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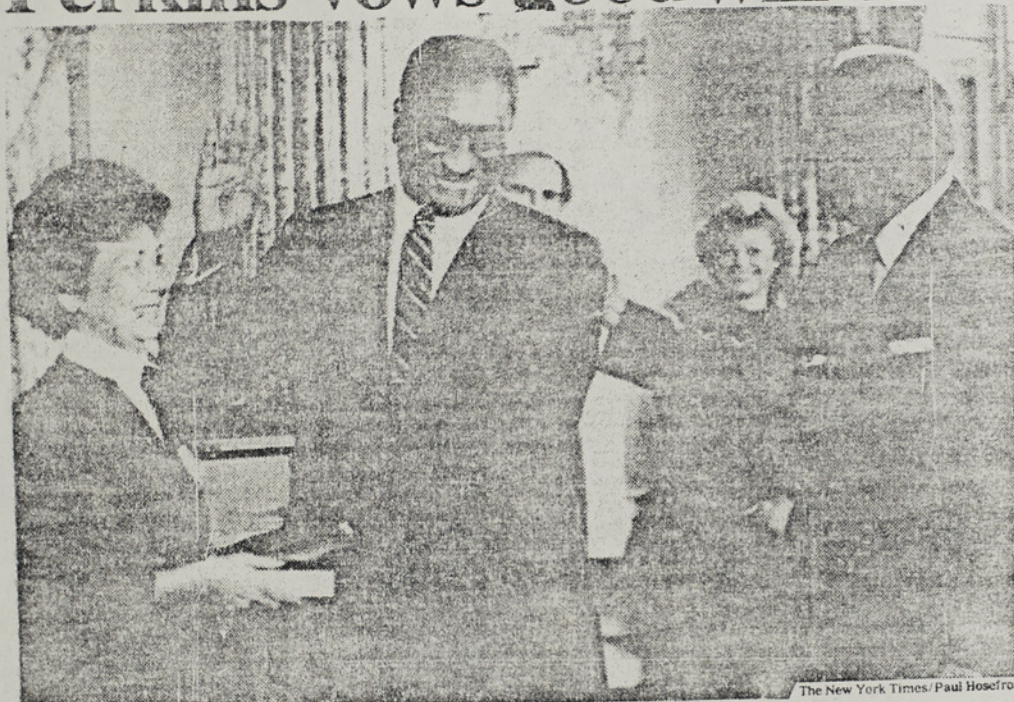
November 7, 1986

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NOVEMBER 4, 1986

The Washington Times

## Perkins vows goodwill to all S. Africa



By Rita McWilliams  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Edward J. Perkins, the black diplomat sworn in yesterday as U.S. ambassador to South Africa, promised to take a unified American message and "the utmost of goodwill" to every faction of the racially torn nation.

"All Americans share the same goals," Mr. Perkins said. "The American people have forcefully expressed their abhorrence of apartheid and their desire for a foreign policy that works to facilitate peaceful change in South Africa."

"Americans should be proud of our willingness to remain involved in difficult issues and difficult situations," Mr. Perkins said in a speech often interrupted by applause.

Mr. Perkins will assume his South African post later this month, on the heels of the biggest foreign policy fight Congress has had with President Reagan. That battle ended last month with Congress overriding a presidential veto of sanctions legislation.

"A festering debate that had become a distraction from the real issues can now be set aside," Secretary of State George Shultz said at the ceremony.

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NOVEMBER 4, 1986

NEW ENVOY TO PRETORIA: Edward J. Perkins being sworn in yesterday as American Ambassador to South Africa. Secretary of State George P. Shultz is at right. Mr. Perkins's wife, Lucy, held Bible at State Department

THE WASHINGTON POST

## Moderate Marxist Succeeds Machel

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 3—Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's pragmatic, westward-leaning foreign minister, was named president today, succeeding President Samora Machel, who was killed two weeks ago in a plane crash just inside South Africa, it was announced in Maputo.

Chissano, 47, a close ally of Machel, served briefly as Mozambique's prime minister 10 years ago while Machel consolidated his power base as the country won its in-

dependence from Portugal. He was elected in an emergency meeting of the 130-member Central Committee of the ruling Frelimo Party.

The announcement was made by Marcelino dos Santos, a pro-Soviet Marxist ideologue and the second-highest official in the party—and a man who had been regarded as a major contender in the succession struggle.

Hundreds of Mozambicans, gathered outside the hall where the Central Committee met, cheered and celebrated at the announcement, according to press reports from Maputo.

Chissano, who is popular with ordinary Mozambicans, was the favorite candidate of western governments, partly because of his soft-spoken, moderate approach to world diplomacy, and partly because of his pragmatism in balancing his government's relations between its Soviet patrons and the West.

Under Machel, Chissano had in recent months guided Mozambique toward a middle road in which the Marxist-Leninist government sought to maintain its close ties with the Soviet Union, while seeking financial assistance from the

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Selected by AF/P for reference use by the Bureau of African Affairs,  
U. S. Department of State



# South African Pullout

October 22, 1986

With the decisions of General Motors and IBM to leave South Africa, the pullout of American companies is accelerating. The actions have brought cheers from many foes of apartheid who have wanted to break all U.S. ties so long as South Africa continues its odious racial practices. But the cheers may be premature, because pullouts can do more harm than good unless carefully done.

Most of the 28 companies that have withdrawn or announced divestment plans this year have been supporters of the Sullivan Principles, the code for racial equality in the work place that also commits the companies to work for an end to

apartheid. The implementation of those fair employment practices has not ended apartheid.

That was clear in the recent commitment of President Pieter W. Botha to oppose any change in the group areas act that legalizes segregation in housing. But the code's principles have been adopted by other companies.

The IBM announcement includes some encouraging elements. IBM will turn over its operations to a new South African company created "for the benefit of the employees," of whom 23% are

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OCTOBER 30, 1986

THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Why G.M. Decided To Quit South Africa

By Roger B. Smith

DETROIT — Of all the troubled places in the world, South Africa is probably the saddest because of missed opportunities. Chief among these has been the opportunity to bring all of the South African people into the economic and political mainstream of one of the richest and most promising countries on the continent.

General Motors has been in South Africa for 60 years, and we believe we played a positive role in the attempt to realize that opportunity. We believe our efforts to promote social progress and racial equality justified our being there. But several problems have now converged that make our presence in South Africa no longer possible.

The basic problem — one which all corporations must pay attention to — is the fact that our South African operations have been losing money for several years.

Clearly a major portion of our financial troubles was generated by the very existence of apartheid. And South Africa's failure to move away from apartheid at a rapid enough pace allowed the disruptive forces that come with racial separation to grow. These problems were further

THE NEW YORK TIMES

complicated by the actions of governments at all levels in the United States to restrict American businesses operating in South Africa. The convergence of all these things made our presence in South Africa no longer tenable.

We would have liked to have stayed, and we worked very hard to do so. We felt that as long as we could be a positive force for change in that country, our presence was merited — over and above what was happening to our balance sheet in the short term. But earlier this year, the tide of political and economic events turned.

Until then, American businessmen by and large were hopeful of convincing the South African Government to launch a new initiative to eliminate apartheid. A group of them formed the U.S. Corporate Council on South Africa to try to hasten work toward that end. The efforts of the council — of which I am co-chairman — were recognized by the South African Government. I visited the country and its President, P.W. Botha, in April and was reasonably encouraged by what I saw.

But it soon became clear that too little was happening too late. South Africa still lagged behind world opinion and unfolding events, and the country seemed unable to generate the momentum needed to produce the

progress the times required. Without this progress, the opportunity for American businesses to contribute to a satisfactory resolution of South Africa's political problem was severely diminished. Since the South African economy is so closely tied to political developments, chances of a near-term improvement in that deeply depressed economy seemed equally dim.

At that point, we had little choice but to leave. So we made the announcement last week that we planned to sell our South African operations to a group headed by local management. Our intention is to place ownership in the hands of our local employees — and to do everything in our power to insure the viability of the company so it can thrive in a difficult economic environment. Given the nature of our business and the kinds of restrictions now being imposed on companies operating in South Africa, this seems to us the only acceptable way to proceed.

Economics was a major factor in our withdrawal. But we also hope by our action — and those of other like-minded American businesses — to send a signal that we are disappointed in the slow pace of progress. We recognize, of course, that other American businesses face different

circumstances and must make their own decisions in light of them.

In withdrawing our assets, we intend to do all we can to provide for our 3,000 G.M. South African employees — more than 60 percent of whom are nonwhites — and their 15,000 dependents. We don't want them to suffer by our actions. We care a great deal about our employees and want to preserve the legacy we've left through our many years' contribution to improved housing, education and social welfare.

To do less would mean severe economic duress for a community already greatly distressed by the departure of other American businesses. For a number of our South African employees, it could mean starvation — literally.

South Africa is rich country, with potential wealth enough for all people to share in, regardless of race. What it needs most of all is extensive investment to create jobs for its rapidly growing population. And the sooner its Government opens the country to all its people, the sooner world business will be willing to invest there again. I personally look forward to the day when General Motors will be one of those investors.

Roger B. Smith is chairman of the General Motors Corporation.  
OCTOBER 30, 1986

## G.M. Workers in South Africa Go Out on Strike

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 29 — Employees of the General Motors Corporation in South Africa went on strike today, seeking a greater say in company affairs once the unit is sold to South African interests.

The strike was called by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, which represents 1,600 of G.M.'s 3,000 workers in South Africa. The strike was joined by members of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers of South Africa, effectively shutting down G.M.'s production in the coastal city of Port Elizabeth.

G.M. announced plans to sell its operations in South Africa on Oct. 20, citing continued losses at the unit and noting that there has been little progress toward ending apartheid,

the country's system of racial segregation. The company, however, will continue to sell automotive components to its former subsidiary.

### Meeting Held

Union officials met with company executives, including managing director Robert White, for two and a half hours today to discuss their concerns. After the meeting, many of the workers staged a sit-in at G.M.'s two plants. The union's general secretary, Fred Sauls, said 2,000 workers had entered the plants after the meeting, but a G.M. spokesman put the number at about 600.

"We had a discussion, and initially it was very tough," Mr. Sauls said. But he said that at the end of the negotiations some agreement had been

reached with management.

"If the present spirit that we ended on prevails," he said, "I'm convinced that within a day or two we can resolve the problems, depending on the attitude of the company."

A G.M. spokesman, Denis Brislin, manager of hourly paid personnel, described the talks as having been conducted in a "cordial manner."

G.M., in announcing the sale last week, had said that none of its 3,000 workers would go jobless. The auto union, though, is demanding greater guarantees for black workers, and wants two union-approved members appointed to the new board. The union also is demanding severance pay of one month for each year worked for G.M. upon its withdrawal, and the payment of pension funds.

Mr. Brislin said that no time had been set for a second round of talks. "We're quite willing to meet with them wherever they request it," he said, "but no definite plans were made."

