

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

A generation not to be forgotten

15/6/87

WE should be writing about the 11 years that have spanned this country's turbulent history from June 16, 1976 to June 16, 1987.

While June 16, like Sharpeville Day, has become a symbol of resistance, the memory of the events of that day is somewhat blurred.

The reason is that while June 16 was a watershed in the history of this country, the events that followed year after year since that day have been even more remarkable.

Perhaps the most vivid impression we have about these events is the spread of unrest and violence to obscure townships in the country. Places like Duduza in Nigel and Langa in Uitenhage which had never excited any interest before, were shot into grim prominence as the people in those areas expressed their anger and discontent.

There was perhaps more violence in South Africa between 1984-1985 than on June 18, 1976 and soon after. There was the type of violence that made strong men blanch with fear and often dismay. It happened in urban areas like Alexandra Township and in the rural township of Bela Bela in Warmbaths.

There are enduring memories of June 16, '76. For the first time we saw schoolchildren, some in short pants and gymslips, marching in front of crowds expressing anger at a system they could not accept.

We saw in the end the flight of young people in their hundreds to countries outside South Africa, young people who became bitter opponents of this country. Some of them are grown men and women today. But the generation of Tsietsi Mashinini will never be forgottin in our history.

June 16: The day

our kids

SOWETAN

grew up

15/6/87

OUR memory of June 16, 1976 is somewhat blurred, but the most enduring if not heart-rending picture of those days is that of Tsietsi Mashinini and the Soweto Students Representative Council.

The picture that cannot ever be erased is that of Hector Petersen in the arms of a sturdy youth flanked by a schoolgirl in a gymslip. For, if we did not know it then, the seed of student revolt for the next 11 years was planted by the SSRC and that heart-stopping picture.

Many things have happened between June 16, 1976 and June 16, 1987. Many other heroes and heroines have taken the stage, some to die tragically like Steve Biko and others in the forefront of the type of violence South Africa had never experienced before.

The seeds of student revolt expressed so colourfully by the lanky, handsome and shy Mashinini have given rise to some of the most monstrous forms of anger and dissent in young black South Africans.

We may decry the use of the "necklace" and the seeming unruliness of schoolchildren today. But we were blinded by fear and an adult arrogance when the

FOCUS

By
**AGGREY
KLAASTE**

youthful voices cried out for help 11 years ago. The cry for help showed signs of extraordinary courage when boys and girls were totally unconcerned about losing their lives and taking the lives of others.

Adult South Africa buried its head in shame and dismay.

The class boycotts of the '70s should have warned us that we were nursing the type of ruthless and often ugly monster we would not be

able to understand 10 years later.

Some of us picked it up in various disparate incidents. We cannot forget how we were stopped by boys in short pants with the snake of mucus disappearing from their nostrils, angry little boys who wished to know why we dared go to work. We laughed in scorn and disbelief. Things became more serious when scholars in a Soweto school stoned two *tsotsis* who had dared to molest their female colleagues, to death. The children we pictured in some unforgettable shots dancing over the two grotesque bodies, were insanely happy.

The class of '76 is something of a sentimental though scarcely forgotten nightmare in our minds.

For many of our children, our younger brothers and sisters, fled the country to become fighters for the freedom of their country. Some of them became casualties in this warfare. Others were sentenced to death.

Boys and girls who laid down their lives for us, however wrong their means were. Boys and girls scarcely able to articulate the terrible experiences they lived through, risking their youth and everything else for this country's future.

No wonder black South Africa is so politicised today. Part of this is because of anger. Most of it is because of shame.

Hurt

So when the countrywide violence of the '80s became grotesque, we should have remembered the young lives sacrificed from June 16 onwards.

Today many of us have forgotten those lives. But every time there is unrest in black areas it assumes the type

of indescribable dimension that can only be traced to the deep hurt experienced by an adult at the unnecessary death of its young.

So it was not altogether surprising that the unrest in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 sparked off unbelievable unrest in places like Tumahole and Warmbaths. It was not

altogether surprising that the violence in Alexandra Township found its echo in a previously unknown place called Langa, Uitenhage.

Much is made of what is termed "black-on-black" violence. A little walk down memory lane will perhaps explain this exasperating phenomenon so unexpected of a people who are suffering the same oppression, the same problems.

If we should turn our minds back tomorrow as we remember June 16, 1976, then we will perhaps be able to understand the total commitment, the total unconcern for life and limb showed by the Class of 1980.



