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U.S., Pretoria Hold High-Level Meeting

By Don Oberdorfer

High-level officials of the United States and South Africa met in unusual secrecy in Vienna yesterday after the Pretoria government made known its intention to inform Washington of "important decisions" soon to be made in that strife-torn country.

The U.S. delegation, headed by presidential national security affairs adviser Robert C. McFarlane, met a team headed by South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha at the U.S. Embassy in the Austrian capital. The two groups plan to meet again in Vienna today without McFarlane, who is flying home to report to President Reagan.

Officials here said a South African request last week for an "urgent meeting" suggested that a package of new measures and policy declarations is being considered to ameliorate the increasingly violent situation in that country and to placate the rapidly growing international reaction.

Officials said the Reagan administration, which took no action on an earlier request for a high-level meeting of the two governments, concluded early this week that the new approach from South Africa was positive and promising enough to justify such a session.

"We agreed to the meeting because of the importance of our having direct contact with the South African government at this tense time," said State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb. He added that "the meeting afforded us an opportunity to discuss the serious situation inside South Africa and in the region, a situation about which the administration has strong views."

Officials said the U.S. team, including Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker and Ambassa-

dor to South Africa Herman W. Nickel, went into the meeting ready to expound Washington's viewpoint on the causes and resolution of the deepening racial strife within South Africa. The State Department said again yesterday that the United States stands for "an end to the violence, the restoration of law and order, the lifting of the state of emergency and the resumption of the black-white dialogue."

Growing conflicts between Washington and Pretoria on regional questions, including a May 21 South African guerrilla raid on the Gulf Oil facility in Angola, were topics for discussion between the two delegations, according to U.S. sources.

"U.S. policy remains the same," said a White House official in response to questions about whether the U.S. delegation was prepared to acquaint Pretoria with any shift in the Reagan administration's embattled policy known as "constructive engagement." Other officials noted, however, that overwhelming congressional support for legislation containing economic sanctions against South Africa presents a new situation that must be taken into account in both capitals.

Botha, who was accompanied by Herbert Beukes, South Africa's ambassador-designate to the United States, was reported also to be meeting with senior officials of the British Foreign Office and other European governments.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) said he received advance notice of yesterday's high-level meeting from Secretary of State George P. Shultz on Wednesday.

"We have been trying to get their [South Africa's] attention," Lugar

Continued on page 15

Pope aims to reconcile differing beliefs

Compiled from wire services

Vatican City

Pope John Paul II leaves today on his third tour of Africa, aiming to reconcile Christianity with local beliefs on a continent where Islam and animism predominate.

He will visit six black African states with substantial numbers of Roman Catholics before rounding off the 12-day trip with a brief stopover in Morocco, which is Muslim. The pontiff is expected to speak out on Africa's grave problems of poverty, famine, and armed conflict.

African Catholics are prone to tinge their beliefs with local traditions, and church sources said the blending of Roman Catholic dogma with African conditions was expected to be the most delicate topic of the visit.

Vatican officials estimate that 16 percent of Africans are now Catholic, compared with 1 percent in 1900. With its aid and evangelical programs, the Vatican expects to raise the number of Catholics in Africa to 100 million by the year 2000 — 18 percent of the population predicted for Africa by that year.

Catholic missionaries from various religious orders including the Jesuits are actively engaged in educational efforts — running schools and organizing special courses — to eradicate illiteracy in black Africa.

No figures are available, but Vatican sources say an increasing number of Africa's ruling class have attended Catholic-run schools. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, a Marxist, was educated in Catholic missionary schools. Leaders of three countries the Pope is visiting — Ivory Coast, Zaire, and Togo — are Catholic.

In Kenya, the church is playing a major critic's role, denouncing the nation's campaign of sterilization and artificial birth control. Kenya has the world's highest rate of population growth: 4 percent a year.

Washington Times

AUGUST 7, 1985

Zimbabwe regime arrests 31 foes

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Police said yesterday a member of Parliament was among 31 people, 14 of them women, arrested during a government crackdown on the party of opposition leader Joshua Nkomo.

Sydney Malunga, the chief whip of Mr. Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union party, was arrested in Harare last Thursday while trying to leave by air for the southern city of Bulawayo, a police spokesman said.

Tutu resists Senate foes stall vote on South Africa sanctions

By Sam Fulwood III

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Challenging new government restrictions on funeral services for victims of South Africa's unrest, Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that he would break the law if it interfered with his Christian calling.

"I will speak as I always speak," he said. "I will not be told by any secular authorities what gospel I must preach."

"For goodness sake," he said to the government, "recognize us as human beings. We are not allowed

into your Parliament and when we try to speak to our people at our funerals, you restrict us."

"I appeal to the authorities, please do not try and find points of confrontation and make worse a situation which is already bad," the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg said. "If they try and promulgate laws that are unjust, I am going to break these laws."

His comments, made before approximately 2,000 mourners gathered at a community hall in Tumahole, a black township 65 miles south of Johannesburg, came a day after government officials announced details of their restrictions on black funerals. Tumahole is outside the 36 areas specified by the decree and therefore the bishop was not directly challenging the law by making his comments where he did.

Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange said earlier this week that the government would limit the number of people attending funerals in black townships and would prevent the ceremonies and processions from becoming political events. Under South Africa's laws, funerals have been the only legal public gathering for blacks.

Greater police patrols in the townships during the last year have triggered political activity and deaths, which, in turn, have resulted in a greater number of politically charged funerals. Before the government declared a state of emergency last month, more than 500 blacks had been killed, often by police and often at township funerals.

In the special order, he forbade outdoor memorials for people who died of unnatural causes in any of the 36 magisterial districts covered by the recently declared state of emergency. In addition, the new regulations state that a funeral can only be held for one person at a time and restrict what can be done or said at the funeral.

"Only an ordained minister of a religious denomination or organization may act as a speaker during any

House approves measure, 380-48

By Jaleh Haghigh

WASHINGTON — The House yesterday overwhelmingly approved a bill to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, but a filibuster by Senate conservatives apparently blocked a final vote before September.

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who opposes sanctions, led the group of conservatives who blocked final congressional action as the Senate worked its way to adjournment last night. Their strategy frustrated a clear majority who wanted to join the House in substantive measures against South Africa's policy of apartheid — or discrimination against non-whites.

The House bill passed easily by a vote of 380-48. The Maryland delegation voted unanimously for it.

Late last night, time was running out on supporters of the legislation. Congress can stop a filibuster with a two-thirds majority, but a bill freed from filibuster normally must wait two days for final action. Congress begins a month-long recess today.

It is not clear whether President Reagan will sign the bill. He has repeatedly opposed economic sanctions, saying they would hurt blacks and lessen U.S. influence for gradual

change.

of the proceedings at any such funeral ceremony," the order said. The officiating minister, the order continued, "shall not at such a ceremony in any manner defend, attack, criticize, propagate or discuss any form of government, any principle or policy of a government of a state, any boycott action, the existence of a state of emergency or any action by a force or member of force."

Further, the order requires that persons attending funerals in the affected areas must travel by vehicle and along a route determined by the divisional head of police in the area.

It also forbids the use of public address systems and the display of flags, banners, pamphlets, placards and posters during the ceremonies.

Earlier this week, after Mr. Le Grange signaled the government's intent to restrict funerals, the Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said, "There can be no doubt in the minds of all thinking people that Mr. Le Grange is deliberately provoking our people, forcing them to challenge the awesome forces of his government."

"Funerals have from time immemorial been special occasions for black people. It is a time for grieving and sharing of burdens, as well as affirming community togetherness."

White House spokesman Larry M. Speakes said yesterday that the president has not made up his mind. "Until it gets to his desk, he will not say what he will do," Mr. Speakes said. He dismissed reports that the president would support a sanctions bill if a majority of Congress approved it and if the sanctions were not excessive.

In opposing the bill, Mr. Helms said sanctions would take jobs away from blacks and trigger "disinvestment" — the withdrawal of American investment in South Africa. Direct and indirect U.S. investment has been estimated as high as \$15 billion.

"Disinvestment is the wrong way to go," Mr. Helms argued recently. "It would be very harmful to blacks in South Africa, whom we are supposedly trying to help."

Representative William H. Gray III, D-Pa., chairman of the House Budget Committee, said that argument "is like arguing that you cannot end slavery because you will have an unemployment problem."

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, asserting that the United States cannot afford "any more enemies," said in an interview yesterday that economic sanctions weakening the government of South Africa could lead to an even worse regime — even one as bad as Iran.

The compromise bill supporting sanctions, which came out of a House and Senate conference committee Wednesday, would ban immediately the sale of the South African kruggerand gold coin, prohibit new bank loans and sale of nuclear and computer technology to the South African government. However, it would allow new U.S. investment in that country, something that the original House bill opposed.

Under the legislation, all sanctions could be waived in one year by the president if he felt — and Congress agreed — that the South African government was easing its apartheid policies. If within a year they did not, the president would have to recommend more sanctions with congressional approval, including the ban on new U.S. investments and on coal and uranium exports.

The support for sanctions among both Democrats and Republicans is a first for Congress and is a strong repudiation of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" — that is, working for change with quiet diplomacy.

European countries call envoys home

By Antero Pietila

HELSINKI, Finland — The European Community, while remaining split on sanctions against South Africa, announced yesterday that its 10 member countries had agreed to summon their ambassadors home from Pretoria for "consultations."

The action came as the five Nordic countries also said they were planning to call their chiefs of missions from South Africa for negotiations. Meanwhile, sources here said the five — Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland — had drawn up a list of possible economic sanctions, which were being reviewed by their respective governments.

Neither the Nordic countries nor the European Community — except for France, which withdrew its ambassador from Pretoria last week — are contemplating the permanent recall of their top diplomats.

But their actions seem to represent a potential first step in a strategy to isolate South Africa's white minority government both commercially and politically.

In South Africa, a spokesman said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would withhold comment until after he had studied the exact text of the decision, but the move was reported in banner headlines in all the newspapers.

The European Community foreign ministers made their decision in an acrimonious four-hour meeting early yesterday morning. During the meeting, a South African envoy delivered a list of the country's exports to Western Europe — with all the strategic minerals and materials underlined, sources said.

It was not clear yesterday when the European Community recall would take place. But sources said the 10 ambassadors would be present at the meeting of the community's political committee Sept. 10 in Luxembourg, a day after the group's foreign ministers are scheduled to meet in Strasbourg, France.

