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NEW YORK TIMES,

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Jury 30, 1985

Conferees in Congress in Accord New Leader Sworn In

On Sanctions on South Africans

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

WASHINGTON, July 31 â\200\224 House and Senate negotiators reached agreement tonight on a bill that would impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

The conference committeeâ\200\231s action appeared likely to increase pressure on the Reagan Administration to drop its opposition to sanctions.

Administration officials have said President Reagan remains committed to a policy of quiet diplomatic pressure â\200\224 â\200\234constructive engagementâ\200\235â\200\231 â\200\224 with South Africa despite mounting Congressional impatience with Pretoriaâ\200\231s racial policies.

Krugerrand Ban Adopted

Supporters of the sanctions have been pushing to complete action on the bill before Congress adjourns for its August recess.

The compromise worked out by the 35 House and Senate negotiators would ban the sales in the United States of krugerrands, the South African gold coin.

Among the measureâ\200\231s other provisions are a ban on sales of goods used in nuclear production and computers, and a ban on bank loans to the South African Government. Most American banks voluntarily suspended loans to the South African Government about seven years ago.

Reaganâ\200\231s Stand Awaited

In addition, the measure would require American companies with 25 or more employees in South Africa to follow a set of principles for equal treatment of blacks in housing and employment.

Administration spokesmen, commenting before the committee met, refused to say whether Mr. Reagan would veto or sign the legislation once it reaches his desk. Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said he would not discuss the President's intentions, but he reiterated the Administration's opposition to sanctions as counterpro-

ductive and harmful to South Africa's black majority.

Both the House and Senate approved their versions of the bill by margins sufficient to override a Presidential veto.

It was unclear whether the bill could be brought to the Senate floor on Thursday because Senate rules require a three-day waiting period after conference committee action. The time limit can be waived with unanimous consent of the Senate, but supporters of the measure fear that Senator Jesse Helms, who opposes sanctions, might withhold his consent.

"This is extremely significant," said Representative Stephen J. Solarz of the conferees' agreement. "It reflects a new Congressional consensus that the only way to bring about change in South Africa is through the application of pressure rather than futile attempts at gentle persuasion."

The Brooklyn Democrat added: "This sets the stage for a new policy of constructive engagement."

Although a majority of the conferees spoke in favor of sanctions, Senator Helms, Republican of North Carolina, warned that they would harm the black majority in South Africa. He asserted that sanctions against Rhodesia, now the black-governed nation of Zimbabwe, had proved ineffective, and said, "We ought not to throw the baby out with the bath water in our zeal to be political."

Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said today that he had received no assurances from the Administration that President Reagan would drop his opposition to sanctions and sign the bill.

But he told the conference committee that he had spoken with Secretary of State George P. Shultz, whom he quoted as having said, "Use your best judgment, we will have to see." An aide said Mr. Lugar had interpreted

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NAIROBI, Kenya, July 29—A 71-year-old Army officer, who helped orchestrate the tribally motivated coup that on Saturday toppled the government of Uganda, today was sworn in as the country's head of state.

Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, dressed in a camouflage uniform, took the oath of office at 3 p.m. on the steps of the Ugandan parliament building in Kampala and promised in a speech broadcast by Radio Uganda that "within a year Ugandans will have a country of their own choice."

Radio Uganda said earlier that elections would be held within 12 months in the East African country.

Following two days of looting that began shortly after military trucks rolled into the Ugandan capital Saturday morning, Kampala was quieter this afternoon, although residents still reported scattered gunfire. Most downtown shops were stripped of their goods, some United Nations offices were ransacked and city streets were littered with broken glass and dis-

carded packing boxes, according to -

news agency and radio reports from the city.

A 6 a.m.-to-6 p.m. curfew re-

mains in effect, and the country's border remained closed. All flights into the country have been canceled. At Entebbe Airport near the capital, a man who answered the phone in the control tower today told a reporter who telephoned from Nairobi, "If you come here, you will be shot."

The new military government, had used state radio yesterday to introduce another military officer whose last name is also Okello, as

Continued on page

In U ganda By Blaine Harden

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NEW YORK TIMES,

AUGUST 2, 1985 THE WASHINGTON Post

House Backs Economic Sanctions

Against Pretoria in 380-48 Vote

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 â\200\224 The House of Representatives today overwhelm-  
ingly approved economic sanctions  
against South Africa, but final action  
on the measure was delayed until Sep-  
tember after Senate opponents threat-  
ened a filibuster.

In a sign of growing support for the  
sanctions in Congress, the House voted  
380 to 48 to accept a bill put together  
Wednesday by House and Senate nego-  
tiators.

President Reagan has opposed the  
sanctions, and authoritative Adminis-  
tration officials said today that Mr.  
Reagan would veto the bill moving  
through Congress.

Senate Republicans, including Rich-  
ard G. Lugar of Indiana, the chairman  
of the Senate Foreign Relations Com-  
mittee, have said Mr. Reagan would  
enact some form of sanctions.

At talks in Helsinki, meanwhile, in a  
signal of displeasure over the situation  
in South Africa, 11 more Western Euro-  
pean countries decided to recall their  
Ambassadors from Pretoria for consul-  
tations. [Page A4.]

â\200\234He is not for it,â\200\235â\200\235 a senior official  
said, referring to Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s posi-  
tion on the bill. â\200\230It is his honest convic-  
tion that it is the wrong way to go.â\200\235 Of-  
ficials said Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s senior advis-  
ers favored a veto even though it set the  
stage for a sharp confrontation with  
Congress.

The officials said the National Se-  
curity Council had reached a consensus  
against signing the bill.

Both the House and Senate have al-  
ready voted for economic sanctions by

margins sufficient to overturn a Presi-  
dential veto. A coalition of conserva-  
tive House Republicans urged Presi-  
dent Reagan to sign the bill. It warned  
that support for the Administrationâ\200\231s  
position was â\200\230â\200\230deterioratingâ\200\231 and said  
a veto could not be sustained.

Supporters of the sanctions had been  
pushing to complete work on the bill be-

fore Congress adjourned for its August recess. But that hope was thwarted when Senate opponents of the measure threatened a filibuster.

Senator Bob Dole, the majority leader, told the Senate that the bill would have to be carried over until September. It would take two days for the Senate to cut off debate, and the legislators are planning to adjourn Friday.

An aide to Senator Lugar said a group of eight senators had vowed to mount a filibuster.

The aide, Mark Helmke, said the opponents included Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, and

even D. Symms, Republican of

September, which is unfortunate but predictable, given the way things work around here, Mr. Helmke said. He

noted that the sanctions measure originally passed the Senate 80 to 12, and he predicted the changes made by the conference committee would not undermine this broad support.

Mr. Lugar plans to meet with Administration officials during the August recess. He will urge Mr. Reagan to respond to the increasingly violent situation in South Africa by enacting the sanctions with his executive authority.

The bill approved by the House would bar sales in the United States of Krugerrands, the South African gold coin, and it would bar bank loans to the

South African Government. - Most

American banks voluntarily suspended such loans about seven years ago.

The measure would ban sales of goods used in nuclear production and computers. It would require the President to impose further sanctions after 12 months if South Africa failed to make significant progress toward ending apartheid.

Supporters acknowledged that its,

provisions were largely symbolic and unlikely to force any immediate changes in South Africa's system of apartheid. A series of speakers from both sides of the aisle contended, nonetheless, that Congress should approve sanctions because they represented the strongest American condemnation to

date of South Africa's racial system.  
The legislation makes a moral statement that far exceeds economic leverage, as important as that economic leverage might be," said Representative Dante B. Fascell, the Florida Democrat who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Representative Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma Republican and chairman of the American Conservative Union, also supported the bill. He said, "If what is happening in South Africa is a moral outrage, it's not stirring moral outrage."

Mr. Edwards rejected arguments that the sanctions would destabilize the white minority Government and lead eventually to the installation of a Marxist government in Pretoria.

"Communist revolutions," he said, "do not come from the granting of basic human freedoms."

Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, evoked the heritage of the Republican Party in support of the sanctions. "That Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, signed a declaration freeing the slaves, he said, 'Ending apartheid in this century is just as important as ending slavery was in the last.'"

But Representative Dan L. Burton, Republican of Indiana, warned that sanctions "bode ill for the free world." He said they would harm blacks in South Africa and could lead to a toppling of the Government there, thus threatening America's access to the numerous strategic metals supplied by that country. : ]

If the sanctions worsen conditions in Africa and harm the country's economy, "those people will be ripe for revolution," he said.

Tutu to Dethrone  
Funeral Ban

By Allister Sparks

TUMAHOLE, South Africa, Aug. 1—Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu, speaking one day after the government banned political funerals in many black townships, said today that he was ready to defy the ban and go to jail,

Addressing a crowd of about 8,000 in Tumahole township, which lies just outside the emergency-

cy area and is not subject to the ban, Tutu made an emotional appeal to the white-minority government to lift the restriction, which he said would worsen the country's racial crisis by creating a new point of confrontation.

I beg the authorities: don't test us, Tutu implored. I don't want to break the laws of this land, but if they pass laws which are quite unjust, quite intolerable, then I will break that law, even if it means that I have to go to jail.

It was a day of intensified racial conflict, with a black civil rights lawyer reportedly shot dead by four hooded gunmen in a Durban township and a black police officer killed in a shootout with a guerrilla band near the port city of East London.

Friends of the civil rights lawyer, Victoria Nxenge, 43, said she was shot dead by four gunmen outside her home in Umlazi township.

There was rioting after her husband Griffiths Nxenge, also a civil rights lawyer, was assassinated in 1981,

Victoria Nxenge took over her husband's law practice. She was a supporter of the United Democratic Front, the main black activist organization, and she participated in many political trials.

Friends in Durban said tonight Nxenge was shot in the head as she stepped from her automobile at 7.30 p.m. They said a woman who was with her saw four hooded gunmen speed away,

There have been: 'hundreds recently of black activists being killed by men wearing: hoods, prompting allegations that a hit squad has been established to eliminate key persons. Police say they have no knowledge of such a squad.

The funeral in Tumahole offered some insights into how the black activist organizations are withstanding the attempts by the white gu-

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August 2, 1985



THE NEW YORK TIMES  
JULY 28, 1985

Tight  
Rein  
South Africa  
Attacks the  
Symptoms of  
Its Disorder

By ALAN COWELL

JOHANNESBURG

HE struggle between South Africa's white minority Government and large sectors of the black majority culminated last week in some of the most drastic measures in 25 years. President P.W. Botha declared a state of emergency in the industrial heartland around Johannesburg and in the restive Eastern Cape and, in what appeared to be a carefully planned move to decapitate the protest movement, the police detained more than 1,000 blacks.

But the question of how to deal with the fundamental causes of the unrest remained. With the emergency declaration, the authorities seemed finally to acknowledge that offers of undefined and limited political reform had failed to contain the anger of increasingly radicalized black townships. A year ago, a new Constitution gave people of mixed race and of Asian descent a limited role in government but excluded the 23 million blacks. The United Democratic Front was set up in protest and it became the country's largest opposition force.

The calves are coming home," said Carel Boshoff, a former chairman of the right-wing Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond, last week. The calves, he said in an interview, were the implications of everything we have done and not done to avoid racial conflict.

