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*Durban*

*29th Floor*  
*Durban Bay House*  
*333 Smith Street*  
*Durban*

*Telephone 3044737*

# AF Press Clips

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THE WASHINGTON POST

OCTOBER 11, 1984

## S. Africa Said To Target Opposition

### 16 Leaders of Front Already Detained

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 9—The government appears to be planning action to neutralize South Africa's main multiracial opposition political movement, the United Democratic Front, which formed just over a year ago.

After two months of harassment, during which 16 of the movement's 40 executive members have been imprisoned without trial under the security laws, Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange gave an indication Friday of tougher action to come when he accused the front of pursuing the same revolutionary goals as the African National Congress, the banned guerrilla group fighting white rule in South Africa.

The United Democratic Front labels itself nonracial and its membership includes whites, Coloreds (the designation here for mixed race) and those of Indian origin, as well as the majority blacks. It takes as its charter the Freedom Declaration, an affirmation of human rights drafted by the African National Congress in 1955 and the only document of that body not to be banned.

Le Grange said the front was instigating a wave of unrest in black townships in which 80 blacks have been killed and more than 400 injured in clashes with the police over the past two months. He said it was doing this "to promote a climate of revolution."

Asked in a television interview two days later whether that meant he was going to outlaw the front, as

the congress was outlawed 24 years ago, driving it underground, Le Grange was noncommittal, saying only that "we are monitoring the situation day to day."

If Le Grange did ban the front, it would represent a reversal of a U.S.-supported trend of lifting internal political sanctions. Since June last year, more than 60 banning orders on individuals have been lifted, leaving only 10 banned.

The remaining members of the front's executive held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg today to discuss the threat to their movement, which is a federation claiming as affiliates 645 labor unions and community organizations with a combined membership put at 2 million. Some members said afterwards they thought Le Grange might ban several individual leaders and some of the more important affiliate bodies rather than the front.

Among the affiliates are student, sport, and church groups, the Natal Indian Congress, the political movement founded by Mohandas Gandhi in 1894, and the white National Union of South African students.

"It seems there is definitely some kind of action pending," said Cassim Saloojee, an executive member.

"We challenge the government to ban the front," said Trevor Manuel, the acting general secretary, who is standing in for one of the detained officials. "It will discover that we represent the will of the people, and that cannot be banned."

The front does seem to have touched a popular chord since a young Colored preacher, Allan Boesak, floated the idea of forming it in January last year. The front was launched at an enthusiastic rally of 10,000 people seven months later.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES  
OCTOBER 12, 1984

## South Africa Loan Ban Kills Export Control Bill

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 — After months of deadlock, an export control bill died in Congress today in the rush to adjourn, despite an 11th-hour effort to find a compromise acceptable to both the House and Senate.

The compromise failed when House Democrats insisted on adding a ban on new bank loans to the Government of South Africa and the bill's Republican managers in the Senate refused to accept it.

### Presidential Control Continues

The failure of Congress to renew the Export Administration Act, which expired Feb. 29, meant that the Government will continue to control exports under a Presidential declaration of an economic emergency.

At the Commerce Department, William T. Archey, the Acting Assistant Secretary for Trade Administration, said: "Obviously, the Government's preference is to be under the Export Administration Act rather than the International Economic Emergency Powers Act. But we've been under the I.E.E.P.A. for six or seven months now without significant problems. I don't think this is catastrophic."

Michael Samuels, a vice president of the United States Chamber of Commerce said: "We are deeply disappointed that, after all the work that so many well-intentioned people put into this, in the end there was no legislation."

A Senate-House conference committee had been debating conflicting versions of a renewed Export Administration Act for five months but never reached full agreement. Late Wednesday the Senate passed a new bill of its own, hoping the House would find its concessions on two contested issues acceptable.

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U. S. Department of State



# Pinching Pretoria's Purse

Regarding South Africa, the Reagan Administration has insisted that its quiet, firm approach would somehow moderate that country's racial tyranny. But the fruits of "constructive engagement" look sour even to the Republican-led Senate, which has yielded in conference to a House bill that gives symbolic expression to America's abhorrence. The measure would bar American bank loans to South Africa's Government and require the State Department to comment on the racial policies of American companies doing business in South Africa.

Two hurdles remain: a final vote once conferees resolve unrelated differences in an omnibus export bill, and a Presidential signature. The Administration objects to the measure but may have to let the President sign to get the reforms in export licensing to which it is attached.

It would be only a slap at the hateful system of apartheid. Of the \$4 billion in outstanding loans to South Africa by American banks, only \$388 million is to the Government or its entities. Pretoria can doubtless raise this money elsewhere. As for monitoring employment practices, many American companies in South Africa already adhere voluntarily to the fair practices code propounded in 1977 by the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia.

Still, this measure sends a message of concern for the 21 million blacks who are legally and often brutally kept aliens in their own country. The Administration's attempts to wheedle relaxations

from Pretoria have left the false impression that Americans regard the claims of oppressors and oppressed with fine impartiality.

South Africa's white rulers have responded to a more sympathetic White House with only a pretense of change. Prime Minister P.W. Botha is now called President, but only 4.5 million whites may vote for him. A limited franchise has been granted to 2.8 million persons of mixed race and to 800,000 Indians, but their delegates sit in segregated chambers debating laws they cannot really alter.

Most Asian and colored voters boycotted the election. Six of their leaders sought asylum in a British consulate. Blacks in townships and gold mines rioted just as the new Parliament that again excludes them was assembling.

The only diplomatic fruit of "constructive engagement" is a precarious truce between South Africa and Marxist Mozambique. What was to have been the great prize — a deal ending a bush war in Angola and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia — proved beyond reach.

So the Senate swallowed its doubts and agreed to some of the sanctions first proposed by Representative Stephen Solarz of Brooklyn. The final version wisely eliminates making compliance with the Sullivan code mandatory and having it policed by the State Department. But some concern for elementary justice in the workplace is no more intrusive than the United States' insistence that Nicaragua meet some democratic standards in its forthcoming election.

THE WASHINGTON POST

OCTOBER 8, 1984

## Somber Footnote

A SOMBER American footnote must be appended to the case of the three South African political fugitives who on Saturday walked out of the British consulate in Durban, where they had enjoyed sanctuary for nearly a month, and were promptly detained without charges by the police. The three, and three others who remain in the British consulate, had found refuge there after leading a boycott of South Africa's new constitutional system.

A statement issued by the three still in British care said that their comrades had walked out to expose the South African government's disrespect for the rule of law. What the South African government obviously is intending to say is that, although a majority of Indians and Coloreds reject the new system and the black majority entirely rejects it, the regime means to hold fast. The three who are back in detention have bravely made their point.

The statement issued by the three still in the British consulate also included a harsh attack on the Reagan administration. This is our special concern. The United States had protested the earlier detention of the six fugitives, and the prospect—for three of them now a reality—of their further detention if they left the consulate. But last week, when lawyers for the six asked the United States and a few other Western governments for "sanctuary and every possible assistance," the American Embassy denied sanctuary

on grounds that the customary standard of imminent physical peril had not been met.

In general, requests for sanctuary are extremely difficult for U.S. embassies, forcing them to choose between honoring the American tradition of humanitarianism and hospitality to political dissent and getting along with the host government and conducting business as usual. In this case, however, it is necessary to ask how the South African government interpreted the embassy's rejection of the request—a rejection handed down *after* Pretoria had declared that U.S. assistance to the fugitives would amount to encouraging a criminal act. Did that rejection contribute to a calculation by the South African government that it could safely rearrest the fugitives without fear of an untoward official American reaction?

Actually it is not at all clear that last week the American Embassy needed to reply directly to the fugitives' request for sanctuary, since at that point the six were still in the British consulate. Saying no, however, and on the bureaucratic and lawyerish grounds cited, quite possibly conveyed a deadly impression of bowing to South African intimidation. Regardless of whether the South Africans took the American stance into account when they rearrested the three on Saturday, it was a wrong decision. What is the United States government now planning to do to secure their release?



# S. Africa's Guerrillas

## White-Backed Rebel Force Weakens Mozambique

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

**HARARE, Zimbabwe**—It is an African guerrilla movement like no other. The founders were not black intellectuals or peasants seeking to defeat European colonialism, but rather white spy masters. The movement was born not in the African bush, but in the capital of what was then white-ruled Rhodesia.

Over the last five years the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, through economic sabotage and terror tactics, has brought the government of black-ruled Mozambique to its knees, forcing it to bargain with white-ruled South Africa. Last Wednesday South Africa announced that the two sides had agreed to a cease-fire.

In the process, analysts say the Mozambique National Resistance Movement has stunted the economic life of five other black nations in southern Africa, forcing them, too, into greater dependence on their hated neighbor to the south.

Created more than a decade ago by Rhodesian intelligence officials who foresaw the collapse of their Portuguese colonial allies in neighboring Mozambique, the Mozambique National Resistance Movement was passed on to South Africa when Rhodesia became black-ruled Zimbabwe in 1980. Nurtured by outside money and South African expertise, it has grown into an effective tool for pressuring not only the Marxist government of Mozambique, but also that of neighboring Zimbabwe, whose fuel, transport and food relief supplies have been threatened with strangulation by the rebels.

Despite South African denials, American diplomats and other analysts are convinced that the Mozambique National Resistance Movement has received most of its support from South Africa and is under Pretoria's control.

That control now is being tested by an agreement made last March between South Africa and Mozambique that commits Pretoria to quelling the insurgency. Its inability to do so suggests to some analysts that forces outside South Africa's control have at least a measure of influence over the movement.

The origins of the resistance movement have been clothed in secrecy for years. But following last week's announcement in South Africa that the government of Mozambique President Samora Machel and the rebel group have declared their intent to seek a truce, a former senior Rhodesian intelligence official who played a major role in establishing the movement in the early 1970s agreed to discuss its birth under the condition that he not be named.

In the '70s, he said, analysts for the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization wanted to keep close watch on the more than 500 miles of border Rhodesia shared with Mozambique. They

needed information about Frelimo, the Mozambican liberation movement, and about its black Rhodesian guerrilla allies who were preparing to launch their own war of liberation against the government of Ian Smith.

Finding Portuguese intelligence capabilities inadequate, they decided to establish their own information network. A training base was established on a farm near the city of Umtali (now Mutare) and later a clandestine radio station known

as the Voice of Free Africa was set up and operated from the Rhodesian side of the border.

Recruits poured in, the official said. Many were former Frelimo soldiers who had grown disenchanted with the movement's Marxist orientation and who, in some cases, had run afoul of Frelimo's tight code against corruption.