A European Community press release issued after the meeting said the 10 countries — as well as Spain and Portugal, which are soon to enter the bloc — were particularly strong in their condemnation of a state of emergency declared by Pretoria's white minority government after some of the worst racial bloodshed in South Africa's recent history.

They also condemned the refusal of the South African government to have talks with Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning South African black who has tried to mediate in the developing bloodshed.

The European Community called upon the Pretoria government to

Continued on page 15

South Africa digs in its heels

By Patrick Laurence

Johannesburg

Throughout his career South African President Pieter W. Botha has confronted political enemies eyeball to eyeball — and forced them to back down.

So far, Mr. Botha is responding to the serious internal and external pressures buffeting South Africa in the same steely-eyed manner.

On the international front, Botha has responded with defiance to the withdrawal of the US and French ambassadors. Yesterday's announcement that in addition to France the other countries of the European Community, plus Spain and Portugal, would withdraw ambassadors from South Africa for consultations did not unnerve Botha.

At home he responded this week to the continuing rebellion in black townships by imposing tough new curbs on funeral services. Earlier Botha refused to discuss the rebellion with Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Botha declared a

state of emergency in 36 districts July 21.

The restrictions on funerals have prompted bitter reactions from black leaders, since those services have been one of the last legal forums for black political expression. At a funeral service yesterday for three unrest victims Bishop Tutu gave advance notice that he would defy the ban on discussion of political issues at funerals.

Perhaps Botha's most defiant reaction to pressure has been his threat to deport 1.5 million foreign blacks from South Africa if the member states of the United Nations impose sanctions against South Africa. The UN Security Council recently voted, with the US and Britain abstaining, in favor of voluntary sanctions. France has already banned new investments.

Botha's immediate objective in threatening expulsion of black workers seems to be twofold: (1) to reassure his followers at home that he does not cower in the face of foreign pressure and (2) to prod some of South Africa's black-ruled neighbors to speak out loudly against international sanctions aimed at South Africa.

The possibility of expelling black laborers emphasizes South Africa's economic power in the subcontinent and its ability to inflict economic damage on its neighbors.

Foreign Minister Roelof Botha insisted that the President was not threatening South Africa's neighbors but merely spelling out the consequences for them of world sanctions.

South African news media, however, have chosen to see President Botha's statement as a threat. A pro-government Afrikaans newspaper headlined its front page: "SA hits back! Retaliatory plan after UN decision."

Use by Pretoria of its economic power against its neighbors would, of course, be costly to South Africa as well as to its neighbors. It is perhaps for that reason that organized commerce and industry greeted Botha's threat with somber silence rather than applause.

South Africa's neighbors are economically vulnerable in three areas: labor, transport, and trade.

Black migrant labor comes from five neighboring states: Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, and Swaziland. Forty percent of the total migrant black labor force work in the mines. **More than half** of the migrant miners come from Lesotho, which is most vulnerable to

repatriation of its workers.

The number of Lesotho nationals earning wages in South Africa is twice the number earning a living in their home country. Remittances from Lesotho miners account for 40 percent of the nation's gross income.

Sudden repatriation would, in the words of an official report, "pauperize the majority of Lesotho households." Even phased withdrawal by Lesotho of its migrant workers is not a realistic option, according to Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal.

South Africa's dominance of the subcontinent's transportation network is evident from its possession of 75 percent of the railway lines and of the region's most efficient ports.

Much of the trading activity of the black-ruled states is routed through South Africa. In the cases of Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia more than half of their trade flows through South Africa. The dependence of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland is even greater.

The dependency is accentuated by the guerrilla wars in Angola and Mozambique, where rebels allegedly backed by Pretoria repeatedly sabotage rail links with the ports of Lobito in Angola and Maputo in Mozambique, forcing goods from Zambia and Zimbabwe to take longer routes through South Africa.

It is significant that during the drought of 1983-84 consignments of food relief from abroad destined for other African countries were landed at South African ports.

The same dependence on South Africa is reflected in trade. About 90 percent of imports, including vital foodstuffs, to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland come from South Africa, either from South African companies or from South African-based foreign companies. South Africa remains a major trading partner of Zimbabwe, has become Zambia's second most important supplier, and is the chief source of goods for Malawi and Mozambique.

Costs of repatriation to South Africa itself are most easily measured by looking at the mining industry, one of the few buoyant sectors of the nation's economy. Any abrupt expulsion of foreign miners would be as harmful to South Africa as it would be to its neighbors.

That is particularly true in the case of the miners from Lesotho, who are among the most skilled and industrious in South Africa's vital gold mining industry, particularly when it comes to highly specialized deep mining.

They are not easily replaced. Sudden dismissal would be thoroughly disruptive to the gold mines, which remain South Africa's biggest foreign exchange earner.

Moreover, as Erich Leistner of the Africa Institute, a research group in Pretoria, has noted, removal of foreign migrant workers could well strengthen the bargaining position of the National Union of Mineworkers. The black union is threatening to strike over a wage dispute.

Repatriation of thousands of workers from Mozambique would be in direct violation of a recent agreement between South Africa and Mozambique and contrary to the spirit of the Nkomati Accord signed between the two countries in March last year.

But these constraints do not mean that President Botha's warning of retaliatory action is an idle threat or a mere game of brinkmanship. In the past Pretoria has used its economic power as a political weapon.

It did so when it repatriated thousands of black workers from neighboring Zimbabwe in 1981-82 in response to the hostile attitude of the Zimbabwe prime minister, Robert Mugabe. It imposed a partial economic blockade on

Continued on page 4

Gold Can't Save Apartheid

More swiftly than anyone foresaw, South Africa's choices are being narrowed. The country's white rulers seem incapable even of a gesture of conciliation to nonviolent blacks like Bishop Tutu, and this has the effect of encouraging civil if not revolutionary disobedience. Though isolated as never before and the target of multiplying sanctions, South Africa's leaders no doubt have the power to put down this summer's defiance. But they seem to be condemning their country to a downward cycle of repression and recession.

To a degree, South Africa's economy is sanction-proof. Its resources and economic reserves are sufficient to weather most short-term calamities, even the strike now threatened by the union of black mine workers. Most whites live comfortably by Western standards, luxuriously by Africa's; a bottle of Scotch is still \$6. South Africa is well prepared for foreign retribution; it can get by with its own energy and weapons.

Yet the future must look bleak in Pretoria these days. President P.W. Botha's two-week-old state of emergency for many black areas has failed to restore order. And in the unsentimental verdict of money men, the country's future is uncertain. In a fortnight, the value of South African gold stocks has plunged by one-fifth. This follows a two-year worldwide decline from \$460 to about \$325 an ounce, in a commodity that provides half the country's foreign exchange.

The emergency has dramatized a parallel decline in the dollar value of South Africa's currency. One day last week, on the mere report that a major American bank would no longer lend to South Africans, the rand dipped by 6 cents, or 12 percent. The bank turned out to be Chase Manhattan, and its largely symbolic action is sure to be followed by others.

Often enough, Pretoria has been able to shrug off market fluctuations, diplomatic ostracism and domestic turmoil. Its hard-boiled calculation has been that the world's desire for gold would always outweigh scruple and leave its corner of Africa safe for apartheid. But the application of sanctions abroad and the agitation of black unions at home suggest that the regime cannot count indefinitely on buying its way out of trouble.

Underscoring that message is certainly the intent of the United States Congress, which seems likely to vote for at least mild economic sanctions this fall. Even President Reagan, who has wanted to appear as Pretoria's friend, has hinted that he may sign such a measure. Though the President perceives more positive reform in South Africa than most observers, he recognizes the need for "fluctuations" of tone, as he put it yesterday, in pressing for the end of apartheid.

Incredibly, in these circumstances, President Botha cannot bring himself to meet with Bishop Tutu or other black moderates whose influence over younger blacks is fast fading. Having falsely branded the bishop an extremist, Mr. Botha is trapped by his own propaganda and unable to justify political negotiation with blacks to his more extreme white followers. Looking back upon this summer, the Afrikaners may one day wish they could recapture the moment when blacks still stood ready to engage them in nonviolent bargaining.

Better than a veto

When the Senate reconvenes after its August holiday, it will have to take up those House-passed sanctions against South Africa. Not that the good senators will be reluctant. The sanctions are cheap morality after all, and far be it from most senators to miss a chance to support that. Meanwhile, pundits make wagers on whether President Reagan will veto this farrago of false recititude.

If the Gipper feels assertive, a veto is nearly certain. He understands better than anyone on the Hill — even, alas, the Conservative Opportunists — that political interference in normal economic behavior will hurt South Africa's blacks most of all. Nothing has contributed to liberality in that beleaguered country, nor hastened the demise of apartheid, so much as American investments.

That President Reagan showed Congress who was boss in the recent budget imbroglio suggests that he has a renewed appreciation of principled responses. Considered in the strict context of a philosophical issue, a presidential veto would be exactly the proper gesture. And if explained to the nation by the Great Communicator, it would do much for the apolitical nature of human progress. A veto it should be, then.

Still, the sanctions furnish the president with a chance to do some high-minded maneuvering. Mr. Reagan could quietly hold out to South Africa's President P.W. Botha a veto carrot, in exchange for having Mr. Botha drop his repressive state of emergency decree, which not only exacerbates the crisis in South Africa, but also inflames our moralistic congressmen. And he could arrange some unambiguous power-sharing with moderate black leaders, such as Zulu chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi.

Mr. Reagan should withhold his decision on the sanctions until he has engaged himself constructively, shall we say, on the matter. Though Mr. Botha has shown no talent in the art of defusing a revolutionary tinderbox, he can legitimately take credit for repealing the bulk of petty apartheid. The terrible irony is that his impulse toward liberalization gave rise to greater expectations and violence. What is left to bring down is the retrograde relocation program and the more egregious suppression of political rights.

Call it statesmanship or high pragmatism, but — thanks to the sainted boobs of Congress — Mr. Reagan has an opportunity to redeem his much-maligned South African policy.

SOUTH AFRICA DIGS IN (Continued)

another neighbor, Lesotho, in 1983 to force it to expel cadres of the outlawed African National Congress.

Botha has choices other than the stark alternatives of immediate and massive repatriation of foreign workers or passive quiescence. Analysts here point out he could move on a selective basis. For instance, he might tighten up controls against illegal immigration from the north and impose a quota on Lesotho miners that might be reduced every six months.

TRANSCRIPT OF PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE

Do you intend to continue your policy of "constructive engagement," or do you think the time is quite near when you might have to take some action such as sanctions?

