

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN  
for  
SOUTH AFRICA

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

13 March 1985

TO SOUTH AFRICA/NAMIBIA ACTIVISTS

*Herewith the text of United Nations Security Council resolution 560 passed by that body on 12 March 1985, all members voting for (15-0), including the United States (!):*

'The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984), which, inter alia, demanded the cessation of the uprootings, relocation and denationalization of the indigenous African people,

Noting with deep concern the aggravation of the situation in South Africa resulting from repeated killings of defenceless opponents of apartheid in various townships all over South Africa and, most recently, the killing of African demonstrators against forced removals at Crossroads;

Gravely concerned by the arbitrary arrests of members of the United Democratic Front and other mass organizations opposed to the apartheid regime,

Deeply concerned by the preferment of 'high treason' charges on Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, Mr. Archie Gumede, Mr. George Sewpersadh, Mr. M.J. Naidoo, the Reverend Frank Chikane, Professor Ismail Mohamed, Mr. Mewa Ramgobin, Mr. Cassim Saloojee, Mr. Paul David, Mr. Essop Jassat, Mr. Curtis Nkondo, Mr. Aubrey Mokoena, Mr. Thozamile Gqweta, Mr. Sisa Njikelana, Mr. Sam Kikine and Mr. Isaac Ngcobo, officials of the United Democratic Front and other opponents of apartheid for their participation in the non-violent campaign for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Aware that racist South Africa's intensified repression and charges of 'high treason' against leading opponents of apartheid is an effort to further entrench racist minority rule,

Concerned that repression further undermines the possibilities of a peaceful solution of the South African conflict,

Concerned over racist South Africa's policy of the uprooting, denationalization and dispossession of three and a half million indigenous African people to date, thus swelling the ranks of the other millions already doomed to permanent unemployment and starvation,

Noting with indignation that South Africa's policy of bantustanization is also aimed at the creation of internal bases for the fomenting of fratricidal conflict,

1. Strongly condemns the Pretoria regime for the killing of defenceless African people protesting against their forced removal from Crossroads and other places;
2. Strongly condemns the arbitrary arrests by the Pretoria regime of members of the United Democratic Front and other mass organizations opposed to South Africa's policy of apartheid;
3. Calls on the Pretoria regime to release unconditionally and immediately all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders with whom it must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country;
4. Also calls on the Pretoria regime to withdraw the charges of 'high treason' instituted against the United Democratic Front officials, and calls for their immediate and unconditional release;
5. Commends the massive united resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa against apartheid and reaffirms the legitimacy of their struggle for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa;
6. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of this resolution;
7. Decides to remain seized of the matter.'

\* \* \* \* \*

# Multinationals to press for reforms in South Africa

BY MICHAEL HOLMAN

GROWING CONCERN among multinational companies for the future of South Africa was underlined yesterday when 18 prominent chief executives agreed to "continue efforts to encourage reform" after an unprecedented day-long review of developments in the Republic.

The meeting, at Leeds Castle in Kent, was initiated and organised by Rev Leon Sullivan, the American clergyman who helped frame a code of conduct for U.S. companies operating in South Africa. Its chairman was Mr Edward Heath, the former UK prime minister, who encouraged the participation of British companies including Shell, Barclays and BP.

Mr Sullivan would not comment on speculation that he is seeking endorsement for a tougher code of conduct. Many supporters of the code believe they must provide more evidence of its effectiveness if they are to head off an increasingly powerful lobby in the U.S. and parts of Europe which calls on foreign companies to pull out of South Africa.

A cautious 12-line statement issued at the end of the meeting gave little hint of this debate, but Mr Sullivan, speaking at the end of the closed-door session, made clear his own anxieties.

"If something isn't done to bring about full equality of opportunity socially, economically and politically for the black population of South Africa there will be no return from chaos," he said. "Time is running out. Businesses and governments must play their role in helping to bring about that solution."

The meeting, which was not intended to attract any publicity was convened after several months of discreet preparation. Although the statement described it as "one of several such meetings over the past few years," Mr Sullivan acknowledged that there had been no comparable gathering of chief executives.

British companies in particular are highly sensitive to any suggestion that they are becoming involved in South Africa's political affairs, and the EEC code of conduct to which they subscribe is less forthright than its counterparts.