THE picture that went around the world ... Hector Petersen in the arms of a sturdy youth flanked by a schoolgirl.

Senate 'not sure what necklacing vote was all about'

Reagan fights to restore aid to African countries

THE STAR 15/6/87

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration and a group of lawmakers are working hard to scuttle a move to halt United States aid to southern African countries that are linked to terrorism and necklacing.

Administration officials and at least 20 United States senators are lobbying to overturn a 77-15 Senate vote last month that disqualified any country not renouncing necklacing and "state terrorism" from a share of the R100 million American aid allocated to the region.

The controversial clause, attached to an appropriations bill in an amendment by Senator Larry Pressler, a conservative Republican, is being debated on Capitol Hill as the Senate and House of Representatives stage a conference on their different versions of the bill.

"I'm not sure everybody knew what they were voting on at the time," said a Senate source. "They didn't realise it was going to end up cutting off aid. They thought the amendment was not going to have any major constraining effect. When they found it did, they wanted to reassess."

At issue is a discrepancy between the wording of the amendment, which includes undefined "state terrorism", and the way Senator Pressler presented it in the Senate on May 21, when he spoke only of necklacing. His speech was viewed almost as a referendum on necklacing which presented United States legislators with no choice.

On May 27, the State Department noted the discrepancy, issuing a strong rejection of the amendment, and has been working since to have it killed.

Urged to act

On June 5, eight senators wrote letters urging action against the amendment which effectively jeopardised aid to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries.

"We are strongly urging the conferees to drop this provision entirely or to substitute language which condemns necklacing, but which protects this critical funding for the SADCC states," they said.

The letter's signatories included Senator Richard Lugar, former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Nancy Kassebaum, former chairman of the sub-committee on Africa. Since then, about 12 senators are believed to have joined the effort.

Another Senate source noted, however, that the strength of a 77-15 Senate ballot would make it difficult to overturn.

Conference on the bill started on Wednesday, when sub-committees discussed various aspects of it, and will continue this week.

In terms of the Pressler amendment, the United States President must certify:

- That each recipient country of United States aid has renounced necklacing.
- That each government has given assurances it is trying to prevent the operation in its area of any organisation which supports, encourages, or will not renounce necklacing and state terrorism.
- That each country is actually making concerted efforts to stop any such organisation from operating.

The Star

June 16 as a day of dignity

ELEVEN YEARS ago the name Soweto became an international synonym for apartheid and all that ailed a South African society divided by privilege and prejudice. The awful events of June 16 1976 carved "Soweto" deeply into the pillars of South African history. That day jolted many dozing white South Africans into realising at last that something had gone dreadfully awry with the apartheid dream. They began to discover to their considerable surprise that black people were not content with a poor second best.

True, many whites will not recognise injustice. Selfishness and obstinacy go hand in hand. That is the way of humans all over the world and progress just has to roll over them.

June 16 has come and gone 10 times since that fateful day in 1976; each anniversary has more to commemorate. So much horror, violence, detentions and fear have been experienced: one way or another there have been many, many victims. Violence invites coun-

terviolence, more casualties. It exacts a high price in bitterness between white and black, black and black and even white and white.

Townships have found the means to make their protests felt in more dignified ways; workers have acquired the voice through their unions to improve their conditions.

White South Africans have acknowledged the need for changes which they would never have dreamed of a few years ago. The so-called reforms fall short of aspirations but they are evidence of maturing attitudes, a process that can be built on to develop a just society.

Black organisations have called on their community to commemorate June 16 with dignity; the Azanian Youth Organisation has particularly asked youths to "exercise the highest level of discipline". The dead deserve that respect on a day of mourning and the black people owe themselves a day of dignity for composure, reflection and contemplation.

Afrikaans politics still follows 'the boereplaas model'

Water Mercury
15/6/87

THOSE who believe the impetus for real reform in South Africa could come from the University of Stellenbosch will have to think again if the results of a recent survey are any indication.

According to the journal of opinion, *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, Mr Jannie Gagiano, of the university's department of political science, has concluded on the basis of a survey which he conducted that the 'boereplaas model' of Afrikaans politics still lives strongly in the consciousness of the vast majority of Stellenbosch students.

Only 13,7% of the students questioned expressed sympathy with organisations that could be regarded as being to the Left of the Government, while 60,4% expressed their antipathy to such organisations.