Mr. Boshoff, who opposes the Government's policy of limited reform and sees white salvation only in the creation of a separate white homeland, said: "We had a strong economy in the 1960s and 1970s but we just used it for a wealthy population of whites. Everyone has a big house and two cars, but we didn't plan for our solution."

Then, with a sense of looming apocalypse, he gave an assessment of the power lineup. "The blacks," he said, "have the sympathy of the whole world. They have the support of the churches and they have got their buying power and their work power. If they just use the power they have, it will be possible to take over the country."

â\200\234But,â\200\235 he added, â\200\230â\200\230we should realize that it wonâ\200\231t be without resistance from the white man.â\200\235

By weekâ\200\231s end, the nature of that resistance seemed clear. Using near-absolute powers after months of intractable unrest that had claimed about 500 lives, the police detained those in the United Democratic Force who had assumed a leadership role in the protest movement. In black townships around the country, residents reported police raids before daybreak, with doors being

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THE NEW YORK TIMES.

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON â\200\224 After paying only modest attention to South Africa for four years, the Reagan Administration last week was forced to give urgent foreign policy priority to what Secretary of State George P. Shultz called â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230a very painful part of the worldâ\200\235 and a situation that â\200\230â\200\230wrenches at us so deeply.â\200\235

Administration officials expressed anguish at their inability to moderate the black-led violence and the white minority Governmentâ\200\231s repression, which culminated last week in the proclamation of the state of emergency and hundreds of political arrests. The Administration was also having the difficulty making credible its opposition to apartheid, â\200\234â\200\230the real cause of violence in South Africa,â\200\235 the White House said. While calling on Pretoria to lift the emergency decree, it continued to oppose sanctions.

South Africa is critically important, American officials assert, because of its minerals such as gold, diamonds, coal and uranium, and its strategic location on major shipping routes. If the violence grew into another Iran or Nicaragua, the repercussions would be far-reaching. However, American intelligence reports say the Afrikaner

JULY 28, 1985

The Costs of â\200\230Constructive Engagementâ\200\231

Is There Time to Talk  
About Apartheid?

minority is powerful and unflinching, capable of quashing any threat to the Government  
But if imminent collapse seems un- ment, sales of computers to its se-  
M'Muw wrltylandcundthouhotmod  
the first time in the White House that used in nuclear production. The  
Admintstration policy has become a House has & u.mm

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lunpollĩ-\\202ulludu:mm American investment in South Af-

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Congress, the is not  
whather there should be sanctions,

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Jloans to the South African Govern- nroduce an improvement.

â\\200\\234â\\200\\234The alternative is apparently to say â\\200\\230a plague  
on your house,â\\200\\231 â\\200\\235â\\200\\235 Mr. Shultz said in off-the-cuff  
remarks to -a foreign policy conference. With  
whatever capability we have, he said, â\\200\\230â\\200\\234â\\200\\230we should  
stay there, and we should work for what we think  
is right. We should seek justice in South Africa.â\\200\\235

The White House was annoyed when France  
announced last week that it was recalling its am-  
bassador and banning new investment in South  
Africa. The State Department said the ban could  
â\\200\\230â\\200\\234undermine South Africaâ\\200\\231s economy and create  
additional hardshipsâ\\200\\235 for blacks. When the  
United Nations Security Council met at Franceâ\\200\\231s  
request and also urged a ban on new investment,  
the United States and Britain abstained.

The Administration approach has been to keep  
Chester A. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of  
State for African Affairs, working for a negoti-  
ated agreement in southern Africa but avoiding  
direct criticism of South Africaâ\\200\\231s internal situa-

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NEW YORK TIMES,

JULY 28, 1985

There Is No South  
African Solution

By Bartle Bull

ow that the storm is fi-

nally breaking in

South Africa, it is time

for the United States

to accept the central

reality of what will be

a long and cruel crisis: There is no  
solution.

Even more than in Northern Ire-  
land and Palestine, the fundamental  
sense of self-interest of the different  
communities is so intrinsically in-  
compatible as to make a violent fu-  
ture more acceptable to them than  
submitting to the central demands of  
the other side. i

When we urge nonviolence, negoti-  
ations and reform, we miss the point.  
The struggle is not over how to miti-  
gate the horrors of apartheid. The  
struggle is over the power to rule the  
country. The blacks know they can  
get what they want only by violence.  
Privately, both sides suspect that  
political fairness is not compatible  
with white survival.

We Americans are optimistically  
habituated to problem-solving, to the  
notion that everything is possible,  
that there is always a way. When  
we confront unyielding, frustrating  
problems, whether in the Mekong  
Delta or the inner city, we tend to  
withdraw from the effort rather than  
be satisfied with patiently pursuing  
the best available course. It is partic-  
ularly painful for those of us who  
worked in the civil rights movement,  
with a clear goal in sight, now largely  
realized, to think there may not be an  
acceptable solution in South Africa.

Even if moderate black leaders  
could restrain their communities long  
enough to accept gradualist change,  
there is no possible conclusion to such  
a process that would be acceptable to  
a majority of South African whites.  
Even if a majority of whites were pre-  
pared to negotiate a substantial loss  
of political control and economic

privilege, there is no concession, other than an ultimate transfer to black majority rule, that would satisfy the emerging black consensus. Even if somehow an Abraham Lincoln were given the chance to administer South Africa, there is no process of devolution that would not be violently resisted by one, or both, sides.

Neither side will accept a reasonable timetable for change, or the terms of a true compromise, or even a serious negotiating process itself, for that must include respect for what the other side deems it can never concede. To a majority of whites, the non-negotiable issue is political authority out of proportion to their numbers. Without that, they fear, it is only a matter of time before they lose their physical security, economic well-

being and what they see as their civilizing role in an increasingly degenerating and Marxist Africa.

At the end of the day, no negotiation, no schedule of reform, no relaxing of apartheid will be ultimately acceptable to black South Africa until it finally arrives at one-man one-vote or black majority rule. The whites are too fearful to accept this future, and the blacks are too angry, and their cause too just, to accept less.

Even the best African models provide little encouragement to whites. In Zimbabwe, democracy is abused as a device to give authoritarian power to the leaders of the largest tribe. Some opposition black leaders

have been beaten and jailed, whites are encouraged to leave and Prime Minister Robert G. Mugabe now promises to violate the constitutional protections for whites and tribal minorities and to create a one-party Marxist state. South African whites have not forgotten Henry A. Kissinger's unfulfilled promise to them to finance reparations for white property owners, a commitment that largely induced Rhodesia's whites to accept the transition to Zimbabwe.

As the crisis worsens, South Africa's whites are using repressive brutality not so much to preserve apartheid today but principally to avoid black rule tomorrow. Those 4.5 million whites are more numerous, more independent and more rooted than were white settlers in any other African country. They are not like the one million French that were in Algeria, or the 280,000 whites that were in

Rhodesia, all of whom settled only in the last century and had somewhere else to go. The first Afrikaners settled in Cape Town in 1652. They are roughly as numerous, as besieged, and as determined as the Jews in Israel, and they have nowhere else to

go.

In some ways, however, there are parallels to Algeria, where the settlers were outnumbered about 11 to 1 and where a French army of 450,000 barely maintained relative order. The beginning of the end came when the rebels decided first to attack all Algerians who worked to make French rule possible â\200\224 postmasters, policemen, junior civil servants. This soon made Algeria largely ungovernable, except by constant force and frequent brutality. With the attacks and fire bombings of blacks accused of similar collaboration, this same process began in South Africa in Feb-

ruary.

Faced with these unpleasant realities, our calls for reform have little meaning. There is no possibility of peaceful devolution to a constitution

Yy

\_ THE SUN  
JULY 81, 1985

S. Africa recalls

its U.S.  
ambassador

PRETORIA, South Africa (Reuter)  
â\200\224 South Africa has recalled its ambassador-designate to the United States â\200\234for consultation,â\200\235 a foreign affairs spokesman said last night.

Relations between the United

States and South Africa have been sorely tested recently. There have been increased demands in the United States for an end to its â\200\234constructive engagementâ\200\235 policy with Pretoria since South Africa declared a state of emergency in certain areas over a week ago and detained more than 1,200 people.

The spokesman declined to give reasons for the recall of Herbert Buekes, who was posted to the United States recently and was not yet formally accredited because he had not presented his credentials.

The United States recalled its ambassador to South Africa, Herman Nickel, last month, also for consultations and has given no indication when he will return.

Mr. Nickel was recalled after a lightning South African raid into neighboring Botswana against what the Pretoria government said were terrorist bases. The raid provoked international condemnation.

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al, democratic, fair government. American liberals should not pretend to ourselves that economic isolation will help South African blacks. Our conservatives should not pretend that President Reaganâ\200\231s stated policy of â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230constructive engagementâ\200\231â\200\231 has been a reality. If we cannot induce the South Africans to release the nationalist leader Nelson Mandela when we are their economic partner and times are relatively peaceful, why would they listen when we have cut them off and times are violent?

Beyond emphasizing our abhorrence of apartheid and violence, we can only be a force for good to the limited extent possible. A true, forceful, multinational policy of constructive engagement might indeed be helpful, with every economic, political and cultural contact used to press hard for and to provide opportunities for blacks. America must support justice and oppose brutality, and try to help. But like Lebanon, South Africa is not a problem we can solve, O

Bartle Bull, who worked as a civil rights lawyer in Mississippi, is a lawyer and writer in New York.

NEW YORK TIMES, JULY 28, 1985

## An African Tragedy Unfolds

THE WASHINGTON Post July 28. 1985

### Emergency Shatters

Suddenly, the debates about how Americans or Frenchmen should protest South Africa's apartheid sound trivial, even self-indulgent. No distant agitation or disinvestment can make much difference now; Pretoria's new emergency and martial law are propelling a vicious cycle of rebellion and repression toward race war. The war may tear at conscience and poison emotions in multiracial societies like ours, but it seems impervious to mediation.

Let conscience cry out, but don't pretend that symbolic pickets and boycotts can stem the violence. South Africa's racist structure will not yield to such gnats as shareholder votes and ambassadorial recalls. Its rebellious blacks will not be bought off by better jobs in multinational corporations. South Africa is headed for a historic clash, pitting the white Afrikaner, newly rich, against the black African, newly roused; pitting the most modern weapons against the most powerful ideas.

In South Africa, a small white minority and large black majority have been bound, uniquely and inextricably, to the same land and economy. The whites control most of the wealth, but they have created it by exploiting blacks, denying them citizenship and demeaning their humanity. They have failed to produce any plausible plan for sharing power. Indeed, their successive political schemes have been designed to divide the blacks to perpetuate white dominion.

The world has not seen the end of tyranny but the crude tyranny of race is a declining force. The world has implored Pretoria to let apartheid end by emancipation rather than revolution. But the Afrikaners will not emancipate and mean to fight, for generations, to defeat revolution. »

They are brutally honest about their goal and divided only about tactics. Their most recent reforms scuttled a constitution that might have admitted blacks to citizenship and replaced it with one that made race the supreme determinant of political power. It declared the white Parliament pre-eminent and created advisory assemblies for Indians and Coloreds. Blacks got nothing except the vague promise of a non-statutory forum for leaders who preach submission to this structure. Even moderate dissenters were charged with treason and delivered to a brutish police.

