

# AF Press Clips

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## PRETORIA RELEASES 5 FROM DETENTION

Only Four Whites Held Under  
Emergency Decree and an  
Asian Reported Freed

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 12 — South African authorities have freed from detention the only four whites held under the state of emergency that was declared almost four months ago, the parents of one of those released said tonight.

A fifth detainee, Ram Salojee, who is of Indian descent, was also said to have been freed.

The motive for the release remained unclear. According to figures published last week, more than 1,100 persons, the bulk of them black, are still being held under the emergency decree, now in force in 38 magisterial districts, while 392 out of 1,633 people held apart from the provisions of the emergency under the nation's wide-ranging security legislation are still in detention.

The story of the four whites, however, seemed to underline what political activists said was the differing treatment in detention reserved for differing groups of detainees.

### Detained Since July

The four were identified as Neil Coleman, Aurret van Heerden, Maurice Smothers and Simon Ratcliffe, all detained shortly after the imposition of the state of emergency on July 21. Max Coleman, a prominent lawyer opposed to the system of apartheid, said his son was freed with Mr. Salojee and the three other whites today.

According to those who have followed the detention of the whites, the four men were initially kept in solitary confinement, but, after legal proceedings were begun on their behalf, they were permitted access to a prison store and were able to meet together for three hours a day to exercise, play table tennis and talk. The rest of the time was spent in isolation.

The same informants, who declined to be identified, said prison conditions

## Liberian Capital Is Reported to Be Calm

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast, Nov. 13 (AP) — Radio broadcasts from Liberia said forces loyal to President Samuel K. Doe were still calling on rebels to lay down their arms today, one day after an attempted coup. But diplomats in Monrovia said the Liberian capital was calm.

There has been no independent word from Monrovia on whether fighting has ceased throughout the West African country, which is slightly larger than Ohio. The leader of the coup, Gen. Thomas Quiwonkpa, was still at large and believed to be in Liberia.

In a Liberian radio broadcast today that was monitored here, Mr. Doe said 10 rebels had been killed and 16 captured. He said the rebels had entered Liberia from the Ivory Coast.

Mr. Doe gave no Government casualty figures.

Meanwhile, Liberia's military chief of staff charged today that mercenaries from Cuba and Sierra Leone had been among the rebels who tried to overthrow Mr. Doe, according to a journalist in Monrovia.

### 'Key Rebel Figures' Held

Lieut. Gen. Henry Dubar said at a Monrovia news conference that "key rebel figures" had been arrested, including a Maj. Anthony Y. Marque, according to the journalist.

The journalist spoke to a reporter in Abidjan on condition he not be identified further.

A report of the arrests broadcast by Liberia's private Christian radio station, Radio Elwa, said Major Marque and the others were being interrogated.

The broadcast, monitored in London by the British Broadcasting Corp., said one rebel reported that General Quiwonkpa was in Monrovia and could be hiding in a foreign embassy. It did not say which one.

### Sierra Leone Called Base

At the news conference, reporters were told that some rebels were recruited in the Ivory Coast and flown to Sierra Leone, where they entered Liberia by crossing the Mano River, the journalist said.

Radio Elwa said President Doe was in complete control and had toured Monrovia. The broadcast said the city was calm.

There was no way to confirm the Government's assertions.

The British Foreign Office in London said its embassy in Monrovia reported that President Doe, head of state since a 1980 coup, regained control about 13 hours after the revolt Tuesday, which was led by General Quiwonkpa, a former ally.

Afterward, President Doe ordered a dusk-to-dawn curfew and closed Liberia's borders and the international airport to search for rebels.

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were different for other detainees.

Black men in detention, the informants said, were so numerous that it was impossible to keep them in solitary confinement and so had been detained together. They formed committees among themselves to regulate their detention, the informants said.

### Women in Detention

Women emerging from detention, these sources said, had told friends that female detainees were less numerous and so had been held in isolation. The worst sounds of detention, released detainees told sympathizers, was that of young women crying in their cells, cut off from solace.

The four whites are all viewed as political activists opposed to apartheid. But it was not clear why they were detained under emergency regulations

supposedly proclaimed to counter violent protest and disturbances in segregated black townships. Over 800 lives have been lost in the unrest since September, 1984.

According to the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, a group that monitors detentions, 5,876 people had been detained under the emergency decree by Oct. 31, while 4,724 of those had been released, leaving 1,152 in detention.

Additionally, however, 1,633 were detained under other security legislation and 392 were still being held. At the same time, the South African authorities have used criminal legislation to detain persons held during protests so that the figure, according to the Detainees Parents Support Committee, for those detained for offenses including public violence stood at 25,000 between Sept. 1, 1984 and Nov. 1, 1985.



THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
NOVEMBER 1, 1985

# Leaning Harder on Pretoria

By Anthony Lake  
and Samuel R. Berger

SOUTH HADLEY, Mass. — Suppose it is now the autumn of 1983. South Africa is quiet. The Reagan Administration orders limited economic sanctions and calls for the release of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress. In South Africa, a Government commission calls for an end to the hated pass laws; business leaders meet with A.N.C. representatives.

Were it 1983, these actions, which occurred recently, might have offered black South African leaders

grounds for entering the prospect of peaceful change and impressed Mr. Reagan's anti-apartheid critics in America. Today, however, they are discounted as rear-guard actions — taken by President Reagan to

pre-empt stiffer sanctions by Congress, and by South African whites, who are reacting to violence. Because of their timing and motivation, neither these steps nor Prime Minister P.W. Botha's policies offer South African blacks much hope for a peaceful end to apartheid.

If the South African Government is to be convinced that it must pay more attention to the nation's future than to short-term political reaction, the Administration must use whatever influence it has to encourage bold action. There is much that Pretoria and Washington can do to put themselves ahead of the rush of events, instead of a year or more behind them.

In South Africa, Mr. Mandela can be released and serious talks can begin about power-sharing. In America, the Administration can make it clear that unless South Africa takes these steps, it will face not rhetorical but, rather, concrete consequences.

In all likelihood, the South African economy could survive any economic sanctions that Washington ordered. But the psychological effect of a conservative Administration threatening even modest new sanctions — which go beyond those proposed by Congress — could be defenders of West-significant. Southern civilization Africa's white against Communism. What the ways wanted to be principal leader of lieve that they are the West says to them does matter.

His words would matter all the more if they represented a genuine act of policy rather than political expediency.

The Washington Times

NOVEMBER 12, 1985

# U.S. initiative urged to unite South Africa

By Vicki Rivera  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Reagan should call a conference at Camp David to bring together all the leaders in South Africa to talk of ways to end apartheid, John Silber, president of Boston University and an official U.S. observer at Sunday's elections in Guatemala, said yesterday.

That session should specifically include Nelson Mandela, the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, he said.

Pardoning Mr. Mandela and allowing him to attend such a conference would "defuse that martyrdom issue," Mr. Silber said.

Such a conference could propose a "bill of rights that would protect the individual in South Africa so that if political reform came and apartheid were step-by-step struck down, bloodshed could be avoided" as well as the "deterioration that seems to be going on in Zimbabwe."

"If South Africans don't want to live in terror for the next 25 years, they'd better get a plan of reform," Mr. Silber told editors and reporters at a luncheon at The Washington Times. He said protesters here and within South Africa are pushing for reforms faster than the government can respond.

"People of good will should put a damper on [the protesters'] de-

mands" to give the government a chance to respond appropriately. Otherwise, the protesters may only succeed in achieving the removal of President P.W. Botha and his replacement by someone more intransigent.

"There's something wicked about high moral rhetoric from people who don't have a solution to the problem about which they complain," Mr. Silber said. "I haven't heard anybody talk intelligently about how a solution is to be brought about [in South Africa]."

Furthermore, he said, Americans should ask: "Is it morally right to foment a civil war in which we don't have to fight?"

After all, the British didn't have universal suffrage until 1928, he noted. "Is it realistic to expect changes to take place in six months that took other countries decades to implement?" he said.

On other issues, Mr. Silber described the Guatemalan elections as a "model" and said he was convinced the military would not intervene in the civilian government that is to

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What might Mr. Reagan do to convince the South Africans that he is earnest? A number of instruments are at hand, none so blunt nor burdensome as to be inconceivable to the Administration, yet all significant enough to apply far more pressure than South Africa expects.

Mr. Reagan could threaten that if Mr. Mandela were not released and negotiations for political power-sharing were not seriously pursued, he would take a number of steps. They might include: going to the United Nations Security Council and asking it to impose the same limited sanctions he already has ordered; banning all flights by

South African Airways to the United States; banning all new American investment in or loans to South Africa; steadily intensifying trade sanctions, starting with stricter controls on products that can be used to implement apartheid.

These are modest steps when compared to the urgency of the situation in South Africa and to the demand for full disinvestment as one means of relieving it. But they would have a significant impact if the Administration took them as part of a new policy.

The Administration has every reason to adopt such a course. It once pursued a policy of "constructive engagement." Today, it has neither a policy nor a clear position. Yet the

President's sanctions brought a fundamental shift in the Administration's approach to South Africa. The question no longer is whether sanctions are appropriate, but how they should be applied — toward what specific objectives and at what pace.

If the President does not begin to answer the question with an eye more to South Africa than to the Senate, the deepening South African crisis will continue to work to his political disadvantage and that of his party. Even if a policy of putting teeth behind a call for Mr. Mandela's release did not work, a new generation of blacks in South Africa might at least soften its view of Washington. Today, such hostility is unfortunate; tomorrow, it could severely damage our interests.

If the President seized the initiative, the Democrats would lose the issue. Such a loss could hardly be lamented by those who see in the Administration's current temporizing a prescription for growing turmoil and enormous suffering in South Africa. □

Anthony Lake, professor of international relations at Mount Holyoke College, was director of the State Department's policy-planning staff under President Jimmy Carter. Samuel R. Berger, a lawyer, was deputy director.



# Pretoria Takes Action Against Editor

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 8 — The Government took court action today against a prominent South African newspaper editor for publishing an interview with a black nationalist adversary.

The action came on a day of sharpening confrontation between the authorities and foreign correspondents.

Tony Heard, editor of the Cape Times newspaper, was charged under the Internal Security Act in a magistrates' court. He was accused of quoting what is called a banned person by publishing an interview Monday with Oliver Tambo, a leader of the outlawed and exiled African National Congress.

Information Minister Louis Nel, meanwhile, issued a lengthy statement chronicling what he said were occasions when foreign television crews purportedly helped instigate some of the unrest that has taken the lives of more than 800 people, most of them

black, since September 1984.

## Emergency Decree

The violence has prompted the authorities to declare a state of emergency, now in force in 38 districts around Cape Town and Johannesburg and in the eastern Cape region centered on Port Elizabeth.

Mr. Nel's statement contained an assertion that an unidentified South African working for an overseas network was a police spy.

The Foreign Correspondents Association took issue with Mr. Nel's accusations against the television crews, saying in a statement, "These incidents must still be regarded as unproven, because there is no way to verify them independently."

