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A demonstrator tapes protest signs to Ceolumbiaâ\200\231s Hamittor Hall, which stucent prot  
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Newsday 'â\200\231 David L. Poicriss

## Columbia Chief Chides Protesters

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New York — The president of Columbia University, Michael Sovern, said yesterday that protesting students who want the university to divest itself of holdings in corporations that do business in South Africa are actually impeding the cause of racial equality.

At this point, the offenders are hurting not only Columbia but the struggle against apartheid itself, Sovern said in his statement yesterday afternoon. The disrupters have unfairly made it seem to many that we support a racist regime. The disrupters have blockaded the entrance to Hamilton Hall solely to force us to shun companies that you do business with every day.

But Bishop Desmond Tutu, in a telephone interview from South Africa, said he is sympathetic with the students, although he understands the university's stand. Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, spoke amid rumors that he might return his honorary degree from Columbia.

Tutu said he could not speak firmly in support of the anti-apartheid protest because he lives in South Africa where he could be criminally prosecuted for such a statement, but he said he would consider returning his honorary degree if the conflict heightens.

Obviously, if the situation were to become worse, it would be something one would consider, Tutu said. However, he also said that he has high respect for President Sovern.

In a later radio interview, Tutu said of the demonstrators: "I salute them for their commitment, and wish to

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thank them on behalf of the victims of apartheid . . . I want to say how warm it is to know that their commitment was such that they were willing, some of them, to fast.

Tutu and Gow, Mario Cuomo will receive honorary degrees at the University of Rochester tomorrow.

On May 12, the university said yesterday. The

bishop will be given an honorary doctor of divinity degree and the governor an honorary law degree.]

Columbia has about \$3.2 billion in investments in such companies as the Coca-Cola Co., Ford Motor Co., American Express Co. and General Motors Corp. —

A spokesman for Sovern said that the university still refuses to divest itself of its holdings and that he could not comment on whether the university had a moral responsibility to end apartheid.

The students continue to block the entrance to Hamilton Hall and have set up sleeping and eating accommodations in the adjacent Hartley Hall. Yesterday about 50 students at the University of California at Berkeley joined the Columbia students in their battle against apartheid.

Scvern recalled that Columbia was the first university to refuse to deal with banks that lend to South Africa and he said the university will not hold stock in companies that do not have equal opportunity employment programs. He said that students who continue to blockade Hamilton Hall may expect disciplinary actions by the university.

Financial Times Friday April 12 1985

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POLITICS TODAY FROM JOHANNESBURG

V)

HE other day in Johannesburg  
was a group of us who took out  
newspapers and papers and decided  
to write down the pluses and  
minuses of South Africa, and  
then compare notes. Here are  
some of the results.  
Clearly the largest category  
came out to be neither posi-  
tive nor negative. We named it  
indeterminate. It covers  
much which is objectively  
true, but the consequences of  
which are as yet unclear:  
namely, the fragmented oppo-  
sition in South Africa could be  
plus or 2 minus. It could be  
plus from the governments  
point of view in that it might  
facilitate a policy of divide and  
rule. It could be a minus from  
the point of view of South  
Africa as a whole, and even  
namely that of a reforming  
government, in that it might  
prevent talks from taking place  
towards a more equitable distribu-  
tion of power, social services and  
social justice, all of which is  
needed if the country is to  
develop its full potential.  
The indeterminates will de-  
pend on a list. First the pluses.  
The biggest: single plus is  
South Africa's mineral wealth.  
- has too many precious com-  
modities for the world to be  
able to afford to cut off the  
public entirely. They include  
oil which, like the price rises.  
could help ease the country's  
present very deep recession.  
South Africa also has the  
ability to feed itself, though it  
suffers from a water problem.  
Although bail out of Southern Africa  
seems so little realistic that  
it is either certain or semi-  
certain. Still, this could be  
proved with new technologises  
in the meat industry, South  
Africa is not going to starve.  
The existing level of develop-  
ment is high, uneven: a  
product of the first and third  
worlds living side by side in  
the country. The infrastructure  
generally good. There is &

-gree of technical expertise  
't usually found in developing  
countries.

