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## Tambo Meets Briton; More Talks Hinted

Los Angeles Times

LONDON, June 24—African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo met for 45 minutes with a British government minister today and hinted afterward that further talks might take place in the future.

While Tambo said that he was unable to budge Britain from its opposition to comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa during his talks with Foreign Office Minister of State Lynda Chalker and had given no promise to give up his group's guerrilla campaign, he said that they both had expressed the hope for what he called "further opportunities for discussion of these matters."

Tambo's meeting with Chalker marked the first time a British minister has received a representative of the congress, outlawed as a terrorist organization by the white-led South African government.

While Chalker told reporters that "there was a good deal more understanding than I feared there might be," the significance of the meeting was not so much its content but that it took place at all.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government had consistently refused to meet a congress representative until it renounced its violent tactics.

Although Thatcher explained to the House of Commons today that Chalker was meeting Tambo to persuade him to give up violence as a means to end the system of apartheid, the move was widely interpreted as a signal to the South African government that it must do more to bring about change.

The meeting also was likely intended to ease pressure on Britain from the other nations of the Com-

## PRETORIA LEADERS PASS 2 NEW LAWS TO CRUSH UNREST

Critics Say Government Can End Emergency Decree and Preserve Broad Powers

By EDWARD A. GARGAN  
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 20 — Overriding the opposition of the country's two nonwhite chambers of Parliament, South Africa's white leaders tonight forced into law two security measures that give the authorities sweeping powers to deal with unrest.

The new measures enable the authorities to detain opponents for six months without trial, and to declare "unrest areas" in which the police will have virtually unbridled freedom of action.

Critics of the two laws approved by the white-dominated President's Council, whose powers are superior to Parliament's, say the measures will enable President P. W. Botha to call off the nationwide state of emergency while retaining unfettered police control of black townships and squatter camps in which people will have few if any civil rights.

### Bitter Denunciation of Bills

Human rights activists, many of whom are now in hiding or in detention under the state of emergency declared last week, denounced the legislation when it was before Parliament. They said the laws would give the authorities

the same powers they now have under the emergency decree without a formal emergency declaration.

Both votes tonight were preceded by hours of bitter debate, with opponents charging that the legislation would strip black South Africans of any legal rights.

"This law says, 'Let us put a moratorium on justice and morality,'" said Peter Marais, a mixed-race member of the President's Council and member of the opposition Freedom Party, attacking the detention law.

James Rennie, a white member of the Progressive Freedom Party, said, "We have to ask ourselves whether the passing of this bill will turn South Africa into a police state."

Fanie Herman, a white Conservative Party member, said in Afrikaans that "we must act absolutely, quickly and drastically to prevent further chaos." "There is no time for sweet-talking," he said.

Although the white chamber of Parliament has approved the measures twice, both the mixed-race and Indian houses have twice rejected the legislation within the past month. Blacks are not represented in Parliament.

The South African Constitution provides that the President's Council, a 60-member body controlled by the governing National Party, may pass into law any measure not approved by all three houses. The votes tonight both occurred along strict party lines, with members of the white National and Conservative Parties joining forces to give the measures the needed majority.

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monwealth, where it is virtually isolated in opposing broad sanctions.

"We have had a very serious and useful meeting," Chalker said. "We were very honest and strong and candid with one another but we left the meeting shaking hands, talking about the future."

Tambo described the meeting as useful. "We got the views of the British government; the ANC got its own views across," he said. "One doesn't

expect to meet a Foreign Office minister and begin [immediately] to expect a shift of positions."

Earlier today, Tambo met with a group of Conservative members of Parliament where he refused to renounce the use of "necklace" killings, in which tires are placed around a victim's neck and set on fire.

"The necklace is a product of apartheid," he maintained. "I regret it but I cannot condemn it."



# U.S. Aide Criticizes New S. African Curbs

*Media Restrictions, Detentions May Hinder Dialogue, Crocker Says*

By Jonathan Karp  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The South African government is shot itself "in both feet" by placing restrictions on the media and detaining antiapartheid forces, Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker said yesterday.

"There are more than enough means of security laws and repression existing in South Africa's current laws without all these additional measures, which simply get in the way of any possibility for dialogue and polarize the issue further," Crocker said on "This Week With David Brinkley" (ABC, WJLA).

Crocker said the measures "will not address the basic grievances and the basic problems. What they will do is to put a buffer between our eyes and what is going on in the black townships," an action that he said "doesn't really fool anybody."

Although the United States condemns the Pretoria government's actions, Crocker said the Reagan administration will continue its policy of "constructive engagement" in

an attempt to foster change in South Africa. Under apartheid, 5 million South African whites deny voting rights to 24 million black compatriots.

Referring to efforts by the government and U.S. companies with interests in South Africa to effect change there, Crocker said: "I think if more Americans knew what our firms are doing, . . . they would be proud of the role that we are playing in that country."

Crocker said the administration will "firmly oppose" legislation passed last week by the House that would require total U.S. disinvestment from South Africa and impose a boycott against that country except for key minerals.

The United States must avoid measures that "assure that we bring destruction to South Africa in the form of collective punishment on all the South African people," Crocker said.

He said the United States will continue to urge negotiations between blacks and whites to create a new political system in the country.

Such negotiations, Crocker said,

should include the African National Congress, the outlawed black nationalist organization based in Zambia.

Earlier in the broadcast, Louis Nel, South Africa's deputy minister of information, said Pretoria will not negotiate with the ANC unless it halts its violent campaign to overthrow the South African government and purges itself of its communist element.

Nel said radical groups such as the ANC killed 34 of the 56 blacks reported to have died in South Africa last week. Nel said such groups "are not interested in reform. They're not interested in a new constitution. They are not interested in power-sharing. They want a revolution."

Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, said the blacks who killed other blacks are conservatives instructed and armed by the white police.

Thabo Mbeki, a spokesman for the ANC who also appeared on the show, said apartheid is the real cause of the violence. "So long as you have apartheid, so long will you have violence," he said. "That is a

basic, fundamental thing." Mbeki also said that the ANC began arming itself after 48 years of unsuccessful, peaceful resistance.

Mbeki acknowledged the presence of communists in the ANC, but said the group is committed to democracy. "The ANC is not a communist plot," he said. "Within the ANC you have communists, you have people that have got Christian democratic views, you've got people who are Muslim, . . . Christian—and all of them make together this formation, this alliance."

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), appearing on "Meet the Press" (NBC, WRC) yesterday, also questioned the ANC's makeup, calling it a "communist-front organization."

"Apartheid is dead. Let's have the funeral for that," Helms said. "What we're talking about is the future of blacks and whites in Africa. Will [they] have a future under a communist regime . . . or a future under a free system?"

Helms said that blacks, "orchestrated by communists," are killing other blacks. "This is a point not made clear in the news media in this country," he added.

The Washington Times

## Envoy says U.S. can still influence the ANC

JUNE 23, 1986

By Rita McWilliams  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker said yesterday the United States still has a chance to influence the African National Congress even though the ANC is committed to violence and is influenced by the Soviet Union.

"I think there are, in fact, inside the ANC a range of voices," Mr. Crocker said of the black guerrilla force. "It has got to be our purpose to seek to put people in a position where they are obliged to make real decisions and to test what they really believe in."

For example, Mr. Crocker said, "the ANC has committed itself to democracy and so forth, a whole series of things which I think all Americans would support. At the same time, it's committed itself to violent means. It's committed itself to terrorist tactics. It's committed itself in its relationship with the Soviets to a certain orientation internationally."

"I think these things have to be tested and the way you test them is by having a relationship or contact at least, with all the key parties," Mr. Crocker said in an interview on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley."

When asked why the United States supports anti-communist resistance forces fighting the repressive Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, but condemns violent tactics by the ANC, which Mr. Crocker once referred to as "freedom fighters," Mr. Crocker said to do so in South Africa would bring only a "massive bloodbath in which blacks will be the principal victim."

"Let's not forget the degree of coercive power that remains in the hands of the white authorities in that country and with the white population generally," Mr. Crocker said.

"I don't think either white or black want to see a violent solution, and I don't see why we would either," he said.

Mr. Crocker, framer of the administration's policy of "constructive

engagement" or diplomacy through economic and political channels in South Africa, condemned Pretoria for its recent crackdown in which several thousand blacks have been jailed and the media has been censored.

"We think what the South African government has done in recent weeks is to shoot itself in both feet," he said. "These measures of repression, which is all that they are, will not address the basic grievances and their basic problems. What they will do is try to, if you will, put a buffer between our eyes and what's going on inside the townships of that country. It doesn't really fool anybody."

The restrictions, he said, "simply get in the way of any dialogue and polarize the situation further."

Mr. Crocker said recent House action calling for all U.S. firms to cut their South African ties would leave the United States without leverage to prod Pretoria toward reform.

But Louis Nel, South Africa's deputy minister of information, said

the state of emergency "has nothing to do with apartheid" and is caused by black-on-black violence promulgated by "a minority clique" that wants total power.

Mr. Nel said the state of emergency and the detention of thousands of blacks is a way in which the white government protects the homes and businesses of other blacks. He said black radicals are attacking those moderates who are interested in negotiations to share power and bring about a new, more democratic system of government.

The radicals, many of whom are members of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, "are not interested in reform. They're not interested in a new constitution. They're not interested in power sharing. They want a revolution."

The government will negotiate with the ANC only if it renounces violence and communism, Mr. Nel said. "There would be nothing in it for us or the West if we were prepared to do that."



# Third-world toughs

South Africa's state of emergency is no longer technical; it is endemic. It is one more step along the road from half-free oligarchy towards third-world police state. Change in South Africa is ever less likely to be negotiated, let alone decided, through a ballot box. It will come through the bloodstained power-broking of sectional interests: guns, armour, arbitrary arrest, backed by patronage and bribery, pitted against riot, arson and terror. Governments which set their policemen outside the law, which ban priests and community peacemakers, which deny free dissemination of information, which suspend constitutional rights, usually plead that repression is the precondition for future freedom. The history of modern politics replies that that is rubbish.

To South Africa's President Botha, the events of the past week have, of course, been the work of agitators—he no longer pretends they are “outside” ones—who wish to destroy his gradualist reform programme. In the decade since the Soweto riots, such reform has become unavoidable as the internal contradictions of apartheid have become more blatant. Industrialisation has rendered absurd the Afrikaner ideal of pastoral separateness. The forces of urbanisation have contorted classical apartheid into a crude racial despotism. The Nationalist government has itself condemned apartheid to death, Mr Botha nudging it towards its end with measures on housing tenure, job reservation, influx control and miscegenation.

Yet these changes have come about more from the logic of a prospering, still semi-free economy than from any great change of heart among most whites. Mr Botha, backed by most white voters, is persistently unwilling to concede politically what economic expansion has forced him to concede economically. The 1984 constitution, embracing mixed-race people and Indians, was defensible only as a way-station on the road to further reform, particularly to black enfranchisement. The more liberal elements in the government argued for “bottom-up” reform, beginning with local and provincial authorities and leading one day, perhaps, to national presidential elections.