"Some of the incidents alleged by Mr. Nel appear not to represent any violation of law or ethics, but to involve simply very enterprising coverage by skilled reporters," the Foreign Corre-

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THE NEW YORK TIMES,

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# Paper Charges South Africa Used 'Bogus' Evidence for Press Curb

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 10 — A South African newspaper accused the authorities today of using unverified and "bogus" evidence of improper behavior by foreign television crews to help justify a major crackdown on reporting of the nation's protracted disturbances.

The Sunday Star of Johannesburg said the Deputy Minister responsible for information, Louis Nel, had quoted a letter published in The Daily Telegraph of London as proof that television crews were purportedly stage-managing unrest.

But, the newspaper said, its investigations had shown that the person said to have written the letter did not seem to exist and that the people living at the letter writer's supposed address in England had no knowledge of it.

In London, a statement by The Daily Telegraph, to appear in Monday's issue of the newspaper, seemed to acknowledge the letter's dubious origins. It said: "The handwritten letter was received through the mail on Nov. 4, with name and address, and was published in good faith. It now appears that it was intended to deceive, and we owe our readers a sincere apology."

## The Wider Ramifications

The charge leveled by The Sunday Star against the Government has wider ramifications since it casts doubt on the entire Government case for suppressing or limiting television and other reporting from the nation's segregated black townships. The Sunday Star is an English-language newspaper that is often critical of the Government.

The authorities have argued that television crews have behaved improperly and have incited violence. The Sunday Star's report seems certain to fuel accusations by the Government's adversaries that the censorship is no more than a cover-up, ordered on flimsy evidence, of harsh police tactics, which have been shown widely outside South Africa but not in the country itself.

In a statement two days ago, Mr. Nel, head of a new bureau of information in Pretoria, listed instances when, he said, television crews purportedly paid schoolchildren to burn books, had foreknowledge of political disturbances, staged the burning of cars or provoked demonstrations.

Mr. Nel's statement was issued as justification for a total ban imposed eight days ago on television and radio coverage of incidents of unrest in the 38 districts covered by South Africa's proclaimed state of emergency, now almost four months old. The measures also limit newspaper reporting of disturbances since they require correspondents to seek police approval and escorts for their presence in areas deemed to be "unrest areas."

"From what I have seen and the reports received by me I am more than satisfied that the Government's action in barring TV and other audio-visual crews from certain areas is more than justified," Mr. Nel said.

The Foreign Correspondents Association, however, challenged that assessment and said in a statement, "These incidents must still be regarded as unproven because there is no way to verify them independently."

# Newspapering and Courage

## *In South Africa, the Truth Can Put You in Prison*

By Gerald Shaw

CAPE TOWN — Bringing out a daily newspaper in a country in painful transition from caste society to an unknown future is a taxing and at times poignant experience.

As editor of the Cape Times, published in the legislative capital of South Africa, Anthony Heard, 48, finds himself having to reconcile a host of conflicting demands, the most pressing of which is to ensure the paper's survival in the teeth of an economic recession, a mine-field of restrictive legal measures and a political onslaught of great ferocity.

His readers — mainly middle-class, half of them whites and the other half so-called colored (mixed-race) people, with some blacks — are by now aware that a social shift of fundamental importance has

*Nerves are raw in a violence-wracked  
community in which some jumpy  
individuals surveying the day's  
news may feel inclined to hang  
the messenger.*

begun in the country.

To a visitor, one of the most startling features in the paper is the daily unrest map, in the style of a weather map, which shows the location of current outbursts of violence, stonings, fire-bombings and so on and is regularly consulted by locals planning automobile journeys into the interior.

Editing a newspaper in this tension-ridden and sadly divided multi-racial community is indeed taxing. The Cape Times was established in 1876 as an organ of empire in the tradition of liberal imperialism, drawing its economic viability from the upsurge following the discovery of diamonds and, ultimately, the opening of the goldfields in the north.

The paper grew to maturity in a self-governing Cape colony that

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# South Africa's Blacks Question If School Boycott Hurts Them

BY STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SOWETO, South Africa — Last week, nearly 40% of black schoolchildren in urban areas boycotted final examinations, to protest the government's racial and educational policies. In Soweto, only one in 10 students took the exams.

Some students are advocating "No school until 1987." Yet, for black parents and students the school boycott causes deep anxiety as they debate whether they're hurting themselves rather than whites.

At a highly charged meeting here recently, black leader Dr. Nthato Motlana warned that "the unlearned children cannot rule" and argued that school boycotts would make young blacks the true children of apartheid's founders—men like former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd who told Parliament, "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?"

## A Losing Battle

But Dr. Motlana fought a losing battle before about 2,000 people packed into St. Mary's Church in this violence-prone black

township. The meeting took place before the government restricted access by reporters to black areas. While an armored car loaded with white soldiers circled the church, parents decided to back their children's refusal to sit for exams. "Liberation before education" has become the slogan of the increasingly radical youth.

Themba Phiri, a tall, slim youth rose to rebut Dr. Motlana. Students shouldn't go back to school until South African soldiers patrolling the township are withdrawn, he said.

"When I'm on the street in my shoes, I've got no protection. When I'm in my mother's yard, I've got no protection. Where should we go? We are not going to write (exams) until we get our demand," he said to thunderous cheers.

Donald Ncube and other parents are frightened by the unbridled anger of youths that is drawing South Africa's black schoolchildren to the front lines of the conflict between blacks and the government. "The young black is a different kettle of fish, a different animal," says Mr. Ncube, one of the few black professionals at South Africa's biggest business, Anglo American

Corp. "I've never seen such anger and fury and hatred."

Mr. Ncube knows black education is inferior, but he fears children will grow up with no education at all. "It becomes difficult to say that they shouldn't be the way they are," he says. "We parents say, 'Look at the alternatives,' and they say, 'Look at you. You have the education and you still don't sit on the board of Anglo American.' And they're right."

The schools have become microcosms of the nationwide confrontation. The government, fearful of the explosive potential of hundreds of thousands of youths roaming the streets of the black townships, has been trying to force students back to their classrooms.

Troops patrol primary and secondary schools, children as young as 12 are detained, and in the streets police battle rock-throwing kids. In one incident, an entire Soweto school of 775 children was detained for two days.

The Congress of South African Students is the only organization to have been banned during the state of emergency. It continues to operate underground.

"The children are running the townships," says Lilly, owner of a black nightclub in Katlehong township. "When they tell you to close down, you close." The wife of Soweto's biggest businessman recently told a friend that students-association representatives show up with a list of grocery items they want from the supermarket the couple owns. They are given the goods as a "contribution to the community."

A 19-year-old student leader, who consented to be interviewed in a Johannesburg home on condition his name not be used, says he joined the organization last spring when troops were called into his township. "You see others struggling and you can't sit on the fence when the fence is shaking," he says. "I also want to further the aims of the struggle and our father, Nelson Mandela," the jailed leader of the African National Congress.

## 'Impossible' to Return to School

He rejects suggestions that students should take their exams. "It is very impossible to go back to school right now. It would make a mockery of everything we've been fighting for."

The students are fighting for a growing list of political as well as educational demands. Their first demand, for instruction in English rather than Afrikaans, helped spark the Soweto riots of 1976. Hundreds were killed before the government agreed to switch languages.

Since then, students have demanded student representative councils, the abolition of corporal punishment, a unified education department for all races and better qualified teachers. The most recent demands are political: The release of detained students; withdrawal of police and troops from the townships; postponement of increases in the cost of township transport, rent and electricity; lower food

THE WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 9, 1985

# Effect of S. Africa Ban Expected to Be Limited

By Michael Isikoff  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Treasury Department said yesterday that investment firms, trust companies, pension funds, and securities brokers and dealers, as well as U.S. banks and thrift institutions will be barred from lending to the South African government as of Monday.

But the regulations are expected to have only a limited impact since virtually all major U.S. banks have already announced that they have stopped lending to the South African government. Federal Reserve Board figures released this week show that U.S. loans to the South African public sector were at \$217 million as of June 30 of this year, down from \$373 million in June 1984 and \$623 million in June 1982.

Moreover, U.S. lending to the South African public and private sectors has ground to a virtual halt since September when the South African government, reacting to the rand's collapse on the currency markets, declared a moratorium on debt repayments.

President Reagan, attempting to head off congressional legislation

that would have imposed more stringent economic sanctions, ordered a number of limited actions against the South African government on Sept. 9, including a cutoff in U.S. bank loans to the public sector, and bans on most nuclear exports, computer sales to government agencies that enforce apartheid and imports of South Africa's gold krugerrand.

A Treasury Department official said the regulations issued yesterday are a "fleshing out" of the executive order and included a "very broad definition" of financial institutions. Such institutions will be barred from extending trade credits, buying government securities and making indirect loans through third parties.

The Treasury Department will, however, allow limited "case by case" exceptions on loans for educational, housing or health facilities so long as they benefit "all persons on a non-discriminatory basis" as well as loans that expand opportunities for persons "disadvantaged by the apartheid system." Treasury also said the regulations will not interfere with the efforts by U.S. banks in London to work out a rescheduling of outstanding loans in light of the debt moratorium.

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# Holes in the Anti-Apartheid Embargo

PHILADELPHIA — President Reagan took the wind out of the sails of the bipartisan Congressional anti-apartheid movement in September when he buckled to pressure and signed an executive order outlining sanctions against South Africa. But will the new sanctions prevent computers sold to a South African lollipop factory from winding up in a machine gun plant? The answer is no.

The Commerce Department is circulating a watered-down version of the sanctions and will not allow the usual public comment period once the regulations are issued. As they now stand, the regulations are filled with loopholes and exemptions and will have little impact on apartheid.

To be fair, the draft regulations will expand some controls by reducing the number of shipments of technology permitted under blanket licenses and by adding a few more South African agencies to the list of prohibited customers. Yet, on balance, the best that can be said is that they will be little more than a mild irritant. They are designed to quiet public criticism but not to stop the flow of strategic technology to South Africa's police, military and arms industry.

The latest draft of the export regulations have several blind spots:

- They leave most South African Government agencies off the embargo list. The regulations ban shipments to a few national "apartheid-enforcing agencies" but fail to ban sales to a other national and hundreds of local bodies that can import for the restricted agencies.

- They permit American companies to sell computers and components in systems assembled in third countries and then reshipped to South Africa as long as the components constitute less than 20 percent of the price of the total system. This "re-export" loophole could allow imports of millions of dollars worth of sophisticated United States technology.

- They continue to permit high-tech sales to South African commercial arms contractors. Although direct sales to the state weapons conglomerate and the security forces are prohibited, the military has an umbilical relationship with some 1,000 commercial arms companies. The sanctions will do nothing to prevent United States high-tech equipment

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There is no reason to be shocked at this. Other countries have similar prohibitions against recording, by sound or picture, embarrassing events. Many require that journalists report to police before covering unrest. The Soviet Union's restrictions differ in technique, but accomplish the same purpose. So do those of other Communist countries. Some African one-party states control the coverage of their ways. Cuba does. Angola does. South Africa is emulating the regimes it says it is protecting the West against. They are its models.