As Dr CerharÃ©d de Kock, the  
governor of the Reserve Bank,  
is it: â\200\234South Africa is just  
â\200\230ge enough and developed  
ough economically to be able  
keep so.â\200\235

A more dubious plus consists  
the South African Defence  
forces: dubious because they  
& 3 heavy drain on resources,  
it certainly the country is  
strong enough militarily to  
resist and see off any regional  
threat.

Now for the minuses. South  
Africa is sui generis. No other  
country in the world has to deal  
with quite the same problems.  
Petty apartheid may be almost  
dead, Grand apartheid remains  
as a central adjective of govern-  
ment: policy and has the support  
of a huge majority of the white  
population, some of which are  
not taken 'too kindly to the himi-  
tied reformer 30 far,

Economic policy in South  
Africa is expensive. It is â\200\234xpen-  
sive. Bediuse practically the econ-  
omic policy in South Africa is  
an extension of political poli-  
cies. The present government  
claims to be embracing market  
forces. In fact it is trying to  
do two things at once: to inte-  
grate the country economically  
while keeping it socially sepa-  
rate. There is a price. It means  
that you have to pump money  
into the black economy while  
still seeking to satisfy the  
whites,

Every new economic depart-  
ment, such as the plan to  
centralise industry, is based  
on the search for an economic  
justification for a political  
theory: namely that the ethnic  
COMMUNICATIONS must be kept  
apart. Thus, the Government is  
involved in trying to run two  
economies simultaneously-â\200\224â\200\224one  
for the blacks and one for the  
whites--with all the duplication  
of services, however unequal,  
that goes with it. It is very  
doubtful whether even South  
Africa has the resources to sus-  
tain that sort of dual system!

minerals and agriculture  
aside, the Republic is failing to  
\*keep pace with development

courtries in other ceatige.ts.  
Laoour costs are high !'1\_ 1692,  
T odlack texti! e â\200\234'â\200\235i~\201â\200\230;â\200\231ji~\201l}

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Wm"i~\201 peea it  
TEIY PievIoUL.Y. tne Jonantes-  
burg wage was well bairw  
the whole lot â\200\230of tham. Mr  
Barend du Plessis. the Finaace  
Airister, says that South Africa  
nas to learn to compete inter  
aationally. It has 2 long way to  
7v, not least bacause too much  
activity has orer concentrited  
cn satistying tae home market,  
Currentlâ\200\235 industry sesms more  
laterested in capitai rather than

labour intenmsive lavestmeat

Both ecoromicalty and  
poiitieally, the country is ridcen  
with durszaucracy, A law in  
Squth Africa is very rarely  
aboiished. Instead it !5 amended  
or added to: see, for instance,  
tht frequent amendments

By Malcolm Rut

herford

Bishop Tutu (lef:)

laws  
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beid e  
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ne Rguxgl';g ICoK  
BTN

ult â\200\234is tha{ there is  
lare.e greups of bareiucrass who  
do not know which law to  
enforce and when, T yrrem  
thus bocomes sssernt Â¥ roe-  
tracy, and sometimas Corrupti.

Qa2 of the wmost importan:  
sideeTecis is cr. (he police, The  
Souh African Govarnment is  
aopalled by the recen shoot.ngs  
at Uitenage, bur it is energing  
frowm the official inquiry under  
Mr Justice Kagnemaver tha?t

nobody's quite sure under  
which rules and regulations the  
police are working, or from  
what motives,

Between 1918-1981, some 14m  
Africans were arrested for coa-  
u-venmq pass law regulations.  
In 1983 282904 Africans were  
prosecuted for related offences,

and Chief Bhebe]

of who 140067 were convicted.  
The system, it must be added,  
does not only affect those blacks  
who are acting illegally under  
South African law. It affects  
all blacks, since all of them are  
liable to be stopped for check-  
ing.

