waiting lines.

Straining at the ropes behind which a volunteer worker had confined them, the hungry watched fearfully to see whether there would be some gruel left for them. They were kept behind the ropes by teen-age boys armed with whips and appointed to maintain order by officials of the camp, in Abéché.

As the lines of children reached their end, so did the gruel. When the women who were left hungry behind the ropes wailed and protested, the youths with the whips went into action.

The drought of more than a decade in this region has done more than cause the starvation exhibited in camps such as the one in Abéché.

The suffering and scarcities have begun to disrupt age-old ways. Volunteer doctors and missionaries here say the effects of the long drought are weakening the social structure.

## A Tradition of Mutual Help

In areas where people have always existed on the margin of survival and general poverty has been a great equalizer, mutual help has been the tradition. It is founded, perhaps, on a realization that anyone at any time might fall victim to nature in a region where nature is at its most unkind. The extended-family system, a network that imposes mutual rights and obligations between even distant relatives, is a vital binding force among the people of this region.

It is showing signs of strain, according to foreign volunteers living and working in the bush.

Dr. Jan van Erps, a Belgian who has been living in the region of Mongo in central Chad for more than two years, and his companion, Catherine Jogue, a French nurse, said they were seeing ever-increasing signs of rejection of traditional obligations.

Above all, they said, it is no longer unusual to encounter in their clinic well-fed parents accompanying seriously undernourished children.

## 'The Men Eat First'

"In the families, the men eat first, women second, then children," the 32-year-old physician said. "Cousins are no longer welcome when they come to share scarce food."

Dr. van Erps and Miss Jogue said they believed that parents often simply let their sick children die so that they could share out scant food among those of the family with a better chance of surviving.

Searching for an explanation for his observations of weakening ties between parents and children, Dr. Bart Callewaert, a Belgian who works in Massakory, north of this capital, thought out loud as he said: "Families around here have 10 or more children. They are used to seeing some of them die. One gets used to it a little."

In the Massakory region, where tens of thousands of people from the completely desertified north pass through or camp in their search for food, traditional mutual assistance is under severe strain. About 11,000 refugees from hunger have set up a warren of crude huts next to the town of Moussoro, which is no bigger than the encampment.

The squatters live almost exclusively on what they can beg in town, particularly from market vendors. "This is what has kept them from dying so far," said Abdoulaye Ibet, a local official. But often begging yields nothing.

"The people in town are poor, too," said Djezoubou Sougui, a widow with seven children.

Dr. Jean-Pierre d'Altilia, who heads the health teams sent here by Medicine Without Frontiers, a European volunteer group, recalled with a shudder scenes of pitched battle with axes and clubs that he had witnessed when his teams of relief workers distributed limited numbers of blankets to groups suffering in the desert cold.

Profiteering is taking the place of tradition, said the Rev. Gianni Zucca, an Italian Jesuit missionary. Northern herdsmen driving their cattle southward in search of pasture reach Abéché starved.

In the market there, Father Zucca said, cattle traders pay only \$11 for a cow.

Even on the national scene, in this and other countries, longstanding, implicit social contracts are wearing thin.

Reports are increasing of conflict between northern herdsmen and southern peasants, who through the ages have coexisted. In normal years, the cattle-men have been able to drive their herds southward for pasture when the southern harvests are in and let their cattle graze in the stubble.

But this year, earlier than ever before, they are arriving as the peasants are struggling to save at least some of their withering crops. They compete for fields and wells.

Missionaries and other foreign residents see a mounting risk of explosion as populations that have been able to live at peace when great distances separated them are compressed into steadily diminishing space.

"If they don't die from hunger they may die from civil war," a missionary said.

## World Bank: Africa Funds Goal Met

By Hobart Rowen

World Bank officials yesterday claimed they have substantially achieved their objective of raising more than \$1 billion for a special new fund to support economic recovery and policy reform in sub-Saharan Africa.

At a meeting of officials of 23 countries in Paris last week, actual pledges for the multilateral pool of money came to only \$667 million from nine countries, including a contribution of \$150 million from the bank itself.