The foreign press will protest. We do protest. But it is their country, run by their rules. Coverage is not a reward for good behavior, or a penalty for bad. We will continue to do our best to get the news out as fairly as we know how, just as we do in the Soviet Union.

The new rules will mute the reporting but not Africa is tempted to clamp down on the messenger stop the unrest. While much of the violence does reporting the existence of the blaze. But the fires respond to press coverage, it did not originate for will rage on. The world will go on seeing the un- such limited purpose. The youngsters who form ages that are suddenly prevented from getting out, the cutting edge of protest on the dusty plains of knowing full well that they are there.

Now, at least, a South African official or businessman can travel to Washington or London and not see unflattering images of unrest and whip-lashing policemen in his homeland that he is shielded from seeing at home. That is what is accomplished, and probably nothing more.

Of course there may be domestic news suppression as well. The law-violating interview by the *Cape Times* with the exiled and banned African National Congress president, Oliver Tambo, was the first statement of ANC positions to be so visibly published in a quarter-century. It is of great interest to the white community, especially. The courageous editor, Anthony Heard, is threatened with prison.

Throughout this century, a relatively free press has been the glory of South Africa. Many countries that condemn South Africa do not allow half so much freedom of expression. Now, in desperation and frustration at fires it cannot put out, South Africa is tempted to clamp down on the messenger reporting the existence of the blaze. But the fire will rage on. The world will go on seeing the images that are suddenly prevented from getting out, knowing full well that they are there.

NOVEMBER 10, 1985

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S government is tightening up on the news. In the last few days, it has invoked the apartheid system's draconian internal security legislation to charge the white editor of the Cape Times, Tony Heard, for publishing what was the first substantial interview in the South African press in 25 years with a black guerrilla leader. Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress had urged the government to create a climate for talks. The newspaper deemed publication "a contribution to peaceful solutions in South Africa in a matter of overwhelming public importance." The government saw an intrusion upon its chosen course of toughing it out. Others will see an insistence on flying blind.

Other new curbs decreed by the government will substantially thin the news flowing to the international public as well as to South Africans. Television, radio and photographic correspondents are henceforth barred from areas of unrest. Newspaper and magazine journalists can enter those areas, but only with police permission.

This is not the first place in which officials have been angered by the media, especially by television, with its distinctive ability to touch the emotions of a broad public. What is distinctive here is the evident aim of keeping pictures of discontent from the *foreign* public, mostly, we presume, from the American

public. Pretoria has been stunned to find public and even official support fading in the United States, the one country it previously regarded as reliable.

The government claims television coverage of violence actually incites disturbances—as though apartheid did not light its own fires. It is more plausible that the government acted because of the “unprecedented intensity of interest” in South Africa that a Cape Times journalist found in the United States during a recent visit. Noting that Bishop Desmond Tutu’s “impact as a communicator was electrifying” to the American public, Gerald Shaw wrote, fairly: “But it was the police whippings that really did it—the sight, night after night on television, of South African policemen whipping people in the streets of South Africa, whipping them as they ran, whipping them on the ground, dragging them along with one hand and whipping away furiously with the other.”

To this spectacle, two broad responses were possible. One, that favored by Gerald Shaw and the Cape Times among others in South Africa, was political dialogue. The other, that of the government, was censorship. The reprisals against journalists, like the uproar in the townships, is likely to strengthen the West in its view that apartheid is destroying South Africa.



# Cape Town Editor Arrested

## 7 Other Journalists Held in Township

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

CAPE TOWN, Nov. 8—Police arrested the editor of the Cape Times, Anthony Heard, today and took him to court to be charged under South Africa's security laws for publishing an interview with the president of the outlawed African National Congress.

Heard, who faces a possible three years' imprisonment without the option of a fine for quoting a "banned" person, was told that other charges also might be brought against him. He was ordered to appear in court Dec. 9, then fingerprinted and released without bail.

Seven other journalists were detained in a segregated mixed-race township outside Cape Town under new press restrictions today and held for nearly two hours before being released without charges.

Meanwhile, Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel issued a statement today saying he had evidence of abuses by television crews that justified the restrictions that have been imposed on the media.

Heard was arrested while members of his staff were staging a street demonstration against the new press restrictions. As police escorted him out of the newspaper's building in downtown Cape Town, he was taken past a poster

that read, "Hands off our editor."

Heard said later that his arrest was "probably to be expected." He expressed no regret for having published the interview with African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, the first full statement by South Africa's major black nationalist movement to appear inside the country for nearly 25 years.

The government says that foreign journalists are sending exaggerated reports abroad that are damaging South Africa's image and that television crews have instigated acts of violence and paid black youths to riot before the cameras.

To stop this, the government issued a decree last week prohibiting all television, radio and photographic news reporting of disturbances in designated emergency areas. It also warned newspaper reporters that they could be there only if they placed themselves under the direction of the police.

In was in the midst of an international outcry over these restrictions, and while the government of President Pieter W. Botha was taking tough action to stop white South Africans from holding talks with the outlawed African National Congress, that the Cape Times published a 3,600-word question-and-answer interview with Tambo Monday.

The government has made it clear that it means to enforce its silencing of the congress. Last month it seized the passports of eight Afrikaner university students who wanted to travel to Lusaka to

meet leaders of the banned organization, and on Monday seven Dutch Reformed Church pastors were warned that their passports would be lifted if they did not abandon plans to meet with the congress.

The seven reporters arrested today protested that their detention was a violation of the new restrictions and of official guidelines about how they should work.

Police have told reporters that they may enter the segregated black and mixed-race, or Colored, townships, but the moment violence begins they must withdraw from the scene of the action and place themselves under the control of a designated police officer.

Today reporters went to an area where they were told there was trouble, but when they got there they found that all was quiet. They were detained nonetheless.

In an attempt to justify the new regulations, Nel issued a statement today that police video units had evidence of unethical conduct by foreign television crews.

Nel said a police informer—apparently a South African—working for a foreign television network had said some crews had advance knowledge of disturbances. They set up their equipment in advance and waited for the action, he said.

Responding to Nel's charges, the Foreign Correspondents Association said that it had not been shown the videotapes or other evidence mentioned by Nel and that it regarded the charges as unproved.

## GE Is Discussing the Sale Of Its South Africa Units

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

FAIRFIELD, Conn.—General Electric Co. said it is talking to "a group of entrepreneurs" in its South African units who want to buy and split up GE's operations there.

A GE spokesman said four separate management groups have offered to buy South African General Electric Co., a maker of electrical equipment, and three units that are involved in equipment and electrical repair. GE didn't say how much the groups were offering for its operations, which had losses last year after declining business since 1981.

GE blamed the loss on the poor business climate in South Africa, where the

## Namibian Insurgents Raid Town

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 13—Insurgents in the north of South-West Africa attacked a border town with mortars, rockets and small arms fire early today and six of them were killed by Government forces pursuing them into Angola, the South African military said. It was not clear whether the 3 A.M. strike against Ruacana represented the start of the Angolan-based South-West Africa People's Organization's annual effort to infiltrate the territory under cover of the rainy season.

The rebels have been fighting a guerrilla war for two decades against South African dominance in South-West Africa, widely known as Namibia.

A South African communiqué today said two Government soldiers were slightly wounded by shrapnel in the attack on Ruacana and a nearby military base. An officers' mess was damaged, the communiqué said, but there were no civilian casualties.

The communiqué said one rebel was captured by Government troops pursuing the raiders toward the Angolan border, and six more were killed just north of the border in Angola.

### Pretoria Move at U.N.

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Nov. 13—The South African Government took a procedural step today toward complying with a United Nations plan for the independence of South-West Africa, as the Security Council opened debate on the situation in that territory.

In a letter to the Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha said the provisional Government installed by Pretoria in South-West Africa would agree to elections by proportional representation under the United Nations plan. The Council has declared the interim government "null and void."

## Cape Town Bans Conference

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 14, 1985

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 9 (UPI)—The Cape Town authorities today forbade the University of Cape Town from holding a conference next week to discuss the United Democratic Front, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organization.

The ban came as The Star, Johannesburg's largest daily newspaper, printed a front-page editorial accusing the Government of trying to "intimidate the press" by arresting a Cape Town newspaper editor, Tony Heard.

Mr. Heard, scheduled for trial Dec. 9, faces a maximum three-year prison term.

In Cape Town, the Police Chief, Brig. Chris Swart, banned the University of Cape Town conference. It was scheduled to be held on campus on Tuesday to discuss the future role of the two-million-member United Democratic Front.

Brigadier Swart gave no reason for the order. The ban is permitted under the sweeping state of emergency powers granted the police by President P. W. Botha.

In Johannesburg, The Star's editorial was in response to the arrest Thursday of Mr. Heard, who was charged with violating South Africa's internal security laws by printing an interview with Oliver Tambo, the banned president of the African National Congress. Mr. Heard was released without bail.

"It appears very much as if some Government agency, if not the Government itself, is trying to intimidate the press," The Star said. "How stupid can they get? Far from being cowed, newspapermen and women are in danger of reacting harshly. They can hardly be blamed."



## Visit to South Africa Canceled

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

take power in January.

"If [Gen. Oscar Humberto] Mejia [Victores] didn't speak for the army, the elections would not have taken place," he said.

The army has decided it can't handle the economy and the expectations of the people, he said. For democracy to take hold in Guatemala, however, the country needs at least \$150 million in aid from the United States "in a reasonably short period of time."

However, he expressed skepticism that the elections in the Philippines can be as successful as those in Guatemala, which had a tradition of elections.

To develop as successful an election system as the Guatemalans devised would take the Philippines at least six months, he said.

"The chances of putting together an honest election in the Philippines by mid-January are absurd," he said.

The elections in Guatemala confirmed the assessment of the bipartisan commission on Central America, headed by Henry Kissinger, that Central America was ripe for democracy, said Mr. Silber, who served as one of the 12 members of the commission.

A group of 18 Americans, including three House members, has canceled a fact-finding trip to South Africa after the Pretoria government refused to issue visas to all but four of them.

A South African Embassy spokesman said the visas had not been denied but said "the sensitive and delicate political circumstances prevailing in South Africa would make a visit of the nature contemplated by the Center for Development Policy, however well-intended, inopportune."

In a letter yesterday to the center, South African Ambassador Herbert Beukes said "the composition of the group further leads the government to believe that a visit at this stage would not be opportune," according to the center's executive director, Lindsay Mattison.

Included in the delegation were Reps. Mickey Leland (D-Tex.), head of the Black Caucus in the House, Douglas H. Bosco (D-Calif.) and George Miller (D-Calif.); Christopher J. Mathews, an aide to

House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.), and David Aarons, deputy national security affairs adviser in the Carter administration. Also in the group were two former ambassadors, Robert White and Walter Carrington.

The South African spokesman said visas were available for the three congressman and Mathews.