QUESTIONS designed to measure students' 'repression potential' revealed that 33,8% believed the police ought to break up peaceful demonstrations; 47,4% that participants in demonstrations ought to be arrested; 68,3% that the police should fire on people who damage property; 68,5% that the Defence Force should be used to break up strikes; and 72,2% that the police should fire on people who throw stones or other ob-

The Afrikaans Press
by James McClurg



Sayings of the week

□ The caravan moves on. South Africa determines its own pace and will never allow itself to become the prisoner of an alien and perhaps dangerously changeable outside influence. — Beeld columnist Willie Kühn.

□ The Press does not want a lot of white and black people to turn round one day and say 'we didn't know', as tens of thousands of people did after the nazi brutalities. — Mr Hennie van Deventer, editor of the Volksblad.



President PW Botha... his visit to Lekoa has been hailed by the Afrikaans Press as proof of his desire to negotiate with any black leaders willing to come forward

jects at them.

'It looks as though most Stellenbosch students associate protest politics with attacks on the legitimacy of the Afrikaner-controlled state system with its policies directed towards racial separation. As members of the inner circle of the regime they therefore regard protests as a threat to all they hold dear.'

President Botha's visit to Lekoa has been hailed by the Afrikaans Press as proof of his desire to negotiate with any black leaders who are willing to come forward.

The Volksblad said it should now be becoming clear to black leaders that the time for excuses for staying away from the negotiating table was coming to an end. In the future the State President would probably appeal to the black public to put pressure on black leaders in the interests of a peaceful settlement.

Dawie, political columnist of the Nasionale group, said one could imagine what such a visit meant to a community that had perhaps become used only to Caspiers and men in uniform. Necessary though these were, much more must be done to create a real climate for dialogue

and negotiation.

The Vaderland said there was a strong temptation to regard the false peace of the emergency as permanent. In the long run that would be fatal.

A year after the declaration of the emergency, it was clear that by strong action with the help of the emergency regulations the Government had won the test of strength against the radical onslaught. But, said the Vaderland, even though violence had decreased drastically and the economy was once again getting into its stride, the battle had not yet been won.

The days when Anglicisms in Afrikaans carried the taint of mortal sin are long past.

Among the words that have just been authoritatively admitted to the Afrikaans vocabulary are stamina, country (as in country music), breek (brake) and macho.

THESE were admittedly borrowed words, Professor Louis Eksteen, Pretoria lexicologist, told the Volksblad. But they were in use from the lowest ranks of the people up to the Cabinet and must now be accepted as Afrikaans words.

Public holidays have been much under discus-

sion in the Afrikaans Press.

Beeld said the disturbing truth was that South Africa had too many public holidays. It would be nearer the mark to call them 'waste days' — days on which precious lives and productivity were wasted.

The Volksblad welcomed the suggestion that the State should recognise only a limited number of days, such as Sundays, Good Friday, Ascension Day, the Day of the Vow and Christmas Day, and leave the rest to be negotiated between employer and employee organisations.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the ill-fated HNP and ardent breeder of budgies, says his ambition is to breed a black budgie — 'or a red one or a pink one'.

Presumably, observed Beeld columnist Lood waspishly, if Mr Marais managed to breed a black one, it would land up in a separate cage.

THE DISPUTE over Wits and the effects of campus events on the elections has been brought at last to its proper point by the deputy vice-chancellor, Professor R W Charlton. That point is the curbing of free speech in the face of threats of violence.

In a lecture to the Medical Graduates Association last week, he repeated the argument that in a society which violates freedom of speech, the intolerance of students towards free speech is understandable. In justification he quoted the Times Literary Supplement as saying: "A university or polytechnic is fully entitled to curb free speech if its integrity is undermined or a breach of the peace threatened."

Professor Charlton also added: "Let me make myself absolutely clear on that: the university stands for freedom of speech, and does its utmost to promote it."

The Univeristy of Cape Town has taken a similar position, but more explicitly: "The university asserts that it is the right of any academic, subject to the normal rights of the heads of departments, faculties and Senate, to invite any person to take part in an academic programme (e.g., a lecture, a seminar, a tutorial or a practical). Any restriction on, or denial of, this right would impinge upon academic freedom, and would limit, or deny, freedom of expression.

"There is a parallel right, the right to dissent and to express this dissent. But this right must be exercised in such a way that it does not limit the freedom of expression of other people."