"Normally it is very difficult to set up networks—the work is hard and the risks are great," said the former official. "But in this case, it was almost too easy. We looked for disaffection which we could latch onto and promote—and there was plenty of it."

"They were there as an extra set of eyes and ears, and to provide a haven for our people when we went across the border. They accepted our pay, our weapons and our food to build themselves up into a resistance movement."

When Portugal's right-wing government fell in 1974 and Machel assumed power the following year, the Rhodesians stepped up their support for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. The official said they were inundated with white Portuguese volunteers from the former colonial government. A handful were taken on, he said, but Rhodesia's intelligence director, Ken Flower, resisted others because he insisted on keeping the movement small, manageable, clandestine and African.

"It never exceeded 500 men, and that was done purposely," the source said. "We weren't interested in mercenaries, and we didn't want anyone to be able to say this thing had been created by us. So we kept it small."

There was one exception, he said. The Rhodesians agreed to take on Orlando Cristina, a white Portuguese who had been an aide to Jorge Jardim, one of Mozambique's wealthiest men. Jardim, reportedly the late Portuguese dictator Antonio Salazar's personal business representative in Mozambique, had fled after Frelimo took power. Cristina eventually became the number two man in the movement and Jardim reportedly provided funds to help keep the organization alive after the Rhodesians pulled out.

The South African government under Prime Minister John Vorster disapproved of Rhodesian clandestine operations and had warned Ian Smith against setting up the guerrilla movement. It was only in 1978, after Vorster's forced retirement and the rise of then-defense minister Pieter W. Botha to the prime ministership, that Pretoria began to express an interest in the movement.

The group's Rhodesian connection began to fray in 1979, when the Smith government

agreed to sit down with its black guerrilla opponents at the Lancaster House talks in London, the former official said.

The Mozambican rebels were offered three options: bury their arms and return home; leave Mozambique via Rhodesia and settle elsewhere or go to work for the South Africans, who had become eager to take over the operation. "The majority chose to accept South African control," he said.

White Rhodesia became black-ruled Zimbabwe, and in March 1980, within days of the election that brought guerrilla leader Robert Mugabe to power, the operation was handed over to South African military intelligence.

The South Africans regrouped the force, brought in fresh supplies and arms and expanded the force with white former Portuguese secret police and military personnel who had fled to

South Africa from Mozambique following independence.

Alfonso Dhlakama, a former Frelimo soldier with backing from Cristina and Jardim, became the movement's field commander. According to apparently authentic documents captured in December 1981, the South Africans set up a training base at Zoabostad in the Transvaal and sent specialists and instructors into Mozambique to train the guerrillas and participate in raids by the rebel group.

By 1983, the movement was conducting a coordinated campaign against Frelimo. Buses and trains were sabotaged, food supplies from Maputo to remote rural areas were cut off, uncooperative rural peasants had their ears, lips and noses mutilated. The oil pipeline between the Mozambican port of Beira and Zimbabwe was blown up several times and, in perhaps the movement's most audacious operation, two dozen Soviet mining technicians were kidnapped and held for several months.

Kidnap victims and other witnesses to attacks by the resistance movement say the rebels operate in well coordinated units, using sound military tactics. They often appear well-armed and well-fed. But unlike other African liberation movements, the group has never developed its own ideology nor articulated a political alternative to the Marxism it seeks to overthrow.

For several years, the intelligence official said, the Mozambican authorities appeared not to take the movement seriously, dismissing it as a group of mere "bandits." But in 1983 the government launched a

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OCTOBER 5, 1984

# South Africa suddenly allows Cape blacks to compete for jobs

By Humphrey Tyler

Cape Town

Blacks in the southern part of South Africa appear to be getting a limited better deal from the nation's white-minority government:

For the first time blacks in Cape Province will be allowed 99-year leases on their homes, rather than short-term rentals, and apparently are to be allowed to compete for jobs on a more equal footing with people of other racial backgrounds.

The changes, announced last week at a Cape Province meeting of the ruling National Party, appear to knock a dent into the white government's policy of strict racial segregation of every facet of life. They acknowledge the presence of blacks in Cape Province.

Until now, the Nationalists have insisted that Africans should never be allowed to gain a permanent foothold in the huge Western Cape section of Cape Province, whatever happened elsewhere in the country. The government went so far as to formally draw a line on the map to make it

THE WASHINGTON POST

## Jackson Urges South Africa to Let Him Visit

By Michel Marriott  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, eager to take a group of church leaders to strife-torn South Africa, yesterday urged the government of that white-ruled nation to allow him to enter the country shortly after next month's presidential election.

Jackson, speaking to a crowd of about 150 people gathered near the South African embassy for a demonstration and prayer vigil, warned that he would step up demonstrations here if the South African government denies his request for a visitor's visa. South Africa has been rocked by recent unrest linked to constitutional changes that include Indian and mixed-race citizens into its parliament but excludes the country's black majority.

"The apartheid regime over the past several weeks has been conducting mass arrests and ordering detentions of religious and political

## 6 Boycotted Schools Reopen Near Pretoria

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 11 (AP) — Six black high schools reopened today, five months after they were shut down because of boycotts. Only about a third of the students returned to classes.

Job Schoeman of the Department of Education and Training said 2,300 students showed up for school in the six high schools in Atteridgeville Township outside Pretoria. Mr. Schoeman said other boycotts continued in townships east and south of Johannesburg, with more than 100,000 black students staying away from classes.

The boycotts were begun for a variety of reasons, including charges of inferior education for blacks.

clear: thus far, and no farther.

In striking down its policy giving job preference to people of mixed race in the Cape, it appears that at least some blacks will be able take jobs other than the heavy manual labor most usually do here. The Colored preference policy in effect allowed whites and people of mixed race — even immigrants — to jump ahead of blacks in the job line, even if the blacks are well qualified for jobs.

But opposition to the policy has been building for years. Even many Coloreds, whose jobs were in theory protected by the policy, said the practice was unfair and unnecessary.

The policy changes, which seemed to come out of the blue last week, are widely welcomed here. But there is still deep suspicion about how the leasehold

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## Three Judges Reject Fugitives' Plea

Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 8—Three judges rejected today an application by six South African political fugitives, who took refuge in the British Consulate in Durban a month ago, to declare invalid government notices issued for their detention without charges. A spokesman for the six, Pravin Gordhan, said in a telephone interview from Durban that they would appeal the judgment.

dispensation will be applied.

Suspensions center on the apparent intention that blacks will be allowed 99-year leases only in one area — the sandy, windswept new township of Khayelitsha, located some 20 miles from Cape Town. The site is farther away from jobs than most other black settlements.

The government announced this past Tuesday that between 70,000 and 80,000 Africans who are living in squatter camps near the city will be moved to Khayelitsha soon. Many blacks worry that they will be forced to leave their current homes for Khayelitsha against their will.

The Western Cape was the only area in which the black presence was essentially unrecognized.

Some analysts say the change reflects an acknowledgement by the government that its influx-control policies — designed to keep blacks out of urban areas — have failed.

OCTOBER 11, 1984

leaders protesting the racist policies of the regime," Jackson said.

Jackson also criticized the recent decision made by Herman Nickel, the U.S. ambassador to South Africa, to refuse the requests of six black South African leaders for refuge in the United States. Jackson said human rights in South Africa "must be measured by the same yardstick" as human rights in Poland.

A "Tarzan policy" toward Africa must end, Jackson said, adding that he will urge President Reagan and Walter F. Mondale to make South Africa a "centerpiece" of their upcoming foreign policy presidential debate.

Jackson also threatened protests if a black reporter is not among the panel of journalists who will question Reagan and Mondale at their Oct. 21 debate.

Earlier in the day, at a cordial 10-minute meeting with South African Ambassador Brand Fourie, Jackson said he was told that permission for him to travel through South Africa would require special

attention from high-ranking government officials. Jackson said he made his request several weeks ago.

But Fourie, in a telephone interview, said Jackson was told that it would be "inopportune" for him to enter the country this year, and refused to elaborate. Fourie said that Jackson "never mentioned" plans to increase protests if a visa was not granted.

Jackson said he and a small group of church leaders want to meet with South African church and labor leaders, educators and government officials. Specifically, Jackson said he wants to talk with South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha, imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and to his wife, Winnie Mandela, who has been placed in political and social exile.

"If we cannot get into South Africa we must stand here and protest our inability to communicate," he said. "We simply must put our bodies on the lines as living sacrifices to show just how serious we are . . ."



# Youngsters Held in South African Unrest

## 12-Year-Old Describes Detention; Aide Says Youths Released to Parents' Custody

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

SHARPEVILLE, South Africa—When 12-year-old Isaac Raboyame disappeared during the unrest that shook this black township south of Johannesburg last month, his grandmother was frantic.

For four days Eva Raboyame, 72, with whom the boy lives, searched the ghetto's dusty streets looking for him. He was nowhere to be found.

Then word reached Raboyame that her grandson had been arrested and was in police custody. For more than three weeks, the 12-year-old was kept locked in a cell at the nearby Vereeniging Police Station. On Sept. 28 a court ordered his release and a lawyer took him home.

Young Isaac is one of dozens of children who have landed in prison cells as the South African police have sought to quell the disturbances that have erupted during the past month, according to lawyers involved in the cases.

Their tactics have been to detain large numbers of people for several weeks while interrogators seek the "agitators" they believe must be behind the unrest.

The process, itself rough-and-ready in the midst of the disturbances, has been accompanied by many allegations of brutal treatment in the cells.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Lt. H.J. Beck, said last week that he did know how many children had been arrested since the unrest began. Asked why children as young as Isaac Raboyame were kept in custody, Beck said: "When you arrest someone in the street you can't just warn him then and there to appear in court. They are kept until their parents can be traced, then they are released into the custody of their parents."

Lawyers handling the cases estimate that as many as two-thirds of the 2,000 or more people who were arrested during the unrest have been under the age of 18.

Isaac Raboyame said there was another 12-year-old, Sile Matsile, in the cell with him. Lawyers involved in the cases say they know of a boy of 9 and another of 10 who were detained, and "quite a number" aged 12 to 14.

The unrest in the black townships during the past month, like that in Soweto in 1976, when more than 600 persons died, has been largely a revolt of the young. Students have taken the lead in demonstrations protesting what they regard as their inferior system of segregated education, and a new constitution introduced by the white-minority government that extends limited political rights to some nonwhites but not to the black-majority population.