Leland, however, said no one would be going because the group was "not going to permit the extension of control by the South African government to the United States by selecting who can and cannot be part of a delegation."

The trip was scheduled to be a fact-finding trip, but a center official said the group also hoped to see leaders of all factions "to talk about an all-parties conference to begin negotiations of a settlement" of the racial conflict.

Meanwhile, a State Department official said the United States and European governments were pressing South Africa to reverse itself and allow the Rev. Allan Boesak, an anti-apartheid leader, to travel here to receive the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award Nov. 20.

## HOLES IN THE ANTI-APARTHEID EMBARGO (Continued)

from reaching these corporations.

- They contain an escape hatch that exempts contracts with nonembargoed apartheid-enforcing agencies signed before the executive order went into effect. It is highly probable that Pretoria signed long-term contracts with computer companies precisely to pre-empt any new sanctions.

- They establish a narrow definition of arms and related equipment that are off-limits rather than using the State Department's "munitions list," which establishes clear definitions. The Commerce Department quietly licensed sales of \$27.9 million of technology on the munitions list from 1982 through 1984. Without a total ban of items on the munitions list and a "commodity control" list, these exports may increase.

Beyond these obvious weaknesses, the new provisions fail to establish meaningful enforcement and verification mechanisms. The regulations simply require computer companies to secure an agreement from their South African customers not to make the equipment available to prohibited agencies.

Can we rely on the South Africans to enforce United States export restrictions? South Africa has a long record of using subterfuge to obtain weapons and technology. It seems disingenuous to think South Africa will simply play by the rules.

If we can't count on Pretoria to enforce the embargo, can we count on American companies? For the most part, the corporations say they are powerless to prevent their products from being diverted once they reach South Africa. Regardless of the companies' inclinations, the South African Government can evoke the Business Protection Act or several other local laws to prevent South African subsidiaries of American corporations from cooperating with Commerce Department inquiries.

Pretoria and most South African companies will likely declare a willingness to observe the restrictions. But once computers have been installed, it will be virtually impossible to know who logs on — a nurse or a police officer, a lollipop maker or a gun manufacturer. □

## LIBERIAN CAPITAL IS REPORTED TO BE CALM (Continued)

### Speech by Doe

In a speech broadcast Tuesday night in Liberia and frequently repeated today, the 35-year-old President Doe called on rebels at large, including General Quiwonkpa, to surrender.

The U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, reached by telephone at midday today, reported the Liberian capital unusually quiet.

An Embassy spokesman, Richard Gilbert, said, "The city is very calm. There's no traffic at all, but there are knots of people, here and there going about — not normal business, but some vendors are out selling fruit."

"None of the stores are open," he said. "There's no disorder."

## SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACKS QUESTION (Continued)

prices; and freedom for Nelson Mandela.

Improving black education is a major task. Since 1972, spending on black education has risen sharply to about \$360 million a year. But per-pupil spending for whites is still seven times as large as that for blacks.

Dirk Meiring, the white director of education in the black Department of Education, admits that 80% of teachers in black schools are underqualified. In some cases, teachers with only 10th grade educations are teaching 11th or 12th-grade mathematics.

### Trying to Close the Gap

Mr. Meiring says the department builds an average of 15 classrooms for blacks every working day and is trying to close the gap between white and black education.

In a broadcast on the official radio, General Dubar said all military officers who had been appointed by General Quiwonkpa were ordered to report to the Defense Ministry.

The fighting started at dawn Tuesday with an attack on President Doe's executive mansion. The rebels captured Radio Elwa to announce their coup but were forced out of the station later in the day. President Doe then made a speech on the same station.

Liberia, an English-speaking country, has a population of 2 million divided among 16 ethnic groups. It has 350 miles of coastline on the Atlantic, and is bounded by Sierra Leone and Guinea to the north and by the Ivory Coast to the east.

He has launched a teacher-training program and is trying to lower class sizes. He says black primary school classes average 45 pupils, but blacks say the figures are higher. (The average in white schools is 20.) Working against Mr. Meiring is population growth, which adds about 250,000 black students each year. "The logistics are staggering," he says.

But boycotting school "only does long-term damage to themselves," Mr. Meiring says. "They won't be prepared for whatever lies ahead for the country, irrespective of what political negotiations and solutions come about."

The student leader concedes that is a problem. "But we aren't crying any tears over that right now. We don't want this Bantu education. It isn't going to help with anything anyhow," he says.

THE SUN NOVEMBER 14, 1985

## Krugerrand on hold

The South African government announced last night that it would temporarily stop minting the Krugerrand because of the U.S. ban on importing the gold coin. There were no indications South Africa planned to stop sales or exports of the internationally marketed coin, which last year accounted for about 10 percent of the country's gold earnings. Bullion accounts for about half of South Africa's foreign income.



## NEWSPAPERING AND COURAGE (Continued)

boasted a non-racial parliamentary franchise, freedom of speech and an independent judiciary. Today, after 110 years, the former British colony is a province of an Afrikaner Nationalist Republic. The Cape Times, an independent opposition newspaper since the nationalist election victory after World War II, is still edited in the liberal tradition, and Anthony Heard is the eighth holder of this post and editor for the past 14 years.

He is currently facing the threat of prosecution and imprisonment because of his decision to publish a full-page interview with Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress. [Heard was charged under the Internal Security Act on Friday, and if convicted faces a maximum sentence of three years in jail.] It is an offense in South Africa to publish the words of Tambo or anyone else who is a banned person in terms of South African security laws.

In Heard's view, his primary responsibility is to ensure the survival of the Cape Times — but survival, not as a conformist journal acquiescing in a conspiracy to suppress the news, but as the trusted newspaper which he inherited from his predecessor, telling its readers what they have a right to know.

The conflicting demands on the editor's endurance and emotional balance are intense. Seeking to report the news as fully and fairly as possible, Heard is at the same time in any respect "untrue," would a court of law hold that the paper had taken all reasonable steps to verify it? Was it tenable to delay publication until the police might be ready to give their version of the shooting? Were the police deliberately trying to hold up publication?

On deadline, editorial executives decided to go ahead and publish, with a statement that the report was under investigation by the police.

A day or so later a police statement was forthcoming — to the effect that they had been chasing a man suspected of taking part in a petrol bomb attack a few blocks away desperately anxious about the safety of his reporters and photographers, who are in danger of harassment and arrest or, in situations of mob violence, injury or worse at the hands of the police and stone-throwing rioters alike.

Latterly, as the Botha government has prohibited all television and still photographic coverage of unrest incidents, the police in Cape Town have also taken to holding Cape Times reporters and photogra-

phers as they arrive in a disturbed area, then escorting them off the scene and effectively preventing them from observing what is going on.

Infringement of the Police Act means risking a 10-year-prison sentence. And it is the editor who goes to jail. This onerous statute makes it a crime to publish "untruths" about the police force without having taken all "reasonable steps" to verify a report — like the one which came in from an inner-city residential area about 10 o'clock one night that police had just burst into a house, chased a visitor out into the back yard and shot him dead. Several eye-witnesses in the house corroborated the report, saying the visitor, who lived over the road, was a friend who had dropped in for a chat just minutes before.

The police, when asked by a reporter what had happened, said the matter was under investigation and declined to give any further information.

The question, as the deadline approached, was whether or not to publish. If the published account was and they had followed him into the premises in question where a shot was fired, killing the suspect.

Police officers visited the Cape Times offices twice in one day just recently in connection with investi-

gations of news reports which had appeared in the newspaper. When the roster of pending cases begins to accumulate, how much time is left for editing a newspaper?

Nerves are raw in a violence-racked community in which some jumpy and insecure individuals, surveying the day's news, may feel inclined to hang the messenger. There are death threats to staff members and their families and the risk cannot be wholly discounted that the odd lunatic might seek to give effect to such threats. There is a need to encourage an editorial staff which must endure abusive telephone calls from extremists and cranks on all sides.

Whatever kind of South Africa is on the way, Heard seems to believe, the Cape Times can play a useful part in easing the transition. The paper seeks to promote peaceful solutions, which is why he published the Tambo interview, offering the views of an essentially moderate black leader to a South African readership which has long been taught to regard the ANC as anathema.

It was a courageous, perhaps a historic, decision. Only time will tell what the consequences will be for Heard, personally. Yet it remains hard to imagine that the Cape Times, having come so far, will not survive the transition into a new South Africa.

## PRETORIA TAKES ACTION AGAINST EDITOR (Continued)

spondents Association said.

Last week, the Government announced total restrictions on television, photographic and radio coverage of unrest in areas covered by the emergency decrees. One assertion authorities have made in an effort to justify the restrictions is that television crews have known beforehand about violent protest against apartheid.

### Restrictions on Reporters

The restrictions prevent reporters from covering unrest except in the company of police "liaison officers."

In his statement, Mr. Nel said that a network crew had helped a rioter escape arrest and that, on another occasion, a television team had paid schoolchildren to set fire to school books.

In its regular nightly bulletin on the nation's protest — the only public source of information available to most South Africans — the police said tonight that a black man had been shot dead by policemen in the Zwijds township in the Port Elizabeth area. The police were said to have opened fire on a crowd throwing gasoline bombs.

### Other Clashes Described

Elsewhere in the last 24 hours, the report said, the police have clashed with protesters at Nyanga outside Cape Town, in a township near Uitenhage in the eastern Cape, at Umlazi near Durban and at Paarl, a wine-growing town near Cape Town where 10 blacks were arrested.

Under the restrictions on press coverage, filming of those events would have courted a risk of 10 years in jail and a fine equivalent to \$8,000.

On the other hand, a newspaper reporter trying to cover such incidents in the company of the police — as the restrictions demand — could be accused by black township residents of being a police collaborator.

In Cape Town, reporters said two security men visited the offices of the Cape Times today and led away its editor, Mr. Heard.

Under South Africa's catchall security laws, a person such as Mr. Tambo may be designated as banned, meaning his utterances may not be published without the permission of the Minister of Law and Order.

But on Monday the Cape Times, which is regarded as South Africa's leading liberal newspaper, published an interview with Mr. Tambo in London. The newspaper described the interview as "a contribution to peaceful solutions in South Africa in a matter of overwhelming public importance."

The African National Congress, which Mr. Tambo leads, is a body regarded by many blacks as the custodian of resistance to rule by the white minority.

In the interview, Mr. Tambo was quoted as saying: "There is always the possibility of a truce. It would be very, very easy, if, for example, we started negotiations." He was reported to have said that Nelson Mandela, the impris-

oned head of the African National Congress, must be released before any such talks take place.

Mr. Heard was charged under a section of the Internal Security Act that carries a maximum three-year jail sentence. Asked if he was prepared to go to prison for publishing the interview, he was quoted by the South African Press Association as saying: "Yes."

The newspaper editor was released without bail being set and was ordered to reappear before the court on Dec. 9.

### Denial of Visas Protested

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 (Reuters) — Two former United States Ambassadors delivered a letter to the South African Embassy today to protest the denial of visas to most of the members of a fact-finding group that includes three Democratic Congressmen.