Against these assertions of good intent we must measure the facts: at Wits, Piet Koornhof, Conor Cruise O'Brien and Helen Suzman were prevented from speaking, and senior academics have been heard to say that — no matter who invites him — Andries Treurnicht would not be allowed to speak. At Cape Town, Chief Mangosuthu

At last the Wits debate gets to freedom of speech

KEN OWEN

15/4/87

Business Day

Buthelezi and O'Brien have been prevented from speaking.

Professor Charlton says the hardest thing to bear about the clamour for free speech at Wits, in this newspaper among others, is that it originated from a small group of rightwing individuals. One might retort that the hardest thing to bear about the gagging of Conor Cruise O'Brien is that it began with the distribution on UCT campus of leaflets purporting to represent the views of the ANC. But the point-scoring takes the de-

bate nowhere.

The real difficulty is to get anybody — Charlton included — to explain why, precisely, each of these speakers was prevented from speaking. The best one gets is this sort of lame excuse, taken from Charlton's lecture: "When one's meetings have been banned, and one's leaders muzzled by restriction orders, why should one give a fair hearing to somebody whom one perceives, rightly or wrongly, to be on the side of the repressors?"

candidates who became victims of it).

A second explanation put forward, that Suzman was prevented from speaking because she was an election candidate, does not hold water. She was invited not as a politician but as an alumnus and former lecturer to participate in an academic debate, and in any event the explanation does not apply to either the O'Brien or the Koornhof cases. So this excuse takes matters no farther.

A third explanation is suggested,

Does that mean Mrs Suzman is regarded on campus as being "on the side of the repressors"? Or O'Brien, despite his international reputation as a liberal? Or Buthelezi?

The notion is not so bizarre as it seems. One Wits lecturer, Duncan Innes, author of a Marxist study of the Anglo American Corporation, blames the student boycott of the elections on the PFP's "shift to the right" (most of the faculty now say that there was no boycott, or if there was, that it had no effect — a view not shared by some of the

with refreshing honesty, by lecturer Tom Lodge. It is that to let Mrs Suzman speak might set a precedent for the admission of other speakers who might well be abused. This brings the argument back to intimidation, which the university claims to be slight but which, if it was sufficient to silence Suzman, has had the same result as the State's use of the police to silence Winnie Mandela.

The university nevertheless remains unrepentant. Amid all the justifications for the intolerance displayed by oppressed students, there is no vigorous defence of free speech, no public expression of regret at its suppression, no public apology offered to Suzman or to O'Brien, and certainly none to Koornhof. There is no confession that, while the university might like to uphold liberal values, conditions are such that it cannot always do so. Instead, as one of our leading jurists remarked of the official UCT report on the O'Brien case, the victim is treated as if he had invited his own rape.

Much of the criticism of Wits may be disputed. It is possible (though not necessarily credible) to deny that the university has become the fountain of many attacks on the parliamentary liberals and on liberalism in general; it is possible to argue about the extent of the student boycott of the elections, or about its effects; it is possible to say that intimidation has been limited.

But it is not possible to deny that the State gagged Winnie Mandela for fear of violence, and that the university gagged Suzman and O'Brien, also for fear of violence, and that in this respect their behaviour was identical.

The question that remains is how a great liberal university has come to the point of upholding behaviour which, in its deviation from liberal principle, mirrors so exactly the behaviour of the State. One possible answer will be put forward in a final commentary on Wits in this space next week.



□ KOORNHOF ... prevented



□ O'BRIEN ... prevented

THE CITIZEN

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Stayaway is only a holiday for UDF leaders

THE time has come that people who work for a living should sit and think deeply and wisely of the method the UDF is using to fight for the equal rights of Blacks.

Most of the UDF leaders are rich, professional people like doctors, lawyers, businessmen. To them, a stayaway is a holi-

day, because money is not one of their problems.

I cannot understand why they stage stayaways when about 90 percent of large companies belong to the EEC, and not to the South African State. The EEC is calling on the Government to end apartheid for the good of all. Why then should we stay away from work? We depend on our weekly wages. Take this recent two-day stayaway. For two days we only received half our salaries and could not buy enough food to meet our needs. This is why most workers risked their dear lives by sneaking to work. Some were beaten, and some died.

I wish the UDF would meet with, and talk to the man on the street before staging stayaways. The time will come when poor people will not stand this any more. UDF leaders must be aware that a "hungry man is like a wounded lion".

I have spoken to many

people about the whole affair. Most are fed up. They are losing faith in the UDF and trade unions, because they joined them to safeguard jobs.