### G.M. Silent on Strike

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, Oct. 29 — A spokesman for the General Motors Corporation said there would be no direct comment on the strike at the South African plant. However, he said issues involving treatment of employees "are part of the negotiations" now under way to sell G.M.'s equity in its South African subsidiary to a group of local managers.



THE SUN

# Botha drops 2 officials in shake-up

From Wire Reports

PRETORIA, South Africa — South African President P. W. Botha announced a government shake-up yesterday, dropping two controversial ministers who have played a prominent role in enforcing a national state of emergency.

The two officials, Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange and Information chief Louis Nel, were replaced by younger, less outspoken politicians.

Mr. Botha said at a news conference that the shake-up, cutting three posts from the 20-member Cabinet, would help him carry out constitutional reforms aimed at phasing out the apartheid system of

racial segregation.

Apart from Mr. Le Grange, the other top five ministers retained their posts. Analysts and diplomats said the shuffle was unlikely to result in significant policy changes but would give a new image to two high-profile and controversial government departments.

White opposition leader Colin Eglin said that the new Cabinet inspired no more confidence than the old and that the president had missed an opportunity to revitalize his government.

President Botha said Mr. Le Grange had indicated that he wanted a change after seven years of running internal security. Mr. Le

Grange, who has fought a battle against cancer, has been nominated for the post of speaker of the white chamber of Parliament, Mr. Botha said.

Under Mr. Le Grange, security forces have rounded up an estimated 20,000 detainees since the emergency was declared in June in the biggest crackdown in South African history.

He is replaced by Adriaan Vlok, who has been deputy minister of both defense and law and order. Mr. Vlok has a low-key approach and has developed good relations with opposition legislators.

The blunt-talking Mr. Nel, the

deputy minister for information, has helped implement restrictions on the media under the state of emergency. His job goes to Christoffel van der Merwe, a former diplomat and press spokesman who is considered to be one of the more liberal members of Parliament in Mr. Botha's ruling National Party.

Unlike Mr. Le Grange, Mr. Nel appeared to have fallen into disfavor with the president. Mr. Botha said Mr. Nel had been offered alternative posts but quipped that the information chief was "busy playing I love you, I love you not."

Mr. Nel had become embroiled in controversy over a costly project to promote a pop song calling for racial harmony among South Africans.

Mr. Botha said he believed that the changes would "further the interests of state administration and that the demands of these difficult times will possibly be handled more easily."

He announced a series of new appointments at deputy minister rank and said four ministers were retiring — Hendrik Schoeman, transport; Lapa Munnik, communications; Sarel Hayward, agriculture; and G. De Villiers Morrison, health.

Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers, a former rugby star, also was dropped.

The main contenders to succeed the president — Education Minister F. W. de Klerk, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis — all retained their posts.

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
NOVEMBER 2, 1986

## Song of Peace From Pretoria Stirrs Rancor

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 1 — The South African Government issued a \$1.9 million song for peace this week that has run into strong criticism from opposition groups.

The song, called "Together We Will Build a Brighter Future," was put out by the Bureau for Information, whose director, Dave Steward, described it as an attempt to communicate "with the vast majority of the people in this country."

Opponents of the Government, however, see the song and an accompanying videotape as a waste of money.

The Star newspaper, in an editorial, said, "Simply singing about togetherness won't make it come about."

It added that the \$1.9 million cost was "a high price to pay so that the state's propaganda bureau can indulge in a little premature jubilation — at our expense."

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

NOVEMBER 6, 1986

## S. African government fears results of US elections will spell more sanctions

By Ned Tarrico

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Few foreigners watched the United States mid-term election with such interest — and disappointment — as the South African government and its supporters.

"How did Reagan do?" probed a young, pro-government businessman across his Johannesburg shop counter early this morning. A few hours later, he and thousands of other South Africans received their answer atop the front page of the city's largest newspaper, The Star. "Reagan takes a thumping" the headline read, referring to the Republicans' loss of their majority in the US Senate.

"South Africa," the newspaper predicted, "can expect even more [sanctions] pressure when the 100th Congress convenes next year. While Republican senators led the [pro-]sanctions fight this year — against the wishes of their own President — it was clear the sanctions would have been more severe had the Democrats been in control, as they are now."

Opposition to sanctions — and gratitude for Ronald Reagan's opposition to them — is one of the few issues on which the South African government and at least some of their white-liberal rivals agree. The liberal opposition party in Parliament, the Progressive Federal Party, praised Reagan for his "courage" in attempting to head off congressional sanctions against South Africa last month.

Encouraging a widespread sense among South African pundits that the US election result could mean further sanctions, a top US business consultant told local reporters yesterday that the result was a "watershed" in US-South African ties. Joel Stern, a former executive at Chase Manhattan Bank, told a Johannesburg

luncheon gathering that American liberals were likely to press their assault on South African government policy, possibly going so far as to encourage US support for the antigovernment outlawed African National Congress.

The South African government has been playing down the impact of the congressional override of Reagan's sanction veto in early October. Officials have welcomed a provision in the bill — fashioned with the help of Republican Senator Richard Lugar — for an investigation of the ANC. The government has long argued that the ANC, the country's most prominent anti-apartheid organization, is a "terrorist" group doing the regional bidding of Moscow. ANC officials reject both allegations, but admit that some senior figures are members of the outlawed South African Communist Party.

The elections came just days before the scheduled arrival of Edward Perkins, the US's first black ambassador to South Africa.

At Mr. Perkins's swearing-in earlier this week, Secretary of State George Shultz stressed that "the means" not "the end" of the administration's policy caused Reagan's battle with Congress. "However much we may have disagreed about tactics, stronger sanctions against South Africa are now the law of the land and we are implementing that law," he said.

*This report was filed under South Africa's emergency regulations, which prohibit reporters from being "within sight" of any unrest, any "restricted gathering," or any "police actions"; from reporting on arrests made under the emergency regulations; and from relaying information, direct or indirect, derived from*



## Pretoria's isolation

**P**RETORIA's defiant reaction to its increasing isolation comes as no particular surprise. Proponents of Washington's "constructive engagement" policy had long predicted it. Nonetheless, Pretoria's decision to batten down the hatches and go it alone is both unnecessary and unfortunate.

The recent vote by Soviet-bloc and third-world delegates to expel South Africa from a conference of the International Red Cross in Geneva does not baffle a nonpolitical organization with an important humanitarian mission. Pretoria's quick response, ousting the International Red Cross mission working within South Africa, carries an adverse effect for the many refugees and jailed black political prisoners the Red Cross has watched over and helped.

Although South Africa is in the midst of one of its worst recessions, there are few signs that the punitive US, West European, and Japanese sanctions now taking effect will have serious economic consequences for Pretoria. There have been numerous reports that the government is holding seminars for South African businesses on ways to cope with the change. Some of the expected sanctions-skirting will be legal. Pretoria is likely to step up its trade with Taiwan and Israel, for instance. To counteract its loss of airline landing rights in the United States, Pretoria is stepping up its flights to London and other connecting points in Europe. Some of the response may be

more labyrinthine: South Africa in years past has deftly managed to avoid the worst effects of an international arms embargo by buying from nonsignatories and, reportedly, by importing some items under civilian guise later converted to military use.

The departure of IBM and General Motors from South Africa — among 70 US companies leaving in the last two years — is not expected to hurt Pretoria economically any more than the sanctions will. There is expected to be no loss of jobs. Still, whether or not the new owners will subscribe to the same fair-employment guidelines known as the Sullivan Principles and keep the same employees and benefits is an open question, which prompted GM's black South African employees to stage a protest sit-in this week.

Meanwhile, there has been no sign of a turnback in Pretoria's recent internal crackdown. Current press curbs, for instance, are expected to remain in place. And when the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid federation of some 600 groups, recently called for a nationwide protest against the four-month-old state of national emergency, Pretoria responded with action that stopped just short of banning the group, cutting it off from foreign funding help.

Such signs of pulling inward have also shown up in US-South African diplomatic relations. US officials in Pretoria report a sharp increase in canceled appointments

General Motors Corp. dismissed 500 striking workers in Port Elizabeth and called in South African police to remove them from the plants they had been occupying for several days. The workers were among 2,500 employees demanding severance pay following the auto maker's decision to sell its South African unit.

and unreturned phone calls.

Yet the current picture is not without positive signs. Most significant: the recent resolution adopted by the general synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, the church of most Afrikaners and a body that has long provided the key justification for apartheid. The new decision holds that racial separation is morally wrong and has no biblical foundation. Apartheid, the group agreed, cannot be accepted on Christian ethical grounds, since it runs counter to the concept of brotherly love and human dignity.

Also, Edward Perkins, soon to be Washington's first black ambassador to Pretoria, leaves with a specific mandate to step up US contacts with South African blacks. US sanctions may have helped to make that job easier.

It is sad that a defensive Pretoria remains somehow convinced that critics of apartheid will be satisfied only if the ruling white majority cedes all power. Such an all-or-nothing solution is not required for a more just and democratic South Africa — at least not yet. Dialogue and compromise are a path still open.

NOVEMBER 3, 1986

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

## Publisher Charged by U.S. With Failing To Register as Agent for South Africa

By ANDY PASZTOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department charged John P. McGoff, a conservative Michigan newspaper publisher, with failing to register as an agent for South Africa.

In a criminal information filed Friday in federal district court here, the department alleged that Mr. McGoff secretly received more than \$11.3 million during the 1970s from the government of South Africa. It said he used the bulk of the money in an unsuccessful attempt to purchase the currently defunct Washington Star newspaper as part of a broader political and public relations campaign to help improve South Africa's image in the U.S.

The information ends a criminal investigation that started in the late 1970s, and it comes after years of negotiations between Mr. McGoff's lawyers and the Justice Department. Neither Mr. McGoff nor his attorney could be reached for comment.

A spokesman for the South African embassy said that the activities of that country's former Department of Information, which allegedly established the connec-

tions with Mr. McGoff, "have been buried, from our perspective." The spokesman said the department was disbanded in 1979 amid a national scandal, "and the people responsible have been punished."

The spokesman said South Africa hasn't had any dealings with Mr. McGoff since that time. But the information filed by prosecutors alleged that Mr. McGoff acted as an agent for the country from February 1974 through last week.

The court documents alleged that Mr. McGoff, among other things, created Global Communications Corp., a closely held company, "to conceal the transfer, receipt and expenditure" of funds received from South Africa.

After his bid to acquire the Washington Star failed, Mr. McGoff used some of the money to gain control of the Sacramento Union newspaper, according to the information. It charged that he then "promoted and created an editorial climate" intended to improve South Africa's image.

The information also alleged that Mr. McGoff, as part of his overall plan to influence U.S. public opinion and to "promote the interests of South Africa," participated

in a "joint venture" with that country to acquire a 50% interest in UPITN Corp., an international distributor of news films.

Mr. McGoff has since sold his interest in the Sacramento Union and the film company, according to federal officials.

