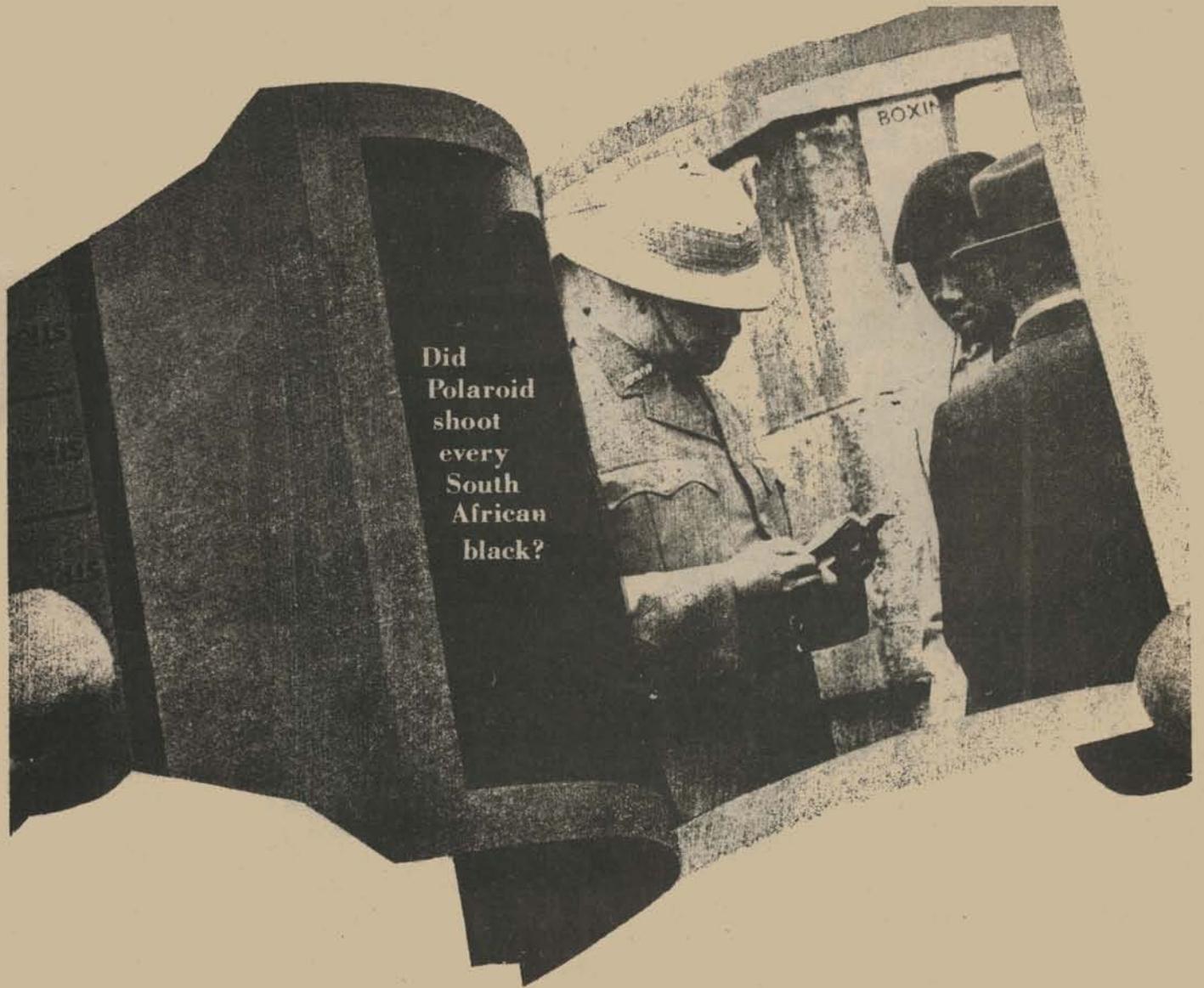


POLAROID and SOUTH AFRICA



Did
Polaroid
shoot
every
South
African
black?

Boycott

Support the black
revolutionary workers
at Polaroid.



Polaroid

Until all sales
to South Africa
are discontinued.



This pamphlet was prepared by the Africa Research Group in collaboration with the Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement. It is published on March 21, 1971--the 11th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre--in honor of those who have died and suffered in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa. Amandla Ngawethu! Power to the People!

Price: 25¢

POLAROID WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

November 2 , 1970

Brothers and Sisters:

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement is a group of black workers in Cambridge, Massachusetts, who have come together to act and protest against the sale of Polaroid products in South Africa.

We see the South African apartheid system as the symbol of the many 'inhumanities' in the United States. We cannot begin to deal with racism in Polaroid or in the U.S. until Polaroid and the U.S. cease to uphold and support apartheid. Black people in South Africa are enslaved and dehumanized in order to insure the security of apartheid and the capitalists' margin of profit. The United States and its corporate society have made explicit its intentions of profits at any human expense.

We demand that we no longer be used as tools to enslave our brothers and to insure corporate profits.

On October 8, the Movement presented Polaroid Corp. with the following demands:

1. that Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa. We believe that all American companies doing business there reinforce that racist system.
2. that Polaroid announce its position on apartheid publically, in the US and South Africa.
3. that Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to the recognized African liberation movements.

Polaroid has refused to meet with the PRWM or recognize the demands.

On October 27th, the PRWM called for a world-wide boycott of Polaroid products by all right-on thinking people until Polaroid discontinues all sales in South Africa. We are building a coalition of right-on thinking people to press the demands that Polaroid and all American business discontinue support of the South African racist government.

IMMEDIATE ACTION AND YOUR SUPPORT IS NECESSARY. POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Please send a copy of any correspondence or action you take to:
Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement
c/o Caroline Hunter
46 Longwood Ave.
Brookline, Mass. 02146
telephone: 232-4611 area code 617

SOUTH AFRICA

**Anyone disobeying
these laws will be
imprisoned, fined,
and/or whipped:**

No white person may have sexual relations with an African, Coloured or Indian person. And vice versa.

No African may attend a birthday party if the number attending could make the gathering undesirable.

An African in an urban area who is out of work must take work offered to him by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or be removed from the area.

No African may buy land, or own property, anywhere in the Republic.

Under no circumstances may a non-white person use facilities set aside for the use of white persons.

No white man may teach an African servant to read.

**By order of the South
African Ministry of Justice.**

The Polaroid Revolutionary Worker's Movement has called an international boycott on Polaroid products until all of the company's sales to South Africa have been terminated. By demanding complete disengagement, the workers at Polaroid are acting in solidarity with calls by African liberation movements and the conclusions reached by countless United Nations committees who have studied South African racism. They have concluded that only economic withdrawal can begin to erode, divide, and weaken South Africa's white front of oppression. During World War II trading with the enemy--the Nazis and Fascists--was considered a crime. Apartheid is an enemy for decent people all over the world. Collusion with South African fascists is no more justifiable than collusion with the Nazis was.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

In South Africa 15 million black people are completely ruled by 3 million whites. White domination is assured through a series of laws which strictly separate the races, force blacks into inferior positions, and make sure that no change will occur. This system is called apartheid, a white-supremist ideology which means fascist oppression and misery for blacks.

Under apartheid blacks live these conditions:

—Only 13% of the land is reserved for blacks while the other 87% is set aside for whites. The land "given" to the blacks is the poorest and least valuable in all of South Africa.

—In a white area an African is legally a "temporary sojourner", even if he has lived there all his life. At any time he can be ordered

AND POLAROID

to leave if whites consider "that his presence is detrimental to peace and order".

—Every black person must carry a passbook on his person at all times, day or night. This is a 20 page book which must be signed by his employer every month, and kept up to date with tax payments, residence permits, and other information. For pass violations, he can be arrested, or kicked out of urban areas.

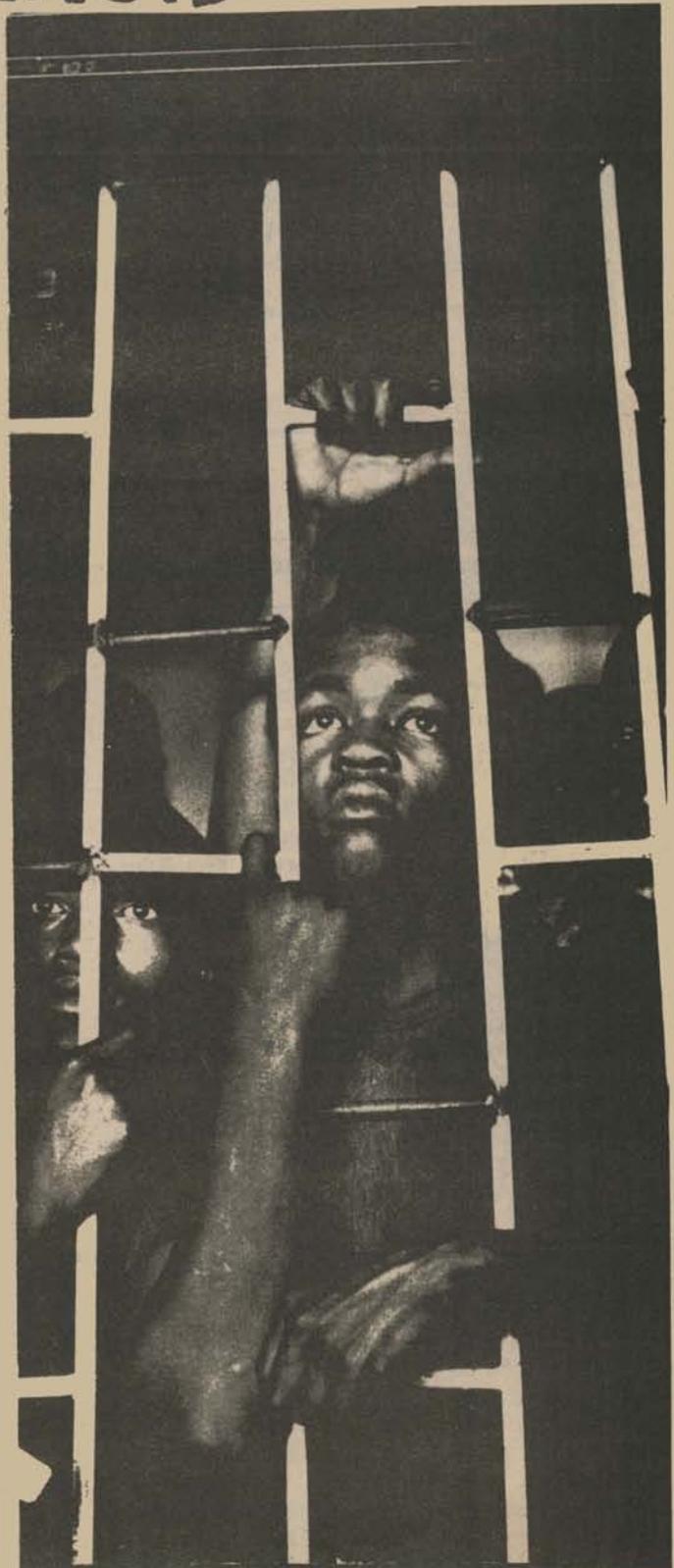
—By law blacks can never earn more than whites nor can blacks ever be in a position of authority over whites.