The students also have been boycotting classes, and last week all black schools in Johannesburg and the heavily populated areas to the east and south were empty. More than 220,000 students were said to have joined the boycott, which continued Monday amid new clashes between police and protesters.

Youngsters like Isaac Raboyame are a different matter, however. He is in the third grade.

On Friday Isaac was playing soccer in the street outside the overcrowded matchbox house where he lives with his grandmother, three small cousins and another family of five. His father is dead, and his mother works as a live-in servant for a white family in another town.

He is small for his age and seemed afraid when a white reporter arrived to ask him about his experience in custody. But one of the adults living in the house took him on his knee and, reassured, the boy told his story.

He was going to play with a friend, he said, when suddenly he found himself in the middle of a mob that was being charged by riot police. Isaac said he tried to run, but a police officer grabbed him and shoved him into the back of a van.

The officer hit him on the head with a rifle butt, Isaac said, taking off a brown woolen cap to reveal a gash that still has not healed.

"I was very frightened," Isaac went on, "and I cried when the man hit me." At the police station, he said, he was locked in a cell with seven other persons. He and Masile were ordered to clean the cell each day.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

OCTOBER 10, 1984

## South Africa to Give Students A Small Voice in the Schools

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

PRETORIA, South Africa, Oct. 9 — South African authorities announced plans for a democratization of the nation's troubled schools today in what seemed an ambivalent concession to the thousands of students who have been boycotting classes since May.

Meanwhile, army units that have been helping police patrol black townships for four days were reported today to have withdrawn. But the Law and Order Minister, Louis Le Grange, said they would be deployed again "if it becomes necessary." Sporadic violence continued in townships near here and outside Johannesburg.

The plans for Students Representative Councils announced today — a principle demand made by the 150,000 pupils currently staying away from classes — seemed limited since they do not alter the fundamental racial imbalances in South Africa's segregated educational system and appear to envisage a role for student representatives as the policemen of their classrooms.

Offering a counterpoint to the purported liberalization in the educational system, security policemen raided the offices of anti-Government groups, including a picture agency, in central Johannesburg today and seized video cassettes, film reels and photographs, witnesses said.

Six schools near Pretoria, closed since May, are to reopen Thursday and attendance, or the absence of it, will provide a critical first test of the authorities' plans. Student leaders have not so far commented on the "guide-

lines," which include an ominous suggestion that Representative Councils assist "parents with the funeral arrangements of fellow students."

Several high-school students have been among the 80 people said by the authorities to have died since unrest flared in black townships, mine compounds and campuses last month.

Moreover, Gerrit Viljoen, the Cabinet minister responsible for the education of 1.7 million black pupils outside South Africa's tribal "homelands," said at a news conference here that the Government's intention in establishing Representative Councils next January was "to keep communication open no matter how critical the inputs might be."

"But we will not allow these bodies to be used for ulterior political purposes," he said.

The guidelines issued today say Student Representative Councils should act as representatives of pupils and serve as channels of communication between students and staff. But they also say the councils should "assist in maintaining order in the school" and should "set a positive example of discipline, loyalty, respect, punctuality, academic thoroughness, morality, cooperation and active participation in school activities."

Among the functions they suggest for high school students who have shown themselves in recent months to be increasingly politicized are arranging tea parties with the staff, congratulating teachers on their birthdays, taking care of the principal's office and serving refreshments at official functions.

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OCTOBER 12, 1984

## Envoy Plans Africa Tour

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 (UPI) — Gen. Vernon A. Walters, President Reagan's special envoy, will travel to Africa next week and will represent the United States in Somalia on Oct. 21 at the 15th anniversary of that country's revolution, the State Department said today. He is also to visit Mali, Niger, Chad and Cameroon for discussions of topics including economic problems and what the State Department said was widespread concern about the role of Libya in sub-Saharan Africa.



# Impasse Separates South African President and Zulu Leader

By JACK FOISIE, *Times Staff Writer*

ULUNDI, South Africa—In troubled South Africa, where racial tension often erupts in violence, the most powerful men in the two camps—in terms of popular political support—have had no meaningful meeting since 1980.

The impasse is between President Pieter W. Botha, the leader of the white government, and Gatscha Buthelezi, chief minister of 6 million Zulus, South Africa's largest and most politicized black tribe.

The failure of Botha and Buthelezi to meet for a serious discussion of the racial problem is puzzling, because Botha shows no reluctance to talk with other black leaders. And Buthelezi is one of the few influential Africans who believes there is still time to negotiate a power-sharing arrangement with whites.

Many South Africans, of differing political views, are concerned that if these two men of moderation and flexibility cannot bring themselves to talk to each other, then the chances for a peaceful resolution of the racial conflict are indeed slim.

The two men dislike and distrust each other. Both are stubborn and perhaps unduly sensitive to what they consider slights to their persons and to the offices they hold.

Buthelezi has rejected invitations to attend Botha's dinners for the leaders of the so-called tribal homelands. Zulu tradition has it that one must not break bread with another until their private differences have been settled.

For his part, Botha has indicated that if Buthelezi wants to see him, he must make an appointment through official channels.

A more substantial reason for the standoff may be that Buthelezi has declined to go along with plans for making the Zulu territories the tribal homeland of Kwazulu on the pattern set by the establishment of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda. These tribal areas are considered independent states by the South African government, though by no others.

Buthelezi has accepted the white government's offer to create a self-administered Kwazulu, but is refusing to consider the next and final step, which would make Kwazulu an "independent national state." This would mean loss of South African citizenship for the 6 million Zulus.

"As long as the sun rises in the

east and sets in the west, we will never take the kind of independence Pretoria is offering us," Buthelezi has said.

Divesting blacks of their citizenship allows the South African government to continue to deny them the vote. The plan is to assign all South African blacks, eventually, to independent tribal areas. Ten are planned, but only the four have been established so far.

Pieter Koornhof, South Africa's minister of black affairs, said recently: "Each black nation that becomes independent is a guarantee that one man, one vote in a unitary state in South Africa is impossible."

By rejecting independence on Pretoria's terms, Buthelezi is putting in jeopardy the white strategy

for continuing to control South Africa even though whites are outnumbered almost 5 to 1 by blacks. Botha is angered by Buthelezi's refusal to play ball.

Buthelezi, who is not noted for his tact, has taken every public opportunity to rejoice in his defiance. He recently told a white audience: "Because I have taught Mr. P.W. Botha a thing or two by refusing to be bullied by him, he now resorts to pouring insults and threats on my head. We will not be intimidated by anything he does."

Thus Buthelezi, who is well-educated and speaks English fluently, is every bit as tenacious an opponent of white domination as was the legendary Zulu warrior Shaka, who in the 19th Century fought with a spear and a shield of animal skins.

## Most Government Aid

Although he is not on good terms with Botha, Buthelezi has maintained good relations with other prominent officials in the white government, and so has managed to get more financial assistance from Pretoria than any of the black homelands.

This may be in part because the Zulu territory is the largest and the most fragmented of the homelands. On the map, it appears as 10 scattered bits of land. Actually there are 40, left over after English and Afrikaner pioneers took the more desirable areas. Because of this, Kwazulu is an administrative nightmare. Moreover, there is severe overcrowding in some parts and many undernourished Zulus.

Unemployment rises every year,

despite a relatively successful industrial development program that has brought in 86 small factories, financed largely by foreign investors. And nature seems to have conspired against the territory. There were three straight years of drought, followed last year by floods that cut off all access by land to Ulundi, the capital.

It is here in Ulundi, three hours by car north of Durban, that Buthelezi has built a complex of government buildings on an old Zulu battleground. The Botha government considers the new legislative assembly hall so lavish it is refusing to pay for it.

From his suite of offices in this complex, Buthelezi recently entertained a group of foreign journalists, pressing on them a stack of his speeches and position papers and sending aides scurrying for more material whenever he felt his answers to questions required elaboration.

Buthelezi, seated at the head of a polished conference table, said: "South Africa is moving inexorably toward a multiracial future. There is no doubt whatsoever that apartheid society will disintegrate in the face of social, political and economic realities."

"There is no doubt whatsoever," he said, "that in this day and age the less than one-fifth of the population which is white simply cannot succeed in concentrating power in white hands."

White South Africans cannot expect to have 87% of the land for themselves, he said, and added: "There is just no question of the country's 22 million Africans ever accepting being disenfranchised in the land of their birth. The question is, how many people will need to die and suffer to bring about the radical changes in this country that the Western world and all civilized men demand?"

He also talked about his advocacy of nonviolence.

"The black majority of this country clearly understands," he said, "that the armed struggle will not succeed as a main strategy in the struggle for liberation. . . . The politics of anger and violence does not have a track record of achieving anything."

Buthelezi's emphasis on moderation is supported by the party he formed in 1975, called Inkatha. Originally a Zulu cultural organization, it is now admittedly political.

Continued on pg. 16



## PRETORIA WILL USE ARMY TO END RIOTS

Troops Are 'Made Available'  
in Support of Police Units

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 7 — South African authorities say they will use the army to support the police in fighting a wave of unrest in recent weeks that has resulted in 80 deaths in a crackdown on dissent.

A police spokesman confirmed tonight that army units had been deployed in Soweto, the huge black township outside Johannesburg, and had been "made available to the police to use as and when they think fit." He declined to give further details.

In a speech Friday night, Louis Le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, said units from the South African Defense Force would support the police "in riot control and all other circumstances that we may decide."

### Police Force to Grow

Moreover, he said, the civilian police will be expanded by 45 percent, from 47,000 to 68,000 people, apparently in acknowledgement that unrest is not likely to abate.

The decision to call in the army seemed to reflect mounting official concern at the persistence of township violence. In the past, the authorities have been reluctant to acknowledge the military's involvement in combating unrest in black residential areas. The deployment of troops is certain to anger many blacks, since it will more than likely be seen as a signal that the authorities seek confrontation, not conciliation.

Equally, however, it seems to raise questions about the relationship between the police and the military. While police statements suggest that the army will act under police orders, the deployment of military units seems to imply either an acknowledgement that greater muscle is required in coping with township unrest or a signal that the authorities have decided on a greater show of force to impress both black activists and their own white constituency.

Violence was reported continuing over the weekend with police spokesmen chronicling clashes with demonstrators at Joza, a black township outside the southern coastal city of Port Elizabeth on Saturday night, near Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, and at several locations in the black townships encircling Johannesburg.

## African, in U.N., Demands Rights for Third World

By JAMES FERON  
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 4 — The leader of Bourkina Fasso, formerly Upper Volta, said in the General Assembly today that, while his country was part of what has been "maliciously baptized" as the third world, "we won't be the world left behind by the West."

