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Mandela's release not in sight: ^{Aug. 6, 1987} Winnie

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — There were no signs of the South African Government releasing jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, said on his 25th anniversary behind bars.

Interviewed on "Good Morning America", a national television breakfast show, Mrs Mandela said she saw him on Saturday and he was more determined than ever to lead the country to liberation.

"He was very well indeed. He is in high spirits and he is just generally worried about the political situation in the country," she said. He was "absolutely certain" he would one day fulfill the role the "oppressed people of this country have mandated" him to do.

Mrs Mandela said there were at present no suggestions of any change in Government thinking on her husband's release.

"We have gotten used to this kind of rumour time after time when the Government, in fact, starts the rumour itself from Pretoria to the effect that they intend to release him.

"There are no such rumours at the moment," she said.

On the latest state of emergency, Mrs Mandela said it had merely achieved extra powers for security forces to jail people without trial and keep innocent children in detention.

"And all it has succeeded in doing, in fact, is to conceal the violence that is going on in the country. The violence has never abated. The situation in the country is exactly the same as it was prior to the various states of emergency."

The emergencies had radicalised almost the entire black community. There was anger, not only in the leadership, and it had solidified and united people from all schools of thought. "And we are now speaking with one voice," she added.

On economic sanctions and disinvestment, Mrs Mandela said black South Africans knew of no other weapon they could use peacefully. "The rest of the world should stop maintaining, sustaining and supporting the apartheid, racist regime."

Asked about Government talks with black representatives, Mrs Mandela said the Government had proposed nothing new to resolve the complex situation.

'No place on campus' for those

Let me say something about the events on this campus in the last six or eight months which have received prominence in the news media. In doing so I must remind you that throughout all of this time the university has gone about its business of teaching and research, and these activities have hardly been impinged upon by the events which gained such prominence.

The first was the interference with the right of Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien to lecture on this campus. I, as Vice-Chancellor, the University Council and the commission of inquiry found the actions of the students in that regard unacceptable. There can be no question about that and some of the students were disciplined. We did not use the big stick on that occasion but we made it clear that that sort of event is intolerable and we tried to make those involved understand why a university prizes values such as the freedom of speech so highly.

In March, on the day some students were commemorating the sad events of Sharpeville, two or three lectures were disrupted. The student leadership indicated that that had not been intended, that it had happened in the heat of the moment. We again made it clear that the disruption of lectures is intolerable and strikes at the heart of a university.

In the events leading up to the white election about 250 students held an alternative programme in this hall. On occasions a small number suggested that lectures be disrupted but each time the majority overruled them and ensured that

using violence

The Star
Aug. 6 1987

Misbehaviour by some students this week has again brought unwelcome publicity to the University of Cape Town. These are excerpts from an address by the vice-chancellor and principal, Dr Stuart Saunders (right), at a graduation ceremony several weeks ago in which he commented on earlier incidents.



illegal in South Africa — an indication of the repressive nature of our society. Pressure cookers have a habit of depositing the food on the ceiling if they are not given proper attention.

What have we learnt from these events and what do they mean for the University of Cape Town and for the country?

First, we cannot assume that a young student coming to this university who has grown up in a school system which is authoritarian and in a society which denies basic human rights; a young person whose aunt sitting on a park bench doing

discuss and convince them that in a university environment and for the sake of their own education and for the education of those who follow them, these values are important.

Each generation, each year of incoming students will have to be taught these values and the importance of them. One can make no assumptions in a society where violence occurs on a large scale and where freedom is denied.

I believe we have made progress. We have learnt a great deal and the students concerned have a better appreciation of the values which the university holds dear, why they are important, and that there are non-violent and non-confrontational ways of resolving disputes.

May I say immediately that there should be no doubt whatsoever that should the need arise and should it be clear that an individual has forfeited his or her right to be a member of our community, we will take the necessary action.

What is happening on this campus is that we are maintaining high standards of academic endeavour and at the same time we are learning to live together. We are learning what it means to have South Africans of many different types, from many different backgrounds, studying in the same classroom, working in the same laboratory, eating in the same dining hall and debating and mixing in the same meetings.