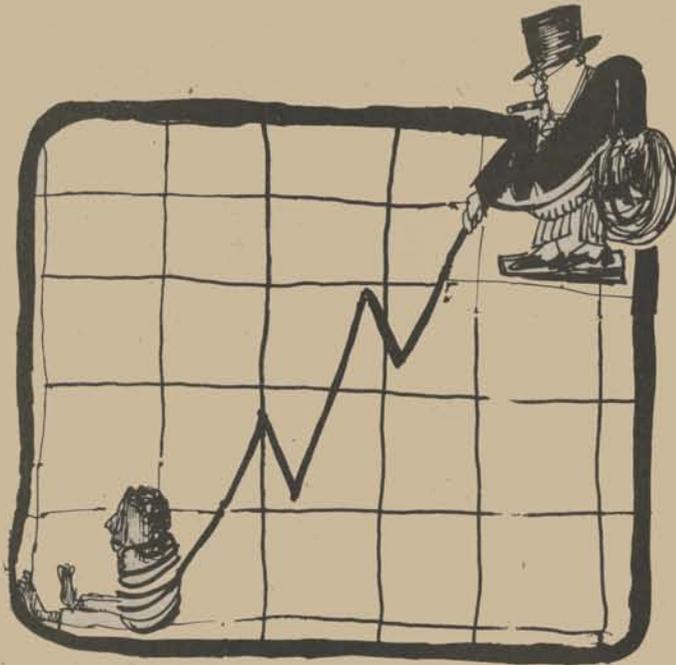
—Quality education exists only for whites. While \$180 per year is spent for white students, less than \$15 per year is made available for black education. What education for blacks that does exist actually only trains blacks for service to whites.

—Blacks are not allowed to gather in any numbers. No political meetings can be held. Unions for blacks are completely outlawed. Political literature is absolutely forbidden.

—Whites and blacks cannot mix in any way. Schools, hospitals, railway stations, toilets--every public and private institution is strictly segregated. A black person cannot even look at a white person without risking severe punishment.

Not following any of the complicated rules of apartheid results in long, hard punishment. More people are hanged every year in South Africa than in any other country in the world. Every day more than 1,500 blacks are arrested for pass violations alone. Thousands of blacks are in jail for political "crimes". An unknown number of others have been hunted down by South Africa's gestapo secret police and tortured with water, electricity and sexual abuse.





U.S. CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This whole system of repression functions to provide a readily available pool of cheap black labor for South Africa's mines and factories. African workers earn \$65 per month while white workers earn \$350 per month. Per capita income for Africans is less than \$120 a year but for whites it is \$1600 a year. Apartheid means cheap labor.

For blacks cheap labor means oppression. For white businessmen it means high profits. Foreign corporations see only the profits, not the oppression, and invest vitally needed capital in the South African economy. Of these foreign companies U.S. corporations play a strategic role.

More than 450 American companies have invested nearly three quarters of a billion dollars in South Africa. This sizeable investment makes the U.S. the second largest foreign investor in South Africa. Earnings from these investments have averaged near 20% for the past ten years. Average returns for other parts of the world are only about 10%. So investments in South Africa return twice as much as investments in other countries!

The full significance of American investments to the South African economy goes beyond these gross figures. In every growing sector of the economy American capital, organization, and technology provide the crucial cutting edge spurring economic expansion. In mining, the original base of the economy, the American companies of Charles Englehard, American Metal Climax and Union Carbide maintain the leading positions. In automobiles, the more recent manufacturing foundation, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler lead the way. And now in advanced electronics and computers, the newest growth industry, IBM and General Electric dominate. U.S. investment in South Africa supplies American money and know-how needed to stimulate expansion in the strategic areas of the economy.

For its part, Polaroid supplies South Africa with sophisticated technological gadgets and receives

"Bantus don't seem to think logically; they just don't think in the same way as white westerners. I wouldn't say that these people don't have any reasoning power--but what they have is very limited. We are dependent on the skilled white man to keep us in business, and on the colored man to keep us running."

—Plant Manager of the largest General Motors factory in South Africa

"Over the years the master-servant relationship has been a good one."

In response to a question about contact across race lines: "I didn't do it when I was in the U.S., I don't want to do it here, and I wouldn't do it if I went back...It's a matter of personal preference not a matter of law. I get incensed at the unwarranted criticism of South Africa."

—Ford's Managing Director in South Africa

in return handsome profits. By using cheap black labor, Polaroid gains from apartheid. Polaroid thus joins the hundreds of other U.S. companies benefiting from the racist oppression of blacks in South Africa.

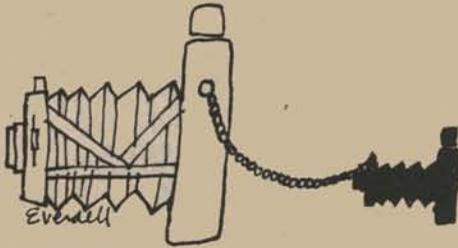
POLAROID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Six years ago the question of Polaroid doing business in South Africa was raised for the first time. The issue was studied by a committee of white corporate managers. They evaluated the pro's and con's of maintaining business in South Africa and decided that the profits reaped from the exploitation of cheap labor were too good to pass up. So, there the investigation ended until two years ago when the same motions were acted out once again. Today the issue has been pulled out from behind Polarized glass doors into the glare of public attention.

In the Fall of 1970 Polaroid admitted that about 20% of all pictures taken for the passbooks which all Africans are forced to carry in South Africa were taken on Polaroid equipment. These passbooks are apartheid's number one tool to enforce its repressive laws against blacks. First Polaroid denied that it was actively supporting apartheid because it sold its instant ID-2 system through a South African agent, Frank and Hirsch, Ltd. Later, the company saw that this lie was not sufficient, so it announced that it would stop all sales to official agencies of the Pretoria government. Sales to the South African industrial users, army, and airforce, however, continue.

The sales of cameras, film and sunglasses have not been terminated, nor has the production of sunglasses in South Africa stopped. Polaroid ships its U.S. made lenses to be assembled in South Africa plants owned by American Optical. Cheap





Just as Polaroid claims that it is not the worst offender in South Africa, so too in the U.S. Polaroid tries to escape the responsibility for its racist wages by blaming the low wages blacks receive elsewhere in the U.S. economy. But that explanation won't do. A company which reaps profits from the dehumanization and exploitation of blacks in South Africa cannot deal honestly with blacks in the U.S. Racism is not divisible.

To keep up its liberal image Polaroid has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on slick advertising. As will be indicated later in this pamphlet, these advertisements are a deceit and an insult. But Polaroid's purpose is not to respond honestly to the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement's (PRWM) demands. Instead, it intends to evade the demands, mystify the nature of its involvement in South Africa and pacify public protest and outrage.

Polaroid's response to the PRWM's demands has been to sell itself like it sells its cameras. It has pushed its "progressiveness" and the notion of "corporate responsibility to society". It has claimed "rationality" for itself and "irresponsibility" for the PRWM. It has done all sorts of tricks but has not yet truthfully said why it rejected the three PRWM demands. In short, to continue sales in South Africa, Polaroid must sell the American people on the possibility of social change in South Africa through American investment plus charity.

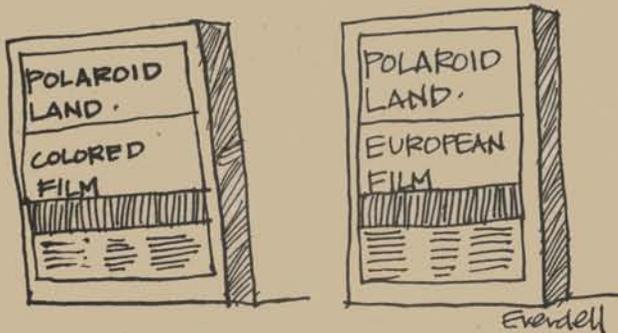
So why is Polaroid so determined to stay in South Africa?

If you understand the direct and indirect links between Polaroid and U.S. business in South Africa in general, then Polaroid's determination to stay in South Africa is not really surprising. Not only is Polaroid as an individual company being challenged but also the whole community of American business in South Africa is under attack. Polaroid is only one member of that community but it has direct links with other members more deeply involved in South Africa.

