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BY TOM BRINA

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" The writer is pastor of an Baptist Church in
Philadelphia

Constructive engagement isn't working

By Robert I. Rotberg

AST week's raid by South African soldiers on Gulf

Oil installations in northern Angola, together with

events in South Africa itself, shows with what
currency South Africa repays the Reagan administra-
tion's policy of friendship and generous cooperation.

For more than four years the State Department has ar-
gued that by engaging South Africa constructively
through extending a warm hand to the white rulers of
that black-majority country, reform there could be accel-
erated. The State Department also seeks independence
for South African-ruled Namibia as an end to South Afri-
can attacks on Angola, Mozambique, and other states in
the region.

This American policy of constructive engagement has
not achieved an internationally validated transfer of
power in Namibia in accord with Security Council Reso-
lution 435 of 1978. Indeed, in May South Africa defied
the United States and the United Nations by establishing
a local interim government of blacks and whites, appoint-
ing a Cabinet, and giving many governmental powers to
this Multi-Party Conference (MPC) administration, de-
spite the absence of any elections or other means of legiti-
mizing such a transfer. The US, long involved in negotia-
tions with South Africa over Namibia's future, was
reduced to a public wringing of hands.

Nor has constructive engagement deterred South Af-
rica from destabilizing the rest of southern Africa. From
1980 to 1984 South Africa backed the Mozambique Na-
tional Resistance (MNR) against the official government.
In 1984, after a humbled Mozambique was forced to sign
a peace accord, South Africa promised to cease support-
ing the MNR. But the war for Mozambique continues.
South Africa pledges that none of its agencies, not even
covert armed forces, are helping the MNR.

In Angola, constructive engagement in May claimed a
victory when South African troops relinquished territory
occupied since 1981. The next day the MPC was given an
official role in Namibia. Last week two clandestine South
African units were intercepted, and two South African
soldiers killed, in an assault in Cabinda.

Cabinda is an Angolan enclave north of the Congo
River but separated from Angola by Zaire. Angola ob-
tains 85 percent of its hard cash by the export of petro-
leum from fields off Cabinda's shores. Gulf and Texaco
provide the bulk of the oil and earnings.

Yet South Africa attacked. In the immediate aftermath

of the interception of the two units by Angolan troops defending the oil plants, South Africa claimed that its men were seeking to destroy African National Congress camps. The ANC, composed of exiled black South Africans, opposes South Africa and is fighting a low-level

guerrilla war against South Africa on South African soil. There are no ANC bases in Cabinda, however, and few in the part of northern Angola near the location of the raid.

The South Africans were actually cynically assaulting an American-owned installation. The raid demonstrated that white South Africans engage in long-distance sabotage so that the Angolan insurgent group it backs can take the credit and bolster its own prowess.

Since the mid-1970s South Africa has been assisting the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against the Marxist-led government of Angola. UNITA controls about 40 percent of Angola and has in recent years demonstrated an ability to raid more than 90 percent of the territory. It has often had South African help. Presumably, if the South African hand had gone undetected and the bombing of Gulf Oil succeeded, UNITA would have taken credit and the government of Angola suffered a reversal in prestige.

The US and South Africa want the 25,000 Cuban

troops stationed in Angola to leave. They have been there to prevent UNITA (and South Africa) from ousting Angola's government. But last week's raid hardly increases Angola's confidence in South Africa's intentions or in the integrity of South African promises. :

Nor should the US crow about the contribution of constructive engagement to regional peace and security. The South Africans recently agreed, after strenuous Ameri-

can urging, to pull all of their troops out of Angola. They

also claim to want peace, an end to Cuban and Soviet support for Angola, and the establishment of a popular black government in Namibia. But their actions in recent weeks and months point to opposite conclusions.

It is possible that the raid itself can be said to show that white South Africa is not misleading the US and rejecting constructive engagement but that it is the South African majority or at least a segment of its special services, that is defying political and Cabinet authority. If so, the South African situation may be even more serious, and the failure of constructive engagement even more severe, than has commonly been asserted. .

Whatever, the raid on Cabinda, the failure of white South Africa to seek an end to internal violence through negotiation, and, instead, the trying on charges of treason of the aboveground black political leaders with whom the state could conceivably talk constructively, all should make it difficult for the State Department to continue talking about its influence on South Africa's long-overdue process of reform. It is high time that the State Department began to engage itself constructively with Congress over South Africa.

Robert I. Rotberg is a professor of political sci-

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Mayor VOWS }4% do

By LORI B. MEDIGOVICH
United Press International

LOS ANGELES â\200\224 Mayor Tom Bradley vowed Friday after a private meeting with Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu to fire any pension fund commissioners who refuse to back his plan to divest city money from companies doing business in South Africa.

Bishop Tutu, on a five-day fund-raising and morale-boosting tour, said action to help eradicate apartheid from his country was appreciated and will have a profound effect on the millions of blacks suffering under racial segregation.

â\200\234] want to thank the city on behalf of the very, very many who

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otherwise would feel despondent,

thinking that their day of freedom will not dawn,â\200\235 Tutu said in a news conference in the mayor's office.

Some members of the three commissions that administer city pension funds suggested Thursday that Bradley's divestiture program, announced earlier in the week, might not be feasible because they have more than \$700 million invested in companies doing business in South Africa.

But Bradley, one of the nation's top black officials, declared the plan is feasible and insisted â\200\234it will be done.â\200\235 The mayor appoints and can dismiss commissioners.

â\200\234These commissioners will approve the policies of the City Council or another set of commissioners

Tutu denied that divestiture of funds will hurt the millions of South African blacks whose lives are controlled by a white-minority government.

â\200\234People ought to stop using South African blacks as alibis for not doing the things they know they ought to do,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Blacks are suffering now and we would much rather see an end to

our suffering.

It is far better to be free and control your own destiny than to live in clover and have somebody else decide when you can breathe or shut up.

The Anglican cleric also said most South Africans are aware of

along with Tutu requests
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he recent rash of anti-apartheid demonstrations in this country.,

Any action that is supportive of a change in the dispensation is very welcome and more than this it has a profound effect on the morale of the victims of apartheid and the morale of the perpetrators of apartheid, he said.

Shortly after his arrival in Los Angeles Thursday, Tutu told about 3,000 cheering University of California at Los Angeles students that their recent demonstrations are putting pressure on the South African government but chided U.S. officials for their failure to practice what

they preach.

Tutu was to speak Friday night at a dinner at the annual convention of the California Democratic Council.

Leon H. Sullivan

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