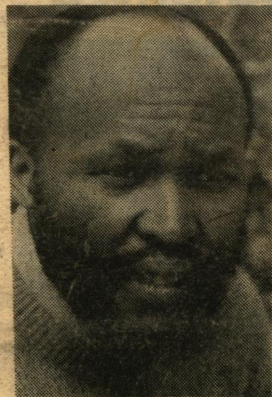
The idea was to negotiate with management for better wages — not for stayaways. I am sure that even ANC members are unhappy to hear that Black people are without money and food because of these stayaways.

MP

Wattville

LET THERE BE PEACE

Sowetan 15/6/87



MURPHY Morobe . . .
significant date.



MUNTU Myeza . . .
at service.

By **SELLO RABOTHATA**
and **NKOPANE MAKOBANE**

THE South African Youth Congress and the Azanian Youth Organisation have made a call to the black youth in the country to exercise the highest level of discipline and restraint and to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the June 16 unrest with the dignity it deserves.

The youth organisations' call follows similar pleas by the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National

Forum, Azanian People's Organisation, National Confederation of Trade Unions and other extra-parliamentary groupings to mark the period from last Friday (June 12) to June 26 as a national two weeks of action and protest.

The Nactu, National Forum and Azapo have called for the period June 12 to tomorrow (June 16) to be observed.

None of the political organisations have called for a stay away and the UDF said such rumours were not true and are without foundation.

Relief

The call by the two youth organisations. Sayco, a UDF affiliate, and Azapo, an Azapo youth wing, also came as a relief to thousands of workers who were earlier made to believe there would be a two week stayaway.

But, the UDF has also made it clear that "however, what our people nationwide are demanding is June 16 as a paid public holiday."

According to UDF acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, significant dates during the two week national action and

Let there be peace

• From Page 1

protest are: June 12 — imposition of the state of emergency; June 16 — South African Youth Day; June 26 — Freedom Charter Day.

A number of com-

memoration services have been planned in various regions around the country but the organisations have not as yet disclosed the venues.

The Black Sash and the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) called on the community to wear black armbands from last Friday until tomorrow (June 16) as a symbol of mourning for the year of the state of emergency and to commemorate the June 16 anniversary as well as to show commitment to justice and peace.

The call, according to Black Sash, has the support of the UDF, National Union of South African Students, Five Freedoms Forum, the Soweto Civic Association and the National Soccer League.

The Transvaal Stu-

dents Congress and Sayco made a special plea to students and the youth to support and observe the call made by the UDF for the people to close ranks and regard this period as two weeks of national united action.

The Soweto Chamber of Commerce also made a call on all its members to observe June 16 in line with all other organisations.

Azapo yesterday released details of services that are to be held tomorrow. Services will be held at: Alexandra — Ikage Lower Primary School at 2pm and will be addressed by Moloantoa Mavi and Haroon Patel;

Services will also be held in other areas, according to Azapo, but these still have to be confirmed.

'COMRADES' REIGN OF FEAR'

FEAR gripped Alexandra township when sjambok-wielding "comrades" conducted anti-crime raids in the area, the Rand Supreme Court heard on Friday.

The young "comrades" patrolled the streets, raided shebeens, took possession of knives and "disciplined" youths found in shebeens.

This evidence was given by a State witness, who may not be named, in the trial of seven men and a 17-year-old youth appearing before Mr Justice H Grosskopf on charges of treason, alternatively subversion and sedition.

By **MANDLA NDLAZI**

The trial relates to unrest that broke out between January and July last year in Alexandra township. The eight have all pleaded not guilty. The case is being held in camera.

The witness told the court how he joined the "feared comrades" who wielded power in the area. He said they carried sjamboks when they patrolled the streets and raided shebeens on Friday and Saturday nights.

Men who were found with knives were "disciplined" — they were given what was called a

"double-cut", 10 lashes on the buttocks with a sjambok. The youths found in shebeens were each given five lashes with a sjambok, also on the buttocks.

Led by the prosecutor, Mr E du Toit, the witness said the men in the streets would not object when stopped and searched because they feared the "comrades". The shebeeners too, he said, would not object when during a raid they were told to stop playing music while their patrons were searched for knives.

He was recruited as a "comrade" at a meeting on June 20 last year. He found "many girls and boys" who were being lectured on what to do in the anti-crime campaign.

He said there would be two groups operating on Friday and Saturday nights in an area.

He said he knew about the "people's court", and the proceedings were conducted by Mr Ashwell Mxolisa Zwane, accused number one in the trial.