Plainly, the tension of society will come on to the campus and it is enormously to the credit of all the stu-

'Pressure cookers have a habit of depositing food on the ceiling if they are not given proper attention'

the majority will prevailed. Throughout that period no lectures were disrupted. At that time there were demonstrations on De Waal Drive and on two occasions stones were thrown.

I made my position and the university's position absolutely clear that such action will not be tolerated, and subsequently in tense demonstrations that violence was not repeated. Those who use violent methods have no place in a university community. I also made my position clear that on the two days the police invaded the campus they over-reacted to the situation.

It is tragic that peaceful protest is

her crocheting can as a consequence spend a night in jail and suffer the indignity of having to go to court; a student who realises only too well that if he or she swims in the sea in Port Elizabeth he or she might be prosecuted; a schoolboy who has been woken repeatedly at night by the rumble of the Casspir outside or has had a brother, sister, aunt, uncle, father or a mother in detention for months; you can't assume that a young person who has had those experiences will automatically put the premium on the freedom of speech and on academic freedom that you give it.

You have therefore to explain and

dents concerned that the tensions have been contained to the extent that they have and that much of the experience has been creative.

Professor Wiseman Nkhulu was installed as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Transkei on March 4. I want to quote two extracts from his address:

"I concede that despite the fact that the various peoples of Southern Africa have lived together in this part of the continent for more than 300 years the country as such has no objectives or values that can be said to be national, no common myths, no common heroes, no war victories to commemorate together and no statues or symbols of joint accomplishment. Instead we have the memory and scars of the suffering we have inflicted on each other."

The campus of UCT is one of the places where South Africans must try to find a common future to replace our fragmented and separated past.

Some success

After speaking of some of the problems of our past and the challenges which lie ahead he went on:

"It is in this context that we should view the events at English-speaking universities in South Africa that have significant populations of black students. Although a certain measure of success has been achieved in integrating black students on these campuses it is also obvious that black students are uneasy about being swallowed up in the culture of these universities. They wish to see their own aspirations, needs and values being accommodated...

"Success in handling issues of this nature will go a long way in demonstrating to other sectors the manner in which a common future can be negotiated. It is very important that in handling these issues universities should distinguish between values and practices that are essential to their existence as universities and those that are of a peripheral nature. They should avoid conflict on the latter while being firm but tolerant on the former."

We cannot allow the university to fail, nor shall we, and in succeeding we shall help to take South Africa on to the high ground and forward into the bright future which we demand for it. We can expect some turbulence on the way. We shall experience disappointments but we must not falter.

SOWETAN, Thursday, August 6, 1987

'Black power not our policy'

THE United Democratic Front is not contemplating a black majority government and would not care what race or colour South Africa's leader was, as long as he was elected by all population groups, the

Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Popo Simon Molefe, general secretary of the UDF, who has been in the witness box since Monday, told the court that the present State President, P W Botha, could be elected. "We are not calling for a

By MONK NKOMO

black prime minister or state president. We are not working towards a black majority government," Mr Molefe said.

What is needed, Mr Molefe said, was equal rights for all people and that the wealth of this country be shared by all

racial groups "because we all sacrificed to build this country. Why should the wealth be claimed by only one racial group — the whites?", Mr Molefe asked.

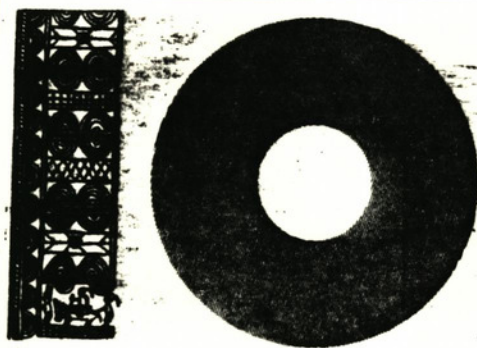
He told the court that a national convention was on the cards where all races would meet and discuss the real future of this country. "The process is a bit slow but it is going to happen. And there will be peace thereafter," said Mr Molefe.