The information alleged that between 1974 and 1979, Mr. McGoff contacted U.S. government officials, advised South African officials about "propaganda projects" and engaged in other political and public relations efforts to benefit that country.

In 1983, Mr. McGoff settled SEC charges that he violated securities laws by failing to disclose the use of foreign money to acquire U.S. newspapers. Mr. McGoff neither admitted nor denied those charges.

In his negotiations with the Justice Department, Mr. McGoff agreed to waive indictment by a grand jury, a move that usually indicates both prosecutors and defense attorneys expect to reach a settlement. But apparently no agreement was reached, and federal prosecutors said they expected the matter to go to trial.

If convicted, Mr. McGoff could face a maximum of five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.



NOVEMBER 7, 1986

The Washington Times

# Tambo expects Soviet arms for ANC

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

MOSCOW — Oliver Tambo, leader of South Africa's African National Congress, said yesterday he expected a request for more arms and military supplies from the Soviet Union to be granted "as usual."

Mr. Tambo said the ANC could not get arms needed for its guerrilla war from the West, "so we come to the Soviet Union."

When asked how much weaponry he had requested from Soviet officials, Mr. Tambo responded: "I could not say the price of one hundred Kalashnikovs [Soviet-made assault rifles]." He also declined to reveal the quantity of supplies requested, saying only that he was hopeful "that as usual our request will receive a positive response."

He added that the ANC also had asked for food, clothing and vehicles from Moscow as well as help in training ANC "cadres."

Mr. Tambo met Tuesday with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. He told reporters at a press conference here that the ANC, the most powerful underground movement fighting the white minority regime in Pretoria, would probably set up a mission in Moscow soon.

"We are discussing the matter," he said. "The prospects are strong that we might be establishing such a mission soon, with or without diplomatic status."

Mr. Tambo arrived early this week as an official guest to today's ceremonies marking the 69th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Mr. Tambo characterized his meeting Tuesday with Mr. Gorbachev as "historic," saying he was left feeling "greatly strengthened by the knowledge that the Soviet Union stands firmly with us in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, an independent

Namibia and a peaceful region of Southern Africa.

"We draw immense satisfaction and inspiration from the fact that the Soviet Union is resolved to contribute everything within its possibilities and within the context of our own requests to assist the ANC, SWAPO and the people of our region to achieve these objectives."

SWAPO, the South West African People's Organization, is fighting South African control of Namibia. South African officials reported yesterday that seven SWAPO guerrillas had been killed shortly after the guerrilla organization announced it would begin an offensive against South African troops.

Mr. Tambo also reiterated allegations that South Africa "organized" the plane crash in South Africa last month that killed President Samora Machel of Mozambique by interfering with the plane's guidance system.

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NOVEMBER 7, 1986

THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Pretoria Accuses Neighbors of a Plot

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Nov. 6 — South Africa said tonight that it had evidence that two of its black-ruled neighbors had plotted to overthrow an ally of Pretoria, President Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

Malawi is the only black-ruled African nation to maintain full diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha said at a news conference in Pretoria that his accusations were drawn from a document found in the wreckage of a plane that crashed on South African territory last month, killing President Samora M. Machel of Mozambique.

The document, he said, showed that delegations from Mozambique and Zimbabwe met Oct. 16, three days before the plane crash, to plot the overthrow of Dr. Banda and the destruction of road links with some of Malawi's black-ruled neighbors.

In a warning to black-governed neighbors, Mr. Botha declared, "The whole of southern Africa would pay a heavy price if their plans were put into operation."

Said to Support Rebels

[There was no official word from Mozambique on the South African assertion and Jungweig Manhique, third secretary of the Mozambican Embassy in Washington, said there would be "no official comment."]

Several of the so-called front-line nations near South Africa have accused President Banda of supporting anti-Government rebels in Mozambique, who have also received backing from South Africa.

Zimbabwe has committed thousands of soldiers to fighting the Mozambique

National Resistance movement along a vital oil and rail link in Mozambique. Mozambique has been fighting the dissidents for almost a decade, and most commentators say that the economically crippled nation, whose Government is avowedly Marxist, has little hope of recovery unless there is a resolution of the spreading conflict.

An English translation of the purported Portuguese-language document was distributed to reporters by Mr. Botha's aides, who described the document as minutes of the meeting.

Ambiguous Document

It did not quote any participant at the meeting as using the words "coup d'etat" or "overthrow." Some parts of the document seemed to be ambiguous, and could have referred either to plans to attack rebels, known in Mozambique's lexicon as "armed bandits," or the Government of Malawi itself. As issued, however, it reflected a profound animosity toward the landlocked nation.

Last September, Mr. Machel threatened to position missiles along Mozambique's border with Malawi unless Malawi withdrew its purported support for the rebels.

The meeting in Maputo at which President Banda's overthrow was purportedly discussed was said to have been attended by Mr. Machel and leading Zimbabwean figures, including the security chief, Emmerson Munangagwa, and the military commander, Rex Nhongo.

In the 28-page document, Mr. Machel was said to have described President Banda as "worn out" and to have sketched a strategy, designed first to win President Banda's agreement to allowing Mozambican and Zimba-

bwean troops to cross a southern salient of Malawi's territory.

Kaunda Said to Dissent

Mr. Machel was said to have continued: "Let us win the whole of the Malawi population. We can organize a Malawi Liberation Front, equip ourselves and infiltrate into Malawi in order to destroy the bandits who are there. We will close the border with Malawi."

President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, who was not present at the meeting, was said to have dissented from the plan.

Mr. Munangagwa was quoted as saying roads and bridges could be destroyed "under the pretext of repairing bridges and roads."

Mr. Machel died on his way back from a meeting in northern Zambia of African leaders seeking to devise a strategy toward South Africa that would open up trade routes free of Pretoria's control and reduce African backing for South African-supported rebel forces in the region.

Mozambican Sworn In

Special to The New York Times

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Nov. 6 — Joaquim A. Chissano was sworn in as President of Mozambique today and immediately accused South Africa of trying to destroy this nation in an "undeclared war."

Mr. Chissano, who replaced Mr. Machel, reiterated his commitment to honor a nonaggression pact Mozambique signed with South Africa in 1984 and demanded that Pretoria, under the terms of the accord, end what he said was its support of rebels seeking to overthrow this country's avowedly Marxist Government.



# ALL ROADS LEAD OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA

By Elizabeth Weiner  
and  
Steve Mufson

## IBM AND GM MAKE THEIR MOVE, AND OTHER COMPANIES RUSH TO FOLLOW

If there were ever any serious question that U.S. business was set to flee South Africa, General Motors Corp. and International Business Machines Corp. have answered it. Within 24 hours, the two American giants announced their plans to leave, and Honeywell Inc. and Warner Communications Inc. followed a day later. Many other companies will undoubtedly do the same.

Their decisions effectively spell the end of the long-standing argument that U.S. corporations might be the agents of social change in a segregated society. With the government in Pretoria apparently committed to defying criticism from the West, a U.S. sanctions law on the books, and unrelenting divestment pressure, that idea, however genuine, has simply lost its underpinnings. "The snowball," says an executive of a U.S. company with South African operations, "is growing very fast."

That doesn't mean that all commercial ties are ending—and for that reason, the pressure on even those companies that have pulled out won't end either. Foreign business is moving "away from direct investment and wholly owned subsidiaries toward licensing agreements and independent distributorships," says David Hauck, senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington. "It's a way of getting off the blacklist" and stemming losses without cutting off all trade links. Indeed, most recent departures of U.S. companies have involved the sale of units to local management, along with arrangements to supply parts and technical knowhow.

Those continuing relationships are already drawing fire from anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. They are gearing up for a new phase of lobbying that will be far more technical, specific—and difficult to make effective. "We're carefully reviewing the growing numbers of withdrawals to assess how the products of those companies are used in South Africa," says Timothy H. Smith, executive director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. Smith cites the case of Motorola Inc., whose radios are still sold to the South African government through a local company, although the company pulled out its assets in 1985. Adds Cecelie Counts of TransAfrica, a Washington-based anti-apartheid group: "We want to sever the link between American expertise and the apartheid system."

**'NAIVE.'** The quickened pace of the flight

is beginning to isolate the few U.S. companies still trying to do business in the midst of apartheid (table). "Our official position is to stick around," says an executive of a U.S. subsidiary in Johannesburg. "But it is naive to think that there is one American company that doesn't have a contingency plan for leaving." He says his company is carrying on an "on-going courtship" with four South African companies interested in buying the Americans out.

Already, more than 70 companies, joined last month by Coca-Cola, Procter

& Gamble, and Baxter Travenol Laboratories, have left or announced departure dates in the past 18 months. Yet many large companies with South African units insist that the recent exits will not affect them. A Hewlett-Packard Co. spokesman insists that "it is HP's intention to stay and continue our own anti-apartheid efforts."

But others are showing signs of uneasiness. Dresser Industries Inc., for example, appears to be winding down its operations from 800 employees to "several hundred." Xerox Corp., which employs 790 people in South Africa, said that it was "exploring alternatives," and a spokesman for SmithKline/Beckman Corp. admitted that patience "with

the pace of change is running out."

The discomfort level for companies with South African ties has been rising for some time, so while no one was surprised, the suddenness of the IBM and GM moves raised some questions. Some say companies are rushing to beat the effects of the U.S. sanctions bill that will bar new investment in South Africa, along with bans that include new loans and computer sales to the government. "It was never the intention to make these [rules] disinvestment provisions," says a Capitol Hill staffer. "But now it seems that is what's happening."

**URGENCY.** For example, GM and IBM will inject money into South Africa under local employee-buyout arrangements. GM will pay off local debts so that the new owners won't have an unmanageable burden. And IBM will lend its employees the money to buy the local company. Both companies will be paid in future years from future profits. They were worried that such moves would not have been possible once parts of the sanctions law take effect in mid-November. Robert A. White, GM's managing director in South Africa, says GM pushed up the sale date by six weeks as a result. "It gave us a sense of urgency," he says.

A recent change in the Sullivan Code, the rules U.S. companies voluntarily follow to help offset the effects of apartheid in the workplace, added to the pressure. After the Sullivan committee took a tougher line in rating companies in October, many U.S. companies, even some of the best performers, dropped several notches. IBM was one of a dozen American companies that fell from the top category. Many U.S. pension and mutual funds automatically sell any holdings in the stock of U.S. companies whose South African units don't make the top Sullivan grade.

U.S. companies are also becoming the target of South African resentment—by blacks and whites alike. A GM survey of white consumers, its principal market, showed that whites saw the company as being against the South African government and too political. For that and other reasons, GM's share of the South African car market dropped to just over 5%, from 12% five years ago. "Our brand image ranks above our company image," says GM's White. And IBM's managing director told dealers that "we perceive anti-American sentiment growing in the South African market."