—Polaroid's largest single owner after Land is Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York. Morgan Guaranty was one of the primary financial supporters of South Africa following the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 when white South African police fired into a peaceful demonstration of black South Africans, killing over 80 people. Morgan Guaranty granted large loans to South Africa which enable it to survive the economic and political crisis which followed the Massacre. Morgan Guaranty is certainly not willing for Polaroid to withdraw from the country which it helped to save.



black labor is exploited for the production of these "Cool Ray" sunglasses. Rich white South Africans provide the market for them. Profits from the South African sunglass business rose 23% in 1969.



After months of boycotts and demonstrations demanding that Polaroid cut off these sales to South Africa, the company sent a four man team on a ten day tour of South Africa to "study the problem". A full month later, the company announced its decision to stay put in South Africa. Playing on the lack of popular knowledge about actual conditions in that country, Polaroid announced an "experiment" in black education. This program would cost the company an estimated \$100,000 a year. Polaroid's advertising offensive on the issue cost just about as much. Instead of supporting those forces trying to smash apartheid, Polaroid has offered an "experiment" in charity. As this pamphlet will describe, this program is completely unacceptable and an insult to black people everywhere.

Polaroid is particularly vulnerable to attack on its South African involvement because it tries to project a public image of being one of the "youngest" and most "liberal" corporations in America. As its president and founder, Edwin Land, describes it: "This is no ord-

inary company that we have built together. It is the proud pioneer that set out to teach the world how people could work together...Polaroid is on its way to lead the world--perhaps even to save it--by this interplay between science, technology, and real people."

Land writes personalized memoranda to all employees, maintains close relations with nearby universities and continues to receive awards for scientific achievements. Polaroid claims to be a "pace setter in the field of human relations" yet it has been reinforcing a system of inhumanity in South Africa for more than thirty years.

The racial situation in Polaroid further exposes the hollowness of its liberal image. Polaroid "discovered" blacks only after the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. Frightened by the black's violent response to King's death, Polaroid instituted a quota system which insured jobs for black workers but also kept blacks in their place. The majority of black workers now at Polaroid were hired as part of this quota.

Of the 92 black white collar workers hired since 1968, 16 have resigned. Why? Polaroid's own studies show that blacks are paid 22% less than whites doing precisely the same jobs. This discrimination is due mainly to Polaroid's convenient rule that no new employee can receive over 15% more in salary at Polaroid than she or he received in their former job. The effect of Polaroid's rule is to reinforce the generally lower wages received by black workers in the U.S. as a whole. A concrete example of this discrimination is a black chemical engineer who recently left Polaroid because he received \$350 a month less than a white fellow-worker in a less skilled position.

—On Polaroid's board of directors sits James Killian. Killian is also director of General Motors. GM controls over 18% of all auto sales in South Africa and has large investments in automobile production plants there. GM receives a large profit from its South African operations and Killian is unlikely to want to see any American investment leave the country.

—Most of Polaroid's financing has come from Kuhn, Loeb and Company, the second largest investment company in the U.S. It put up one half of Polaroid's original capital in 1937 and since then has underwritten every single share of Polaroid's more than 35 million outstanding stock. Kuhn, Loeb and Co. has helped many U.S. companies which are in South Africa. Just two of the most interesting are American Optical and Chemical Bank of New York. American Optical was that "other" company which produces Polaroid sunglasses in South Africa. The Chemical Bank has such extensive investments in South Africa that it was the target of a special U.N. resolution because of its pro-apartheid advertising.

Polaroid's indirect links are perhaps even more significant. American business in general is worried about anti-apartheid protests, especially from black workers. In this busin-

ess community Polaroid was considered a test-case and was carefully watched as a model for other businesses to follow. For these corporations, as Business Week warns, "there could well be repercussions if such anti-apartheid protest spreads". The "Polaroid solution" will probably be applied by other American companies as anti-South Africa insurgencies increase.

Thus, when Edwin Land, says that he does not want to be pushed around by a group like the PRWM, he speaks for a whole community of corporate and financial interests. "I know one thing," says Land, "if we at this moment cut off all our business in South Africa, then the newspapers will be full of the vast Polaroid Revolutionary Movement...We would have a series of new demands, and there is no doubt that the management would not meet them...The World is watching us right now. Other companies are saying that 'If Polaroid can't make the grade, none of us can.'"

The Polaroid workers are not making a moralistic request for corporate responsibility. They are not asking that Polaroid be a little more humane in its exploitation of South African blacks. They have demanded that Polaroid withdraw from South Africa. And it seems that Polaroid just can't make the grade.



POLAROID'S PLUTOCRATS

CARL KAYSEN

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Dir: Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University
3. Consultant: Rand Corp.
4. Dep'ty Special Assistant to Kennedy for National Security Affairs, 1961-1963

CARLTON FULLER

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. former President: Schroder and Rockefeller Company Inc.

H. NECARSULMER

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Kuhn Loeb and Co.: General Partner
3. Dir: General American Transport Co.

LZ. MORRIS STRAUSS

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Dir: Studebaker Corp.
3. Dir: Flumen Corp

DAVID SKINNER

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Dir: General Electric 1924-1942
3. Dir: SKF Industries: 1942-1944
4. Trustee: Andover Newton Theol. Sem.

JULIUS SILVER

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. V.P. and Partner: Silver, Saperstein, Barnett and Solonam
3. Dir: Jewish Theological Seminary
4. Trustee: N.Y.U.

RICHARD HILL

DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Pres. and Dir: First National Bank of Boston
3. Dir: First Bank Financial Corp.
4. Dir: Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce
5. Dir: Ryder System inc.
6. Dir: Metropolitan Area Planning Council
7. Dir: Mass. Transportation Comm.

EDWIN LAND

PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN

OF THE BOARD: POLAROID

as well as:

2. Trustee: Ford Foundation
3. Dir: International Services Corp.
4. Fellow: School for Advanced Studies: MIT
5. Member: President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

JAMES KILLIAN

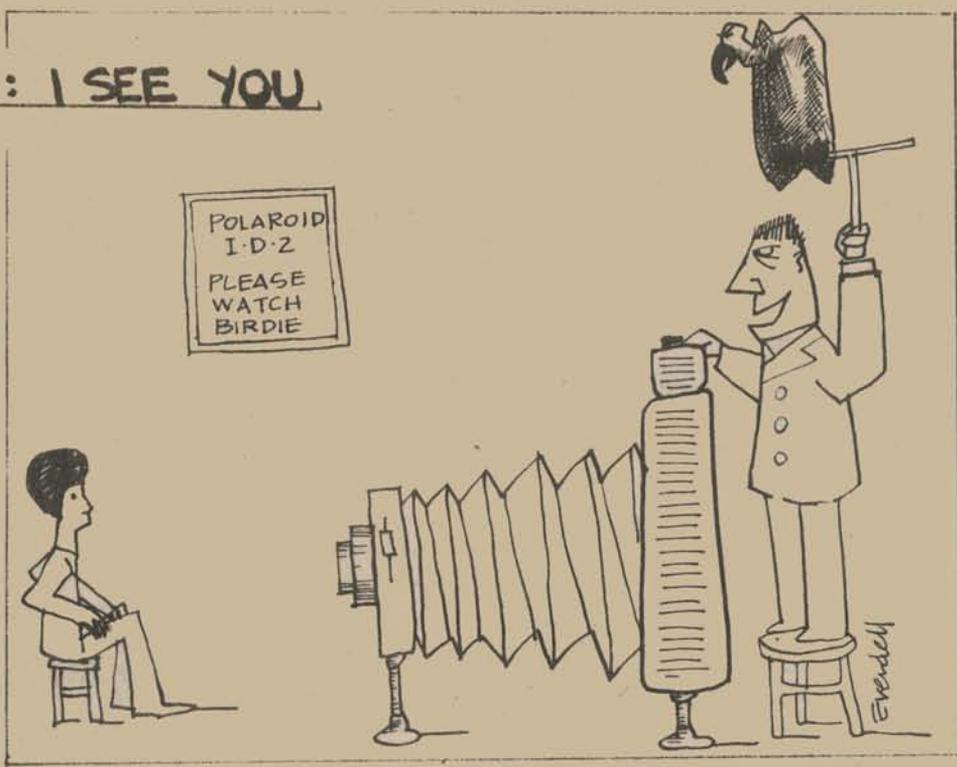
DIRECTOR

as well as:

2. Chairman of the Board of the M.I.T. Corporation
3. Chairmen of the Board of the Mitre Corp
4. Dir: A.T.& T.
5. Dir: Cabot Corp.
6. Dir: General Motors Corp.
7. Chairman: President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Bd., 1961-63
8. Trustee: Mt Holyoke College
9. Trustee: Alfred Sloan Foundation
10. Trustee: U.S. Churchill Foundation
11. Trustee: Institute for Defense Analysis
12. Pres: Atoms for Peace Inc.



ID 2: I SEE YOU

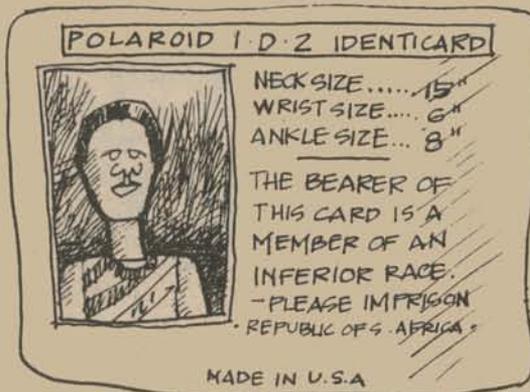


Identification is a basic tool in population control. Every totalitarian government has devised some means of subjugating its people through identity cards. In the past, these systems have been weak: they have been difficult to administer; cards could be tampered with and altered.