In a fiery speech, the leader of the West African nation, Capt. Thomas Sankara, called on developing countries to maintain the struggle against foreign domination.

At the same time, he denounced "development specialists in the third world who are sending us back to the world of slavery."

Very few countries, he said, "have been as inundated with aid as mine has been," but "look at the wretchedness we inherited."

Saying that "our ideas have come from elsewhere," he chided countrymen who he said "had attended European universities but brought back only their diplomas."

Captain Sankara, who is President of the ruling National Revolutionary Council, said Bourkina Fasso had experienced all the problems that had been weighing on the third world.

"We have 7 million people, of whom 6 million are peasants," he said. "Our infant mortality rate is 180 per 1,000. We

Around 220,000 black high school students are said to be boycotting their classes to press demands ranging from classroom democratization to an overall improvement in black education.

In remarks to reporters Saturday, the Mayor of Soweto, Ephraim Tshabalala, said "There won't be any mercy if the army moves into Soweto."

He added, "There will be more deaths than now, and this is something we cannot afford."

Mr. Tshabalala said the police had told him that a battalion stationed in nearby Lenz would be used alongside the police to patrol the vast township.

In his speech, Mr. Le Grange did not make clear how the army would respond to civil unrest.

The decision to use the army — and to publicize the move — reflects the white authorities' determination to stifle unrest, commentators said, while the Government is pursuing changes in the political system. Last month a new Constitution was put into effect, providing limited political rights for people of Indian and mixed racial descent but ignoring the black majority.

Elections in August for nonwhite places in a new three-chamber Parliament were marked by widespread abstentions and unrest. The Government responded by detaining the leaders of the main movement, called the United Democratic Front, opposed to the new Constitution.

The proposed deployment of the army could have the additional effect of restricting news coverage of political unrest, and thus cushioning whites from reports of black dissatisfaction.

Under pervasive security legislation, troop movements may not be reported inside South Africa, so that, if troops

have one doctor per 50,000 people and a gross per capita income of \$100."

Captain Sankara, a 34-year-old paratrooper dressed in red beret and camouflage uniform, was a colorful figure, both on the podium and, flanked by guards and officials, walking the halls of the United Nations.

He said his nation was learning to live simply as it managed its austerity. And he called for a "new system of international economic relations," with developing nations granted a decision-making role.

The Foreign Minister of Guinea, Facione Touré, also spoke of the political takeover in his country. He said the new Government had replaced a regime that had "enslaved" his people. Guinea's "needs are immense and its misfortunes great," he said.

Sudan's Foreign Minister, Hashim Osman Ahmed, spoke of his nation's colonial past, but said this "inheritance of an alien culture" was now replaced by an Islamic way of life. He, too, concentrated on the economic crisis in Africa that he said had been worsened by drought and the expansion of deserts.

Gosha Wolde, the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, said economic growth rates had declined because of droughts and floods as well as "deep-rooted structural problems."

are involved in quelling such violence, newspaper editors will court prosecution in publishing stories that chronicle military deployments.

At the same time, South African commentators said, Mr. Le Grange's announcement may also have been directed at a right-wing, white constituency in an effort to reassure those people that the authorities will not permit unrest to flow out of black townships into "white" areas.

The unrest, the worst since the Soweto riots of 1976, exploded in early September, about 40 miles south of Johannesburg in the black townships of Sharpeville, Evaton and Sebokeng. Ostensibly, it was provoked by rent increases, but, as it spread, it seemed to release deeper angers among those denied by law a say in the running of the country. A violent cycle developed. People killed in riots were buried as martyrs, and the funerals produced further clashes with the police, who detained 600 people in one weekend of burials.

Although the worst spasm of violence seems to have eased, for the time being at least, unrest has continued with what seems a stubborn, low-key persistence.

In incidents over the weekend, a soldier helping the police disperse a crowd at Joza township outside Port Elizabeth was struck in the face by a flying projectile, a police spokesman said. The police used whips, known in South Africa as sjamboks, and tear gas against young blacks.

Early Saturday three gasoline bombs were thrown at the home of a black policeman in Kwathema, east of Johannesburg.



# African drought brings US response

By David R. Francis

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The United States government is preparing a major effort to prevent terrible famine in black Africa.

Unless sufficient food arrives in time, the famine could be "a massive one," warned a State Department official Tuesday. "It could be worse than 1974."

A decade ago, drought and bad crop failures resulted in the death by starvation of more than 1 million people, according to some estimates. Millions more suffered from serious malnutrition.

Drought again has struck Africa and the Reagan administration has formed an inter-agency task force to coordinate plans for food relief.

At a press conference in Washington yesterday, M. Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development and coordinator for foreign disaster relief, announced that 158,756 metric tons of food worth some \$52 million has already been committed for delivery in the fiscal year that started at the beginning of this month.

Much more will be needed, it is expected. Indeed, a State Department official spoke of a food shortfall of "millions of tons."

The countries most seriously hit by the drought are Niger, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Mozambique. Also "serious" are conditions in Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Chad, Somalia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, and Angola.

Disaster, it is feared, could already be occurring in Ethiopia.

It was a famine there 10 years ago that was partially responsible for the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie. For a time, a State Department official noted, the current regime in Ethiopia made the same mistake Selassie had: covering up the famine. But now, to a limited extent, it admits the problem.

The Soviet "sponsors" of the Ethiopian regime, which has just declared itself to be communist, "won't give them a penny" in the way of food relief, noted the official.

AID administrator McPherson stated: "We have no greater challenge than ensuring the United States continues to provide food and other emergency assistance to sub-Saharan Africa."

In fiscal year 1984, which just ended, the US provided 505,000 metric tons to Africa worth \$173 million, the largest amount of emergency food aid ever provided that continent.

With probably more food needed this year, the major problem will be transportation — getting food through clogged ports and along inadequate roads many hundreds of miles to remote areas, experts say.

Over the long term, the goal of American aid to Africa is to increase the self-sufficiency in food production of African nations so they can better withstand years of drought.

Agricultural production has been decreasing in Africa for the last 14 years. "This is basically because of lousy policies," noted an official.

Often farmers have been inadequately paid for their products under state price controls, thus discouraging output

# British Ask Africans to Quit Mission

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Oct. 8 — Britain today told three South African dissidents who have taken shelter in the British Consulate in Durban that it wanted them to leave but repeated that it would not force them to go.

In South Africa, a spokesman for the group said that the sit-in at the consulate would continue. Originally, six dissidents, one black and five of Indian descent, all strongly opposed to apartheid, took refuge in the consulate. On Saturday, three left the consulate and were arrested.

"We have explained to the men," a Foreign Office spokesman said in London, "that the British Government believes that all that could be reasonably done has been done, and we cannot countenance an indefinite stay, which is already disrupting the work of the consulate."

"The problems created by this situation are obviously increasing," he went on, "and it is difficult to see what useful purpose is served by their remaining in the consulate."

## U.S. Rejects Request

On Thursday, the United States Embassy turned down a request for "sanctuary" from the six fugitives, saying that while it had in the past given temporary refuge "in exceptional cases of imminent bodily harm," this did not apply in their case.

Earlier, the South African Foreign Minister, Roelof F. Botha, had warned the Reagan Administration and other Western governments that any assistance to the fugitives would, in his view, amount to a criminal act.

When it became evident that Britain would not evict the six, the South African Government responded by refusing to return, as previously promised, four South Africans facing arms charges in Britain.

The three dissidents still in the consulate issued a statement today demanding that the four South Africans be sent to Britain. "We reject, with contempt, the notion that their case is comparable to ours," they said.

## British Move Protested

Britain's new stand became known after the South African Supreme Court's branch in Pietermaritzburg, northwest of Durban, dismissed appeals against the detention without trial of the six dissidents. The detention orders were issued in August, during

parliamentary elections from which South Africa's black majority was systematically excluded.

The court said today that the orders remained valid.

Sir Patrick Moberley, Britain's new Ambassador to South Africa, said on his arrival in Johannesburg that he hoped the three remaining protesters would leave of their own free will. At the same time, the Foreign Office issued its statement, explaining that a message had been sent to the men's lawyers in Pretoria and passed to them in Durban.

Despite the British Government's pledge not to force the three to leave, the Antiapartheid Movement in London protested. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the movement's president, said the Foreign Office statement was unacceptable.

"The only change in circumstances," he said, is that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "now knows for certain in the light of the arrests of their three colleagues that the three men remaining in the consulate will be arrested and detained if they leave."

Relations between Britain and South Africa, which had seemed to be warming recently, have been severely strained by the incident. It appeared that the court verdict had prompted Mrs. Thatcher to go part way toward meeting the South African protests over the sit-in.

The six antiapartheid campaigners belong to an organization called the United Democratic Front, which they say the South African Government "and its allies in the West" have been attempting to silence.

## Sit-in to Continue, 3 Say

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 8 — A spokesman for the three anti-Government figures in the British Consulate in Durban said today that they would continue their sit-in "indefinitely."

"There is no possibility of them coming out today or in the near future," the spokesman said.

It is believed here that their strategy is to remain for as long as possible so as to focus attention on what they consider the iniquities of South Africa's racial politics and sweeping security legislation. The new Constitution provides for people of Indian and mixed racial descent to take part in a racially structured three-chamber Parliament dominated by whites.

## The Washington Times

OCTOBER 12, 1984

## Students trickle back to schools

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Six black high schools reopened yesterday, five months after they were shut down because of boycotts. Only about a third of the students returned to classes.

Authorities also announced the University of Zululand would be closed for the rest of the calendar year because of a boycott. The Zululand campus, with 3,000 students, is one of several black universities hit by boycotts.



# Descendants of Freed U.S. Slaves Making Comeback in Liberia

By Barry Shlachter  
Associated Press

MONROVIA, Liberia—Americo-Liberians, descendants of freed American slaves who long dominated this West African country, are emerging from the political and social limbo thrust upon them by a 1980 military coup.

The 133-year hold of an Americo-Liberian elite on the nation's political establishment was broken when noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of pure African background, led by Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe, seized power April 12, 1980.

Many Americo-Liberians fled the country after then-president William R. Tolbert, one of their number, was brutally killed in the coup, which released discontent against Americo-Liberians pent up for generations.

Thirteen of Tolbert's close aides, including elderly Americo-Liberians, were later tied to stakes on a beach and shot to death by drunken soldiers.

Some of those who remained after the coup adopted African names to shield themselves from prejudice and taunts of "Go back to America!" They also became more conscious of their mannerisms in the face of accusations by other Liberians that they were overbearing.