Among blacks, the alienation is worse. Nearly all black leaders—excepting Zulu

### THE DOZEN BIGGEST U.S. COMPANIES STILL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Number of employees (1985)	
<b>MOBIL</b>	3,182
<b>USG</b>	2,631
<b>GOODYEAR</b>	2,471
<b>CALTEX</b>	2,186
<b>RJR NABISCO</b>	2,084
<b>ALLEGHENY INTERNATIONAL</b>	2,025
<b>JOHNSON &amp; JOHNSON</b>	1,339
<b>UNITED TECHNOLOGIES</b>	1,261
<b>COLGATE-PALMOLIVE</b>	1,234
<b>MORTON</b>	1,228
<b>3M</b>	1,174
<b>AMERICAN CYANAMID</b>	1,167

DATA: INVESTOR RESPONSIBILITY RESEARCH CENTER (AS OF OCT. 22)

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# Long-Built Dreams Crushed As Pretoria Razes Township

OUKASIE, South Africa, Nov. 2 — To build a house, Kenneth Ranuga explained, you need sand and cement to make the bricks, and three-ply wood from crating for the ceiling and, most of all, time.

Thirty-six years ago, he said, it took him most of a year, working weekends and molding his own bricks to build a four-room house for himself and Agnes, his bride of a few months, in this tumbledown black township.

And since then, at intervals, he has embarked on modifications, building bedrooms as the family grew, removing inner walls to make a parlor crammed with armchairs and tables and cupboards. It is a largish room that bears the imprints of a householder's pride: the glass display cabinet filled with knickknacks and mementos, a television powered by a generator in the absence of an electrical hookup and family portraits hung along the wall.

Within its embrace, Mr. Ranuga, aged 58, seems comfortable, a man at ease with his past. And up until a couple of weeks ago, a visitor might have surmised, Mr. Ranuga might have felt comfortable, too, about a future in the tranquillity of his seniority.

But South Africa's white rulers changed all that.

With little more than a stroke of a pen, the authorities "deproclaimed" Oukasia township, a settlement close to the industrial town of Brits, north of Pretoria, where black people have lived racially segregated lives for over 50 years.

The "deproclamation" of Oukasia as an area designated for black residence meant that Mr. Ranuga and an estimated 10,000 others ceased overnight to be lawful tenants and became unlawful squatters, threatened with enforced removal to a new, segregated black township, called Lethlabile, situated 12 miles away on featureless scrub.

The Government's official reason for the removal is that Oukasia is an unhygienic place, beyond the redemption of an improvement program.

If the authorities have their way, Mr. Ranuga will confront a sad reality: What took him 36 years to build up, brick by brick, will be destroyed in minutes by a bulldozer when the township, its inhabitants removed, is flattened.

The forced removal of Oukasia to Lethlabile raises questions that go far beyond its ramshackle confines. Last year, for instance, the Government promised to suspend a removal policy that, over the last 25 years, is estimated to have uprooted 3.5 million blacks. So what value, many blacks ask, do such promises hold?

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 31 — Relief officials and African diplomats here have expressed concern that the closing this week of the United Nations agency that oversaw famine programs in Africa could hamper relief and rehabilitation efforts on that continent.

The agency, the Office of Emergency Operations in Africa, was acknowledged to be one of the most successful United Nations agencies and one of the few that had cut through the red tape of international development efforts.

The office was founded as a temporary agency in 1984 to direct and keep track of more than \$4 billion in famine aid sent to stricken African countries.

African diplomats said the closing marked the fading of attention on Africa and would fuel a misperception that the crisis was over.

The United Nations Children's Fund announced on Friday that it would scale down its emergency programs because only \$11.7 million had been raised of \$102 million needed for Africa this year. World Vision, Oxfam America, Lutheran Relief Services and other agencies have also announced drastic drops in contributions.

## Functions to be Divided

Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has promised that the office's responsibilities will be divided among other United Nations agencies, with a small office maintained as a clearing-house for information.

But many relief officials say they fear the new bureau will not have the authority to deal with the interagency competition that has troubled the United Nations.

"It is a disappointment to us, particularly at a time when we feel we're just on the verge of getting out of the crisis," said Ethan Atkins, assistant director for Africa for the relief agency Save the Children. "They were a wonderful organization, very easy to work with in a way that has not always been the case with individual United Nations organizations."

## Military Patrols Outskirts

How, moreover, black activists in this township say to visitors, can Government leaders assert, as they often do, that apartheid is dead when the people who live here are being consigned, on the basis of race, to a place they did not choose and where they will live a life rooted in segregation? And what omens does the removal offer to the black children of the township used, now, to equating whiteness with the force implicit in the military armored vehicles that patrol on the outskirts of both Oukasia and Lethlabile?

This is a question that seizes some, like Marshall Buys, of the township's resistance movement, who said that while people of his generation might be inclined to tolerate some aspects of white behavior, those younger seemed far more inclined to judge all whites by a standard of perceived oppression.

"If the children start to hate you," Mr. Ranuga said, as if pronouncing a

Nicholas Mottern, an expert with the Africa desk of the planning department of the Roman Catholic Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, said: "The shutdown is an indication that for whatever reason, people feel the problem is significantly lessened. The natural consequence of that is to lower the priority for activity, the amount of money and time devoted."

## 14 Million Africans in Danger

More than 14 million Africans are in immediate danger, he said, down from about 40 million at the height of the famine. Many experts say the distinction between relief and rehabilitation is false, because the continent remains on the brink of disaster until basic development occurs.

Officials from Oxfam International, a relief group, and Interaction, a relief umbrella organization, met with the Secretary General in May and asked him to extend the office's life at least through an initial rehabilitation period.

Scores of governments and relief agencies came to rely on the Emergency Operations Office for daily information on Africa. The office, staffed by experts on loan from Unicef, the United Nations Development Program and other United Nations bodies, drew on an immense network of field and government contacts and came to be one of the few organizations with an overall perspective of the emergency.

The cost was low because the staff was on loan, but the office did "put a squeeze on the rest of the United Nations system" according to its executive coordinator, Charles la Munière.

Mr. Atkins cited the Sudan and Ethiopian transportation crises of February 1985 as an example of the office's authority.

"Everybody was looking for trucks but nobody knew where they were coming from, how many trucks were needed or where they were available," Mr. Atkins said, adding that the Emergency Operations Office "took on the job of trying to keep on top of the situation."

proverb, "then you must know you are bad somewhere."

There are other issues, too. Brits' economy is fueled by industries that include a subsidiary of the United States Firestone Corporation and other Western transnationals. The factories are heavily unionized, and labor leaders have sought the support of management to persuade the authorities to stop the removal. But it is unclear how far foreign and South African management are willing or able to translate oft-voiced commitments to corporate social responsibility into action that might redeem black destinies.

In a way, Oukasia seems to offer a microcosmic vision of the tactics of a Government intent on dividing and molding the lives of blacks in a manner that suggests detailed and longstanding planning.

It started, a few years back, Mr. Ranuga and others say, when a black

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# Mozambicans' markets are full but their pockets are empty

By Ned Temko

Maputo, Mozambique

At first glance, there seems to be little special about the Mozambican capital's main farm market.

Unruly piles of fruit, vegetables, and fish — with stalls for tea and spices off to the side — make it look much like any market in Portugal, the Mediterranean power that ruled Mozambique before it became independent 11 years ago.

But Maputo Market is, in many ways, a monument to the late President Samora Machel's deft retreat in recent years from

Still, the market is crowded. "These people don't live on salaries. They live

on the black market," explains a youngster at a vegetable stall.

With public trans-

port strained by a shortage of spare parts and gasoline, entrepreneurs tote produce or passengers between the capital and outlying

districts for as much as 1,500 meticals per journey. The Mozambican metical trades officially at about 40 to \$1, but at upwards of 1,200

old-style Soviet planning. It is a reminder, too, of the limits to his success, and the obstacles his successor must tackle to fully revive the country's shattered economy. Machel was killed last week in a plane crash. His successor has not been announced.

Barely a year ago, pense to bring them here. Sometimes we would bring a truckload and sell our goods off the back of the truck for our own prices. Other times, we'd just throw the fruit away. . . . We had enough to eat for ourselves."

In May 1985, as part of a move to encourage private enterprise and foreign investment, the Machel government freed prices on a variety of foodstuffs. On one wall of the market hangs a blackboard labeled *Tabela dos Preços*: "price schedule." Once densely chalked with state price limits, it is now nearly empty.

But, while lonely watercress has been overwhelmed by supplies of tomatoes, lettuce, eggplant, and much else, many Mozambicans lack the funds to enjoy the change. "I have friends who work in factories who make, say, 3,000 meticals [the Mozambican currency] per month," says one youngster, peddling shiny green apples imported from South Africa, via Swaziland. "The ordinary Mozambican can never afford to buy these apples," he says, gesturing toward their price tag — 1,000 meticals per kilogram (2.2 pounds).

Even more modest fare, such as lettuce or tomatoes, goes for 300 meticals per kilogram. Across the street from the market, a shopkeeper peddles small, shoddily assembled cloth suitcases for 5,500 meticals.

Many Mozambicans rely on a heavily subsidized monthly ration package of household goods — cooking oil; also fish, small quantities of beans, and soap — flour, rice, sugar, when available.

the stone market counters lay empty except for an occasional heap of watercress. "We had bananas to sell even back then," says a rotund woman seated behind a small mountain of fruit. "But with the state prices set so low, it wasn't worth the trouble and ex-

to \$1 on the blackmarket.

"The main problem is the armed bandits," says the apple salesman, by now ringed by a small group of peddlers and shoppers who nod in agreement. The reference is to the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance Movement, known as Renamo. During the past few years, vocally anti-Communist Renamo has been escalating its decade-long battle against the Soviet-allied government.

But, he continues, "in some ways, the situation has improved."

"The road from Swaziland used to be almost impassable. Now we get things in from there. But generally, the transportation system is in collapse. Production is in crisis. The country builds a factory. The bandits destroy a factory," he says.

By themselves, he argues, the Renamo rebels are nothing. "But they get support. . . . When South Africa falls, the banditry will end. But South Africa is strong."

Mozambique's government-allied media say almost nothing about the rebels. "At the beginning, neither did we," interjects an older man. "Now, we talk more freely about it. I, myself, have come under sniper fire from the bandits three times in the past year. . . ."

More arms, says a man at an adjacent stall, probably wouldn't help defeat Renamo. And Machel's successors, adds one youngster, probably won't be able to devise a workable anti-Renamo strategy.

The apple salesman says all hope for revival lies with individual Mozambicans. "Before independence, everyone had his small garden, his chicken coop; before everyone moved into the city."

Despite all the country's problems, he and his friends agree, Machel's independent Mozambique is a gift to be cherished. "When all was said and done, Machel was a human leader. He spoke to the ordinary people," declares one young man.

"We will make do," adds the apple salesman. "We Mozambicans are of modest needs. We don't need Mercedes. Fiats do fine. We don't need caviar, only corn."