Now Polaroid has put an end to all that. It has used its sophisticated technological know-how to create an almost fool-proof system of citizen identification. Known as the ID 2, Polaroid's system takes your picture, develops it in two minutes, seals it in unbreakable plastic, and registers your name and other information in computers. Zap, you're identified! Once you have the ID card, there is no way of destroying the record. Remember, the ID 2 takes two pictures. You get one. Who gets the other one?

Recently, Quebec has negotiated with Polaroid about the use of the ID 2 system to control the French population in that Canadian province. The Quebec Justice Minister says, "Quebec needs compulsory ID cards to help police keep a closer watch on the population." The Quebec plan is called "the citizenship certificate plan," and aims at supplying every person with an ID card which must be carried at all times and presented on demand. Sound like South Africa? While the plan is not yet operational, Polaroid has expressed its willingness to sell the system to Quebec.

If your identity is in question, keep it that way. Polaroid ID's may be hazardous to your health.



THE STRUGGLE BEGINS....



Ken Williams

On Oct. 8, 1970 the PRWM initiated its struggle against Polaroid with a large rally before the plate glass windows of Polaroid's corporate headquarters in Cambridge. Attended by many Polaroid workers, the rally drew attention to Polaroid's sale of its ID-2 identification system in South Africa. Ken Williams, a member of the PRWM and a Polaroid employee, accused Polaroid of supporting fascism in South Africa and demanded Polaroid's immediate withdrawal from South Africa.



Chris Nteta

Prior to the rally Polaroid tried to take away some of the demonstration's heat by releasing a slick statement about its position in South Africa. Polaroid's trick back-fired when Chris Nteta, a black South African exposed the lies in Polaroid's statement. With the enthusiastic support of the crowd, Nteta called on Polaroid to meet three demands: 1) get out of South Africa completely and immediately, 2) denounce apartheid, and 3) donate past profits from sales in South Africa to liberation movements. The struggle had started.



POLAROID CORPORATION

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

To: All Polaroid Members
From: G.R. Dicker, Assistant Secretary
Date: October 6, 1970
Subj: Polaroid I.D. Sales Practices in South Africa

Polaroid has not sold its I.D. equipment to the government of South Africa for use in the apartheid program.

In view of accusations to the contrary, Dr. Land has asked me to report the facts to the Volunteer Committee and to all company members. They are as follows:

As a matter of corporate policy, Polaroid has consistently refused to sell the Polaroid I.D.-2 System directly or indirectly to the government of South Africa or any agency thereof for use in implementing the apartheid program. Polaroid has rejected such orders from the Bantu Administration and has instructed the local distributor to follow the same policy. Examination of company records indicates that this policy has been fully implemented in practice. All sales of the I.D.-2 System to the South African distributor have been carefully traced to verify the use to which our equipment has been put. There is absolutely no indication whatsoever of the Polaroid I.D.-2 System being utilized by the government of South Africa in implementing its apartheid program.

All sales of the I.D.-2 System have been made to the independently owned and operated local distributor (Fank and Hirsch (Pty.) Ltd.) for resale to industrial users. Approximately 65 I.D.-2 Systems have been sold to Frank and Hirsch since 1967 for resale to industrial users in South Africa for employee identification purposes (exactly as in Polaroid) and to the South African army and air force solely for identifying military personnel.

The local distributor has adhered to our policy and has not resold Polaroid identification systems for use in South Africa's apartheid program. As a matter of information, the distributor is one of the few business concerns actively engaged in opposing the apartheid program. All of the principals of the company are members of the opposition Progressive party and the company is unique in South Africa in its adoption of full equal employment practices for blacks. The same distributor serves the black independent states of Zambia and Lesotho.

South Africa does presently require all of its citizens to carry photographic identification cards. No specification is made as to the source of the photograph. Applicants are able to go to photo studios for photos (charge \$1.00) or to government offices (charge 50¢). All types of photographic film are therefore used in taking such photographs, including Polaroid Types 42 and 47 film obtained from commercial sources. None of such film is supplied by Polaroid. The photographic equipment presently being used by the Bantu Administration is manufactured and supplied by other companies who are in no way affiliated with Polaroid. These systems utilize standard Polaroid pack and roll film which can, of course, be purchased anywhere in the world.

Although Polaroid has been able to deny the South African government access to the Polaroid I.D.-2 System for use in the apartheid program, Polaroid's point of view has apparently not been shared by competing suppliers of identification equipment. Nonetheless, our policy will continue to be vigorously enforced with the full cooperation and assistance of our distributor.

THE RESPONSE:

AT HOME: SPEECH GIVEN BY CHRISTOPHER NTETA, SOUTH AFRICAN, AT THE OCTOBER 8th PROTEST

First I wish to state that I feel honored to have been invited by the PWRM to participate in this rally. As a South African Black, and therefore a victim of the policy of apartheid I have, through experience, gained certain insights to the vicious and diabolical nature of this regime.

May I also point out that I think history is being created here. This rally is an unprecedented event in that for the first time in the history of this country workers have taken the initiative to raise questions about their company's involvement and complicity in the affairs of an African country, in supporting and aiding in the exploitation of people in Africa. The importance of this fact cannot be overstressed. I hope this marks the beginning of a movement that will grow stronger and that will spread wider.

The statement written by A.R. Dicker setting forth Polaroid's role in South Africa is a tissue of lies aimed at deceiving and misleading a public that is not well informed about conditions in South Africa. It is a gimmick to allay the fears and concerns of the people about the role of this company in South Africa. I propose to expose the false half-truths that hide the ugly nature of this collaboration with a racist and oppressive government.

The statement is couched in vague and general terms about Polaroid not supporting the "implementing of the apartheid program" directly or indirectly. Yet it does say that the I.D.-2 System is being used by industries, army and airforce. These are the forces that exploit people by paying starvation wages, by providing the power necessary to intimidate people and keep them fearful of opposing the regime. And yet Polaroid wants us to believe that it is not supporting the government in its oppression of the black people of South Africa.

Furthermore, Polaroid says that it is not directly involved in South Africa, but works through a local distributor Frank and Hirsch. You people here from Roxbury know very well the role of the absentee landlord who lives in Lexington Arlington and Belmont and owns rat and roach infested, delapidated apartments in the ghetto and charges exorbitant rents for them. This is what Polaroid is saying: We are not in South Africa yet we receive handsome profits through Frank and Hirsch. He is their representative, doing their dirty work while they retain a respectable image here and use their profits to extend their empire.

It is not true that Frank and Hirsch is an equal opportunity employer. No Black in South Africa can receive a wage equal to a white in the same company or firm. This is prohibited by law. The Progressive Party to which Frank and Hirsch belong is not as "progressive" as Polaroid wants you to believe. It does not have Blacks as members. This is the gimmick I talked about--throwing words and names which sound good yet mean little.

Not "all" citizens carry photographed ID cards in South Africa. Only Blacks carry a pass book, a twenty page document that they have to have on their person twenty-four hours a day, the failure of which constitutes a crime. Whites, Coloreds and Asiatics carry cards which they are not required to produce on demand by a policeman at all times. This I say is a blatant lie that Polaroid wants you to believe.

I therefore wish to present Polaroid with the following demands:

1. I call upon Polaroid to disengage completely from South Africa—to stop doing business there, directly or indirectly.
2. To make a public statement condemning apartheid to be published in the U.S. and in South Africa.
3. To turn over some of its ill-gotten profits to the liberation movements in South Africa who are fighting for a better life for Blacks in South Africa.

AND IN SOUTH AFRICA...

Polaroid claim is denied

A DIRECTOR of Frank and Hirsch Limited, the sole importers of Polaroid equipment into South Africa, denied today that a policy of equal advancement between Black and White staff members existed with the company.

The Polaroid Corporation in the United States claimed this recently during confrontations with its Black employees, who are demanding that the corporation withdraw all its business from South Africa.

Frank & Hirsch were unique in South Africa, a Polaroid spokesman was reported as saying, in that they had adopted a full equal employment practice for Africans.

"I do not know where they could have obtained such a statement," Frank & Hirsch director Mr. O. J. Berman said.

"We are governed by the laws of the country. Would they allow the existence of

such a policy? It is not possible."

Within the framework of the law it would advance all employees on merit and ability.

Mr. Berman would not comment on the number of Africans employed by the company, or their wages.

Two Polaroid officials are at present visiting South Africa to investigate how the corporation's products are involved with the policy of apartheid.

Black workers at the corporation's Massachusetts plant claimed Polaroid cameras were being used for pass book photographs.

**THE STAR
JOHANNESBURG**

november 21 1970

NO NON-WHITES OVER WHITES

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr. Marais Viljoen, the Minister of Labour, told Cape Nationalists at their 1970 congress here recently he would act "within hours" if a White worker anywhere in South Africa was placed under the authority of a non-White.

Following a congress discussion on labour which reflected a verligte attitude—"the show must go on, even without White labour"—Mr. Viljoen said the Government was determined to protect the position of the country's White workers.

At the same time, however, non-Whites would be allowed to move into jobs for which no Whites were available. But this would be allowed on an orderly basis and the Government would not permit South Africa to be turned into a "mixed market-place."

Mr. Viljoen heavily stressed the two basic conditions for further non-White involvement in the economy: no White worker should be pushed out

of his job and no White worker should come under the authority of a non-White.

ACTION

If a situation was brought to his notice in which a White worker was pushed out by a non-White, he would take the necessary action within a week. If he was told about a White placed under a non-White's authority, he would act "the very next morning."

DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Viljoen said the Government wanted development in South Africa. It also wanted the non-Whites to have jobs.

"Under the Nationalist party

non-Whites have more jobs than ever before and in the years to come they will get even more work." But the basis had to be an orderly one.

When the South African Government allowed non-Whites into White jobs this would be done on a controlled basis "with due regard to the availability of White labour, White feelings and the opinions of the White-orientated trade unions."