But confidence has gradually returned to the community, which amounts to about 5 percent of Liberia's 1.9 million population.

Every week exiles have been returning on the Pan American flights from New York. The U.S. Embassy said it had no figures on the total number of Liberians who had fled into exile, but it added that about 500 applied for political asylum in the United States following the coup that made Doe, who promoted himself to the rank of five-star general, the nation's leader.

Some of the recent returnees apparently feel secure enough to assume a high public profile. They have announced the formation of the First All-Integrated Republican Party, one of 11 groups set up after Doe in July lifted a 1980 ban on political activities.

"I think Americo-Liberians have realized that the only way they can be part of Liberia is to be Liberians—not a special elite group," said Winston Tubman, an attorney who is the nephew of Tolbert's predecessor, William V.S. Tubman.

He recalled in an interview that there was initial opposition within both his community and the military leadership in 1980

when Doe asked him to stay on as ambassador to the United Nations. But there was little such sniping when he was appointed justice minister two years later.

Some trace the new sense of security to Doe, a member of the indigenous Krahn tribe. The 34-year-old leader is said to believe Liberia needs the skills and experience of the educated minority. Liberia has an illiteracy rate of 75 percent.

Byron Tarr, a former planning minister under Doe, said that consciously or not, Doe has begun to model himself after Tubman, who led the country from 1944 until his death in 1971.

Doe, like members of the old Americo-Liberian oligarchy who placed importance on educational achievement and on attire, has traded in fatigues for three-piece, pin-striped suits and is officially called "doctor." Although he never finished high school, Doe was granted an honorary PhD degree by a South Korean university in 1982.

In August, his government assailed opponents it claimed had urged drastic steps to wipe out the Americo-Liberians.

Earlier this year, the Doe government promulgated a law returning property seized after the 1980 coup, and relatives of some former Americo-Liberian leaders already have benefited, said Jerome Harrington, an American banker here.

Liberia was founded in 1821 as a haven for freed American slaves by the American Colonization Society, which was chartered by the U.S. Congress. The society was granted possession of the territory known as Cape Mesurado by local tribal chiefs and its agents, mostly whites, administered the territory in its early years. The country became an independent nation in 1847.

According to historian Mary Antoinette Sherman, former president of the University of Liberia, most of the original settlers were sent to Africa against their will between 1822 and the American Civil War.

While generations of Americo-Liberians traced their roots to ex-slaves, they enforced compulsory labor practices that verged on slavery. Some Africans, termed "aborigines" by the newcomers, were dispatched to work on plantations on Fernando Poo, an island once owned by Spain off West Africa.

"Forcible recruitment for work in rubber, ginger and coffee plantations was often brutal," said Tarr, a U.S.-educated economist whose father was among those sent. "It resulted in very intense hatred."

## SOUTH AFRICA'S TOP POLICE OFFICIAL CRITICIZES GROUPS OPPOSED TO APARTHAID

### AROUND THE WORLD

JOHANNESBURG—South Africa's top law enforcement official sharply criticized a group opposed to apartheid yesterday, accusing it of "promoting a climate of revolution."

The Associated Press reported that Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange told the Transvaal Province Congress of the ruling National Party that the 13-month-old United Democratic Front was promoting the banned African National Congress.

The ANC is the largest guerrilla group fighting the white-led government of South Africa. It has claimed responsibility for various bombings and attacks on police stations.

Le Grange's remarks could mean the government is considering banning the United Democratic Front or its leaders, who deny links to the ANC. Some of its leaders already are imprisoned without charge. When a person is banned, the government decides with whom he can speak and where he can live.

South Africa previously has used its banning law to declare illegal those organizations that appeared to be gaining support among opponents of the country's racial policies. LeGrange did not specifically mention banning.

[In Washington yesterday, The Rev. Allan A. Boesak, one of the founders of the United Democratic Front, said that banning the organization or its leaders would "lead to a growing cycle of violence" and would not end the movement.

["If I were banned, the South African government would have to throw me in jail. I have accepted that," Boesak in an interview. "My work as a minister and as a spokesman for the UDF would make it impossible to obey a banning order."]

Boesak, the leader of the 700,000-member Colored (mixed race) branch of the Dutch Reformed Church, says the multiracial coalition he helped found in the summer of 1983 now has about 3 million members belonging to 700 local labor unions, community groups, student organizations and political parties across South Africa.



# In Mozambique, the road to stability is rocky

By Humphrey Tyler

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

It was made dramatically clear recently to a group of South African politicians who visited Mozambique just how fragile that country's government control of its own territory is.

As the visitors' plane approached the international airport on the outskirts of the capital, Maputo, a voice on the intercom announced: "The aircraft's lights will be turned off now for security reasons."

Evidently, the rebel Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement was a menace just a few miles from Maputo center.

That was two months ago. More recent reports indicate the rebels have been curbed.

Mozambique has a form of defense treaty with the Soviets, but it was more practical for many reasons for President Samora Machel to turn for help to South Africa, his neighbor and by far the most powerful country in the region.

His most persuasive argument was a warning that unless help was forthcoming and violence was curbed in his country, a nonaggression treaty between South Africa and Mozambique would be in danger.

This treaty, signed last March and known as the Accord of Nkomati, has immediately benefited South Africa because it has eliminated Mozambique as a staging post for African Na-

tional Congress insurgents.

But high expectations in Mozambique that the accord would bring peace and a flood of investments that would revitalize the economy have not been born out, something that has been exploited by Mozambicans opposed to any deal with "racist South Africa."

South Africa responded to President Machel's appeal by acting as broker between the rebel MNR and the Mozambique government, finally negotiating a form of cease-fire that was ratified in the

series of major counteroffensives that appeared to have some success in curtailing rebel operations.

Nonetheless, by the end of 1983 the rebels were operating in nine of Mozambique's 10 provinces, and at times even in the suburbs of Maputo. The Frelimo government estimated that between 1975 and 1982 the Mozambique National Resistance Movement campaign had cost the country \$3.8 billion. Combined with drought and failed government economic policies, the campaign has pushed Mozambique

South African administrative capital, Pretoria, at the end of last week.

Although South Africa formally welcomed the result of the Pretoria negotiations, South Africa's President P.W. Botha himself acknowledged that the outcome is far from certain and that "the path that lies ahead will be rocky and fraught with danger."

It is also likely to be confused by murky political connections and power play.

For a start, there is the question of South Africa's own relationship with the MNR rebels. For years it was alleged that South Africa was backing this organization as part of a "destabilization" policy aimed at ousting Marxist Machel and promoting a form of government in Mozambique that South Africa would find more acceptable.

South Africa has denied any connection with the MNR.

But just a day before the Pretoria agreement was reached, the Mozambique government put on display in Maputo about 140 MNR prisoners. Several of them said they had been trained at secret bases in South Africa.

Even if South Africa is sticking to the letter of the Nkomati Accord — as it has said repeatedly that it is — and denying any support to the MNR, there are suspicions that money is being sent to the rebels from Portuguese sources in South Africa.

There are a considerable number of people in South Africa who fled from Mozambique 10 years ago when Machel and his Frelimo Party gained power.

Another threat to peace is that even if the MNR leaders agree to a binding cease-fire — and both MNR and the Mozambique government have denied that fighting will stop immediately, whatever happened in Pretoria — it is questionable whether they would be able to enforce their will on all the people who are fighting in the name of the MNR.

Many of these people are not motivated by any political ideals, but are just handits living by violence.

S. AFRICA'S GUERRILLAS (Continued)

into an economic tailspin that was a key factor in persuading Machel to negotiate the Nkomati agreement with South Africa in March.

Under the pact, Mozambique agreed to curtail sharply the activities of South African black nationalists operating against the Pretoria government from Mozambican territory, in return for a South African commitment to eliminate its support for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. Mozambique vigorously fulfilled its end of the bargain by expelling most of the

nationalists, but the South African-backed group has continued to function without apparent impediment.

Several explanations have been offered, including reports that South African military operatives, aware that their government was nearing a deal with Frelimo, rushed in enough supplies and arms to maintain the rebels for at least a year. It is also clear that the movement is receiving funding independent of Pretoria from Portuguese businessmen in South Africa and Lisbon.

In terms of last week's Pretoria agree-

ment, South Africa has been asked to play a role in enforcing a cease-fire. Speculation that this might mean committing South African troops in Mozambique was reinforced at the weekend by South Africa's defense minister, Gen. Magnus Malan.

He said at a political congress that South Africa "must remain prepared to act against terrorists even within some of our neighboring states."

"This holds true even if we should conclude defense accords with all our neighboring states, [which] may seek our assistance in helping to protect their sovereignty," General Malan continued. "We are, and remain, a regional power bearing particular responsibility for regional security."

If this should mean that South Africa will send troops to Mozambique, it could have various political implications.

For a start, it does not seem that it would be sufficient to send in a token force. It would require fairly considerable numbers to police such a large country effectively.

And the South African government could be embarrassed at home if it is accused of propping up a Marxist government.

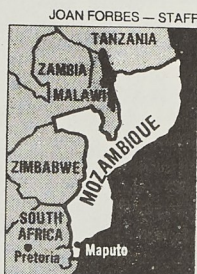
However, South Africa may feel intervention is justified if meant a political compromise in Mozambique that would change the complexion of the Maputo government to something more acceptable to the West generally.

Also, although South Africa has denied direct support for the powerful Angolan rebels led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, it has made no secret that it is very friendly toward him — even to the extent of making him welcome at the installation last month of P.W. Botha as state President.

If South Africa could act successfully as a peace broker in Mozambique, it might be encouraged in a similar process in Angola

South African officials, for whom the Nkomati accord marked a critical breakthrough from diplomatic isolation, are eager to see Frelimo and the resistance movement sign an accord that will end the bush war.

Ultimately, however, the group's officials appear to be seeking an agreement that will grant them a role in a new, non-Marxist Mozambican government, a concession Frelimo officials insist they will never make. Barring such a deal, many observers expect the war—and Mozambique's agony—to continue.





# Rebel Sabotage Disrupts Life in Angola's Capital

By Jim Hoagland

LUANDA, Angola, Oct. 11—Rebel forces have extended a campaign of economic sabotage and intimidation into the region around Angola's capital, shutting off electrical power in this city of 1 million inhabitants for the past two days.