ALL ROADS LEAD OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)  
chief Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi but including Nobel prizewinner Archbishop Desmond Tutu—have supported disinvestment for a long time. One American multinational executive says that black protesters have threatened his company's black employees with violence and that a company bus was hijacked.

The immediate impact of disinvestment on the business left behind will be slight. GM South African Ltd., for example, will continue to buy components and designs from GM's Adam Opel subsidiary in West Germany and a Japanese company, Isuzu Motors Ltd., in which GM owns a major stake. Licensing agreements will still make money for GM. And the carmaker says it might even repurchase the company if conditions improve. IBM equipment will continue to be imported by South Africa. While the sale of the sales-and-service unit is being worked out, the company will be run by a trust including an IBM executive on the board.

No: will the exit of U.S. companies lead to a full-scale retreat of European investors. But there is growing concern about divestment pressure on them from the U.S. John R. Wilson, executive chairman of Royal Dutch/Shell Group in South Africa, told local management this summer that "Shell's position is not comfortable. The threat of disinvestment is real." Still, European companies will be slower to act than American firms because their stakes in South Africa are so much larger. In 1985, U.S. direct investment in South Africa totaled about \$2.5 billion. By contrast, British companies have a total investment of about \$3.5 billion, or 45% of all foreign investment. And West Germany is South Africa's second-largest trading partner, after the U.S.—though those numbers predate the imposition of sanctions by the U.S. and the European Community.

**LINKS.** No one argues that even a total withdrawal of U.S. capital from South Africa would be enough to force Pretoria to change. Yet the effects can't be dismissed, especially if apartheid opponents in the U.S. succeed in forcing American companies to deny South Africa access to U.S. technology. Unlike Rhodesia, where sanctions were widely regarded as having failed, South Africa is an industrialized nation and thus more dependent on its links with the West.

South Africa's political hardliners could of course prove willing to sacrifice the country's industrial strength and wealth of natural resources on the altar of a political system that ultimately isn't viable. If that happens, a recent report issued by the U.S. Consulate in Johannesburg could turn out to be prescient. It warned that South Africa was "on its way to becoming 'just another African country: chronic debtor, import-starved . . . a repressive regime unable to manage its own domestic constituency in any positive way.'" U.S. companies aren't waiting around to find out if that's right.



# Poverty Above Ground, Wealth Below

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MAPUTO, Mozambique, Oct. 30 —The majestic but forlorn Four Seasons Hotel, still uncompleted after 11 years and gradually crumbling from neglect, towers over Maputo's palm-lined Indian Ocean beach, frozen in time like much of this once idyllic city that was the playground of colonial southern Africa when it was called Lourenço Marques.

Downtown, the once-bustling shopping district looks like a snapshot of Nevil Shute's fictional San Francisco after nuclear Armageddon in "On the Beach." Its once-elegant Portuguese-style buildings are faded and peeling, and its shops are practically denuded of goods, not to speak of customers.

Relics of old Dodges and De Sotos, abandoned for a lack of spare parts, sit rusting beneath brilliantly flowering jacaranda trees. Gas stations, with their underground tanks long since dry, are shuttered, leaving the trade in fuel to youths who ply the public market with five-liter cans looking for sales in hard currency at black market exchange rates one-fortieth the official rate because nobody wants meticals, the national currency.

Bedecked by a succession of droughts and other natural disasters, and a debilitating 10-year guerrilla war against right-wing insurgents, Mozambique rivals Bangladesh in its economic calamity and vulnerability to famine and disease.

Yet it probably is one of the richest countries in Africa in terms of unexploited mineral resources, with vast deposits of coal, copper, diamonds and gemstones and strategic minerals like tantalum, which produces a heat-resistant metal used in manufacturing combat aircraft engines.

Western geologists who have conducted surveys estimate that Zambezia Province alone holds \$7 billion in exploitable minerals.

In April, when officials of the U.S. Geological Survey signed an exploration agreement with Mozambique, they calculated that one tantalum mine could yield \$400 million at current prices, according to western diplomats here. By con-

trast, Mozambique's total export earnings last year were \$32 million.

Although the Soviet Union and its allies maintain large contingents of military, agricultural and technical advisers here—and virtually run some key Mozambican ministries—it was toward a western-assisted exploitation of Mozambique's untapped wealth that President Samora Machel was gradually moving when his twin-engine jet crashed Oct. 19 just inside South Africa, killing him and 33 other persons.

Although a declared Marxist-Leninist government since winning independence from Portugal in 1975, Mozambique has been steadily shifting to a mixed economy since the ruling Frelimo Party's Fourth Congress in 1983, when party leaders publicly acknowledged for the first time that the country's radical economic policies of collectivism, nationalized industry and inflexible central economic planning had produced a fiscal disaster.

Since 1981, the last year of growth, industrial and agricultural production have both declined by about 50 percent, according to government figures.

Mozambican officials and western diplomats who have closely followed economic trends here attribute the rapid decline to three factors: drought, discredited fiscal policies and the guerrilla war with the South Africa-backed Mozambique National Resistance movement, or Renamo, which has been trying to overthrow the government. But they stress that the political and economic factors are intertwined, and that until the Renamo insurgency is put down, there can be little hope for economic recovery.

The 1981-84 drought, the worst in southern Africa in half a century, left over 100,000 famine victims dead, according to government accounts, and devastated vast areas in the southern provinces, where 80 percent of the country's rice is grown and 70 percent of its cattle are grazed.

Richard Morgan, emergency relief officer for the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), said that early in 1985, 1.6 million Mozambicans in rural areas were classified as being at risk of starvation, but that by last

month—long after rains ended the drought—the total had risen to nearly 3.9 million. Upwards of 10 percent of Mozambican children suffer severe malnutrition, he said, and 40 percent of children in some provinces suffer stunted growth from malnutrition.

The increase, Morgan said, was attributable largely to the guerrilla war, not to weather. With Renamo insurgents constantly attacking rail lines and truck convoys, rural Mozambique's marketing system has almost completely broken down, he said, adding, "How can you farm without a hoe? How can you plant without seed?"

Marta Mauras, UNICEF area representative, said, "Had it not been for the war, one could assume that the levels of development in Zimbabwe and Tanzania could have been reached by Mozambique."

An informed economic analyst in one western embassy said that while Mozambique's post-independence fiscal policies—which included artificially low prices and inefficient collective farms and nation-

alized industries—helped create an economic disaster, Machel's government had recently taken substantive steps toward a more free economy.

The reforms included liberalized pricing, increased support to the private sector, the privatization of about 30 factories that were nationalized in 1975, incentives for foreign investment in Mozambique and the breaking up of state farms in favor of family farming with assistance by the U.S. Agency for International Development. Total U.S. aid to Mozambique this year, reflecting a general cutback of American assistance to Africa, is \$40 million, down from \$60 million in 1985.

Moreover, at the time of his death Machel was negotiating economic reform with the International Monetary Fund to qualify Mozambique for additional western assistance and to allow it to reschedule its \$2.6 billion foreign debt.

While the Soviets remain heavily involved in some sectors—chiefly fishing, minerals and the military—they appear to have taken a tolerant view of Machel's shift toward a mixed economy, one western dip-

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# Mozambique's political agenda riddled with uncertainties

By Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

## Maputo, Mozambique

The sudden death of Mozambique's president has forced this country into a process of succession with implications far beyond its borders.

Two weeks after Samora Machel was killed in a plane crash, Mozambique's political agenda looks less like a program for action than a questionnaire:

- Who will succeed President Machel?
- What will become of the unremitting violence of the anti-Marxist Mozambique National Resistance Movement (Renamo) guerrillas in the countryside?
- Will post-Machel Mozambique persist in its recent tilt away from textbook Marxism and exclusive alignment with the Soviet Union?
- What will become of the "spirit of Nkomati" — the 1984 peace pact with South Africa?

• Will, or can, Machel's successors rebound from an economic crisis that has made Mozambique one of the poorest countries on an impoverished African continent?

In some respects, Mozambican politics seem to be in a state of suspended animation. The two leading contenders for the presidency — Marxist ideologue Marcelino dos Santos and the reputedly more pragmatic Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano — have been playing prominent roles that leave foreign diplomats guessing which seems the more likely choice of the ruling party's central committee.

Renamo has vowed to escalate violence, but has given no convincing sign of its ability to supplant the government in Maputo.

South Africa, Mozambique's powerful southern neighbor, has adopted a low-key approach to post-Machel Mozambique that suggests Pretoria may try to rehabilitate the badly ailing Nkomati accord. The accord is an agreement between the two nations to discontinue all support for their neighbors' internal opposition. Each side has accused the other of renegeing. But Western diplomats generally agree that Mozambique has upheld its end of the deal, while South Africa has not. This fact, and Machel's active support for international sanctions against Pretoria, had soured relations during the last year.

There have been signs, though faintly visible, that Machel's political heirs are determined to pursue his recent tilt toward a more mixed domestic economy, and friendlier relations with the Western world. Last week, Mozambican officials were closeted with a delegation of the International Monetary Fund. At issue were further moves away from a state-controlled economy, which might lead to rescheduling Mozambique's debt.

The first visible sign of Mozambique's post-Machel direction should come with the announcement of a successor. Mr. Dos Santos is seen as a more cautious advocate of the country's recent realignment than Mr. Chissano. Dos Santos, however, has a disadvantage in the succession race. He is

a mixed-race *mestico*. Most foreign diplomats expect that, although Machel energetically advocated equal treatment for all races and tribes, the successor will be black.

Whoever becomes president will have strong incentives to follow the line charted by Machel. Mozambique's economy has been virtually destroyed by the civil war and the country needs more foreign investment and a rescheduling of its foreign debt.

Whatever economic advances have occurred in the past two years are largely the result of loosened state control at home and the entry of Western capital or expertise.

Mozambique has the reputation of being poor in natural resources. But this owes largely to the fact that the Portuguese, who ruled until Mozambican independence in 1975, developed few export industries besides prawn-fishing and cashew-farming. Recent surveys have shown, however, that the country possesses large stocks of coal, bauxite, and other minerals critical to production of heat-resistant metal for a range of products from

medical instruments to fighter jets.

An expulsion of the Soviets seems as out of the question now as it was under Machel. Mozambique remains dependent on Soviet economic aid, educational and technical experts, and arms — in quantities the West has shown no sign of replacing.

But politically, too, Machel may have left good reason for his successors to choose continuity. He was no Western democrat. But neither was he a dictator. He ruled by consensus, foreign diplomats here stress. To rule viably, whoever succeeds Machel may have to do the same.

This is particularly true given the fact that Renamo's advances seem to have drawn on resentment among villages in the north of the country toward the government in Maputo, which lies in the country's southern tip near the South African frontier. Although foreign analysts here feel Renamo's main strength lies in backing from Mozambique's foes overseas — and that its political message has been diluted by increasingly random violence in the countryside — the Maputo government can hardly ignore the rebels' political message.