He and 18 others who include top-ranking officials of the UDF, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with an

assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

Mr Molefe told the court that the UDF, perturbed by the chaotic situation in the country, sent two letters to the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in 1983 warning him not to implement the Constitution Act and not to enact the "Koornhof Bills".

Examined by the defence counsel, Mr Arthur Chaskalon, SC, Mr Molefe said Mr Botha never replied to the letters.



FROM THE TRANSAFRICA DINNER PROGRAM

TransAfrica's Decade of Discontent

10th Gala Stresses Tasks Ahead

6/8/87

By Lloyd Grove

Washington Post Staff Writer

If success spoils TransAfrica, it won't be Randall Robinson's fault. Marking the 10th anniversary of the black foreign policy lobbying group, the executive director sounded more irked than pleased.

"We are not going to take it anymore!" Robinson vowed in a speech Saturday night to supporters at the Washington Hilton, "it" being the political practice of taking blacks for granted.

While TransAfrica recently won a stunning victory in Congress on South African sanctions, boasts a staff of 15, has raised nearly a million dollars for an endowment and is looking to buy its own office building (forcing even Robinson to admit, "We are no longer an organization—we are an institution"), there was little evidence of institutional complacency at the gala dinner. It attracted 1,400, including singer Harry Belafonte and Rep. William Gray (D-Pa.), but some weren't in a particularly gala mood.

"This nation and this nation's policy," Robinson thundered, "is stained through and through with racism."

Gray, chairman of the House Budget Committee, seemed to agree.

"The same people who support constructive engagement abroad oppose affirmative action at home," he said in his speech, referring to "old what's-his-name at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue." Gray noted that 8,000

See ROBINSON, C9, Col. 1

TransAfrica

ROBINSON, From C1

black children are currently being held in South African jails. "If there were 8,000 children in Polish jails, in Soviet jails, this president would be tripping all over himself to light candles," he said.

Robinson, for his part, attacked the current crop of presidential aspirants, most of whom declined to appear at TransAfrica's foreign policy forum on Friday. One target was Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), who recently "called a meeting of 'the blacks,'" according to Robinson.

"He invited 75 of 'the blacks' to discuss little of nothing in little or no time... The Democratic party cannot win a national election without our support... This time, brothers and sisters, we ain't giving our support for a handshake and a photo opportunity. It is time for the quid pro quo. If they expect us to take them seriously, at long last they must come to understand that they must take us seriously."

Robinson pointed out that "only one candidate came" to TransAfrica's symposium—"the front-runner, Jesse Jackson!" This got lusty applause.

The dinner was emceed by Belafonte, a TransAfrica board member, who outlined the group's agenda: pressing for global sanctions against South Africa and for more U.S. foreign aid to Africa and the Caribbean. He called on the United States to push South Africa to remove its troops from Namibia, adding, in his trademark rasp, that "there should be no linkage to the withdrawal of Cuban troops." He also touted a new campaign called "Faces Behind Apartheid," in which the group is buying full-page newspaper ads against Dole, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Frank Sinatra—"whose actions," Belafonte said, "have aided apartheid."

Gray vowed to push for congressional legislation mandating total disinvestment in South Africa and condemned the distribution of American foreign aid, noting that African nations receive only 96 cents per capita while \$700 per capita goes to "another region"—by which everyone understood he meant Israel. "We must end this inequity," Gray said.

At one point he introduced former U.S. representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), easily spotted in an ice cream suit as he stood up at his table and waved. Diggs, who served nine months of a three-year prison term arising from a 1978 conviction for a kickback scheme, was a guiding spirit when TransAfrica was born out of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Before the dinner, Belafonte talked of South Africa's inevitable "internal collapse" and "the holocaust that will come."

"I don't believe that those people are without some sort of genetic deficiency," he said of the hard-line Afrikaners. "They will go to any extreme that is necessary, I think... It's so totally ingrained in their way of life, they're able to do so much without any concern for the moral implications."