The destruction Monday night of an unspecified number of transmission towers and high-tension electricity lines near the town of Dondo, about 100 miles southeast of Luanda, was the second successful attack on a vital economic target in recent days by guerrillas belonging to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The guerrillas planted bombs in the main rail yard in the port of Benguela two weeks ago, damaging or destroying a dozen locomotives. UNITA's repeated attacks along the important railway linking Benguela to the eastern part of the country already had put key sections of the line out of operation during the past three years.

The recent attacks mark a new level of economic warfare in the eight-year-old effort by the UNITA guerrillas, who have received support from South Africa and sympathy from political leaders in the Reagan administration, to dislodge the Soviet-backed Angolan government.

Government officials said that they expected electricity to be restored to Luanda by the end of the week and dismissed the mining of the remote, unguarded transmission towers as an isolated act of terrorism by "criminals trained by South Africa." Luanda depends for its electricity on the power station at Dondo and on a hydroelectric dam at the nearby village of Cambambe.

But the complete blackout of the city for more than 48 hours appeared to have had a demoralizing effect on many citizens, causing tensions to rise. Residents were digging in for the possibility of a lengthier disruption of daily life than the government estimates would suggest.

Long lines quickly formed at gasoline stations as word of the attack spread Tuesday morning. Food, already extremely scarce in the

war-scarred capital, is being stockpiled urgently. Water is being stored in any available container,

especially by residents of the city's many high-rise buildings, which depend on electric pumps to carry water to the upper floors.

Luanda is a city already crippled economically and physically by the abrupt collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in 1974 and the war among contending African movements that followed.

Cuban troops helped the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) defeat two other African groups and secure international recognition as the legitimate government in 1975. UNITA, with extensive South African logistical help, regrouped after its defeat and is now conducting an increasingly effective economic war against the Luanda government.

UNITA's attacks have taken a dramatic turn in the past six months toward sabotage, apparently aimed at frightening away the growing number of western technicians and businessmen helping Angola in its efforts to restore the economy. Diplomats here believe that the campaign also may be aimed at derailing U.S.-sponsored efforts to negotiate agreements with Angola and South Africa that would end the insurgencies in Angola and Namibia and require the MPLA to get the Cubans to leave.

These diplomatic efforts appear to have made progress since the beginning of the year. In that same period, UNITA has concentrated on economic targets, progressively moving toward Luanda.

One week after South Africa and Angola agreed to a disengagement plan in February, UNITA assaulted an important diamond mine in Angola's sparsely populated far northeastern region. An effort to reopen the mine in August drew a new attack, and it has been shut down again.

The bloodiest act of sabotage appears to have been the explosion by UNITA of a large car bomb in April near a building housing Cubans in the city of Huambo. UNITA claimed to have killed a large number of Cuban soldiers, while the government and foreign sources here report that 78 persons were killed, including a number of An-

golans civilians.

Despite a heavy Soviet Bloc presence here, Angola's Marxist government depends on western investment and expertise for its foreign exchange earnings of \$2 billion a year, which come almost entirely from petroleum sales.

UNITA turned its attention to the Gulf Oil installation in the Cabinda enclave in September, planting a bomb under an onshore pipeline. Damage was quickly repaired and little oil was lost, company officials said, but two Angolans who lived near the site died in the blast.

The government has been ambivalent about publicizing the economic sabotage campaign, generally announcing only enough details to dispel rumors or deflate overstatements in UNITA's accounts of the attacks.

There has been no official announcement of the bombing of the locomotives in Benguela, although the attack quickly became known from accounts by visitors and by workers at the rail yard. The power blackout initially was ascribed to technical problems before being announced as a sabotage action.

Until now, foreign residents of Luanda do not appear to have been scared off by UNITA's campaign, and there has been no popular unrest in the capital, which has shrugged off 24-hour power failures due to technical problems in the recent past.

But in the current atmosphere of uncertainty, the strike against the Luanda power supply has set nerves on edge. It has underlined a vulnerability that already was apparent in a city that on most days has little visible security beyond a few soldiers stationed in front of some government offices.

"These groups have been able to reach greater areas of the country" recently, the chief of staff of Angola's armed forces, Col. Antonio Franca Ndal, acknowledged in an interview several days before the blackout occurred. "They're not attacking our soldiers or trying to take a city, but they can put bombs in factories and kill civilians. It is impossible for us to be everywhere at once."



NEW YORK TIMES,  
OCTOBER 6, 1984

The Washington Times

OCTOBER 8, 1984

## CHADIAN CONFERS WITH MITTERRAND

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

PARIS, Oct. 5 — President François Mitterrand held talks with the President of Chad today amid signs that a recent French-Libyan agreement to withdraw their troops from that north African country was being delayed.

Hissen Habré, the Chadian leader, was reported to have been upset by the French failure to consult with him before announcing the withdrawal agreement, and Mr. Mitterrand's meeting with him was regarded here as part of an effort to soothe his feelings.

A spokesman for Mr. Mitterrand, Michel Vauzelle, said a major topic at the talks was Mr. Habré's refusal to accept observers nominated by Libya to monitor the withdrawal.

"If we don't reach agreement with the Chadians on the placing of observers on the ground," Mr. Vauzelle said, "there is another hypothesis: the possibility of monitoring directly by the French and Libyans."

France and Libya announced Sept. 17 that they would withdraw all their troops from Chad, where they have been backing opposing sides in a civil war.

The troop withdrawal was to start Sept. 25 and to be completed by mid-November, with Libyan troops leaving the northern sectors of the country, where they support the rebel forces of former President Goukouni Oueddei, and the French pulling out of the areas in the south controlled by Mr. Habré's Government.

France sent troops to the vast, sparsely populated desert country in August 1983 when the Libyan-backed rebels seized the town of Faya-Largeau in northern Chad.

The French-Libyan withdrawal agreement called for observers from African countries to report on each country's troop movements.

But Mr. Habré refused to accept observers from Benin, a leftist country, and the Libyans rejected observers from Senegal, which is Western-oriented. As a result, no observer group has been formed.

The French Foreign Minister, Claude Cheysson, said Thursday that the withdrawal of Libyan troops was proceeding slowly but under "reasonable conditions."

"The Government at the moment is not worried about the Tripoli agreement," Mr. Cheysson told a group of legislators here.

Mr. Habré, after his meeting with Mr. Mitterrand today, said: "The Libyans have committed themselves to withdrawing from the north of Chad. I believe they will withdraw."

French intelligence reports reaching here, however, indicate that the Libyan forces have not yet started to leave their bases. According to the reports, the Libyans, who maintain an estimated 5,000 troops in Chad, have made some "lateral movements," but there are no signs that the Libyans have begun to pull their troops out of the

# Diplomacy instead of terrorism brings peace to Kenya province

By Jay Mallin

GARISSA, Kenya — A switch from a heavy-handed pacification campaign, in which a number of civilians were killed, to a more diplomatic approach is quickly restoring peace to this nation's oft-troubled Northeastern Province.

Populated by nomadic shepherds, the province has been Kenya's main trouble spot since independence.

In the early 1960s, it was the scene of a secessionist liberation front that wanted to join the province to Somalia. The area quieted down when Somalia renounced claims to the province in 1967, but the violence was renewed in 1977 when a flow of arms and men from a war in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia fueled banditry and raids between tribes in the region.

That in turn brought a strong military campaign by Kenyan security forces, culminating in charges of a massacre of civilians near the town of Wajir last February. The area's representatives in Parliament charged that 307 people were killed by the security forces, and as many as 5,000 others were forced to lie naked in the sun for five days without food or water.

Now, though, the government is taking a different tack, working to persuade, rather than terrorize, the people of the province to give up their arms, and there have been no reports of raids or ambushes for

several months.

The official credited as the architect of the new approach is Amos Bore, recently appointed the provincial commissioner for the Northeast.

Using an offer of amnesty for bandits who surrender their weapons — the offer was in effect before, but little used — Mr. Bore has been touring the province by Land Rover and plane to hold peace rallies, called "barazas." He appears at the rallies with local leaders and asks the bandits to surrender and the people to give up their arms.

At last count, 313 bandits had surrendered, bringing with them 363 guns, 7,354 rounds of ammunition and an assortment of other weapons.

"My approach is that I appeal to the local leaders and work through them," Mr. Bore said. "We make them realize that clashes are not good, that fighting is a constraint to development."

According to two members of Parliament from the province, Mr. Bore's message is getting through.

"He went there with a whole new approach," said Ahmad Khalif, who represents the eastern half of Wajir District in the Northeastern Province. "It is not the amnesty. That has been there for some time. It is a change of attitude on the part of the government."

Mr. Khalif said that Mr. Bore treated the renewed violence not as a resurgence of the secessionist movement needing military action as a response, but simply as a spill-over from the problems of the Ogaden.

Mr. Bore listened to the people, Mr. Khalif said, then he solicited the support of the elders, convincing them the violence was hurting the region. It is the support of the local community leaders that is convincing the warring tribesmen and bandits to give up their weapons, Mr. Khalif said.

Abdi Sheikh, a member of Parliament from the eastern part of the district, said the international publicity from the February massacre led Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi to order the change in the government's tactics.

Mr. Sheikh and a town counselor from Wajir town were the first to report the killings, providing news organizations in Nairobi with color photos of bodies piled several feet high. He said his statements led to the authorities detaining him and Mr. Khalif several times.

country.

French troops have been pulled back from their northernmost outposts at Salal and Arada, where they were defending a line across central Chad against a possible thrust to the south by the Libyan-backed rebels. France has flown supplies out of the country, but none of its force of 3,000 has yet left Chad.

Mr. Mitterrand met today with Mr. Habré for what was described here as a working lunch. They were then joined at Elysée Palace by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, which has 2,000 troops in Chad in support of Mr. Habré's Government.

Also present at the meeting this afternoon were Presidents Omar Bongo of Gabon and Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. Mr. Mobutu and Mr. Houphouët-Boigny were in France on private visits, and Mr. Bongo ended a state visit here today.

Mr. Vauzelle, the Elysée Palace spokesman, said the plan to send African observers to Chad was supported by Presidents Bongo, Houphouët-Boigny and Mobutu at today's meeting.



## Chad Gripped by Food Crisis/As Drought Empties Villages

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

NDJAMENA, Chad, Oct. 3 — Abandoning his home, the Chadian village chief said, was the last thing he thought he would ever do.

But when the months dragged by without rain, causing the millet and maize to turn brown and shriveled and the animals to die, the chief said, he came to see that he and his people had no other choice.

"Most of us had never before in our lives left the village," said the chief, Adouna Makai, whose village is near Ati, 250 miles from Ndjamen, the Chadian capital. "But there is nothing there now. Not even a dog is left."