The peaceful transformation of a multiracial society from tribal dictatorship to plural democracy has for ten years been the dream of enlightened Afrikaners. But the strategy was plausible only if it was carried out with conviction. It has not been. The reforms to local government, still based on group areas, proved to be pure apartheid. The offer of black participation in national government, through a “statutory” council, was made meaningless by the banning or incarceration of those leaders to whom millions of blacks clearly offer some sort of allegiance, notably Mr Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress.

## Power corrupting absolutely

In the event, Mr Botha and the coterie of soldiers and security chiefs who form the State Security Council have cared not at all for democracy—witness their recent snubbing of the Commonwealth group. The state of emergency and the inability of Mr Botha and his law and order minister, Mr Louis le Grange, to curb the excesses of their poorly-trained, increasingly politicised police force suggest that the corruption of power is becoming absolute. From Sharpeville to Soweto to Uitenhage, the lesson is the same: the chief threat to

law and order in South Africa is from anarchic policemen, not from black radicals.

Mr Botha will now presumably proceed to end the pass laws, while continuing to deny civil liberties as a reassurance to his right wing. Black migration will further transform the townships into urban versions of the homelands, in effect autonomous but the scene of vicious internecine violence which will spill over regularly into non-black areas. The militarisation of government, under way for almost a decade, may lead to local versions of the “participation” Mr Botha says he wants: military and police commanders bartering with black township leaders, some vigilante, some tribal, some perhaps even representing the radicalised young. They will swap protection, weapons, patronage, jobs, liquor franchises, land: but not the ballot. As in many big, multi-ethnic countries, the main political tensions may be inter-regional, inter-tribal and between central and local government, rather than ideological or democratic. Western democracy, each group will comfortably tell the other, is not the African way.

Already Mr Botha has been adjusting his country for what this means: the internal and external siege economy of a destabilised third-world state. The short-term consequences for South Africa, and its rulers, are by no means all bad for all of them. The collapse of the rand has acted as an internal discipline more effective than any conceivable trade or investment embargo might be. At about half its exchange rate of two years ago, it has made the export of capital and the import of goods crippling expensive. Inward investment now hardly needs further discouragement from any United Nations or Commonwealth ban. It is a negligible feature of the South African economy.

Meanwhile, the ranks of underemployed apartheid bureaucrats wait eagerly to nationalise the assets of foreign firms inclined to “disinvest”. Waiting in the wings, or already on stage, are import surcharges, dividend restrictions, foreign-exchange rationing, government directors (ie, soldiers) on company boards, price controls and black markets, the whole paraphernalia of third-world corporatism. A falling exchange rate and falling unit labour costs are already producing an export boom which no amount of sanctions will curtail. Siege is insulating South Africa from the pressure of any future sanctions, protecting its markets and encouraging the self-sufficiency which it already enjoys in energy and arms. Everyone knows the long-term costs of such distortions, but the long term is not much on the agenda in Pretoria at present.

The lesson of the past week is not that revolution is just round the corner but that the Afrikaner leadership is systematically destroying the supposition which it inherited from its English-speaking predecessors in 1948: that the country's ruling elite should be viewed as a sophisticated political community fitfully making its way towards western democracy. Afrikanerdom has never had that sort of political culture. It was rooted in Africa's most primitive agrarian traditions and has accepted the accoutrements of a first-world economy only as a veneer. The right-wingers who pester Mr Botha will tighten their belts and accept the same constraints on their living standards that black militants would welcome from sanctions. Between such implacable rocks, the much-vaunted middle ground of democratic reform is likely to be a desolate place.



# South Africa Treason Trial Ends With Acquittal of 4

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

PRETORIA, South Africa, June 23 — One of South Africa's biggest treason trials ended today with the acquittal of the last four of 16 defendants.

The four, all union activists, would have faced the death penalty had they been convicted. The charges were dropped after the prosecutor said he wished to stop the trial. He offered no explanation for his request.

Cries of "Amandla!" ("Power!") rang out in the Pietermaritzburg courtroom as Justice John Milne, the Natal Province Judge President, left the court after ordering the four defendants acquitted of all charges. The four are Sisa Njikelana, Sam Kikine, Isaac Ngcobo and Thozamile Gqweta.

In Johannesburg, meanwhile, the authorities ordered Newsweek magazine's correspondent in South Africa to leave the country by midnight Thursday. It marked the second time since the declaration of a nationwide state of emergency 12 days ago that a foreign journalist had been ordered to leave.

"I have considered it to be in the pub-

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

lic interest to order your removal from the Republic of South Africa," the Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, said in a telex to the reporter, Richard Manning.

The Government gave no formal explanation for the order.

Mr. Manning, 36 years old, is Newsweek's only correspondent in the country. He has been based in Johannesburg since last September and was previously in the magazine's bureaus in Detroit and Chicago.

In New York, a Newsweek spokesman denounced the expulsion order and defended the magazine's coverage of South Africa as "fair and balanced." A spokesman said Mr. Manning and Newsweek lawyers planned to meet with Government officials in Cape Town to seek to rescind the order.

Last week, South African authorities warned Newsweek's distributor not to take delivery of copies of the magazine's June 23 issue, the cover story of which carried the headline "South Africa's Civil War: The Making of a Bloodbath."

The authorities reported today that two "Soviet" land mines were discovered on farm roads in the Vryheid area on Sunday. Neither of the mines exploded, a spokesman for Bureau for Information said today. One of the mines was discovered based on information provided by "the local black population," according to Casper Venter, the bureau spokesman.

Mr. Venter also said two blacks were burned to death in incidents during the 24-hour period ending at dawn this morning. Nine blacks were arrested in two other incidents for trying to set two other blacks on fire, Mr. Venter said.

Mr. Venter provided the information at a briefing for the press in Pretoria today. Apart from these incidents, he refused to respond to any questions put to him about police actions around South Africa.

Among the actions he refused to comment on were accounts by witnesses who said security officers had forced residents of the township of Duduza out of private cars and onto commuter buses that were being boycotted to pro-

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JUNE 25, 1986.

## S. African violence shifts

### Urban blasts may signal new tack by black militants

By Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

South Africa's violence appears to be moving out of black townships into white cities.

The nationwide state of emergency imposed 13 days ago has begun to reduce the violence that has raged primarily in black areas for the past 21 months, official figures over the past few days indicate.

But two bombs exploded in downtown Johannesburg yesterday, barely a week after a bomb blast near a Durban night-spot. If black militants are responsible, as is widely presumed, the series of explosions suggests they may be changing their tactics under the security crackdown.

There have been bombings by black insurgents before, notably a blast at a shopping center near Durban last December which killed five people and wounded more than 40. But the trio of explosions this month would represent the first such sustained series of terrorist attacks.

The outlawed African National Congress, the main black insurgent group fighting to overthrow the South African government, has until recently publicly rejected directing violence against civilian "soft targets." But as early as last August, statements by the ANC's exiled leaders hinted that violence might claim increasing civilian casualties. These would result from what they call the twin influences of grass-roots militancy and the South African government's refusal

to meet demands for black-majority rule.

Whether or not the ANC, or individual blacks inside South Africa, have the intention or capability to mount further bomb strikes in South African cities is impossible to gauge. Official statements here since imposition of the state of emergency June 12, however, leave no doubt that the authorities are determined to crack down on all political violence.

The June 14 bombing in Durban killed three people and wounded nearly 70 — most of them whites. Yesterday's explosions at a Wimpy's hamburger bar in Johannesburg and near a downtown hotel wounded at least 17 people. Among them were both whites and some of the tens of thousands of blacks who commute into the city to work. There were no immediate reports of deaths. South African law bars blacks from living in Johannesburg and other major cities, except as resident employees in white homes.

The government imposed the state of emergency in a bid to quell the most sustained bout of black political violence in the country's history. The unrest has left more than 1,700 people, almost all of them blacks, dead. Most of the victims were either young militants slain by the security forces or blacks murdered by fellow blacks for allegedly being "collaborators" with South Africa's government.

President Pieter W. Botha, in announcing the state of emergency, said "black-on-black" violence was intimidating those blacks who would otherwise favor accepting his proposal to negotiate an ar-

rangement for "power-sharing." He said these were the majority of the blacks.

At time of writing, the President had not commented publicly on the bombings in Durban or Johannesburg. But he and other officials have dismissed past ANC remarks on "soft targets" as disingenuous. The government has charged that the ANC is a terrorist organization, bent on overthrowing the government. Officials have also stressed that some leading ANC figures are members of the outlawed South African Communist Party.

After the newsmagazine Newsweek ran a cover story on the state of emergency, South African authorities ordered its Johannesburg correspondent to leave the country. No reason for the expulsion order has been made public. But recently adopted media restrictions bar published statements which the government may deem "subversive." Pretoria also told a free-lance Israeli journalist yesterday that he must leave the country by Thursday, bring to three the number of the foreign correspondents expelled since the state of emergency was imposed.

Not only the government, but also more than a few blacks, have expressed satisfaction with at least one early effect that the state of emergency has had on black townships. A visit early this week by this reporter to Alexandra, a township near Johannesburg, found a measure of relief among many residents.

The relief results from the apparent quelling of violence that has claimed at least some 30 lives there since the start of the year.



# Loss of business confidence is a sanction on South Africa

South Africa's finance minister, Mr Bar-end du Plessis, thinks he can raise South Africa's growth rate to 3% this year by pumping R1.2 billion (\$510m) into the flagging economy. He is hoping that conventional Keynesianism can help plug the confidence that is draining out of South Africa. He will probably be disappointed. Loss of confidence is already acting as an informal sanction against South Africa by international business.

The most direct indicator of disinvestment in South Africa is the financial rand, the restricted form of the currency used for exporting capital. Since February, it has fallen by over 35%. And this does not take into account money leaving South Africa via the stronger commercial rand—an activity which is illegal but now rife. Businessmen are transferring funds out of the country by over-invoicing imports and under-invoicing exports, and by accelerating dividend payments overseas.

Since January 1985, 55 American firms which employ people in South Africa have left the country—17 of those have left this

who need to raise cash.

In a pleasant Johannesburg suburb, a four-bedroom house with land and a swimming pool will fetch around R160,000-200,000. Convert this to £29,000 or \$43,000 at the financial-rand rate, and it will not buy a one-bedroom flat in central London or Manhattan. Low property prices and a cheap rand are keeping the white migration rate well below 1976 levels. White workers with skills required overseas are in the best position to move. Mine engineers who could easily pick up work in Australia or Latin America talk of little but the possibility of departure.

On the broader economic level, this lack of confidence has caused the South African economy to be increasingly resource-based. A low rand has meant exceptional rand returns for the mining giants which sell gold and other minerals abroad. Last year, mining firms accounted for close to 80% of the country's total

June 16th and Impala running close to full strength again, new industrial demand should be easily met.

If speculative investors really take to platinum, though, the story will change. If just 10% of the money that they punt on gold is switched to platinum, it would be enough almost to double investment purchases of the metal and increase its premium over the price of gold. But high platinum prices would drive away some of the industrial users: 36% of platinum production is taken by jewellery, electrical goods and dentistry. These could switch to using other materials.