Robert E. White, a former Ambassador to El Salvador, and Walter Carrington, a former Ambassador to Senegal, said the group would continue to press for visas for all 18 members.

Mr. White is president of the Center for Development Policy, a private research group organizing the trip. He said visas had been granted for the Congressmen, Douglas H. Bosco and George Miller of California and Mickey Leland of Texas, and for an aide to Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Speaker, but had been denied for the 14 others.



# Gunman Hijacks Airplane in Uganda

NOVEMBER 11, 1985

KAMPALA, Uganda, Nov. 10 (AP) — A gunman suspected of having ties to an insurgent rebel group hijacked a domestic airliner today and forced it to fly to rebel-controlled territory, officials said.

The twin-engine, propeller-driven Fokker Friendship plane of Uganda Airlines was on a scheduled one-hour flight from Entebbe International Airport near Kampala to Arua, in northwestern Uganda near the Zaire border, when it was hijacked, Ugandan officials said. There were 49 people aboard.

Ten hours after the hijacking, a man who said he was a spokesman for the National Resistance Army in Uganda called the Nairobi bureau of the British Broadcasting Corporation to assert responsibility for the hijacking.

The caller said the plane was diverted to Kasese in southwestern Uganda, 200 miles from Kampala, because the military Government had been using that flight to bring troops to Kampala. The caller said the crew and non-military people would be released unharmed but did not say what would happen to military men who might be aboard.

## Uganda Suspects Rebel Group

There was no official announcement of the hijacking on Government-run Radio Uganda. But Government officials suspect the rebel group.

"I don't have any idea, just specu-

tion," Paul Ssemogerere, Uganda's internal Affairs Minister, told reporters tonight in Nairobi when asked about possible rebel involvement. "One cannot rule out that theory. Obviously it is a very strong suspicion that it is the N.R.A."

The National Resistance Army is the largest of four insurgent groups that fought separate bush wars against the former civilian President, Milton Obote. Since Mr. Obote was overthrown last July, three of the groups have observed a cease-fire with the new military Government.

The N.R.A. has instead stepped up its campaign, taking control of large areas of the countryside.

## Attends Peace Talks in Kenya

Mr. Ssemogerere is in the Kenyan capital to lead the Government side in peace talks with the N.R.A.

Rebel spokesmen said the Government had cut their telephone link to other rebels and they had no way of confirming if the N.R.A. was responsible.

An unconfirmed report from Kampala said the hijacker might be an escaped military prisoner who had commandeered the plane to join the rebels.

A report attributed to an unidentified member of the former Uganda National Army, a group of soldiers who served the ousted dictator, Idi Amin, said the hijacker was identified as Lieut. Mugisa, a member of the group.

## 4 West German Passengers

Four West Germans were among the passengers and crew aboard the plane, said Günter Held, West German ambassador to Uganda. He identified the four as medical personnel working in northwestern Uganda and said he had no other details on the hijacking.

A half-hour after the flight took off, the pilot radioed the control tower at Entebbe that a gunman was making him fly west, Mr. Ssemogerere said. There was no subsequent transmission and no indication if the gunman had accomplices.

Arua is 350 miles northwest of Kampala and a stronghold of many former Amin soldiers. The military Government that took power July 27 has recruited former Amin soldiers to help fight rebels.

Government officials in Kampala, who stipulated anonymity, said two members of the ruling Military Council were supposed to have taken the flight and might have been targets of the hijacking. There was no explanation why the military men, Isaac Lumago and Amin Onzi, missed the flight.

The hijacking occurred as the Government and the N.R.A. were nearing the conclusion of a fourth round of peace talks in neighboring Kenya.

President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya has been the host at the Nairobi talks.

The Entebbe airport where the flight originated is the country's main air terminal and is about 24 miles south of Kampala on Lake Victoria.

NOVEMBER 13, 1985

# Coup attempt in Liberia unsurprising in light of political and economic troubles

By Peter Blackburn

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Abidjan, Ivory Coast

Tuesday's coup attempt in Liberia is not all that surprising, given the nation's volatile political situation — exacerbated by last month's disputed election — and rapidly deteriorating economy.

At press time Tuesday, there was confusion in the Liberian capital of Monrovia about who was in control. Both sides were making conflicting claims. The confusion was compounded by contradictory reports from two Liberian radio stations.

The leader of the coup, ex-Army commander Brig. Gen. Thomas Quiwonkpa, announced early yesterday on a local religious radio station that "patriotic forces" had taken control of the country. He promised to hold "free and fair" elections and return the country to democratic government "as soon as possible."

Later in the day, President Samuel K. Doe claimed in a broadcast from the executive mansion that the coup had failed.

Last month Mr. Doe was declared victor in presidential elections with 61 percent of the vote, while his National Democratic Party of Liberia gained an overwhelming victory in the legislative elections. The three opposition parties disputed the results, saying they would contest them court. They also threatened to boycott the Liberian Senate and House of Representatives.

The nation's economic decline continues despite a fourfold increase in US aid following the coup in 1980 that installed Doe. Aid to Liberia in 1985 totaled \$83 million, making it the African continent's greatest per capita beneficiary of US aid.

The aid increase was intended to ensure that Liberia remained a Western ally, that the US would continue to be able to use important telecommunication facilities, and that Doe would keep his promise to return the country to civilian rule by 1986.

General Quiwonkpa was a leading figure in the 1980 coup by junior Army officers in which President William Tolbert was killed. Doe, then an Army master sergeant, took control of an interim council which instituted military rule.

In 1983, Doe dismissed Quiwonkpa after he refused to accept the post of secretary-general of the People's Redemption Council, at that time the country's main governing body. Shortly afterward, Quiwonkpa fled to the United States after being implicated in a coup plot.

Quiwonkpa reportedly favors a return to civilian rule and is against the Army's permanent involvement in politics. Described as a "soldier's soldier" by observers in neighboring Ivory Coast, Quiwonkpa was popular with the troops. He was also considered steadier than the mercurial Doe.

CONTINUED ON PG. 11



October 20, 1985

By Peregrine Worsthorne

ALL the Commonwealth leaders, except Mrs Thatcher, seem to think that there is a moral case for applying some form of sanctions against South Africa, and they attribute her refusal to go along with this policy to the fact that Britain has so much more to lose materially by way of trade and investment than they do.

In other words, it is they who are on the side of the angels, acting idealistically, while British policy is governed by expediency. Truth to tell, almost the opposite is the case. It is they who are behaving opportunistically — avoiding trouble at the UN, courting popularity at home — while Britain is risking international isolation by trying to do the right thing.

This is an exceedingly difficult point to get across, and it could be that anybody trying to do so is wasting his or her breath. But the spectacle this week of all those Commonwealth leaders luxuriating in the Bahamas while trying to get agreement on plans to impoverish South Africa — the one country in that benighted continent where ordinary blacks have any hope of getting decent wages, proper education and advanced medical attention — is so obscene as to encourage one to have another try; another try at getting across one central truth: that given the desperate economic condition of the whole of Africa, with starvation and famine already rampant in the north, doing anything to weaken that continent's only dynamic economy, on which all the southern States depend, would be nothing less than a major crime against humanity: black humanity.

From the humanitarian point of view, it is inexcusable to be taking any risks with the South African economy which does more good to more blacks than apartheid does harm; unique good, equalled nowhere else in Africa, whereas the harm done by apartheid is by no means exceptional in a continent where racist injustice is endemic in all the countries, black-ruled as much as white.

★

How does this claim tally with all the dreadful TV shots of white police killings in South

Africa's black townships? Are these atrocities not unique? No, they are not. If Western TV cameras concentrated as assiduously on other parts of Africa as they do on South Africa — or were permitted by the local tyrants to do so — they would find atrocity stories to cover not one bit less monstrous: of mass public hangings — given the numbers involved, even a few poets must have swung — on the beaches of Lagos; of Mr Mugabe's Shona soldiers bayoneting Matabele women and children; of the Ethiopian Government deliberately imposing starvation on dissident tribes; of mass deportations from Kenya of Asians at the point of a rifle, and much else besides, including the sudden, dawn-bulldozing of shanty towns

near big cities and all the other arbitrary efforts at influx control which, when practised in South Africa, in the name of apartheid — instead of in the name of other, equally totalitarian experiments in black African social engineering, like Tanzania's *Ujamaa* or Zaire's Mobutuism — provoke such Western indignation.

Little of this gets reported. Black atrocity stories are not news to anything like the same extent as white. Nor are they of the same concern to Commonwealth leaders, who did not lift a finger, for example, to put an end to Idi Amin's decade of bloody misrule.

Quite understandably, the crimes of tribe against tribe in black Africa are excused by

reference to the 19th-century record of colonialism which created States so profoundly uncohesive as to make democratic rule on the Western model virtually impossible. What is not understood, however, is that South Africa is also part of the same historical legacy with just as much excuse for not being judged politically by Western criteria.

For the foreseeable future, therefore, there will be no escape from tribal oppression, persecution and discrimination in any part of Africa. That being the case, it is not the political vices of South Africa which deserve notice, since they are to be found everywhere in Africa. What, however, are not to be found everywhere in Africa, but only and exclusively in South Africa, are that

country's economic virtues, since only in South Africa is the dominant tribe not only efficient in oppression but also in wealth-creation.

Which brings us to the policy of sanctions, the motive behind which must be to harm the wealth-creating process with a view to bringing pressure for political reform. Anybody at all knowledgeable about the dominant section of the white tribe in question, the Afrikaners, must know that bringing such pressure will not work. That is to say, rather than concede what the West demands by way of political power-sharing — one man, one vote, etc — they will see the country laid waste economically; re-pastoralised, if need be.

Economic sanctions seldom bring about changes of policy in any country; but no people could be less likely to succumb to that kind of pressure than the Afrikaners, the Puritans of Africa, who have always distrusted the city fleshpots. So if effective sanctions — effective, that is, economically — were applied, the only result would be to impoverish the country, including the blacks, and the whole southern region, while leaving the political and social structure probably even more repressive than it is already, under the control of Dr Treurnicht, the arch-reactionary leader of the South African Conservative Party, by comparison with whom P. W. Botha is a radical reformer.

What the West should be doing is to concentrate on the unique side of South Africa — its fantastic record of economic growth — rather than on the seamy political side which it shares with the rest of the continent: pump in more investment rather than less. No, this course would not lead to power-sharing on any model acceptable to Western ideas. But nothing will do that; certainly not black revolution. What more investment will do — and indeed was doing — is to create more black jobs, a larger black middle class and, slowly but surely, a more powerful economic base for the oppressed black tribes.

Not enough, say the African nationalists, whose views are echoed by Western liberals. With regard to any other part

Continued on page 11



## Soviet Aid to Sudan

■ KHARTOUM, Sudan—Soviet military experts will visit Sudan to see if they can recondition some of its aging Soviet-made fighter planes, armored vehicles and air defense systems, Defense Minister Osman Abdullah Mohammed said in an interview published in the Khartoum daily Al Sahafa.