A pledge of another \$150 million is expected to be announced shortly by Canada, raising the total pledged for the multilateral facility to more than \$800 million. "That's quite an achievement without counting on four major countries—Japan, West Germany, the United Kingdom and Switzerland," a bank official said.

Those four countries pledged an additional \$425 million at the Paris session in a "special joint financing." But although those funds will be used bilaterally for the same purposes as will be the multilateral facility, they are not part of it, nor was it clear yesterday how much of the \$425 million will be "untied."

When donated funds are untied, the procurement can take place in any country contributing to the pool, and used in any country approved by the bank for participation.

Bank officials anticipate that much of the \$425 million from the four nations will be untied.

The United States, which attended the Paris session, had indicated in advance that it would not contribute to the new fund because of other commitments to sub-Saharan African aid and development.

The bank's initiative for the new facility has been under way since mid-1984, and is designed to reverse the sharp economic decline of the region and help restore growth.

The funds will be disbursed only to those nations that pledge to restore a semblance of economic order by undertaking specific reforms.

In persuading the donor nations to participate in the special effort, the bank's representatives argued that, without a concerted multilateral and bilateral approach, whatever forward momentum exists in African countries such as Ghana, Zambia, Madagascar and Senegal would be lost.

# U.S. Giving for African Famine Relief Slacks Off

By Linda Weinstein  
Associated Press

American contributions to African famine relief have exceeded by far the response to any previous global emergency, but there are signs that the outpouring is slowing.

Spokesmen for some of the private relief organizations working in Ethiopia, Sudan and other drought-stricken African nations say that donations have dropped off since the end of the year after the surge that followed widely publicized reports on the famine last October.

Americans have given more than \$60 million so far for the African relief effort, according to estimates supplied by the private groups.

The organization works through local Catholic parishes, she noted, and while "individual contributions have slowed a bit, people are giving through groups such as parish and community groups."

The Catholic group has raised about \$30 million through last week, including \$7 million that was raised by the American bishops in parish collections.

Likewise, Lutheran World Relief has experienced "no appreciable drop," said the Rev. Robin Shaffer, a retired pastor who is helping the relief effort. In December alone, the latest month for which figures were available, the Lutheran organization allocated \$2.9 million for the purchase of trucks and food in Africa, he said.

"By mid-January, it had really dropped off," said Chris Cartter, associate director of Grassroots International. He estimated that since October, his organization, which is funneling aid to rebel areas in northern Ethiopia, had received about \$550,000, with the bulk of the money raised by the end of December.

Other organizations, particularly those receiving funds from church congregations, said their contributions remain strong.

"Things have slowed a little bit, [but] they haven't slowed to the point of having dropped off," said Beth Griffin, a spokeswoman for Catholic Relief Services, the major coordinator of relief efforts in Ethiopia among the U.S. volunteer agencies.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

FEBRUARY 5, 1985

## Mozambique under siege: rebels threaten pact with South Africa

By Ken Pottinger  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon

There are signs that South Africa's historic nonaggression pact with its Marxist-ruled neighbor, Mozambique, may fail to make its first birthday — March 16.

Should the pact fall by the wayside, Pretoria's effort to create what some call a constellation of black client states in the region would suffer a major blow — as would negotiations for a settlement in Namibia (South-West Africa), a territory that South Africa has administered since the close of World War II.

Against this background, the Reagan administration recently pledged "nonlethal" military assistance and food aid worth \$15 million to Mozambique.

Contrary to expectations, the rebels of the Renamo movement (formerly known as the Mozambique National Resistance) have achieved remarkable advances since the signing by South Africa and Mozambique 11 months ago of the Accord of Nkomati — a pact designed, in part, to end Renamo's activities. Prior to the signing, South Africa had financed — and many say trained — Renamo forces.

Renamo has largely cut off road and rail communications around Mozambique's capital, Maputo. The rebels destroyed a bridge in the south of the country Jan. 25, severing rail links with South Africa. And they attacked power lines into the capital, depriv-

ing it of electricity for the seventh time in two months. The rebels have as many as 18,000 to 20,000 members, almost matching the strength of Mozambique's Army. Officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees say scores of Mozambican refugees are fleeing rebel activity by crossing into Zimbabwe.