The agenda included some of the most contentious issues faced by foreign companies in South Africa, including influx control laws and the role of black trade unions. Participants had discussed "common concerns," said the statement, and were "encouraged by the progress that has been made."

...Among these taking part were: Sir Peter Baxendall, chairman, Shell UK; Sir Timothy Bevan, chairman, Barclays Bank UK; Mr Tony Bloom, executive chairman, Premier Group, SA; Mr Harry Faulkner, chairman, Alla-Laval, Swede; Sir Alistair Frame, Chief executive, Rio-Tinto; Mr Basil Hersov, executive chairman, Anglo-Vall, SA; Mr R. T. Holmeyer, executive director, Barlow Rand, SA; Mr Robert Mercer, chief executive, Goodyear International; Mr William Norris, chief executive, Control Data Corporation, U.S.; Mr John Reed, chairman, Citibank, U.S.; Roger Smith, chief executive, General Motors U.S.; Mr Justice Jan Steyn, chief executive, the Urban Foundation, SA; Mr David Tappan, chief executive, Fluor Corporation, U.S.; Sir Peter Walters, chairman, BP, Mr Rawleigh Warner, chairman, Mobil Oil, U.S.; Mr Howard Yergin, chief executive, Caltex, U.S.; Dr Leonard Johansson, SKF, Sweden, Mr Bengt Kvarnbaeck, Fagersta-Seco Sweden, and Dr Aake Magnusson, chairman, ...Gouncil ...of ...Swedish Industries.

# The fight against US disinvestment begins in earnest

CAPE TOWN: The Department of Foreign Affairs has appointed senior official Mr Mark Burger to coordinate action against overseas campaigns for disinvestment from South Africa, a government spokesman said yesterday.

A new organisation that will attempt to thwart the American disinvestment movement against SA has been formed in Johannesburg.

It is the "American Association for Trade and Investment," which spokesman Mr Stephen Bisenius, a former US consular official, said intended to establish an office in the States within 30 days.

In contrast with the American Chamber of Commerce, the new organisation would combine the vested interests of those corporations located in SA with the approximately 8 000 US corporations which trade with the Republic.

Mr Bisenius said the term "disinvestment" literally interpreted, "misconstrues the real meaning behind the vicious campaign."

"The campaign, correctly defined, aims to affect almost all trade, licensing agreements and

technology transfer between the US and SA.

"The proposed US legislation — to ban the importation of Krugerrand, to ban all sales of computers, to ban all new private and corporate investment and to deny landing rights to SA Airways — more accurately reflects the goals of destroying business relations between the two countries."

With this in mind Mr Bisenius said, it was imperative that "a proper coalition of investors and trading partners be established to coordinate an aggressive response to the disinvestment movement."

Speaking at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon at which the information of the Association was announced, Mr Bisenius said the objective of the organisation would be the protection and expansion of all trade and investment between the US and SA.

Within two weeks the steering committee, to comprise representatives of various industry sectors, would be established and would have made its recommendations for action. "It is clearly the intention of this organisation to establish an office in the US within 30 days."

The nature of the organisation "must be totally independent, highly flexible and funded only by the private sector".

Mr Bisenius added: "To emulate our opponents, this organisation must also work around the clock and must maintain a constant vigilance against anything which would affect trade and investment between the US and SA."

"The other thrust of this organisation will be the active promotion of trade, as well as the sponsorship of investment and procurement missions into SA. — Sapa

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## S. Africa Unrest Spreads to Country

### Blacks of a Small Town Defy Whites Over Teacher's Firing

By Allister Sparks  
Special to The Washington Post

CRADOCK, South Africa—The sleepy little town of Cradock, set on the sheep-farming plains of a dry central plateau called the Great Karroo, is hardly the place one would expect to find a flash-point of the gathering South African racial conflict.

Small-town South Africa is the repository of the country's innermost spirit. In these sleepy villages of a few hundred souls, dotted every 30 or 40 miles across

the spacious veldt, the racial order is not for questioning.

City ghettos like Soweto and Crossroads may burn with the anger of an oppressed race, but here, for generations, the black folk have known their place, and the lowliest white man has been greeted deferentially as "baas" and "master."

Suddenly this has changed. Now it is not only the cities that are caldrons of conflict. Over the past six months unrest has spread to the small towns as well. Scores of unfamiliar names appear among

the growing list of South Africa's trouble spots: Kroonstad, Vryburg, Vosloorus, Paarl, Parys, Vergenoeg, Newton and Cradock.