Most of the hardware arrived in the early 1970s, when former president Jaafar Nimeri was on good terms with Moscow.

In another sign of a move away from Nimeri's overtly pro-American stance, the minister said Sudan had asked the United States to remove military equipment left in Port Sudan after joint military exercises in 1982.

THE SUN  
NOVEMBER 13, 1985

## ETHIOPIA

### U.S. requests action to move food from port

American diplomats, frustrated as 160,000 tons of food piles up on docks and ships, have asked the Ethiopian government to break a port logjam and begin moving more relief supplies inland, a U.S. relief official said yesterday.

The United States requested the assignment of more trucks and labor so that 4,000 tons of food a day could be moved out of the Red Sea port of Assab instead of the 1,100 to 2,000 now being handled, said Ted Morse, of the U.S. Inter-Agency Task Force on the African drought.

Western relief officials have complained that Ethiopia is giving priority to shipping military equipment used in the war against separatist rebels.

U.S.-supplied food actually is moved more quickly than shipments from other nations because the United States is lending Ethiopia trucks to supplement the country's vehicle fleet. Still, the Ethiopians have to man the trucks and organize the loading, Mr. Morse said.

## WALL STREET JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 13, 1985

South African riot police shot and killed two black women in separate clashes, one of them in a remote area that had remained peaceful through the past 14 months of violence. Near Cape Town, several thousand blacks attended a funeral for a riot victim, and officials at a clinic said three people were wounded by police after the rites.

A CRIME AGAINST  
BLACK (Continued)  
of the world, that objection would make sense. But in the special circumstances of Africa it makes no sense at all, because the choice throughout that continent is not between little progress and a lot, but between a little progress and a rapid descent into hell on earth.



African misgovernment takes many forms, of which apartheid is not the worst. One's mind goes back to those pictures earlier this year of tens of thousands of emaciated men, women and children in sub-Saharan Africa waiting to die. They, too, were the victims of African misgovernment, quite as much as are those shot dead in the South African townships. Missing in all the Commonwealth chatter about sanctions is any sense of proportion; any awareness of how relatively minor is the wickedness of South Africa compared with the horrors that may even now be hatching in the heart of darkness.

When black tyrants impoverish their subjects, the West rewards them with foreign aid which gives them just that extra strength they need to go on impoverishing their peoples. (The worse the impoverishment, the greater the aid.) Only against Africa's one white tyranny, which actually enriches its own peoples, and many other peoples as well, does the West threaten economic sanctions. Praise be for Mrs. Thatcher, who, alone among Western statesmen, refuses to countenance such irrationality, even after being holed up for a week with Commonwealth colleagues than whom there can be no more irresponsible company on earth.

THE WASHINGTON POST  
NOVEMBER 14, 1985

### Gagging Charged in S. Africa

■ JOHANNESBURG—Five South African antigovernment activists freed overnight after almost four months in detention under emergency regulations were barred from leaving Johannesburg, criticizing authorities in the press or taking part in political activities, their lawyers said.

Sarah Solojee, wife of United Democratic Front vice president Ram Solojee, said her husband had lost 24 pounds during his detention. She said he was told he was being held "for what he would do in the future" rather than what he had done, adding that he was neither interrogated nor charged.

Lawyers for other detainees said they were seeking court action to stop police from carrying out assaults on black prisoners at Protea police station in Soweto township near Johannesburg. According to a suit seeking an injunction, police have assaulted prisoners there with fists, whips and gun butts.

WASHINGTON POST  
NOVEMBER 13, 1985

■ Zimbabwean Information Minister Nathan Shamuyarira warned white former minority leader Ian Smith that the government might be forced to crack down on him if he continued making "derogatory" statements about the country.

### COUP ATTEMPT IN LIBERIA UNSURPRISING IN LIGHT OF POLITICAL AND... (CONTINUED)

Although Doe substantially increased soldiers' salaries and improved their living conditions, he apparently did not win the total support of the Army.

Doe has survived numerous coup attempts in the past five years. Earlier this year the deputy head of the presi-

dential guard was executed after a purported assassination attempt.

Doe's seizure of power was initially welcomed by most indigenous Liberians. They celebrated the end of 133 years of political domination by the Americo-Liberians — a minority group composed of people descended from freed American slaves.

The underprivileged and ill-educated indigenous tribes were given jobs in government as well as the vote, which they exercised for the first time in last month's elections. But they also suffered from mounting abuses of human rights by Doe's increasingly autocratic and unpopular government. Freedom of expression was seriously curtailed and many political opponents were imprisoned without trial.

Corruption and economic mismanagement contributed to a sharp deterioration in living standards. The country's real gross domestic product is estimated to have fallen by 20 percent over the past five years.

The World Bank commented in its latest annual report that Liberia's financial situation approached "crisis proportions" in 1984.

Observers here say that if the coup succeeds it would resolve a difficult problem for the Reagan administration. They say that Doe was an "unpredictable" and sometimes "embarrassing" US ally. Before the elections, the US Congress warned that it would suspend further aid if the elections were not shown to be "free and fair." And without US aid there is little chance of Liberia's remaining solvent.

## THE WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 13, 1985

### Passengers' Release Asked

■ KAMPALA, Uganda—Uganda's military leader pleaded for the return of a hijacked domestic airliner and the release of 48 passengers and crew members who have been held two days by the country's main guerrilla group.

A government statement said Gen. Tito Okello made a "passionate appeal" to the president of neighboring Kenya, Daniel arap Moi, to intercede with the rebels. Moi has mediated in four rounds of peace talks between the government and the National Resistance Army.



# Cameroon has a deal for U.S. businesses

NOVEMBER 7, 1985

By Donald H. May  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

If you are an expert on shrimp farming, day-old chicks or galvanized iron, a group of businessmen from Cameroon may have a proposal for you.

A trade mission composed of 20 businessmen and several government officials from that West African country, population 9.5 million, is touring the United States looking for Americans willing to join in business ventures in Cameroon.

The group has come with 16 specific proposed projects, ranging from a hatchery that would farm, clean, freeze and distribute shrimp to a factory that would make galvanized sheet iron from imported iron coils for use in commercial and residential construction in Cameroon and neighboring countries.

Oscar Enow, a Cameroonian engineer who is sponsoring the iron project, said Cameroon imports all of its galvanized building materials.

Another proposal is to set up an enterprise that would grow chicks for sale on

the local market when they are a day old. Cameroon imports day-old chicks by the millions to be raised into chickens within the country.

Some 2.7 million of them were flown into the airport at Douala, its main commercial city, during 1982-83. But supplies are irregular, and many of the chicks arrive dead.

Other proposed projects include the manufacture of chemically coated paper, cosmetics, household detergents, motorcycle and bicycle tires and tubes, the marketing of fruit juice in disposable containers and the assembly of electrical appliances.

Edouard Nomo Ongolo, Cameroon's minister of commerce and industry and leader of the trade mission, said that for most of the projects, the businessmen are looking for Americans to invest in joint ventures. For some, as in the shrimp project, they are looking for American expertise. In some cases, the Cameroonians are simply interested in buying U.S. equipment.

The projects are all proposed for private enterprise. With the exception of

feasibility studies, no aid funds are involved. Cameroon has made private enterprise a big part of its economic development plans.

"We believe that the energy, the creativity and the dynamism of the private sector should be used fully in developing a country," Mr. Ongolo said in an interview when the group was in Washington this week. The mission is on a tour that includes Houston, Philadelphia and New York.

Denis Nyuydzewira, head of Cameroon's permanent trade delegation here, said, "All of these projects look small. But if taken seriously by American counterparts, they would change the situation in Cameroon," helping to raise the country's standard of living. At the same time, he said, they would be good business for American firms.

Mr. Ongolo said there is a large potential for increased American trade and investment in Africa, despite the fact that it is a distant and unfamiliar territory for most American businessmen.

THE WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 12, 1985

## Aid to Ethiopia Slowed

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Increasing quantities of U.S. emergency food aid are going to famine victims in contested war zones of far northern Ethiopia, but a backlog of supplies at the main Ethiopian port of Assab threatens the relief operation, according to officials of the Agency for International Development.

Two private U.S. relief agencies are distributing food to 150,000 famine-afflicted peasants at seven centers in the war-torn northern province of Eritrea as part of the U.S. "Food for the North Initiative," AID Administrator M. Peter McPherson reported Friday.

The objective of the operation's first phase has been to reach 300,000 victims and open 13 feeding centers in areas contested by guerrillas seeking Eritrean independence.

For a long time, the Ethiopian government was reluctant to allow the two U.S. relief groups, Catholic

Relief Services and World Vision, to operate in or near Eritrean war zones. AID was involved for months in negotiations with Ethiopian authorities to allow food to be distributed there.

Now, the operation is threatened by a backup at Assab on the Red Sea of emergency U.S. food waiting to be unloaded from ships in the harbor or moved inland from the docks, according to McPherson.

A total of 112,000 tons of famine relief supplies is bottled up inside the port, and another 40,000 tons is waiting aboard ships.

"The whole thing is becoming a matter of concern to us," McPherson said in an interview. "The other donors are concerned about it, too."

Ethiopian handlers are moving food from the port at the rate of about 2,000 tons a day, but McPherson said about 3,000 to 3,500 tons daily is required "at the

absolute minimum" to prevent serious spoilage of supplies, much of which have been in Assab for several months or more.

The United States provided 440,000 tons of emergency food relief to Ethiopia in the last fiscal year, one-third of total Western donor aid. McPherson said no decision has been made on the amount to be supplied to Ethiopia during this fiscal year because the size of the harvest there is unknown.

He warned, however, that the drought, which reportedly claimed more than 200,000 lives last year, has not ended and that "hundreds of thousands of tons" would probably be necessary again during the current fiscal year.

Meanwhile, 75 of 150 tractors and 138 of 200 trailers provided by AID and capable of hauling 40 to 60 tons of food each have arrived in Ethiopia to be used principally to move food from Assab to northern Ethiopia.



# Stay Out of Angola's War

NOVEMBER 12, 1985

Should the United States come to the aid of anti-Communist rebels in Angola? Doing so would be legal now that Congress has repealed the Clark Amendment, which barred such aid since 1976. Many Americans are pressing the Reagan Administration to side openly with Jonas Savimbi, commander of the Unita insurgents. In their eyes it is a simple choice, no different from helping the guerrillas who resist Soviet invaders in Afghanistan. Angola's Marxist Government gets copious aid from the Soviet bloc. Why not balance the scales?

If politics were Euclidean, that argument might be persuasive. But in Angola, the shortest distance between two points is a crooked line. A civil war erupted in the former Portuguese colony when it attained independence abruptly in 1975. Angola's eight million inhabitants belong to three big and many smaller ethnic groups, none strong enough to dominate. In the contest for power, the belligerents have scrambled widely for foreign aid.

