

South Africa Protests Produce Hopes for New Generation of Black Activists

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 29 — In the cool of midnight Tuesday, under the bronzed, beckoning arm of a statue of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the Morehouse College campus, more than 1,000 black students stood and roared in unity with South African blacks the Zulu phrase they had just learned: "Amandla ngawethu! Freedom is coming!"

Many of these young men and women, whose parents gained economic freedom in the wake of the civil rights movement that Dr. King led, grew up to be considered "the silent generation."

But now, stung by daily reports and pictures of arrests and killings in South Africa, they have begun to stir. "After 25 years of silence, we are emerging now," said Kevin Valentine, an administrative intern in the office of Mayor Andrew Young who was one of the organizers of the rally.

Both young black activists and older leaders of the civil rights movement say they hope the protests against South Africa's policy of racial separation will galvanize a new generation as segregation in the South did a previous one.

New Generation Urged to Speak

For three hours, late into the night before the new academic year's first morning of classes, an array of famous names in American and South African black political history urged this new generation to stand on its own feet, awakened in the cause of South Africa.

On one side of the stage erected in front of the King International Chapel sat the daughters of three black winners of the Nobel Peace Prize: Dr. King's daughter, Bernice King, of Atlanta; Mpho Tutu, daughter of Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, the South African clergyman who is a student at Howard University in Washington; and Tandi Gcabashe, daughter of the former Zulu chieftain Albert Luthuli, an early oppo-

VIGIL: Mpho Tutu, left, daughter of Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, at Morehouse College in Atlanta. With her were daughters of other winners of Nobel Peace Prize, Bernice King, right, whose father was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Tandi Gcabashe, daughter of Albert Luthuli, a former Zulu chieftain.

ponent of South Africa's racial policies who received the prize in 1960.

Strung across the stage were a few of the familiar names of the old civil rights movement: Mayor Young, State Senator Julian Bond, City Councilman John Lewis.

"Most of you did not experience the civil rights movement, most of you did

not suffer," said Dr. Lawrence Edward Carter, Dean of the King Chapel. "And now we want you to identify with those who suffer in South Africa."

Arrests at Washington Embassy

Many of the old leadership, the youngest now in their mid-40's, were jailed and beaten before the students they faced were born. "The first time I

was arrested over South Africa was in 1968 in front of the South African Information Center in New York," said Mr. Lewis, the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "We were bailed out by Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier."

The most visible demonstrations against South Africa in the United

States in the last year, resulting in hundreds of arrests in front of the South African Embassy in Washington, have been led by a lobbying group called Trans-Africa.

Another organization, the American Committee on Africa, regularly promotes the cause of divestment in South Africa, and has lobbied on more than 100 largely white college campuses, in state legislatures and other government bodies with investment funds. The committee is now hearing more frequently from black students and organizations on black campuses, said Josh Nesson, the organization's national student coordinator.

But for the most part, black campuses, and the current generation of young blacks, have not been noticeably active in the South Africa protests. With this rally Tuesday night, and with plans to make the seven private black colleges in Atlanta the hub of black campus protests across the Southeast this fall, the older leadership hopes that situation may change.

'It's Long Overdue'

"I do think that black college students have been too quiet," Mr. Lewis said before the rally. "We need to make some noise."

"It's long overdue," Mr. Bond said. "I think the South African issue can bring the students out and create a momentum and a vehicle by which their leadership can emerge. And I hope they move on from there."

The movement here in Atlanta is something of a germinal effort. For some black American students here, identification with the plight of South Africa blacks has not come easily.

Two of the seven black colleges in Atlanta, Morehouse College and Spelman College, draw many of their students from the nation's affluent black families. Instruction at the black colleges, Dean Carter also said, is shaped by professors trained in white universities that emphasize the European genesis of culture rather than the African.

In addition, he said, the economic fragility of the colleges and their dependence on donations from corporations with investments in South Africa, like the Coca-Cola Company, have inhibited the spirit of protest.

"This is Coca-Cola City," Dean Carter said. "And every time the students start kicking in the Coke machines and calling for divestiture, it causes unease on the part of some of the college presidents."

Mark Preisinger, spokesman for the Coca-Cola Company here, said that the company did make substantial contributions to the colleges, but the amount of its investment in South Africa, he said, "is a figure that we do not release."

Struggle Handed Down

It may have been for reason of those obstacles that Mayor Young told the crowd Tuesday night, "When I walked out here, I became all choked up."

The sons and daughters of Mr. Young's generation of civil rights preachers listened as Miss Tutu, the daughter of a preacher, called them "my brothers and sisters," and told them "the struggle in South Africa now has become the children's revolution."

Miss Gcabashe emphasized the point. "Our children are sacrificing themselves for their future, and for their parents at home," she said.

"Must Jesus bear the cross alone, and all the world go free?" Miss King asked the crowd, in a voice that filled the street. "No. There's a cross for everyone. There's a cross for you and me."