I believe the results that we've had in this constructive engagement with South Africa justifies our continuing on that score. Obviously, and as we have made very plain, we all feel that apartheid is repugnant. Now this is the actual participation on a more equitable basis of the black citizens of South Africa. But if you look at the gains that have been made so far by our so-called constructive engagement, the increase in complete biracial education, the fact that American businesses there have, over the last several years, contributed more than \$100 million to black education and housing, the fact that the ban on mixed marriages no longer exists, that some, I think 40-odd business districts have been opened to black-owned businesses, labor union participation by blacks has come into being, and there has been a great desegregation of hotels and restaurants and parks and sport activities and sports centers and so forth.

There are other things I haven't—I cannot list them all here—but all these have been coming about as they have continued to work toward what is the final answer. And I think just recently, and over the weekend the words of [Gatsha] Buthelezi, who is the leader of the Zulus, and they are a full third or more of the black population of South Africa—and he has come out against the idea of hostility, of sanctions and so forth, and said what we have said, that things of that kind would only hurt the people we are trying to help.

So you are going to veto the bill?

I never say what I am going to do until the . . .

Sometimes you do.

. . . thing gets to my desk, but I am going to say that in principle I have to say what I have said—that our continuation of our present program, I think, is the best way that we can be of help to the black citizens of South Africa.

But this is the third week of the state of emergency in South Africa. Your administration has called for it to be lifted, and yet there have been no results on that. What are you going to do to make that point more forcibly to the South African government?

We are going to continue, as I say, and we have—we think we have had some influence so far and they have themselves guaranteed that they want to make progress in that direction. You are talking though now about a governmental reaction to some violence that was hurtful to all of the people. We have seen the violence between blacks there, as well as from the law enforcement, against riotous behavior. I think we have to recognize sometimes when actions are taken in an effort to curb violence.

Would you veto the bill, as it now appears to be going to pass the Senate and has passed the House?

U.S. Banks Cut Loans Sharply to South Africans

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

After years of substantially increasing their lending in South Africa, American banks have begun to cut back sharply on such loans, according to figures released this week by the Federal Reserve Board.

In the first three months of 1985, the period covered by the latest figures, the total amount owed by borrowers in South Africa to American banks dropped by 10.8 percent, to less than \$4.2 billion, from \$4.7 billion.

"This is the exact reversal of what happened for years, with banks steadily increasing their loans," said Richard V. Knight, head of corporate research at the American Committee on Africa, a New York group that has put pressure on banks to stop all South Africa loans.

He added, "It's hard to say what's going to happen in the longer term, but I think bank loans will decrease."

Other organizations as well have put considerable pressure on American banks to halt their lending to borrowers in South Africa. Many big banks, beginning in about 1976 and culminating with a flurry this spring, adopted policies prohibiting new loans to the South African Government and its agencies.

Private-Sector Loans Soared

However, while American bank lending to the South African public sector has been halved since 1982, to a total of \$302.2 million as of March, loans to the private sector have soared. In particular, loans to South African banks skyrocketed to more than \$3.5 billion as of September, from less than \$500 million in 1979.

But this category, like the others, showed a sharp drop since the Septem-

ber peak in lending to South Africans. As of March, loans by American banks to South African banks were below \$2.8 billion. Loans to the private sector, except for banks, totaled \$1.1 billion.

Bar by Security Pacific

Some bankers say the totals are likely to continue to drop sharply, partly because over the last year several institutions have said they will no longer lend even to the private sector in South Africa. The Chase Manhattan Corporation is the best known of the companies reported to have taken such a stand. Others that have done so include the Bank of Boston Corporation, the Seafirst Corporation, the Norwest Corporation, Harris Bankcorp Inc., Wells Fargo & Company and the Mellon Bank Corporation.

In addition, the Security Pacific Corporation said yesterday that it had in practice, though not as a matter of policy, not lent any money to South Africa for several months. "Based on daily economic and credit analyses, we are not currently making private-sector loans to South Africa," said Susan Taha, a senior vice president.

The bank exposures to South Africa could diminish very quickly because the great bulk of the loans are short-term credits. The March figures show \$3.5 billion maturing in one year or less, \$600 million maturing in one to five years and just \$58 million maturing over more than five years.

South Africa ranks 20th in the size of loans from American banks, with about a bit more than 1 percent of the total loans to foreign borrowers. It ranks behind many developed countries, such as Australia and Spain, and also behind some large Latin American borrowers, such as Mexico and Brazil.

Let me wait until I see what comes to my desk. I know that in some of the things that we are talking about in that legislation were things that could be helpful in the very way that I have been talking. I know also, however, that the sanctions would not only be harmful to the black citizens there, they would be harmful to the surrounding black countries whose economies greatly depend on their trade and economic relations with South Africa.

So would it be fair to say that there'll be no change in U.S. policy, nothing to get tougher?

It depends on what you mean by change; if you mean by turning to the thing of sanctions and so forth, no. But there can be fluctuations in your conversation and your relationship with another government.

The Making and Remaking of Foreign Policy

By LESLIE H. GELB

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 — It is standard operating procedure for administrations to overhaul, modify or trim their foreign policies and deny it all the while.

Consider the Reagan Administration's South Africa policy. Called "constructive engagement," it means trying to change South Africa's system of racial separation through persuasion rather than confrontation.

But in recent weeks, among other things, the Administration has recalled its Ambassador to Pretoria and has toughened its anti-apartheid oratory.

According to Administration officials, all that is going on is some tactical trimming. And White House and State Department spokesmen are not even acknowledging that much publicly.

But upon closer inspection, it appears that the Administration has been forced to take these and other steps that run counter to the constructive engagement policy and are more "confrontational" than "engaging." Based on reports today, President Reagan would draw the line at economic sanctions and veto Congressional legislation that tried to impose them.

The process of making alterations but denying that they are being made is not historically unique.

President Johnson put a lid on American troops in Vietnam and insisted that it represented no policy change. President Nixon wanted to get an agreement reducing Moscow's heavy missiles, did not get it, and said what he got was what he wanted all along. President Reagan sent a Marine contingent to Lebanon to defend vital American interests there, and after more than 200 were killed in a terrorist bomb attack, he "redeployed" the unit out of Lebanon and said his policy had achieved its aims.

About the only recent President to admit he changed his mind about anything was Jimmy Carter. At the start of his term he spoke about "the inordinate fear of Communism." After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said he had underestimated the Soviet threat. By testimony of those around him, he came to regret changing his mind publicly.

To openly admit a policy change, even a modest one, is for a President to grant he made a mistake. One mistake opens the door to fallibility in general, and those with political power seem to be more comfortable with people questioning their veracity than their judgment.

The Reagan Administration also appears to fear the consequences in South Africa of talking openly about any policy changes. As Frank G. Wisner, the senior deputy to Chester A. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, put it: "We

must act responsibly. There's a lot of gasoline on the floor in South Africa, and the last people who should strike a match is the Americans."

Beyond this, Administration officials dealing with South Africa show every evidence of still believing that their policy of constructive engagement, over all, is the right one. Privately and publicly, they say that other approaches that entailed confronting and condemning have failed and that there is no alternative to working with Pretoria.

The officials cite the decision this week by Pretoria to recall its Ambassador-designate to the United States. Despite having recalled their own ambassador, the Reagan officials do not want to lose all formal diplomatic touch. They worry about the snowballing effect of American-toughness followed by South African-toughness followed by more of the same.

Nevertheless, over the last few weeks the Administration itself has done a number of things that seem clearly to run counter to "constructive engagement":

¶ President Reagan signed a bill that included a ban on the sale of computers to the South African police.

¶ Ambassador Herman W. Nickel was recalled after the South African forays into Botswana and Angola.

¶ Condemnations of the racial separation system or racial discrimination became louder and clearer, such as White House spokesman Larry Speakes saying that the system was "largely responsible for the violence" in South Africa at this time.

To be sure, these actions are being forced on the Administration by events in South Africa and in Congress. High-ranking Administration officials without exception make clear that they strongly prefer to stick to constructive engagement as closely as possible.

The furthest Administration officials have gone is to describe the deviations from the policy as "tactical."

The officials are also careful to say that no policy review is under way, that they are, instead, reviewing "the situation." Such phrasing is frequently a euphemism in the capital for something more than a review, and in the case of South Africa it appears to mean that officials are waiting to see how far they will have to go to respond to events or how far they will be pushed by Congress.

A Design in the Denials?

Sometimes in the past when Administration denials of policy change turned out to be 180 degrees from the truth, the denial, in retrospect, seemed designed to enable the Administration to spring an accomplished fact on potential opponents of policy change before they had a chance to gather their forces. Presi-

dent Nixon, for example, denied he was even thinking about an opening to China at the very moment Henry A. Kissinger, his chief troubleshooter and national security adviser, was arranging secretly to visit Peking.

It is doubtful that anything like that is going on regarding South Africa policy. But in any event, the Administration's critics continue to push for significant change, for toughening the policy.

Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, the Kansas Republican who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, says the Administration might start with dropping the very name "constructive engagement" because it has come to be perceived as pro-Pretoria.

To Representative Howard L. Berman, Democrat of California, a member of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, "The Administration policy toward South Africa is in shambles, and has been repudiated by overwhelming margins in the House and Senate." He was referring to House and Senate bills dealing with sanctions against South Africa that were reconciled Wednesday in conference, more along the lines of the milder Senate bill.

What will it take to convince the Administration that its policy toward South Africa has failed and needs more than review or trimming?

"South Africa has to be judged by Western standards of human rights," one high-level Administration official replied. "If the internal peace process stopped dead, we'd have some real problems. We might not like the pace, but the pace can't be halted."

Meantime, Administration officials argue that about all they can do is to urge talks between South Africa and black leaders to end the state of emergency. Underlying that argument is the official judgment that the United States has little or no real power to affect the course of events with or without sanctions and tough talk.

Anthony Lake, an architect of the Carter Administration policy toward South Africa and now a professor at Mount Holyoke, put it this way: "Reagan Administration officials have discovered that South Africa is less interested in the carrots of good relations than they thought, just as Carter officials realized that South Africa is less fearful of Administration sticks and displeasure than they thought."

It may be that when the dust settles in South Africa and Congress, the Administration will still be talking about and believing in "constructive engagement." But given the acknowledgment that the United States has little or no real power to effect change in South Africa, a policy of constructive engagement might end up as a policy in name only.

Major Political Trial Begins In South African Province

By Allister Sparks

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa, Aug. 5—South Africa's biggest political trial in 21 years began today with 16 black and Asian civil rights leaders facing a charge of high treason.