The Karroo village has become the hottest spot in this new *plateland*, or outback, revolution that is testimony to the spread of political consciousness among the segregated republic's 21-million black African majority.

For 13 months all black schools in Cradock have been empty as militant students have boycotted classes in rebellion against the

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#### SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

white authorities. All the school committees, and a council elected under the apartheid system to run the segregated "location" where the blacks live two miles outside the white town, have resigned under black pressure.

This has brought the system of black administration in Cradock to a standstill. The only representative body left is a residents' association that this once-quiet community established two years ago.

At first the white authorities refused to deal with the association, called Cradora. Government policy is to deal only with black institutions officially established under apartheid.

They tried to crush it by detaining its leaders and subjecting its supporters to a campaign of repression. There have been violent clashes between residents and the police that have left four people dead and several injured.

But instead of crushing Cradora, the repression seems to have increased its support and hardened the resistance of the now tightly cohesive black community.

It has been an illustration of what has been happening in South Africa since widespread racial unrest began last September, with the white minority government trying to end black dissent by cracking down, further alienating and radicalizing the black communities.

The blacks of Cradock have jolted the town's whites by mounting a boycott of their shops that sent a deputation hurrying to the government for help.

Now the blacks have won a kind of official recognition, if not yet redress of grievances. Some restrictions on their association have been lifted, their leaders have been released from detention, and last month a deputy minister of black affairs, Sam de Beer, received a delegation from Cradora headed by its president, Gladwell Makaula.

Behind Cradock's political awakening lies a bright young teacher named Matthew Goniwe, the son of an illiterate domestic servant and an itinerant firewood merchant. He returned to what was his birthplace two years ago and, in the language of African nationalism, began "conscientizing" its docile black community.

Goniwe, 29, had spent four years

in prison in the tribal homeland of Transkei for holding ideas on black emancipation that are regarded as subversive here. He used the time to win a degree in politics in addition to his educational diploma.

When he arrived in Cradock, Goniwe organized a youth association. Then, when the administration increased rents in the little black "location" called Iingelihle, he formed Cradora.

Immediately the white administration transferred Goniwe to a town 100 miles away, saying that the black school there needed a math teacher.

Goniwe, the only math teacher at his Cradock school, decided this was a ploy to get him out of the way and refused to accept the transfer. He was fired.

Outraged students who had come to regard him as their leader began a boycott of classes in February 1984 to demand his reinstatement. They have not been back since, and their protest has expanded to involve the entire black community of 15,000.

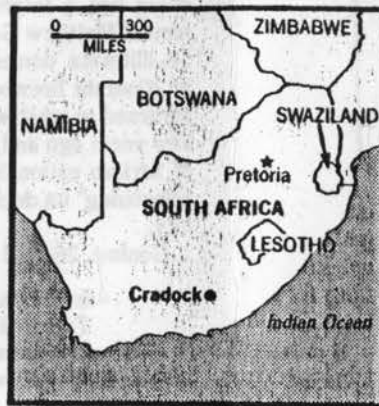
# South African Unrest Spreads to the Countryside

A spiral of racial confrontation followed. The government banned all Cradora meetings. When the students held a meeting of their own last March, police broke it up with tear gas and clubs.

This sent the angry students rampaging through the township, after which the security police detained Goniwe and most of his Cradora committee.

Attitudes in Illegihle hardened further, and clashes with the police became more frequent. The students struck back by burning the houses of village council members and other blacks connected with the administration. In January the council members quit rather than take further punishment.

The clashes have been vicious. A white opposition member of Parliament, John Malcomess, has sent 13



BY RICHARD FURINO—THE WASHINGTON POST

sworn affidavits to President Pieter W. Botha alleging misconduct by the police in Illegihle, including the killing of a 15-year-old boy.

On Feb. 3 the body of a policeman was found on the banks of the Fish River, which runs through the town. A student leader, Madoda Jacobs, has been charged with murder.

The white authorities "wanted to kill our organization," Goniwe said in a recent interview. "Instead, they hardened the reaction of the people."

"Whenever the police move into the township, that produces the clashes," he explained. "The people have been embittered and they react when the police attack them. They are not afraid any more. They no longer run away when they see the hippos," armored personnel carriers used by the police.