He predicted that the African National Congress would eventually prevail. "All we can hope is to achieve the result with the least loss of life possible."

Belafonte, who once flirted with the idea of running for the Senate from New York, said he didn't know if he would support Jesse Jackson for president. He had been for New York Gov. Mario Cuomo until the latter took himself out of contention. "I was so sure that he would have understood the public will, the public desire," Belafonte said of Cuomo. "I know he understands the national need."

Of Paul Simon's controversial "Graceland" album, he said, "I love it." Simon has received much criticism for recording it with black musicians in South Africa—a violation, some have said, of a ban against performing there. "I have problems with the

methodology," Belafonte said, "but I welcome what he's done."

Also in the crowd was Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.), chairman of the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs.

"The clock is ticking for Brother Abrams," Crockett said, referring to Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, whom many in Congress have been urging to resign. "I call everyone 'Brother,'" he added. "He had the same attitude [testifying before the Iran-contra committee last week] that he always has. He was extremely cocky, sure of himself, and seemed to have the feeling that everybody else is dumb except Elliott."

"I think it would be a mistake," Crockett said when asked if Lt. Col. Oliver North should be granted limited immunity. "I think we got enough on North to hang him without hearing his testimony."

Gray, who supported Jackson for president in 1984, said he is keeping his options open so far. "I haven't made a commitment for any candidate this time," he said. Jackson's front-runner status, he said, is more a reflection of name recognition than political support—"I don't pay much attention to these early polls"—but added that Jackson has a chance. "I don't think any candidate is out of the race."

Pop singer Jeffrey Osborne entertained, diving into the crowd to make various dignitaries sing "Woo-woo-woo," the refrain of his hit tune "You Should Be Mine." Although there was a seat for him at the head table, one dignitary, Washington Mayor Marion Barry, didn't show up. "Probably because he knew you were going to be here," Robinson joked to a reporter.

TransAfrica board chairman Richard Hatcher, who recently lost his reelection bid for a fifth term as mayor of Gary, Ind., presented the \$1,000 Paul Robeson Prize for an essay on foreign policy to Kimberly Adams, a senior from Wayland High School in Massachusetts. Longtime Washington journalist Ethel Payne received the African Freedom Award.

A Wary Reception For Sullivan Stand

By BARNABY J. FEDER

The Rev. Leon Sullivan's call Wednesday for a near-total embargo on trade with South Africa, and the withdrawal within nine months of American companies doing business there, is getting a cautious response from the institutional investors on whom he is counting for support.

Several investment managers and trustees for pension funds, universities, religious organizations and other institutional investors said that they would back the Philadelphia minister's efforts to get companies to leave South Africa. Some plan to sell their investments in companies remaining there, while others will use their investments to support withdrawal resolutions at annual meetings.

However, there appears to be widespread reluctance, at least for now, to exert similar pressures to get companies to observe an embargo on the export of components, services, licenses, or trademarks to any South African business that is not black-owned.

"I would draw the moral line only at selling to prop up police and the South African Government," said Robert A. Bowman, the treasurer of Michigan, which has been gradually selling a portion of its \$15.2 billion portfolio that is invested in companies active in South Africa.

Moreover, investment officials interviewed this week said repeatedly that such decisions cannot be made hastily, notwithstanding Mr. Sullivan's call for dramatic action.

"We respect Reverend Sullivan and supported his principles for corporate conduct in South Africa," said the Rev. Richard Zang, who administers Notre Dame University's \$450 million endowment fund, "but there isn't going to be a knee-jerk reaction to his new position."

Mr. Sullivan, a longtime civil rights leader and a member of the board of the General Motors Corporation, wrote his Sullivan Principles over 12 years. The guidelines seek to improve the working conditions and opportunities for black workers in South Africa and to enlist American companies in opposing apartheid, South Africa's policy of racial separation. He has estimated that of the 200 American companies conducting business in South Africa, 127 subscribe to the Sullivan Principles.