"On this basis, I believe we will cope with our economic situation."

**POLAROID'S FIRST ADVERTISEMENT
APPEARED IN BOSTON NEWSPAPERS
THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 25th**



What is Polaroid doing in South Africa?

Polaroid Corporation has been selling its products in South Africa since 1938. We sell cameras and film and sunglass lenses to a local distributor there. Our business isn't large compared to what we sell in other countries. As a matter of fact it is about equal to our business with a single big American department store.

We have no company in South Africa. No plant. No investments.

Recently a group who call themselves revolutionaries have demanded that we stop doing business with our customers in South Africa. There are several hundred American firms who have their own companies or factories in South Africa and many more who sell products there as we do. It is claimed that American business, by its presence, is supporting the government of South Africa and its policies of racial separation and subjugation of the Blacks.

Why was Polaroid chosen to be the first company to face pressure (handbills, pickets, a boycott) about business in South Africa? Perhaps because the revolutionaries thought we would take the subject seriously.

They were right. We do.

We have built a company on the principle that people should be recognized as individuals.

We abhor *apartheid*, the national policy of South Africa, that divides the races and denies even the most fundamental individual rights to Blacks.

So what is Polaroid doing about South Africa? Is it going to stop doing business there?

We don't know.

That may seem an unusual answer for an American corporation to make. But we feel the question of South Africa is too important and too complex for a hasty decision. We want to understand what is the best solution for the black people of South Africa.

And we feel that solution will be the best one for us too.

We have formed a committee of people from all over the company. Black and white, women and men, hourly and salaried employees. They want to try to understand the complexities of South Africa. A big undertaking? Indeed it is.

Should we stop doing business there? Our financial stake is certainly small. (Less than half of one percent of our worldwide business.) What effect would cutting off business have? Would it put black people out of work there? Would it influence the government's policies? Should we perhaps try to increase our business there to have a stronger say in the employment of Blacks? Should we try to establish businesses in the nations of free black Africa?

How do you answer tough questions like these? The committee is talking to South Africans, both black and white, to economists, to political scientists, to educators. It is reading, studying films, asking questions that require research to answer.

And it is sending four of the group to South Africa. They are going to see and question and report for themselves. South Africa is 10,000 miles away from Cambridge, Massachusetts. They don't want all their information secondhand.

Why is Polaroid concerned about South Africa? Because, if a corporation has a conscience it must be considered to be the collective conscience of the people who manage the company and those who work there. Injustice to Blacks in South Africa concerns many black people and many white people no matter where they live.

We feel South Africa is a question that other companies will try to answer in the future. We seem to be the first. Our answer may not be right for other companies. But we intend to take the time and effort and thought to be sure it is right for us.

When we know what it is, we want to tell you about it.

POLAROID TAKES A TRIP... FOUR EMPLOYEES SENT TO SOUTH AFRICA TO UNCOVER THE "FACTS"

THEIR TRIP:

HAVING A GREAT TIME--WISH YOU WERE HERE!...

POST, December 13, 1970

Johannesburg

Pass-Camera bosses hear Soweto

POLAROID, the company that produces instant cameras used for photographing millions of Africans applying for reference books, sent two Black American executives out here on a fact-finding mission. Their reports might stop sales of the "pass camera" to South Africa.

The fact-finding mission was sparked off by threats from American freedom movements that they would boycott Polaroid if they continued to sell the cameras to an apartheid Government.

The four-man mission flew back to America on Thursday. Before they left they said they would not reveal their findings until they had reported to the firm's workers' committee.

The two outspoken Black representatives, Mr. Chuck Jones and Mr. Ken Anderson, told POST this week: "We are totally against the principles of apartheid. We are aware that the pass system is enslaving the Black man in this country. This is the message we're going to take back to America."

Also, they've told the local branches of their company to pay their workers R120 instead of R60. "This would be a living wage for a family man with three children," said Mr. Jones.

Their first port-of-call in Soweto was the "Fish Pond," the well-known gaytime joint in Dube Village.

"I'll tell my buddies back home what a ball we had in this country. Imagine how excited they'll be when I tell them about our visit to a Soweto (pronounced Sew-ee-too) speakeasy," said the jovial Mr. Jones.

5-star hotel

The two executives booked in at a Johannesburg five star hotel, along with two White Americans who are on the same mission.

Mr. Jones said they were mainly interested in the ordinary man in the street. "And he's told us that his pass, and his photo taken on a Polaroid, stand for injustice."

"For this reason we can recommend to the company that they immediately stop the supply of their products to South Africa because they are promoting the cause of apartheid," he said.

On the other hand some Africans had told him the sales of Polaroid cameras should be encouraged.

Said Mr. Jones: "One intellectual in Dube Village told me the 'pass camera' was good because it only took a few minutes of humiliation to get the picture done.

"If Polaroid stopped selling cameras here for political reasons the Government would get a ready dealer to provide a slower camera. Then the process would take a lot longer."

He said they had already recommended that Polaroid make an annual grant for the education of the children of their African employees out here.

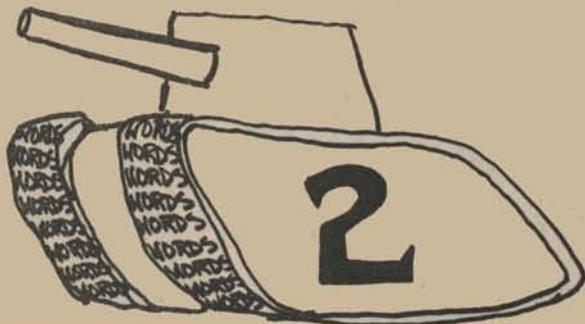
He conceded that there was an air of cloak-and-dagger secrecy over their visit.

"We are treading on dangerous ground. Our company is threatened by a boycott by a lot of people, especially by the radical freedom movements. They say we're assisting apartheid," he said.

THEIR CONCLUSIONS:
[Boston globe: jan. 12th]

"Black South Africans felt that if nothing could be done to stop the system, Polaroid film could be an asset. They wouldn't have to stand in the sun so long," said Chuck Jones, a member of the committee.

ONE MONTH LATER:
POLAROID'S SECOND AD
APPEARED IN EIGHT WHITE
ESTABLISHMENT NEWSPAPERS and
TWENTY BLACK NEWSPAPERS
ACROSS THE U.S.



An experiment in South Africa

Polaroid sells its products in South Africa as do several hundred other American companies. Our sales there are small, less than one half of one percent of our worldwide business.

Recently a group has begun to demand that American business stop selling in South Africa. They say that by its presence it is supporting the government of the country and its policies of racial separation and subjugation of the Blacks. Polaroid, in spite of its small stake in the country, has received the first attention of this group.

We did not respond to their demands. But we did react to the question. We asked ourselves, "Is it right or wrong to do business in South Africa?" We have been studying the question for about ten weeks.

The committee of Polaroid employees who undertook this study included fourteen members — both black and white — from all over the company. The first conclusion was arrived at quickly and unanimously. We abhor *apartheid*, the national policy of South Africa.

The *apartheid* laws separate the races and restrict the rights, the opportunities and the movement of non-white Africans. This policy is contrary to the principles on which Polaroid was built and run. We believe in individuals. Not in "labor units" as Blacks are sometimes referred to in South Africa. We decided whatever our course should be it should oppose the course of *apartheid*.

• • •

Can you learn about a country in ten days? No. Nor in ten weeks. But our group learned one thing. What we had read and heard about *apartheid* was not exaggerated. It is every bit as repugnant as we had been led to believe.

The group returned with a unanimous recommendation.

In response to this recommendation and to the reports of the larger study committee, Polaroid will undertake an experimental program in relation to its business activities in South Africa.

For the time being we will continue our business relationships there (except for sales to the South African government, which our distributor is discontinuing), but on a new basis which Blacks there with whom we talked see as supportive to their hopes and plans for the future. In a year we will look closely to see if our experiment has had any effects.

First, we will take a number of steps with our distributor, as well as his suppliers, to improve dramatically the salaries and other benefits of their non-white employees. We have had indications that these companies will be willing to cooperate in this plan.

Our business associates in South Africa will also be obliged (as a condition of maintaining their relationship with Polaroid) to initiate a well-defined program to train non-white employees for important jobs within their companies.

We believe education for the Blacks, in combination with the opportunities now being afforded by the expanding economy, is a key to change in South Africa. We will commit a portion of our profits earned there to encourage black education. One avenue will be to provide funds for the permanent staff and office of the black-run Association for Education and Cultural Advancement (ASECA). A second method will be to make a gift to a foundation to underwrite educational expenses for about 500 black students at various levels of study from elementary school through university. Grants to assist teachers will also be made from this gift. In addition we will support two exchange fellowships for Blacks under the U.S.-South African Leader Exchange Program.

Polaroid has no investments in South Africa and we do not intend to change this policy at present. We are, however, investigating the possibilities of creating a black-managed company in one or more of the free black African nations.

Why have we undertaken this program? To satisfy a revolutionary group? No. They will find it far from satisfactory. They feel we should close the door on South Africa, not try to push it further open.

What can we hope to accomplish there without a factory, without a company of our own, without the economic leverage of large sales? Aren't we wasting time and money trying to have an effect on a massive problem 10,000 miles from home? The answer, our answer, is that since we are doing business in South Africa and since we have looked closely at that troubled country, we feel we can continue only by opposing the *apartheid* system. Black people there have advised us to do this by providing an opportunity for increased use of black talent, increased recognition of black dignity. Polaroid is a small economic force in South Africa, but we are well known and, because of our committee's visit there, highly visible. We hope other American companies will join us in this program. Even a small beginning of co-operative effort among American businesses can have a large effect in South Africa.