Without a good industrial base, the platinum price will be at the whim of speculators. Two things could make them desert the metal. First, less bad news from South Africa. Second, a breakthrough on the lean-burn car engine. That would make palladium—a sister metal to platinum—seem more attractive. Palladium is potentially a more exciting metal for investors. According to Mr Jeffrey Christian, a Goldman, Sachs analyst, it could be scarce in the 1990s. Platinum, most likely, will not be.

NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 26, 1986  
**State Dept. Is Talking To Black South Africa**

## To the Editor:

I would like to commend your acknowledgement of Secretary of State George P. Shultz's passion for establishing a "democracy that knows no color in South Africa" ("If Apartheid Is That Evil," editorial, June 4).

However, this passion is accompanied by a recognition of the sober realities in South Africa and the limited role the United States can play there. You imply that the U.S. does not recognize the legitimacy of black political organizations or support their goals. This is not true.

The U.S. has called for legalization of all political organizations in South Africa and for complete freedom of political expression in the country. It should not, however, be the role of the U.S. (or of any outside government, for that matter) to confer approval on any particular political group, but to support generally the principles of representative democracy.

Let me assure you that the U.S. Government maintains contacts with a spectrum of political groups in and outside South Africa, including the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress, Pan African Congress, Inkatha and Azapo. Because of the South African political climate, these contacts are often not publicized. To say, "Mr. Shultz and his diplomats won't even talk to these black leaders," is just plain wrong.

The Secretary of State and his colleagues are clear about the cardinal importance of dialogue, for them and, more urgently, for the Pretoria Government, with those who seek their rightful place in South African society.

J. DOUGLAS HOLLADAY  
Director, South Africa Working Group  
Department of State  
Washington, June 20, 1986

## South Africa's main trading partners

Exports to:				Imports from:			
	as % of total exports	average annual % change			as % of total imports	average annual % change	
	1984	1985 est	1980-85		1984	1985 est	1980-85
US	8.4	8.9	- 7.0	W. Germany	15.7	16.8	- 6.1
Japan	7.7	8.3	- 2.5	US	15.9	12.7	-12.1
Britain	4.3	6.1	-10.7	Britain	11.1	12.3	-10.6
Italy	2.5	4.2	+ 7.5	Japan	12.9	10.1	- 8.8
W. Germany	3.9	4.0	- 8.3	France	3.8	4.6	- 7.3
Holland	2.4	3.2	+11.3	Italy	3.5	3.3	- 9.8
Switzerland	6.8	3.2	-19.7	Switzerland	1.8	2.1	- 6.3
France	2.2	2.0	- 8.7	Holland	1.8	2.0	- 3.6
Hongkong	1.8	1.8	+ 0.1	Belgium	1.6	1.8	- 3.5
Belgium	1.7	1.7	- 7.0	Australia	1.3	1.2	- 1.1
Spain	0.6	0.9	+ 4.9	Sweden	1.4	1.2	- 8.4
Israel	0.7	0.9	+ 6.5	Canada	1.1	1.0	- 9.5
Canada	0.7	0.7	-15.3	Spain	0.8	0.8	- 1.3
Australia	0.7	0.6	- 0.7	Argentina	0.8	0.8	+37.6
Denmark	0.6	0.6	- 0.7	Norway	0.7	0.8	- 7.2
Special categories*	46.6	45.8	- 9.1	Special categories†	14.7	15.7	-20.7

Source: IMF Direction of Trade Statistics. \*mainly gold. †mainly oil and armaments.

year. In 1984, says the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre, only seven companies quit. In its report on the South African economy, a worried IMF mission is likely to use far fewer euphemisms like "labour market rigidities" for apartheid. South African finance and economics ministry officials are trying to persuade anybody who will listen that fundamental political change is no more than four or five years away, but they ran true to old form when they effectively blocked efforts by the IMF mission to meet black trade union leaders.

The state of the property market is a measure of the nervousness, and of the economic fortunes, of the white middle classes. Mr Bernard O'Riain, a Johannesburg-based estate agent, says prices of properties at the top end of the market have fallen by 20% in the past 15 months. He thinks that around 10% of the sales on his books are from people wanting to leave the country, and that around 30% are from people with financial problems

exports. They paid R3.4 billion in taxes.

In theory, the rand should also have made other South African exports more competitive overseas and so, with lower domestic interest rates, stimulated investment in producing goods for export. In practice, the nervousness created by sanction threats and by fears of higher inflation and higher interest rates has deterred business from doing this.

At first glance, such concentrated exports imply that trade sanctions could be effective against South Africa. On second sight, though, the practical problems to be overcome in implementing such sanctions loom large. America, Britain, West Germany and Japan are South Africa's leading trading partners (see table), and their governments are keen on business as usual as long as possible. Their combined imports from South Africa were worth around \$4.5 billion last year. But their stocks built up in advance of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising on



# Wild Card in South Africa: Communist Party

By ALAN COWELL

*This article was written and sent to New York before the declaration June 12 of South Africa's emergency, which imposed press restrictions.*

JOHANNESBURG. — President P. W. Botha has spoken at length about a Communist threat to the nation. The theme is not new among the nation's white leaders, but increasingly it finds a kind of counterpoint in the nation's segregated black townships.

For roughly a year at black political gatherings it has been a custom to pay some kind of homage to Marxism, for which any support is perceived as a challenge by the white authorities.

Sometimes it is the unfurling of a Soviet flag that makes the tribute. Other times, demonstrators chant slogans lauding the formal alliance between the outlawed African National Congress and the banned South African Communist Party.

A part of Alexandra township outside Johannesburg is now known to residents as "Cuba." In Soweto, radical high-school students daubed paint on the wall of their school to rename it for Joe Slovo, the exiled chairman of the Communist Party.

The apparent growth of support — or at least sympathy — for the Communist Party is interpreted by some political commentators not so much as the embrace of detailed ideology, but as a gesture of defiance directed at the white authorities. And those authorities like to depict their conflict with black nationalism as a battle against the encroachment of Soviet-steered Communism.

Yet the increasing readiness of militant blacks to voice support for Communists brings attention to a debate here about the nature and extent of Communist influence on the African National Congress, the most prominent of the guerrilla movements seeking the overthrow of the Government.

The debate is central to the reasons given by the white authorities for dealing harshly with black dissent. They say the stern measures are justified because some townships have become ungovernable pockets, as the African National Congress and its Communist allies have long urged from their bases in exile.

In speeches white leaders have described the African National Congress as being no more than a front for the South African Communist Party.

In early June, the Government published a 42-page booklet, "Talking With the A.N.C.," which set out to prove that there is overwhelming Communist influence among the African National Congress leaders.

The document asserted that 23 of the 30 members of the A.N.C.'s National Executive Committee "are known to

have present or past association/membership with" the South African Communist Party, which has been outlawed since 1950.

Moreover, the booklet depicted the congress, which many blacks regard as an emblem of the fight against apartheid, as a Communist-steered terrorist organization that "does not differ at all from the P.L.O., I.R.A. and the Red Brigades."

The document had its anomalies. It quoted at length from documents and people whose utterances are technically banned in South Africa. And in contrast with the authorities' desire to disparage exiled foes, the booklet seemed to tacitly acknowledge the A.N.C.'s status among many blacks.

But the impressions the document sought to create, critics said, were oversimplified, from selective quotations drawn from congress documents and designed to counter the idea among many blacks that, at some stage, the organization might provide a workable Government for a South Africa ruled by the majority.

"There is no question that there is a strong Marxist element within the A.N.C. and that the A.N.C. lines itself up with anti-imperialist forces," said Tom Lodge, South Africa's principal white academic expert on the Pretoria Government's exiled foes.

Neither is it an issue that "the A.N.C. is prepared to use violence, receives help from the Soviet Union and is generally supportive of Soviet foreign policy," he said. The congress and the Communist Party have, between them, supported Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, and refer routinely to the United States as an imperialist power.

But Dr. Lodge said that many of the congress's anti-American statements were "knee-jerk third worldism" and that official estimates of Communist influence on the 30-member executive board were open to challenge.

"It's a matter of detail how many Communists are on the national executive," he said in an interview at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. "I would say 13. The A.N.C. would say less."

## Cross-Membership Is Acknowledged

"It is true that the A.N.C. has members of the Communist Party," the organization's exiled president, Oliver Tambo, said in an interview published in The Cape Times newspaper last Nov. 4.

Both the A.N.C. and the Communist Party have in recent years scorned the Government's program of slow political change, hoping to keep it from taking root and obstructing their plans for more sweeping change.

"The A.N.C. was established in 1921 and the S.A. Communist Party in 1921," Mr. Tambo said, "and so there has been an overlapping of member-

ship all along the line."

But Mr. Tambo said: "The A.N.C. is accepted by the S.A.C.P. as leading the struggle. There is absolute loyalty to that position. It is often suggested that the A.N.C. is controlled by the Communist Party, by Communists. Well, I have been long enough in the A.N.C. to know that that has never been true."

The authorities dispute that assertion, saying the South African Communist Party is prepared to let the congress lead the fight for "national liberation" only for the time being.

The authorities, and some Communist Party theorists, say Communists will eventually seek to take over the nation's leadership as part of what the Government calls "a two-phase process of revolution which has as its objective the establishment of a Communist state."

## Communist Quarterly Reinforces a View

Articles in the South African Communist Party's quarterly exile publication, The African Communist, reinforce the view that the party itself sees the congress as a mass movement capable of overthrowing white rule and paving the way for change in South Africa under the leadership of the Communist Party.

But its ability to do so is disputed by some political commentators, who argue that, even if the nation's white rulers negotiated their own demise, Communist influence would be offset by other constituencies.

One might be the conservative Zion Christian Church, which claims a following of at least 2.5 million blacks. Another is the Zulu-based and moderate Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which says it has a following of more than one million. And, some of the Government's foes acknowledge in private conversations, no successor to the ruling Afrikaner hierarchy would wish to immediately dismantle a capitalist-based economy that is the continent's richest.

"The difficulty for the A.N.C.," were it to take power, Dr. Lodge said, "is going to be meeting the aspirations for redistribution of wealth and Socialist intervention" in the economy.

Last year, a group of top white business officials, led by Gavin Relly of the Anglo American Corporation, traveled to the congress's base in Zambia to meet its leaders. Some of the whites came away sobered by the congress's formal commitment to nationalization of the country's mines, banks and "monopoly industry." But one businessman, Tony Bloom, the head of Premier Group, said in a recent interview that he thought the congress's economic policy, as stated in its guiding charter, might well be open to negotiation.

"Communists," Dr. Lodge said, "are likely to be as pragmatic as non-Communists" in economic matters. He

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# South African emergency slows black-on-black violence

By Ned Temko

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

## Alexandra, South Africa

The blacks of Alexandra Township are bitter. They are afraid. But at least for now, they are also at peace with one another.

"Before the state of emergency, the young people here, our own people, were killing each other," says one resident, referring to the June 12 security crackdown by South Africa's white government. "I am a nurse. I saw what the violence was doing. And I thank God it is over."

Others do, too. There is the middle-aged man whose son is a "comrade" — one of the young radicals who have been combatting other blacks allegedly "collaborating" with the government in townships nationwide.