## The Washington Times

NOVEMBER 6, 1986

### South Africa flight ban delayed

The Reagan administration said yesterday a congressionally mandated ban on airline service between the United States and South Africa may be delayed for as long as 60 days while President Reagan reviews it.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, adopted by Congress to protest Pretoria's apartheid policy, gave Mr. Reagan 10 days to order the government to carry out the airline service ban.

But a spokesman for the Department of Transportation, the agency that regulates international air routes, said a proposed order it drafted banning South Africa flights must now go through the same procedure, set out in federal aviation law, as any other order affecting international air service.

Under the aviation law, the president has 60 days to review an order and can veto it on foreign policy or national security grounds.



# Despite concern, black Africa's population picture grows worse

By David R. Francis  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Black Africa stands on a population treadmill, slipping backward toward the threat of Malthusian famine.

There is, fortunately, a new awareness in sub-Saharan Africa on the part of both governments and some families of the need to limit the number of births to facilitate economic progress. But it is uncertain whether changes in attitudes concerning family size will be fast enough to prevent a grim future.

"We haven't got time on our side," notes Frederick T. Sai, a Ghanaian doctor and senior population adviser to the World Bank.

The population numbers are not encouraging.

The region has 459 million people divided into more than 800 ethnic groups. Nearly all African countries have relatively small populations by world standards. Only six nations (Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zaire) exceed 20 million.

But Africa's population growth is extraordinarily rapid. It is the only major region in the world where population growth rates have not declined. The population rate in Latin America peaked at 2.9 percent a year in the early 1960s and has now fallen to 2.4 percent. The rate for South Asia rose a little above 2.5 percent in the late 1960s and has since dropped to 2.1 percent.

By contrast, in sub-Saharan Africa population growth has risen from 2.5 percent a year in 1960 to 3 percent in 1983. The World Bank's "standard" projection shows population growing to 730 million by 2000 and 1.8 billion by 2050. That projection assumes continuing economic and social progress, with some acceleration in efforts to encourage family planning, and thus a decline in fertility beginning in the next five to 10 years.

Even that 730 million number is too many people.

In theory, Africa's land could adequately feed several times the current population. "That would, however, entail substantial migration within countries and across international borders from more populated to less populated areas," a recent World Bank study notes. "It would also require investments in irrigation, new technology, and assistance to small farmers on a scale that is unlikely to be achieved soon."

Only a few countries, all outside Africa, have achieved growth rates in agriculture of more than 3 percent a year for sustained periods — a growth rate that would be necessary just to sustain the inadequate current standards of nutrition in black Africa.

In sub-Saharan Africa, farm output grew 2.5 percent a year in the 1960s and 1.4 percent a year in the

1970s. That is not considered enough. Without change, the prevention of African famine would require food aid programs that would dwarf those of the last two years.

What's to be done?

The World Bank has given population control assistance its top priority in Africa.

Currently, total public and private spending on family planning in Africa is less than \$100 million. About \$53 million is provided by the World Bank or other external sources. The bank figures it will take about \$640 million (in 1984 dollars) by the year 2000 to increase contraception by women of reproductive age to some 25 percent from 3 or 4 percent today. That could reduce the birth-rate by more than one percentage point.

Dr. Sai says money spent on family planning is the most cost-efficient way to help Africa make economic progress, including better health and education.

Along with birth-control services, there will have to be a dramatic shift in African views on child-bearing. At present, various surveys show that African mothers want five to eight children. Particularly those who are less educated find that children boost their status in society.

In addition, the extended family that is common in Africa removes some of the direct individual economic penalty of a large family. And as in other developing countries without social welfare systems, children are a form of old-age pension. Since many children die early in Africa, parents with a large family have greater assurance of being looked after in their senior years.

Until a few years ago, African governments viewed rising population as no problem at all, or even, in a few cases, as an economic and political asset, notes Ernest Stern, a top World Bank official. Now officials have begun to recognize the danger of population booms and have been expanding population control programs.

Among the general population, views on family size are changing — but not fast enough. Sai confesses to being somewhat frightened by the population explosion. But he adds: "People should not look at the magnitude of this thing and think it is a dead cause. It is something that, with dedication, is manageable."

TAMBO EXPECTS SOVIET ARMS FOR ANC  
(Continued)

Responding to recurrent press reports that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be freed in exchange for political prisoners held by Soviet bloc states, Mr. Tambo said: "We don't agree that Nelson Mandela should be exchanged with anybody, anywhere. He should not have been in prison."

In Tokyo, Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari said he had invited Mr. Tambo to visit Japan early next year.

Japan announced a set of sanctions against South Africa in September.

tember, including a ban on imports of iron and steel and a suspension of visas for South Africans.

Mr. Kuranari, who sent the invitation to Mr. Tambo through a visiting delegation of ministers from the Non-Aligned Movement, said Tokyo wanted to strengthen dialogue with anti-apartheid organizations.

He also said Japan was preparing to send a mission to study ways of bringing economic assistance to South Africa's black-ruled neighbors, known as the "front-line" states.

NOVEMBER 5, 1986

## Demonstrations Erupt In Capital of Mozambique

MAPUTO, Mozambique—Police fired shots in the air and troops sealed off the area around the South African Airways office here yesterday after thousands of angry youths attacked Pretoria's trade mission.

The crowd carried placards accusing South Africa of involvement in the death of president Samora Machel in a plane crash last month. Demonstrators also stormed the Malawian Embassy, charging that country with aiding Mozambican rebels.

Amid growing tension between Maputo and Pretoria, South African President Pieter W. Botha sent a message congratulating Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano on his selection to succeed Machel. The message also reaffirmed commitment to the 1984 Nkomati peace accord between the two countries that each has accused the other of violating.



## Not *If* the Aid Got Through, But *How* the Aid Was Used

—Rony Bruuman

In his letter [Oct. 4] attacking my article in Reader's Digest on famine aid in Ethiopia, InterAction President Peter J. Davies makes claims that are misleading and contrary to fact. The issue is not whether the money donated to voluntary agencies was used to pay for food, transportation and medical supplies (most of it was, of course), but how, where, by whom and for what purpose those supplies were distributed in Ethiopia.

Until we were expelled last December, a total of 132 physicians and nurses from Doctors Without Borders served in Ethiopia at various times and places. Their eyewitness testimony, corroborated by that of the thousands of Ethiopian refugees in Sudan and Somalia, makes it abundantly clear that vast amounts of Western aid were used by the regime as an instrument in carrying out a ruthless resettlement and collectivization plan. As a result, some 3 million people have been uprooted from their homes, an estimated 100,000 have died, and despite official reassurances, the operation is continuing—thanks in no small part to the help of well-meaning but misled humanitarian organizations.

It is false to state that in Ethiopia, "assistance was provided to and for the people of that country, not to its government." Fully one-half of the aid was distributed by the Ethiopian government, and the rest by nongovernmental organizations like ours. But even the supplies and services provided by the voluntary agencies were distributed at the places designated by the Ethiopian authorities, not by the agencies themselves. Neither we nor any other nongovernmental organization was free to choose where we should concentrate our efforts. And since freedom of movement was severely restricted, no one could ever make sure that the food and medical supplies were going to the villages where they were most needed. On the contrary, it soon became clear that the Ethiopian regime was determined to keep food away from the northern areas whose inhabitants it was engaged in deporting.

No one familiar with the reality of the Ethiopian situation can seriously call it a "success story." The fact is that after

an unprecedented volume of humanitarian aid and a good rainy season, hunger is still widespread, and the regime is asking for practically as much food aid as at the height of the drought. The tens of thousands of refugees who fled to Sudan and Somalia this year have eloquently expressed their opinion of this "success story"—with their feet. Meanwhile, except for those parts of Sudan affected by its civil war and the flood of Ethiopian refugees, the food situation is improving in all the other countries of the area and the aid agencies are gradually withdrawing.

The reason for this contrast lies in the Ethiopian regime's brutal resettlement program, which, coupled with its repression of the rebellion in the northern provinces, has effectively destroyed the country's agricultural structures. The Post's own correspondent, Blaine Harden, confirmed in his March 10 article, "Ethiopians Risk Lives Fleeing Resettlement," that Ethiopian authorities were using food as a bait to trap farmers in the north and ship them to camps in the south, where hunger and disease are raging.

The Ethiopian regime's denials are unconvincing—all the more so because it continues to restrict outside access to the resettlement areas. When the European Parliament voted by a large majority to ask permission to send a fact-finding mission to Ethiopia in order to clarify the situation, it never received an answer.

If there is a "message of hope" in this area, it is in Sudan, Niger and other countries in the region that have once again become self-sufficient in food after the end of the drought. This shows that a well-administered assistance program can get a country through a temporarily difficult period—providing the aid is not diverted from purely humanitarian purposes. In Ethiopia, unfortunately, the government-induced famine will continue to claim thousands of victims until the Western aid organizations decide to face up to the implications of their acts.

### POVERTY ABOVE... (CONTINUED)

lomat here said.

"The Soviets can remain in some sectors and the West in others. If the opening to the West continues, all kinds of people could be coming down here," he said. He said that when Machel signed a nonaggression treaty with South Africa in 1984, he did not even bother to notify the Soviets until the last minute, adding, "But you still see the Russians pouring in the military equipment."

Economic analysts observed that since Mozambique desperately needs foreign currency, having been cut off from remittances by South Africa's decision last month to repatriate 61,000 Mozambican miners, it is likely to turn increas-

ingly to western deals because the Soviet Union pays in barter for the goods it imports from here.

"The Soviets' days here have been sort of put back. There has been a conscious decision by the Mozambican government to seek western deals and look for more western involvement," a western diplomat said. But he cautioned that broad social and economic reform for any country requires a large pool of management talent, and noted that while Mozambique's literacy rate has doubled since independence, it still is only 20 percent.

Whether Mozambique will stay on the road to economic reform and increased western ties also depends

heavily on the succession in government.

Two key moderates whose influence on Machel had an important effect on reform died with him in the plane crash. They were personal assistant Fernando Honwana, who in 1979 helped persuade Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to talk with Rhodesian white leaders at peace talks in London, and Aquino de Braganca, director of the Center for African Studies at Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University, who had scheduled peace talks with South African Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha and who was disliked by hard-line pro-Soviet members of the Mozambican

continued on pg. 14



# Why Sudan Starves While Western Aid Pours In

KHARTOUM—Sudan, Africa's largest country, is slowly disintegrating. Two Soviet allies, Libya and Ethiopia, poise like vultures to devour the remains. The rebirth of democracy and hundreds of millions of dollars in American relief have proved irrelevant to this decay.

When pro-U.S. dictator Gaafar el Nimeiri was toppled in April 1985, after 16 years of relatively stable rule, throngs of Sudanese cheered in the streets. Mr. Nimeiri, toward the end of his reign, had ruined the economy and ignited civil war between Arab Northerners and African Southerners by, among other things, imposing Islamic law. Nobody then realized how much worse the situation could get.