Jorge Correia, a Lisbon-based Renamo spokesman, claimed last week that unless Mozambican President Samora Machel denounces the Accord of Nkomati soon, he could face a revolt from within the ranks of his ruling party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). His assessment is partially shared by Western diplomats here.

Accounts reaching Lisbon tell of growing discontent among Frelimo's radical wing, which is led by Army strong man Gen.

Armando Guebuza and Marcelino dos Santos, the secretary for economic affairs. This pro-Soviet faction considers the accord a serious error and calls for use of guerrilla tactics against the rebels.

The faction suggests that Machel will have to either seriously reassess the accord by its first anniversary or face substantial challenges within the party.

Meanwhile South Africa has taken ac-

tion to keep it alive. It summoned Renamo official two weeks ago to try to force a cease-fire. And South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha secretly traveled to several East African countries to urge them to stop supporting Renamo.

But the rebels insist on several preconditions before making a deal. They say they want public recognition from Mozambique and a commitment to free presidential elections. They describe themselves as pro-Western, champion a mixed economy, and demand an end to Marxist influence in government.

### The Washington Times

FEBRUARY 1, 1985

## Africa

### U.S., Kenya sign food accord

NAIROBI, Kenya — The United States and Kenya signed a \$28.5 million food aid agreement yesterday for 120,000 metric tons of corn — the largest food-aid grant ever given by Washington to an East African country, a U.S. Embassy statement said. The grant was first announced in Washington last November.

Kenya is listed by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization as one of the 21 African nations worst hit by drought and famine.

The objective of the \$28.5 million grant is to deliver free of charge 22 pounds of food per person per month to 1.5 million Kenyans in areas struck hardest by the drought and famine.

The first 55,000 metric ton shipment of corn was expected to arrive in the port of Mombasa next week. The grant raises to \$100 million total U.S. food, development and military aid to Kenya since mid-1984.

From Times News Services and Staff Reports

By CLIFFORD D. MAY  
Special to The New York Times

## Aid Officials Say Ethiopia May Put Arms Before Food

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Jan. 31 — Aid officials and Western diplomats here say they have become concerned that ships delivering military equipment to Ethiopia are being given priority over ships bringing food to famine victims.

One senior Western aid official said Wednesday that the apparent priority treatment given to Soviet weapons over Western food "is only the most prominent incident" in "a long series of hurdles and constraints put in the way of our helping" famine victims.

The officials said two Soviet ships sailed into the Red Sea port of Assab in the third week of January. A Jan. 24 sailing bulletin of Ethiopia's marine transportation corporation classified the cargo on the first ship as "military" and on the second as "private."

Western travelers, including diplomats, who have returned from Assab in recent days said they had seen military equipment being taken off both vessels. The equipment, they said, included as many as 45 tanks, tons of artillery, small arms, ammunition and bombs.

### Shipment Evaluated

"It is a major military import for a country of this size," said one Western official who returned from Assab this week.

Two other ships — a Danish ship reportedly carrying 16,000 metric tons of bagged grain from Australia, and a vessel reportedly carrying 24,500 met-

ric tons of bulk grain from Canada — sailed into Assab on Jan. 14 and Jan. 21, respectively, the officials said.

The Ethiopian Government has agreed to give priority to food aid over any other type of cargo and has pledged that the three berths in Assab would be available at all times for relief shipments. Western diplomats and aid officials said Wednesday that instead, the Soviet ships had been using the berths reserved for relief.

Kurt Jansson, the United Nations Assistant Secretary General in charge of emergency operations in Ethiopia, said senior Ethiopian Government officials responded Wednesday to a letter of concern he had sent by reconfirming their commitments on food priority.

They assured him, he said, that the ship carrying the Australian grain would be allowed to dock Wednesday. The ship did dock and began unloading its cargo, relief officials in the capital said.