There is no end to the conflict in sight. After his meeting with the Cradora committee, Deputy Minister de Beer still refused to reinstate Goniwe and another suspended teacher, Fort Calata. So at a

meeting two weeks ago, residents decided to continue the boycott of classes for the 1985 school year.

As a teacher, Goniwe says he is troubled by the use of school boycotts as a political weapon, but he says there are few weapons available to voteless blacks.

"We know we will be the first to suffer, but if it helps us win our demands, then let it come," he said.

The government refuses to reinstate Goniwe and there are no schools for blacks other than those run by the state. He cannot find another job in the town, where the whites regard him as a troublemaker. He and his wife, Nyameka, live on her salary as a social worker.

But Goniwe regards the year of conflict in Cradock as one of achievements rather than setbacks.

"There is no doubt that the people of Cradock have a highly developed political awareness as a result of what has happened," he said. "And now at last we are beginning to get some results. It is the only way."

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## Apartheid Reaction

### Furor on South Africa Makes Firms Question Value of Staying There

### U.S. Companies Still Resist Rising Pressure on Them, But Tide May Be Turning

### A Good Issue for Politicians

By ELLEN HUME

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON—When the chief of the Zulus came to town recently, he didn't lack for powerful friends. With the help of officials from companies like Mobil Corp., he lobbied on Capitol Hill, dined with movers and shakers and even met with President Reagan.

The businessmen were eager to help because they and the chief, Gatsha Buthelezi, are allies in the same cause: preserving corporate America's embattled \$2.3 billion stake in South Africa. Despite their efforts, however, the U.S. political storm over South Africa is gathering new power from a variety of sources unlikely to dissipate soon. The storm is fueled both by events in South Africa—where growing racial polarization clouds the economic as well as the political outlook—and by pure U.S. domestic politics.

Many corporate planners and politicians believe that U.S. involvement in South Africa is now at a turning point. While American companies continue in public to fight the growing pressures on them, in private more and more are questioning the value of staying.

#### 'Serious Rethinking'

U.S. firms "don't know whether to fish or cut bait," observers Vernon Jordan, the former National Urban League president, who sits on the boards of five major U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. "The recent spurt of activity is causing a serious rethinking of the problem," he says. Adds a Dow Chemical Co. official, Charles Infante:

"Every time the South African government does something good, they turn around and do something bad to remind people that they aren't going to become weak."

Most companies don't seem poised to leave South Africa, and few are willing even to talk about that prospect. No one is predicting imminent revolution there. Ford Motor Co.'s recent merger of its South African operations with South Africa's Anglo American Group was a retrenchment dictated by the auto market, not politics, company insiders insist.

But the political pressures are buffeting U.S. firms from both sides of the ocean. More than 1,300 protesters have been arrested at the South African embassy in Washington since November. And violence in South Africa is rising: In recent weeks, at least 18 blacks have been killed and hundreds injured in confrontations with the police—raising doubts about President P.W. Botha's promises to ease repression against the black majority.

#### Avoiding Major Moves

Caught between the problems there and the growing political outcry here, U.S. businesses plan no new major investments or bank loans in South Africa anytime soon. "If we had zero involvement in South Africa today, we'd be hard-pressed to go in there," says Ed Grigsby, vice president of business development for the Phillips Chemical Co. unit of Phillips Petroleum Corp.

Some executives who decided years ago to resist the lures of South Africa's resources, modern facilities and cheap labor are glad now that they did. "There was no problem making a success of it," recalls John Blerwirth, who in 1967, as head of National Distillers and Chemical Corp.'s international business, decided not to build a polyethylene plant in South Africa. Mr. Blerwirth, now chairman of Grumman Corp., says he didn't want to be responsible "for sending someone to a country where, if the policies continued, there was going to be a revolution."

Both U.S. and South African businesses say that the 37-year-old apartheid laws have hampered the economy, leaving the nation's 22 million blacks with little buying power. They make up 70% of the population but account for just 2% of the auto sales there, according to Ford estimates. Labor unrest is growing and, at the same time, U.S. firms' profits in South Africa are dropping. "In today's economic environment, you'd probably have significant difficulty trying to sell out," says Mr. Grigsby of Phillips Chemical.