(Proceeding)

Blacks back in 'Dark Ages'—Dhlomo

'Boardroom decisions can't destroy apartheid'

Citizen Reporter

NEW YORK. — Apartheid could not be destroyed by remote control in the board rooms of New York, Paris, London and Bonn, Dr Oscar Dhlomo said here at the weekend.

The secretary general of Inkatha and KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture was addressing the US Council for International Business' Task Force on South Africa at the Harvard Club.

He said sanctions and disinvestment had pushed Blacks back into the 'Dark Ages' of South African politics. And he presented a list of traumatic setbacks the anti-apartheid cause had already suffered because of these policies.

Dr Dhlomo said there was a full awareness of

the pressures on US companies to withdraw and of the accusation that they were propping up the system.

But the view that foreign withdrawal would cripple the economy to the extent that the Government would dismantle apartheid and give Blacks political rights ignored two crucial considerations.

The first was that, if sanctions and disinvestment did cripple the country, there would be no strong and vibrant post-apartheid economy capable of redressing the disparities caused by decades of apartheid neglect.

The second was the importance of distinguishing between South Africa ("the country Black South Africans wish to govern in future") and apartheid ("the evil policy that must be destroyed if those Black political aspirations are to be realised").

Simple logic dictated that those who supported the aspirations of the Black people should help them destroy apartheid and not South Africa.

The advocates of disinvestment had to be asked: "How do you expect to

free prisoners from a cell by bombing the cell itself?" and told: "We want to be liberated on our feet . . . not as corpses."

Inkatha could not support any anti-apartheid moral indignation which fed on Black unemployment and starvation.

Dr Dhlomo said that the Government had become even more intransigent and the White electorate had withdrawn into the laager.

Among examples he listed were:

The Government had "brutally suppressed" the revolt in the townships by imposing a state of emergency and detaining hundreds of Black South Africans, including children.

Stringent measures had been taken against the Press, including the expulsion of many foreign journalists.

A Whites-only election had been called which the National Party had won with overwhelming support from English speakers who would normally have supported the PFP and the NRP.

Group Areas Act offenders were being sent eviction notices and threatened with the sale of their properties.

The gold price had risen to the extent that the government was overcoming its international debt problems.

On the factory floor, almost all American companies which withdrew were taken over by South African interests virtually overnight. Some of these had immediately withdrawn from the Sullivan Code and announced they

would do business with anybody, including the SA Police and the SA Defence Force.

"Once again it was the Black workers who had to pay the price for this irrational moral indignation by American companies," Dr Dhlomo said.

"The door that had opened to a life of equal opportunity on the factory floor and on-the-job training was suddenly slammed in the Black workers' face without even the decency of prior consultation."

The first to complain were the same advocates of disinvestment who had previously toured the world calling on compan-

ies to withdraw.

All this demonstrated clearly that post-apartheid South Africa would not rise miraculously from the ashes of a destroyed economy. On the contrary, a strong, vibrant and growing economy had to be the foundation for this he said.

Ford May Give South African Workers Large Share of Its Affiliate in Pretoria

By PAUL INGRASSIA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DEARBORN, Mich.—Ford Motor Co. said it is negotiating to donate most of its South African holdings to a trust that would benefit the 4,500 employees of the company's affiliate there.

The No. 2 U.S. auto maker said it has been holding private discussions "during the past several months with many South African labor and community leaders" regarding its 42% stake in South African Motor Corp. Samcor, as the South African company is known, is majority-owned by Anglo-American Corp., the giant South African conglomerate.

In a statement issued yesterday, Ford portrayed its goal as seeking an alternative to a total pull-out from South Africa, which it contended would harm the employees, about 70% of whom are black.

A Ford spokesman said it isn't clear how much of Ford's stake would be donated to the trust, but that "it could amount to about a quarter of the company." Ford might retain the rest of its shares, or "other solutions could be worked out," he said. He didn't elaborate.

At last month's annual meeting, "Chairman Donald E. Petersen pointed out that total withdrawal—including termination of component-supply and trademark licensing—would result in closure of Samcor and unemployment of 16,000 Samcor and dealer employees," the company said. At the meeting, Ford shareholders voted against resolutions calling for the company's total withdrawal from South Africa.

Nonetheless, South African union officials are concerned about whether reduced involvement by Ford would impair Samcor's viability.