[According to United Nations officials in New York, a Soviet ship was moved to make way for the relief vessel. The officials said the ship carrying Canadian grain was expected to unload its cargo Saturday "as scheduled."]

"The practical effect of the Ethiopian Government's actions has been to seriously slow down the aid we are trying to provide," the senior Western

aid official said. "All of us are terribly frustrated."

According to several embassy and relief officials, two West German ships carrying food for famine victims also encountered difficulties this month. They said one of the ships, the Papua, was held in Assab after unloading grain and 500 tents for relief organizations in Ethiopia.

Port authorities, the officials said, inspected the remaining goods on board and found about 60 tons of food and medical supplies consigned to a West German relief organization in the Sudan and intended for famine victims there.

The authorities seized those supplies, refused to give the ship permission to sail and threatened the captain with imprisonment, the officials said. They said that, the West German church organization that had donated the supplies agreed to change the consignment of the supplies to Ethiopia to free the ship.

Many aid officials have been complaining of increasing difficulties and delays in their day-to-day work: getting permits to travel, which are needed for all trips outside the capital area, not receiving responses to queries made to Government officials, not being able to find living space, for which they need Government cooperation, difficulties in obtaining visas, and other bureaucratic roadblocks.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

FEBRUARY 1, 1985

## U.S. Food for Africa Is Called Costly

By SETH S. KING  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — Each week officials of the Agriculture Department and the Agency for International Development receive scores of letters from the public asking why farm surpluses could not just be given outright to starving Africans.

The immediate answer, the officials say, is that they could be. But it would be neither simple nor cheap.

As of the beginning of the month, the Agriculture Department was holding in Government-leased warehouses more than 24 million metric tons of edible farm commodities that it has acquired in the last five years as payment on price-support loans to farmers or has bought to support the price of milk. In addition, at least 4.5 million tons of wheat and 2.6 million tons of corn are expected to be left over in farmers' storage bins next summer before the 1985 crops are harvested.

### How Much U.S. Has Sent

The Agency for International Development, which arranges the transfer of famine aid to African countries, estimated last fall that at least three million tons of food would be needed in the next 10 months to prevent widespread starvation in Ethiopia, Chad, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger and the Sudan.

The Government said at the time

that the United States should provide half of the three million tons and that other countries that export food, such as those in the European Common Market and Canada, Australia, Brazil and Argentina, should provide the rest.

According to the aid agency's latest count, the United States has spent \$279 million to process and start transporting 682,000 metric tons of food to the eight African countries. By the agency's calculations, \$411 million more will be needed to acquire and start the rest of the 1.5 million tons on its way by the end of the fiscal year next September.

### Victims Don't Like Wheat

The Administration expects Congress to approve \$185 million more for famine aid, which will be needed to buy and ship the rest of the commitment. To provide the remaining 1.5 million tons the Africans need, aid officials said, would cost at least \$1 billion more. Agriculture Department officials say a quarter of all famine allocations are spent for transportation.

While all of the commodities the Agriculture Department buys and stores are available for famine aid, few of them are of any practical use in Africa and most of those that are must be processed by commercial food companies in this country before they are shipped to the famine areas.

The primitive transportation systems in Ethiopia, Chad and the Sudan cannot deliver butter and cheese to famine victims. Dried milk is easier to deliver, but there is so little drinkable water in those countries that the milk powder cannot be turned into liquid. Instead, it is sprinkled over cereal cakes. And even though many Africans are starving, they do not like to eat wheat cereals, aid officials say.

"If we start shipping what they won't eat," said Thomas Reece, director of A.I.D.'s Food for Peace Program, "we're just wasting our money and commodities and not doing them any good."

The Agriculture Department's Agriculture Stabilization Service ships the food aid to American ports. Under the supervision of A.I.D., it is then shipped to ports in Africa for American relief agencies or for the African governments, who must process it there with whatever machinery is available.

The American machinery for moving a small portion of its farm surpluses out of storage and into the famine areas is moving as quickly as possible, said Mary T. Chambliss, the Agriculture Department official coordinating the famine efforts.

