

â\200\230No place on cam

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 Oâ\200\231Brien to lecture on this campus. I, as Vice-Chancellor, the University Council and the commission of inquiry found the actions of the students â\200\230in 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

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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.

R

illegal in South Africa â\200\224 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

, â\200\230Pressure cookers have a habit of depositing food on the ceiling if they are not given proper attentionâ\200\231

' the majority will prevailed. Through-

out 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 universityâ\200\231s position absolutely clear that such action will not be tolerated, and subsequently in tense demonstrations â\200\230onstrations 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

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 as-

- sumptions 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 learn-

ing 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 en-
ormously to the credit of all the stu-

pusâ\200\231 for thos
violenc

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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

TMstalled as Principal and Vice.

Chancellor of the University of the Transkei on March 4. I want to

quote two eâ\200\230extra(gâ\200\230ts from his ad-

Iress :

â\200\234I 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 valuesâ\200\231 that can be said to be national, no common myths, no common heroes, no war victories to commemorate t, ether and no

Statues or symbols of joint accom- =

plishment. Instead we have the â\200\230memory and scars of the suffering ~ we have inflicted on each other.â\200\235

The campus of UCT is one of the

Places where South Africans must : .

ry to fin'fl a common future to replace our 'fragmented and separated past. e â\200\230

f bR

Some success :

After speaking of some of the

problems of our past-and the ch N

lenges which lie ahead he went on: â\200\234It 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 stu-

dents on these campuses it is also obvious that black students are un-

easy about being swallowed up in

the culture of these universities, They wish to see their own aspirations, needs and values being accommodated

â\200\234Success 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

THE United Demo-
cratic 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 popula-
tion 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 Ii

By MONK NKOMO

black prime minister or
state president. ;We are
not working towards a
black majority govern-
ment,» 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.

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Decade of

Discontent

10th Cala S Tasks Ahead
. efelRI |
â\200\230 â\200\230 By Liloyd Grove

Washington Post Staff Writer

If success spoils TransAfrica, it won't be Randall
Egcbk%moâ\200\230;n's fault. ing the 10th ant;eiversary of tgle
reign policy lobbying group, executive di-

rector sounded more irked than pleased.

â\200\234We are not going to take it anymore!Â® Robinson
vowed'inaspeechSaturdaynUlttosupportersatthe
Washington Hilton, â\200\234itâ\200\235 being the political practice of
taking blacks for granted.

While TransAfrica recently won a stunning victo-
ry i gress on South African sanctions, boasts a,
staff of 15, has raised nearly a million dollars for an en-
dowment and is looking tmits own office building
(forcing even Robinson to â\200\234We are no longer an
organizatiofi~-we are an institutionâ\200\235), there was little
Â«evidence of institutional complacency at the gala din-
ner. It'attracted 1,400, including singer Harry Bela-

' Wittlam Gray

d | (D-Pa.), but some werenâ\200\231t
e s it s
- â\200\234Thig. pation and. tis Rationâ\200\231s . Ro
t;)mhad._â\200\230h stained through and through with rac-
"-â\200\234.H Wi % . -
Gray, chairmari of the House Budget Committee,
seemed to agree:" -

oppose: affirmative action at home,â\200\235
he said in his speech, referring to â\200\234old whatâ\200\231s-his-name
-at 1600 Peansylvania Avenue.â\200\235 Gray noted that 8,000
Â© =~ = See ROBINGON, (9, Col } -

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; allm_eholid&wmdhâ\200\231?besï¬\202. <

. Gray-vowed to push for congressional legislation

mandating total disinvestment in South Africa and : condemned the distribution of American foreign

_ aid, notingâ\200\231 that African nations receive only 96

cents per capita while: \$700 per capita goes to â\200\234another regionâ\200\235â\204çâ\200\224by which everyone understood he sameintâ\200\230 Israel. â\200\234We must end this inequity,â\200\235 Gray

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-

peison term arising from a 1978 conviction for

9 yeax

" a kickback scheme, was a guiding spirit when

Mo.), who recently â\200\234called a meeting of â\200\230the: 'w o Ruhï¬\202 00

â\200\234He invited 75 of â\200\230the blaciesâ\200\231 to-discuss little of nothing it little or no time . . . The Democratic party cannot win a national election without our- support . . . This time, brothers and sisters, we ain't AN QUr for a handshake and a photo opportunity, It is time for the quid pro quo. If they ex-'peamtotaletthemseriously.atlonghtd\ey nuntcu?toundexstaxxddntd\eymntEhu