Older blacks responded with more nonviolent protest. Younger blacks marched forth to test their strength. They boycotted schools, jobs and white merchants; they killed and tortured black collaborators; they destroyed the black administrations of black towns. In 10 months, 500 people, mostly blacks, were killed, mostly by the counterattacking



police. Every new funeral became a political rally until the Government freed the army and police of all legal restraints and ordered the fires dampened again.

Inevitably, every arrest or shooting of a black youngster will radicalize a platoon and the black population of South Africa will double before the end of the century. Sooner or later, all other decent nations will shun the Afrikaners. Pretoria will keep blaming Communists and may yet make Reds of many blacks. A monumental tragedy is at hand, and there is not much that good people elsewhere can do to prevent it.

Botha's Vision

South Africa Sought Legitimacy

By Glenn Frankel

JOHANNESBURG, July 27—Just 13 months ago, South African President Pieter W. Botha returned from a tour of Western Europe, a visit that symbolized this white-ruled country's bid to return to international respectability.

Botha had sought to convince many in the West, beginning with the Reagan administration, that South Af-

rica was embagked upon a program of reform, that it had overcome white transience on its right and radical black nationalism on its left and was moving toward a political future that eventually would meet the legitimate aspirations of all its races.

Today the vision Botha offered the West lies shattered as South Africa faces perhaps the worst racial crisis in its history. Nearly 500 persons have died. Some of its black townships have been rendered ungovernable.

The subtle melodies of reconciliation now have been exchanged for the hard cadences of martial law. In just one week, more than 1,000 persons have been jailed, held incommunicado without charge, bail or lawyers.

And the West is watching with growing dismay, debating not whether to impose economic sanctions against Pretoria, but when.

The story of what went wrong is a tale of political miscalculation, of a government that fell victim to its own ideology and of a grand scheme that carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. It is also a story of leaders who now appear trapped in a classic dilemma not dissimilar to the one that befell the shah of Iran in 1979—caught between halfhearted reform and halfhearted repression, uncertain which strategy to pursue and unwilling, perhaps even unable, to go all the way with either.

The analogy with Iran can be overdrawn—there are no analysts here, even among the government's most passionate opponents, who believe revolution is a few days or years away. But the reality of a government ensnared, whose

every action seems to feed the appetite for opposition, and of western allies who look on with mixed feelings. and thin advice, has a familiar ring.

One week after a state of emergency was declared, South Africa's black townships look sullen but silent, with only occasional spasms of violence. Helmeted police and soldiers, armed with automatic weapons and the power to arrest anyone for any reason, roam the narrow streets in armored vehicles.- Each night after midnight, security police working off long lists of names go from house to house, picking up people identified as community activists. More than 100 have been arrested nightly, according to the official count, and opposition groups contend that the real numbers are even higher.:

The impact can be seen at the Transvaal headquarters here of the opposition United Democratic Front. The file cabinets are empty, their

Continued on page &k

## EMERGENCY SHATTERS BOTHA'S VISION (Continued)

contents seized in a police raid earlier this week, the offices abandoned by activists who are now either in jail or hiding. Phones that once rang incessantly are silent; a photocopying machine sits unplugged in the middle of a vacant room.

The lone staff member present yesterday spoke of trying to organize a response to the emergency, perhaps a rally in Soweto or a national economic boycott. "But there is no way to organize or plan anything—everyone is missing," he said.

### Grass-Roots Activists Targeted

The front, a loose umbrella coalition of more than 700 community-based groups, has been the main target of the crackdown. The operation has been swift and surgical, hitting not at national leaders but at grass-roots activists—trade unionists, teachers, community organizers.

"They are systematically attempting to dismantle the various organizations, and they are hitting exactly the right people," said political scientist Tom Lodge, a leading academic expert on black politics. "They've done a great deal of intelligence and homework in advance."

But Lodge and other analysts see the government's triumph as only temporary. The grievances that ignited and fueled the township violence remain, as does the anger. "The govern-

ment may have bought itself a breathing space."

But Lodge, "but a breathing space for what?"

One year ago that question might have gotten

no easy answer from a government that was con-

vinced that things were going its way.

Botha had risked splitting the ruling white

majority community by proposing a new con-

stitution that for the first time gave limited national political rights to the country's mixed-race (known here as Coloreds) and Asian minorities. South Africa's black majority was excluded from these rights, but there also were provisions establishing local township councils in black urban areas. It was a first step. Botha's supporters claimed, on the road to self-government for at least urban blacks.

At first the gamble seemed to pay off. Botha won a two-thirds majority in the November 1983 whites-only referendum over the constitution. New houses of Parliament were opened for Coloreds and Asians despite the fact that less than one-third of eligible voters cast ballots in the elections for these bodies.

But it was a short-lived triumph. For one

thing, the government, in its attempt to appear more liberal and conciliatory, had allowed new locally based organizations to gain a foothold in black communities. Black opposition to the new constitution helped unify these groups, which in August 1983 formed the United Democratic Front.

From its inception, the front's position was that the government's reform schemes were phony, that Botha was seeking only to maintain Afrikaner control while co-opting Coloreds and middle-class, urban blacks. 4

#### Government's Verbal Ambivalence

The government's own verbal ambivalence fed these suspicions. While Botha spoke of ridding South Africa of hurtful discrimination and of negotiating with genuine black leaders, he also

insisted that he never would accede to one-man, one-vote democracy. The government appeared intent on creating its own black leadership and setting its own agenda for talks, and radicals ranging from Nobel Peace Prize laureate Desmond Tutu to jailed resistance leader Nelson Mandela were not invited.

Looking back, government supporters contend that the problem was one of perception. South Africa was moving step by step away from apartheid, but movement had to be slow and measured to avoid alienating the deeply conservative white constituency.

If I were black, I would probably also perceive the reforms as part of grand apartheid, said Wil-

lie Breytenbach, who until three weeks ago was i ] ! :  
"Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape

director of constitutional planning in Pretoria.  
As a civil servant, I saw them as an important move away from the structure. We went as fast as was politically possible, and when I look back I am proud of what we achieved.

Breytenbach blames the unrest on the explosive gap between the reforms and the black expectations they aroused. The problem was aggravated by the ongoing recession, which drove up unemployment and inflation and left Pretoria with little money to fund the new township councils. The councils felt compelled to raise rents, 4 move that, given economic hardships in the townships, proved fatal.

The government also fell victim to its own ideology, some analysts argue. Having worked for more than three decades to split South Africa into racially and ethnically distinct communities, the government's lines of communication and

knowledge of black politics was sparse. It also believed that blacks were irrevocably divided along tribal and economic lines and that each group could be identified easily and played off against others. :

Instead, the black community quickly appeared to unite against the new institutions the government sought to create. Because they were locally based and highly visible, the township councils became targets, first of protests, later of gasoline bombs and rocks.

Heavy-handed police action further aggravated the problem. After residents of townships in the Vaal Triangle south of Johannesburg demonstrated against a big rent increase last September, the government put on a show of force, surrounding the area with the Army while police went door to door, arresting hundreds of persons.

The spiral had begun. Township councilmen and black police officers were singled out for attack. The black deputy mayor of Sharpeville in the Vaal was hacked to death with machetes, his body flung into the family car and set ablaze. Police counterattacked. More than 100 persons

died during the first two months of unrest, and the toll has climbed steadily ever since.

The black townships generally are a world apart, located out of white sight across invisible borders in self-contained ghettos. In theory, they can be cordoned off and forgotten, allowed to implode, with no visible impact on the white world of shopping malls, swimming pools and two-car garages.

But some of the townships sit ominously close to white suburbs, and outside Johannesburg

there have been a half dozen attacks on whites in .

5

recent weeks. That, analysts say, was one reason South Africa's leaders decided to declare a state of emergency.

#### Restlessness Among Whites

Officials also had seen the results of a confidential poll indicating that whites were growing increasingly restless over the violence, according to knowledgeable sources. There were fears that right-wing groups, both within the security forces and outside, were forming vigilante units, even death squads to deal with a problem they perceived the government was not handling.

"I think this [declaration] was intended more for whites than for blacks," said political scientist

Town. Officials, he said, have seen increasing signs of discontent from whites who believe that

the government is lost â\200\234in some kind of drift, . . .  
that they're not getting things under control.â\200\235

Then there was Soweto. Until two weeks ago, South Africaâ\200\231s largest and most prosperous black urban center had remained relatively untouched by the violence. But on July 17, a crowd that had gathered to protest the arrests of 107 demonstrators went on a rampage, hijacking buses and burning shops and houses. The rioting continued sporadically for three days. Officials feared that if Soweto, whose population is estimated at 1.5 million, caught fire, all of South Africa might burn.

Botha publicly has offered a simple explanation for the failure of his reforms and the subsequent necessity of martial law. He blames Marxist radicals and â\200\234communist-inspired powersâ\200\235 who he says have terrorized the black population into submission and seek the overthrow of the government. He sees the United Democratic Front as an internal wing of the outlawed African National Congress that is carrying out the ANCâ\200\231s campaign to make the townships â\200\234no goâ\200\235 areas where â\200\234enemy personnelâ\200\235 are under constant threat.

Botha and his ministers see the solution as eliminating this threat first so that ordinary township residents can resume normal life and the process of negotiation and reform can begin anew. But people in the black communities are surprised to hear the governmentâ\200\231s claims that the emergency is designed to protect them.

â\200\234This emergency will only make people angrier,â\200\235 said Caiphus Motsoeneng, a glass-factory worker who lives in the township of KwaThema east of Johannesburg. He says he worries most about his 8-year-old son, who has yet to learn the alphabet because his school has been closed by protests for all but two months this year. /

Like many others here, Motsoeneng does not blame the radicals, but rather the government, which he says refuses to lift apartheid. Until it does, he says, the war will go on.

Giliomee believes the government does not hear the voices of ordinary blacks like Motsoeneng. He draws an analogy to the shah, whose regime misunderstood the mood in the mosques of Iran. Pretoria relies on police informers for most of its information from the townships, said Giliomee, and those informers tend to reinforce the conspiracy theories South Africaâ\200\231s

Continued on page jy

'THE WASHINGTON POST

HAT COULD be more cruel to the blacks  
Wof South Africa than to deny them their  
, chosen manner of mourning? Yet that is  
precisely what the white-minority government has  
done in the large areas covered by its state of  
emergency. Hundreds of blacks have been killed in  
recent months in the torment induced by apart-  
heid. Funerals were the last legal place where  
blacks could come together; there is no doubt that  
they were taking on a political aspect. The Botha  
government, facing once again a choice between a  
reasonable and a repressive line, once again took  
the latter. It imposed new restrictions on funerals  
â\200\234of people who die of unnatural causes.â\200\235

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel peace laureate,  
caught the full and hideous irony. â\200\230Please allow us  
to bury our people who died because of apartheid,â\200\235  
he said yesterday. â\200\234Donâ\200\231t rub salt in our wounds.â\200\235  
He was speaking at a funeralâ\200\224one that apparently  
fell within the limits permitted by the new decree  
â\200\224of three people who had been killed in a clash  
with police after an earlier funeral. This is the  
situation: apartheid crushes blacks, denies them a  
political channel for protest and now denies them  
also a forum of lament for those who die at the sys-  
temâ\200\231s hands.