The boy knew his father worried about his activities but tried to ease the burden by making light of it: "He would leave home to go out and he'd say: 'Aren't you going to walk me to the front gate? It may be the last time you have that chance.'"

During the first period of the political violence that has raged almost exclusively in black areas of South Africa for the past 21 months, Alexandra was relatively quiet. But in periodic explosions of violence since the beginning of this year, official figures show, nearly three dozen people have been killed. Community leaders put the figure at more than twice that many.

In April, eight anti-apartheid activists were killed in fire-bomb attacks on their homes. Officials have said they are investigating residents' allegations that the attacks were mounted jointly by black "vigilantes" and members of the police force.

Some comrades are now in jail, netted in a swoop on hundreds of anti-apartheid activists under the state of emergency. "Others have gone into hiding," says one teen-ager. "There is no way you will find them now."

He lolls on the corner of one of Alexandra's unpaved streets with a half-dozen other youths. Such gatherings, now as before the emergency, are hallmarks of one of the country's few black townships that lie within a stone's throw of the swimming pools, and tennis

courts of a white city — Johannesburg. "The state of emergency will be lifted," he says, adding

Before the emergency, remarks about what will follow that cannot be quoted under state-of-emergency media restrictions.

Now there seems to be merely suspicion. But, according to another of the youths, South Africa's

balance of forces is such that the violent "defeat of apartheid" is impossible. And, another youngster remarks that the pre-emergency violence, in any case, seems to him to have been misguided. "We were killing each other, not our enemies," he says.

One prominent black community leader says that even before the security clampdown, the comrades had sought to end the cycle of violence. "Some of the boys started visiting houses at night, looking for weapons and confiscating any they found," he says.

Other youths took the initiative in ending a long-standing school boycott. But one resident says this move appeared aimed at forcing schools to remain open past a scheduled vacation period before the June 16 anniversary of the 1976 Soweto student uprising.

On that date, the uprising began in Soweto and spread to other townships. When the violence ended, an estimated 575 people were dead. The government, in imposing the state of emergency four days before this year's Soweto anniversary, cited what it said were plans for "widespread unrest" throughout the country.

There remain signs of anger and fear — past and present — in Alexandra.

A slogan daubed in white paint outside one of the township's jam-packed courtyards refers to the South African Army and police. It cannot legally be quoted.

A black clergyman, declining to offer remarks on the state of emergency, says, "Let me speak of my personal feelings. . . . I feel I am never safe. Some people in town may not understand your being here. You are white, even though you're just a journalist, trying to understand the situation. I may become a target."

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR

# The right moment for sanctions

JUNE 24, 1986

**P**RESIDENT Reagan is in one sense correct that economic sanctions against South Africa won't work.

If the Senate were to accept the radical sanctions bill passed by the House of Representatives last week, and if the President signed that bill, those actions would, by themselves, have negligible effect on the immediate behavior of the South African government. It might even make that government dig in its heels and further delay the process of dismantling apartheid.

For sanctions to be effective quickly, they would have to be part of a broad international action. The United States is South Africa's first trading partner. The US buys more from South Africa and sells more to South Africa than any other country. But Britain, West Germany, Japan, and Switzerland buy almost as much and sell almost as much.

Suppose that the United Nations were to vote in favor of a program of sanctions. Suppose that these five agreed to observe the program of sanctions. And suppose then that other, lesser trading partners of South Africa joined in the program of sanctions. The effect would be powerful and probably

decisive. South Africa is self-sufficient in foodstuffs. It could withstand an economic siege for some time, but not indefinitely. It has no contiguous friendly neighbor. All its neighbors are black.

But the US is not proposing a program to be initiated through the UN. The British and West German governments are openly opposed to sanctions. Japan has kept silent on the subject. Switzerland, too, is so far sitting this one out.

Unilateral sanctions by the US would

have little immediate effect on the economy of South Africa.

But any type of sanction voted by Congress and approved by the President would send a signal that is perhaps needed right now in the long-term interests of the US.

For the President of the US to come out in favor of strong sanctions would be public recognition by the US of the inevitability of power sharing by blacks in South Africa. It would align the US with those political elements inside South Africa which are pushing for black power sharing while there is still time for it to come gradually and by rational stages. It could revive the chance

for a relatively peaceful transition from white to mixed rule. More than the above, even a gesture would help to head off a Soviet move to capture the continued on pg. 8



# Europe tilts toward sanctions

What should be done about South Africa?

That moral and political dilemma has become the major preoccupation of the world's largest trading group, the European Community.

South Africa's state of emergency, escalating violence in the country, and Pretoria's defiance of world opinion are tilting Europe toward sanctions.

Sanctions against South Africa will be the focal point of the two-day EC summit discussions that get under way at The Hague today. But an EC diplomatic mission, headed by the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in his capacity as incoming EC president, is also being explored. This is seen as a last-ditch effort to convince the South

African government that, unless it changes course, the country could sink into revolution and face tougher international sanctions.

Although there is rising exasperation with South Africa, European diplomats are at a loss to know what, if anything, would shift the South African government to take a more conciliatory line.

Neither the big stick (threatened comprehensive sanctions) nor the juicy carrot (quiet diplomacy) has given diplomats encouragement that either would persuade South Africa to change course.

Quiet diplomacy, European diplomats ruefully note, has been met with a series of rebuffs. United States-inspired "constructive engagement" got nowhere, they say, and in retrospect is thought only to have bought time for South Africa.

In May, the Commonwealth's seven-member Eminent Persons Group quit in frustration after their diplomatic mission was undermined — and, as they see it, deliberately sabotaged — by South African raids on three neighboring African countries. The group felt it had no other recourse than to propose selected sanctions, which will be debated at the meeting of the 49-nation Commonwealth in London on Aug. 2.

At the same time, South Africa's intransigence and its tough handling of civil unrest at home are thought to be making sanctions and a more hard-line European stance toward South Africa inevitable.

Britain's about-face in holding its first official talks with the African National Congress, a banned organization that seeks to overthrow white-minority rule in South Africa, is viewed as yet another sharp diplomatic signal to Pretoria that

South Africa must start a process of dialogue with its opponents. And yesterday,

Britain summoned the South African ambassador to deliver a protest over detentions made under the state of emergency.

Yet, Europe itself is at odds on how far and how fast South Africa should be pushed. What has actively been under consideration for The Hague summit — a curb on new investments, a ban on fruit and vegetable imports, and the cutting of air links — is fairly minimal compared with a complete trade embargo.

But even on these relatively modest measures, the EC cannot agree. According to Denis Healey, the Labour opposition's shadow-cabinet foreign secretary, who is now visiting South Africa, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will eventually be dragged "kicking and screaming" into accepting sanctions.

There are already indications that Britain regards some yielding on some modest forms of sanctions as inevitable.

While Britain stands isolated in the Commonwealth on sanctions — only Britain opposes them — it can count on the backing of West Germany within the EC.

Together with the US, Britain and West Germany are South Af-

rica's main trading partners. Critics of South Africa say sanctions are meaningless unless these nations adopted them.

So far, neither Mrs. Thatcher nor West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl are convinced sanctions will work. Both view economic measures as little more than moral gestures or acts of political expediency that will do nothing to help the South African situation and could, in fact, do much to harm it.

Britain is by far the largest investor in South Africa — with assets totaling around £6 billion (over \$9 billion). But West Germany has long surpassed Britain as a trading partner of South Africa. Britain's imports from South Africa run at just under £1 billion (\$1.5 billion), while exports top the £1 billion mark. By contrast, West German exports accounted for almost £1.5 billion, while its imports were almost £1 billion.

As a way to get around a possible EC impasse over sanctions, Sir Geoffrey is expected to head a diplomatic mission to South Africa.

But the initiative has also been interpreted by some as an exercise to buy time and head off sanctions. Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National

Congress, poured scorn on the proposal at a press conference this week.

"They never seriously negotiated with the Namibians and the Angolans. We do not want a repetition of meaningless so-called negotiations. Pretoria must prove its bona fides."

THE RIGHT MOMENT..

(CONTINUED)

oncoming revolution in South Africa.

Until recently, the policy of "constructive engagement" has seemed to enjoy some prospect of helping the South African government along toward gradual power sharing. But the latest actions of that government show the opposite trend. The new and harsher security rules, the massive censorship, the isolation of the black townships from world view, mass arrests without *habeas corpus*, and the continued rate of killings all show a regressive trend.

This, therefore, is a time when the US must identify itself with the onrushing black revolution or risk letting the Communists steal that revolution at its outset as they stole the nationalist revolutions in China and Vietnam, with enormous long-term damage to US interests.

There are self-styled Communists in the leadership of the African National Congress. It would not be easy for President Reagan to open up a dialogue with

people who call themselves Communists or who associate with people who call themselves Communists.

He might well remember that Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai were self-styled Communists and never called themselves anything but Communists. But they were also first and foremost Chinese nationalists, who first allied themselves with Russia and then pulled out of that alliance after 10 years of experience with Russia. That alliance was operationally effective only from 1950 to 1960.

One thing and only one thing is certain about the black nationalist movement in South Africa. It will look to Moscow increasingly for advice and support unless the US comes soon to its open support. Who in the outside world is to capture the revolution in South Africa? Washington must compete with Moscow or see that revolution go by default to Moscow.

A revolution identifies its future friends and enemies at just this present, formative stage of the black revolution in South Africa. Unless Mr. Reagan identifies himself as its friend, it will long think of him as its enemy.



# Tanzania's 'Green Gold' Woes

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

Special to The New York Times

TANGA, Tanzania — Sisal plants, like the tops of pineapples, march down the hillsides here in double files. In the colonial era, these plants were called "green gold" for the pale fibers they produced, fibers that were combed and spun into twine that bound newspaper bundles, rope that secured ships to their moorings and threads that were woven into burlap sacks for potatoes and onions.

From immense estates on the edges of the Usambara Mountains here, Tanzania once produced the sisal that virtually dominated the world market. But in the last 15 years, that dominance has evaporated as prices for sisal have plummeted — in great measure because of the increased use of plastic fibers — and as the sisal estates deteriorated following nationalization by a determined Socialist government.

Tanzania produced just 33,000 tons of sisal last year, compared with 250,000 tons in 1964. Today, while Brazil's sisal rules in a greatly shrunken world market, the fiber makes up less than 5 percent of Tanzania's export earnings.

Yet throughout the decline of sisal in Tanzania, a Swiss company, Amboni Ltd., has managed to hold onto its estates here and is now struggling to survive in a political and economic

climate that has been consistently hostile to privately owned business.

"Sisal was the crop of Tanzania," said Dr. Peter Schachenmann, the company's general manager, as he sank into a battered leather chair in his office. "Amboni has been part of that. Now, apart from the Government estates, we are the largest. And we are doing much better than the public estates."

Nonetheless, Amboni's production has declined markedly, and in the last three years the company has lost money. At the same time, its Swiss managers believe that the financial concessions wrung from the Government in recent years and those they hope to extract in the future will largely determine the future extent of private investment here.