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, which includes auto workers, is said to be balking at Ford's proposal to transfer part of its holding. The union is concerned that once Ford loosens its ties, Samcor may have difficulty competing in South Africa's overcrowded auto industry. It also questions whether the company would pay significant dividends to make the shareholdings worthwhile. Instead, the union prefers longer-term compensation, such as one to five years' worth of wages, based on length of service, and assurances that pensions will still be honored.

South Africa's auto workers are highly sensitive to disinvestment moves. In 1985, Ford shut down its operations in Port Elizabeth, leaving several thousand workers jobless. Despite generous severance payments, the Ford employees felt betrayed. Ford's resulting joint venture in Samcor is based in Pretoria.

When General Motors Corp., the No. 1 U.S. auto maker, announced its disinvestment last October, 2,000 workers at its Port Elizabeth operations went on strike for several weeks. They also were demanding compensation in case the company, sold to local owners, went under.

In an apparent acknowledgment of those concerns, Ford said yesterday that it expects the deliberations to take time. "Because what we are doing is unique, the labor and community leaders need time to consider the options and they have a strong desire to deliberate in private," L. Lindsey Halstead, a Ford vice president, said in a statement. "In deference to their wishes, we expect to comment no further until that process has been completed."

Samcor officials in South Africa have

refused comment on Ford's plans.

GM's withdrawal from South Africa last year prompted a string of other major American corporations to pull out from the racially troubled nation. Since then, questions about whether withdrawal really helps South African blacks have been raised.

But earlier this month, the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, a black Baptist minister and GM director who is a leading opponent of apartheid, called for U.S. companies to leave South Africa. For 10 years Mr. Sullivan had sought to defeat the system of racial segregation in South Africa by urging American corporations there to adhere to his "Sullivan Principles" of fair employment. But conceding that that approach has failed, he called for a full exodus and trade sanctions.

Fifty U.S. companies pulled out of South Africa last year, and 33 have completed or announced pullout plans so far this year, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center. Emhart Corp. and PepsiCo Inc., for instance, announced plans earlier this year to sell their remaining South African operations. About 200 U.S. companies are still doing business in South Africa.

Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, a black lobbying group on Africa and the Caribbean and a leader of the divestment movement, wouldn't comment specifically on Ford's announcement. He did say, however, that "if a company leaving South Africa can finance a purchase by whites, it can also finance purchase by blacks. We continue to maintain that divestment should occur in a manner acceptable to black unions and black workers."

ROGER THUROW IN JOHANNESBURG
CONTRIBUTED TO THIS ARTICLE

Ford Seeks To Sell Stake In S. Africa

6/15/87

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, June 14—Ford Motor Co., which has come under strong pressure from anti-apartheid groups in the United States, is negotiating to sell its interest in a South Africa subsidiary, the chairman of the local branch confirmed today.

Ford would continue to supply its local affiliate, the South African Motor Corp. (SAMCOR), with vehicles, components, management and technical assistance, as well as continuing licensing of the Ford trademark here, Leslie Boyd, the subsidiary's chairman, said.

Responding to reports in the Johannesburg Sunday Star that Ford had started discussions about disposing of its 42 percent interest in the firm because of disinvestment pressure in the United States, Boyd said he was "aware of Ford's discussions with representatives of SAMCOR's workers with a view to placing a major share of SAMCOR's shares in a trust for the benefit of all SAMCOR employees."

Ford reportedly is trying to transfer 28 percent of its stake to local employees and sell the remaining 18 percent to the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate, which is the majority shareholder. Anglo American would then own 76 percent of the firm.

Ford South Africa, a wholly owned subsidiary of Ford Motor Co. of Canada, merged with Anglo American's automobile division in 1985.

Black automotive workers, represented by the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, reportedly have rejected the proposal, fearing they would lose the protection of the company's headquarters in case Anglo American decided to reduce operations here.

SOUTH AFRICA SALE BY FORD WILL GIVE BLACKS BIG STAKE

Company Maps Complex Deal to Help Workers and Keep Its Products Available

MT 6/15/87

JOHANNESBURG, June 14 — The Ford Motor Company is poised to sell its South African interests in a complex deal that would give its predominantly black work force a major share of the business, but leave its products still available there.

The company has been under intense pressure to pull out of the country to protest the Government's apartheid policies. The General Motors Corporation announced last October that it would leave after selling its operations to a group of investors led by local G.M. managers. Under G.M.'s plan, it would continue to sell automotive components to its former subsidiary.