Robinson pointed out that â\200\234only one: candidate

cameâ\200\235 te TransAfricaâ\200\231s symposiumâ\200\224"the

front-runner, Jesse Jackson!Â® This got lusty ap-

The dinner was emceed by Belafonte, a

rd: member,: who outlined the

groupâ\200\231s agenda: pressing for- global sanctions against South Africa and for moee U.S.

to Africs and the

ad-
He called on the Unit

/ TransAfrica was born out of the Congressional
Before the dinner, Belafonte talked of South Afri-

caâ\200\231s inevitable â\200\234internal collapseâ\200\235 and â\200\234the holocaust
that will come.â\200\235

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t believe that those people are without
some sort of genetic deficiency,â\200\235 he said of the
hard-line Afrikaners. â\200\234They will go to any extreme

is necessary, [think ... It's so totally in-

ined in their way of life, theyâ\200\231re able to do so
without â\200\230any â\200\230concern for the moral implica-

He predicted that the African National Congress
eventually prevail. â\200\234All we can hope is to

jeve the result with the least loss of life possi-

lafonte, who once flirted with the idea of run-
Senate from New York, said he didnâ\200\231t

support Jesse Jackson for presi-

for New York Gov. Mario

took himself out of conter-

that he would have understood

i public desire," Belafonte said of

Cuomo. â\200\234T know he understands the national need.â\200\235
Of Paul Simonâ\200\231s controversial â\200\234Gracelandâ\200\235 album,
he said, .â\200\234L love it.â\200\235 Simon has received much criti-
cism for recording it with black musicians in South
Africaâ\200\224a violation, some have said, of a ban
against performing there. â\200\234I have problems with the

methodology,â\200\235 Belafonte said, â\200\234but [welcome what
he's done.â\200\235

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

â\200\234The clock is ticking for Brother Abrams,â\200\235
Crockett said, referring to Elliott Abrams, assistant
secretary of state for inter-American affairs, whom
many in Congress have been urging to resign. â\200\234I '
call everyone â\200\230Brother,â\200\231 â\200\235 he added. â\200\234He 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.â\200\235

â\200\234[think it would be a mistake,â\200\235 Crockett said
when asked if Lt. Col. Oliver North should be grant-
ed limited immunity. â\200\234I think we got enough on
North to hang him without hearing his testimony.â\200\235

Gray, who supported Jackson for president in
1984, said he is keeping his options open so far. â\200\230I
havenâ\200\231't made a commitment for any candidate this

time,â\200\235 he said. Jackson's front-runner siaius, ne
said, is more a reflection of name recognition than
political supportâ\200\224"l donâ\200\231t pay much attention to
these early pollsâ\200\231â\200\224but added that Jackson has a
chance. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t think any candidate is out of the
race.â\200\235

Pop singer Jeffrey Osborne entertained, diving
into the crowd to make various dignitaries sing
â\200\234Woo-woo-wo00,â\200\235 the refrain of his hit tune â\200\234You
Should Be Mine.â\200\235 Although there was a seat for him
at the head table, one dignitary, Washington Mayor
Marion Barry, didnâ\200\231t show up. â\200\234Probably because
he knew you were going to be here,â\200\235 Robinson |
joked to a reporter. i

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 Free-
dom Award.

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For Sullivan Stand

By BARNABY J. FEDER

The Rev. Leon Sullivanâ\200\231s 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 ministerâ\200\231s 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.

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â\200\234I Would draw the moral line only at selling to prop up police and the South African Government,â\200\235 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

securities be sold to black investors. (L) He said, "I support his call for a total embargo," but he said he 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 11 of our managers, however, is that they want to support Mr. Sullivan, but they have a legal obligation to manage the fund

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.â\200\235

Fund managers and anti-apartheid activists agree that Mr. Sullivanâ\200\231s 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.

â\200\234â\200\234You rarely see socially concerned investors who have started with a full divestiture policy,â\200\235 said Marcy Murningham, the president of the social investment services division of the Boston-based Mitchell Investment Management Company. â\200\230â\200\234The first toe in the water regarding South Africa has been restricting them-

â\200\234There isnâ\200\231t going to be a knee-jerk

reaction.â\200\231

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 donâ\200\231t know what is going to happen.â\200\235

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.

â\200\234â\200\234We continue to believe our plan is a sensible approach,â\200\235 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 â\200\230â\200\234making good progressâ\200\231â\200\231 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.

â\200\234We are mindful of Reverend Sullivan's moral leadership,â\200\235 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."

â\200\230The spirit of

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Uus â\200\224

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 â\200\224
the Azanian Youth
Organisation, the
Azanian National Youth
Unity and the Azanian
Peopleâ\200\231s 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 Peopleâ\200\231s
Convention and the
South African Studentsâ\200\231
Organisation, died in
detention on August 5,
1976.)