"But it's easy to see that there's no easy or inexpensive way to get food to the Africans," she said, "even when there are tons of it piled up in our warehouses."

# Instant City in Sudan

## 80,000 Ethiopians Seek Food, Medicine

By Jonathan C. Randal  
Washington Post Foreign Service

WAD KOWLI, Sudan—Less than two months ago Wad Kowli was a river bank overgrown with tall grass known for miles around as a favorite watering hole for thousands of cattle. Today Wad Kowli is the Sudan's fastest growing city, a sprawling unplanned maze that faces a multitude of major problems, including lack of food, water and medicine as well as a danger of disease, flood and fire.

Since Dec. 10, when the first 10,000 refugees from Ethiopia's drought-stricken Tigray Province arrived on foot, more than 70,000 have followed, hoping to find food and medical care until the rains finally come in Ethiopia and they can go home. Many parts of Tigray Province have had drought conditions for three to four years.

A total of 127,000 refugees have arrived in Sudan from Ethiopia since October, and relief workers have estimated that 600,000 may be here by the end of March.

Early last week there was talk among overworked relief officials—representing the Sudanese government, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a scattering of private relief agencies—that the numbers had finally stabilized. Arrivals had eased from as high as 3,000 a day to 600, then 20 and 84 on successive days. But on Jan. 24, a record 4,320 arrived. Some of them had been on the march for three weeks, some for much longer.

In the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, a Tigrayan official said, "We estimate 1,500 are starving to death every day among the 6 million to 7 million people" under the control of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Tigray and its allies in Ethiopia. The insurgents have been fighting the Ethiopian government for a decade.

Tekle Woin Assefu, in charge of the Relief Society for Tigray, an arm of the insurgent movement that is organizing the exodus of refugees, said: "If we had proper transportation, everyone would come out."

Osman Meki, the man on the spot for the Sudanese Commission of Refugees, and the western relief

workers don't like to think about those numbers. They keep revising their estimates, still hoping that Wad Kowli will not exceed 100,000 people.

The daily routine here begins after dark when the refugees, who have been fed by the relief society group at regular intervals along the line of march, walk the last eight miles in from the border, to avoid the 100-degree afternoon heat. Lined up in disciplined rows by village, with men in one line and women and children in another, the newcomers are counted.

The next morning they are registered, issued identity cards and deloused to prevent an outbreak of typhus. Their children are vaccinated and sent for special feeding.

Responsibility for distributing the food remains with the village elders to encourage cohesion and maintain the respect of a hierarchy that remains typically Ethiopian despite 10 years of revolution and upheaval.

As the refugees are organized, Wad Kowli is taking on many of the attributes of a medium-sized city—albeit one without plumbing, electricity or other hallmarks of civilization. The French hospital, run by Doctors Without Frontiers, is about to start operating so the relief group's two doctors and four nurses will no longer have to dispense medicine under the trees.

The International Rescue Committee is organizing public sanitation and teaching 120 home visitors to instruct refugees about hygiene. Four more children's feeding stations are about to go up to join the original two. A giant Norwegian warehouse was erected in two days. There even are beds for important visitors.

The major concern is water. For if the first refugees chose this site because the Atbara River still had some running water, American specialists recently estimated that the now stagnant, isolated pools will be exhausted in four to 10 weeks.

So acute is the water shortage that some relief workers are having second thoughts about the 10 recently installed U.S. Army inflatable water tanks each capable of

holding 11,500 quarts and each equipped with a row of 10 faucets.

"Before the refugees had to fetch water from the river," a relief worker said, "Now they just turn on the spigot and waste a lot."

A team from Britain's Oxfam relief society was due to arrive this week to look for more water. No one here likes to think what will happen if none is found.

A lack of water in the next few months could turn into flooding if the Atbara fills up as it used to do before the drought here and in Ethiopia started three years ago. If that happened by June or July, the camp could be at least partially under water and awash in the accumulated waste from a field now set off as a giant outdoor latrine.

Even light rains will make many of the unpaved feeder roads to the main highway impassable because the now black soil turns quickly into mud a yard deep. That means that the camp must stockpile enough food to feed 100,000 people for at least four and perhaps five months until the road can be used again.

