

THE FORUM

letters to the editor

Appalling bias in news reports

MERCURY
5 MARCH 1986

SIR — For over two years now I have been living in West Germany. Being in the British sector I have access to both German and British newscasts, and am appalled by the bias and one-sidedness reflected by the vast majority of all reports on the South African situation.

When will South Africa learn that 90 percent of its problems overseas are caused by a handful of journalists who are quite openly trying to swing world opinion in the direction they desire?

By selective reporting, over-dramatisation, deliberate distortion of the true facts and by liberal addition of their own personal views and opinions these people succeed in creating a picture of South Africa that makes one gasp.

When will the South African authorities learn that the picture the world sees of the armed forces is of the utmost importance? The restraint shown by policemen and women during the recent much-publicised and televised arrest of Winnie Mandela was a positive and commendable step in the right direction.

However, the trooper who levelled his rifle at the group of political priests

outside Alexandra township will probably never realise what irreparable harm he has caused his own country.

Obviously Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak loved this — it was exactly what they wanted the world to see. Obviously the ever-present foreign TV crews loved this — they knew this was exactly what the world wanted to see in order to confirm their already warped ideas about South Africa.

Needless to say that scene was flashed around the world to eager viewers.

Where was the commanding officer, and why was he not present?

When will South Africa learn that it is time to start manipulating the all-powerful world media to try to improve this rotten image?

Hopefully before it is too late ...

J A GERBER

Braunschweig
W Germany

Botha Plans to Lift State of Emergency

Deal on Namibia Offered to Angola

3/5/86

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, March 4—In a surprise double announcement today, President Pieter W. Botha said his government would lift South Africa's seven-month-old state of emergency soon, probably Friday, and is ready to start implementing a United Nations-endorsed formula for Namibian independence on Aug. 1.

Botha indicated, however, that South Africa's already comprehensive security laws would be strengthened further to enable police to contain continuing racial unrest and that the Namibian commitment remains conditional on reaching agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

One immediate effect of the lifting of the emergency will be to end restrictions on media coverage of

unrest in the designated emergency areas.

Botha's statement was warmly welcomed by the United States and by business and white opposition sources in South Africa, but black political spokesmen were skeptical about whether it indicated much of an advance.

Botha made his statement in the Cape Town Parliament shortly after a bomb explosion ripped through part of the police headquarters building in downtown Johannesburg, wounding two policemen. The building is the nerve center of the South African security police, and the explosion was the most daring attack yet by insurgents fighting to overthrow white-minority rule.

Coming after the biggest clash so far between black insurgents and the police in Cape Town yesterday, in which seven guerrillas were shot

See SOUTH AFRICA, A24, Col. 1

Botha Plans to Lift State of Emergency

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

dead, and an explosion at an electricity substation that plunged parts of Durban and Pietermaritzburg into darkness early this morning, the attack stood in contrast to Botha's claim that racial violence is subsiding.

Daily police unrest reports show there have been 19 violent incidents in black townships since Sunday night, claiming four more lives. The respected Institute of Race Relations is still placing the death toll at an average of 2.3 a day, higher than when Botha declared the state of emergency in 36 towns and cities last July 21.

Against this backdrop, Botha's lifting of the emergency in the remaining 30 areas where it still applies seems more a response to growing domestic and international pressure to end it than an indication of diminishing violence.

Business leaders, who have been in the forefront of the pressure for the emergency to be lifted, welcomed the announcement. John Wilson, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said he hoped it would reduce tensions in the black townships and "help normalize South Africa's international relations and boost foreign confidence in the country as a sound investment area."

Black political spokesmen were more skeptical. The United Democratic Front, the main alliance of black activist organizations with a following of more than 3 million, said Botha's announcement amounts to "an acknowledgement that the emergency has failed to suppress the desire of our people to be free."