Sisal, which is not indigenous to East Africa, was smuggled by a German count into Tanganyika from Mexico in the belly of a stuffed crocodile at the end of the last century. Only 61 of the original 1,000 young plants survived, but it was enough to start an industry.

The founders of Amboni, who came from Switzerland and Germany, arrived in Tanganyika in the 1890's and began carving out huge estates in the hills here. After World War I, the British confiscated the Amboni estates but returned them in 1921 when the company was incorporated under the Amboni name.

When Tanganyika became independent in 1961, Amboni was the country's largest private sisal producer. Three years later, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form Tanzania, and in 1976, the Government nationalized nearly all sisal estates, leaving only Amboni in private hands. By then, most economic activity — banking, grain milling, textiles — had been fully or partly nationalized.

"Why weren't we nationalized?" Dr. Schachenmann asked. "It's anybody's guess. I have asked the same question."

"Nyerere said that Amboni was always very progressive in workers' welfare," he added, referring to the country's former President, Julius K. Nyerere. "We provided much more than the Government required. We had better salaries for workers, with incentive pay. We allowed workers to have their own little sisal farms in the estates."

A year ago, after a decade of nationalization, Mr. Nyerere conceded that the Government takeover of the sisal industry had been a disaster.

"We had a very highly developed sisal industry based on the estates," Mr. Nyerere said in an interview with the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. "It was already running into difficulty because of world prices. The prices were going down and we nationalized. It was a mistake, it is quite clear, because we did not have

the management, local management, to manage those farms."

How acute a mistake is evident from the precipitous drop in production. In 1976, Tanzania produced 119,000 tons of sisal. Of that, Amboni accounted for slightly more than 20 percent. Last year, Amboni produced about 15,000 tons of sisal, nearly half of the country's entire crop. While some of that drop is due to a fall in worldwide demand, most of the decline, according to Dr. Schachenmann, is attributable to mismanagement in the public sector.

Indeed, the Government-owned operations are turning out 17 percent of the sisal that was produced on the same estates in 1969, while Amboni is at 68 percent of what it produced that year. Although the Government has talked about returning some sisal estates to private ownership, executives of private businesses are skeptical that buyers could be found, given the current business climate.

Altogether, Amboni owns 10 estates scattered across northeastern Tanzania, each averaging about 12,000 acres. Unlike the Government estates, Amboni generates data monthly on all aspects of its operation, from how many liters of diesel each tractor consumes to how many man-hours it takes to process a ton of sisal. "We have Swiss management and we follow it very rigorously," Dr.

continued on pg. 15

# South Africa Blacks Believe Divestment Is Worth the Pain

By JOE DAVIDSON

PORT ELIZABETH, South Africa — Maxwell Mamase is ready with a speech when asked about proposed American legislation that would force withdrawal of U.S. companies from this country. "I endorse disinvestment," the black South African declares, "because this would directly affect bankers and monopolized industry who are keeping this government in power."

It also would directly affect Mr. Mamase who could lose his job as a senior industrial nurse with General Motors Corp. here if such legislation becomes law. (It has been approved by the House, but faces opposition in the Senate.) But he and other employees of American companies say they are willing to make that sacrifice in the fight against white minority rule. Mr. Mamase, 32 years old, says he would willingly "lose my job tomorrow . . . for a genuine cause."

Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi takes the opposite view. He declared at a May Day rally that "we blacks are the ones who will suffer most" if U.S. companies leave. Mr. Buthelezi heads Inkatha, an organization that claims a million members. The South African government, like the Reagan administration, also argues that divestment would penalize black workers.

But Mr. Buthelezi's opposition to sanctions apparently is a minority position among South African blacks. Massive unemployment among blacks helps breed widespread support for divestment from those who have little to lose. That includes Stephen Jomose, who is 70 and unemployed and says the government benefits more from the American companies than do the people. He says he favors divestment if it would quickly bring "change to apartheid."

Supporters here of U.S. sanctions view them as one potent tool in shortening the already violent conflict, even though only about 1% of blacks with jobs are employed by American companies. Black leaders see U.S. and British sanctions leading to international isolation of the apartheid regime.

That isolation, many blacks here say, would have an important symbolic and practical impact on South Africa, particularly as it would cut the availability of consumer goods to the white community, which has been comparatively untouched by the political turmoil. "The sanctions will mainly affect the white people," says a black supervisor at GM.

But a few blacks, such as Felix Ngabeni, also have a lot to lose. The black GM plant-security employee earns the equivalent of less than \$70 weekly. While the standard of living here is lower than in the U.S., that pay doesn't go far because it must support Mr. Ngabeni's two children, four sisters, one brother and two nieces. Yet making ends meet is "not really difficult," he says, "because we've been living

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# For Ethiopia, New Villages, New Concern

JUNE 22, 1986

By SHEILA RUE

Special to The New York Times

DIREDAWA, Ethiopia — The huts, once scattered higgledy-piggledy across the rolling highland hills, are now grouped in rigidly straight rows like so many regimented soldiers. Their owners dismantled the houses at their previous locations and, traveling on foot, brought them piece by piece to a swath of land outside this city in the Harar Province in eastern Ethiopia.

The grouping of huts is part of the Government's program of "villagization," under which about three million people have already been resettled into nearly 8,000 new villages. As many as 30 million more people could be moved over the next eight years, making the program one of the largest relocations in the continent's recent history.

The authorities assert that the program is voluntary and needed to better provide services to the nation's peasant population and speed economic development. If the peasants, who are about 90 percent of the country's 42 million people, continue their isolated lives without neighbors for miles around, Government officials say, it will be impossible to introduce modern farming techniques intended to transform an economy now based on subsistence agriculture.

But some development and relief officials and Western diplomats contend that participation is often coerced. Promised social services have not been provided, they say, and the program could have hurt agricultural production, leading eventually to collectivization of farming.

## May Hurt Rebel Support

Relief officials and Western diplomats say, in addition, that one motive for the resettlement is to deprive anti-Government separatist guerrillas of peasant support.

"The peasant can only be helped to be beneficiaries of assistance and services when they are grouped together,"

Ethiopia's leader, Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, said in an interview with a group of visiting foreign reporters. "Only in this way can they fully benefit from the services rendered to them and consequently transform themselves."

It is hard for outsiders to fully assess the village program. The program is separate from the even more disputed resettlement effort that has moved about 600,000 Ethiopian peasants hundreds of miles from the drought-stricken north to more fertile areas. That action has produced charges of gross human rights violations.

There is little free access to the new villages and Government escorts, or "minders," are everpresent. The authorities choose the areas that visitors are allowed to see.

## Few Dissenting Words

On a recent trip to a site outside this city, interviews were conducted through Government interpreters, and virtually all villagers spoke of a new and better life since they moved to the settlement. They said they had not been forced to move, unlike farmers interviewed last year during a survey by a Western relief agency.

A man who said it took him about 30 minutes to walk from the site of his old home told reporters that he was happier now and that he and his family had come to the settlement "according to our will."

An elderly woman, asked for her views, replied at length, her words sounding as though they were steeped in anger. When she finished, the interpreter's translation was: "I don't know. I am an ignorant woman."

Government officials say that the process of relocation was carefully planned so that the taking down and rebuilding of homes would not cut into vital agricultural seasons. Critics dispute this and say that people have been busy relocating instead of tending their fields, a situation that could lead to more famine.

## Program Is Suspended

The authorities also say the program has been temporarily suspended because it is the rainy season and time for farmers to plant their crops. But some Western aid donors contend that the suspension is partly because the Government is trying to gain a more favorable international image.

Among other benefits, officials say that villagers have been organized to use spring water for irrigation and build dams, easing their dependence on annual rains.

Many peasants must return to their former home areas to keep tending their fields, but officials say that is no more than a few miles. And by bringing together scattered settlers and, freeing large amounts of land for cultivation, the land holding of each peasant here has doubled, to just under four acres, the Government says.

The "ideological advantage," as one member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia put it, is education in Marxist-Leninism, cultural expansion and the creation of good conditions for a "working relationship" among the peasants.

## Government Sees No Problems

Officials, while acknowledging that they have been financially unable to provide all the promised social services, insist that there was no major social displacement and few problems.

But some development specialists, relief workers and Western diplomats say the village program remains seriously flawed.

James R. Cheek, the chargé d'affaires of the American Embassy in Ethiopia, said the United States was "seriously concerned" about several issues, including the chance that creating the new villages could eventually lead to collectivization of agriculture.

Ethiopian officials reply that their planning for the program avoided imposing such economic constraints on land or livestock.

## THE WASHINGTON POST

ART BUCHWALD

**"W**hat is our policy in South Africa?" I asked Nattily, a top-ranking source at the State Department.

"We deplore what is going on there and will take tough measures to see that the South African government changes its ways."

"What kind of measures?" I asked.

"We will threaten them with the only thing the Botha government understands—quiet diplomacy."

"What kind of quiet diplomacy?"

"It wouldn't be quiet if I told you, would it? I can only reveal

that in our experience, the more you raise your voice, the less influence you have. But if we can go in through the back door, there is always a chance we can make a deal with Botha."

"What if you can't?"

"Then we continue our quiet diplomacy, hoping the South African leaders will see the light."

"Does quiet diplomacy really work?" I asked.

"All the time. We've used it in every fascist country in the world, and it's never failed."

"You mean governments have stopped beating up people in the

streets after you come in with QD?"

# Ssh! You Might Wake Mr. Botha

"You have to take my word for it. The quieter you are about human rights violations, the better behaved the foreign government is about locking up people."

"What is wrong with instituting economic sanctions against South Africa?"

"They don't work."

"Then why do we have them against Cuba?"

"With Communists they work," Nattily said. "But sanctions against a friendly fascist power would hurt the people we are trying to help."

"That means your chance of using sanctions could hurt our relations with South Africa?"

"Correct. I think Secretary of State George Shultz summed it

up best on the evening news.

When asked if the U.S. would levy sanctions, he replied, 'No.'"

"What do you say to Bishop Tutu when he calls on the U.S. to invoke sanctions?"

"We don't say anything to Bishop Tutu if we can help it. Our policy is to remain neutral in South Africa."

I then asked Nattily, "Does it bother you that Botha has instituted a state of emergency and anyone can be locked up for no reason?"

"Of course it bothers us, and we intend to bring it up at the next quiet diplomacy meeting in Pretoria. You are aware that

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# Withhold Aid to Liberia

By Larry Garber  
and Jeffrey B. Whalen

WASHINGTON — Dramatic changes in governments, other than through elections, are often foreshadowed by the courage of ordinary citizens who challenge the actions of repressive leaders. Recent events in Liberia, a small country in West Africa with close historical links to the United States, indicate that country may be on the brink of such a change.

In the last few weeks, ordinary citizens, as well as some judges and lawyers, thwarted efforts by the Government to convict unjustly its political opponents. These actions contributed to the Government's release this month of all political prisoners.

But until the Liberian Government shows that it is genuinely interested in allowing open political dialogue and insuring new fair elections, the United States should withhold further economic assistance.

After a fraudulent election last October, and a coup attempt one month later, several opposition leaders suspected of involvement in the attempted coup were jailed. In the two most notable cases, the Government charged a former Finance Minister, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, and two businessmen, James Holder and Robert Phillips, with treason.