A rudimentary airstrip is being hacked out of the bush for emergency resupply, but flying in food is prohibitively expensive. A civil engineer is studying the possibility of paving the worst parts of the roads to allow all-weather travel.

Why keep the refugees here given all these problems? Part of the answer is that they spontaneously chose the site, which had the virtue of some shade trees and proximity to water.

But part of the answer is politics. For the refugees are on the side of the Atbara nearest to the Ethiopian border. And the Sudanese government, while willing to accept refugees, prefers to keep them as close to its frontiers as possible. That way they provoke a minimum of friction with the Sudanese and are less tempted to stay than if they were moved farther from the border.

So despite all the uncertainties, Meki and the relief workers—from the YMCA, Britain's Save the Children, the International Rescue Committee of the United States and France's Doctors Without Fron-

tiers—are proceeding as if Oxfam was sure to find the extra water.

Although Sudanese government policy is that the refugees should leave by May, plans have been made to keep the camp open for at least a year. The rains won't come in Tigray before late spring, those remaining in Tigray won't harvest the crops until November and only then could the long trek home begin. So day by day the relief workers are getting Wad Kowli more organized to cope with the flood of refugees. The food shortage—which meant skipped and undersized rations for days on end—was once critical, but has improved recently.

Even so, Julian Murray, the Briton who represents the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, pleaded for more and faster food shipments. Plans are being made to break the encampment up into six decentralized sectors to lessen the chance of fire sweeping through the site and to increase the efficiency of aid to critically undernourished children, especially those under 5 who are the most at risk.

Many of the arriving refugees suffer from dysentery, malaria, bronchitis, pneumonia or just exhaustion, and there are fears of a meningitis epidemic. Yet all children under 5 have been vaccinated against measles and soon all those under 12 will be as well.

At first light the camp stirs. Camels parade down the camp's main drag carrying poles for huts to replace the emergency tents. Scavengers return from gathering firewood. Bread is baked on open fires on flat pans. And the burial parties gather up the dead on rudimentary stretchers and take them to the cemetery.

When the death rate falls—and it has doubled from a daily average of 10 in just a week—then perhaps the refugees will stop singing their dirges in the middle of the night. And perhaps then some village elders will stop threatening to march their flock back home. Some have argued that the promised food is nowhere to be seen and that they would rather die at home.

# South Sudan City Fears Rebel Attack

By JUDITH MILLER

Special to The New York Times

JUBA, the Sudan, Jan. 26 — The American compound is almost deserted. So is the United Nations enclave. Norwegian Church Aid, a mainstay of the regional aid and relief effort, has evacuated about 150 of its staff and dependents to Nairobi, Kenya.

Ninety percent of the foreign relief workers have left Juba and nearby towns in the last two weeks. Today, the Sudanese insurgents who have been fighting since 1983, warned foreigners to leave to avoid being killed, according to a rebel broadcast from Ethiopia.

Juba is not besieged by the rebels. But their proximity to this regional center constitutes a new phase in the civil war, according to residents.

The rebellion also poses a growing challenge to the Government in Khartoum. A previous period of civil strife ended in 1972, with the Arab-dominated central Government promising greater autonomy to the underdeveloped, black-populated south. The present insurgents contend that the Government has not kept its word.

A redivision of the south into three subregions in June 1983 has been resented by many southerners, who see it as an effort to dilute the promised autonomy of the entire region.

Moreover, the south is not being allocated a fair share of the nation's resources, residents say. For example, it is said to receive only 5 percent of the Sudan's oil imports.

The Government has taken what residents regard as an unconciliatory stance toward the complaints. With both Government and rebel attitudes seeming to harden, no political solution to the civil war appears in sight.

So Juba is awash in rumors. At the Greek Club, the Equatoria Inn, and Juba's other bars, foreigners swap information, much of it inaccurate, about road closings, rebel sightings, and skirmishes.

Jittery soldiers guard the bridge across the Nile. Two tanks are dug in along the west bank. More than a dozen armored personnel vehicles have been deployed at an army base nearby.