But the Rev Allan Boesak, a patron of the United Front and a leading anti-apartheid campaigner, said he was "happy to see that the government is at last prepared to respond to at least one of our demands."

when Angola, which gives sanctuary to guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization, the Namibian liberation movement, sought Cuban troop protection from South African incursions and the ravages of Jonas Savimbi's pro-western rebels. Pretoria, with the backing of the Reagan administration, began insisting that the Cubans would have to leave before Namibia could become independent.

By 1983 South Africa was stating that this controversial "linkage" was all that stood in the way of implementing Resolution 435.

U.S. officials have continued negotiating on the issue, and at a meeting with South Africa on the Cape Verde Islands in October 1984 Angola agreed in principle to reduce the number of Cubans—estimated to number 25,000 to 30,000—over three years.

South Africa is believed to have insisted on a faster withdrawal, to ensure that there are no Cubans left in Angola after its own troops have been phased out of Namibia under terms of Resolution 435.

"Despite progress which has been made in bilateral discussions since October 1984 . . . the Angolan government has yet to agree to a satisfactory timetable for Cuban withdrawal," Botha said in his statement today.

Foreign Minister R. F. (Pik) Botha told a news conference in Cape Town that today's initiative amounted to an open invitation to Angola to "get talking" on the long-deadlocked issue.

"I really hope there will be progress to report by that [Aug. 1] date, because if not South Africa will have to review its situation anew," the foreign minister said.

[State Department officials in

Washington said that in recent contacts with the United States, Angola had made clear it wanted a signal that South Africa is sincere about its willingness to move forward on Namibian independence. The officials said it was too early to tell whether Tuesday's announcement was intended as such a signal. South African Ambassador J.H. Beukes underscored Pretoria's intent, saying, "We have removed a possible doubt as to South Africa meaning business."]

Some observers see Botha's statement as part of a stick-and-carrots operation by the United States and South Africa, aimed at persuading Luanda to accept a package that includes inviting Savimbi to join a "government national unity," getting rid of Cubans who are ostensibly there to protect it from Savimbi, and allowing Namibia to become independent.

According to this analysis, stick comes in the Reagan administration's decision last month to give military aid to Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and the carrot now in Botha's offer of a quick independence for Namibia if Angola will come up with an acceptable timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

The snag lies in the MPLA's tense hostility to Savimbi. Reporters visiting Luanda have been repeatedly told that a coalition with is out of the question.

If Luanda remains adamant in its refusal to deal with Savimbi, such a U.S.-South African strategy could backfire, with U.S. aid to Savimbi deepening Luanda's dependence on the Cubans and entrenching the deadlock over Namibian independence.

The restrictions on media coverage, which came into force Nov. 2, severely curtailed television coverage of the unrest in particular. They banned all camera and radio crews from the emergency areas and required print reporters to get special permission to enter such an area.

The permission was seldom granted and numbers of reporters were arrested for trying to get within sight of the unrest.

Western diplomats said Botha's statement on Namibia appeared intended to create a sense of urgency. "There is no package deal, but this will open the door to a period of intensified negotiations," one western diplomat remarked.

South Africa, which has controlled the former German colony of Namibia since World War I, agreed eight years ago to a procedure for granting the territory its independence that was set out in Security Council Resolution 435.

The issue became complicated

INTERVIEW



**We want to free ourselves. . . . I would like
[the] American people to join [us]. . . . I'm
not a member of the African National
Congress, but I feel as they do — the black
man in Africa will be free one day!**

— Makaziwe Phumla Mandela

Nelson Mandela's quest for rights: a daughter's view

By Luix Overbea

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

2/5/86

Boston

Nelson Mandela is a world hero, an African messiah, and "my loving father" to Makaziwe Phumla Mandela, his oldest daughter.

To the white leaders of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela is a rebel, president of the banned African National Congress, a black African dissident who has been confined to prison for 21 years on charges of treason.