Mr. Sullivan's switch last Wednesday from advocating engagement to total withdrawal is not legally binding. He has claimed that managers of portfolios with total assets of \$80 billion have pledged to support his withdrawal campaign. But he conceded that it is less clear whether they will also put pressure on companies to follow his guidelines for withdrawal, such as urging that South African

subsidiaries be sold to black investors, or support his call for a total embargo.

"I've asked people to back the full program I laid out, but we will have to see what happens," Mr. Sullivan said in a telephone interview yesterday.

The overriding problem for investment managers, however much they want to support Mr. Sullivan, is their legal obligation to manage the funds

prudently. Fund managers say they have little flexibility in setting moral limits on their investments should the restrictions cause lower earnings.

"We would definitely look at what Reverend Sullivan has to say," said Lawrence Thornton, the deputy treasurer of Iowa, who noted that the state Legislature had mandated that no money be invested in companies doing business in South Africa unless they met the standards set by the Sullivan Principles. "But we wouldn't consider any change before the Legislature reconvenes next year. If you are going to start using social concerns as a guideline, we feel more comfortable with direction from our legislative leaders."

Fund managers and anti-apartheid activists agree that Mr. Sullivan's new position is likely, at the very least, to accelerate the rate at which American businesses are withdrawing. It also challenges those investors who have used the Sullivan Principles as a standard to reconsider their position.

"You rarely see socially concerned investors who have started with a full divestiture policy," said Marcy Murningham, the president of the social investment services division of the Boston-based Mitchell Investment Management Company. "The first toe in the water regarding South Africa has been restricting them-

'There isn't going to be a knee-jerk reaction.'

The Rev. Richard Zang
Notre Dame University

selves to companies following the Sullivan Principles, and that's where a lot of people still are at the moment. The ones I talk to are all saying they don't know what is going to happen."

Some investors, at least, have already decided that they still believe that the Sullivan Principles are a valid measure of which companies qualify as sound moral investments.

"We continue to believe our plan is a sensible approach," said Jay Golden, the Comptroller of New York City, whose office manages \$30 billion in pension funds.

Although New York City's pension funds have sold investments in 20 companies conducting business in or with South Africa, they continue to invest in companies in South Africa that meet four conditions: they must be rated as "making good progress" in adhering to the Sullivan Principles; they must actively disobey the apartheid laws; they cannot do business with the South African military or police, and they cannot sell goods that contribute to South African energy self-sufficiency.

"We are mindful of Reverend Sullivan's moral leadership," Mr. Golden said, "but we believe that if these companies are willing to use their clout to oppose apartheid in South Africa, we should support them."

'The spirit of Mohapi still *Sowetan* lives among *Aug. 6, 1987* us' — Azapo

BLACK organisations this week commemorated the death of one of the exponents of the black consciousness movement, Mr Mapetla Mohapi, who died in police custody at Kei Road near King Williamstown in 1976.

The organisations — the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Azanian People's Organisation, said the spirit of Mr Mohapi still lived among blacks.

Mr Mohapi, the black consciousness leader who was an official of the banned Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organisation, died in detention on August 5, 1976.

He was detained on July 15, 1976, under the Terrorism Act — that was his second spell in detention for in 1974 he had spent some time in detention and was released without being charged.

After his release from detention he was banned in September 1975 under the Suppression of Communism Act.

A magistrate who presided at an inquest court hearing into his death, said Mr Mohapi died of anoxia and suffocation as a result of hanging.

This, he said, was not brought about by any act of commission or omission of any living person.

The Azayo national executive committee paid tribute to Mr Mohapi and said they regarded him as one of the gallant, determined heroes of the black liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation.

"We in Azayo today extend our message of solidarity to the members of the Mapetla family and to the black community in general. We vow to carry out the struggle that he was engaged in until an anti-racist social republic is established in this country," Azayo said in a statement.

The Azanian National Youth Unit said they saluted Mr Mohapi as one of the heroes of the black liberation struggle.