Internal and external pressure forced Gen. Samuel K. Doe to keep these trials open to the public and, for the most part, they were conducted in a superficially correct manner. But behind the facade of proper procedure, the Government, to insure con-

victions, brazenly attempted to manipulate the process.

Nonetheless, nine brave jurors in the trial of Mr. Holder and Mr. Phillips resisted requests by the judge to issue a guilty verdict. In signed affidavits, these jurors said that throughout the trial they were offered bribes and subjected to intimidation by the judge and other court officers. When the jury reached a "not guilty" verdict, the judge refused to read it in court and left the courthouse. The jurors remained there overnight until the judge returned.

When court reconvened and the verdict was read, three jurors who had been separated from the others overnight informed the judge that they no longer supported a not-guilty verdict. The judge promptly declared a "hung jury" and ordered a new trial.

The courage of these nine jurors energized other segments of the Liberian population. Throughout the jurors' stay in the courthouse, for example, Liberians from all over the capital visited them to show their support. The Liberian National Bar Association submitted a petition calling for the judge in the case to be impeached and disbarred and for criminal charges to be filed against him.

The jurors' action helped to set in motion the pressures that forced General Doe to release his political opponents, including Mrs. Johnson-Sir-

leaf, a Harvard-educated economist and a former Citibank vice president who was held for more than five months without trial.

But the Government's attempts to

manipulate the legal system have eroded the Doe administration's credibility at home and abroad. And although the release of political prisoners is an initial victory, it will take more positive steps to achieve national reconciliation. The Government must end restrictions on political activity. The media must be allowed to operate freely. Liberians must also be given the opportunity to choose a new government through a genuinely democratic process.

The recent developments also create a difficult policy choice for the United States. Both houses of Congress have passed resolutions calling for a cutoff of economic assistance to Liberia until it released all political prisoners and met other reforms. Liberians who share our political values expect that the United States will demonstrate its commitment to human rights by insisting that the remaining conditions, including allowing open political dialogues and insuring the independence of the judiciary, be met before further aid is provided.

It may be too soon to count General Doe out. The release of the prisoners may simply be a ploy aimed at securing needed American aid. However, if reconciliation can finally be achieved, the victory, in large measure, would be a result of actions by those courageous individuals who dared to stand up for their rights.

Larry Garber is a project director, and Jeffrey B. Whalen is staff attorney, for the International Human Rights Law Group. Mr. Whalen recently visited Liberia.

THE WASHINGTON POST

# South Africa Presses Apartheid Reforms Spurned by Blacks

JUNE 26, 1986

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, June 25—While world and national attention remains focused on the two-week-old state of emergency here, the South African Parliament today finished approving a major package of reforms in some of the key elements of the apartheid system of racial segregation.

The moves illustrate the dilemma of the white-minority government here, which claims to be dismantling apartheid. For while these measures have cost the government further support on its white right flank, which accuses it of starting down the road to black majority

rule, they have not attracted any noticeable backing from black leaders, who generally deride them as too little and too late.

In the past week, the government has abolished 34 separate acts that together constitute South Africa's notorious "pass laws," which for decades required blacks to carry written passes to be allowed to live and work in the country's so-called whites-only cities.

Today Parliament finished passage of another bill restoring South African citizenship to about 20 percent of those blacks who lost it when the tribal "homelands" they supposedly belong to were declared

"independent" by the Pretoria government. It also approved a bill giving urban blacks a limited increase in local self-government.

Part of the problem, say opponents, is that the moves are taking place in a climate of such fear and anger in the black communities due to the government's emergency crackdown that no legitimate black leader is prepared to endorse them.

"These are steps in the right direction," said Helen Suzman, a veteran opposition member of Parliament. "But recent events have been so traumatic, what with the state of emergency and all the tensions, that their impact has been lost. They've been overtaken by an avalanche," continued on pg. 15



# Africa initiative placed in jeopardy by aid to Savimbi

JUNE 22, 1986

By Stephens Broening

**T**he Reagan administration's most daring diplomatic venture in Africa is on the verge of ruin, according to senior U.S. officials.

At risk is a complex negotiation to gain independence for Namibia, withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, and the repatriation of a large Cuban expeditionary force that has been in Angola for a decade.

The negotiation under U.S. sponsorship has been described by Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, as "an essential part of our policy for the region."

"Our objectives are clear: to restore and advance U.S. influence in the region; to expand our cooperative relations with African states; and to deny to the Soviet Union the opportunity to use its influence to exacerbate already dangerous situations in Angola, South Africa and the other countries of the area," he told Congress.

"Our interest and objectives are decidedly not served by a Namibia which is not free and by an Angola which is the scene of a bloody conflict and foreign intervention," Mr. Crocker said. "Thus, we have worked hard to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia."

The effort to negotiate a settlement got under way in 1981 at the outset of the first Reagan administration. Some specialists consider it to be the only new foreign policy idea the administration brought to office.

The policy was ambitious, perhaps overly so. It faced significant obstacles, not the least of which was deep hostility between Angola, a black-run "people's republic," and South Africa, a conservative, white-run capitalist nation, the pariah of the continent.

It took two years, by Mr. Crocker's account, to engage Angola and South Africa in a real negotiation. "It took another year to begin to erode the mutual mistrust and build confidence in an American role," he said.

Since South African and Angolan officials would not meet face-to-face, U.S. representatives shuttled between them, attempting to gain acceptance of principles on which a solution might be based.

By last year, U.S. officials could claim noticeable progress:

- South Africa had agreed to relinquish Namibia — the vast, sparsely populated territory it has administered since shortly after World War I — by implementing the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

- South Africa had agreed to remove its troops from Angola, where they have acted in support of UNITA, an Angolan insurgent group led by Jonas Savimbi.

- In return, the Angolan government had agreed to the notion of a staged, three-year withdrawal of Cuban troops that would start with the process of Namibian independence.

In the meantime, at U.S. urging, the South Africans proposed to initiate, starting August 1, procedures for Namibian independence spelled out by the U.N. Security Council. The first step would be the dispatch of a U.N. force of soldiers and civilians to supervise a phased South African pull-out and the election of a constituent assembly to write a constitution for Namibia.

But as things stand now, the negotiation is off. A senior administration official involved in Africa policy says, "The Angolans are not answering our mail."

The main reason is that the United States has undercut its own role as honest broker in the negotiation by agreeing to supply UNITA with arms, thereby openly taking sides in Angola's civil war, U.S. officials say.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha noted last month that U.S. aid to Mr. Savimbi's group had made the Angolan government "disinclined" to negotiate a Cuban withdrawal. "Luanda," the Angolan capital, "is livid over the U.S. aid to UNITA and the atmosphere for negotiation is not good," he said, adding that South Africa won't begin the Namibian independence process "without agreement on Cuban withdrawal."

To a large extent, the success of the negotiation always depended on convincing Luanda that U.S. officials could deliver South Africa, and on assuring South Africa that Luanda could be brought to an agreement — in short, that U.S. influence was effective on both sides.

The limits of U.S. influence over South Africa were demonstrated last week by President P. W. Botha's gruff rejection of President Reagan's appeal to end the state of emergency. By backing UNITA, whose aim is to change Angolan politics by the force of arms, the United States has lost influence over Luanda, in the assessment of senior officials.

The decision to back UNITA resulted from a policy review last fall in which State Department specialists argued that U.S. aid to Mr. Savimbi would undermine the Angola-South Africa negotiation and would strengthen the Soviet hand in Angola, officials said. Policy-makers gave UNITA's forces no chances for a military victory.

The State Department lost the issue — and control of policy — to senior White House staff who wished to play out in southern Africa the so-called Reagan Doctrine of helping armed challenges to Marxist regimes, such as those in Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

Active on the sidelines, if not in the debate itself, was Mr. Reagan's constituency of ultraconservatives, whom the State Department had succeeded in containing during the first Reagan administration, officials said. What the department's top Africa policy-maker considered "essential" for U.S. interests was scuttled to placate a narrow domestic lobby, officials said.

The policy review was a prelude to Mr. Savimbi's much publicized visit, under heavy conservative escort, to Washington in January when it was leaked that he would receive "covert" military aid from the United States. "The decision was already engraved in stone by the time he got here," said an administration official.

While Mr. Savimbi was in Washington, U.S. diplomats were meeting in secret with Angolan officials who were anxious to determine American intentions, officials said. The Angolans were not pleased, the officials said.

The reaction was pretty much as the State Department had forecast.

Soviet arms shipments to Angola were speeded up, and there was a visible move on Angola's part to close ranks with Moscow.

Though he had been in the Soviet capital only three months beforehand to attend the Soviet Communist Party conference, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the president of Angola, turned up in Moscow last month for a high-profile state visit and meetings with top

Soviet leaders, including General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Premier Nikolai I. Ryzhkov, Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze and Defense Minister Sergei I. Sokolov.

At a Kremlin dinner in honor of President dos Santos, Mr. Gorbachev said "the American administration has gone over to openly give military aid to the UNITA puppet gangs."

"The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the dedicated struggle of the Angolan people, defending their sovereignty, and their progressive social system. We are standing and will continue to stand firmly and unswervingly by our commitments under the clauses of the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the People's Republic of Angola," Mr. Gorbachev said.

"No one should have any doubts on this score," the Soviet leader declared.

Up until the Savimbi decision, a senior administration official said, "We had the Soviets on the defensive in southern Africa."

"It is important to understand that the Soviets can be maneuvered out of Angola," he added, "they cannot be forced out."

## S.A. BLACKS BELIEVE (Continued)

like that all these years."

Mr. Ngabeni, like his unemployed neighbors, favors divestment. "It's not that we don't want these firms," he says. "We want them, but that's the only way to pressurize the government to make the changes."

Many black South Africans contend that America, a country that fought a revolution for freedom and continues to struggle with race relations, should understand their desire to use every weapon to defeat apartheid. But they maintain that President Reagan's policies show no understanding of their plight.

"It's pointless to appeal to the Reagan administration," complains the Rev. Howard Hans, who just returned to his black township in Port Elizabeth after two years of study in Richmond, Va. "I appeal to the American people to compel the Reagan administration to impose sanctions if they are still interested in peaceful, democratic change," he says.

Many blacks here say Mr. Reagan's opposition to sanctions places him in alliance with the South African government, despite his stated abhorrence of apartheid. The Reagan policy of constructive engagement has produced "absolutely nothing," Mr. Hans says. He adds that the call for international sanctions first came from Albert Luthuli, the late president of the African National Congress, when he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

If the multinationals withdraw, they aren't likely to return once majority rule comes to South Africa, warns George Stegman, personnel manager of GM in South Africa. That's a risk worth taking, contends Mr. Ngabeni, the GM worker.

"If they have a feeling of democracy," he says of the American companies, "they would come back and deal with the people."



## WILD CARD IN SOUTH AFRICA (Continued)

cited the example of Angola, where the Marxist Government coexists with American oil companies.

Others point to Zimbabwe, where Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's commitment to Marxism has not led to large-scale expropriation of white-owned commercial farms or industries.