The students lingered, listening and cheering, until the early morning. And as it began to break up, four freshmen, the sons of a Massachusetts orthodontist, a North Carolina pediatrician, a South Carolina state education officer and a Mississippi engineer, said they would give their time to the cause.

"I can see myself out there fighting because of this whole situation," said Bethew Jennings, the engineer's son. "It's something I've always felt."



The New York Times/Alan Weiner

Mandela enigma may be a key to S. African puzzle

The Washington Post
August 29, 1985

By Michael Sullivan
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The question of Nelson Mandela — who he is and what exactly he stands for — has become an increasingly perplexing issue for South Africa and the world.

In prison more than two decades, the 67-year-old Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, has become a legendary resistance figure to the country's black youth. In a recent survey of urban blacks conducted by the Sunday Times of London, Mandela was the leader most favored to become president in a post-apartheid South Africa.

He is, however, a leader who has not really been seen or heard by more than half of South Africa's 24 million blacks for the simple reason they were born after his imprisonment.

That's because as a "banned" person Mandela may not be quoted in the South African press without government permission. His wife Winnie is among the many others who are under the same restriction.

Similarly, access to Mandela is controlled by the government, and permission first has to be granted by the prison service before anyone may talk with him at Pollsmoor Prison outside Cape Town.

This year, few outsiders have met with the black leader. In addition to last week's interview with The Washington Times and the Los Angeles Times Syndicate, the government in Pretoria allowed Lord Nicholas Bethell of the European Parliament and Samuel Dash, former chief counsel to the Senate Watergate Committee and now a professor of law at

Georgetown University, to visit the jailed ANC leader.

A request by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., was turned down in

January. The leader of South Africa's official opposition, Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, and a delegation of European Economic Community ministers, who arrive in South Africa this week, are among those who want to visit Mandela.

The black leader's recent interview in The Washington Times has pointed up the problems and anomalies South Africa faces with its most celebrated prisoner. South Africans never hear exactly what he has to say and the government doesn't talk to him.

The Washington Times interview was reported in one of South Africa's daily English-language papers, The Star. Other papers want to run the interview, but are checking with their attorneys.

They are cautious because the restrictions on reporting about Mandela are so stringent they even extend to the black leader's photograph. A picture of Mandela in a recent issue of Newsweek magazine was blacked out.

Much of Mandela's background and philosophy are well-known and documented: his early involvement with the African National Congress, the founding of the ANC's armed wing *Umkhonto We Sizwe* — Spear of the Nation — his arrest and life sentence in 1964.

Earlier this year, he rejected an offer by South African President Pieter W. Botha under which Mandela would have received clemency in return for renouncing violence. He responded that Mr. Botha should dismantle apartheid and lift the ban



South African riot police are surrounded by cloud of teargas yesterday as they scatter blacks attempting march to Pollsmoor prison where African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is serving a life term for sabotage.

on the ANC as a pre-condition to any negotiations.

As long as the ANC remains a banned organization, Mandela has said, the armed struggle will remain an option.

The ANC's armed struggle, though, has been a minimally effective

strategy in the quarter of a century since the founding of Umkhonto in 1961, the year after the ANC was banned in South Africa.

Mandela also has turned down offers that he be released into the custody of the Transkei government, which is headed by his nephew Kaiser Matanzima.

Under South Africa's homelands policy, Mandela is considered a citizen of the Transkei. He has rejected release to the black homeland because it would be a tacit accep-

tance of the homelands policy.

His unconditional release has been called for not only by South Africa's political opposition, but by the U.S. and British governments as a vital step to any serious dialogue between the government and black South Africans.

Pretoria, though, insists on the statement of non-violence as a prerequisite for Mandela's freedom.

As long as the ANC remains banned, Mandela has said, armed struggle will remain an option.

At a weekend congress in Ulundi, the capital of the KwaZulu homeland, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi made a telling comment on Pretoria's condition in calling for Mandela's unconditional release.

"I call for the unconditional release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and I say that his latest utterances as reported in the media are irrelevant to the considerations which should be weighed up," Mr. Buthelezi said.

Mr. Buthelezi apparently was referring to The Washington Times'

interview, which quoted Mandela as saying if he were released he would be jailed again within a day because he sees no alternative to armed struggle.

"Mr. Nelson Mandela must be

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THE WASHINGTON POST, AUG. 29, 1985
29, 1985.

given the freedom to opt for the armed struggle. The state has robbed him of that freedom right now," Mr. Buthelezi said.

"It is only his unconditional release which will create the circumstances in which he can make a choice. . . . Till we give him that freedom, we must regard all his utterances as utterances under duress."

Until, as Mr. Buthelezi notes, Mandela is allowed to decide outside the confines of his prison walls whether to follow the path of militancy or negotiation, it seems unlikely he will renounce violence, the ANC's main bargaining chip in any negotiations with the government.