For the past month, rebel broadcasts have reiterated the insurgents' intention to take Juba, causing anxiety in this city of 190,000.

Most residents contend that the rebels would not try, or, if they did, would not be able to mount a successful attack.

Although the war is often oversimplified as a fight between the north and south, the southern rebels have been hampered by tribal divisions.

The black tribes in the Equatoria region around Juba have been cool to the insurgency because most of its leaders, including Col. John Garang, an American-educated army defector, come from the Dinka tribe. The Dinka, mostly from Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal provinces farther north, comprise almost two million of the south's six million people.

The south was broken up into three administrative subregions, the Dinka dominated the regional government. They were bitterly resented by the Equatorians.

## Dinka Lose Regional Control

After the break-up of Equatoria, hundreds of Dinka civil servants lost their jobs and were forced to return to their own provinces, adding more Dinka to rebel ranks.

The insurgent movement into Equatoria and the flight of the foreigners has brought development to a standstill. An attack last February on a camp near Bentiu, where Chevron was drilling for oil, stopped exploration. Similar attacks halted the Jonglei Canal project, intended to increase the flow of the Nile northward.

Last week, foreigners abandoned a tea factory being built near Torit, 70 miles southeast of here.

The military situation is clouded. Brig. Gen. Osman Abdullah of the Sudanese Air Force said that the insurgents had 3,000 to 6,000 of their forces, estimated at 10,000 to 15,000, in Equatoria. Three weeks ago, the army began an offensive, he said.

## Government Reports Successes

Maj. Gen. Babikir Abdul Raheem, an army spokesman, said the Government successfully engaged the rebels in early January at Terakeka, 50 miles north of Juba, and at La Fon, 60 miles northeast of here. On Jan. 19, the Government said, the army destroyed a rebel base near the Ugandan border.

The Government said its troops had killed more than 600 rebels at Terakeka, but Juba residents said the rebels had been killed by Mundari tribesmen, rivals of the Dinka.

Soldiers said there were 4,000 to 5,000 army troops in Juba. But several residents expressed concern about what one termed the "steadfastness" of the army.

The war is unpopular with the soldiers, many of whom are northerners, residents said.

"If the soldiers won't fight, Juba could well be isolated," one military expert said. "The rebels are all around us. We could be isolated at any point."

**Los Angeles Times**

February 3, 1985

# Ethiopia Vows to Arm Aid Convoys to Rebel Areas

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia (AP)—The Ethiopian government has refused to allow the Red Cross to transport famine relief into rebel-held areas of the country but promised that it would organize armed convoys to make sure supplies do reach those areas, senior Western aid officials said Saturday.

The officials said Kurt Jansson, the U.N. assistant secretary general, asked Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's head of state, to allow the International Red Cross to organize transportation of food to guerrilla-controlled areas of Tigre and Eritrea provinces.

Jansson's request followed protests from Western donors that food shipments were being blocked to an estimated 2.3 million people in famine-stricken areas outside government control, aid officials said.

The officials declined to be identified lest it harm their working relations with both Ethiopian and U.N. officials.

They said Mengistu turned down Jansson's request, but promised him that Addis Ababa would step up armed convoys of relief supplies to Ethiopia's northern regions.

Past and present governments in Addis Ababa have been battling Eritrean secessionists since 1962 and Tigreans demanding autonomy since the late 1970s.

Jansson confirmed that Mengistu made the assurances at their meeting Wednesday.

"I suggested a formula but was assured by the chairman that the government can reach all people in need in any part of the country,"

Jansson said. "He (Mengistu) said he would increase food convoys, with security escorts, into these areas." Jansson, a Finn appointed to head U.N. emergency operations

in Ethiopia, declined further comment.

Some of the relief officials interviewed Saturday remained skeptical about the effectiveness of government relief convoys.

"Who would the food be reaching?" one official asked. "They can only get it mainly along major roads, and even then they would be subject to rebel attacks."

"And they can only leave it at government-controlled centers, hoping people will come there to collect it. But this would not get food to the people in non-government-controlled areas."