The trial in the Natal provincial Supreme Court opened with defense lawyers asking that the 580-page indictment be thrown out because they say it is vague and unspecific.

Describing it as an attempt to establish the crime of "verbal treason," Ismael Mohamed, who heads the defense, said the indictment's terms were so broad they could apply to the whole parliamentary opposition, particularly its best known liberal member, Helen Suzman.

If the defense strategy succeeds, the case could collapse within a week, lawyers said. If it fails, a two-year marathon will get under way that, together with a similar trial in Transvaal Province of 22 other leaders of the country's main black civil rights organization, the United Democratic Front, will tie up the entire top leadership of the front and effectively prevent them from playing any political role. The trial of the 22 is due to start in October.

It is widely believed in political circles that the authorities brought the treason charges to put the democratic front out of action, believing it to be behind the racial unrest that has wracked South Africa for the past 11 months.

The maneuver failed. Although the 22 prisoners in Transvaal have been held in custody for four months and the 16 in the trial here have been given bail on the condition that they take no part in politics, the unrest in the black townships has continued to intensify.

Now the government has declared a state of emergency and is trying to stamp out the unrest by arresting the leaders of hundreds of grass-roots organizations, most of which are affiliated with the democratic front.

The massive indictment in the Pietermaritzburg trial cites hundreds of political actions by the 16 leaders between 1980 and 1985, in-

cluding speeches criticizing the apartheid system of segregation and calling for the release of political prisoners, the distribution of pamphlets and the singing of freedom songs, which it claims amounted to a conspiracy to create a revolutionary atmosphere with a view to overthrowing white-minority rule by violence.

The indictment is based on the contention that the United Democratic Front, together with the outlawed African National Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions and South African Congress Party, formed a "revolutionary alliance" that advocated nonviolent programs to further its violent aims.

The scope of the indictment, and its attempt to make the spoken word an act of treason—which is punishable by hanging—has startled lawyers.

Mohamed referred to the crime the defendants are charged with disparagingly as "talk-talk treason" in his address to the court today as he argued for dismissal of the indictment.

The prosecutor, N.C. Gey van Pittius, is scheduled to reply to the defense arguments Tuesday.

Mohamed noted that the distribution of pamphlets calling for the release of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was cited as one of the actions forming part of the alleged conspiracy and said: "On this basis the entire official opposition in Parliament, and especially Helen Suzman, could be charged with treason."

"In a country as deeply divided as this, it is inevitable that there will be a furious and passionate debate about the nature of society," Mohamed said. "That is part of our national heritage. The authorities must be subject to criticism, and severe criticism."

The last big political trial was when Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress were sentenced in June 1964 to life imprisonment for trying to overthrow

Last Chance for Pretoria

The treason trial of 16 prominent South African dissenters brings out a classic contradiction in the rhetoric of the white-minority government. While its leaders bewail the violence in the country's black townships and while President P.W. Botha proclaims a willingness to work with blacks he considers "moderate," the government's actions erode hopes of ending the racial impasse.

Mr. Botha has refused to meet with Nobel laureate Desmond Tutu, who has offered to mediate. Under a recently proclaimed state of emergency, the government has banned mass funeral gatherings, one of the few avenues of black protest, and arrested more than 1,400 persons. With this crackdown and the trial of leaders of the United Democratic Front, Mr. Botha's government is repeating a mistake made in the 1960s with the African National Congress.

In 1960, following the massacre of 69 peaceful protesters at Sharpeville, South Africa suppressed the ANC, forcing what had been a moderate group underground. Its leader, Nelson Mandela, was charged and convicted of sabotage and of plotting to overthrow the government. He remains in prison to this day. What he said in 1962 should remind many Americans of the causes of the American Revolution: That he was neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a parliament in which he was not represented.

The harsh repression of the ANC, the police sweeps that imprisoned thousands and the official silencing of opponents of racial segregation ended the protests but not the movement during the 1960s. In 1976, students began a protest that escalated into a violent rebellion. Police action ended that outbreak, but the movement continued. At Uitenhage this year, on the anniversary of Sharpeville, police again confronted demonstrators and, incredibly, opened fire. As at Sharpeville, many were killed and wounded.

If it is difficult for South African whites to countenance an end to their system of racial domination, they have only to examine the bill of particulars in the American Declaration of Independence. The colonists, themselves proper Britishers, were rebelling against taxation without representation, interference in their economic development and the silencing of free dissent.

Black Africans are protesting a system of social, political and economic disenfranchisement that is repugnant to civilized people everywhere. South Africa must end its foolish attempts to quell dissent and begin a real dialogue with Mr. Mandela, Bishop Tutu and United Democratic Front leaders before it destroys the only people left who have the public following, sophistication and willingness to work out a compromise that will lead to a peaceful future for blacks and whites alike.

Continued on page 16

5 Nations Dominate S. African Investment

Britain, With Long Ties, Accounts for Half

By Erin MacLellan

More than 90 percent of foreign investment in South Africa is accounted for by five nations—Britain, the United States, West Germany, France and Switzerland—according to an informal survey of information available from foreign governments, the United Nations and other international agencies.

The survey also makes clear that, at a time when many nations are grappling with proposals to ban new investment in South Africa until it changes its segregation policies, relatively little precise data is available on actual levels of investment.

It is apparent from the survey that Britain is by far the largest single investor in South Africa.

But the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, while condemning Pretoria's apartheid policies, has made clear that it does not believe that economic sanctions will work and has indicated that it would not take part in any western move in that direction.

The West German government also opposes economic curbs, and President Reagan has continued to voice his view that such sanctions will make things worse for South Africa's black majority.

However, three events in the past two weeks—the decision by France to freeze new investments, the recall of the ambassadors of the European Community to consider joint future action, and the move last week by the U.S. Congress to force American economic sanctions—have focused new attention on the murky question of who invests in South Africa and how much.

South Africa itself does not provide a country-by-country breakdown of investors but reports investment by region.

Officials at the South African Embassy in Washington said they had no figures on investment and refused to discuss the subject.

However, John Chettle, director for North and South America at the South Africa Foundation in Washington, said, "The South African government no longer issues those [individual country] figures for political reasons. I believe they feel that it enables groups to bring pressure on individual countries."

An advance copy of a report ex-

pected to be published soon by the U.N. Commission on Transnational Corporations says that at the end of 1983, the total amount of foreign direct investment in South Africa was in the range of \$15.5 billion to \$17 billion.

This represents about 10 percent of the country's total investment, the report said. An additional 20 percent of capital stock was held by foreigners in portfolio investment.

Foreign direct investment is substantial in sectors such as petroleum, motor vehicles, chemicals, electronics and banking.

The U.N. report said that in 1984, there were 1,068 transnational corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa. About one-third were headquartered in Britain, while firms based in West Germany and the United States each made up one-quarter of the total.

Based on this and a number of reports and interviews, The Washington Post has compiled the following information about investment and trade in South Africa.

■ **BRITAIN:** South African ties to Britain go back to the 18th century, when British settlers started arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, and strong ties still exist between the two countries. In March, the British news magazine *The Economist* reported that British companies are by far the biggest corporate investors in South Africa. They account for about \$8 billion, or half the \$16 billion worth of direct foreign investment in the country, *The Economist* said.

A 1981 report of the U.S. Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, estimated that British investment was responsible for 55 percent of total direct investment, or \$8.7 billion.

Britain has more than \$14 billion invested directly or indirectly in South Africa, according to the British Department of Trade and Industry.

Britain's investment in South Africa is about 10 percent of total British foreign investment, according to a survey on Britain by the *Financial Mail*, a South African publication, in November 1984.

Britain ranks third in trade with South Africa, following the United

States and Japan.

In 1984, South Africa exported \$742 million to Britain and imported \$1.66 billion, according to the International Monetary Fund's 1985 Direction of Trade Statistics.

Unlike U.S. policy, which is neither to encourage nor to discourage investment, the British government actively promotes British business interests in South Africa.

The Thatcher government has said often that economic sanctions will not work and will harm those they are supposed to help.

Experts say that the British economy would be hurt by sanctions, which could aggravate the country's 13.5 percent unemployment rate.

The number of British jobs directly dependent on South African trade is about 150,000, according to John de St. Jorre, in a recent article in *Africa Notes*, published by the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies.

■ **UNITED STATES:** The United States is the second leading investor in South Africa, with between 18 and 20 percent of total direct investment in the country, according to a number of different reports.

U.S. direct investment in South Africa has gone from \$490 million in 1966 to a peak of \$2.6 billion in 1981 to \$2.3 billion at the end of 1983. South Africa accounts for about 1 percent of total American foreign investment, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, which describes itself as a nonprofit research body on issues of corporate and social responsibility.

The U.S. State Department calculated a direct investment figure for 1983 of \$2.3 billion and \$7 billion in portfolios, for a total direct and indirect investment of \$9.3 billion.

While figures vary, "the trend seems to be toward a decline in U.S. investment by businesses," said Chettle of the South Africa Foundation, an agency based in Washington representing South African businesses.

"The big U.S. companies I've talked to have told me without exception that they will remain in South Africa, but the smaller companies seem to think the harassment is not worth the candle," he added.

The United States is South Af-

rica's largest trading partner. Last year, South African exports to the United States were worth \$1.45 billion and imports from the United States totaled \$2.37 billion.

A report by the congressional Republican Study Committee in May said that about one-fifth of U.S. imports from South Africa consist of gold coins, or Krugerrands. The Treasury Department estimates that total 1984 imports of Krugerrands came to \$600 million, about 50 percent of South Africa's Krugerrand exports.

On July 31, U.S. House and Senate conferees agreed on a package of economic sanctions against South Africa, including a ban on the import of Krugerrands and a halt to new U.S. bank loans to South Africa.

The House approved the package two days later by a vote of 380 to 48, but the bill was tied up in the Senate. Action will be taken in September, when Congress reconvenes.

The legislation says that all sanctions could be waived if the president finds, and Congress agrees, that South Africa has taken one of several steps toward ending apartheid.

But if South Africa does not make progress within a year, the president would be required to recommend stiffer sanctions for congressional approval, including a ban on new private U.S. investment.

Chettle said, "I very much regret the actions taken by Congress, but I think the economic effect won't be very great. However, the symbolic damage in relations is much more important."

■ **WEST GERMANY:** About 10 percent of total foreign investment in South Africa comes from West Germany. West Germany's direct investment in South Africa in 1983 was \$1.4 billion, according to the South African Embassy in London.

Investment by West German-based companies jumped about 30 percent in 1983, mainly because of increased investment in the automobile industry, according to the report by U.N. Commission on Transnational Corporations.