If there is one area of concern about the congress, Mr. Bloom said, it is the group's ties to the Communist Party, which were not explained at the meetings last year.

It is evident that the memberships of the African National Congress and the Communist Party overlap.

Joe Slovo, who denies Pretoria's assertions that he is a colonel in the K.G.B., the Soviet intelligence service, is at once chairman of the South African Communist Party, a member of the African National Congress's national executive board and the third-in-command of Spear of the Nation, the A.N.C.'s military wing.

Dr. Lodge said Mr. Slovo, a white lawyer, is also credited with helping draw up the Freedom Charter, a 1955 document that stands as the congress's manifesto. It calls for setting up a unitary South Africa governed by universal franchise and with a Socialist economic system.

Dr. Lodge says neither Mr. Tambo, the A.N.C. president, nor its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, are probably Communists.

The congress's leaders also say Pretoria is wrong to call the A.N.C. a terrorist group.

"There is a lot of exaggeration about this terrorism," Mr. Tambo said in the November interview with *The Cape Times*. The conversation took place before a series of land-mine and bomb attacks at the turn of the year that killed 13 whites in a month.

The congress took responsibility for the land-mine explosions, near the northern border with Zimbabwe and Botswana, and said a pre-Christmas bomb attack on a southern resort was an unauthorized action by its forces. The organization espoused violence and sabotage as a means of overthrowing white rule after the Government outlawed the group in 1960.

"We could have been terrorists if we had wanted to," Mr. Tambo said, "but we chose not to be. We did not want to be seen as terrorists. We are trying to put on pressure and we have been notoriously restrained in our armed actions."

Pretoria disputes his contention. In May 1983, 19 people were killed when a car bomb exploded in Pretoria.

In June 1985, Mr. Tambo was asked whether the congress would maintain its traditional distinction between "soft" civilian targets and "hard" military and industrial targets. "The distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' is going to disappear in an intensified confrontation, in an escalating conflict," he said.

The Government interpreted the comment as a shift by the congress away from its policy of trying to hit economic and military installations, to a policy of indiscriminate violence against civilians. But Dr. Lodge said that did not seem to be the case.

## No Evidence of Change On Targets of Attacks

"Even the fiercest broadcasts on Radio Freedom," he said, "make clear that the attacks are to be against collaborators." Radio Freedom, the congress's mouthpiece, is frequently used to call upon black radicals in the townships to attack blacks deemed stooges of the white authorities and to complement the guns and explosives of insurgent infiltrators with cruder, home-made weapons, like gasoline bombs.

But the impression gained by reporters here is that the congress is belatedly trying to steer a protest that took root, in September 1984, without orchestration from beyond the nation's frontiers.

In military terms, the congress has not been fighting on the same scale as the conflict in Rhodesia, for example, before it became independent Zimbabwe, when almost 30,000 people, 450 of them whites, died in seven years of conflict.

According to the authorities, about 80 people, nearly half of them white, have died in congress rebel attacks since 1976. Hundreds more blacks have died in township violence in which so-called comrades, exhorted by external broadcasts by the congress and spurred by more localized angers, have killed those they accused of being collaborators with white rule.

According to Dr. Lodge, the A.N.C. has 8,000 to 10,000 trained guerrillas, but no more than a few hundred are believed to be in South Africa at any one time. The authorities say the guerrillas receive basic training in Angola and Tanzania. They say that more advanced instruction is given in East Germany and the Soviet Union, which are also believed to give weapons to the rebels.

Since the South African Communist party decided to follow Moscow after the Chinese-Soviet split 25 years ago, it has been considered one of the most pro-Soviet groups of all.

Congress guerrillas have long infiltrated the country through South Africa's black-ruled neighbors. But increasingly, Dr. Lodge said, rebels working in secret township cells offer "crash course" training in explosives to local young radicals.

This shift, he said, might account for the sharp increase in what the authorities call "acts of A.N.C. terror," from 44 in 1984 to 136 in 1985.

The figures, Dr. Lodge said, include small-scale attacks such as grenade throwings.

At the same time, most political commentators say the congress does not organize the nation's protests on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, some of the young township radicals have expressed disappointment and disenchantment at the congress's seeming inability to arm apartheid's foes well enough to shift the nation's balance of firepower.

This year, the authorities here seem determined to move not only against prominent anti-apartheid campaigners, but also against lesser figures involved with the street and area committees that, in some townships, have stiffened opposition to white rule.

In all this, the congress's guerrillas seem to offer more a symbol of defi-

ance and opposition than the hope of a black army with any chance of conquering Africa's best-equipped and most efficient military machine. And the A.N.C.'s alliance with the South African Communist Party seems to enhance that status among radical black youths.

"I'm not sure if everybody has a full knowledge of what Communism is," a black reporter said in a conversation in Soweto early this year, "but as a show of defiance to the Government it has a lot of appeal."

As long ago as 1964, Mr. Mandela said at the end of his trial on sabotage and terrorism charges that the Communist Party was "the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society."

"Because of this there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism," he said. "They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as Communists."

The authorities depict the alliance as part of a longstanding Soviet design to infiltrate the African National Congress and use it to implant Moscow's influence at Africa's wealthy and strategically located southern tip.

That argument does not fully explain the spread of sympathy for the Communist Party within the nation's segregated black townships, where some blacks have long equated South Africa's big business interests with the ruling system of apartheid.

And if capitalism and apartheid are equated, commentators say, then it is no surprise that "liberation" and Communism offer some blacks an appealing counterpoint.

"The A.N.C. does not need to be coy about its association" with the South African Communist Party, Dr. Lodge said. "The S.A.C.P. is not something that is disapproved of by young people."

THE WASHINGTON POST JUNE 24, 1986

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, plans to urge President Reagan to send a high-ranking administration envoy to South Africa this summer to explore whether the United States might host negotiations—alone or with other western governments—between black and white South African leaders, aides said yesterday.

Lugar and Sen. Nancy L. Kassebaum (R-Kan.), chairman of the Senate subcommittee on African affairs, will suggest to Reagan in the next few days that an administration envoy such as Vice President Bush or Secretary of State George P. Shultz go to South Africa "to see whether there is any chance of a negotiating process under the auspices of the United States acting alone or with the Germans and British," Mark Helmke, a Lugar aide, said.



test the emergency decree.

The treason trial in Pietermaritzburg began 13 months ago with 16 defendants, 12 of whom were members of the United Democratic Front, the largest legal anti-apartheid organization in South Africa. Those 12 were acquitted in December. The remaining defendants, those acquitted today, were senior officials in the South African Allied Workers Union.

Although not accused of any single incident, the men had been charged in a 587-page indictment with high treason under the terrorism act and of "furthering the aims of the African National Congress," the outlawed anti-apartheid organization.

The prosecution's case, according to people following the trial, collapsed when Judge Milne ruled that videotapes of meetings at which the defendants gave speeches were inadmissible as evidence.

In Cape Town, about 150 members of the St. Nicholas Anglican Church who were detained during a church service by the security forces a week ago were freed over the weekend from local prisons, according to witnesses. A

Cape Town journalist, Andre Koopman, who was covering the service at the time and was detained along with the parishioners, is reportedly still being held.

It remained unclear why about 30 members of the congregation remained in detention today.

At All Saints Church, an Anglican Church in Plumstead, near Cape Town, the authorities served a summons on the Rev. Geoff Quinlan. The summons ordered him to evict 70 black families, mostly mothers and their children, who have been sheltered in the church. The families had been burned out of their homes in squatter camps outside Cape Town in early June in the wake of fighting between conservative blacks known as "vigilantes" and radical youths known as "comrades."

"The church is in a white area, and they ordered us to evict the black people we were sheltering," said the Rev. Terence I. Lester, the assistant rector of the parish. "We now have to confront the authorities, and we don't want a confrontation. We acted purely on Christian grounds. We hope some kind

of compromise can be worked out."

At the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, the Acting Vice Chancellor, Robert Charlton, said several staff members and students had been detained by security forces.

"The draconian provisions of these regulations seem to prohibit us from saying who was detained, commenting on the manner in which some of these detentions appear to have taken place, or querying the conditions under which they are detained," Mr. Charlton said. "The legislation allows detention, and indeed any other invasions of civil liberties, on the sole basis of the opinion of a policeman or soldier, with no test of such opinion by a court."

*This dispatch from South Africa omits some information prohibited by restrictions upon the press, such as movements of security troops, actions by the authorities in black townships and identification of detainees under the emergency decree. Only when it is provided by the authorities may such information be transmitted from the country.*

#### PRETORIA LEADERS PASS 2 NEW LAWS TO CRUSH UNREST (Continued)

##### 4 Blacks Killed in Shootout

Meanwhile, the Government announced that six more black people were killed in unrest in the 24-hour period before dawn today. In the single most deadly incident yet reported since the state of emergency was imposed, four black men were killed and one wounded in a shootout with policemen in the black township of Chesterville near Durban, according to the Bureau for Information. No policemen were hurt in the incident, the bureau said.

The bureau also revealed that a 5-year-old child was shot to death in Soweto on Tuesday. According to the account presented by the bureau, the child was killed "when a warning shot fired by security forces in pursuance of a fugitive penetrated a corrugated-iron fence and struck the child on the other side of the fence."

Under the emergency decree, journalists are banned from black townships and have been unable to verify police accounts of shooting incidents and unrest. The killings announced today raise the number of deaths in the emergency to 54.

In Pretoria this morning, Mr. Botha lashed out at critics of the Government and virtually ruled out the possibility that South Africa would begin the process of granting independence to South-West Africa, the disputed territory also known as Namibia that South Africa administers in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

##### Botha Addresses Police

In an address at a police parade, the President said that 38 police officers had been killed and 660 wounded in the last two years in the unrest that has gripped large sections of the country.

The major theme of Mr. Botha's combative address was a denunciation of foreign critics of his Government.

"A carefully calculated propaganda game is unfolding against us internationally and even internally, especially with the assistance of some of the

media," he said. "When 'South Africa' and 'apartheid' are mentioned, common sense disappears. Then hypocrisy, double standards and a twisted morality come to the fore."

Mr. Botha also denied calls by anti-apartheid activists that a public holiday be declared to commemorate June 16, 1976, the most emotive of days for opponents of apartheid. That was the day on which policemen shot into a Soweto crowd during a protest against the introduction of Afrikaans, as the medium of instruction in the country's schools, setting off a wave of unrest. Mr. Botha said blacks had planned violent protests for June 16, forcing him to declare a state of emergency last week.

##### Limit Holidays, He Says

"One cannot have a multitude of holidays and still expect the productivity of your country to increase," Mr. Botha said. "Holidays should not be allowed to inhibit development. If each person or group who wants to make a case for a new holiday has his way, we will eventually have a holiday on every day from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31."

In the same speech, Mr. Botha said the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola would make it impossible for South Africa to put into effect United Nations Resolution 435, granting independence to Namibia. Angola has repeatedly rejected any effort by South Africa to link the presence of Cuban soldiers with the negotiations over the territory's future.