It also degrades the police,  
for they  
enforcers of political policiesâ\200\224che  
2volution of which is unclear  
even 10 the governmentâ\200\224ritae  
than the protectors of society.  
The role of the police, one  
suspects, is at the heart of  
South Africaâ\200\231s problems. But  
with it goes the question of  
what the authorities want the  
law to do.,

There is still more potential  
minus. Maybe the attempts at  
reform have come too late for  
enough people to take the  
government seriously and be  
ready to enter talks on a new

have become the en-

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deal.  
takers say far â\200\230over President  
Botha's order of an 2ra of nege-  
tiation.

If that state of play con-  
tinues, there are three not  
wholly  
ties:  
â\200 South Africa continues 3  
stirring, new 2nd civil war, nor  
civil peace. Just with the lid  
generally kept on.

& Eventually unrest, rather  
than uneasy truce, becomes the  
dominant factor, thus further

ciigpiing 2ay hopes of econcmic  
dev=iopment and negatiated  
reform.

â\202¬ The Govenment goes ahead  
with rform umiat2 ally in the  
atsencs Â¢! negorianing Jaruiers.

It could, for exainpre. abelisl, or

aayw~ay drasicaily â\200\234eCucs, the  
rostrictions 04 frsedoa of move-  
mreat by the blacks.

It is here that we come to the  
â\200\234indeterminatesâ\200\235 in the game  
of consequernics.

Not the least vnkcwa factor  
is what :he predominantiy  
Afrikaner Covernment and its  
sunporters male of their ovr  
hutnry. It is possible thatr taey  
ce? it as a tr'umph over not  
Â¢nly English coonmalism, but  
al=0 over the blacks.  
could te marz magnznimous.  
Tuay could think that tha blacks  
are now held down as the

Airikanty once were aad 2o  
{or greaer eaulity. [ suw more  
of  
apprvach, especially amoag top

evidence of tha: kind

Afrikaner civil  
ministers, than I

servants and  
had exspectad.

though seasned ooservers warn

of a waute backlash.

Likewise unkaown is whnat the  
counuy is to 4o about (is huge.  
but larzely unskilled. potantiat  
labour foree. Are the unem-  
plored blacks gouing to puil ihe  
couatry dowa or can thay be  
trainea to pull it up? The  
answer to the question must be  
as much polivcal a3 lz is  
economic, 7r it is the growth of  
the black ;npul\_-non vha( has  
crn'ed the countryâ\200\231s main prob-

km. The blacks ari¬\202 politically  
A v heut rigaâ\200\231s, but South Africa  
4canrot much develop economic-  
ally witheut them.

The coaszquences of the rela.  
tive {ailure of much of the rest  
of Af=ica are again ac unknown  
qu:ntity. Souih Africa, black



and white, follows sweats  
beyond its borders very closely.  
The Government thinks that the  
long honeymoon of African  
independence is over, and that  
a new realism is beginning. But  
there is also a sneaking thought  
that if black Africa continues  
to devolve, South Africa will too

There have been few down with it.

divided opposition.  
to  
are aimed on what to do about  
apar

Yes they

You cannot see

a comment from one 2nd oxley  
Educated blacks  
what to make of recent agree-  
ments between South Africa:  
and Mozambique: acceptance of  
incompatible possibilities - it is or a pause for thought

are unseen

lot back with  
It is a fact

19 suppose that all black

comes

. But it may arise from  
a fiction for the Government to  
think that it can find black  
leaders to talk to. Chit  
Buthelezi in KwaZulu, on the  
far Homelands that refused to  
take independence because  
did not wish to be deprived of  
South African citizenship  
remains implacably opposed  
violence and is perhaps the  
most impressive of the lot.  
in

it is  
Urerm2nl; (27ms  
200\224-200\230""- ' fich Ar cF.buho  
Tuty, have become caught up in  
much wider movements like the  
United Democratic Front which  
could scarcely produce a  
greed agenda for negotiation:  
In any case, the opposition  
groups spend much of the  
time attacking each other, from  
the Government's standpoint  
it seems unlikely that it will  
ever find a credible negoti-  
ation partner so long as black officials  
in the townships are asked to  
implement discriminatory poli-  
cies. Much black energy now

days is devoted to intimidating  
those people. As Chief Buthe  
has noted, one of its most serious  
developments is the way black  
has turnedâ\200\224or been turned-

against black.