It could be different. Just a few days ago, for in-  
stance, Bishop Tutu solicited a meeting with Presi-  
dent P. W. Botha to address the issues behind the

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current turmoil. A sensible politician would have  
grasped the hand of one of the diminishing band of  
black moderates. Instead Mr. Botha spurned  
Bishop Tutu. He demanded not only that the  
bishop repudiate violenceâ\200\224which he has already  
done, repeatedly and at great risk to his own life.  
He also insisted that the bishop repudiate civil dis-  
obedience, which, if he did it, would leave blacks on  
their knees saying pretty please to a regime that  
has earned their massive distrust.

The government, of course, sees it another way.  
Even some of its occasional internal critics are de-  
fending it these days, claiming that the reforms  
that have been promised if not yet entirely de-  
livered by the Botha government have not been ad-  
equately appreciated by either South African blacks  
or foreigners. The government seems to have al-  
most no sense of the too-little, too-late aspect of its  
reforms and of the desperation and evaporating pa-  
tience of the black majority.

The Westâ\200\224even the United Statesâ\200\224is moving  
toward what are in fact rather mild economic sanc-  
tions against South Africa. The South African sup-  
porters of the government feel bruised and are  
trying not to show panic. They need to see the  
sanctions not as a reprisal but as a demand that  
they reach out to the South African blacks who are

in a position to speak for their people and to lead them to a peaceable and just solution.

#### WALL STREET JOURNAL

Taking time out from tying itself

into knots over its own budget, Congress has undertaken to solve the racial problem in South Africa. Everyone, not least us, agrees that a certain amount of pressure on the South African government is a good thing. Yet the bill for sanctions against South Africa is too easy a vote, precisely because apartheid has no American supporters, and because no one's district will suffer the consequences if the measure backfires.

\* The nuclear-freeze movement having vanished from the headlines, bashing the Boers has suddenly become the approved outlet for demonstrating your own morality. Even the French, who have made opposition to economic diplomacy a national policy, joined the game by leading the U.N. battle for trade sanctions against the South Africans. House-Senate conferees put together a bill to ban new bank loans to the South African government, halt the sale of nuclear technology to South Africa and ban the import of Krugerrands.

When moral fads are running full tide, it's hard to express any reservations without being accused of being in favor of nuclear holocaust or apartheid. So we're glad to see the White House raising questions about the particulars of the sanctions; there are

Bashing the Boers

certain practical questions involved.

One, for example, is the not-so-trivial matter of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. South Africa has full Most Favored Nation status, and the import ban for political reasons almost surely breaks GATT rules prohibiting nations from unilateral actions disrupting the trading order. With growing protectionist sentiment threatening the world economy, this would be an unhappy precedent, indeed potentially a haunting one.

On the more immediate issue, sanctions are likely to hurt South African blacks, as Alan Paton has said in South Africa and Larry Speakes said

at the White House yesterday. A Krugerrand sells in the U.S. for about \$340. Of this the South African government receives 40 cents for a minting



fee, while black miners receive about \$50. Some 50,000 blacks work in the South African gold mines, supporting five or six dependents each. Striking against Krugerrands is dirt cheap in Washington, but for the black community in South Africa it will be an expensive symbol indeed.

Then there is the matter of the timing of the latest moralistic fad. Under quiet pressure from the Reagan administration and a more realistic view of its own long-run interests, the

AUGUST 2, 1985

Botha government in South Africa has lately been moving toward reform. Its steps seem painfully small from an American perspective, though much larger in a South African one. Yet surely they are in the right direction, and have met not with encouragement but with an escalation of demonstrations and controversy.

The present crisis pretty much got under way when the leftist Trans-Africa, Inc. stirred up public temper in the U.S. Only later did the conflagration spread to South Africa, where it was orchestrated in part by the African National Congress, a socialist outfit that eschews moderation for radicalism. An especially ugly part of the recent violence in South Africa has been the killing of black moderates by black radicals. The Botha regime, finding its reforms anything but rewarded, has turned to a new round of arrests and repression.

Throwing official sanctions into this tinderbox scarcely strikes us as a prudent way to avert or at least postpone a South African maelstrom. Trying to reform apartheid is a delicate task of diplomacy, and Congress ought to leave it to the executive branch, at least until it has dealt with the domestic problems the Constitution defines as its business.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JULY 29, 1985

## Aid to Africa Is Widely Considered Ineffective But Continent Is More Dependent Than Ever

By STEVE MUFSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THIES, Senegalâ\200\224The U.S. Agency for International Development had the best intentions when it helped Senegal plant a eucalyptus forest here five years ago. The potential benefits were enormous. The forest would stop the encroaching desert, supply 10% of the firewood needs of Dakar, Senegalâ\200\231s capital, and produce sturdy, straight building lumber.

But there was one miscalculation. AID planners used rainfall statistics from the colonial era. Since 1966, rainfall here has been barely half that plentiful, far less than eucalyptus trees need. As a result, the 14,800-acre Bandia Forest Project is a field of scrub. Between 35% and 40% of the trees have died. The rest are little bigger than twigs.

Aid comes in many shapes and sizes. Overall, Africa has received more than \$60 b L O O T R T â\202¬ â\200\224 past 15 years. Part of the money wound up paying for huge white elephant projects. Part was emergency food aid.

Some was plowed into agricultural projects, and other dollars have financed oil imports and debt payments.

Some aid is given with no strings attached, but a good part of what is called aid is money loaned at concessionary interest rates. Whatever its form, however, aid has failed to make a lasting improvement in Africaâ\200\231s standard of living.

Where has all the money gone? Tanzaniaâ\200\231s President Julius Nyerere remarked in 1981 that his nation was poorer than it had been in 1972. In that decade, Tanzania received more than \$3 billion in aid.

### Rising Obligations

Ill-conceived projects are a big part of the story. The U.S. built 50 crop storage depots in Senegal, for instanceâ\200\224and placed them in locations peasants never visited. The depots, which cost \$1 million, stand empty. In Zambia, a country with

critical shortages (of tires and spare auto parts, for instance) China is busy building 2 giant new headquarters for the country's only political party. In Uganda, a railroad expert discovered to his amazement that a repair shop built with foreign aid was seven times as large as the one he ran in Germany.

In the petrodollar-rich heyday of the 1970s, some European and U.S. bankers were desperate to find customers for loans and pressed money on African borrowers with scant regard for how it was used. A

Western diplomat remembers one European bank offering a Cameroon government minister \$200 million and the minister asking: "What for?"

Too many ministers couldn't say no. Sub-Saharan Africa's external debt jumped to \$73.6 billion in 1984 from \$15.4 billion in 1975. Poor planning by donors, natural disasters, theft and foolish policies by Africans made a lot of that aid money evaporate like puddles in desert heat.

Twenty-five years after colonial rule, African nations are more dependent than ever on foreign assistance. It pays for trade deficits, most oil imports and more than half of capital investment in sub-Saharan Africa. In 16 countries, foreign aid makes up 10% to 50% of gross domestic product. One-fifth of the grain Africans eat is imported.

Increasingly, donors are ending support for specific projects, putting aid money instead into balance-of-payments support. The U.S. has tripled the amount it provides to Senegal as budget relief in the past two years. Nonproject assistance is now about half the U.S. aid program here. It pays for food imports, debt service and oil imports.

As a result, one of the aid world's favorite maxims, borrowed from Mao Tse-tung, seems to be losing its force. "Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will eat for a lifetime," it says.

The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other donors are conditioning their balance-of-payments support on economic reforms by recipient nations. This controversial policy opens donors to accusations that they hold governments hostage to inflexible policies, and leaves recipient governments vulnerable to domestic accusations of knuckling under to foreigners.

Senegal ranks as one of the biggest aid junkies on the continent. It relies on the largesse of the World Bank, the U.S. and,

above all, its former colonial master France. Senegal receives more than \$500 million a year in foreign assistance, or almost \$100 per person.

Without that aid, Senegal would be considered one of the region's basket cases. Since 1960, although it has been a major recipient of external aid, (Senegal) has experienced the lowest gross domestic product growth (2.3%) of any African state not affected by war or civil strife, says a World Bank report.

Much aid went to build a state-run company to distribute fertilizer and seed to peanut farmers and market their product. Every year the firm ran up big losses. Peasants complained that payment wasn't received for peanuts and that sand was mixed with the seeds. The state corporation charged that peasants weren't paying for seeds. When the corporation finally was

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closed down by the government, auditors discovered that most of the company's \$250 million in bad debts were owed by about half a dozen politically well-connected businessmen.

#### Dust and Idleness

In Louga, formerly the heart of the peanut-producing area, the dusty town's peanut-crushing mills stand idle and its warehouses empty. The principal mode of transportation is the horse-drawn cart.

At the edge of town sits a mansion that looks strangely out of place. Its lush green courtyard is populated by peacocks and golden-crested cranes. A Rolls-Royce is parked in the driveway. Behind the house an addition as big as a medium-sized office building is under construction. Aid helped build this and its owner is one of the peanut corporation's major debtors.

A lot of aid dollars have gone into massive projects out of all proportion to Africa's needs. Nearly half Zaire's external debt is owed for a single project—the Inga-Shaba power line. A fifth of the Ivory Coast's borrowings went to build two sugar mills that started production just four years ago and now are closed.

A World Bank report says genuine mistakes and misfortunes cannot explain the excessive number of white elephants. Too many projects have been selected either on the basis of political prestige or (with) inadequate regard for their likely economic and financial rate of return. Says a Bottle

The West hasn't been alone in financing

these cathedrals in the desert. The Soviet Union has sponsored its share for example, the milk bottling plant in the dusty Sudanese town of Babanusa. Babanusa's Baggara tribesmen drink their milk straight from the cow and there aren't any facilities to ship milk out of Babanusa.

The 20-year-old plant hasn't produced a single bottle of milk.

While aid donors complain about African countries, the Africans complain about donors. Aid agencies rival African bureaucracies in sluggishness. When Mozambique appealed for emergency drought relief, donors were skeptical. Most people didn't believe us. They felt we were dramatizing the situation, says the minister for internal commerce. About 10,000 people died before Western nations came to Mozambique's rescue.

Aid dollars often are used to pay foreign technical advisers. Ghana's leader Flight-Lt. Jerry J. Rawlings harangued a crowd recently about the cost of aid. We pay these people \$10,000 a month. That's ten thousand bloody dollars, Mr. Rawlings said. That's your money. It's my money." Mr. Rawlings' number is a little high, but African ministries are salted with foreigners earning roughly 10 times the salary of the ministers they advise.

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THE SUN

Expulsions From Ethiopia plans evs \_uation

Ethiopian Camp Suspected

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Ethiopian famine relief center at Ibnet, where the forced evacuation of more than 56,000 people in late April caused an international outcry, has again been emptied of almost all residents, and unconfirmed reports reaching Washington say thousands may have been forcefully expelled.

The camp population, which had swollen to at least 100,000 at the end of May, has been reduced to 6,000, according to private relief and U.S. government officials.