Miss Mandela does not recall having a father-daughter talk with him until she was 16 years old, and he was in jail. She was only nine when he was imprisoned in 1964, and before that she saw him only briefly, because he was always a fugitive on the run. She is Mandela's oldest daughter by his first wife, Evelyn. She rarely sees her father personally, but they are close because they write each other regularly.

Her father is the one black who can end the racial strife that besets the white-controlled government of South Africa, she says.

She points to the United States as a modern example of how a nation can end a system of harsh racial segregation — which is called apartheid in South Africa — and create an atmosphere for racial harmony.

Carefully selecting her words, she refuses to discuss specific American policies toward South Africa. "Your government seems to listen to black people," she says.

"You seem to settle your problems peacefully. The South African government decides to delay action. Reaction is not so peaceful."

She advises American people to divest their investments in South Africa. "Sanctions are effective," Miss Mandela says. "We want to free ourselves. Divestiture

Photo: **MANDELA** page 6

helps. I would like to see American capitalists, American churches, American people join in this movement.

"I'm not a member of the African National Congress, but I feel as they do — the black man in Africa will be free one day!"

Makaziwe Mandela speaks in hopeful words about her native South Africa. "I know that America has survived the crisis of racial strife," she said in an interview.

"What I see here gives me hope that I'll see the same in South Africa, too.

"In the United States I see whites; I see blacks. They work together on jobs. They learn together in school. They eat to-

gether in public dining places. They walk the streets, and nobody steps aside for another because of race," says Miss Mandela, who is in the US as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

Her father will accept freedom from his life sentence only if his release is unconditional, Miss Mandela says. Describing her father as stately, tall, and strong, she whispers:

"He spreads an aura. . . . People believe in my father so much that they have made him a semi-god, a special being. He has not lost his spirit, although his family home is raided, and my stepmother [second wife, Winnie] lives under pressure."

Miss Mandela sees her father as a Christian parent. "My father is a Christian," she says. "He encouraged me to go

back to school. He told me I can't help our people unless I'm educated." She holds degrees from two colleges in South Africa.

"He's our leader until he dies," she says of her father's determination to accept release only on his terms. "He is not a violent man, but he will fight on. He believes in peaceful change, but his attempts to negotiate have been turned down. He will never give up. He is a black man committed to lead the black cause. This is an opportunity other people do not have."

Miss Mandela says she believes the South African government wants to set her father free but has not been willing to meet his conditions.

His terms for freedom, she says, are release to his family home in Soweto and unrestricted movement throughout the nation. The government proposes that he renounce violence and return to his native Transkei, a designated black homeland headed by his nephew, Kaiser Mantanzima. Transkei is the birthplace of the Mandela family, but Nelson's family home is in Soweto where his second wife, Winnie, lives.

Miss Mandela does not identify herself as a political person or as an activist. When she returns to her homeland, she says, her mission will be to work in black communities with people, help African women upgrade their status, and serve her family.

She has a husband, Isaac Amuah, also enrolled in college in the US, and three children, ages 11, 9, and 20 months. They are adjusting to life American style, she says, while she majors in women's studies and sociology.

"I don't like the kind of attention I get," Miss Mandela says of her first six months in the United States. "It's too much! When I came here, I had an image, an impression of this country — the peo-

ple are rich. It's a democratic country. Being here, however, I see some people are poor."

Returning home will not be difficult, she says. "I've never been detained by the South African government. . . . When I applied for a passport, it took a year to process, but I really had no problems. . . .

"My duty after college will not be in politics. It will be to help people," she says.

"I perceive a need to raise the level of African women. In my country women are inferior by law. The African National Congress, however, has set a pattern of giving women leadership roles from the outset."

During the past year Miss Mandela worked among her own people in her homeland. "This work pricked my conscience," she says.

"I saw poverty and starvation in a land where people had little education, no jobs. People were apathetic waiting for a white man to offer them jobs.