A final indeterminate put by  
senior Ministers, is that South  
Africa does have a false-vac-  
position. The country could  
retreat into Fortress South  
Africa, economically more of a  
less self-sufficient and fight  
out its problems.â\200\234 African  
style.â\204 But it is not yet what  
the government wants to do.

That is one conclusion though  
Those who look outwards are

The other is that  
4 of South Africa  
ism. black and white:  
anyone wants to give up

on the country. Other Africans

said one Minister, are ' seen  
swimming our crocodiles

in rivers in order to 3 of  
into apartheid South  
Africa.â\200\235 It is not yet a burning  
out case.

\* Participants, who may not  
necessarily agree with the con-  
clusions, included Anthon  
Rodinson, the FT South Africa  
correspondent, and Michael  
Holman, the FT Africa Editor

(path African Blacks Have Started to Rise Up  
el |

B ? Bcv ars Naude

The 2ra of prucest polidics has bemn  
set aside â\200\230n South Africa, replaced by  
the first phase of & ciilitant revolu-  
tionary sra. Asone youth l2ader put it  
iast year: â\200\230e are now at war.â\200\235

The 25 yea s since the massacre in  
Sharpeville have Srought increasing  
polarization to our polutics. The ruing  
Nationclist Party points to the new  
Consttition and other legislative ro-  
form as proof of real change Most  
black leade:s disagres and maunan  
that, taking ever/thing wto account,  
the position of blacks has subsran-  
tially worsensd in the last 25 years.

in the meantime, indisputably,  
black opinion on political issues has  
become much becer informec, sup-  
port for resistance has >ecome mora  
#idespread both in urban ang rual  
areas, black awitules have becime  
muca n'ore muitant and black ac.  
tions are much betier crgarized. In  
teaction, white political leeiirgs. in  
both the Africaars and English-  
speaking communities, have snited  
noticeatly tc the right. This has been  
going on â\200\230or some time, as demoa-  
strated by the grow:h of the Conser-  
vative Party, bat the recent unrsst in

â\200\234What  
America  
should  
do

the olack townships is creatng a  
sharp new sense of insecurity and  
fear.  
All indications are thac 1985 woli see  
an e<acerbaticn of the hardstups en-  
dured by the majority of South Af-  
ricans. [t wlll also sur=ly bring an ex-  
tension of the struggles waged in (984,

The recession is deepening, with companies going bankrupt daily and thousands of people being thrown out of work. Wages are not keeping up with rising prices. Meanwhile, the government cuts spending on education, conditions in schools are not safe. As bosses try to hold down wages and push up productivity, production in the factories will grow. And, as local authorities persist in calling on the police and the military, our communities will surely remain a battleground.

It is clear to me that this year will bring more polarization between the white ruling classes and the majority of the people more clashes between the police and striking students and workers, more injuries and deaths. It does not require the insight of a prophet to predict that, unless the Government initiates clear and fundamental change, the unrest throughout the country will increase to the point where violence becomes endemic and eventually uncontrollable.

For too long, the black community

Beverly Naude is a minister of the

Dutch Reformed Church and secretary

general of the South African

Council of Churches. This article is

adapted from a longer essay (1981) the

May/June issue of African Report magazine.

Dand Cea

has suffered under political oppression. economic exploitation, educational neglect and denigrating white

institutions. For too long, the authorities (and those who put them in power) have ignored the suffering of millions of young people. For too long, people have been detained, tortured, banned and imprisoned without adequate cause. And for too long, the regime has succeeded in causing, manipulating, bribing and assuring blacks and others to collaborate in the apartheid system in the hope that they will be incorporated in the system.