The villagers, he said, traveled by truck when they could find one and on foot when they could not. In a little less than a month they had completed the trek to Ndjamen.

They were not the first to arrive; there are thought to be 50,000 displaced people in Ndjamen, previously a city of 300,000. In Chad as a whole, which has a population of not much under five million, roughly 150,000 people are believed to have fled their homes in order to survive.

### Millions of Displaced People

But the effect of the long dry spell on Chad is only part of a larger problem: In Africa south of the Sahara, 150 million people are suffering as a result of drought. Up to five million are said to have become refugees. Uncounted millions more are believed to have become displaced, a category that differs from that of refugee only in that the displaced people have crossed international boundaries.

The drought has hit particularly hard in the Sahelian-Sudanese belt, an ecologically fragile swath of territory stretching from Mauritania on the Atlantic to Somalia on the Indian Ocean 3,500 miles away.

In Chad, relief officials believe 1,000 people have died as a result of starvation or malnutrition since July. The situation, they said, is almost certain to deteriorate further when what is normally referred to as the dry season begins in the next few weeks.

"For Chad, this current drought is worse than the great drought of the 1970's," said Jamie Wickens, the representative in Ndjamen of the Food and Agriculture Organization. "The food needs will certainly be greater."

### Trend Seen by Experts

No one really knows what is causing the drought or how long it will last. Many scientists fear, however, that a long-term climatic change may be under way, aggravated to some degree by man-made ecological damage such as over-grazing and extensive cutting of forests.

The drought of the early 1970's and the current drought, a growing number of experts have come to suspect, may be not separate events but rather

symptoms of the same trend or of a single phase in the climatic cycle.

Adapting to such changes may have been simpler in the past. Some anthropologists point out that about 100 years ago there were virtually no nations as such in Africa south of the Sahara, so severe changes in the weather would have merely caused people to pick up and move on to greener areas that were sparsely inhabited or poorly defended.

Now, however, such migrations can no longer occur without causing political and social turmoil.

Relief officials say they believe it will be more difficult to help Chad than most of the other drought-stricken countries of Africa. The country is landlocked and the best port in the region is at Lagos, Nigeria. But Nigeria has closed its borders with its neighbors, saying it has economic problems of its own.

Even if adequate supplies of food do arrive, distribution is likely to be a logistical nightmare, the relief officials said. The north of Chad has been under the control of Libyan-backed rebels for more than a year, and insurgent activity has been flaring sporadically in the south as well.

### No Railroads or Highways

The country, which is as large as Texas, Oklahoma and California combined, has no railroads or highways, although there are dirt tracks that are passable at certain times of year.

In the past special camps have been set up where displaced people could be housed and fed. Relief officials said, however, that they would prefer another approach if possible.

"Conditions in the camps often become terrible, squalid, a breeding ground for disease," said Mr. Wickens. "That's a lesson we learned from the last drought."

But the other option, the absorption of displaced people into existing population centers, could lead to additional pressures on Chad's poorly developed urban areas. "It could be staggering," Mr. Wickens said.

For now, at least, Mr. Makai and those who came with him are living among relatives in the city. The chief explained that the relatives shared what little food they had and the villagers slept on straw mats in the courtyards of the adobe compounds.

"There is little for them to do during the long, hot days," he said. "We're looking for work, but so far there is nothing."

Someday, he said, he would like to lead his people back to the village; to regather the families and clans there. But he said he was not hopeful.

"We're looking at at least nine months of severe hardship," said Mr. Wickens. "If we can get through that, then maybe people can begin to hope again."

## Zimbabwe Holds 4 Soldiers in 1983 Deaths

By Glenn Frankel

Washington Post Foreign Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe, Oct. 5— Four soldiers have been arrested and a magistrate has called for an investigation of four senior police officials in an alleged cover-up of civilian deaths during last year's Army crackdown against dissidents in the southern Matabeleland region.

The arrests are believed to be among the first of soldiers from the elite 5th Brigade for action taken during last year's harsh counterinsurgency campaign during which hundreds of civilians reportedly were killed.

The government repeatedly has denied charges that soldiers committed atrocities against civilians during the crackdown. A government panel formed 14 months ago to probe the allegation has yet to produce a finding.

A prosecutor in Bulawayo, in Matabeleland, last night ordered the four soldiers held for two weeks while he determines whether to charge them with murder in the deaths of four persons in February 1983 at the peak of the antidissident campaign. The soldiers were arrested after testimony in a public inquest this week contradicted their account of the deaths.

Among the four victims were a uniformed Army officer from a different military unit and his wife, who were driving on the main highway from Victoria Falls to Bulawayo when they were stopped by the soldiers. The soldiers originally told an Army board of inquiry that the four died accidentally when caught in cross fire between the Army and armed dissidents. The four were buried in shallow graves near the village of Lupane, 100 miles north of Bulawayo.

"Caught in a crossfire" has been the common explanation by Army officers and government officials to justify civilian deaths during last year's crackdown and during a second antidissident campaign in the region earlier this year.

In testifying last week, the soldiers changed their story to claim the victims had been shot while try-

Continued on pg.



# The Birth of a New Ethiopia: From Feudalism to Marxism

By JUDITH MILLER

**ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia** — A decade is but a moment in the life of an empire that traces its origins to Solomon and Sheba. But in only 10 years since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, a new Ethiopia has been born.

Guided by "scientific socialism," Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam and the small circle of military men who rule have completed the structures that are transforming Ethiopia from a feudal monarchy into a Communist dictatorship.

## Firmly in the Soviet Camp

Western diplomats and Ethiopians interviewed in September said Colonel Mengistu, or Comrade Chairman Mengistu, as he is now called, was more firmly in control and stronger politically than ever before.

The experts also agreed that for the foreseeable future, Ethiopia was likely to remain hostile to the United States and firmly allied to the Soviet Union, despite the country's dependence on huge donations of grain each year from the West.

Ethiopia, they said, faces staggering economic and political problems that would severely challenge its Marxist-Leninist Government.

Some diplomats maintained that these problems would lead to further repression at home and would not prompt a backing away by the country's ruling group from its commitment to Communism or its alliance with Moscow.

But others argued that Ethiopian nationalism would eventually prevail over ideological commitment and alliances that accompany it. They said that if the economic policies being pursued proved bankrupt and the secessionist war in Eritrea and Tigre could be ended, Ethiopia might once again switch political and economic course.

Ethiopian political specialists agreed that the Marxist Government's most remarkable internal achievement to date has been the organization and mobilization of this ethnically diverse country of 40 million people among the world's poorest.

Before the revolution, the specialists said, Ethiopian peasants, 85 percent of the population, were beholden to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and other large landlords to whom they paid an average of 50 to 80 percent of their crops as rent.

Today "one can hardly find a citizen who in one way or another does not participate in a mass organization," Colonel Mengistu said in a speech recently. In all, more than 1.3 million people are said to serve in various executive bodies of the mass organizations.

## 284 Neighborhood Associations

In Addis Ababa and other major cities, almost every city dweller is a member of one of the 284 neighborhood associations, or kebeles, as they are

known. The All Ethiopian Peasants Association includes 5,541,280 members in 19,867 local associations, its leaders said. The revolutionary Ethiopia Youth association is said to embrace one-third of all young people in the country, and 3 percent of the work force are members of the All Ethiopian Trade Union.

The most recent group to be organized were Ethiopian women, who diplomats here said had benefited the most as a group from the revolution. The Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association, formed in 1979, claims 5.2 million members in 20,977 local chapters throughout the country.

Nigat Mengesha, a member of the group's executive committee, said the revolution had declared equality for women under law and had outlawed the widespread rural practice of early marriage, in which girls were married between 7 and 9 years of age. She said that lip plates and other forms of disfigurement in the name of beauty had been banned and that hundreds of clinics and basic health centers for women had been opened.

The new organizations have produced some impressive results, diplomats said. Illiteracy, which was 97 percent before the revolution, has been reduced to 37 percent in the last five years, officials said.

## Informal Police Apparatus

But the organizations also serve as an informal police apparatus. Kebele shops distribute goods, when available, at cheap prices. Access is controlled by political activists. Kebeles have their own militia forces with power to arrest and detain. Kebele activists deny benefits, such as scholarships, to those deemed to lack sufficient revolutionary fervor, Ethiopians said.

Peasant associations run their own jails; most are full, according to Western residents in rural areas.

In addition to these informal police mechanisms, a new 3,000-member police force trained by East German security advisers took up their new posts recently during the 10th anniversary of the revolution, a lavish weeklong celebration.

Political detentions continue. Before the anniversary, people here said, the Ethiopian police arrested about 300 people in Addis Ababa and 1,000 in Asmara, a city in Eritrea, where for 23 years rebels have been waging a campaign for independence.

## Farm Sector Falters

Aid-group officials, Western diplomats and Ethiopian officials said the revolution had not solved the problems that had afflicted Haile Selassie's regime. The economy and the country's faltering agricultural sector are still among the country's most pressing problems, they said.

After 10 years of efforts to combat drought-related famine, no end is in sight to the danger of mass starvation, relief workers here have concluded. A 10-year development plan issued by the Government recently forecast that Ethiopia would not be self-sufficient in

food until 1994 at the earliest.

This year the United Nations World Food Program estimated that 354,000 tons of grain would be imported for relief and project assistance, 100,000 tons short of Ethiopia's international appeal and almost 600,000 tons less than its actual requirements.

Economists interviewed here said Ethiopia's long-run economic prospects were also negative. The food gap is growing each year, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization. Soil erosion and degradation of arable land are worsening.

## Crop Yields Are Reduced

A report on energy prospects issued by the World Bank last July asserted that crop yields were being reduced by more than 1 million tons of grain a year because of a growing scarcity of firewood and the diversion of natural fertilizers for use in fireplaces. The report said forested land, 40 percent at the turn of the century, had been reduced to about 3 percent.

"If no more than the present level of replanting is undertaken, in 20 to 30 years all but the least accessible pockets of forest will have gone and large parts of the north will be uninhabitable: subject to persistent drought, crop failure, famine and outmigration," the report concluded.

It said there was an "urgent need" to "reconsider the role of government and encourage private sector participation in the production, delivery and marketing" of fuels if Ethiopia was to have sufficient fuel supplies.

Economists and diplomats offered a similar assessment of the critical agricultural sector. The socialist policies being pursued are inimical to growth, they said.

A World Bank report issued in July called the state farms, which comprise 2 percent of cultivated land, "high-cost producers" that have not broken even.