How can we presume to concern ourselves with the problems of another country? Whatever the practices elsewhere, South Africa alone articulates a policy exactly contrary to everything we feel our company stands for. We cannot participate passively in such a political system. Nor can we ignore it. That is why we have undertaken this experimental program.

Polaroid Corporation

THE RESPONSE . . .

POLAROID WORKERS:

The Polaroid Company, since our protest began, October 5, used all techniques, such as advertisement, bribery, intimidation, and financial harrassment, treachery and lies to cover the magnitude of its deeds in South Africa. Edwin H. Land founded Polaroid in 1937. In 1938 he began to build his \$600 million empire off the back of black South Africans. His personal goals of controlling the world through photography—the instant ID-2 system—have been perfected in South Africa and is being sold throughout the world as a repressive tool of technology.

Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement will enforce an international boycott against Polaroid until they completely disengage from South Africa or until South Africa is liberated in the name of her peoples.

PRWM calls upon all right-thinking people to boycott all Polaroid products until Polaroid is forced out of South Africa.

We see the South African apartheid system as the symbol of the many inhumanities in the United States. We cannot begin to deal with racism in Polaroid or the U.S. until Polaroid and the U.S. cease to uphold and support apartheid. Black people in South Africa are enslaved and dehumanized in order to ensure the security of apartheid and the capitalists' margin of profit. The United States and its corporate society has made explicit its intention of profits at any human expense.

We demand that we no longer be used as tools to enslave our brothers and ensure corporate profits. The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement and our black brothers in South Africa have dedicated their lives to the struggle of oppressed peoples.

Issued 1/12/71 in response to Polaroid ad

THE PUBLIC:

Polaroid—"Tragic" decision

In a full page advertisement in The Boston Globe (Jan. 13), Polaroid Corp. announced (1) that it will not terminate its business activities in South Africa, (2) that it will train non-whites for "important" jobs and (3) that it will financially support education for blacks as the "key to change."

The Polaroid Corp., in support of its decision to continue a business relationship with the Republic of South Africa, cites the fact that they "talked to and listened to more than 100 black people of South Africa" and to "a broad spectrum of whites." What Polaroid and so many Americans fail to realize is that it is a treasonable offense for any South African inside or outside the republic to advocate a policy of economic withdrawal. In terms of both the General Law Amendment Act. No. 76 of 1962, Section 21 (2) and the Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967, support for economic sanctions is illegal and carries a possible death sentence (minimum penalty five years). In both acts the accused is guilty until proven innocent. No one inside South Africa would

be foolish enough to openly advocate a policy of economic withdrawal — not even to Polaroid's visiting team.

Polaroid's "experiment" in South Africa is to train non-whites for "important" jobs in Polaroid-connected companies. No matter what, Polaroid cannot bypass the mass of discriminatory labor legislation that makes it illegal for any black man to occupy a position senior to any white man in a company. Industrial Labor Acts specifically confine blacks to certain jobs, while white government spokesmen from the Prime Minister and cabinet members down the line have constantly reiterated that they will never allow blacks into responsible position over whites. What a farce the "important" jobs become when every white in the company has to occupy jobs senior to every black.

Polaroid states that "education" is the "key to change in South Africa." All education for black South Africans is under government control through the Bantu Education Department. Private education for blacks is illegal. Bantu (black) education is based on the premise that "the Bantu must be guided to serve his own com-

munity. There is no place for him in the European (white) community above the level of certain forms of labor." This premise is rigidly enforced in all black schools. This is education for servitude. Polaroid, by stating that education is the "key to change," calmly ignores the years of struggle against apartheid — including Bantu Education.

It is tragic that Polaroid, a liberal corporation in the United States, has done precisely what the South African government would want — agreed to continue to operate in South Africa. For the South African government is secure in the knowledge that inside the country no company, corporation or individual can effectively combat apartheid in business except by acting illegally. Polaroid's agents, Frank and Hirsh, have already stated that they cannot implement "equal opportunities" in their operations, nor will they act illegally. Any program that they initiate will be tokenism at best, for the law is apartheid.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Former President, National Union,
South African Students

Cambridge

FM CURRENT AFFAIRS

Progress or propaganda?

The decision by the US photographic firm, Polaroid, to resist mounting pressure for a boycott, and to continue selling to South Africa ("but on a new basis") has been hailed by the company's friends as a return to sanity, and condemned by its enemies as an insult to all Black people.

SA's Ambassador in the US, Mr H L T Taswell, has criticised the decision for displaying a "holier-than-thou" attitude. Economics Minister Louwrens Muller has said he has no objections.

What are the facts? First, Polaroid products, which include identity card systems, industrial products, cameras and films, will be available on the SA market as before.

Next, Polaroid has announced that its SA distributor, as well as that company's suppliers of locally made Polaroid parts, are to improve non-White wages "drastically."

The distributor is Frank & Hirsch (F&H). It employs a few Coloureds and Indians and 155 Africans. Of these, 37 are classed as unskilled and receive a minimum wage of R60 a month. This is R10 to R15 a month more than the minimum laid down in the wage determination for the distributive trade, but is R3 a month less than the subsistence minimum the Johannesburg municipality calculated was necessary in 1969 for a family of six in Soweto.

It is R35 a month less than the Institute of Race Relations regards as the effective minimum monthly income needed to pay, not only for subsistence needs like food, clothing and shelter, but also for the bare minimum of furniture, personal care and so on.

Polaroid has said that F&H will be obliged to initiate a well-defined programme to train non-Whites for important jobs.

Presently the company employs several African supervisors and one African mailing clerk. These are considered to be the most important African jobs in the organisation.

One or two of the supervisors were appointed this week and were awarded

salary increases of R10 to R20 a month. Most of them now receive between R150 and R200 a month.

This is similar to the range of salaries F&H, like other Johannesburg firms, pays its junior White typists.

Could African employees rise to higher positions than supervisor? Presently Black supervisors at F&H have no control over the work of Whites and government has made it quite clear that as a general principle it will not allow Whites to work under Blacks.

So it would appear that Africans at F & H could not aspire to managerial status, except in all-Black departments.

For the same reason it would seem that Blacks are blocked from the board.

Polaroid sunglasses are made in this country by SA Sunglasses. It employs 14 Africans and two Whites. The most senior African is the factory supervisor who gets R23 a week. The most senior job is manager-director, a position filled by the owner of the firm. Just how SA Sunglasses could "initiate a well-defined programme to train non-Whites for important jobs within the company" is therefore hard to imagine.

On the education front, however, Polaroid's experiment looks more promising. For a start it is giving a substantial amount (said to be about R10 000) to the African controlled Association for Education and Cultural Advancement. According to Aseca's President, Manasseh Moerane, this is the amount the Association needs to establish and staff an office for a year.

One of Aseca's main aims is to raise money for African school buildings and teachers' salaries. It also gives bursaries to trainee teachers.

Also on the education front, Polaroid intends making a gift to a foundation to "underwrite educational expenses for about 500 Black students".

If "underwrite" means "pay for" and if the 500 were divided equally between elementary schools (half

boarders), high schools (also half boarders), universities and teacher training colleges, the cost would be R58 000 a year.

The Institute of Race Relations, which runs 11 bursary funds, including the Isaacson Foundation Bursary



Identity card system . . . still available

Fund and the Robert Shapiro Trust, would be the ideal body to administer an amount like this.

Polaroid has not disclosed its SA profits, but its sales are R1m to R1.5m a year. Its net profit margin on total sales is 13.8 per cent and assuming this ratio applies to sales to SA as well, the company's SA profits could be in the region of R150 000 to R200 000 a year.

The more it ploughs back into African education, the more friends it should win — at least in this country.

+ One South African Rand (R) equals \$1.40 in U.S. currency. Thus, R60 equals \$84.00.

STATEMENT BY HAROLD L.T. TASWELL
SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.
January 15th, 1971

POLAROID AND SOUTH AFRICA

Faced by trouble within its own organization and by demands that it cease trading with South Africa, the Polaroid Corporation has inserted advertisements in certain American papers regarding the sale of its products in South Africa.

Polaroid castigates South Africa, abhors its racial policy and proposes certain courses of action.

It says that "whatever the practices elsewhere South Africa articulates a policy exactly contrary to everything we feel our company stands for."

We in South Africa are used to the "holier than thou" approach. We know there are those who like to confess South Africa's "sins" in public and who hope thereby to save their own souls.

I will reform it (the educational system for Africans) so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them...racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to the Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of a frustrated people who have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled.

---Henrik Verwoerd,
former Prime Minister
of South Africa





POLAROID CORPORATION

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

February 10, 1971

Miss Caroline Hunter
Research Laboratories
Polaroid Corporation
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Caroline:

In the recent past you have been, and you are currently, involved in the public advocacy of a boycott of Polaroid Corporation and its products. Such conduct is inconsistent with your responsibility as an employee of the Company.

Your persistent activities in fomenting public disapproval of the enterprise which employs you violates elementary principles of propriety and good faith. You have been involved in a deliberate campaign calculated to damage the well-being of a Company which represents the interests and commitments of thousands of employees and stockholders.

We will no longer tolerate a situation in which you accept the benefits of employment by Polaroid Corporation while you strive to hinder or counteract the effectiveness of its operations.

Your activities constitute misconduct detrimental to the best interests of the Company, and for this reason you are suspended from your employment at Polaroid Corporation, without pay. This suspension is to take effect immediately and may be followed by discharge upon further investigation.