Now the moment has arrived when the people, after decades and decades

of silent suffering, have started to  
rise up - burning Government prop-  
erty, bombing the homes and busi-  
nesses of black officials and other  
stockholders, killing black police officers  
Many of us who oppose the regime  
have foreseen these developments '90  
years - and we believe that all of  
could have been prevented if influ-  
ences had been heard and heeded. But  
now that this situation has become a  
titter reality, what awaits us?

Such Africans, too black and  
white, will now have to agonize on  
how to resolve the crisis. In a seri-  
ous coalition with the mos-  
powerful and affluent country in  
world to reconsider its responsibil-  
ity toward South Africa. The U

% thing about fundamental change  
by peaceful means or, where secular  
change is no longer possible, with a  
militant force. America's  
silence is so great that they can't support  
these efforts in their own country and by  
churches, academic institutions and  
other organizations to pressure their  
Government: I change its disastrous  
policy toward South Africa.

Fourth, the United States should  
terminate the policy of \*constrictive  
engagement and (initiate more  
meaningful pressure to hasten fun-  
damental, nonviolent change. The  
whole disinvestment debate could  
soon become irrelevant if the current  
unrest in South Africa continues un-  
abated for before long it will have  
created such an unstable environ-  
ment that overseas investors will  
be frightened to do business here. Be-  
fore long, they will decide of their own  
free will not to support any further in-  
vestment. They will conclude that the  
risk is too great and will initiate steps  
toward disinvestment,

Fifth, Washington should encour-  
age Pretoria to ease up. I am con-  
vinced that no return to stability is  
possible here as long as the black  
leader Nelson Mandela and other  
political prisoners remain in prison.  
Americans must understand this, and  
they should demand the unconditional  
release of all political prisoners, the re-  
lease of all exiles to return, the re-  
lease of all detainees, the unbanning

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Protast  
politics are  
set aside

of the banned and the barushed. They should also encourage Pretoria to grant all South African people the freedom to elect their own leaders to initiate a process of negotiated change.

Sixth, the United States must make it clear that it does not want to see things get worse. The situation in South Africa may eventually become ungovernable that the authorities would be forced to declare a state of emergency and thus could very easily lead to military rule of some kind. Such a development would have disastrous consequences for the cause of justice and peace in South Africa, fanning the flames of violent revolution and eventually leading the country into civil war. If the United States is sincere in its coercion to prevent further violence, it should take effective steps now to prevent the establishment of military rule, such as all its serious consequences not only for black and white South Africans, but

also for the rest of southern Africa. Finally, the American Government and people MUST resist the DUBOWSKI policy toward Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and the policy threatening frustrating the process toward

s - 13

for Marxist tendencies and fears to the American support. But the danger both to the United States and to Africa is that the situation at black South Africans is so bad that it will inevitably involve the United States in a policy of free enterprise and some form of socialism that is a painful transition toward majority rule will be.

Elaborate: The 407G

2 also

Do not forget the American cars system

system is discredited hope of a new period of bloodshed and hastening the transition to democratic rule.

3 The T URS The Alcas-American initiative.

States must help us to minimize the

emerging violence and maximize the  
chances of peaceful change.

- To begin with, it must recognize  
that its lack of meaning points for  
the South Africa by unity  
and its struggle for liberation has  
created feelings of deep anger and  
animosity not only toward Westing-  
house's policy of constructive  
engagement, but also toward many  
American institutions and motives  
in South Africa. A word of warning  
must be sounded to the  
American Government and people:  
Do not be surprised if the anger of  
black South Africans eventually turns  
to hatred or rejection of American  
presence in Africa. Take cognizance  
now of these feelings of anger and  
hostility and consider active steps to  
create a better attitude.

Second, Americans must disavow  
themselves of the notion that  
the root cause of the unrest in our  
country is a Communist onslaught

created and manipulated by Moscow,  
Please recognize that the policy of  
apartheid is the real threat to peace

and stability in my country and all  
of southern Africa

Third, Americans should give more  
serious attention and weight to the  
pleas of the churches and other or-  
ganizations in South Africa known for  
their opposition to apartheid. Please  
listen to these groups, which are  
trying to prevent the strengthening of their power

\* Pk