Because of low productivity in the countryside, food prices have soared in cities and there have been shortages of wheat, eggs and flour, residents said.

Despite these warnings, Colonel Mengistu said Ethiopia would continue to emphasize collectivized farming. The 10-year plan calls for the incorporation of 50 percent of the peasants and land by 1994 in state farms or producers' cooperatives.

"What this country desperately needs is not state farms," an economist here said, "but greater pricing and marketing flexibility."

International economists said that Ethiopia had managed its foreign debt prudently but that export revenues, based mostly on coffee and totaling \$800 million in 1983, were only half of the \$1.6 billion in imports.

## The 'Nationalities' Problem

The revolution has also failed to solve the "nationalities" problem, diplomats have concluded. Some said about 50 percent of the national budget was spent on the military to support Ethiopia's highly mechanized standing army of 400,000 troops.

There has been little fierce fighting of late, diplomats said, but according to

Continued on pg. 16



Boesak's idea was to form a federation of organizations opposed to a new national constitution devised by the government of prime minister (now president) Pieter W. Botha, so that they could campaign more effectively against it.

The constitution offered a political voice to the people of mixed race and Asian origin but continued to exclude the black 73 percent from any national role.

The Botha administration hoped it would be seen as a significant reform of its apartheid system of racial segregation, and the Reagan administration welcomed it as such, but the front denounced it as tokenism. Boesak and others also saw it as a ploy to co-opt them and the Asians into a minority alliance with the whites against the Africans.

Although his idea took off with a rush, Boesak declined to accept the leadership of the front. He was elected president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches last year and said he would use that as his main platform to oppose apartheid.

A broad-based executive drawn from the affiliate bodies was chosen to run the organization under three

figurehead co-presidents. This was partly to protect against its being crippled by a banning order against one or two vital leaders.

Boesak was named a patron, and has continued to be the front's chief adviser and strategist.

When the front was launched in August last year, it claimed 100 affiliates, with a total membership of 750,000. Today it has nearly trebled in size, according to Manuel.

It argues that the campaign against the constitution was a stunning success. Eighty percent of the registered Asian voters and 70 percent of the Coloreds stayed away from the polls. It called on those communities' elected members to resign their seats and on the government to scrap the constitution.

Neither obliged, but for the Botha administration it was a severe setback. The government's hardened line began then.

At the same time, the front began carving more of a niche for itself than just an alliance formed for the limited objective of resisting the constitution. Suddenly it was looking like the most substantial nationalist movement since the African Congress, and its swelling support

suggested that the black masses saw it as such.

Nineteen of its leaders had been detained on the eve of these elections, presumably in the vain hope that this would cripple the boycott at the last minute.

Six of these leaders won a court application declaring Le Grange's detention notices invalid because he failed to give reasons for locking them up. Before the law minister could issue new detention notices, the six sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban. This enabled the front to attract world attention.

Angered that Britain should allow the men to stay in the consulate, South Africa retaliated by refusing to return four South African nationals to Britain to face trial there on arms smuggling charges. The widespread condemnation this incurred has the protest movement claiming another victory in its campaign.

The front attracted further attention when three of the fugitives walked out of the Consulate Saturday, to be immediately arrested in a busy downtown street and driven away to prison without charges or trial. The other three remain in the Consulate.

## SOUTH AFRICA LOAN BAN KILLS EXPORT CONTROL BILL (Continued)

### Defense Department Role

Specifically, the new Senate bill omitted a provision that Republican members most wanted, one that would give the Defense Department a role in licensing strategically critical items for sale abroad. That omission was intended to persuade House Democrats to accept the absence of a provision they wanted, one that would ban new bank loans to the South African Government.

However, this afternoon, by a vote of 269 to 62, the House approved and sent back to the Senate a bill that included the ban on loans.

Senator Jake Garn, the Utah Republican who is chairman of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, reacted on the Senate floor with a bitter denunciation of the House action.

"Unfortunately, there is going to be no bill this year," he said. "We'll start over next year, and hope the House learns something about compromise."

Mr. Garn added, "I would love to send this dead cat back to the House, and see what kind of mischief they can perform, but my colleagues won't let me, at this late date."

### Worry of Court Challenge

Congressmen and others have worried that export-license denials could be subject to court challenge without an export law. The Commerce De-

partment was taken to court once recently on this issue, by the Nuclear Pacific Corporation of Seattle, which wanted a license to sell radiation shields abroad. But a Federal district judge ruled in the Government's favor.

Mr. Archey declined to comment on the Commerce Department's opinion of the compromise legislation. The department had wanted authority to police exports in the United States and abroad, but under the compromise the department would have had jurisdiction only in the United States.

At the Pentagon, an official said the Defense Department was relieved, since the compromise would have excluded it from any formal role in export licensing. The department now reviews some license requests for the sale of strategic items to Soviet-bloc countries, but its conclusions are only advisory.

Senator John Heinz, a Pennsylvania Republican, said that the issue had been "enormously difficult for us to deal with," because the bill touched off a "turf fight within the Administration."

Mr. Heinz was referring to a jurisdictional conflict between Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige and Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger. That conflict was mirrored in Congress by a tussle between those who wanted to liberalize export controls and those who wanted them

more restrictive.

The new Senate bill sought to strike a compromise on which agency would enforce the law. The House had favored giving most authority to the Commerce Department, which historically has had the principal role in export administration. But the Senate wanted to turn most responsibility over to the Customs Service, a unit of the Treasury Department, believing that the Commerce Department faces a conflict of interest by trying to promote trade and control it at the same time.

Under the approach favored by the Senate, the Customs Service would have primary responsibility for enforcing the act overseas while the Commerce Department and Customs would share responsibility in the United States.

In the House, members of the congressional black caucus, who had led the fight to impose sanctions on South Africa, made an unusual protest against the measure. Seventeen black members voted present, rather than yes or no, and they were joined by Representative Lindy Boggs, Democrat of Louisiana.

Speaking for the black members, Representative Parren J. Mitchell, a Maryland Democrat, said they wanted to draw attention to their preference for a stronger sanction, a ban on all new investment in South Africa.



## ZIMBABWE HOLDS 4.. (CONTINUED)

him of subversion.

Presiding Magistrate Gordon Geddes, who conducted this week's inquest, told four senior police officials who appeared at the hearing that he doubted their testimony. He said at the conclusion of the hearings today that he would recommend to the state attorney general's office that the officials be investigated for participating in a cover-up of the deaths and of a separate incident in which two other civilians were killed.

Geddes also praised fellow magistrate Romilly, saying that without his perseverance the matter might have died last year without an investigation, as did many similar incidents.

## THE BIRTH OF A..... (CONTINUED)

to unconfirmed reports, about 8 people were killed and 30 wounded in Asmara on Revolution Day on Sept. 12 when bombs exploded near the main square.

Estimates of the country's arms debt to the Soviet Union range from \$2.5 billion to \$4 billion. To date, Moscow has not sought repayment but has sought closer ties with Colonel Mengistu instead.

Western diplomats who hope for a shift in the political stance in Addis Ababa argued that an end to the secessionist wars, or a move by the Soviet Union to demand repayment of its arms bill, might cool Addis Ababa's ardor for the Russians, who came to Ethiopia's rescue in 1977 when Somalia invaded.

### Creation of Communist Party

Others point to the creation recently of the Communist Workers' Party of Ethiopia as further indication of Ethiopia's deepening commitment to socialism.

The impact of the party, said to number 30,000 and to include about 13,000 to 15,000 cadres, those who owe their lives

ing to escape after admitting aiding dissidents. But an examination of the exhumed bodies showed three of the four died of bayonet wounds, and a Lupane police officer testified that medical records stating the true cause of death had been removed from police files.

The inquest, which concluded today, also heard evidence that the victims' hands had been tied behind their backs before they were killed.

A local magistrate, George Romilly, who attempted to conduct an investigation last year into the four deaths, told the inquest he had been warned by his superiors not to pursue the matter and had been threatened with arrest by a senior Bulawayo police official who accused

lihood to it, is difficult to predict, diplomats said. They noted that its Politburo was headed by Colonel Mengistu and made up of the six military officers who have ruled the country with him. Four civilians were added, and the leadership was balanced between pragmatists and ideologues," a diplomat said.

"The party's composition seems designed to reassure the armed forces that the military is not about to abandon control of the revolution to a bunch of Moscow-trained civilian ideologues," a longtime resident said.

Those who doubt that Ethiopia's socialist experiment and its alliance with the Soviet Union are purely pragmatic point to subtle signs of the changing mood here. The day after the Communist Party was founded, The Ethiopian Herald, the state-run English-language newspaper, eliminated a traditional slogan from its masthead: "Ethiopia Tikdem," or "Ethiopia First."

"You see the hammer and sickle everywhere," a diplomat said. "Why don't you believe it?"

## IMPASSE SEPARATES... (CONTINUED)

cal, and Buthelezi claims nearly a million card-carrying members.

According to Prof. Herbert Adam, a Canadian and longtime observer of South African affairs, "Buthelezi stands alone, among all apartheid opponents, in having built, against formidable odds, a genuine black mass movement."

Buthelezi has a problem, though, in that he has made little effort to align himself with other black political leaders, many of whom fear Zulu domination if he should ever come to power.

In fact, Buthelezi seems to be feuding with almost every other black political group, including the externally based African National Congress.

Urban black political groups criticize Buthelezi for choosing to work to some extent with the white government. Thus, without meaning to do so, Buthelezi has achieved for the whites one of their fundamental objectives—to divide black political opposition and sharply limit black efforts to bring about racial equality.

THE WASHINGTON POST

OCTOBER 9, 1984

## Cuban Experts Arrive in Burkina Fasso

■ OUAGADOUGOU, Burkina Fasso—President Thomas Sankara flew home accompanied by Cuban experts after visiting New York, where he addressed the U.N. General Assembly, and Havana.

Sankara told reporters that his trip to Cuba, which included talks with President Fidel Castro, had enabled him to understand the scope of Cuba's revolution and its importance to other developing countries.

Several Cuban experts in mining and prefabricated housing construction arrived here with Sankara, who said bilateral cooperation with Cuba would be strengthened.

NEW YORK TIMES,

OCTOBER 8, 1984

## African Repression Assailed

KAMPALA, Uganda, Oct. 7 (Reuters) — A conference of Christian Democrats from 18 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America closed a two-day meeting today with an expression of concern about "the plight of millions of Africans deprived of their fundamental human rights and those living in conditions of abject poverty." Members were urged to use their influence "to lend a helping hand to overcome this present scourge."

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