"When men leave the area for a job, African women are responsible for the family. They are noble and highly respected in spite of their legal stand-

ing. I don't have to be political to help them. I know when I return home, I can help African women know that they can learn and become educated. I know African men will have to appreciate what women can do to help us all achieve freedom."

The last time Miss Mandela saw her father was July 7, 1985. This visit was not like the first time she saw him in prison.

"Our first meeting was difficult with him behind bars," she says. "We were not separated by bars last July. We talked, but not about politics. That's forbidden. When our 45 minutes were up, we hugged each other. He left me with his usual farewell, 'Come back and see me again, darling.'"

COVER STORY

Apartheid critics urge firms to act

Continued from 1B

under increasing criticism in Johannesburg for lack of progress on the basic issue — ending apartheid.

Many in the Sullivan community favor a change to more direct tactics, both to accelerate apartheid's end and to blunt the disinvestment movement back home, which has increasingly disregarded whether companies subscribe to the principles or not.

"We need more effective national programs, both for social justice here and for the audience abroad," said R.V. "Roly" Clark, former IBM manager of corporate responsibility programs.

Sullivan companies pledge themselves to integrated workplaces, equal pay and training programs and management opportunities for black, mixed race and Asian workers.

Moreover, a percentage of payroll must be used to develop better schooling, health, housing and recreation.

Since 1977, Sullivan signers have poured 150 million South African rands into these programs, said Clark, who retired from IBM last month after working with Sullivan's plan since its beginnings. A rand, worth more than a dollar a few years ago, now is worth about 50 cents.

"That may not sound like much in American terms," Clark said of the expenditures, "but down here, related to social programs, it's a hell of a lot of money."

Sullivan companies spend, on average, 0.4% of payroll on social programs for non-whites, according to Crawford. "The top Sullivan companies spend anywhere from 2.5% to 10%," he said.

IBM's effort appears to be one of the largest: It has half the 44th floor of the Carlton Center in Johannesburg for 16 employees who work full-time on the company's South Africa Projects Fund, which keeps an eye on IBM's social projects in the country.

Many South African employers think the Sullivan influence goes far beyond the 63,000 employed by signatories. "They have affected the hopes and aspirations of hundreds of thousands of people," said Tony Bloom, chairman and CEO of the \$1.16 billion Premier Group of 600 companies employing 33,000 here.

"The U.S. is the leader in uplifting — the others tend to follow," said Brian Matthew of the Midland Chamber of Industries in Cape Province. "Sullivan is one of the straws on the camel's back."

Yet, others believe strongly that, despite good intentions, the Sullivan effort has played into apartheid's hands.

Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu said in an interview for USA TODAY that the Sullivan code is given "far more credibility than it deserves."

"Let's not be churlish," Tutu said. "Some of the signatories have brought about changes. People are able to own quite nice houses, nice cars. Those are improvements that no one would pooh-poo. But they are improvements. And we don't want apartheid improved. We want it removed."

Sullivan is pushing USA companies to go further. Last year he called for firms to continue social-betterment policies while working actively against apartheid.

On top of that, Sullivan set a May 1987 deadline for an end to laws which implement apartheid. Otherwise, he'll move for a pull-out of USA firms.

Sullivan is a worldwide presence in the South Africa debate. He meets Monday in England with chiefs of USA and British multinationals and South African businessmen at a meeting chaired by former British Prime Minister Edward Heath.

Sullivan, 63 and a General Motors director for more than a decade, is losing patience with South Africa's government.

"I know I'm caught between a rock and a hard place," said Sullivan in a 1985 interview. "But I'm trying to move the rock. It's possible to do, I think, without the total destruction of a nation."

Already in 1986, the Sullivan companies' strategy shows signs of becoming more direct.

On Feb. 19, General Motors' managing director in South Africa, Bob White, offered to pay legal fees for any employee jailed while integrating all-white beaches in Port Elizabeth, where 3,459 GM employees build cars and locomotives.

