

Leon H. Sullivan

Give the Sullivan Principles Two More Years NYT 5/26/85

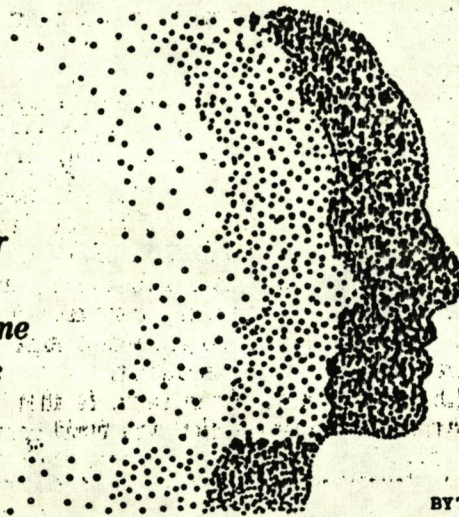
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BY TOM BRINA

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A group of South African companies employing a million workers, mostly blacks, is now using the principles. The principles have started a revolution in industrial race relations across South Africa. They have become a platform for many in South Africa arguing for equal rights in government and other places.

But time is running out for peaceful change. While the principles and the company effort are making progress, their impact must go much, much deeper. Mounting tides of protest and turmoil within South Africa make fundamental change urgent if the country is to avoid a catastrophe. South Africa does not have 10 years, or five years, or four years to free its black population before there is massive conflagration.

Unfortunately, more than a hundred U.S. companies in South Africa still do not support the Sullivan principles, and some that claim to be supporters are dragging their feet. During these coming 24 months, all U.S. companies must become a part of this equal rights effort.

Those companies that fail to do so should be

compelled to leave South Africa through total divestment actions, stockholder resolutions, boycotts, or other means.

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Meanwhile, there must be a moratorium on all American economic expansion in South Africa, until apartheid is officially ended. There should be no new investments, no new bank loans to the South African government or its agencies, an end to the sale of the Krugger-Brand, and a halt to the sale of any equipment, material or services to the military or police, backed up with embargoes, sanctions and other penalties.

It is, further, my hope that the president of the United States will set aside "constructive engagement" and use "direct diplomacy" with the South African government, calling in the strongest of terms for the abolition of apartheid.

I am aware that the 24-month deadline for the statutory ending of apartheid, in fact, as a system, is short. But with God's help it is time enough, if companies, governments, and others, along with the courageous efforts of those within the country, work together to bring it about.

The writer is pastor of Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

OPINION

Constructive engagement isn't working

By Robert I. Rotberg

LAST 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 administration's policy of friendship and generous cooperation.

For more than four years the State Department has argued that by engaging South Africa constructively through extending a warm hand to the white rulers of that black-majority country, reform there could be accelerated. The State Department also seeks independence for South African-ruled Namibia as an end to South African 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 Resolution 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, appointing a Cabinet, and giving many governmental powers to this Multi-Party Conference (MPC) administration, despite the absence of any elections or other means of legitimizing such a transfer. The US, long involved in negotiations with South Africa over Namibia's future, was reduced to a public wringing of hands.

Nor has constructive engagement deterred South Africa from destabilizing the rest of southern Africa. From 1980 to 1984 South Africa backed the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) against the official government. In 1984, after a humbled Mozambique was forced to sign a peace accord, South Africa promised to cease supporting 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 obtains 85 percent of its hard cash by the export of petroleum 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 American 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 military, 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 science and history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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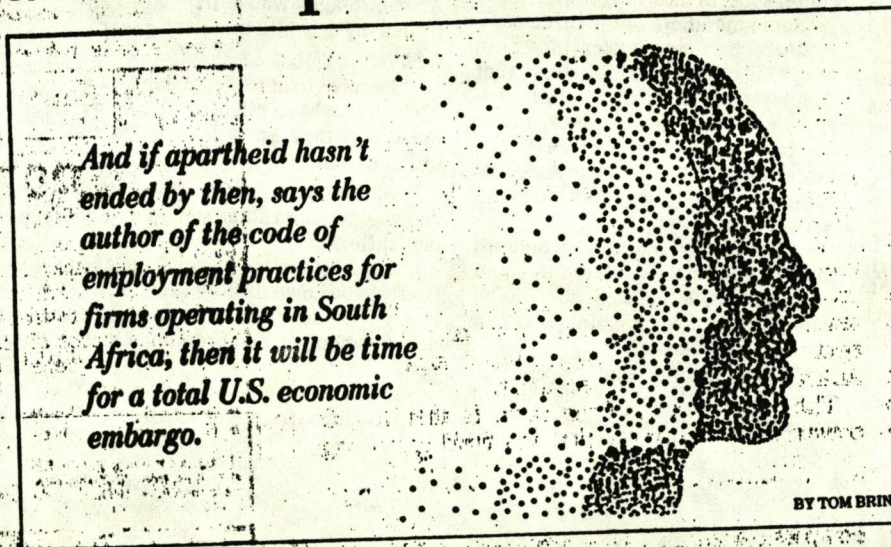
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Unfortunately, more than a hundred U.S. companies in South Africa still do not support the Sullivan principles, and some that claim to be supporters are dragging their feet. During these coming 24 months, all U.S. companies must become a part of this equal rights effort.

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Meanwhile, there must be a moratorium on all American economic expansion in South Africa, until apartheid is officially ended. There should be no new investments, no new bank loans to the South African government or its agencies, an end to the sale of the Krugger-land, and a halt to the sale of any equipment, material or services to the military or police, backed up with embargoes, sanctions and other penalties.

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Mayor vows to go along with Tutu requests

By LORI B. MEDIGOVICH
United Press International

LOS ANGELES — 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 fundraising 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.

"I want to thank the city on behalf of the very, very many who

otherwise would feel despondent, thinking that their day of freedom will not dawn," 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 "it will be done." The mayor appoints and can dismiss commissioners.

"These commissioners will approve the policies of the City Council or another set of commissioners

will," he said.

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

"People ought to stop using South African blacks as alibis for not doing the things they know they ought to do," he said.

"Blacks 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

the 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 there 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.

TAMPA TRIBUNE (FLORIDA) 5/11/85

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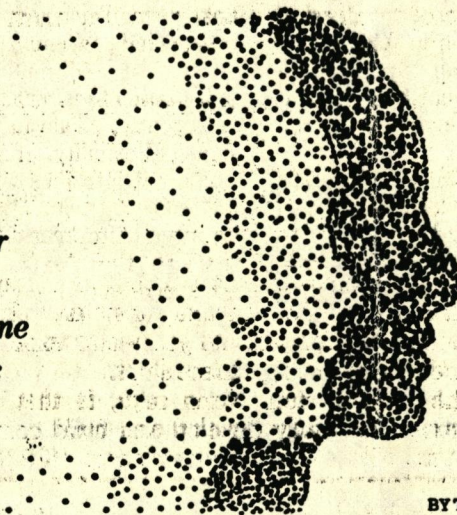
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