Yours truly,

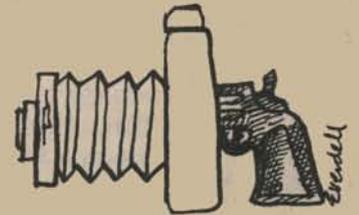
POLAROID CORPORATION

Terry W. Milligan
Laboratory Manager
Color Photography Research Laboratory

TWM:cbl

CC: Employees' Committee
Payroll Department

POLAROID'S OTHER TACTICS



Polaroid Corp. Suspends Anti-Apartheid Leader

Behind Polaroid's sweet-talk lurks the ever-ready instrument of repression: get rid of the trouble-makers. Like other companies Polaroid is willing to use it when the political going gets too tough for them. As the boycott spread, political pressure against Polaroid increased. Its response was to frighten its workers from supporting the boycott by threatening suspension and then to make the threat real by suspending Caroline Hunter, a member of the PWRM. A few days later her suspension was revoked--she was fired.



POLAROID CORPORATION

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

To: All Members of the Company
From: Personnel Policy Committee
Date: February 9, 1971
Subject: BOYCOTTS

Recently certain employees of the Company have publicly initiated or supported a boycott of the Company and its products. A boycott is a deliberate attack on the well-being of a corporate enterprise. A boycott is calculated to damage the Company, to reduce its volume of business, and adversely to affect its public image and the interests of its employees and its stockholders.

Any public support of, or any public advocacy of, a boycott of Polaroid products by Polaroid employees has been, is, and will continue to be "misconduct detrimental to the best interests of the Company" (as defined in PP-06.4) and any Polaroid employee so engaged has been, and is, subject to severe disciplinary action, including discharge.

SUPPORT

The PWRM is not alone in its fight against Polaroid's involvement in South Africa. Since the beginning of the struggle, the PWRM has received a growing amount of support from a wide range of people and groups. The boycott of Polaroid products has spread around the world through demonstrations and leaflets. Liberation fighters in South Africa, American workers, students and just ordinary community people have all raised their voices to protest Polaroid's continued presence in South Africa. What follows are reports from just a few of the groups which support the PRWM.

ABROAD...


western union

Telegram

927A EST NOV 06 70 BA088 KB106

MISS CAROLINE HUNTER

CAMBRIDGEMASS12140

ON BEHALF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE ANC SA SUPPORT STAND OF
REVOLUTIONARY POLAROID WORKERS MOVEMENT WITH REGARD TO POLAROID
INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA ENDORSE YOUR DEMANDS FOR TOTAL
DINSNGAGEMENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS DENOUNCING APARTEID STOP
RE AFFORM ANC PROGRAMME DEMANDS THAT THE NATIONAL WEALTH
OF SA MUST BE RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
REG SEPTEMBER EUROPEAN AND UK CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES

The African National Congress (ANC) is a liberation movement currently engaged in armed struggle in South Africa.

AT HOME ... ROXBURY, MASS.

Early in December 1970, Polaroid donated \$20,000 to Boston's Black United Front. The Front already supported the boycott of all Polaroid products. Now it had to decide what to do with Polaroid's gift.

At a special meeting in Roxbury, more than 200 members of the black community decided to accept the money, but to give one half of it to the African National Congress, a liberation movement in South Africa, and the other half to the Black United Front in Cairo, Illinois.

This decision followed a dramatic confrontation between Ken Williams of the PWRM, and John Carrington, a black administrator from Polaroid. Williams accused Polaroid of bribing black people. Carrington claimed that the money was given with no strings attached. As the argument became heated, Williams told Carrington: "I have tried to encourage the brothers in Polaroid to put aside their personal gains for the common interest. If you want to be a big man, be a black man." After the decision, Polaroid privately spread the word that corporate contributions to the Front's activities would be hurt by the action. Polaroid was particularly bitter because its trick backfired: the black community refused to be divided or bought off. The decision indicated that black people demand liberation, not liberalism, from white corporate America. This fact, more than the loss of a mere \$20,000, was what frightened and annoyed Polaroid.

DAVID DEITCH

Polaroid and Black Front

Something that the corporate state is great at doing is diverting people's attention from fundamental issues to trivia, disguising what is basic under a barrage of advertising and plastic gimmickry that promises material salvation in exchange for public power. This typical perversion of values is contained within the Polaroid-in-South Africa situation.

The issue of Polaroid in South Africa has been complicated recently by the corporation's donation of \$20,000 to the United Black Appeal, the fund-raising arm of the Black United Front, which had based its solicitations for use of the gifts on local black development projects. In this case, however, the Front decided to split the \$20,000 gift between black liberation organizations in South Africa and the Black United Front of Cairo, Ill., where sporadic civil war has been underway.

Polaroid said that it was "shocked" by the Front's decision, and the Bay State Banner, a black weekly that dutifully carries the corporate message into Roxbury, predicted that the corporate money tap would be shut off in retribution. By calling the Front's credibility into ques-

tion and emphasizing this point through the media, Polaroid has succeeded in diverting public attention from the fundamental issues of its involvement and tacit support of racist South Africa, and the fact that its identification equipment is being used in many other places as an instrument of human oppression.

Since last fall, the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement has been pressuring the company to disengage from South Africa and support black liberation there with money and by serving as a model for other corporations with a "liberal image." For Polaroid, the RWM was the black plague because of its uncompromising moral stand. It was the enemy that couldn't be negotiated with.

The question was whether the Black United Front would also consider RWM the enemy and the answer was no. To its credit, the Front took the same moral stand designed not only to unite a very large chunk of the black community in this area, but also to express solidarity with oppressed blacks everywhere in the world.

Polaroid has sent a delegation of four workers (since returned) to South Africa to "help it decide" whether to leave or stay. One wonders what sort of fundamentally important information the delegation expected to find out that the company didn't already know.

If Polaroid pulls out of South Africa, as it should, then one important RWM demand will have been validated by the company itself. Under the circumstances it would be inconsistent to complain that \$10,000 of its money is being used for black South African liberation, and it should make another big contribution. If Polaroid does not pull out, the Front can hardly be faulted for contrasting its own moral consistency with Polaroid's contradictions.

The basic issue is not what the Front did with Polaroid's money but whether Polaroid gets out of South Africa. The public relations aspect of this story must not be allowed to obscure the overriding moral issue which is Polaroid's role in the system which oppresses human beings. This applies to any white liberal interested in fighting repression and protecting his own eroding liberties.

Attempts, legal and otherwise, might be made to block the Front's fund-raising capability because of its Polaroid stand. This would be unfortunate and simply expose the conditional nature of the donations from people who believe themselves to be well-meaning. It would, once again, expose the reality of corporate liberalism.

Polaroid denies that its \$20,000 contribution was an attempt to rebuild its crumbling image. There is some controversy over how direct this effort was. The subsequent pressure on the Front by Polaroid and others, however, indicates that the donations are made less because it's the right thing to do and much more for political purposes.

...ANDOVER-NEWTON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

by the Student Cabinet, the Faculty, and the Board of Trustees of Andover-Newton Theological School

AND COMMUNICATED

directly to Edwin H. Land, President of Polaroid Corporation, through the office of the President Roy Pearson

- That, we, the community of Andover-Newton Theological School, do support and endorse the boycott of all Polaroid products until the aforementioned demands disengaging Polaroid from all relationships with the white ruled regime of South Africa are met in full,
- That, we trust that Polaroid will react immediately to its economic, political, and moral imperatives to meet these demands, even as Polaroid has been noted as being a humanitarian and deeply concerned institution,
- That, Polaroid realize the significance of its disengagement from South Africa as a political incentive for other corporations of the business world and for the government of the United States to follow the example of disengagement and as a consciousness raising action to educate the people of the United States to the real events of the racism of South Africa,
- That, such noted action on the part of Polaroid should be conceived as exemplary toward the examination of the institutional racism built into and permeating, often in covert ways, social systems within our country, including even our own theological school,
- And
- That, this resolution be made public through the office of the President of the school, copies being made accessible to the news media, and copies being sent directly to the heads of religious bodies and to the presidents of theological insitutions in the United States, and copies being sent directly to the heads of religious bodies within South Africa.

This Resolution has not yet been adopted by either the Faculty or Trustees despite strong student support for it. Significantly, David Skinner, the President of this divinity school, is also a Director of Polaroid.

US companies in South Africa

(Africa Research Group)

One of the best forms of support for the struggle at Polaroid is to extent the fight to other U.S. companies which do business with South Africa. Over the past year a number of anti-South African protests have been launched in the U.S. Here are the highlights:

---The Episcopal Church has demanded that General Motors completely disengage from South Africa.

---Gulf Oil's support for Portugal in Angola was strongly protested by the United Church of Christ and the United Presbyterian Church. Many other groups joined in anti-Gulf demonstrations and disruptions.

---Workers at IBM have spoken out against IBM's sales to South Africa.

---Students at the University of Michigan have closed their job placement center to recruiters from any U.S. company which deals with South Africa.

---Students in Wisconsin have singled out 20 large Wisconsin businesses for their support of South Africa and have protested against these companies.

Polaroid is only the beginning. U.S. companies continue their dealings with South Africa. Anti-fascist forces will continue to expand the struggle. American corporations are scared by such protest, as indicated in a revealing interview last year in the Wall Street Journal: "We don't want to call attention to our activities in South Africa and cause a whole mob of black militants and radical students to picket our offices in the U.S."

Following is a list of some of the many U.S. companies in South Africa which should be called attention to.

The following major U.S. manufacturing companies had operating plants or subsidiaries in South Africa in 1960.

This list was issued by the New York Stock Exchange and omits all companies not traded on that Exchange. It also omits companies with only sales or service offices in South Africa, and all banks and financial companies. It also omits, of course, all the companies which have moved into South Africa since 1960.