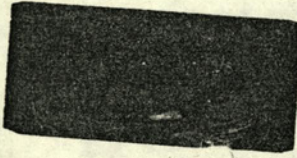
GM's move caused a local furor and attracted nationwide attention. The Port Elizabeth City Council has backed off on orders to arrest non-white beach integrators. And Monday, parliament member Louis Stofberg, of the right-wing Herstigte National Party, called for a white boycott of GM vehicles.

Several firms are seeking more local input into further decisions for action.

"One of the weaknesses, and it's a serious weakness," says Clark, who is a South African citizen, "is that Sullivan hasn't involved the blacks in the process of change. "And we've always tried to get on with things without saying too much. But we've got to have a much higher profile now, especially with the black community."

Arthur Tregenza of Detroit, GM's personnel director here, is one of only four USA citizens in the Port Elizabeth units. He feels the Sullivan effort would profit from pooling for a big national effort.

"The real impact, real meaning, real projects that are going to push the government are going to have to be done jointly. Maybe a multiracial school or college, maybe creating a business area where we give on-site help to non-white businessmen. Whatever it is, we should ask what the people affected want us to do."



COVER STORY

Codes to end apartheid at crossroads

Program still hasn't cracked foundation of S. Africa's racial policy

By John Omicinski
USA TODAY

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Ask an average office worker here, such as Bobby Manilol, about the USA's "Sullivan Principles," and he looks puzzled, as if you're quizzing him on obscure cricket rules.

Manilol, classified Indian in this country's racial compartments of apartheid, thinks for a moment and his eyes light up.

"Oh yes. Now I know. I have a friend who works in one of these places, an air-conditioning company like mine.

"There is free mixing of races. When they have their bread, butter and tea, the whites say, 'Come here, sit with us and talk.' He is very happy.

"Me? I have my tea in my office, and they in theirs."

It's been almost 10 years since Philadelphia's Rev. Leon Sullivan got 12 USA companies in South Africa to pledge fair play and equal pay in defiance of apartheid's doctrine of white dominance and separate racial development.

Sullivan signers now number 198, an increase prompted by President Reagan's Sept. 9 order, which wrote Sullivan's guidelines into government policy. Firms with subsidiaries employing more than 25 in South Africa had to register by Feb. 15 and either become Sullivan signers or comply with nearly identical guidelines.

Despite growth in numbers, however, workplace progress Manilol cites, the Sullivan signers have not

Please see COVER STORY



By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY
THE REV. LEON SULLIVAN

Companies with more than 25 workers must:

- Not segregate races in eating, workplaces.
- Use fair employment practices.
- Pay equal wages for equal or comparable work.
- Establish training programs to prepare blacks, coloreds (mixed race) and Asians for supervisory positions.
- Increase number of blacks, coloreds, Asians in management.
- Improve quality of life for employees in housing, transportation, education, recreation and health.



USA companies in South Africa

These companies are among the biggest USA employers in South Africa. Here's how well they are adhering to the Sullivan principles, according to Arthur D. Little Co., which monitors their performance:

Company	Employees in South Africa (1984)	Compliance with Sullivan principles
General Motors Corp.	4,949	good progress
Coca-Cola Co.	4,765	making progress
Mobil Oil Corp.	3,342	good progress
U.S. Gypsum Co.	2,631	
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.	2,510	making progress
Caltex Petroleum Corp.	2,151	making progress
Allegheny Int'l Inc.	2,025	unrated
R.J. Reynolds Industries Inc.	1,804	
Del Monte Corp.		good progress
Kentucky Fried Chicken Int'l		making progress
Nabisco Brands		making progress
IBM Corp.	1,793	good progress

* has not agreed to subscribe to Sullivan principles

Source: Investors Responsibility Research Center; Arthur D. Little Co.

USA TODAY

USA TODAY March 6, 1986

CHIEFTHIS MAY BE OF
USE.SUZANNE

6

The Star Wednesday March 5 1986

Agh siiski, tovarich, don't be VoigaBy Nell Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The SABC is not the only radio service to broadcast in Afrikaans.