• The "Comment" on page six of your issue of September 23, 1987 tends to promote the "stature" of leaders (symbols) of unlawful organisations, while the report on Page 15 under the heading "UN 'No' To Move On ANC" tends to promote positive support for an unlawful organisation inter alia the PAC, the Minister's notice said.

• The report under the heading "ANC Slams Brutal Punishment: Stop Tyre Deaths" in the issue of September 28, 1987, tends to legitimise a revolutionary leader of the unlawful ANC and to promote his and his organisation's public image;

• The issue of October 19, 1987, under the heading "Okanagan Paper Will Put SA In Spotlight" reinforces the promotion of the public image of an unlawful organisation by giving positive publicity to the opinion expressed by a leader of such an organisation, to wit the PAC; and in the issue of October 20, 1987 under the heading "Exiled Leaders Salute Machel" further positive publicity is given to the leaders of unlawful organisations and the opinions expressed by some of them.

The matter referred to above also tends to promote or fan revolution or uprising in the Republic in a subtle way by mustering support for unlawful revolutionary organisations.

Meanwhile the president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said that the Government's crackdown against the *Sowetan* showed that it was frightened and did not want people to know the truth.

"We condemn the action of the Government against the media."

CAMPUS

WAR

SOWETAN 6/08/87

MUST

STOP

Varsity
heads
given
warning



MINISTER F W de Klerk.

THE Government has told universities they will have to maintain order on campuses if they wish to avoid subsidy cuts.

Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, announced

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

this in a statement yesterday after a meeting in Parliament between the university principals and several cabinet ministers.

The meeting followed several disruptions of meetings and classes

recently, most of them at the University of Cape Town, and the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said the Government had laid down four conditions that the universities would have to meet to continue receiving subsidies.

Briefly, the conditions were that they have to take all reasonable steps to ensure:

- The unbroken and unhindered instruction of and study by students;

- The functional, constructive and education-directed use of the money;
- The application of effective rules to maintain good order and discipline; and
- The maintenance of the university's traditional academic values and standards."

Enforced

Mr De Klerk said that at their request the principals had until the end of August to comment on the conditions after which they would be finalised and enforced.

He said that a situation had developed which threatened the university spirit in South Africa and also threatened the maintenance of good order in general.

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela is the biggest obstacle in the path to peaceful negotiation in South Africa, *The Times* argues in an editorial today.

"The man who holds South Africa hostage today begins his 26th year behind bars." Nelson Mandela, the newspaper says, has become "an icon" in the struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa.

"He has served his organisation possibly a great deal better than if he had been left to the constraints of liberty.

"Mandela the myth has been far more valuable than the man to the ANC in promoting its claim to be the sole legitimate representative of black opinion in South Africa".

"So potent has his image been even black organisations which vigorously dispute the claim are compelled to call for his release

Botha is prisoner of Mandela — Times

July 6 1987

"It is here that Mr Mandela holds the President of South Africa captive.

"Now that the state of emergency has restored some kind of order to the black townships, this would surely be the best time to test the gains which a freed Mandela could bring. The first and most obvious is that it would enable other black organisations to talk to Pretoria and thus free the stalled process of negotiation.

"More important, it would deprive the ANC of its most potent publicity weapon, reduce it to its true level as just

one of the partners in a new South African dispensation and not the sole custodian of the country's future. It would also compel that organisation ... to look beyond its bankrupt strategy of violence (and) think seriously about a constructive agenda for change.

"But Mr Botha is not only Mr Mandela's prisoner. He is also the captive of his own tendency to paint the ANC in lurid colours as the sole threat to peace and stability ..."

"Mr Botha's dilemma is so obvious that the ANC can effectively forestall any attempt to resolve it by exploding a bomb in downtown Johannesburg, thus ensuring that Mr Mandela will remain where he is and Mr Botha will remain on the hook of his own baiting."

Mr Botha "will have to free himself from that self-made trap before he can liberate his country from the shadow of the prisoner of Pollsmoor".