Following a year of ineffectual rule by a transitional military council, Sudan this April experienced some of the freest elections ever held in the Arab world. The result was a weak coalition government headed by Sadek El-Mahdi, the British-educated descendant of the Mahdi dervish, who defeated British Gen. Charles Gordon at Khartoum a century ago.

Articulate and charismatic, Prime Minister El-Mahdi has talked a lot and done nothing except hold out the begging bowl in Washington, after doing the same in Moscow and Tripoli. He's ignored advice from the International Monetary Fund, to which Sudan is massively in debt.

The prime minister, moreover, has demonstrated little awareness of the needs of peasant farmers, whose lack of productivity helped cause a famine. Subsidies and commodity-price fixing continue. Money is being printed at an increasing rate and the country is caught in a classic inflationary spiral.

The civil war in the South is the hinge on which the fate of the country depends. The jungles and savannas near the equator have, in the past year, become a netherworld of violence and chaos in which armed bandits, ex-Ugandan soldiers, and

various rebel outfits roam. The Sudanese People's Liberation Front, known as the SPLA, is commanded by a U.S.-educated member of the Dinka tribe, John Garang. His group is gaining ground.

In August, the SPLA shot down a civilian airliner en route to the capital from the South, killing all on board. For two months afterward, no one was able to fly food into the South, where two million people are threatened with starvation. A United Nations-sponsored emergency shuttle was delayed for weeks and then grounded after only a few flights, since neither the Khartoum government nor the SPLA is willing to allow food into each other's zone. Anyone doubting that war, ethnic hatred and the insensitivity of Africa's own leaders are the principal causes of famine is closing his eyes.

The SPLA is dependent on Marxist Ethiopia for support. Mr. Garang's men are trained and given sanctuary there. Cuban advisers are assumed to be helping them. The Ethiopian air force drops weapons and other supplies into SPLA-controlled territory inside Sudan.

As rebels gain in the South, Sudan threatens to split. The southern half of the country could become a veritable Ethiopian protectorate, while the North is faced with the prospect of civil strife. The large number of poverty-stricken Southerners, with little food to eat, pouring into the capital contribute to the problem.

Coming to the rescue has been Libya, which for years financed the SPLA against Mr. Nimeiri, and then switched sides once he was overthrown. While the U.S. was providing famine relief, Col. Moammar Gadhafi gave Sudan's leaders what they really wanted in the weeks prior to this April's elections—a bombing raid on the rebel-held town of Rumbek. In mid-September, Col. Gadhafi made his second visit to Khartoum since the 1985 coup. Throughout the visit, Libyan planes landed and took off. No one knows what was delivered.

The Libyans effectively halted those development programs designed to prevent

another famine. Recently, the U.S. State Department has allowed 50 employees of the Agency for International Development to come back. But programs will continue to be understaffed. The Sudanese seem to want economic assistance without providing much in exchange.

The Sudanese leader basically sees famine as a problem that the wealthy West is obligated to deal with, leaving him, the democratically elected head of a sovereign country, free to pursue a nonaligned foreign policy.

The Soviets, who do no relief work, are playing it smart. Why should they support a sinking ship, whose descent is being deliberately quickened by their own Libyan and Ethiopian allies? The Soviets stand to gain in Sudan by doing and giving absolutely nothing, while the Americans stand to lose by doing and giving a lot.

Parliamentary democracy, with its tendency to create enfeebled coalition governments, is making illiterate, starving Sudan even more vulnerable to the designs of hostile neighbors. The question is which of the two Arab powers closest to Khartoum, Libya or Egypt, will move first to influence such matters. Call it cynical, but the most humane thing the U.S. can do is to lean hard on the Egyptians, increasingly preoccupied with their own internal problems, to become concerned in the Sudan. A Soviet-leaning government here would engage in economic policies even more destructive than the present ones.

Relief assistance will not greatly affect the course of Sudanese politics. Western aid officials say it is not supposed to, because it is given for strictly humanitarian reasons. This may be true, but it is also a cop-out, since such logic lets African leaders off the moral hook. The real reason why famine aid does not buy influence is because leaders such as the ones in Khartoum don't consider peasants important enough to warrant a political payoff in return for helping them.

*Mr. Kaplan is writing a book on the African famine, under a grant from the Smith-Richardson Foundation and the Institute for Educational Affairs.*

WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 6,

## U.S. Offers Help To End Sudan War

NAIROBI, Kenya—The State Department's African policy chief offered U.S. help yesterday to end Sudan's civil war and said South Africa should stop aiding rebels in Mozambique.

Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, also reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to economic sanctions against South Africa that Congress approved over President Reagan's objections. The Associated Press reported.

"We will carry out that law

because we are a government of law," Crocker told a news conference midway through a tour of Somalia, Kenya and Sudan. "There are goals that all of us in the United States share: to see an end to apartheid, to see reconciliation [in South Africa], to see a healthy economy there."

Asked whether Pretoria was actively aiding rebels in Mozambique, despite its denials, Crocker replied: "It is our impression that a pattern of communication and support does exist."

NEW YORK TIMES,

NOVEMBER 5, 1986

## Ethiopian Official Named

NAIROBI, Kenya, Nov. 4 (AP) — Ethiopia's ruling military council today appointed Berhanu Bayeh, a Politburo member, to replace Goshu Wolde, the Foreign Minister, who announced his resignation in New York. The appointment was announced over Addis Ababa Radio and monitored in Nairobi. Goshu Wolde, who announced his resignation Oct. 27 at a news conference at the United Nations, called Ethiopia's Marxist Government authoritarian and said its "rigidly doctrinaire policies are leading the country and the people into misery and destruction."



## Stalin's heirs

government:

Marcelino dos Santos, a pro-Soviet hard-liner and second-ranked member of the 18-man Politburo, is chosen to succeed Machel, it is likely that the westward shift in economic policy will at least be slowed. If Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano, a pragmatist who was close to Machel, is chosen, however, the reforms will most likely be preserved, western diplomats said.

But in the end, according to Mozambican officials and western diplomats here, it will be the guerrilla war that determines whether Mozambique can pull itself out of its economic malaise. Already, officials say, the war has cost 100,000 dead and \$5 billion in damage to the economy.

Mozambique's vital rail corridor from Zimbabwe to the port of Beira is of crucial importance to the issue of sanctions against South Africa and to the heavy economic dependency of black southern African states on South Africa, and the surge of the South African-backed Renamo activity in northern Mozambique can be traced to plans to get the port functioning again, according to analysts at the Center for African Studies.

"South Africa has a vested interest in destabilizing Mozambique through its surrogates in [Renamo]. That's why we are seeing this escalation of aggression against the Frelimo government. They have nothing to gain by presenting even a facade of nonaggression," said Rob Davies, a South African who since 1979 has done strategic research at the center.

A senior western diplomat, saying that there was no question in his mind that Renamo guerrillas are getting "outside help," said the Mozambican Army has been hampered by disorganization and a breakdown in logistics. He noted that when the Frelimo Party took over in 1975, the Soviets provided MiG fighters and tanks in anticipation of conventional aggression from Rhodesia and South Africa, but did not equip or train the Army for guerrilla warfare.

Consequently, the diplomat said, the insurgents have made substantial gains in the northern and central provinces, dealing the beleaguered Mozambican government that Machel left behind a further setback in its efforts to develop the country to its potential.

Ethiopia's self-proclaimed proletarian regime is becoming more so, involuntarily. On October 27th the country's foreign minister, Mr Goshu Wolde, during a visit to the United Nations in New York, defected to the United States. It is almost a year since the head and deputy head of the Ethiopian famine relief agency, and its ambassador to France, also bailed out. To run their diplomacy the Ethiopians need educated people who know the world; but such people will not stand the sort of petty surveillance to which their ignorant government subjects its senior servants.

Ethiopia today in several ways recalls the Russia of Stalin's time. Ethiopia's Marxism is enforced by methods inherited from the previous feudal regime. A

brutal secret police and an arbitrary authority whose servants are too frightened to take any initiative were the hallmarks of the empire that faded when Haile Selassie was overthrown 12 years ago. Much the same happened when Stalin took over the tsar's legacy in Russia.

The Ethiopian ruling clique, the *dergue*, like the Soviet political bureau of the mid-1920s, rules a polyglot peasant nation whose people have grown used to obedience. The educated defect from

such tyrannies. The peasants remain, because they can imagine nothing else. The kulaks are disposed of. The Russians proved that vast state farms can be even more inefficient than vast private landholdings, communist indoctrination even more obscurantist than Orthodoxy. They even foreshadowed Ethiopia's policy of relocating communities from overcrowded provinces to emptier regions, with all the disastrous results that forced removals lead to.

Ethiopia's educated exiles talk without conviction of a burgeoning internal resistance. But they also know that each defection breeds greater suspicion of the educated few left behind, so driving them too into exile. The West, meanwhile, sends food that keeps the starving alive, but which also helps sustain the regime that created the famine. The Russians send the agricultural advisers who help to ruin the farms, and the guns that give the *dergue* its power.

Mr Gorbachev's new-look team in Moscow may know that Stalinist methods do Ethiopia no good at all. But pulling out of the Horn of Africa would look like a strategic retreat rather than a humanitarian change of policy. Ethiopia's descent will almost certainly continue.

## LONG-BUILT DREAMS... (CONTINUED)

community council was elected by a handful of residents to run Oukasié — an ill-tended place of broken streets that has bucket sewerage and 54 communal taps for a remaining population estimated at 10,000.

The community councilors — viewed in South Africa as stooges of white designs — canvassed support for the idea of moving to Lethlabile, where the authorities have provided running water and flush toilets to reinforce the argument that Oukasié is unhygienic.

So, according to opponents of the move, up to 7,000 people followed the councilors to Lethlabile — a place that glimmers in the scrub from the zinc of tin houses. The numbers that have left are cited as evidence that the removal is voluntary, but activists opposed to the move argue that, confronted with the possibility of a bulldozer flattening a home, many would move, simply to pre-empt total loss.

## Toilets Come First

As in other places in South Africa where a removal of people is contemplated, the authorities have signalled their vision of the extent of the move by carving the as yet uninhabited parts of Lethlabile into plots, demarcated by tin toilets. Always, it seems, the toilets come first — lonesome sentinels in the bush, emblems of a design.

When the people moved to Lethlabile, their homes were bulldozed earlier this year. So Africa's summer, stirring now, has coaxed forth the lilac-shaded

jacaranda over rubble interspersed with the homes — some solid and made of brick, some others of rusting tin — of those who do not want to go. The jacaranda has blossomed, too, over the graveyard, where, local churchmen say, the authorities have forbidden burials, saying the dead, like the living, must now go to Lethlabile.

Lethlabile, moreover, lies close to the frontier with the nominally independent so-called tribal homeland of Bophuthatswana. Were it to be incorporated into the homeland — as some suspect it will — then its residents will lose the automatic right to seek work in the country of their birth.

Mr. Ranuga, whose brother, Thomas, practices medicine in Boston, sees little point in going. Yet a rambling conversation with him and others in his large lounge seem to demarcate, too, the limits of black resistance.