#### Disinvestment Drive

Deepening problems in South Africa also have added fire here to the decades-long effort by a loose network of U.S. churches, labor unions and civil-rights groups to force the withdrawal, or disinvestment, of U.S. businesses in South Africa. The increased South African government repression, including last fall's arrest of 13 black labor leaders and the forced removals of blacks to segregated "homelands," sparked fresh American concern. Conferral of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize on South Africa Bishop Desmond Tutu also drew new international attention to his anti-apartheid cause.

Even aside from these events, the South Africa issue has taken on a life of its own in the United States—partly on its merits and partly because it is tailor-made for political exploitation. South Africa is far away; politicians can denounce apartheid and urge sanctions to prod its government

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without feeling direct consequences at home.

"This is really hot in Congress," concludes Rep. John Conyers of Michigan. "I've never seen people here, outside Vietnam and the nuclear questions, that interested in a purely foreign-policy issue."

The issue is galvanizing liberals and conservatives alike. Civil-rights leaders find it a unifying cause, energizing their troops after the bruising battles over affirmative action; the 1984 election and federal budget cuts. Conservatives are finding it a painless way to gain some credibility with blacks, who, like House Budget Committee Chairman William Gray, are gaining new positions of power.

Even the Moral Majority is getting involved. Last week the Rev. Jerry Falwell tried to hold an anti-apartheid press conference in Johannesburg, but he was denied admission to the country. And Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, says he's studying sanctions or other possible ways of pressuring the South African government.

Not everyone has scored on the issue, however. Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts discovered the hard way that anti-American feeling has grown among blacks in South Africa. Critics say his recent trip there only made things worse, deepening divisions among black leaders, muddling the disinvestment issue and alienating some South African progressives who resented his interference.

#### White House Position

Only the White House seems to be keeping its distance from the battle. The Reagan administration is intent on sticking to its policy of "constructive engagement," which stresses dialogue with the South African government over sanctions against it. But that approach has drawn fire even from such Republican loyalists as Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the panel's Africa subcommittee.

Despite the threat of a Reagan veto, congressional observers say the heightened GOP interest in the issue increases the chances for some form of sanctions bill this year; a measure nearly won approval a year ago. This past December, 35 House Republican conservatives sent a letter to the South African ambassador, threatening to curtail U.S. business there and apply other sanctions if the government doesn't end its use of violence and show "a sense of urgency about ending apartheid."

So far, liberals and conservatives haven't agreed on a comprehensive measure. Top Republicans are leaning toward a bill that would force mandatory rules of conduct for U.S. business in South Africa. Liberals, led by Sen. Kennedy, are pushing for stronger sanctions. Their bill, sponsored also by Republican Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, would bar new U.S. investments and loans in South Africa and ban sales here of gold South African Krugerrand coins.

#### Divestment Bills

Given the difficulty of passing a tough bill that won't draw a presidential veto, U.S. firms are far more concerned about the way of divestment measures—not to be confused with disinvestment—that have already won approval in five states and 14 cities.

These measures compel government pension and portfolio managers and other public officials to divest securities that are held in firms with South African ties, forcing billions of dollars into "South Africa-free" portfolios. Some measures also bar the procurement of cars, computers or other goods from firms doing business in South Africa. Pittsburgh has just passed a divestment measure; similar versions are now pending in New York City, California and elsewhere.

Activists have already stepped up demonstrations at stores and banks that sell South African Krugerrand coins and plan a possible boycott against an as-yet-unselected major U.S. firm with South African interests. One group plans to list a dozen corporate "partners in apartheid" that allegedly sustain the South African government.

Caught in the middle are some of America's largest and most respected corporations, ranging from American Express Co. to IBM Corp. Thirty-one of the top 50 companies on the Fortune-500 list do business in South Africa. While South Africa accounts for only about 1% of U.S. foreign investment, American firms constitute nearly half of South Africa's petroleum industry, 70% of its computer industry and a third of its automobile industry, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center, a nonprofit firm funded by corporate and institutional clients.

#### Defense Arguments

Many companies are embarrassed to fight openly for their South African interests, since apartheid's evils are so widely acknowledged. But they are mobilizing a defense network, armed with two key arguments: first, that divestment may curb the profits of U.S. pension funds, and second, that withdrawal of U.S. business from South Africa would eliminate its reform role and economic benefits to blacks there.