The Ethiopian official blamed for ordering the first forced evacuation, which resulted in many deaths, is still in charge of Gondar province, where Ibnet is located, according to U.S. relief officials. They say he was never seriously reprimanded, as had been promised by the government.

The U.S. Embassy in Addis Ababa has asked Ethiopia's Marxist government about the reports of a new forced evacuation and has been told that all who left Ibnet did so voluntarily.

The government has adopted a policy of trying to close most of the feeding camps or to reduce their populations drastically. Contagious diseases are a serious problem in the camps. In addition, the government wants to get as many people as possible back to farming now that the rainy season has begun.

No one disputes this time that tens of thousands of the famine victims at Ibnet returned voluntarily to their homes after receiving seeds, food supplies and farm tools. But

mystery surrounds the circumstances under which tens of thousands of others left.

We simply don't know what happened to the people, said one U.S.

official.

The Ethiopian government has refused to give anyone from the U.S. Embassy a travel permit to visit the camp, he said.

â\200\234We honestly donâ\200\231t know how they got from 120,000 or 70,000 down to 6,000 people,â\200\235 he added, referring to the wide range of es-

timates of the campâ\200\231s size circulating among relief agencies.

â\200\234We're getting conflicting reports and trying to get more information,â\200\235 another official remarked.

The government has instituted a rule requiring 30 daysâ\200\231 notice before any Western relief worker may leave the Ethiopian capital to visit the relief centers. U.S. officials say they think that the requirement is

part of a government effort to curtail sharply the number of Western relief officials operating in the country. This campaign has increased suspicions about what is happening at Ibnet and other relief camps.

Concern about a possible new forced evacuation stems from a report by a United Nations official who visited Ibnet in late June and was told of people being rounded up and expelled at night. The official was told that foreign relief workers could hear screaming during the roundups.

Carol Johnson of the California-based private relief group World Vision said its personnel working at Ibnet had not sent any reports about famine victimsâ\200\231 being forcefully ejected. But she acknowledged it was unlikely that such information would be included in telexes that might be monitored by the Ethiopian government.

She said that by June 21 World Vision had handed out 5,631 â\200\234ag pakâ\200\235 relief packages to 50,000 Ethiopian who had returned to their homes, most in Wollo Province in the central highlands. An â\200\234ag pakâ\200\235 includes a hoe; 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of seed; four kilograms of teff, a grain staple of Ethiopia; 10 kilograms of lentils, and three kilos of chick peas, according to Johnson.

Left at Ibnet now are only children and the very sick or feeble who need constant care, Johnson said.

Another private Western relief group, Irish Concern, is working at Ibnet and helping famine victims whose homes are in Gondar and Tigray provinces. U.S. relief officials and the World Vision headquarters in California could not say how many families Irish Concern had helped.

of its largest relief camp

ADDIS ABABA (Reuter) â\200\224 Ethiopia is preparing to evacuate its largest famine relief camp â\200\224 housing 80,000 people - in a plan to get at least some farming restarted even though there is a shortage of tools and seeds, the countryâ\200\231s top relief official said yesterday.

Dawit Wolde Giorgis, head of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, said registration of people at Makelle camp, about 300 miles north of Addis Ababa, already has started.

He said about 40,000 people were expected to register to leave the camp, where they have been living. in some cases, crammed 15 people to a shelter.

There are 80,000 people at Makelle, half of whom arrived in recent weeks and are not well enough to survive the march back to their homes, relief officials say.

They said the peasants who register to leave will be screened to be sure they are medically fit and given food at distribution centers near their villages, some located 60 miles from the relief camp.

The effort to return people to their homes got off to a bad start in May when about 50,000 people were forced out of a camp by what the government said was an excessively zealous Ethiopian relief official.

The program is part of a country-wide effort to get people to grow food during the current rainy season and end their dependence on handouts.

Mr. Dawit said thousands of people at Korem, to the south of Makelle, would also be evacuated eventually but there was not yet enough food, seed or tools to give them.

Since March, the government has been appealing to western donors to provide seeds and basic tools to help



the peasants return to their traditional way of life.

But not one single government has responded with supplies, although the Italian government has promised \$1.8 million worth of tools, Mr. Dawit said. He said only a few hundred thousand dollars worth of Italian tools have arrived.

Relief officials believe that there are only a few weeks left in which the peasants can plant the staple teff, a cereal unique to Ethiopia that is used to make the fermented bread with which they eat whatever else is available.

But with rain falling in much of continued on pg.

THE WASHINGTON POST THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

, JULY 31, 1985

New Ugandan

Coup in Uganda That Removes (%bte  
Is Rooted in the Problems of Tribalism

Ruler

Names Governing

Panel

By Blaine Harden

Washington Post Foreign Service

â\200\235 NAIROBI, Kenya, July 30â\200\224In  
his first major move to rebuild  
Ugandaâ\200\231s government, the leader of  
â\200\234the countryâ\200\231s four-day-old military  
regime, Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, today  
â\200\234named members to a military-dom-  
inated ruling council. B  
One appointee, however, a field  
.commander in Ugandaâ\200\231s five-year-  
"old rebel movement, turned down  
.the job, according to a Nairobi  
spokesman for the National Resis-  
tance . Army. Rebel leaders, with  
about 3,000 well-armed and expe-  
rienced troops, also complained that  
they had not been consulted in the  
formation of the new government.  
Okello, meanwhile, in a surprise  
move, flew this afternoon to neigh-  
boring Tanzania for a meeting with  
â\200\230that countryâ\200\231s president, Julius  
Nyerere, according to the Foreign  
Ministry in Dar es Salaam. Okello,  
71, a career military officer, spent  
about eight years in exile in Tan-  
zania during the reign of Idi Amin.  
These moves came as relative  
calm returned to the capital of  
Kampala, according to news agency  
and radio reports. Nearly every  
Store and office has been looted

since Saturdayâ\200\231s coup overthrew  
the five-year-old government of  
president Milton Obote.  
Pedestrians returned to the  
streets and some offices and shops  
opened. There was, however, al-  
most nothing in the city to buy, ac-  
cording to the reports. While gun-  
fire and looting have stopped, dip-  
lomats said Kampala is facing a se-  
vere food and water shortage. Loot-  
ers took nearly all the cityâ\200\231s food  
during the past three days, and the  
terminal that stores goods trucked  
east from Kenya also was ran-  
sacked. The main fuel depot and  
one of the main water supply lines  
have been damaged, and parts of

Kampala are without electricity. Diplomats in Nairobi said today that dependents from several western embassies, including those of

the United States, France and Italy along with some employees of the United Nations, are to be bused Wednesday: into Kenya. Their departure would require cooperation from the new government, which has closed the country's borders and airports.

The refusal today of rebel commander Salem Saleh to accept a seat on the ruling council is a setback for the new government. Rebel attacks,

and the disharmony they bred in the Army, were one of the major reasons for the overthrow of Obote.

Saleh is the brother of the founder and leader of the National Resistance Army, Yoweri Museveni. From Stockholm, where he was visiting his family, Museveni made friendly overtures to coup leaders over the weekend. But a statement by the rebels, released here today, expressed annoyance over the looting in Kampala and condemned what it said was the involvement in the new government of some factions of former dictator Idi Amin's army.

According to Radio Uganda, the other appointees to the ruling council, headed by Tito Okello, are Brig. Basilio Olara Okello (no relation to the head of state), who led Saturday's coup, five Army colonels, a civilian lawyer and the general manager of Uganda Airlines.

The new government today called for the return of Obote to face charges of committing atrocities, Radio Uganda reported. The deposed leader has been granted asylum in Kenya, according to diplomats in Nairobi. The U.S. State Department and Amnesty International have charged that thousands of civilians were tortured and killed by soldiers during Obote's presidency.

State radio also said the government called for members of the military units linked to torture under

Obote to report to authorities and met with bankers to discuss the country's shattered economy.

[Reuter reported that the leader of the opposition Democratic Party wrote a letter in support of Tito

Okello.]

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By LEE LESCAZE  
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Again this weekend citizens of an African nationâ\200\224this time Ugandaâ\200\224turned on their radios and learned that their government had changed.

Africa has endured coup after coup, but they are less remarkable for their frequency than for their similarity. Whatever the nation, whoever the new leader, whether civilian or military, colonel or sergeant, they are all launched in the name of progress, justice, human rights or prosperity, and they deliver little, if anything, of what they promise.

Even on a continent where every coup smacks of déjà vu, Uganda's most recent upheaval is eerily familiar. In 1962, A. Milton Obote became Uganda's first post-independence leader. In 1971, he was overthrown by army troops led by Idi Amin and took refuge in neighboring Tanzania. In 1980, Mr. Obote returned, and now the army, this time led by Brig. Bazilio Olara Okello, has laid claim to power. Again, Ugandan troops, who often resemble a rabble, are roaming the streets, a beer bottle in one hand, a rifle in the other, looting houses and shops in Kampala. Again, civilians wait fearfully behind closed doors for the sporadic shooting outside to end. Again, Mr. Obote has fled, this time to Kenya.

As befits the looking-glass world of African coups, Brig. Okello announced over the radio that he made his coup to end tribal conflicts: â\200\230â\200\230We took this step because of unity,â\200\235 he said yesterday.

Other nationsâ\200\224Burundi, Rwanda, Equatorial Guineaâ\200\224have suffered post-independence tribal massacres, brutal sortings out of the artificial coalitions of tribes left behind by deporting colonial rulers. Yet nowhere have tribal divisions so hamstrung government and prevented a coalescing toward nationhood as in Uganda.

Even in countries that have escaped bloodbaths, tribalism remains an obstacle

to merit-system government. At its most basic level, tribal loyalties burden every African with a large extended family that expects to share in his good fortune. â\200\234As soon as a man would get elected to Parlia-

ment, 26 cousins moved into his house, and since he couldnâ\200\231t feed them on his salary he took bribes or they took bribes in his name,â\200\235 a Ghanaian remarked recently of the days when Ghana's political system was a paradigm of patronage.

Indeed, Brig. Okello's coup was reportedly sparked by tribal resentment that his fellow Acholi were being passed over in favor of officers from the Langi tribe of President Obote. The Acholi-Langi alliance in the army had always been an uneasy one and now it has split wide open, partly because of Uganda's economic decline, which has left the army and government with less money to spread around.

Tribal rivalries in Uganda have been bloody since the 19th century. When Rrit-

continued on pg. 11

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Ugandan stability after the coup

HE weekend coup that deposed President Milton

Obote of Uganda is only the latest in a series of

coups and countercoups that have troubled that nation during the past decade. It is vital that the new leaders establish order as quickly as possible and peacefully as possible so that Uganda can begin to make progress in meeting its serious financial and social challenges.

Uganda's problems are not unlike those of many other third-world nations: The landlocked country has a fast-growing population that is expected to double by the end of the century to 27 million people. Uganda is economically dependent on a number of export crops (coffee, tea, and peanuts, for example) that are particularly price sensitive to the ups and downs of world market conditions, resulting, in part, in a standard of living that is one of the poorest in the world. Moreover, the nation is torn by conflicts between several dominant tribal units, especially the Lango, of which former President Obote is a member, and the Acholi, of which Brig. Basilio Olara Okello, who led the coup against President Obote, is a member.