He was detained on
July 15, 1976, under the
Terrorism Act â\200\224 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.

lohapi still

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|lives among Â«

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Azapo

A .magistrate who presided at an inquest court hearing into his deash, 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 regarued him as one of the gallant, determined heroes of the black liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation.

â\200\234We 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,â\200\235 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.

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Â® . The: â\200\234â\200\234Comments on
page six of your issue of
September 23, 1987 tends -
to promote the â\200\234statureâ\200\235
of leaders (symbols) of
unlawfuy] Organisations,
whHile the report on Page
15 under the heading
â\200\234UN â\200\230Noâ\200\231 To Move Op
ANCâ\200\235 tends to promote
positive Support for ap
unlawfy] Oorganisation
inter alia the PAC, the
Ministerâ\200\231s notice said.

Â® The rzport under the
heading â\200\234â\200\2344nc Slams
Brutal Punishmeny: Stop

Tyre Deathsâ\200\231â\200\235 in the issue

of September 28, 1987,
tends to legitimise Â»
revolutionary [leader of
the unlawfy] ANCand to
Promote his and s
Organisationâ\200\231s public
image;

Â® The issue of October
19, 1987, under the

Spotlightsâ\200\235 reinforces the.
Promotion of the public
image of ap unlawfyl
Organisation by giving
positive publicity to the
opinion expressed by a
leader of such an
Organisation, to i the
PAC; and in the issue of
October 20, 1987 under
the heading â\200\234Exiled
Leaders Salyze Mache)â\200\235
furthet positive publicity
is given to the leaders of
unlawfy] Organisations
and NO pinions
â\202-Xpressed by ~some of
them.

The matter referredtoâ\200\235
above also tends to
Promote or fan revolu-
tion â\200\230or uprising in the
Republic in 5 subtle way
by mustering support for
unlawfy] revolutionary
organisations, .

Meanwhile -the- presi-
dentâ\200\231 of the United
Democratic Front, Mrs
Albertina Sisulu, sajq
that the Governmentâ\200\231s

crackdown against the
Sowetan showed that it
was frightened and did
not want people to know
the truth, :

â\200\234We condemn the
action of the Govern-
ment against the media.â\200\235

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- The Star Bureau
LWDON_Q v, .:.;â\200\234l?lle continued im-
- Prisonment of Nelson Mandela
~ is the biggest obstacle in the
â\200\234Path to peaceful negotiation in

th Africa, The Times argues
today.

~ â\200\234The man who holds South
] Africa-hostage today begins his
. 26th year behind bars.â\200\235 Nelson
Mandela, the newspaper says,
- has become â\200\234an iconâ\200\235 in the
struggle for freedom and

â\202¬quality in South Africa,
â\200\234He has served his -organisa-
tion possib .
ter than if he had been left to
the constraints of liberty.

Mandela the â\200\230myth has been
far more valuable than the

man to the ANC in Promoting
- its claim to be the sole legiti-
- mate representative of black
opinion in South Africaâ\200\235,

â\200\234So potent has his image
been even black organisations

which vigorously dispute the
claim are compelled to call for

of Mandela,
â\200\224 Times

ly a great deal bet-

â\200\230Botha is

. G o
prisÃ©tier -

' "It is here that Mr Mandela
holds the President of South
Africa captive. '
" â\200\234Now that the state of emer-

gency has restored some kind

~ of order to the black townships,
â\200\230this, would surely be the best
â\200\230time 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.

â\200\234More important, it would
deprive the ANC of its most
Potent publicity weapon, re-
duce it to its true level as just

i countryâ\200\231s future. It_â\200\230\vmuld also

ook beyond its bankrupt strat.
. â\202~gy of violence (and) think

' the captive of his own tendency

_Peace and stability ., ,

is and Mr BothavwilllfremalajolÂ« :
_ the hook of his own baiting.â\200\235 |

â\200\230Prisoner of Po)

; :
one of the partners in a new
South African dispensation and
Dot the sole custodian of the

compel that .. to

seriously about a constructive
agenda for change,

â\200\234But Mr Botha is not only Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s prisoner. He is also

to paint the ANC in lurid co-
lours as the sole threat to

â\200\234Mr Bothaâ\200\231s dilemma is so
obvious that the ANC can ef-
fectively forestall-"any attempt |
to resolve it by exploding a
bomb in downtown Johannes-
burg, thus ensuring that Mr
Mandela will remain where he

_Mr Botha â\200\234will have â\200\230to free |
himself from that self-made
trap before he can liberate his
country from the shadow of the
lismoorâ\200\235.

his release

P -