In the area of trade, the International Monetary Fund said that in 1984, South African exports to West Germany were \$676 million.

Continued on page 9

5 NATIONS DOMINATE SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT (Continued)

and its imports were \$2.3 billion. West Germany was South Africa's fifth-largest customer, behind the United States, Japan, Switzerland and Britain.

The result of economic sanctions would be the loss of 130,000 jobs in West Germany, according to the Institute of European Economic Studies in London.

■ **FRANCE**—France is said to make up between 5 and 10 percent of total foreign investment in South Africa. In 1984, total French foreign investment there was \$1.66 billion and represented 10 percent of total direct investment, according to the French Embassy in Washington.

Two weeks ago, the French government announced a freeze on new investment in South Africa and the recall of its ambassador.

In the trade sector, South African exports to France in 1984 totaled \$385 million and its imports from France came to \$568 million.

■ **SWITZERLAND**—Most experts estimate that about 5 percent of total direct investment in South Africa is Swiss.

The South Africa Trade Association in London reported that in 1982, total Swiss investment in South Africa was \$1.34 billion.

According to de St. Jorre, Switzerland is important to South Africa because of its market for gold (almost half of the country's gold exports pass through Zurich) and because of its financial resources for loans.

■ **CANADA**—Canada's direct investment in 1984 was \$99.9 million, down from \$140 million in 1983 and \$148 million in 1982, according to Clifford Garrard, political counselor at the Canadian Embassy in Washington.

The Canadian share of total foreign investment in South Africa was 1 percent, he said, noting that the trend seems to be toward a decline in investment.

"I think all the unrest in South Africa is a major determining factor. It's a deterrent to investors," he added.

Garrard said Canada does not offer Canadian businesses investing in South Africa the support structures it normally offers companies investing abroad.

■ **JAPAN**—Japanese policy prohibits direct investment in South Africa but does not prohibit Japanese companies from establishing subsidiaries there.

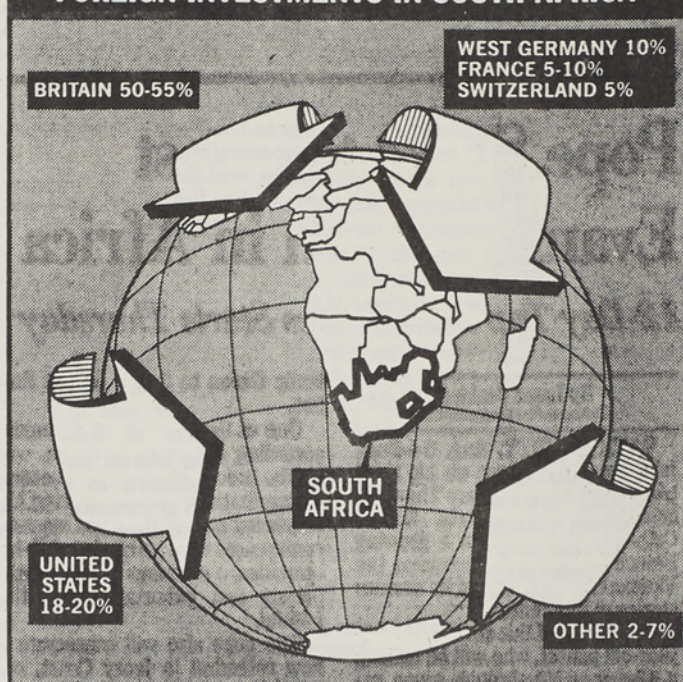
De St. Jorre noted: "By the early

1970s, all of Japan's major trading companies had established outlets in South Africa, and many of its car, motorcycle, tire and electronics manufacturers had franchised local companies to assemble their products."

South Africa exported \$1.3 billion to Japan and imported \$1.9 billion in 1984, according to the IMF.

■ **OTHER ECONOMIC ASPECTS**—Denmark and Sweden have banned new investment in South Africa, and the Dutch parliament has been debating a similar measure. The four leading Dutch banks stopped selling Krugerrands in the spring.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADE

IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS

COUNTRY	S.A. EXPORTS TO		S.A. IMPORTS FROM	
	1979	1984	1979	1984
United States	\$1,679	\$1,458	\$1,478	\$2,375
Japan	1,129	1,335	952	1,934
France	418	385	559	568
West Germany	1,085	676	1,555	2,339
Switzerland	1,834	1,171	216	265
Britain	1,147	742	1,491	1,660

SOURCE: Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook

THE WASHINGTON POST

Washington Times AUGUST 6, 1985

38 slain in raid on Sudan village

KHARTOUM, Sudan — Southern rebels killed 38 civilians in a weekend raid on a village, looting houses and stealing cattle, the official Sudan News Agency said yesterday.

The agency said the rebels had withdrawn by the time government troops arrived, following the attack late Saturday on el-Azrag village, 50 miles south of Kadogli, the provincial capital of southern Kordofan province.

The agency did not identify the rebels who made the attacks, but most rebel actions are carried out by members of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which has fought the government for more than two years. An April 6 military coup ousted President Gaafar Nimeiri, but the rebels say they will not negotiate with the new government until civilians regain power. The ruling Military Council has said it will hand over power to a civilian government next April.

Tailoring development aid to Africa's needs

By David K. Willis

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Ibadan, Nigeria

Down in the rice paddies, the idea seemed good. So the visiting experts explained it to puzzled but attentive local farmers.

One way of producing more rice per paddy, the scientists suggested, was to plant rice closer together. Why not try it?

They did — and the rice was planted in a new, close-rowed pattern. But in time it became apparent that one small factor — simple but crucial — had been overlooked: Farmers' hoes were too wide to push between the now closely-spaced plants. They could not cultivate properly. And, since they were poor farmers, they weren't able to buy other, narrow-bladed hoes.

To ask the village blacksmith to make new ones was so much bother that the farmers simply shrugged . . . and went back to their old ways.

Moral: Although Africa badly needs expert advice to help it grow more food, that advice needs to be based on a thorough, not superficial, knowledge of the people being helped.

"Maybe farmers do what they do now because it suits their particular environment," says Bede Okigbo, deputy director-general of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) in Ibadan.

"That's not to say they don't need help," he says. "They do, but existing practices can't just be thrown out the window without being looked at carefully."

The larger context here is that donor countries have been pouring in aid for decades — some estimates are \$10 billion on emergency food alone in the last 10 years. Yet Africa falls further behind every year in its effort to produce enough food to match its soaring population.

Drought is the catalyst, experts agree. African misgovernment is a major contributor. But so is misdirected outside aid.

For example: On the banks of Lake Turkana in Kenya, a Norwegian aid group decided several years ago to bring Norwegian expertise to bear on the local needs of the Turkana tribe

for food and cash. Their plan was to build a fish freezing and processing factory.

Up went the factory walls. In went the first freezer equipment. And along came the problems.

According to United Nations officials, the Norwegians hadn't realized that it was the Luo people, not the Turkana tribe, who did most of the fishing. But the Luo, sensing profit, began using illegal fine-mesh nets to catch large amounts of fish. The

Turkana looked for jobs on land.

Apparently unknown to the Norwegians, the Kenyan government had actually been trying to keep the Luo away from fishing to give the Turkana a chance to develop such skills.

The money the Turkana did make doing odd jobs was used to buy cattle, which began to overgraze local lands, turning them into arid wastes. A shantytown of workers grew up near the freezer factory, bringing beggars and other problems.

Then the Norwegians found that to freeze the fish would require such large quantities of electricity that none would be available for other uses in the area.

The factory was never completed. Today the building is used for storing dried fish — the same kind of fish local tribes have always handled.

"The Norwegians realize they need more preliminary research before plunging into other projects," says one local scientist in Marsabit in northern Kenya.

They have asked UNESCO in Nairobi to carry out research on local conditions before trying a new plan on land use.

"Yes, of course, Africa still needs cash crops for export: coffee, tea, cocoa beans, and all the rest introduced by colonial powers," says Dr. Okigbo. "But if African countries depend too heavily on them, and subsistence crops run down, they empty their treasuries for imported fertilizer while prices for what they export fluctuate."

A classic case where well-meaning Western scientists overlooked local needs occurred some years ago in Nigeria.

Western scientists recommended that a group of farmers try mucuna, a fast-growing herbaceous legume that fixes nitrogen from the air and thus enriches the soil.

Fine — except that the plant has no sturdy stem, so that the local people were left without the thin stakes for growing yams that their previous plants had provided, and without materials for tool handles and other purposes.

They tried mucuna once — but not again.

Certain kinds of high-yielding maize (corn) do not suit some African farmers. It takes longer to mature, and when it does, it is just at that lean time of year when they must dig up yams. They can't do both and so one harvest suffers. While farmers wait for the higher maize yields, they have neither maize nor yams to eat, so they go back to their former types.

"It's fashionable now to recommend that African farmers have larger, more cost-efficient plots of land," Okigbo says. "But land tenure is complex and politically explosive. A father divides his land among a dozen sons, they divide it among their sons, and so on. . . ."

"People like small farms because they don't need too much labor or too many tools to work it. If we urge bigger farms, we have to make available cheap, simple tools — tillers, hoes — for a start."

Of course, not all new ideas offered to African farmers go wrong. By no means are all existing practices to be kept.

It is clear, for instance, that the traditional method of "slash and burn" agriculture is breaking down under pressure of population growth. Alternatives are urgently needed.

One of the most promising is "alley-cropping" — planting maize, cowpeas, and other crops between hedges of fast-growing nitrogen-fixing plants.

The hedges grow about head-high in a year and act as wind-breaks while dropping rich nutrient leaves onto the soil below. The leaves are also excellent fodder for livestock.

"Alley-cropping works," says IITA agronomist George F. Wilson, a Jamaican. "It's a question now of getting the word out."

Researchers are discovering that they have a lot to learn from African methods, as well as vice versa. IITA experts are about to launch a study of the way Nigerian women cultivate 50 or more plants to provide proteins and vitamins year-round.

"We need to keep what's good as well as offer what's better," Okigbo says.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

AUGUST 4, 1985

Thousands Turn Out For Nigerian Cleanup

LAGOS, Nigeria, Aug. 3 (Reuters) — Nigerians worked to move mountains of garbage today as part of the country's national sanitation day.

Thousands of Nigerians swept streets, cleared blocked drains and cleaned homes and shops.

Public employees were required to take part in the effort. In the southeastern state of Anambra, the authorities barred residents from leaving their towns during the cleanup.