Their arguments are supported by some pension and state financial officers who argue that divestment harms their assets. In New Jersey, for example, the huge New Jersey Education Association, representing many of the state's teachers, opposes a pending divestment bill unless an amendment would force the state to provide for any financial losses it might cause.

For years, as the divestment fever has spread, companies have relied on the voluntary "Sullivan Principles" as their greatest antidote. Under these guidelines, first proposed in 1977 by the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia and signed by over 120 U.S. firms, participating companies pledge equal pay, integrated facilities and special housing, education and training for their South African employees—advantages that South Africa's future black leaders might not otherwise have gained.

While U.S. firms have spent about \$100 million to fulfill these promises, critics have charged that the Sullivan system doesn't go far enough, and the divestment bills have continued to pass in states and cities—and sanctions very nearly passed in Congress. In the face of this increased pressure, an advisory group of companies last July helped Mr. Sullivan draft additional language that commits Sullivan Principles signatories to directly lobbying the South African government against apartheid.

#### A New Weapon

This rule's unanimous adoption by the signatory firms on Dec. 12—in the midst of headlines about the embassy protesters here—gives business a new public-relations weapon in its fight against disinvestment. The firms' acceptance of the new rule "was probably facilitated by the political atmosphere," says Elizabeth Clark, an Upjohn Co. executive who helped draft it.

South Africa's ambassador to the U.S., Bernardus Fourie, is concerned about the mounting pressure, but he shrugs off any suggestion that U.S. businesses might pull out. South Africa is merely "a pawn" in a U.S. "political chess game," Mr. Fourie says. "Why is U.S. industry there?" he asks. "Not because we ever persuaded them. The private sector is always looking for lucrative markets."

Yet privately, U.S. executives say they are worried that his government won't move fast enough—and far enough—to permit a peaceful transition to full black citizenship and, ultimately, to the black ma-

ajority rule they expect some day in South Africa.

"This is a very pivotal time," says one influential U.S. executive with decades of experience in South Africa. "A lot of corporate planners are saying that unless there's significant change in apartheid in the next one or two years, we're going to get the hell out. The situation will only get worse."

Given the current mood, few U.S. firms are beginning new enterprises there these days. But there are exceptions, like Alexander & Alexander Services Inc., an insurance brokerage firm. "Our clients have a greater need for our services in South Africa now," says Peter F. Reid, senior vice president, describing his firm's ability to put together protection packages against fires, revolutions and other calamities. "They're concerned about getting wiped out," he explains.

## ANC Radio Program Supports Economic Sanctions

MB152020 Lusaka Radio Freedom in English 1700 GMT  
15 Jan 85

[ANC program commentary: "Economic Sanctions"]

[Text] Economic sanctions, as one of the means whereby the criminal apartheid regime can be toppled, are again in the news. This is an upshot of the Kennedy visit to our country, which ended on Sunday. During his visit, representatives of the big industrial and commercial concerns presented memoranda to him on the question of economic sanctions. Their message: Economic sanctions would hurt the very people they are intended to help, that is, the oppressed black people. For this reason, the rich and privileged in our country are advising those who can not to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. We also — the oppressed — are being canvassed to express opposition to economic sanctions, for we would suffer were they to be imposed.

All these arguments from opponents of sanctions sound so clever and altruistic, but in the final analysis they are one-sided and self-serving. The people who cruelly oppress us and rapaciously exploit us have the effrontery to present themselves as people who care what happens to us tomorrow. They use (I repeat) to defend a false system. The thesis that they are opposed to economic sanctions, for they would hurt Africans the most, is false. But the fact that we would be unemployed if sanctions were to be imposed, that we would suffer more than we do under the present conditions where there are foreign investments, are true. But one fact must be noted: Nobody ever said that with the regime under sanctions things would go on as if nothing has happened, or that our problems would be solved quickly.

Sanctions are one of many tactical measures we would have to resort to to bring down the fascist regime and end our suffering. Sanctions must be imposed on this regime, for if they are, the economic base of our oppression would be under severe pressure. Those who oppose economic sanctions have not told us so far what their effect would be to the regime, they have only told us what is unimportant — that we would suffer. Are we not suffering now? What are they doing to end our suffering? Are we here to live a life of tolerable suffering, or are we here to live a full and uninhibited life?