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Abbott Laboratories</i> | <i>International Business Machines</i> |
| <i>Addressograph - Multigraph</i> | <i>International Harvester</i> |
| <i>Allied Chemical</i> | <i>International Packers</i> |
| <i>American Bank Note</i> | <i>International Telephone and Teleg.</i> |
| <i>American Chicle</i> | <i>Johnson and Johnson</i> |
| <i>American Cyanamid</i> | <i>Joy Manufacturing</i> |
| <i>American Home Products</i> | <i>Kellogg</i> |
| <i>American Metal Climax</i> | <i>Kendall</i> |
| <i>American Steel Foundries</i> | <i>Kimberly Clark</i> |
| <i>Armstrong Cork</i> | <i>Link - Belt</i> |
| <i>Baxter Laboratories</i> | <i>Masonite</i> |
| <i>Beech - Nut Life Savers</i> | <i>Merck</i> |
| <i>Black and Decker</i> | <i>Metro - Goldwyn - Mayer</i> |
| <i>Borden</i> | <i>Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing</i> |
| <i>Bristol - Meyers</i> | <i>National Cash Register</i> |
| <i>Carborundum</i> | <i>National - Standard</i> |
| <i>Chicago Pneumatic Tool</i> | <i>Newmont Mining</i> |
| <i>Chrysler</i> | <i>Olin Mathieson Chemical</i> |
| <i>Coca - Cola</i> | <i>Otis Elevator</i> |
| <i>Colgate - Palmolive</i> | <i>Parke - Davis</i> |
| <i>Combustion Engineering</i> | <i>Pepsi - Cola</i> |
| <i>Corn Products</i> | <i>Phillips Petroleum</i> |
| <i>Crown Cork & Seal</i> | <i>Procter & Gamble</i> |
| <i>Dow Chemical</i> | <i>Revlon</i> |
| <i>Eastman Kodak</i> | <i>Rexall Drug & Chemical</i> |
| <i>Electric Storage Battery</i> | <i>Richardson - Merrell</i> |
| <i>Ferro</i> | <i>Schering</i> |
| <i>Firestone Tire & Rubber</i> | <i>Smith (A.O.)</i> |
| <i>FMC</i> | <i>Smith Kline & French</i> |
| <i>Ford Motor</i> | <i>Sperry Rand</i> |
| <i>Gardner - Denver</i> | <i>Standard Brands</i> |
| <i>General Electric</i> | <i>Standard Oil Co. of Calif.</i> |
| <i>General Foods</i> | <i>Sterling Drug</i> |
| <i>General Motors</i> | <i>Symington Wayne</i> |
| <i>General Tire & Rubber</i> | <i>Timken Roller Bearing</i> |
| <i>Gillette</i> | <i>Twentieth Century - Fox Film</i> |
| <i>Goodrich (B.E.)</i> | <i>Underwood</i> |
| <i>Goodyear Tire and Rubber</i> | <i>United Artists</i> |
| <i>Harsco</i> | <i>United Shoe Machinery</i> |
| <i>Hewitt - Robins</i> | <i>United States Rubber</i> |
| <i>Ingersoll - Rand</i> | <i>Upjohn</i> |
| <i>Interchemical</i> | <i>Warner - Lambert Pharmaceutical</i> |

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE BOYCOTT

If you want to help build the struggle, contact any organization around the country which is supporting the boycott. Here are the names and addresses of just a few.

American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, New York
or 711 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
or 1514 S. Albany, Chicago, Illinois

Community Change, 7 Eaton Street, Wakefield, Mass.

Pride, Inc., 1536 U Street, Washington, D.C.

Research Group for the Liberation of Portuguese Africa, c/o Ron Chilcote,
University of California, Riverside, Riverside, Calif.

Southern Africa Committee, 637 W. 125th Street, New York, New York

League of Revolutionary Black Workers, 179 Cortland, Highland Park, Mich.

Black Jaguars, 2323 Hartford Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 306 N. Brooks Street, Madison, Wis.

Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action, J. Shapiro, Dept. of
Physics, Fordham University, New York, New York

Student Mobilization Committee, 165 Brookline Street, Cambridge, Mass.

POLAROID DISTRIBUTION CENTERS

Atlanta, Ga., 3720 Brown Mill Rd., S.E.

Burlingame, Calif., 875 Stanton Rd.

Cleveland, Ohio, 4640 Manufacturing Rd.

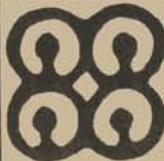
Dallas, Texas, 9029 Governors Row

El Segundo, Calif., 2040 Maple Ave.

Needham, Mass., 140 Kendrick St.

Oak Brook, Ill., 2020 Swift Drive

Paramus, N.J., W-95 Century Rd.



The Africa Research Group is a radical research/action collective concerned with exposing and fighting American imperialist penetration of Africa. In addition to this pamphlet, ARG publishes a number of original articles about U.S. imperialism and reprints articles written by African radicals. For a complete list of ARG publications, simply write to ARG, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass., 02138.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

Do Not Buy Any Polaroid Products

*Insist that the Stores You Patronize Do The Same
Urge Organizations You Belong to to Take A Stand*

If You Are A Student:

*Find Out if Your School Owns Polaroid Stock
Stop Your Campus Store From Selling Polaroid Products
Find Out if Your School Owns Polaroid Stock
Pressure them to sell or Notify the PWRM
Stop Polaroid Recruiters from Using Campus Facilities
Do Not allow yourself to be Photo-Identified by Polaroid ID 2 Equipment*

If You Are A Stockholder:

*Allow us to use your shares in a stock challenge
to reverse Polaroid's South African involvement*

If You Are A Worker:

*Is Your company involved in South Africa?
Find Out. Get your union working on it
and form a group to act yourself*

For more information on liberation movements in South and southern Africa, contact any of the following groups.

African National Congress (ANC), 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A--4NL.
ANC publishes Sechaba, a monthly magazine of the South African revolution. (\$6.00 per year, airmail)

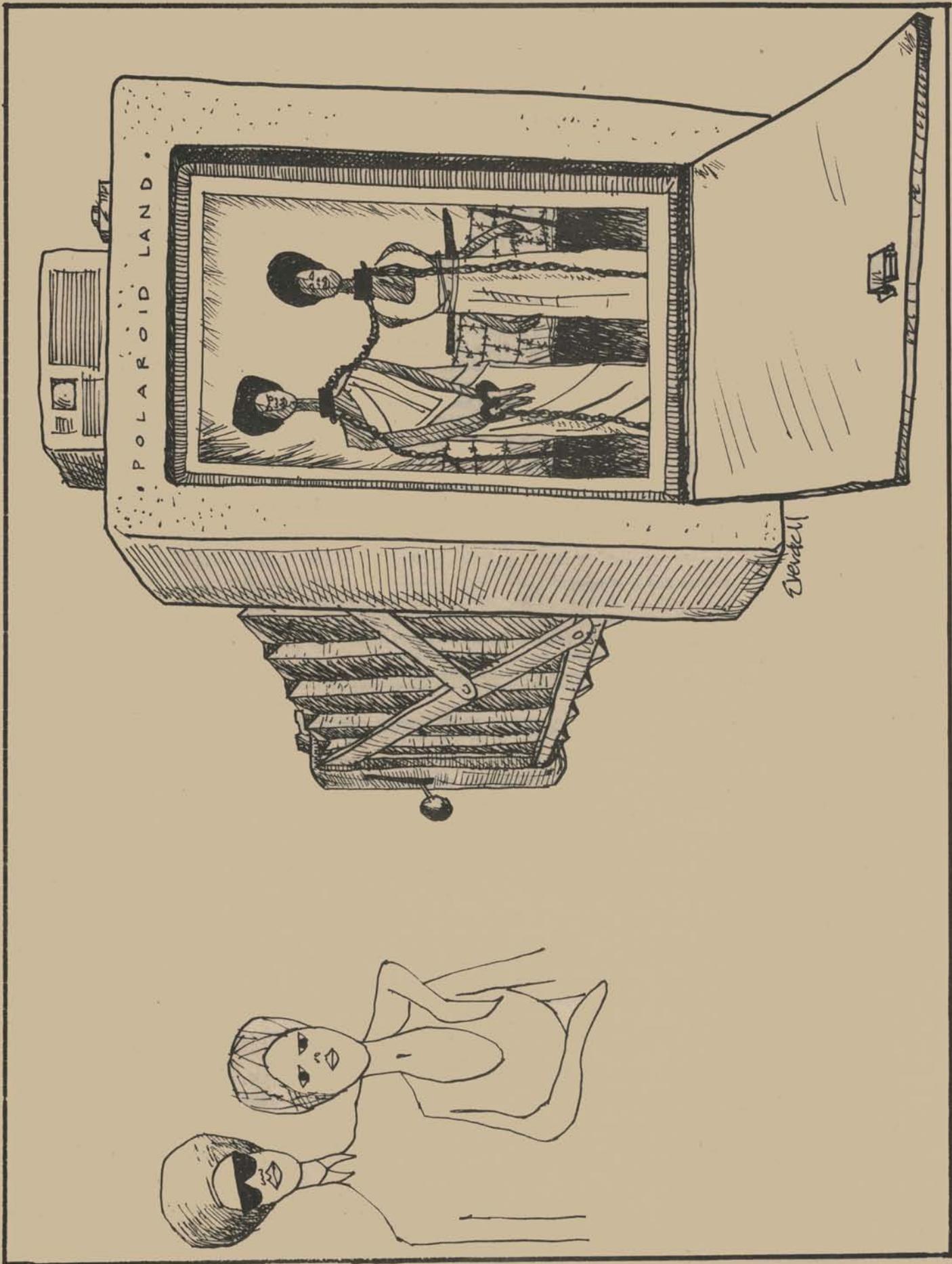
Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138

American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Liberation Support Movement, Box 338, Richmond, British Columbia, Canada

Committee of Returned Volunteers, 840 Oakdale Ave.; Chicago, Illinois

Southern Africa Committee, 637 W. 125th St., New York, N.Y.
Publishes Southern Africa, a summary of events in southern Africa.



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Dewick