Success at Nairobi

AUGUST 4, 1985

BY THE STANDARD of these events, the United Nations Women's Conference at Nairobi was a notable success. It seems to have generated a feeling among many delegates that there is something worthy of being called an international women's movement. A final document was produced and, for the first time in three such occasions, the United States found it politically inoffensive enough to sign. Maureen Reagan, the president's daughter and head of the official American delegation, came home pronouncing the conference "a first-class win for us and for women and for the U.N. system as a whole." She did much to make it so.

Delegates from some Arab countries and from the Soviet Union and its satellites came to Nairobi chiefly, it seems, to vilify Israel. They did their nasty best, but the news and the cheer of the conference surely was that many other delegates resented any political intrusion that was going to take away from attention to issues of direct concern to women. In this pattern, delegates reacted strongly when the United States—to show "we can play the same games they can play," Maureen Reagan explained—launched its own political intervention to condemn a "small group of outlaw states" for supporting terrorism.

It is perfectly true that many political issues bear on women's concerns, but it was more true, to the mostly female delegates in Nairobi anyway, that an

excessive emphasis on divisive political issues would undermine the quest for a feminist consensus. The United States, with Israel, did have to threaten a walkout in order to get the conference to delete an ugly U.N.-type condemnation of Zionism, but one has the impression this is what many women wanted Washington to do.

The final report on "Forward-Looking Strategies" is premised on the idea that women are a political class and one dominated by men. The report is a very long wish-list of feminist goals—a longer and more optimistic list than any single delegation might have written had it not been in the hothouse atmosphere of a U.N. conference with no responsibility for turning its recommendations into reality.

As they surely had to for reasons of state, the Americans took part in the work on this consensus document. Maureen Reagan was then attacked, unfairly, by some American feminists for countenancing certain demands that go beyond both American law and the Reagan administration's policy. Her response—a bit too flip—was to dismiss the document as "a piece of paper," as perhaps it is in the American context.

But the report will provide real encouragement and stimulus to many women, especially in more traditional societies. It's lonely out there on the frontier where many women are pursuing change. Nairobi gave them comfort and company.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

AUGUST 4, 1985

U.N. Says Food Is Reaching North Ethiopia

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Aug. 2 — Distribution of emergency food aid and other relief supplies has significantly improved in the northern Ethiopian provinces of Eritrea and Tigre, according to United Nations officials.

The report comes amid criticism that the authorities in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, have been blocking aid shipments to the two provinces, which are largely controlled by forces fighting for independence from the Ethiopian Government.

Relief agencies representing the two provinces immediately challenged the findings, saying that the Ethiopian Government was making only a token effort to distribute emergency supplies in the area and that most supplies reached the area from the Sudan.

More than 75 percent of the 2.3 million people affected by the drought in the provinces are receiving food aid, according to the report, which followed what a United Nations spokesman called the most comprehensive review of the situation since relief operations began last fall.

Report Called 'Absolutely False'

A multinational team, including representatives of the United Nations, the United States, the Ethiopian Government and private relief groups, spent four days in Eritrea and Tigre this week. The mission included Dawit Georgis, director of Ethiopia's Relief

and Rehabilitation Commission, and a high-ranking official from the United States Embassy in Addis Ababa.

But Gayle E. Smith, coordinator of the Washington-based Relief Society of Tigre, labeled the report "absolutely false."

She said that about 3.8 million of Tigre's 5 million people, or more than twice the United Nations estimate, were in need of assistance, and that the situation was getting worse.

Most of those victims are in rural areas of Tigre controlled by anti-Government forces, Miss Smith said. Because the United Nations mission included Mr. Georgis of the Ethiopian Government, it would not have been able to visit about 80 percent of the province, she said.

Although the mission did not visit areas held by hostile forces, it consulted with private groups operating in Eritrea and Tigre and included all parts of the provinces in its figures, the United Nations spokesman, Salim Lone, said. Residents of rural areas walked miles each month to receive food handouts at camps in areas controlled by the Ethiopian Government, Mr. Lone said.

In New York, Tesfa A. Seyoum, executive director of the Eritrean Relief Committee, said that except for the

feeding stations set up by the Ethiopian Government "for public relations pur-

poses," none of the food aid sent to Ethiopia reached people in Eritrea and Tigre.

Government Is Criticized

Mr. Seyoum said 80 percent of food aid reaching Eritrea was trucked in from the Sudan, and he accused the Ethiopian Government of trying to take credit for relief operations "when it has no intention of feeding those people."

Kurt G. Jansson, the United Nations official who directs relief operations in Ethiopia and led the mission to the provinces, said supplies reaching Eritrea and Tigre from the Sudan were "insignificant," making up less than 10 percent of the total.

United States aid officials estimate that since last fall, almost 450,000 metric tons of food collected by the Government and private agencies have reached Ethiopia. But American and United Nations relief officials say that they have no idea how much of that grain has been directed to Eritrea and Tigre and that the Ethiopian Government declines to provide such figures.

Rebel forces say they control more than 80 percent of Eritrea and Tigre, figures that many Western officials believe are accurate. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front has been fighting for the independence of Eritrea since it was incorporated into Ethiopia in 1962.

UGANDA REGAINING UNEASY NORMALCY

By SHEILA RULE

KAMPALA, Uganda, Aug. 3 — A semblance of calm rested uneasily on this East African country today, a week after a military coup brought a wave of looting and a plague of uncertainty.

Soldiers, many of them very young, are stationed throughout this tattered capital city, carrying automatic weapons and positioning themselves around anti-aircraft guns on grassy knolls. Mounds of empty shells suggest that some of the artillery has been put to heavy use in recent days.

The soldiers' ubiquitous and makeshift checkpoints are represented by lines of beer bottles in the streets or rows of tires and garbage cans, some decorated with slashes of colorful flowers.

Passengers in automobiles are routinely stopped and quizzed before the soldiers lift a beer bottle or tire and wave travelers on. Questions put to those in a vehicle heading toward a bullet-riddled building concerned whether the passengers had any cigarettes or money to spare. Even army vehicles are stopped.

The soldiers, who were blamed for much of the looting and mayhem that shook Kampala and other cities after the Government of President Milton Obote was toppled last Saturday, have commandeered rooms and a restaurant in at least one hotel.

Three journalists who were among the first to cross the frontier into Uganda from Kenya today, on the first full day that the borders were open since the takeover, were told by an employee at the Speke Hotel here that they would be given rooms on the "more secure side of the hotel," that is, away from the soldiers' quarters.

One visitor was escorted to Nile Mansions, the Government offices that have been transformed into the stark headquarters of the military command, with guards in every elevator and behind locked doors on every floor.

Yet in many ways, life appeared to be regaining its normal rhythm today in this country that the young Winston Churchill called "the pearl of Africa."

Local residents milled around the business district under cloudy skies this morning or hurriedly went about squeezing their errands and activities into the confines of a dusk-to-dawn curfew. They chatted or read newspapers in front of businesses where there were gaping, jagged holes where windows had once been. Or they walked along dusty streets that were punctuated by piles of garbage. A blackboard at the local train station indicated that service had been resumed to an area that has long been considered a rebel stronghold.

"We have our water and electricity," said a guest at another hotel, where a dog, in the aftermath of the coup, had held looters at bay. "That's the important thing."

But the nerves of this city are raw.

Guarded stares greet strangers. Many people in this small nation enthusiastically welcomed the ouster of President

Obote, his second since 1971, charging gross human rights violations and rampant tribalism during his regime. But the current situation gives people little comfort and much uneasiness about the days ahead.

The coup was staged after a mutiny by soldiers of the Acholi tribe that appeared to have stemmed from their grievances over promotions of soldiers from the Langi tribe, of which Mr. Obote is a member. Both tribes are from Uganda's northern region, but they have a long history of rivalry.

In what some Western diplomats see as a move to win greater acceptance for the military Government, which is dominated by the Acholi tribe, the new ruler, Lieut. Gen. Tito Okello, has named Paulo Muwanga to be Prime Minister.

Mr. Muwanga, a former close aide of President Obote, is a member of the Baganda tribe, the largest in the country and one that has strongly backed the Democratic Party that opposed Mr. Obote.

Mr. Muwanga had also charged that his tribe has supported the National Resistance Army led by Yoweri Museveni, who took his followers into the bush and mounted an insurgency after Mr. Obote came to power in elections in 1980.

It is expected that Mr. Muwanga, who served as Vice President and Defense Minister under Mr. Obote, will form a cabinet that brings together political groups that had opposed his former boss. But some political analysts say they believe the appointment of Mr. Muwanga will not be well received in the long run because of his association with the former regime.

It is still unclear if the appointment of Mr. Muwanga and the suggestion of a government that would include many elements will bring Mr. Museveni's rebels in from the bush, although the new Government has called on them to back the military regime.

The rebels have said in recent days that the new regime was established without their knowledge or consent and that it was dominated by the same northern forces that supported Mr. Obote.

Mr. Muwanga had been a member of Mr. Obote's Uganda People's Congress Party from its inception before independence in 1961 and also served under Idi Amin as head of protocol in the Foreign Ministry and as Ambassador to Paris. He also is reported to have unsuccessfully urged on Mr. Obote to negotiate with the rebels shortly before the President was overthrown.

In another move intended to consolidate support, General Okello held talks this week with President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania. Mr. Nyerere was the major supporter of Mr. Obote's Government, and his troops helped Ugandan exile forces overthrow General Amin in 1979, leading to Mr. Obote's return to power in the 1980 elections.

Life in Uganda returning to normal

By Mary Anne Fitzgerald

Kampala, Uganda

Kampala is recovering from its second coup in six years with an aplomb that comes only from practice.

One week after the looting carried out by victorious and drunken soldiers, life in the capital was returning to normal — by Ugandan standards at any rate.

Debris from gutted shops had been carried to burning piles of garbage by men pushing wooden wheel barrows (Uganda has no foreign exchange to spare for importing metal ones).

As people returned to their jobs they commuted past dingy, faded buildings.

At least half the shop fronts have been destroyed during one coup or another. The only way to tell the difference is that those destroyed when Idi Amin was chased out of the capital in 1979 are now festooned with moss and tress have grown up in the gutters.

If nothing else, the chaotic politics that have seen the rise and fall of seven governments, have taught Ugandans to view the world from the perspective of an Alice in Wonderland: things are not always what they seem — and they change frequently.

Prices for staple foods have always been prohibitively high, but they actually dropped in the days following the coup when banks were closed and no money could be drawn.