The Red Cross distributes food to areas on both sides of the conflict but in separate programs, one based in Addis Ababa, the other in Khartoum, capital of neighboring Sudan.

## SREWS TIGHTEN (Continued)

gins, Americans are opposed to applying economic sanctions of any sort to South Africa in order to force it to modify or abandon apartheid.

That opposition, the chief finding of a new BUSINESS WEEK/Harris Poll, does not appear to reflect public tolerance of the country's racial policies. In fact, three-quarters of those surveyed said that they did not approve of apartheid. Americans simply conclude that tougher measures would not work—and indeed might harm the interests of South African blacks.

The same top-heavy percentage opposes any U.S. government effort to force American companies to withdraw from South Africa, arguing that a pull-out would be "somewhat effective" at best in bringing about change. And by 61% to 31%, those polled said it would be "against the interests" of black employees of U.S. companies if their employers closed down.

**MILITARY BAN.** Instead, Americans seem to endorse President Reagan's policy of relying on quiet diplomacy to bring about an easing in Pretoria's racist policies. By 58% to 37%, they believe that such an approach is superior to stronger action.

But increasingly, Americans expect U.S. companies in South Africa to join the campaign against apartheid. By a margin of almost 3 to 1, Americans want those companies to "put pressure on the South African government to change its racial policies." Nine years ago, when Louis Harris asked a similar question, fewer than 50% felt that way.

Opposition to economic sanctions appears to have mounted steadily. In 1976 a bare majority opposed a policy that would force U.S. businesses to divest their South African interests; 76% are now opposed. Similarly, in the earlier survey, a plurality of those polled favored barring new U.S. investment. In a shift of sentiment, an

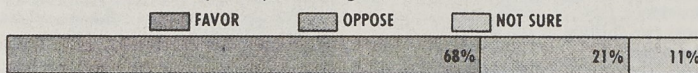
absolute majority now opposes that idea. Americans also reject the suggestions of some apartheid opponents that U.S. banks be barred from lending in South Africa or that a trade embargo be imposed (chart). By a narrow margin, however, they favor the existing ban on military sales.

The poll does suggest that Americans are not comfortable with the U.S.'s civil—if not warm—relations with South Africa's white minority government. Almost two-thirds of those polled said they were "sympathetic" to the recent round of protests at South African government facilities in the U.S. And by a margin of 53% to 39%, Americans declared it "immoral for the U.S. to support a government such as South Africa that oppresses blacks." Yet 64% of those surveyed said the U.S. "must stay on good terms" with the white minority government because of South Africa's rich resources.

By Stuart Jackson in New York

### AMERICANS FAVOR POLITICAL PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA...

**Q. Should the U.S. press the South African government to give blacks more freedom and participation in government?**



### ...BUT THEY OPPOSE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

**Q. Should the U.S. government take these steps?**

**A. Bar new bank loans**



**Block all new business investment**



**End all trade with South Africa**



**Force U.S. businesses to close down existing South African operations**



SURVEY OF 1,254 ADULTS CONDUCTED JAN. 24-27. OVERALL RESULTS SHOULD BE ACCURATE TO WITHIN THREE PERCENTAGE POINTS EITHER WAY.  
DATA: LOUIS HARRIS & ASSOCIATES INC. FOR BUSINESS WEEK

FEBRUARY 7, 1985 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Famine politics

**D**ISTURBING evidence surfaces once again that hunger is being used as a political weapon in Ethiopia.

Reports from that nation cite fresh evidence that, despite the continuing famine, the unloading of ships carrying arms supplies is sometimes given precedence over the emptying of ships bearing food. In addition, the Ethiopian government continues to make it extremely difficult, to say the least, for humanitarian agencies to get food to the hungry in rebel-held areas of the north.

These developments are nothing new for Ethiopia; similar problems have occurred in recent months.

In past years many other nations have used famine as a political weapon. But past actions are no excuse.

As suggested some while ago on these pages by Dr. Jean Mayer, president of Tufts University, the world should ban the use of starvation as a weapon. The hungry of whatever ideology should be fed.

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