Government restrictions on news organizations continued to impede journalists' ability to gather and report news. The Weekly Mail, a liberal newspaper that was confiscated last week, appeared today with much of its front page blank. On the inside pages, many columns appeared with black lines through words or entire sentences.

The paper also printed a list of detainees prepared by the Detainees Parents Support Committee, with all of the names blacked out. Under the terms of

the emergency decree, it is unlawful to print the name of any person detained by the security forces.

The Sowetan, a newspaper that has appeared for several days with large patches of white space in its news pages, appeared on newsstands this morning with a black-bordered notice on its front page reading: "We have been advised that the police interpret the blank spaces we have left in the newspaper over the past few days as being 'subversive.' We will now fill the spaces with the most innocuous of writings."

##### Strikes and Protests Spread

Meanwhile, the wildcat strikes and sitdown protests by retail workers across the country spread to the recording industry, with workers at the E.M.I. and Gallo record-pressing plants stopping work. Black workers in cities around South Africa have been conducting spontaneous strikes to protest the detention of shop stewards and union leaders under the emergency.

Because of severe restrictions on the rights of journalists to cover the strikes, however, it has been difficult to determine their precise extent. Nonetheless, the possibility that the labor actions could spread to the critical mining industry was raised today when the president of the Chamber of Mines, Clive Knobb, warned that wage negotiations with mining industry workers were being jeopardized by the detention of union leaders.

The dispatch above was written under the press restrictions imposed by South Africa as part of the state of emergency.

In keeping with the regulations, the dispatch omits some information on actions by the security forces, identifications of people detained under the emergency decree and descriptions of unrest or strike activity. On those topics, only information provided by the authorities is permitted.



## SOUTH AFRICA PRESSES... (CONTINUED)

Many opponents believe the government has loaded the reform package with loopholes and fine print that still leave most blacks at the mercy of the entrenched and recalcitrant white bureaucracy that will interpret and administer it.

While Suzman believes the government has acted in good faith, other critics contend it has reneged on an important part of the promises made by President Pieter W. Botha last September when he announced plans to restore black citizenship.

Although Botha held out the hope that citizenship would be given back to the 9 million blacks who lost it when their four "homelands" gained independence over the past decade, the bill passed today affects only 1.8 million of them. It also requires those who qualify to make written application to the government.

"I was just plain stupid to believe what Botha was saying," said Sheena Duncan, former president of the Black Sash civil rights group, who last year hailed the president's speech as a potential breakthrough in removing one of apartheid's most fundamental pillars. "In its execution, this bill falls so far short of its promise that it is appalling."

"There is too much fine print," said John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. "In a political sense it's obviously of great symbolic importance. But the government is acting in bad faith. They took away citizenship with a stroke of a pen, and it should be restored the same way."

"Making people apply to get their citizenship back is like robbing a guy and then saying, 'Okay, I'll give you back the money—just fill in this form in triplicate.'"

Nothing in the reform package affects other pillars of apartheid, most notably the Population Registration Act, which requires people to be classified according to their race, and the Group Areas Act, which enforces strict segregation of neighborhoods and schools. Blacks are still denied the right to vote in national elections.

Nonetheless, citizenship for blacks has long been a key issue in the debate over South Africa's future. The architects of the apartheid system had originally sought to "denationalize" all blacks by consigning them to 10 homelands, all of which would eventually gain "independence" from white South Africa. Under the plan, known as "grand

apartheid," the only blacks allowed to remain in white areas would be considered "temporary sojourners" and aliens with no legal right to remain beyond a stipulated time period.

The "grand apartheid" ideology has been modified by the ruling National Party because of black opposition and because South Africa's sophisticated postindustrial urban economy cannot function with "temporary sojourners" of limited training and skills as its basic labor component. The government has gradually recognized that many blacks must be allowed to live permanently in urban areas and enjoy some political rights there.

But the homelands themselves have not been scrapped. In fact, the government has plans to grant "independence," which is not internationally recognized, to a fifth homeland, KwaNdebele, later this year.

That is where the crunch comes on the new citizenship bill, say analysts. While the government is willing to restore citizenship to those blacks who can prove they are permanent residents of white South Africa, those who either live in or return periodically to their rural homelands are excluded. They remain aliens, with few or no legal rights outside those homelands.

For them, says Geoff Budlender, the lawyer who heads the Legal Resources Center here, South Africa's stringent Aliens Act, whose limits on movement and residence are very similar to the pass laws now being abolished, still applies.

There was less discord over the abolition of the pass laws, under which over 2 million blacks have

been arrested during the last decade. The abolition bills replace the hated "passes" with a system of nonracial identification cards that are supposed to be issued to all citizens.

But critics note that the scrapping of the laws has been accompanied by a strengthening of South Africa's tough antisquatter laws.

As a result, while "nonalien" blacks no longer need passes to enter urban areas, they are still not entitled to remain in those areas unless they can find housing. Suzman estimates there is a shortage of at least 500,000 houses in black urban areas. Without a government commitment to a massive housing program, most blacks will still be legally denied access to urban areas, she and other critics say.

## SSH! YOU MIGHT... (CONTINUED)

President Reagan sent Botha a very tough note about the South African martial law edict.

"Did it have any effect?"

"No, but that is the advantage of quiet diplomacy. Very few people know that Botha told Reagan to stuff it."

"That's a foreign policy?"

Nattily said, "Do you have a better one?"

"I might go for the sanctions if I was bankrupt in ideas."

"Forget it. We're on top of this thing. We've war-gamed it from one end of Foggy Bottom

to the other. In foreign affairs there is a time to shout and a time to whisper."

"And?"

"Well, you don't hear anyone in the administration shouting about South Africa."

"So we can relax knowing that we're up to our necks in quiet diplomacy?"

"To quote the secretary of state when asked on one of the morning news shows if we had the situation under control, his answer was, 'Yes.'"

## TANZANIA'S GREEN... (CONTINUED)

Schachenmann said.

For more than a decade, until 1983, Amboni was forced to sell its sisal through the Tanzanian Sisal Authority, the agency that operates the Government's sisal estates. For years, the Government also kept all the foreign exchange earned by Amboni and paid the company in grossly overvalued Tanzanian shillings.

As Dr. Schachenmann describes it, the end for Amboni was in sight. "Eventually we would have gone bankrupt if we had not freed ourselves from the iron grip of the T.S.A.," he said.

Unable to buy spare parts to keep going, the company won the right in 1983 to keep 10 percent of its foreign exchange earnings. Then last year, it secured a \$6.1 million loan to rehabilitate its operations from the International Finance Corporation, a subsidiary of the World Bank, and a consortium of European banks.

The company has other applications pending to retain more of its foreign earnings to purchase diesel fuel as well as foodstuffs and consumer goods to be sold in company stores to estate workers.

"I'm doing this slice by slice," Dr. Schachenmann said. "Since I came here, it has been crisis management. I find it quite exciting, really. If it were a normal sisal plantation, it would be boring. It's a boring crop. There are straight rows and nothing happens for 10 years."

"If we succeed, it will be tremendous for Tanzania," he added. "If we fail, well, we tried our best."

## WALL STREET JOURNAL

JUNE 27, 1986

**SOUTH AFRICA FREED** at least a dozen union leaders held under emergency rule.

The Pretoria government didn't give any reason for the release of the union officials, who had been held without charge under the country's two-week-old state of emergency. An estimated 1,800 people are still being held, according to unofficial reports. Separately, the government placed 11 more townships under curfew, and Pretoria reported that the death toll under the state of emergency had increased to 66.

The Common Market opened a two-day summit in The Hague, with leaders debating whether to impose sanctions on the South African government.



# The Washington Times Pretoria holds keys to Zimbabwe trade

JUNE 23, 1986

By Peter Youngusband  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — If South Africa chose to penalize Zimbabwe in retaliation for international sanctions, it could choke off most of Zimbabwe's trade with the outside world and bring the landlocked country's economy to a standstill within a year.

Zimbabwe would suffer widespread factory layoffs, business failures and debilitating inflation within a matter of months.

The export-oriented mining, agriculture and manufacturing sectors would be denied large portions of their overseas markets and imported raw materials and be thrown into a vortex of ever-decreasing production.

Zimbabwe's dollar would rapidly devalue, further boosting the cost of essential imports and leading to more factory shutdowns.

Massive unemployment would blight the cities and towns where about one-fourth of Zimbabwe's 8.5 million people live. People would return to rural areas, where they would have to engage in subsistence farming again.

Zimbabwe's bankers and businessmen have been predicting this gloomy scenario ever since international demands for sanctions against Pretoria began gathering steam early last year. But the only Zimbabwean businessman who dared to air his views publicly was chastised as an unpatriotic "prophet of doom" by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government.

John Mkushi, president of the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industries (CZI), pointed out on a national television program in Novem-

ber that since 85 percent of Zimbabwe's trade is either with South Africa or dependent upon its transport routes, it would be suicide to join any international sanctions effort against the white-ruled republic.

Few dispute the truth of that observation. But Mr. Mugabe's government does not like being reminded that, despite its efforts to lessen Zimbabwe's dependence on South African markets and trade routes, it is still at the mercy of Pretoria's economic sword.

Attempts to replace South African markets with those in black Africa have repeatedly foundered upon a simple economic reality: South Africa is the only country in the region that needs and has the money to pay for Zimbabwean products. Moreover, South Africa's rail and road infrastructure is the only one in the

region capable of handling most of Zimbabwe's external trade.

The only alternatives to the South African transport system are the Beira and Chicuauala corridors through Mozambique, Zimbabwe's eastern neighbor. Attacks by South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) guerrillas have kept the Chicuauala rail line closed for the past year, and Zimbabwe has been forced to send troops to keep the Beira road, rail and oil pipeline open.

The Beira route handles about 10 percent of Zimbabwe's trade. Only one train runs each day; the port handles about 800,000 tons of Zimbabwean imports and exports each year. All of Zimbabwe's gasoline comes through the Beira pipeline, but aviation fuel for its airline comes through South Africa.

All of Zimbabwe's steel exports —

last year worth about \$65 million — have to go through the South African port of Durban due to handling difficulties. The bulk of its tobacco exports — worth more than \$200 million last year — are also routed through Durban.

Zimbabwean officials admit privately that the country could be smothered if Pretoria closes the Beit Bridge and Mafeking border crossings. Publicly, however, they contend a border closure is unlikely because South Africa receives some \$88 million a year from Zimbabwe in transportation fees and customs tariffs, interest payments on bank accounts there and pensions remitted to former Rhodesian civil servants now living in South Africa.

Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero believes sanctions against Pretoria would cause the Zimbabwean economy to slow down with resulting commodity shortages, increased unemployment and "general hardship" — but there would be no collapse.

A number of businessmen and bankers disagree strongly.

"It depends, of course, upon how tough they decide to be, but certainly if they cut off all transport the result would be catastrophic. We just wouldn't have enough foreign exchange to keep everything going," one banker said.

International sanctions imposed on the former white Rhodesian government during the civil war that preceded Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 amounted to little more than a 15 percent tariff on imports and exports. All essential goods found their way into the country. But South Africa was helping Rhodesia evade sanctions. Zimbabwe's black neighbors are hardly in a position to help.

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