Radio Moscow has its own Afrikaans service and, not surprisingly, it is aimed at whites in South Africa.

The broadcasts on Moscow's Afrikaans service are, by Soviet standards, surprisingly free of the mind-numbing sloganeering that Soviet radio commentators find so appealing.

In the Soviet media it is rare that reference is made to the South African Government without the adjectives "fascist" or "racist" or, at least, "supremacist". A favourite term is "ruling clique".

But, in Moscow's Afrikaans broadcasts, the word "government" is used without decoration. Instead of the customary "oppressed masses", the phrase "black South Africans" is used.

The intention clearly is to avoid

alarming Afrikaans-speaking whites so much that they will switch off.

Soviet commentator Aleksander Fedorov admits to getting most of his material from Radio South Africa.

But, having informed his listeners that he depended on Auckland Park for accurate information, he went on to say South Africans were not told what was happening.

"Nevertheless, even people who are not told the facts can learn from their own history and that of other nations."

The lessons of history for white South Africans, Mr Fedorov suggested, were that the Nazis failed to make slaves of millions of people in World War 2 and that 90 liberated nations, 50 of them in Africa, were once colonies.

"Forecasts are now being made in South Africa," Mr Fedorov said. "Some say there could be a black government there by 2000."

Moscow Radio also broadcasts to Southern Africa in other languages, notably Zulu.

Rutgers Today - Spring '86

A news Digest for alumni & friends of
Rutgers

Trustees approve stock divestment

The Rutgers Board of Trustees Oct. 17 joined the University's Board of Governors in approving total divestment of all Rutgers holdings, some \$6.4 million in stock, in 10 companies with operations in South Africa. This represents 8.7 percent of the total investment portfolio, valued at \$74.2 million. The trustees voted 23-4; with five abstentions, for total divestment. A similar resolution was approved unanimously by the governors on Sept. 18. The companies are American Home Products, Bristol-Myers Co., Coca-Cola Co., Deere & Co., Eastman Kodak Corp., Gillette Co., IBM Corp., ITT Corp., Parker Pen Co. and Upjohn Co. All sales are to take place "as soon as prudently possible" but no longer than two years after the adoption of the respective resolutions. The trustees' endowment fund includes shares valued at \$4.8 million in all 10 companies, while the governors' endowment fund includes holdings valued at \$1.6 million in six of the companies.

NEWS SERVICE

Mobil Secretariat

NEWSWIRE:

- ☐ DOW JONES
- ☐ REUTERS
- ☐ UNITED PRESS

NEWSPAPER

- ☐ CHICAGO TRIBUNE
- ☒ CHRISTIAN SCI MON
- ☐ DAILY NEWS (NY)
- ☐ FIN TIMES (LONDON)
- ☐ J COMMERCE
- ☐ LA TIMES

- ☐ NEW YORK POST
- ☐ NEW YORK TIMES
- ☐ WALL ST JOURNAL
- ☐ WASHINGTON POST

MOBIL ID# _____

SOURCE ID 2

PG/ITEM _____

DATE 3/5/86

RESTRICTED DISTRIBUTION - FOR USE BY MOBIL CORP. AND MOBIL AFFILIATES ONLY

Apartheid issue boils on at several US campuses

In anti-apartheid-related activities around the country yesterday, more than \$7,000 was raised to help 12 Dartmouth College students suspended for attacking anti-apartheid shanties, while Brandeis University activists protested when part of their mock South African village was removed.

Students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology held a rally



MIT student's shanty vigil

at a similar shantytown to demand that the school sell its shares in companies doing business in South Africa.

And Monday, about 200 Smith College students ended a seven-day sit-in after the school agreed to discuss its South Africa-related investments. Also, four Brown University students entered fifth day of a fast to demand Brown's full divestment.