The argument that we would suffer if sanctions were imposed endorses our present suffering as normal and only opposes the worsening of our present condition, and what is more, if that worsening is brought about by economic sanctions. They are not against our suffering as we experience it today, or its worsening. They are against this worsening if it is brought about by economic sanctions.

This should totally expose their hypocrisy. They are defending their own selfish interests under the cloak of being altruistic towards us. We are to be used to safeguard their interests, at the expense of our own. We must not be surprised by this. For a long time we have served as defenders of our own oppression. That is why our oppressors and exploiters boldly call upon us to do as usual.

Economic sanctions would spell doom to all the rich exploiters and would bring down the whole political-economic system that is the basis of their oppression, exploitation, and wealth. It is why the rich oppose sanctions. They oppose them, for sanctions mean poverty and economic ruin for them. This is why those who monopolize political power in their hands oppose economic sanctions. They oppose them, for sanctions would mean an end to their monopoly of political power.

They are all afraid to imagine the economic and political chaos that sanctions would bring to South Africa. After all, is South Africa's economy not based on gold mining and sales? Have we been told what would happen to that in the event of sanctions? We are only told that we would lose our employment in the mines and related industries. What about the people who are collecting the profits? What about those who need the revenue collected from gold profits?

What we have been told about the effects of economic sanctions is hardly the tip of the iceberg. We have just been told that part of the story that is supposed to scare us. But, despite that horror story, we the oppressed must support economic sanctions. We call for sanctions, for they would weaken the resistance of the oppressive and exploitative order to our blows. We are not going to stop our struggle once sanctions have been imposed. We shall strike even harder, and deliver the coup de grace. Suffering that would come as the result of sanctions is nothing compared to the collective suffering we have experienced down the years. Our suffering as a result of sanctions would be the last chapter of the voluminous book of our suffering under white colonial rule.

Those expressing horror about what would happen to us in the event of sanctions being imposed against South Africa are actually expressing horror about what would happen to them. Our attitude is: We do not care what happens to you, gentlemen, but we care very much about our freedom, and to us sanctions are one of the means whereby we shall reach our goal of freedom.

## ESTABLISHING THE CASE FOR SANCTIONS

(from: SACTU Solidarity Committee, Canada)

### But won't sanctions hurt black workers most?

For centuries, the racial division of labour under white minority rule and apartheid means that the white minority — not the black majority — benefits firstly and mostly from economic growth. Similarly, whites rather than blacks are most vulnerable to economic slowdown caused by the implementation of international sanctions. The apartheid rulers know this to be true. This is why there is such a panic to become self-sufficient in strategic sectors, and this is also why they do everything possible to encourage collaboration with the West — from military complicity to floral exhibits.

But a growing body of economic evidence shows that sanctions would cause little increase in suffering for the majority of the black workforce. Consider the following data:

- the nearly 4 million Africans who have been relegated to permanent unemployment in the barren bantustans and cannot even enter into the wage labour relationship will not be hurt by international sanctions;
- the estimated one million black farmworkers would benefit from sanctions because increasing farm mechanization has been replacing black workers jobs with imported farm machinery, pesticides and other chemicals whose import would be curtailed under sanctions;
- the over one-half million black mineworkers would suffer job loss when mineral exports were cut but the whole apartheid economy is dependent on gold exports for 70% of its foreign exchange so if black mineworkers lose their jobs the whole South African economy goes into crisis;
- the capital-intensive primary manufacturing sector is highly dependent on foreign technology and expertise and very vulnerable to sanctions so the two-thirds of the total white workforce in manufacturing in this sector would suffer more than the 40% of the black workforce;
- the remaining 60% of the black workers in manufacturing in the consumers-goods sector would actually have greater job protection if sanctions were implemented because this sector is more self-sufficient and labour-intensive;
- the tertiary sector (government, services, transportation, communications, finance, etc.) has a 70%-30% white to black job ratio and here again sanctions would not greatly affect the largely domestic nature of the jobs of black workers in this sector; and
- sanctions would have no detrimental effect on the millions of blacks who must eke out a minimal agricultural subsistence in the bantustans where they produce for no market but only for their own consumption.

In sum, the larger proportion of waged black workers and the estimated 10 million bantustan population would not be hurt by international sanctions; in fact they would benefit precisely to the extent that such sanctions were successful in weakening the power of white employers and multinational capital!