This coup marks the second time that Mr. Obote has been deposed. The first overthrow occurred back in the early 1970s, when he was forced to flee the country when Idi Amin Dada seized power. Obote returned to Uganda

THE Washington Post

Uganda Again

UGANDA HAS BECOME a metaphor for everything that has gone wrong in Africa: violence, suffering, poverty, misgovernment.

Need it have been this way? From the British,

Ugandans took over a country better suited than

most others in Africa to making it on its own.

Tribal antagonisms, however, posed what so far

have been insuperable hurdles to coexistence, let

alone amity. A whole nation's prospects have been ravaged. In the years of independence, hundreds of thousands of Ugandans, most of them civilians, have been killed by soldiers, rebels and brigands, by guns and starvation. Continuing unrest ensures that the toll will mount higher still. ; Uganda has been cursed by the quality of its leadership. A civilian, Milton Obote, ruled arbitrar-

July 30, 1985

, JULY 30, 1985

in 1980, after the toppling of Mr. Amin.

For all his criticism of former President Amin, Obote did not set a particularly better record on human rights, according to the London-based Amnesty International.

In addition to the conflicts between the two northern tribal groupings, the Lango and Acholi, Obote's government has had to deal with a growing insurgency movement in the southern part of the nation. Charges of atrocities and harsh repression have continued to be leveled against Kampala under Obote, as was they were under Amin.

Will that unhappy state of affairs continue under the new regime? Surely, what Uganda most needs is a period of relative stability so that the people of that geographically lovely territory can begin to grapple with the tasks of nation building that are so urgently required.

Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, who is not related to Idi Okello, who led the coup, has now been sworn in as Uganda's new President. Both he and Brigadier Okello promise free elections. The international community should hold Uganda's new leadership to that pledge. In the meantime, international pressure should be maintained on the new regime to exercise as much restraint as possible. As it goes about its difficult task of establishing immediate authority in the Ugandan countryside.

particular place in the new political order is not yet confirmed, confidence in the new leadership is not heightened by the fact that, from exile in Saudi Arabia, Idi Amin has hailed the coup and pronounced himself ready to rescue Uganda.

It would not be surprising to find that many Ugandans believe their country needs a strong ruler to restore a semblance of order. This is the rationale for a new coup and the basis for the certain nostalgia for Idi Amin that is reported to exist in some sectors of Ugandan society. But can a new leadership find the touch for tribal politics that has been lacking for so many years? Therein lies what hope exists for Uganda to turn away from its self-destructive course and to start taking real advantage of its substantial economic potential.

ily in the 1960s. A general thought by many to be a likely savior, Idi Amin, seized power in 1971. Gen. Amin turned out to be a murderous monster. Mr. Obote returned to power at the end of the 1970s with the help of rebel forces and an invading Tanzanian army. The Tanzanian intervention broke the African norm of respect for national borders, but

seemed to be accepted in Uganda and by most African governments as the lesser evil compared to Gen. Amin,

In his second go, Mr. Obote was sadly unable to heal tribal wounds or to contain the brutality of his undisciplined army. He has now been ousted by another general, Basilio Olaro Okello. Although his

#### COUP IN UGANDA

ain made Uganda a protectorate in 1894, it was trying to make a single unit of five independent, often-warring kingdoms and dozens of tiny mini-states. ; The British favored the Baganda tribe centered on Kampala and the Baganda prospered under their colonial patrons. Since independence, the Acholi, Langi and to a lesser extent other tribes, have been

evening the score with the Baganda.  
Mr. Obote's regimes saw widespregd  
persecution of the Baganda, while in his  
second regime Roman Catholic Baganda in  
Kampala and just to its north suffered en-  
ormously. Perhaps half a million people

Lt

(CONTINUED)

were driven from their homes, while thou-  
sands were murdered or disappeared into  
prison. camps.

Many Catholics told visitors life was  
better for them under Idi Amin.

One offer Uganda doesn't need came  
yesterday from Idi Amin, who lives in  
Saudi Arabia. "I support the coup. I call on  
all members of the armed forces to reunite  
and I am ready to rescue Uganda," Gen.  
Amin told Reuters.

Brig. Okello, who participated in the  
1979 overthrow of Gen. Amin, is unlikely to  
accept.



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR JULY 29, 1985 ETHIOPIA PLANS EVACUATION OF ITS  
LARGEST RELIEF CAMP.. (CONTINUED)

After coup in Uganda,  
more instability expected

By David K. Willis  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor  
London

Following the weekend military  
coup that toppled Ugandan Presi-  
dent Milton Obote, the outlook for  
the once-prosperous East African  
nation is for more regional and tri-  
bal conflict.

Political instability in an African  
state means once again that urgent  
economic and social problems, in-  
cluding hunger and debt, are simply  
not being tackled with full re-  
sources, experts here say.

On Sunday, the new military  
leader, Brig. Bazilio Olara Okello,  
suspended the Constitution, dis-  
solved parliament, and dismissed  
all government ministers. As of  
July 28, all borders remained sealed  
and Entebbe airport was closed.  
Foreign-exchange dealings were  
also suspended.

Uganda, whose physical beauty  
and resources once moved Winston  
Churchill to call it "the pearl of Af-  
rica," is landlocked and poor. Its  
birthrate is so high that its popula-  
tion of 15 million people is set to  
jump to 27 million by the year 2000,  
UN figures show.

At the heart of Saturday's coup  
was a sharp rivalry between two  
northern tribes that had originally  
come together to oppose guerrillas  
in the richer south of the country  
and a southern political movement  
called the Democratic Party.

The northern alliance was be-  
tween two Nilotic tribes, the Lango,  
of which Mr. Obote is a member,  
and the Acholi, which have formed  
the core of the Ugandan Army since  
British colonial days.

The Acholi say that Obote pro-  
moted his own Lango officers at the  
expense of themselves. The main  
grievance: In 1983, Obote appointed  
a Lango, Col. Smith Opon Acak, to  
be Army commander over a more  
senior Acholi officer, Brigadier  
Okello.

After a long period of smoldering

tension, Acholi troops staged a recent mutiny. On Saturday, Okello's troops entered the capital of Kampala, firing guns and chanting support of the Democratic Party. Obote fled to Kenya by helicopter.

It was the second time he had been deposed by troops. The first was in 1971 when Idi Amin Dada

took power; he held it brutally for nine years until his ouster by Ugandan exiles and Tanzanian troops. Obote returned in 1980 after spending his exile in Tanzania.

But Obote's rule failed to solve economic problems, and guerrillas and political opponents fought on, convinced he had rigged elections in 1980. A National Resistance Army was formed in 1981, led by Yoweri Museveni, a former defense minister.

Charges of Amin-like atrocities continued. Last month Amnesty International, the London-based human-rights group, issued a report alleging extreme brutality by Obote's troops against captured guerrillas of the National Resistance Army in a Kampala barracks. Ugandan officials denied the report but refused to admit outside observers to their prisons.

Now that Obote has gone, the question is whether Okello and his army can come to terms with Mr. Museveni and his southern resistance army.

Coup leaders have appealed to Museveni by radio to join them. Museveni, in Sweden July 27, told the Sunday Times (London) that he

welcomed the coup. His men had been in touch with the new leaders and would work out a national solution with them, Museveni said.

In a hint of troubles to come, however, he warned coup officers not to set up a military government. The National Resistance Army, he said, wanted a return to democracy.

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation, Museveni called for talks leading to an interim coalition government.

â\200\234We are nationalists,â\200\235 he said, â\200\234and we oppose tribalism and sectionalism. . . . We will not accept any kind of military rule.â\200\235

Museveni, who hopes to play a prominent role in any new government, said Obote would have to â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230face chargesâ\200\231 for the disappearance of 300,000 people (as outlined in the recent Amnesty International report). He dismissed offers from former leader Amin, now living in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, to return to Uganda.

Meanwhile, former Ugandan President Godfrey Binaisa, who held office for one year after Amin was ousted in 1979 and was then deposed by Obote, now plans to

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drought-hit northern Ethiopia, there is still time to sow vegetables, especially cabbage and potatoes, to supplement whatever grain is handed out at distribution points, Mr. Dawit said.

Journalists who visited Makelle, the capital of Tigray province, were told last week that the entire population would walk home tomorrow, provided there were seeds and tools.

The peasants ate the seeds at the height of the famine and sold their tools to peasants in less drought-stricken areas in exchange for a very small amount of money to feed their families.

At the height of the emergency, Makelle was a place that told the full agony of the famine.

But journalists who visited the center last week found almost 1,000 tents planted in regimented fashion on the edge of town and chubby, cheerful children running barefoot along the muddy tracks.

Red Cross officials said the death rate, once as high as 500 people a month, had fallen to around 70, although rain in May increased that to around 150 because of respiratory illnesses such as bronchitis,

Checks should be made out to Ethiopia Relief and sent to Ethiopia Relief, Carroliton Bank of Baltimore, PA00SBOX 1391, Baltimore, MD

People interested in volunteering should call Clergy and Laity Concerned, 962-8333.

return to Kampala.

Mr. Binaisa, who has been living in London, told the BBC that he was â\200\230â\200\230de-lightedâ\200\235â\200\235 that Obote had been removed: â\200\234Obote was a tribal warlord presiding over a tribal army,â\200\235 the former President said. Binaisa also hopes to be involved in talks that might lead to a new government.

For the moment, Okello holds power in Kampala, with Museveni ready to fight

on in the south if quick talks are not held.

Along with heavy looting and car thefts in Kampala, some homes of the 1,100 British residents of the capital were rifled, according to Peter Penfold, the acting British high commissioner.

By telephone from Kampala, Mr Penfold told the BBC July 28 that â\200\234â\200\230one or twoâ\200\231â\200\231 British residents had been assaulted but no serious injuries were reported. A British military training team in Jinja had reported all quiet there, he said, but in Kampala looting continued. Parts of the city were without electricity.

Penfold had advised all British residents to stay off the streets.

## TUTU TO DEFY FUNERAL BAN

(Continued)

thorities to put them out of action

with mass arrests under the emer-

gency regulations imposed July 21.

Although the township, which ad-

joins the small Orange Free State

town of Parys, lies just outside the

emergency area, local residents say

it is being subjected to much the

same kind of crackdown by police

acting under the country's standing

security laws, which also permit in-

definite detention without charges.

Five community leaders have

been detained since the emergency

was declared July 21, and four have

been in detention for three months.

Fifteen others have gone into hiding

to avoid detention.

Yet the funeral rally was well organized, with an elab-

orate program of speeches and stewards keeping a tight control over the worked-up crowd while armed police watched from distant rooftops.

Several of the organizers said in interviews that they had come out of hiding to help with the arrangements, and would return underground after the funeral.

Speakers appealed to the crowd to give refuge to activists if they knocked on their doors at night. To try to stop this, the police reportedly are enforcing an unofficial curfew, ordering people into their homes at 7 p.m. each evening.

Today's funeral in Tumahole was for three persons killed in a clash with police Saturday at a rally to commemorate the first anniversary of an uprising in the township against an attempt by township administrators to increase house rents.