Meanwhile, at government headquarters, behind an incongruous combination of anti-aircraft guns and beer-bottle roadblocks manned by lolling soldiers, little or no progress has been made toward forming a coalition government to fill the vacuum created by the ouster of President Milton Obote almost two weeks ago.

The head of state, and chairman of the military council, Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, has invited this east African nation's four political parties and various guerrilla groups to form a civilian cabinet that would pave the way to elections a year from now.

Dr. Obote is, for the second time, in exile.

But he has left behind him the majority of government players on the political stage. These

holdovers from the previous administration are partially responsible for having slowed progress toward solving Uganda's considerable problems.

These include deep-seated tribalism, a battered economy, and an unwieldy and ill-disciplined Army that

Continued on page 15

Ugandan Talks Stall

By Mary Anne Fitzgerald

KAMPALA, Uganda, Aug. 3—The peace-making process initiated by Uganda's new ruling military council with the country's splintered political factions foundered today as consultations with the council and political parties ended in deadlock amid conflicting reports about the participation of a key guerrilla group.

The country's land border with Kenya was opened for the first time since the week-old coup that toppled the government of president Milton Obote. The new prime minister, Paolo Muwanga, met with selected diplomats later today to promise a return to normality as soon as possible.

As western reporters gained access to the capital today for the first time since the coup, evidence of large-scale looting was apparent and indications of some atrocities could be seen. There also were reports of military harassment of the country's Asian community in the countryside.

Doubts about the Ugandan ruling military council's ability to form a coalition government mounted after the third day of inconclusive meetings with political parties. The new head of state, Army commander Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, invited Obote's Uganda People's Congress, the opposition Democratic Party and two smaller parties to talks on formation of a civilian Cabinet that would pave the way for elections within a year.

However, the role of the guerrilla National Resistance Army, which has waged a bush campaign against the Army for the past four years and whose participation is seen as the linchpin of national reconciliation, remains unclear.

Radio Uganda quoted Okello tonight as saying that talks had included the National Resistance Army. However, guerrilla spokesmen insist that they have rejected an offer of participation in the government.

The uncertainty was underscored when Radio Uganda reported that Okello expressed dissatisfaction with political factions for supporting tribalism and called for the guerrillas to lay down their arms and join the police or the Army.

A diplomatic source familiar with military thinking said today that the guerrilla leader, Yoweri Museveni, will demand that his estimated 5,000 troops must be absorbed into the Army before talks can begin. The size of the Ugandan Army is believed to be about 20,000. It is ill-disciplined and poorly paid. Earlier this year Okello acknowledged that the absence of authority within Army ranks was "extremely dan-

gerous.

As the military council moved to reach a political agreement, Prime Minister Muwanga met with selected diplomats today and promised that Uganda would be returned to normal as soon as possible.

Kampala generally appeared calm today, one week after the successful coup. Soldiers lined the streets and set up roadblocks at exits to the city. Troops with anti-aircraft guns guarded access to mansions where the political talks were taking place.

For several days after the coup, soldiers fought among themselves over loot ransacked from stores and then turned their attention to suburban homes as the city's scantily stocked shops ran dry. Okello was reported by Radio Uganda to have spent the day touring military barracks around the outskirts of Kampala, apparently in an attempt to restore discipline.

Many shops have been burned, but by the week's end workers were busy cleaning up evidence of the looting. Water supplies are intermittent with even government mansions lacking sanitation facilities and glasses to drink from.

Fresh produce is available in the markets but canned and dry food is almost nonexistent for the city's population of about 500,000.

While the airport at Entebbe remains closed until further notice, the land border with Kenya was opened for the first time early this morning. The 125-mile route appeared calm, although Ugandan Asians met along the road alleged that soldiers focused their attention on their community during the days following the coup. Many families who have since fled reported being stripped of their belongings.

At the now-empty official presidential residence on the shores of Lake Victoria in Entebbe, an Army major showed a reporter several mutilated corpses that he said were found there the day after the coup. The major, an Acholi, said the corpses, including three soldiers, belonged to fellow tribesmen and accused Obote's bodyguards, who like the former president belong to the Langi tribe, of the slayings.

Uganda coup reflects Africa's tribal divisions

NAIROBI, Kenya (AP) — The latest upheaval in Uganda highlights two major problems still afflicting black Africa two decades after the overthrow of colonial rule — military coups and tribalism.

The Ugandan military last month toppled the civilian government of President Milton Obote and drove him into exile. The coup was preceded by more than a month of infighting within the military between Mr. Obote's Langi tribe and the Acholi tribe, to which the coup-makers belonged.

It was a familiar scenario on a continent that was carved up by European colonial powers with little regard to tribal dominions, and where dozens of military strongmen have come and gone since most African nations gained independence in the 1960s.

When the old empires of Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Portugal laid claim to chunks of Africa in the last three decades of the 19th Century, they found a continent fragmented by a multiplicity of tribes and clans, and some 2,000 languages.

At an 1885 conference in Berlin, the European powers formalized their division of the continent. The pact imposed arbitrary boundaries upon Africa, in some cases dividing tribal lands in half and in others thrusting together in one territory ethnic groups that had warred for centuries.

The division of the Horn of Africa, for example, put ethnic Somalis in Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti. Somalia waged wars with Kenya in the 1960s and Ethiopia in the 1970s to try to regain portions of what it considered "Greater Somalia."

The boundary between Kenya and Tanzania cut right through the homeland of the Masai tribe.

Throughout Africa's history and well into independence, allegiance to tribe has been a stronger bond than allegiance to state. Kenya's president, Daniel arap Moi, was expressing the sentiments of many African leaders when he declared recently that tribalism was a cancer responsible for much of the continent's chaos.

Some African academics note, however, that European history has been dominated for centuries by warfare along ethnic lines and ask why African history should be any different.

In such times of turbulence, the military comes to the fore. Many African nations currently are led by soldiers.

Simon Katzenellenbogen, an eco-continued on pg. 15

Though still Marxist, Mozambique is shifting toward the West

By Sam Levy
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Maputo, Mozambique

Ngungunyane came home recently and brought with him "a new era" in relations between Lisbon and Maputo, according to Mozambique President Samora Machel.

The return of the remains of the 19th century warrior, whom the Portuguese colonial authorities exiled to the Azores in 1896, is symbolic of the improvement in relations between Mozambique and its former colonizer and hint of the

realignment of Mozambique's foreign policy away from the Soviet bloc and toward the West.

In international economic and diplomatic relations, Maputo is becoming more "nonaligned" than "Soviet allied."

There are limits to the distance Maputo can put between itself and Moscow. The war with guerrillas, in which the ruling political party, Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) controls only the cities, leaves the regime dependent on the Soviets for arms. A quick end

to the war is unlikely. And within the Frelimo Party itself, the pro-Soviet faction remains strong.

In only three years, however, the gulf between Mozambique and the West, once a yawning chasm, has narrowed considerably. As the United States Ambassador in Maputo, Peter Jon De Vos, remarked, "We've come a long way in a very short time."

The most radical policy stage in Mozambique's 10 years as an independent nation was immediately after independence in 1975. The Frelimo Party had received most of its support from the East bloc during its war against the Portuguese colonial government.

Nurtured in the "socialist liberation" tradition, it tried to put theory into practice in the newly proclaimed Marxist-Leninist state. Nationalization and collectivization were the order of the day.

But nationalization scared away the

majority of the Portuguese residents, who made up the skilled labor force, and radical political and economic policies provoked armed dissidence and guerrilla activity.

And just as the guerrilla war began to heat up, the economy cooled down. In 1981, Mozambique's per capita gross national product began its headlong plunge, falling 15 percent. Drought and war made things worse.

It was then that the shortcomings of an

alliance with the East bloc began to show. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance — the East bloc's equivalent of the Common Market — refused Mozambique's membership application that April. The Bulgarian agronomists sent to breed miracle rice had, it developed, overdosed the paddies with chemical fertilizer.

Moscow could spare little food for drought relief. The army the Russians had trained in conventional warfare was ill-prepared to fight a guerrilla counter-insurgency.

In 1981, the Portuguese government dropped compensation claims against Mozambique resulting from nationalization, and the rapprochement between former colony and colonizer began. Portugal agreed to supply arms and training in counterinsurgency.

Portuguese companies began receiving more technical assistance contracts. When Portuguese President Ramalho Eanes visited Maputo this April he was given a genuinely warm welcome.

The Nkomati Accord was signed by Mozambique and South Africa in March 1984, pledging the two sides to stop supporting each other's internal opposition movements.

It has altered the dynamics of the signatories' bilateral relations. Some elements of the South African government and business communities, formerly President Machel's active foes, now feel that their best chance for investment and

marketing opportunities in Mozambique lies with the present regime. Farmers in South Africa's Transvaal province would like to lease Mozambican farmland, and industrialists to export cheaply through the port of Maputo.

The liberal foreign investment code, published last September, confirmed many businesses in their disposition to bank on Machel. South African firms have to date cooperated on a significant scale in refrigeration, mail delivery, and railway maintenance. And the recent Cabora Bassa agreement between Mozambique, South Africa, and Portugal, governing uses of the enormous hydroelectric dam of that name in Tete Province, indicates deepening economic links.

Despite the fact that is has not brought an end to the war, Nkomati brought other dividends. Relations with the United States, which had encouraged the accord, improved markedly thereafter. Despite the expulsion of four US diplomats in 1981, allegedly for spying, it was the US, along with the Western allies, that answered the call for emergency drought relief. US food aid shot from 43,000 tons in 1982 to an approval in fiscal 1984 for 350,000 tons. In 1984 Mozambique was the largest recipient of US emergency food aid in the world.

More controversial than food or agricultural-development assistance is a proposal to send "nonlethal" military aid to Mozambique. Critics point out that the regime remains avowedly Marxist-Leninist, and that hundreds of Soviet and allied advisers continue in the country.

The Foreign Aid bill passed by the US Congress bars arms aid to Mozambique unless a variety of conditions are met, including human rights progress, a reduction in the number of foreign military personnel in the country, and steps toward holding free elections by Sept. 30, 1986.

Ambassador De Vos says that although the Machel regime is not perfect, "constructive engagement is not just for South Africa. It's for the region as a whole."

The country joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (which has already made over a \$45 million loan) in 1984, and signed the Lomé Convention late last year, tying it in to the Economic Community-third world economic-aid system.

LIFE IN UGANDA RETURNING TO NORMAL (Continued)

must somehow be integrated back into civilian life.