A Ford spokesman in Detroit confirmed today that talks had been held for several months with South African labor and community leaders regarding the ownership change for the subsidiary, the South African Motor Corporation, known here as Samcor.

Subsidiary Merged in 1985

Ford, like G.M., has manufactured cars in South Africa for many years. In 1985 Ford merged a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company of Canada with Amcar Motor Holdings, a unit of the Anglo American Corporation, a mining and industrial conglomerate. The merger left Ford with a 42 percent stake in Samcor, with the rest held by Anglo American.

Samcor is one of the biggest car manufacturers in South Africa. At the time the merger took place in 1985, Ford was producing about 40,000 cars a year in South Africa, but the number has declined since then.

More than 100 United States companies have left South Africa since October 1984, when black resistance to white rule led to civil unrest on an unprecedented scale in the country's black townships.

Since then more than 2,500 people have been killed and last week a 12-month-old nationwide state of emergency was renewed. Leslie Boyd, chairman of Samcor and an executive direc-

Ford Set to Sell South African Stake

Continued From Page A1

tor of Anglo American, confirmed news reports here today that Ford was negotiating with employees the transfer of a major share in Samcor to a trust for the benefit of its black workers.

He said that Ford had agreed, however, to continue supplying Samcor with automobile components and allow the use of the Ford logotype, which has been seen on South African roads for 61 years. Samcor produces cars and trucks in Pretoria and makes engines and other components in Port Elizabeth.

Two Seats on Company Board

Mr. Boyd said that discussions were still at a "formative stage" and would give no further details of the proposed pullout. But industry sources said that talks with trade union leaders had revolved around the sale of 57 percent of Ford's stake in Samcor to its employees and the remaining 43 percent to the Anglo American Corporation. In addition, a report in the United States said the Samcor workers would receive two seats on the company's board.

The Chrysler Corporation, the remaining member of the American Big Three United States auto makers, never had extensive operations in South Africa.

Newspaper reports said the trade unions had reservations about the proposed deal because they feared it could leave them vulnerable to layoffs without protection from Ford.

When Ford and Anglo American formed Samcor and moved its headquarters to Pretoria nearly two years ago, thousands of jobs were lost at Ford's plant near the Indian Ocean port of Port Elizabeth.

The Ford move, which has clearly been in the planning for several months, caused some surprise in

business circles following the assurance by Donald E. Petersen, Ford's chairman, in Detroit only a month ago that Ford wanted to stay in South Africa.

In an interview tonight Adrian Botha, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce, said that he did not think that the Ford move would herald a major outflow of United States capital from South Africa.

Mr. Botha said he did not see any connection between the Ford move and the decision by the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan to call for the total withdrawal of the remaining United States companies in South Africa. Mr. Sullivan is a black Baptist minister from Philadelphia who is the author of the Sullivan Principles, a code of nonracial conduct for companies. He is also a member of G.M.'s board.

During the past 18 months more than 100 companies have left South Africa.

Private Talks Cited

By JOHN HOLUSHA

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, June 14 — Ford confirmed today reports that it is planning to cut back its already reduced investment in South Africa but that it was not prepared to sever all links with the country.

In a statement issued this afternoon in response to news accounts regarding the talks, Ford said it had been "holding private discussions during the past several months with many South African labor and community leaders regarding the possi-

ble restructuring of its minority shareholder position in the South African Motor Corporation."

Ford officials said they were unsure how long the talks would continue or when the transaction might be completed. "Because what we are doing is unique, the labor and community leaders need time to consider the options," L. Lindsay Halstead, a Ford vice president whose responsibilities include the company's South African operations, said in a statement.

Similar to G.M. Position

If the transaction is completed, Ford's position in South Africa would be similar to G.M.'s. Both would have withdrawn direct investment but would continue to have financial and technical links to locally owned producers.

The company, which is a signatory to the Sullivan Principles, said the "primary feature" of the plan would be the donation of a "major" part of its investment in the South African company to a trust for the benefit of its 4,500 employees, 70 percent of whom are black.

But Ford said it sought a "more constructive role" than cutting off all relations with South Africa, as some shareholders have sought. Mr. Halstead said the purpose of the negotiations was to "establish a consensus" among black labor and other leaders about Ford's future role in the country.

Last month Ford stockholders rejected a proposal to cut off all ties with South Africa, including component sales and licensing of trademarks. Ford said at the time that such an action would amount to abandoning the nearly 16,000 workers employed by Samcor and Ford dealers in the country.