As at other such funerals, the three-hour ceremony in a community hall quickly turned into a political rally, with the packed crowd unfurling banners, chanting slogans and singing freedom songs, all of which is prohibited under the restrictions that apply to the main emergency areas around Johannesburg and in eastern Cape Province.

An early test of whether black activists and clerics will defy the ban in the emergency areas, and of how the authorities will react if they do, will be provided Saturday, when a funeral is due to be held in Zwede township in eastern Cape Province.

Tutu said in an interview today that he would not be at that funeral but that he might attend another in Duduza township, near Johannesburg, next week.

Tutu was impassioned in his plea to the government to lift the ban on political speeches and processions at the funerals, which have provided the main occasions of black political expression during the 11 months of rebellion against the apartheid system of segregation.

â\200\234You say the funerals are becoming political, but

where else can we speak?â\200\235 Tutu asked. â\200\234We cannot enter your Parliament. I asked to speak to your state president, but he refused. Now how are we to tell you how we feel?â\200\235

Tutu said it is part of African tradition for the community to share in a familyâ\200\231s grief.

â\200\234How then are you going to keep the people away?â\200\235 he asked. â\200\234Last week, in KwaThema township there were 50,000 people at the funeral. How do you tell them there must be only 1,000?â\200\235

â\200\234How do you disperse 49,000 people, unless it is that you intend using the police and the Army and having a confrontation in which more of our people will die?â\200\235

Imploring the authorities not to create new points of

Continued on page 14

NEW YORK TIMES,

AUGUST 2, 1985

Cholera Reported Spreading  
In Ethiopia Capital and Sudan

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Aug. 1 -â\200\224  
A disease that medical authorities believe is cholera appears to be spreading rapidly here in the Ethiopian capital.

Similar reports have also been received from the Sudan.

â\200\234We have a cholera epidemic on our hands,â\200\235 a European doctor said. â\200\230I donâ\200\231t think thereâ\200\231s any real doubt about that at this point.â\200\235

The doctor said about 50 new cases a day were coming in to the hospital where he works. A Western diplomat who has been monitoring the situation gave a â\200\230â\200\230rough estimateâ\200\231â\200\235 of 300 new cases daily in Addis Ababa.

Cholera is spread by human waste

from infected people, either by direct contact or through food and water.

#### Especially Deadly to Children

There are no reliable estimates so far of mortality rates. But several doctors, diplomats and relief workers said chances for survival appeared to be high for those who got treatment early.

The main concern, they said, is for those in Addis Ababa's shanty neighborhoods who do not get to hospitals in time. When left untreated, cholera can kill within eight hours. The disease is especially deadly to children.

It may be spreading very quickly in parts of the city where sanitation is poor and water resources are scarce, a diplomat said. It will not be easy to bring this thing under control.

Spokesmen for Ethiopia's Ministry of Health and other Government departments have declined to comment on the reports.

On several occasions, the Government has denied the existence of cholera in Ethiopia, saying cases that appeared to be cholera were really acute diarrhea. The results of Government tests from suspected cholera victims have never been released.

According to foreign doctors here, hospital employees have been in-

THE WASHINGTON Post

Sudan Won't Join

Associated Press

The Sudanese government, despite its participation in previous U.S. military exercises, declined an invitation to participate in next week's Bright Star maneuvers with American forces, a Defense Department spokesman said yesterday.

Fred S. Hoffman, the spokesman, said he could not discuss the reasons offered by Sudan for passing up the long-scheduled exercises.

But another senior Pentagon of-

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structed not to speak of the epidemic under threat of imprisonment.

Western aid officials and diplomats believe that cholera has been spreading in Ethiopia since December, when

the first cases were spotted in Assaya, a famine relief camp near the border with Djibouti.

An unpublished analysis from the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta reports that cholera has been present, though not officially declared so, in the region since at least January 1985.

Outbreaks have been reported since in the north and south of the country, in neighboring Somalia and Djibouti and in the eastern Sudan, which has camps for Ethiopian refugees.

Until now, however, there have been only a few scattered cases of suspected cholera in Addis Ababa.

Sudan Epidemic Reported  
Special to The New York Times

KHARTOUM, the Sudan, Aug. 1  
Cholera, thought to have been under control in this country, has reached epidemic proportions in some areas, according to doctors and hospital officials.

More than 50 cases have been identified at hospitals. But the Sudanese Government has so far refused to confirm the existence of the disease. Authorities with the Sudanese Commission on Refugees insist on terming cholera severe, acute gastro-enteritis.

The disease, first identified at the refugee camp at Wad Kowli, in the eastern Sudan, spread first to neighboring refugee camps. Doctors say they have been able to keep the death rate in the camps very low, below 5 percent. From the refugee camps the cholera has spread to surrounding villages.

The death rate from cholera in Khartoum and Port Sudan is said to be much higher than in the refugee camps.

August 2, 1985

U.S. Maneuvers

Official who asked not to be identified said authorities were concerned that the decision was prompted by Libyan overtures to Sudan. The official said Libyan delegations had paid several visits to Sudan since an April 6 coup toppled the government of President Jaafar Nimeri. The official also said that while no Pentagon announcement had been made, the Mideast country of Oman was joining Egypt, Jordan and Somalia in participating this year.



## NEW LEADER SWORN IN

(Continued)

the countryâ\200\231s â\200\234leader.â\200\235 Today the government said that an executive prime minister would be appointed and that he would appoint a Cabinet. o

Onlyâ\200\231one minister iri th& formerâ\200\231 government, Chris Rawkasisi, head of security in the presidentâ\200\231s office, was reported to be under arrest,

Government employes, including heads of departments, were told to report to work on Tuesday.

ylâ\200\230he deposed president, Milton Obote, 60, is now in western Kenya, according to western diplomats in Nairobi. Diplomats said Obote, who fled Kampala by car the night before the coup, was in seclusion near the city of Nakuru at Kabarak, the private farm of Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi. ;

Ugandaâ\200\231s new jeadër, who delivered a speech on Radio Uganda last night before it was clear that he would take control of the country, called Obote a â\200\234dirty manâ\200\235 who â\200\234has damaged the name of Ugandan citizens.â\200\235

The U.S. State Department charged last year that about 200,000 Ugandans were killed or disappeared during the five years of Oboteâ\200\231s second period in office. He was previously deposed by Idi Amin in 1971,

Amnesty International recently issued a report documenting what it called â\200\234widespread and systematic use of torture against detainees.â\200\235 Ugandan Army soldiers, who are ill-paid and undisciplined, have been blamed for the violence.

In the weeks leading up to Saturdayâ\200\231s coup, there had been escalating tribal tension within the Ugandan Army between soldiers from the northern Acholi and Langi tribes. Western diplomats said today that Tito Okello, an Acholi, used this tribal rivalry, which had been festering for years within the Army, to seize power.

According to the diplomats, Acholi soldiers, traditionally the backbone of the Army, have been increasingly restive and ill-disciplined since early last fall when Obote, a Langi, appointed another Langi, Smith Opon Acak, to be Army chief of staff. Since then, Acholi soldiers had complained that members of their tribe were being disproportionately wounded and killed in front-line fighting against rebels in western Uganda, while Langi soldiers were receiving more than their share of promotions.

Tito Okello, a longtime ally of Oboteâ\200\231s, reportedly wanted the chief of staff job or, at the very least, wanted the job to go to an Acholi, diplomats say. The appointment of Opon Acak is believed to have caused a rift in Okelloâ\200\231s relationship with the president. The rift turned two weeks ago into armed conflict between Acholi

and Langi soldiers.

; Early last week, in what Okello described last night as a safari, the general left Kampala with about 20 military trucks and traveled north toward the town of Gulu. Diplomats say that on the way, Okello stopped off at Army garrisons to round up sympathetic Acholis.

At about the same time, another Acholi officer, Brig. Basilio Olara Okello (no relation to the new leader), led a mutiny of his troops and began moving south toward Kampala. While Basilio

TUTU TO DEFY (Continued)

confrontation that would make an already worse situation, Tutu said: "We ask you, for the sake of the children and of this land, please withdraw this legislation."

Please allow us to bury the people who have been killed because of apartheid as we would like to bury them. Do not rub salt into our wounds."

Switching to a more determined tone, the Nobel laureate warned that if the government did not respond to his plea and the ban remained, "then I shall speak as I always do, and if to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ as I believe God commands me to preach it means that I must go to jail, then I am ready to go."

: Police headquarters in Pretoria said a black police officer and two suspected insurgents were killed today in a shootout between police and a guerrilla band near East London.

Two other insurgents and a police officer were wounded in the clash, which the statement said took place when the guerrillas were intercepted on their way to sabotage a power station.

In an attempt to stamp out student activism in the eastern Cape village of Graaff-Reinet, the local police chief, Brigadier J. Kotze, promulgated emergency reg-

ulations today making it a crime for any pupil to be out-

side school classrooms in the village's black township of Adendorp between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.

EMERGENCY SHATTERS (Continued)  
leaders cling to.

'Most observers believe that the emergency will create at least a brief lull. Pretoria should take advantage of that lull, Giliomee argues, to make the kind of bold, good-will gesture that the shah was incapable of making. But the government appears unwilling to make any concessions under pressure for fear of looking weak. What is more likely, observers say, is that tranquility will be temporary and that the spiral of violence and reaction will begin again soon.

o

Okello led the soldiers who seized Kampala on

Saturday, several western diplomats believe that Tito Okello orchestrated the coup.

Uganda became infamous for high-level corruption and violence beginning with Amin's rule. But Tito Okello, the most senior official in the Obote government known to be involved in the new military regime, enjoys a reputation for integrity.

A career military man, he enlisted as a private in the King's African Rifles in 1940. In 1962, when Uganda became independent from Britain, he became a lieutenant in the new Army and within eight years had become chief of staff. Okello did not last long in that job, however, and he was serving as commander of 2,000 troops in southern Uganda in 1971 when Amin seized power from Obote.

From exile in Tanzania, the two worked to oust Amin. A year later Okello led a band of 1,000 ill-trained and ill-equipped Ugandans on an abortive two-day invasion of their homeland.

After returning to Uganda in 1979 in a successful military operation (which he did not lead) that drove Amin into his own exile, Okello served as Army commander under Obote.

In his radio speech last night, Okello reassured his compatriots, saying, "The military coup is not affecting you, as you are citizens . . . . I would like you to keep your confidence in your country."

L4

August 2, 1985

Opposing views

on South Africa  
By Wiil Englund

A State Department aide defended the Reagan administration's policy on South Africa before a conference of black journalists here yesterday. He was followed by an American and a South African who roundly denounced that policy.

Frank G. Wisner, deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, told the convention of the National Association of Black Journalists that the United States can best bring its influence to bear against apartheid "the racial policy pursued by the South African government" through "quiet diplomacy," "public diplomacy," and efforts to train and educate South African blacks.

"The only way you change people's minds is to be involved with them," he said. "We thought long and hard about the tools available to

us.â\200\235 Sanctions, such as those approved by a House-Senate conference committee Wednesday, limit U.S. influence and hurt blacks more than whites, he said.

â\200\234We cannot wash our hands of the situation,â\200\235 he said.