The avowedly Marxist Popular Movement for Independence, or M.P.L.A., won control of the capital with Soviet weapons and Cuban troops. In the bush, Mr. Savimbi's Union for Total Independence of Angola, or Unita, fights on, aided by South African arms and interventions and Western mercenaries. Each side invokes lofty ideals to justify a refusal to share power among all ethnic groups. But the ideals are mocked by the belligerents' behavior.

Mr. Savimbi promises freedom, and rational-

izes reliance on South Africa as a desperate necessity. His foes in the capital speak of sovereignty and plead the same desperation to justify reliance on the Soviet bloc. But their Marxism has not prevented them from dealing fairly with American oil investors, and their dependence on Cuban troops has been greatly increased by South Africa's meddling. Indeed, Pretoria has fanned the Angola war to perpetuate its illegal hold on neighboring Namibia.

In these circumstances, to side with Mr. Savimbi is to side with South Africa's wider campaign to dominate its neighbors. To black Africans, Angola is mainly South Africa's victim, not the Soviet Union's. In helping the Afghan resistance, the United States aligns itself with a significant bloc of non-Communist nations. Helping Mr. Savimbi would be to align only with South Africa.

Such distinctions in defining America's interest are more important than the ostensible Marxism of some African regimes. The way to win their respect and friendship is to recognize their interests in the definition of our own. Mr. Savimbi angrily denies that he is South Africa's pawn, but insists his rivals are fatally compromised by their dependence on foreign help. In truth, this isn't a war between pawns, but Angolans. Repeal of the Clark amendment is not a mandate for intervention. As the State Department contends, the prudent course is to stay out and press for a regional settlement.

## The Washington Times Congress tackles aid to Angola resistance

By Tom Diaz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Weak leadership by the Reagan administration and a tight-fisted mood in Congress have made the fight to provide U.S. aid to anti-communist rebels in Angola an uphill struggle, according to congressional sources.

"The administration hasn't helped," said one congressman, who asked not to be identified. "It gets awfully lonely being out front on these issues without any support from the White House."

U.S. policy toward the Marxist nation is scheduled to be taken up at a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearing today, when sponsors of three different plans for aid to the anti-communist UNITA rebels in Angola are expected to testify.

In recent interviews, administration officials and congressional sources said the White House still has not decided among conflicting views within the administration over what aid, if any, the United States should give to Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

UNITA has been locked in a long war with Angola's Marxist rulers, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). An estimated 35,000 Cuban troops are sup-

porting the MPLA in combat operations, along with several thousand Soviet and Eastern bloc advisers.

Soviet military personnel also have been reported in recent months to have directly supervised some government combat operations.

The government forces have been aided by large amounts of Soviet military supplies, including Mi-24 HIND helicopter gunships. UNITA has received aid from some governments other than the United States, including South Africa.

The administration is said to be divided between the State Department, which favors continuing a policy of "constructive engagement" aimed at securing a negotiated end to the conflict, and the Pentagon and National Security Council, which favor U.S. aid to UNITA.

Supporters of aid to UNITA are said to be further divided on whether the aid should be humanitarian or military, and whether it should be open or covert.

Congress is divided along similar lines. In an effort to win greater sympathy for the resistance fighters, House supporters of aid to the rebels last Friday sponsored a briefing for staff members.

One House bill co-sponsored by

Rep. Claude Pepper, Florida Democrat, and Rep. Jack Kemp, New York Republican, would provide \$27 million in humanitarian aid to UNITA. Another introduced by Rep. Mark Siljander, Michigan Republican, would provide \$27 million in direct military aid.

And a third, sponsored by Rep. Bill McCollum, Florida Republican, would cut off all investments in Angola, along with loans and credits, until all foreign troops are withdrawn.

So far, no bills have been introduced in the Senate, but Sen. Steven D. Symms, Idaho Republican, is considering sponsoring legislation similar to that proposed by Rep. McCollum.

Several House and Senate aides said the prospects of congressional approval of such aid have been dimmed by the prospect of spending cuts that would be imposed by the Gramm-Rudman budget-balancing bills that have been passed, in different forms, by both chambers.

"The Gramm-Rudman 'glide path' [gradually imposed spending cuts] is going to hit defense," one House aide said. "And when you're trying to save an SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], you cut some other things, like foreign assistance."



# Marxist Angola Is Accommodating Host To Oil Firms, Other Western Enterprises

By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CABINDA, Angola — Evening approaches, and Laurence Funkhouser sits at the Chevron Inc. guest house on a 300-foot bluff on the west coast of Africa. He watches the sun melt redly into the hazy horizon over the South Atlantic.

"It is quite spectacular, what you might imagine California to have looked like 100 years ago," says Mr. Funkhouser, Chevron's vice president of oil production and exploration. And, he says, "There are some very pretty producing wells in the foreground."

Where Mr. Funkhouser sees oil wells and red sunsets, many U.S. lawmakers just see red, and want to make Angola a demonstration point for U.S. resolve to support noncommunist guerrillas against Marxist governments around the world.

U.S. oil companies are contentedly searching Angola's waters for oil, undaunted by the government's Marxist rhetoric, but pressure is building in Washington to reverse a decade-old policy and actively support anti-government guerrillas. Concerned about the 25,000 Cuban troops and technicians that help keep the Angolan government in power, Rep. Claude Pepper and Sen. Jack Kemp have introduced bills to provide up to \$27 million in humanitarian aid to the rebels. Their actions followed congressional repeal of a 1976 prohibition against such aid.

## Mutual Benefit

"The paradox is that we don't have diplomatic relations with the U.S. when we have such good relations with American business," says Angola's Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunun. "We have the principle to protect all foreign enterprises in Angola because we know that the work is for our mutual benefit."

In addition to Chevron's newly acquired Cabinda Gulf Oil subsidiary, Conoco Inc. (a Du Pont Co. unit), Texaco Inc. and the French oil company Elf Aquitaine are busy searching for oil.

Oil isn't the only business. Conoco has been asked to launch an agricultural project. General Tire operates a manufacturing plant. A British company associated with the De Beers consortium manages the diamond mines in the northeastern part of Angola. Arthur D. Little & Co. serves as financial consultant and runs training courses for Angolan technocrats.

Chase Manhattan Bank is a willing lender. So is the U.S. government's Export-Import Bank, which has \$230 million in loans to the government. Ex-Im Bank's largest exposure is in sub-Saharan Africa. And a Louisiana sugar manufacturer was hired by the government to take over a sugar-cane mill from Cuban technicians who were having trouble with the ancient equipment dating from Portuguese colonial times.

Lucio Lara, regarded as an ideological leader within the Angolan politburo, talks of the problems of "exploitation" and "class consciousness" and describes the ruling party as a "Marxist-Leninist party in ideology." But when it comes to dealing with foreign companies the graying theorist says, "It is a question of business. They are business companies and they are very correct with us."

And Angola is correct with foreign companies. The government pays cash for its share of existing businesses and contributes its share of costs in joint ventures. Profits can be repatriated easily by foreign companies. "Angola has one of the most favorable foreign investment codes in all of Africa," says John Sassi, a consultant who formerly did country risk analysis for Gulf Oil.

Anglo's effort to woo Western businessmen while relying on Cuban troops and

keeping close ties to Moscow leads to incongruities. In Luanda, the capital, Halliburton Co. representative Jim A. Gloriod helps jump-start a power generator for his neighbors, two Cuban technicians. Here in Cabinda province, Gulf's unit is protected by Angolan and Cuban troops.

But politics seem far away at Gulf's Malongo oil terminal. Past the tennis courts, the softball diamond, the nine-hole golf course and the cricket green, is a sign: "Welcome to the Malongo Country Club, Have a Nice Day." The latest rage is flying radio-controlled model planes, and on Sunday afternoons men scamper around the bluff with the monkeys chasing their airplanes.

Cabinda province is isolated because in 1885 the big European powers decided at the Conference of Berlin to give the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) a strip of land at the mouth of the Congo River for access to the sea, thus severing Cabinda from the rest of Angola. The 4,000-acre terminal is isolated within the province, except for the 660 Angolans who come to the base to work each day. Fresh produce arrives weekly by air freight from Lisbon and Rotterdam.

Other supplies come by boat to the terminal's small port. Each of the roughly 55 Americans and about 25 other expatriate workers receives a quota of four cans of soda and four cans of beer a day. There are movies nightly. "We only suffer from a lack of Fritos and Big Macs," says Doug Lanier.

The foreign workers do 28 days here followed by 28 days off in their home countries. Here the men eat, work and play inside the terminal. To leave, they need a reason and a gate pass. Some of them regret the company restrictions. R.S. Fowler says he'd like to visit some of the Angolans he works with and see the rain forest near the terminal. For most, the restriction isn't a major consideration. Six days a week, they work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. on off-

shore platforms. On Sundays, they work until noon and then pile onto the playing fields.

## Terrorist Episode

Barbed-wire fences surround three sides of the terminal, which abuts the ocean. Angolan troops patrolling the perimeter killed two South African special forces soldiers last May who were trying to blow up oil storage tanks.

As isolated as the oil workers are from Angolans, the oil companies can't avoid Angolan politics. Jonas Savimbi, head of the rebel movement Unita that has been trying to overthrow the Angolan government for the past 10 years, says, "Gulf is supporting the (government) war effort. We could live with that, but Gulf is making politics too. If they make politics, they run political risks." Mr. Savimbi spoke in an interview at a South African government guest house in Pretoria.

Gulf started exploring here in 1957, and found oil in 1966. The civil war that followed colonial rule put the company in an awkward position, and pending its outcome Gulf paid royalties into an escrow account. Production was only interrupted once—for about three months at the end of 1975 and beginning of 1976.

Undaunted by Marxist rhetoric, Western oil companies drilled 118 exploration wells in Angola from 1976 until 1983, and the country's oil reserves more than doubled to 1.7 billion barrels. The rewards for the companies have been considerable. Angola is sub-Saharan Africa's second-largest producer after Nigeria, and production is expected to be close to 400,000 barrels a day by 1988.

"Foreigners work well in our country, feel comfortable and don't interfere with our affairs and we respect them for it," says Faustino Muteka, governor of Namibe Province. Minister of Foreign Trade Ismael Gaspar Martins says, "We are seen as defenders of causes that aren't ours. We have a different cause. Our cause is to develop our society."

THE WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 13, 1985

## Cuban Troops in Angola

■ DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania—The number of Cuban troops in Angola may be increased if South Africa continues raids into the country, Angola's ambassador to Tanzania was quoted as saying.

The official Tanzanian newspaper Uhuru quoted Eusebio Sebastiao as saying the Cuban troops in Angola posed no threat to peace in the region, despite U.S. and South African government charges that they are a destabilizing influence.



# The Washington Times **Angola rebel leader** pleads his case for American aid

NOVEMBER 13, 1985

By Michael Sullivan  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

JAMBA, Angola — Guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi is asking for American aid to boost his decade-old insurgency against the Soviet-backed Angolan regime of President Eduardo dos Santos.