He came here for the first time, he said, in 1947, to court Agnes, who works as a cleaner in the white town of Brits, and moved here in 1950 to pay her bride-price and settle. He worked then for a white real estate agent, Danie Potgieter, painting homes for whites during the week and building his own place at weekends.

Word of Oukasié's "deproclamation," Mr. Ranuga said, reached him when Agnes came home with a discarded Afrikaans-language newspaper that carried a report about it. No one he said, had told him personally.



## SOUTH AFRICAN PULLOUT (Continued)

non-white, and IBM will continue its investment in social reform that last year saw \$15 million going to education and legal reform. Earlier, Coca-Cola had said it would sell its interests to black entrepreneurs, a step that would strengthen the voice of the majority, still excluded from a political role, in the economy.

The Ford Motor Co., when it reduced its interests to a 42% minority share of the South African operation in 1985, made acceptance of the Sullivan Principles an element of the merger agreement. That is a minimum condition of any sellout.

General Motors has not yet indicated how it will arrange its departure. It would be particularly regrettable, if the arrangements failed to include agreements designed to make the most of the opportunity to influence the reform of South African society, to elevate the role of the black majority. The Rev. Leon Sullivan devised the Sullivan Code as a member of the GM board of directors and GM has been a strong supporter of work place justice in South Africa.

Unfortunately, some companies have sold out unconditionally, missing an opportunity to influence events.

An opportunity to enhance the future of blacks is open both to American companies that remain engaged in the South African economy and those that use their departure to reinforce the principles most have long espoused

ceremony.

"It is time to raise our eyes once again to the horizon and to move ahead," Mr. Shultz said.

The Reagan administration searched for a black ambassador for several months, choosing Mr. Perkins, 58, a career bureaucrat and ambassador to the West African nation of Liberia.

The search for a black was widely criticized by leaders of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement as an attempt by the Reagan administration to put a "black face" on a failing policy.

Mr. Perkins used his swearing-in ceremony to respond to those charges, saying that he is in a unique position to understand the fears and aspirations of all sides in South Africa.

"As a black American, as a member of a minority that was long op-

pressed," Mr. Perkins said he has "special empathy" for the white minority that fears it may lose rights. But at the same time, he said he was "deeply in sympathy" with the "aspirations of South Africa's majority for justice and the right to be represented in their government."

Mr. Shultz promised that reports by Mr. Perkins would help shape future U.S. policy in southern Africa. The policy now has broadened from one of "constructive engagement" — quiet diplomacy with the focus on the white government — to encompass a new outreach to all black opposition forces, with a new emphasis on contact with the outlawed African National Congress designed to woo it away from communist allegiances.

The swearing-in ceremony, which was held in an opulent chamber on the top floor of the State Department, was attended by one of the delegates whether he was a Marxist, Chissano patiently explained that he was, and that he would make no apologies for it, according to one diplomat who attended the meeting.

The diplomat quoted Chissano as saying, "But let me explain. I think you Americans have a concept of Marxist-Leninists as people wearing Che Guevara T-shirts and carrying AK47s. We realize that Marxism doesn't give an explanation of how the world began. We've

learned that Marxism doesn't always work. But don't expect us to give up this ideology."

The U.S. delegation left after its day-long fact-finding tour considerably impressed with Mozambique's potential as at least a friendly partner of the United States, the diplomat said.

Chissano was born in a small town in Gaza, a southern province. In colonial Mozambique, he was one of the first black students enrolled at Maputo's principal high school

ment, drew more than 400 people, the largest attendance that Mr. Shultz said he had seen for such an event.

Attending the ceremony were South African Ambassador Herbert Beukes, as well as Benjamin Hooks, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Shultz acknowledged that Mr. Perkins is embarking on the toughest diplomatic assignment — that of helping polarized factions negotiate a new, non-racial government.

"Pressures from all of the many sides will tear at Ambassador Perkins as each demands, in a sense, total U.S. support," Mr. Shultz said. "It is this noisy divisiveness in South Africa that means our diplomacy

there is conducted in a minefield.

"It will take a man of Ed Perkins' strength to keep U.S. diplomacy aimed resolutely at its goals when so many will be trying to twist our arm, warp our message or manipulate our efforts."

Mr. Perkins said the United States has strength through its diversity. It has come through internal struggles, the Civil War, the Labor Movement, the civil rights protests, and the fight for women's rights which have "left our nation stronger and wiser, and with lessened fear of further change."

"America's hopes for South Africa are, therefore, based solidly on our national experience which teaches us that even the seemingly impossible may in time be achieved by men and women of good will," Mr. Perkins said.

## SONG OF PEACE FROM

### PRETORIA (Continued)

"The whole thing is a shambles," said Peter Soal, spokesman on information issues for the opposition Progressive Federal Party. "One day when we abandon apartheid, the whole world will sing."

"It's a carbon copy of 'We Are the World,'" he said, referring to a song that raised millions of dollars for refugee relief. "The National Party has failed to show any imagination."

Mr. Steward, though, defended the tract as more than a simple song. "What we are doing here is articulating a message of hope and confidence in the future," he said on a morning television program on Thursday.

"What this song is saying is what South Africans want to hear," he said. "They want this message to be broadcast, they want to reach out and touch one another, they want to work together for the future."

The song will be broadcast on television and radio, and a series of television spots in six languages — English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana and Sotho — will feature the videotape.

Critics had little complaint about the lyrics of the song, which say, "Now's the time to join our hands together. All together now heading for a land of harmony and peace and plenty."

"The words of the song one can have no complaints or problem with," Mr. Soal said. "But I fear that the song is not going to succeed because the funda-

## PERKINS VOWS GOODWILL TO ALL S. AFRICA (Continued)

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR OCTOBER 31, 1985

### UN famine aid official ordered to leave Sudan

Sudan has ordered the expulsion of Winston Prattley, the top United Nations official in Khartoum, the official Sudan News Agency reported yesterday. It quoted an authoritative source as saying Mr. Prattley, head of the UN emergency operation in Sudan, had contacted southern rebels about flying relief supplies to southern cities isolated by a three-year-old civil war.

mental problem is apartheid, racial domination."

Since its founding in September, the Bureau for Information has come under consistent fire from Government opponents who see it as little more than a wing of the governing National Party.

Previous public information campaigns have included booklets on regional dependency on South Africa, copies of President P.W. Botha's speeches and a newspaper advertising campaign.

During the state of emergency proclaimed in June, the bureau has provided the only "authorized" information on incidents of unrest in the country.

and won a scholarship to study medicine in Lisbon. He later went to Paris, where he met dos Santos and helped unite three rival liberation movements into the Frelimo Party.

During the guerrilla war against Portugal, Chissano headed Frelimo's security department. After the assassination of Frelimo's first president, just before independence, he sided with radicals in ousting conservatives from the party. He was prime minister in a nine-month transitional period that led to Mozambique's independence in 1975.

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October 22, 1986

Los Angeles Times

# Machel's Death Is Blow to Southern Africa

By WILLIAM MINTER

President Samora Machel of Mozambique, who died Sunday in a plane crash, was little known to most Americans. Yet to his country, and to the entire region locked in conflict with South Africa's apartheid regime, his death is comparable in impact to the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. or John F. Kennedy. For Africa, and for millions elsewhere who know Africa, the vibrant revolutionary statesman was one of the continent's modern heroes.

When I first met Machel in 1966, he was the guerrilla commander of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), fighting for independence from Portuguese colonial rule. He already was playing a central role not only in military strategy but in fostering a sense of national unity and dedication to the welfare of ordinary Mozambicans.

In 1969, when Frelimo's first president, Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated by Portuguese agents, it was Machel who pulled the movement together and led the country to independence six years later.

The new nation confronted immense difficulties. It was the least developed in southern Africa, with an illiteracy rate of more than 95%. It depended on the export of migrant labor to South Africa's mines and on its ports, which handled the commerce of white-ruled Rhodesia and South Africa. The majority of settlers, who had monopolized technical and administrative posts, fled, fearing Frelimo's Socialist policies or simply unwilling to accept equality with blacks. Many destroyed machinery and livestock before they left.

The new government made its share of mistakes, some out of ideological fervor, others from inexperience. Machel took the lead in criticizing his party's errors, exhorting the people to identify government failures and repeatedly adjusting his policies in response. But disastrous floods and the most prolonged drought in this century added to the president's difficulties.

Despite his country's problems, Machel played a leading role in the group known as the Frontline States during the campaign for Zimbabwean independence and in the negotiations that ended the guerrilla war there. He also was a catalyst in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, formed to promote regional development and efforts to lessen dependence on South Africa. While he recognized that his country could not afford to supply military aid, Machel was outspoken in support for the African National Congress in South Africa.

These efforts made him the target first of the Rhodesian regime and then of South Africa. In addition to direct attacks, the Rhodesians founded a paramilitary group, the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which they handed over to the South African military in 1980. By recruiting dissidents and forcing others into their ranks, these South African-sponsored bands laid waste to the Mozambican countryside, despite a 1984 non-aggression pact between the two countries. The MNR has failed to establish political credibility and its claim to control substantial territory is dubious, but its capacity to destroy and to erode confidence in the government is undeniable.

Mozambique's ability to respond has been weakened by South African economic sanctions, which cut traffic through the ports and, most recently, by the decision to repatriate more than 60,000 Mozambican migrant workers. The cumulative military and economic damage has exceeded \$4 billion. In recent years, many observers concluded that only the sheer determination of the Mozambican people and Machel's charisma were holding the country together.

His death comes as South Africa is stepping up its destabilization campaign. MNR troops have moved in from Malawi in

the northwest and South African troops have massed on the southwestern border. A Mozambique News Agency story only days before the crash referred to South African plots to kill Machel. Whether the crash eventually is traced to foul play or an accident, or remains a mystery, the MNR and its South African sponsors are sure to escalate the fight to topple Frelimo.

Such an outcome would be a drastic blow to Africa's campaign against the apartheid regime. It would isolate landlocked Zimbabwe and Zambia, cripple efforts to build economic independence and cooperate in sanctions against Pretoria. Machel's colleagues in the Frelimo leadership inherit his legacy of stubborn determination against great odds, and they will carry on. Zimbabwe and other countries will continue to aid Mozambique with troops and other assistance. But the future will be grim without large-scale international support.

Machel had a unique ability to inspire enthusiasm. His energy and capacity for dialogue with people ranging from illiterate peasants to conservative Western politicians won him love from his people and respect even from many of his enemies in South Africa. His vision of liberation was tempered by the conviction that compromise and patience might often prove the surest road forward.

His death is an incalculable loss for all who hope for a southern Africa free of racism and strife. But he would be the first to say, as he did in those troubled days after his predecessor's assassination, that the death of one man, however great, is not cause for despair but for renewed commitment.

*William Minter, a contributing editor of Africa News Service, is author of "King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa" (Basic Books, 1986).*

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