Neo Mnumzana, the chief representative of the African National Congress in S thessUnited States, supported sanctions. â\200\234We have no further to fall,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234The suffering of the people of South Africa is not of the future.â\200\235

Blacks in South Africa, he said, live â\200\234a life of poverty, disease and ignorance.â\200\235 The white government has â\200\234sought to create a heaven for white people and a veritable inferno for blacks.â\200\235

Mr. Mnumzana compared the efforts of American companies to create new opportunities for South African blacks to â\200\234polishing the chains of slavery.â\200\235 The most those efforts can accomplish, he said, is to make that slavery â\200\234comfortable.â\200\235

â\200\234There is no historical evidence that apartheid will ever be persuaded to change,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234This is the time to move to isolate apartheid.â\200\235

Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, the group that organized the demonstrations outside the South African Embassy beginning last fall, said, â\200\234This administration and this president are soundly and squarely on the side of the white minority. This administration has reduced our country in the eyes of the world to disgrace.

The sanctions approved Wednesday show that â\200\234we are now turned asg nation in the right direction,â\200\235 he said.

Mr. Wisner said he does not know what President Reagan will do about the sanctions if they win final approval in Congress or what the State Department would recommend.

CONFEREES IN CONGRESS  
(Continued)

this remark as encouraging.

The committee met for more than two hours this afternoon. It suddenly began moving toward agreement after Mr. Lugar offered the House conferees a compromise, which they accepted after meeting among themselves for half an hour.

The provision to ban the sale of krugerrands was part of the House bill and House conferees attached major importance to its symbolic and economic significance.

The ban on sales of the coins could be waived by the President if he finds that South Africa has met one of eight conditions set by Congress as indicating racial progress.

In exchange, the House agreed to drop a provision that would have imposed an immediate ban on new investment in South Africa.

The compromise would retain sanctions already approved by the Senate that bar the sale of computers to agencies such as the police that enforce apartheid,

The House accepted a Senate provision that linked further sanctions to a Presidential finding that South Africa had not made sufficient progress toward ending apartheid. Under the measure, the President would have to recommend within 12 months at least

IS THERE TIME TO TALKS ABOUT APARTHEID?

tion. They hope to bring to South-West Africa, known as Namibia, and the withdrawal of the 30,000 Cuban troops in Angola. .

The Administration thought that by avoiding criticism of South Africa, in an approach known as "constructive entanglement" a Namibian accord could be hammered out. The United States offered a compromise plan for Namibia in March, but it was swept aside as South Africa launched new military attacks on neighboring

countries and sent police and army troops against black protesters. With pressure for sanctions rising, the Administration

one of several specified sanctions if he found South Africa had not made sufficient progress toward ending apartheid. The original Senate bill had called for an 18-month delay.

The President could choose from

among a ban on new investment, denial of most-favored-nation status, a ban on the importation of South African coal and uranium or other economic sanctions.

Members of the conference committee said the intensifying violence in South Africa made quick action on sanctions essential.

Representative Solarz said the conference committee was a watershed in Congressional actions on South Africa. The House has previously approved sanction bills, but has been unable to win support in the Senate.

#### Republicans Back Sanctions

This year, however, Senate Republicans joined in calling for sanctions against Pretoria. Mr. Solarz noted that although the conferees differed on specifics, they nearly all agreed that the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa had proved inadequate.

What we're doing is saying Kaddish to the policy of constructive engagement, he said. Kaddish, he noted,

called home Ambassador Herman W. Nickel last month. Then South Africa proclaimed the state of emergency, setting off a shock wave in Washington, where long meetings, between Mr. Reagan and Cabinet members produced new ideas. The Administration still hopes for dialogue between moderate blacks and the Government that would cover the whole range of grievances and work out a way to end apartheid. True peace will come only when apartheid ends and when the Government negotiates with, rather than locks up, representative black leaders, Mr. Shultz

#### THE TIGHT REIN

(Continued)

is the prayer Jewish people say for the dead.

Representative Parren J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maryland, a civil rights leader in the 1960s, angrily rebuffed suggestions by a Republican colleague that sanctions would harm blacks in South Africa more than the Government. Mr. Mitchell reminded Mark D. Siljander, Republican of Michigan, that a similar argument had been made against ending America's system of racial segregation.

Mr. Mitchell said a ban on the sale of krugerrands would have symbolic importance. You know me slightly, I'm

a very proud man,â\200\235 he told the Senate conferees. â\200\230I donâ\200\231t ask for anything unless I can avoid it. I am pleading with you to take that one quantum step.â\200\235

The Senate language accepted by the conferees would ban only new bankâ\200\231 loans to the South African Government. Loans by American banks to Pretoria totaled \$343 million as of September 1984, down 50 percent from the 1982 level.

Ban by Chase Reported  
Chase Manhattan has stopped making loans to private borrowers in South Africa, banking sources said, putting pressure on other banks.

(Continued)  
said. But how can such a dialogue be arranged?  
The violence among blacks seems aimed in part

chance only if the South African authorities released Nelson Mandela, a leader of the African National Congress, who has been in since 1962 and is 67 years old. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, also called for his release last week. â\200\230â\200\234Mandela is the only black who

Government,â\200\235 . the American official said.  
â\200\234There isnâ\200\231t much time left for dialogue.â\200\235

kicked open by policemen empowered with the right to detain without charge and search without warrant. Some sought to compare South Africaâ\200\231s turmoil with the demise of white minority rule in Zimbabwe to the

north. There, as here, the blacks had the numbers, while the authorities had the guns and laws of their own creation to stamp their will on a reluctant majority. There, too, civil rights were suspended as a result of failure to wrest a peaceful solution from the bloody racial contest.

But in South Africa there are critical differences. There is, for instance, no colonial power to broker a settlement as Britain did in what was known as Rhodesia. Afrikaner resolve is stiffened by a history of raw struggle across the centuries that has left the Afrikaners with nowhere else to go but the land they have fought so many forces â\200\224 British colonialists as well as blacks â\200\224 to control. If the state of emergency could be seen as an acknowledgement of political bankruptcy, it was, too, a statement of resolve.

For the immediate future, the odds favor the authorities, desperately seeking to defend what they call reforms. Black activists, for instance, saw some hope for their cause in the launching of economic boycotts of

. white-owned shops. â\200\234â\200\230Blacks, buy black!â\200\235 a militant chanted at a funeral for 15 victims of the unrest in KwaThema, 35 miles east of Johannesburg. But under the emergency powers, the authorities may simply close down any business and so force township residents to buy

white or go hungry. The list of powers is all-encompassing. Detention may last indefinitely, curfews may be imposed, areas may simply be closed to outside scrutiny. The intention, apparently, was to use overwhelming power to excise dissent from black townships where local black government has all but collapsed. The authorities

seemed confident, too, that a string of security deals with neighboring black nations would prevent any challenge by the exiled African National Congress. Officials believe the congress has been rendered ineffective even though it is still a rallying point for many blacks.

Against this was Pretoria's mounting diplomatic isolation. France recalled its ambassador last week and brought about a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, which called on the world community to apply economic sanctions. Although the United States abstained, along with Britain, it too has criticized South Africa's recent conduct. It was a troubling development to Afrikaners, who crave acceptance in the West but whose desire for survival is even stronger. y

There were other signs to trouble the authorities. Figures released last week showed immigration into the country in the first four months of 1985 was down 25 percent from the same period last year, while emigration was up by 17 percent. There was a net gain of about 5,000 whites, but that figure was 40 percent lower than last year's. In the meantime the black population is growing fast while its readiness for compromise is being increasingly challenged by the radicals of the black townships.



THE WASHINGTON Post By Michael Weisskopf July 31, 1985 -

U.S.â\200\224Military Planning Maneuvers in Mideast

U.S. military forces will stage maneuvers next month in Egypt, Jordan, Oman and Somalia, Defense Department officials said yesterday. It will be the first large-scale display of American military might in the region since the Beirut hostage crisis last month.

Pentagon spokesman Fred S. Hoffman said 9,000 U.S. servicemen will participate in the third major â\200\234Bright Starâ\200\235 military exercise with Egypt, a six-day maneuver scheduled to start Sunday.

The exercise will feature an amphibious landing on Egypt's Mediterranean coast, desert maneuvers and a simulated B52 bomber strike, he said.

A smaller â\200\234combined trainingâ\200\235 exercise in Jordan involving 520 U.S. troops will run until Aug. 17,

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

said Hoffman, who declined to give further details about it.

Maneuvers in both Middle East nations, he said, are intended to provide â\200\234an opportunity for U.S. and other friendly forces to engage in combined land, naval and air training to enable each side to benefit from the otherâ\200\235 expertise.â\200\235

No counterterrorist exercises

are planned, Hoffman said, despite Reagan administration warnings in the wake of the Beirut crisis that the United States will root out terrorists in the Middle East.

Hoffman said at least one other country in the region will participate in joint maneuvers with U.S. troops next month under the code name Bright Star. He would not identify which country or countries will be involved.

A military source said the Pen-

tagon will announce Somaliaâ\200\235 participation today. Somalia is considered the closest U.S. ally on the Horn of Africa, where Washington

has tried to gain a military foothold

to guard access to the volatile and oil-rich Persian Gulf.

Oman, the Persian Gulf sultanate; also will join U.S. troops in a small military exercise, but its participation will not be publicly disclosed because of Oman's fears of angering its Arab neighbors.

Washington has been engaged in delicate negotiations with Oman, which is seeking greater control over U.S. access to its strategically located airfields and other military facilities.

Oman's bases are considered extremely important for operations the U.S. Central Command in a Persian Gulf military crisis.

JULY 31, 1985

#### Change Without Promise in Uganda

Milton Apollo Obote's second administration as president of Uganda has now ended like his first, with a military coup. The first revolt, in 1971, gave the beautiful East African country the nightmare of Idi Amin. The results this time are unlikely to be so

blood-curdling; still, there seems little optimism.

basis for

\* For more than two decades, Mr. Obote has been responsible for most of Uganda's economic ad-

vances and most of its political debacles.

The agri-

cultural economy grew by more than 4 percent a year during his first rule in the 1960s, contracted throughout the capricious savagery of the Amin years and began to grow again, albeit more modest-

ly, following Mr. Obote's return in 1980.

But Mr. Obote permanently alienated the country's largest tribal group, the Baganda, when he sent in the army to crush their traditional autonomy in 1966. His partisans almost certainly rigged the election that returned him to power in 1980, and both Amnesty International and the State Department

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have since reported widespread violations of human rights, as his troops tried unsuccessfully to contain a guerrilla challenge.

Still, it was neither Mr. Obote's principal victims nor his democratic opponents who brought him down, either then or now. Both times, trouble radiated from jealousies within the minority tribal groups in the military that were his main base of support. In 1971, Idi Amin struck soon after losing the post of army Chief of Staff. This time, Gen. Tito Okello, the new interim President, turned against Mr. Obote for failing to appoint him, or at least a member of his Acholi tribe, when that same position again became vacant. :

Thus the very commanders who could not defeat a guerrilla challenge or curb human rights violations by their subordinates will now rule Uganda, at least until the elections promised for next year. Perhaps reconciliation, recovery and respect for human rights will emerge from this coup, as promised. So far, it is hard to see how,

Cut on line-~

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