"It is important that the Americans extend their aid to UNITA. . . . It is not something that will cost billions to the Americans. It will cost very little," Mr. Savimbi, leader of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola, said this week here at his provisional headquarters of Jamba in the southeast corner of the country.

"I hope it is the time for the Americans to put their record straight. . . . We hope this time the United States will change their policy," Mr. Savimbi said.

In other comments to reporters who traveled here earlier this week, Mr. Savimbi sought to place increased importance on the Angolan civil war as a point of East-West conflict. And in official statements and organized events, there was evidence in Jamba that UNITA suffered much higher losses in repelling a government offensive earlier this year than it at first admitted.

With the repeal earlier this year of the Clark Amendment, which prohibited American aid to UNITA, there is a bill on Capitol Hill to give Mr. Savimbi \$27 million in humanitarian aid.

The rebel leader, though, clearly would prefer military — rather than humanitarian — aid from Washington. He says the added pressure could boost the hand of moderates in the Luanda regime who would be willing to negotiate with UNITA to end the 10-year-old civil war.

"We prefer rather they [Washington] give us something to destroy the tanks," Mr. Savimbi said. "We can use it [humanitarian assistance], but it's not what we need."

UNITA already receives humanitarian assistance from French, Red Cross and South African medical personnel in treating its wounded.

Last month in Mavinga, the site of a major battle in which UNITA claimed victory over government forces, Mr. Savimbi acknowledged that massive South African support as well as that of friendly black African and Arab states was being sent to him, and helped halt the government offensive.

Mr. Savimbi's latest statements clearly were aimed directly at winning congressional support for funding for his movement. "If UNITA is

destroyed, the Russians have a major spot" to launch attacks and undermine neighboring countries such as Zaire "where American interests are at stake," he said.

Without American aid, Mr. Savimbi said, "the next three years of the Reagan administration will be lost. . . . For five years, the carrot didn't bring results. Why not use the stick for a moment?" Mr. Savimbi asked. "I can assure you the MPLA will talk."

Mr. Savimbi said he does not believe U.S. aid — "whether \$27 million or \$300 million" — would force a major escalation in the war, because of the numbers of Soviet and other East-bloc personnel already in the country, and a Soviet investment of some \$2 billion in equipment on Luanda's side.

There are an estimated 35,000 Cuban troops now in Angola.

Mr. Savimbi once saw his movement as important for the achievement of settlements in Namibia and Angola. But in his interviews this week, he claimed the Angolan conflict is not only a key to southern Africa's regional stability but a vital area of East-West confrontation, as well.

"The will expressed by the president of the United States . . . to stop Soviet expansionism in the world can be materialized in Angola," he said. "At this hour, all the hesitation of Western governments and mainly of the government of the United States . . . could represent in the long range the handing over of all southern Africa to the Soviet empire."

During the visit by journalists, there were clues that the losses for UNITA in repelling the recent government offensive were much higher than originally claimed.

A month ago during a military briefing at Mavinga, UNITA said it had lost 410 killed and 832 wounded. That official figure has since increased to 464 killed and 2,011 wounded. UNITA also now is giving increased figures for killed and wounded on the government side.

Mr. Savimbi tried to downplay his own casualties, but those figures alone, possibly still understated, would mark serious losses for UNITA, which has an estimated strength of 40,000-50,000 men.

"It was a severe loss," Mr. Savimbi conceded.

The effect was evident here in Jamba, the "capital" of UNITA's Angolan territory.

During a ceremony Monday, the 10th anniversary of the country's independence from Portugal, only several hundred UNITA soldiers were

on parade here. That is less than one-third the usual number.

In the parade itself, the usual contingent of support troops — medical staff, welders, radio operators — were absent, as were the civilians and school children who normally take part in the parade.

UNITA's military intelligence chief, Col. Peregrino Chindondo, also changed the earlier number of men who had to be thrown into the Mavinga battle to halt a combined ground-and-air thrust by Angolan government troops backed by armor, helicopter gunships and MiGs directed by Cuban and Soviet officers. He said up to 20,000 men were used in the battle.

A month ago, UNITA said the opposing forces had been fairly evenly matched with some 6,000 men on each side.

The figures released this week put the battle in a different light, in which UNITA was forced to use nearly 50 percent of its manpower to halt the government drive.

Despite his own losses and the severity of the fighting, Mr. Savimbi projects confidence in UNITA's ability to halt any new offensive.

"We know the MPLA has nothing more to add," he said.

He also discounted the seriousness of the threat posed by Soviet helicopters, even the heavily armored MI-24, which has been used widely and effectively in Afghanistan. Mr. Savimbi insisted instead that the major danger for his forces lies in Soviet armor.

It was tanks, Mr. Savimbi insisted, that forced UNITA to retreat from Cazombo in Moxico Province while being able to hold Mavinga.

NOVEMBER 13, 1985  
THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Sierra Leone President Plans To Turn Over Power Nov. 28

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, Nov. 12 (Reuters) — President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone will formally hand over power to his elected successor, Maj. Gen. Joseph Momoh, the armed forces commander, on Nov. 28.

An official statement issued Monday said the ceremony would take place in Parliament Building in Freetown, capital of the West African nation.

The latest seven-year presidential mandate for Mr. Stevens, 80 years old, should have expired on June 14. But the mandate was extended by Parliament for six months.

Last month, General Momoh, 48, was officially proclaimed president-elect of the former British colony after winning 99 percent of votes cast in a single-candidate election.

Mr. Stevens, who has ruled since 1961, is only the fourth African leader to step down of his own accord in the last 25 years.



# As Angola's War Burns On, Rebels Look to U.S.

By ALAN COWELL

NOVEMBER 9, 1985

BIONGUE, Angola, Nov. 4 — In these dry, hot lands of southeastern Angola, a war is being planned and fought. And if the wishes of Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader, and some Americans are realized, the United States will soon be associated with the insurgency through the supply of nonlethal aid.

The conflict is presented by the South African-backed Mr. Savimbi, and others in Washington, as a fight against Soviet encroachment in southern Africa, since his enemy, the avowedly Marxist Government in Luanda, is backed by the Soviet Union and kept in power by a Cuban force estimated to number 25,000 to 30,000.

Yet the war — in which Mr. Savimbi recently claimed a major victory against Government forces on the banks of the Lomba River, north of here — is part of a tangle of regional disputes. The Angolan war, if it is ever clearly won or lost, could thus determine events and mold policies from Kinshasa, in Zaire, to Pretoria and its surrogate government in South-West Africa, widely known as Namibia, to the south of here.

The conflict, smoldering and flaring since Angola's civil war of 1975-76, has drawn much outside involvement. It presents the United States with a problem: Mr. Savimbi manifestly challenges the Marxist Government in Luanda, 850 miles to the northwest, but support for him also furthers the South African goal of destabilizing the Luanda regime, with which Washington has been negotiating.

## Rebel Leader's Premise

Moreover, the Angolan authorities would dispute Mr. Savimbi's fundamental premise: that if his forces were removed from the regional equation, the Soviet Union would establish a secure bridgehead for extending its influence through a slab of central and southwestern Africa toward the borders of South Africa itself.

Twice in the last month, a reporter based in South Africa was able to visit Mr. Savimbi and his forces, first at Mavinga, where reporters were taken to the site of the Lomba River battle, and then at this transit base in Angola's southeastern corner, where Mr. Savimbi gave a two-hour interview.

At each encounter, the bearded guerrilla commander struck the theme that American policy in the region, called "constructive engagement," had failed to secure a prime goal: the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola in return for South-West Africa's independence.

A bill before Congress, offering \$27 million in nonlethal aid to Mr. Savimbi's group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, has raised Mr. Savimbi's hopes that Washington, barred until recently from helping his forces, will enter the fray symbolically on his side.

Such a move, he said, would give the United States "a card to play" in negotiations with Angola and at the summit meeting between President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

Mr. Savimbi has also taken heart from Mr. Reagan's reference to Angola in his speech to the United Nations last month, seeing in it a sign that the United States will henceforth treat his movement with the sympathy that it shows toward anti-Soviet forces in Nicaragua and Afghanistan — forces with which he has a loose alliance.

"I am not offering Unita as a pawn in the game of the superpowers," he said, referring to his movement by its Portuguese acronym. "But the situation is so serious that the intervention of the Americans is needed to stop the Russians doing what they want to do" in southern Africa.

As he depicted them, those intentions could include hostile actions toward the autocratic, pro-Western government of President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire and increased efforts to install a pro-Soviet government in Namibia, moves that would alter the ideological complexion of a vast region.

"If Unita is destroyed in Angola, which will take a long time," he said, "the Soviets will make Angola a launching pad."

The spread of Soviet influence, he said, would mean that "South Africa will be under such pressure" that its tentative and cautious changes in apartheid would be halted, and its political destiny would switch "from evolution to revolution."

## A Distinction Is Urged

On the other hand, he said, United States aid to his movement would send a signal to Luanda's Soviet backers that the stakes had been increased. "An escalation will lead us nowhere," he said, but American aid to his movement would increase pressure "to engage the groups to talk."

Referring to the American officials, he said, "If they want to change the situation, they must be involved."

Mr. Savimbi, clad in camouflage fatigues during the interview in the shade of towering trees, urged Americans to draw a distinction between his position

in Angola and the international opprobrium attached to his principal backer, South Africa.

He said there were three separate issues in the region: South Africa's domestic policies, its strategic interests beyond its borders and "the reality of Unita."

South Africa, he acknowledged, sees "its best strategic interests" served by supporting his movement. But he added: "You cannot say that Unita is a creation of South Africa. You cannot say that Unita will not survive if the South Africans withdraw."

"Unita never supported apartheid," he said. But if his group needed aid and South Africa was prepared to give it, he said, then he would be ready to take it.

If Americans objected to his alliance with South Africa because blacks were dying there, he said, why was there no complaint "about the white Cubans who are killing blacks in Angola?"

When he has met with President P. W. Botha of South Africa, he said, he has sought to encourage efforts to modify the country's racial restrictions. "If you stone a man because he is making reforms," Mr. Savimbi said, "you may stop the reforms and have a revolution instead."

## A Vital Supply Route

Saudi Arabia and Morocco also support him, he said, but his reliance on South Africa is clear. His main supply route runs through South-West Africa, and if it were cut the nature of his war would change.

Mr. Savimbi's movement has established settled rear bases, such as Jamba, which he calls a provisional capital, and Licua, his main logistics depot. Each of the bases is said by his followers to be home to 10,000 people.

Both have electric power, as does Biongue, which lies between the two. But the diesel fuel that powers the electric generators and provides fuel for his fleet of trucks and four-wheel-drive pickups comes from South Africa, as do, by his own account, at least half of his military supplies.

His movement grows some food, tailors its own uniforms, refurbishes captured weapons and runs schools, clinics and a hospital. But the impression gained after several visits to the part of southern Angola that the Portuguese colonists called "the end of the earth" is that without South African backing, and a supply route through South-West Africa, Mr. Savimbi's followers would be obliged to revert to the more primitive life they led before Jamba was established five years ago.

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