Since the July 27 coup by Army troops made up largely of Acholi tribesmen, Radio Uganda has laid at Obote's door the blame for 300,000 deaths and the displacement of some 4 million people.

Ever since independence in 1962, political parties and dissident groups have been maneuvering for a foothold in the government. The question now is whether these factions, whose alliances change with kaleidoscopic rapidity, can put past rivalries aside.

The main stumbling block may very well be the man charged with achieving this goal. General Okello, who speaks little English, has a background which is essentially military. It is beginning to look as though his chief responsibility will be to instill discipline into the Army. To Uganda's civilian prime minister, Paulo Muwanga, is bequeathed the task of forming a caretaker government.

Mr. Muwanga was once Obote's aide. As defense minister, his critics say, he must have sanctioned the often brutal punitive raids against guerrilla groups. He has also been accused of rigging the 1980 elections that returned Obote to power.

His mandate for the job is not clearly apparent.

Efforts to form a coalition Cabinet are dogged by memories of Muwanga's ruthless harassment of the opposition under Obote.

Nor does Muwanga appear to have any kind of grassroots support. He did not stand for election in his own constituency in 1980, feeling that he lacked the necessary backing. When elections were over, however, he was brought into the Cabinet as a nominated member of the assembly.

Now Muwanga must establish a friendship not only with the politicians that he has in the past jailed, but also with various guerrilla factions which were fighting against the previous regime.

Linchpin in the reconciliation equation is National Resistance Army (NRA) leader Yoweri Museveni. He is said to command some 5,000 rebels.

[According to reports from Reuters, Radio Uganda has reported that Moses Ali, the leader of the National Rescue Front, a small force operating in the remote West Nile region, had promised to lay down arms and had appealed to the NRA to do likewise. An NRA statement issued in Nairobi, Kenya, indicated that NRA would not comply.]

Mr. Museveni has gone on record as demanding half the seats in the ruling military council formed just after the coup. It is unlikely this will be met.

Museveni has also called for the integration of his men into the Ugandan Army. While the government has granted this request, implementation could be difficult were the integration to take place.

The Army already has about 20,000 troops — no one, including the minister of defense, seems to know the exact number.

Some experts question the ability of the Army to feed and pay additional troops.

Meanwhile, down at Entebbe on the shores of Lake Victoria, the official presidential residence continues to run as if Obote were still at home.

Well-groomed staff daily polish the glasses, clean the fountain outside the porticoed entrance and arrange fresh flowers in the vases.

Languishing on the top floor of State House is Obote's seven-year-old son, the youngest of four boys. He was left behind in the former leader's rush to get away.

"That man is so careless," observed a politician.

U.S., PRETORIA HOLD MEETING (Continued)

said of U.S. policy, and "we're pushing awfully hard for changes to be made" that might reverse the deteriorating situation there. "I think we are at least initially encouraged that South Africa wants to make some changes and is ready to tell us about it before they do so."

There has been widespread speculation in South Africa that a regional meeting of the ruling National Party late next week will be the occasion for important announcements by Prime Minister P.W. Botha. Despite hopes that he will announce some remedial measures, Botha said yesterday in Pretoria that he could "introduce stronger steps" if there is no lessening of the violence.

Lugar said the coming weeks are likely to be unusually important for U.S.-South African relations because the Senate is expected in mid-September to break a filibuster holding up final congressional action on legislation that includes economic sanctions. The Foreign Relations Committee chairman said he hopes that President Reagan will take some initiatives to promote greater U.S. involvement on behalf of change in South Africa before the Senate vote. Lugar has urged Reagan not to veto the bill, which has support among both Republicans and Democrats in Congress, but said yesterday he is uncertain what the president will do.

The U.S. delegation to the talks with South Africa left here Wednesday without any public notice, nor was any announcement made in Pretoria or Vienna.

Spokesman Kalb made the meetings known only under heavy questioning from reporters. Foreign Minister Botha, asked by a reporter in Vienna to explain the main objective of the talks, replied: "I am not in a position to comment on that. You were not supposed to know I was here."

Face-to-face meetings between high-level representatives of the U.S. and South African administrations have been sparse in recent months. Washington called Ambassador Nickel home June 15 as a sign of displeasure with South African policy. Pretoria responded July 30 by recalling Ambassador Designate Beukes, who had been waiting here for weeks to present his credentials to the administration.

WALL STREET JOURNAL AUGUST 5

Ethiopian Jews battled Israeli police over demands that the Falashas officially convert to Judaism under the Israeli rabbinic policy, authorities said.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CALL ENVOYS (Continued)

"open a dialogue with all the representatives of the black majority," including those who are in prison and whose freeing they requested two weeks ago.

But on the issue of possible sanctions, the community was badly divided.

Some countries, spearheaded by Belgium, called for tough and immediate action, including restrictions on investment and travel.

But England and West Germany argued vocally against any economic sanctions. "Economic sanctions have not been shown to be effective and are not likely to be effective in this case," Britain's foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, argued.

England and West Germany have considerable economic and political interests in South Africa. And in any case, the question of whether sanctions are effective has been a contentious issue even among South African opponents of the apartheid policy.

Last week France announced that it was recalling its ambassador and stopping all further business dealings with Pretoria.

In reaction to France's decision to recall its ambassador, Foreign Minister Botha said countries that had recalled their ambassadors still maintained contact with the Pretoria government, no matter what they said to the rest of the world.

Analysts say Mr. Botha was referring specifically to the United States, which recalled Herman Nickel two months ago to protest South Africa's military adventures in Angola and Botswana and the establishment of a puppet government in Namibia.

UGANDA COUP REFLECTS TRIBAL (CONTINUED)

economic historian at Britain's University of Manchester, says colonial powers exacerbated tribal tensions through a strategy of divide-and-rule.

Most African nations were not prepared for independence, lacking "a strong and stable economic structure that was necessary to underpin political structures," he said.

This has caused the military to become, for millions of youths in Africa, what the professions, business and elective politics have been in the industrialized West — the pathway to power.

"The basic weakness of civilian institutions means the military is often able and likely to take over power," said Richard Jeffries, a historian at London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

"The motives as to why people stage coups vary from the various political ambitions of military officers, to the tribal ambitions that might feel threatened, to nationalist reasons," Mr. Jeffries said.

South African violence spreads

By Patrick Laurence

Johannesburg

The violence that has prevailed in areas of Cape Town and Johannesburg has shifted to the normally quiet black townships around the coastal city of Durban.

Nearly 20 people have been killed in the past two days in what has been called the worst outbreak of violence since the South African government declared a state of emergency more than two weeks ago. Durban is not one of the areas included in the emergency decree.

This most recent outbreak — in the ring of townships around Durban — involves conflict between the African majority and an Indian minority. Scores of Indians have fled from trouble spots to quieter areas or from smaller, more remote hamlets to areas offering better protection.

The violence also provided evidence of the deepening political rift between blacks. Over the past two years, the

United Democratic Front, one of the most prominent legal anti-government groups, has increasingly challenged the position of Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in the Natal Province.

The event that sparked the violence appears to have been the murder last week of Victoria Mxenge, a high-profile sympathizer with the UDF.

Mrs. Mxenge was a member of the defense counsel in the treason trial of 16 UDF leaders which resumed earlier this week. The UDF has been outspoken in its attempts to have the South African government abandon its policy of apartheid, or strict racial segregation.

Two of the townships around Durban affected by the outbursts are in the Zulu "homeland" of KwaZulu. The area's chief minister, Gatsha Buthelezi, has taken a strong stand against street violence, and his million-strong Inkatha movement has generally exercised a restraining influence on black anger.

Until two years ago the Inkatha movement was largely unchallenged in the Zulu-dominated areas of KwaZulu and Na-

tal. But that changed with the launching of the UDF as a national movement in August 1983.

Rivalry developed between the two movements and there have been occasional clashes. One example was the killing of five UDF students by enraged Inkatha supporters in October 1983. The Inkatha men were allegedly goaded into action by insults directed at their movement and its leader. Another was the killing of two Inkatha members last year at a memorial service for a UDF community leader in the township of Lamontville.

These tensions surfaced again after the murder of Mxenge, which triggered a chain reaction of violence. In the KwaZulu township of Kwamasha and Umlazi the targets of stone-throwing and fire-bombing crowds included administration buildings and officials associated with the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu government.

Buthelezi blamed the violence on outsiders brought in from surrounding townships. He urged local residents to help ensure that schools remained open and that public buildings were afforded the "necessary protection."

Buthelezi went on to accuse a "certain organization," presumably the UDF or one of its affiliates, and the outlawed African National Congress of promoting "black-on-black confrontation" and "black self-laceration" by encouraging blacks to attack perceived collaborators and burn down their own facilities.

Attacks on KwaZulu buildings and officials, however, may have been prompted by suspicions that Inkatha was behind Mxenge's

murder. Similar suspicions arose after the 1981 murder of her husband, Griffiths Mxenge, a former cadre of the outlawed African National Congress. An inquest found that Mr. Mxenge was murdered by "persons unknown."

It is the first time in decades that large-scale violence has erupted in townships around Durban. They remained relatively tranquil during the rebellion in black townships of 1976-77, and, until Wednesday, during the unrest that has swept across most of South Africa's townships since September last year.

TRIAL (Continued)

white rule. The last major treason trial was in 1955, when 166 black leaders were charged but acquitted four years later.

Mohamed also argued that the indictment was defective in charging the prisoners collectively on the basis of "different acts committed in different places at different times."

He asked Judge John Milne to order that the joint indictment be withdrawn and the 16 men charged again separately. When Judge Milne asked how this would benefit the prisoners, Mohamed replied: "I think, my lord, that if that were to happen, it might be the last that we see of this case"—an implicit suggestion that the administration of President Pieter W. Botha regarded it as a political failure that it would drop if given the chance.

The trial has aroused strong feelings in the black community, and armed police with dogs patrolled the streets near the red-brick courthouse, which is behind a high security fence, to prevent demonstrations. A few hundred black people gathered on the pavement opposite the courthouse throughout the day, but there were no incidents.

Despite the gravity of the case and the racial tension it has aroused, there was a calm, almost genteel atmosphere in the court itself, which was redolent of the province's British colonial past.

Natal is the province of the English minority, and the proceedings had about them a touch of British colonial rule in India as the flamboyant Indian lawyer pleaded his case before the politely attentive judge with an accent that had a ring of the English upper class.

A visiting U.S. federal appeals court judge, Nathaniel Jones of Cincinnati, found it all very surprising. "I guess the problem here is not one of procedure but of the underlying body of law," he observed during a tea break.

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