

Clarion

CALL

Volume 3, 1988



SANCTIONS

Blacks don't want to be beggars

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The implications of the US Dellums Bill are so crucially important to the lives of millions of black South Africans that this issue of Clarion Call focuses on the issue of disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa. The tragic consequences for black South Africans should this Bill be passed and implemented are rarely debated internationally apart from the hackneyed cliché from certain quarters that "blacks are prepared to suffer for their liberation." Nowhere in the Dellums Bill does it mention for how long they are expected to suffer. The reality is that men, women and children are already starving in South Africa. Youth are already brain damaged due to malnutrition and women are aborting their babies because they know they will not be able to feed them. Poverty-related violence is increasing. The facts are that the majority of blacks do not support the sanctions that certain individuals and political interest groups in the US and elsewhere are trying to ram down their throats. This issue attempts to present black and other viewpoints not often heard - or totally ignored - in the United States and Europe.

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Clarion

I . N . D . E . X



2. Dr M G Buthelezi : Why I cannot support sanctions



18. Rural hunger and sanctions



30. Archbishop Desmond Tutu... his personal support for sanctions

Who is right and who is wrong ?	5
An alternative to sanctions	6
A violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	12
Senator Edward Kennedy and US research into sanctions	14
The jobs already lost	16
Blacks don't want to be beggars	17
The mouths that have to be fed	18
ANC steps up its violence campaign	20
South Africa's time-bomb	24
Blacks say "no" to sanctions	26
The Church and violence	32
Foreign workers in South Africa	33
What the papers are saying	34
SA may face Ethiopia-type situation	36
Blacks are the losers	38
Entire towns will close down	39
Set Mandela free	40
Christians say no to sanctions	42
Realism not emotion	43
The Catholic position	44
Two views : Cyril Ramaphosa and Sam Motseunyane	46
The late Dr Alan Paton	48



SANCTIONS...

Why I Cannot Support Them

■ *By Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the 1.6 million-member Inkatha liberation movement.*

The lobby for economic sanctions against South Africa has snowballed. About 60 000 jobs have already been lost as a result of disinvestment and another 150 000 as a result of lost international trade. Other estimates offer higher figures than these. All these lost jobs are those of black workers and statistics show that each black breadwinner feeds from nine up to 12 mouths. This means that more than two million black people are already worse off than before because of sanctions. The international experience has been that poverty radicalises, criminalises, is a health hazard and undermines youth education. These effects are already very apparent in South Africa's black townships. Men, women and children are starving in South Africa. Operation Hunger alone feeds more than 1.3 million destitute people. It is incomprehensible to me that Christian, political and trade union leaders can press for more economic sanctions when those already imposed are causing such suffering. There is now also very substantial evidence that the vast majority of black South Africans who oppose apartheid and despise the racist legislation of successive South African governments, also reject the disinvestment/sanctions strategy as an anti-apartheid tactic. They want economic, educational and

social upliftment, not poverty, ignorance and disease. They want jobs, not hunger. Why then are some people so arrogantly insistent on telling blacks what is "good" for them and how much they are prepared to suffer? More and more, with increased spending power, blacks will be able to exert greater influence and have greater power as consumers in the South African economy. Maximising economic growth will maximise opposition to apartheid. Sanctions will make sure this never happens. At present blacks are responsible for 48 percent of consumer spending. If this could be increased to something like 65 percent, black economic power would have become such a major factor that a rearrangement of the priorities of commerce and industry and infrastructural development and a realignment of social forces would have to take place to accommodate the contributory value of the upwardly mobile masses. Sanctions will make sure this never happens. Sanctions are a recipe for violence and despair.

Sanctions are the enemy of all who want South Africa to emerge as a united, non-racial, multi-party democracy. Wherever there is spreading mass poverty, democracy is under siege. It is therefore, to me, vital that whatever we now do to develop a multi-party democracy in South Africa must be concerned with uplifting the poorest of the poor. We must do everything possible at every level to lay foundations for future economic development. Sanctions are not meant to build. They are meant to destroy. Today's generation has its own needs which must be attended to while at the same time we seek to improve the circumstances in which future generations will have to live. It is axiomatic to me that job creation is fundamentally important and that nothing should be done which in any way impairs the rate of development of South Africa's cash economy. The economy of any country cannot be switched on and off like a tap. For blacks, the only dignity that there is in poverty is to be found among those who are doing



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi with South African workers

something about their own poverty - lifting themselves up by their bootstraps. There is a desperate need to salvage human dignity in the poverty that apartheid has thrust on black South Africa. Sanctions will not do this. We cannot wait for some Utopia to emerge overnight. Political liberation in South Africa will come about through distribution of wealth and a realisation of equality of opportunity. Apartheid will ultimately fail because the human rights struggle is allied to economic reality which reinforces the struggle for liberation. Apartheid is economically unworkable and this makes it politically unworkable. The internal stresses and strains which have already done so much to undermine the foundations of apartheid, will be increased in sustained high rates of economic growth.

In theory - and by historical precedent as well - there comes a point where national systems and structures become vulnerable to the extent that they are dependent on the interests of upwardly mobile groups. In South Africa this would be blacks. In every oppressed society it is the rising middle class reaching ceilings in vertical mobility that generates political leadership and power. Black bargaining power increases in times of economic growth. White dependence on blacks increases in times of economic growth. Too few realise the reality that the South African

Government has a vast battery of possible adjustments it can make to immunise the white electorate from the harsh effects an effective sanctions campaign can have. In these adjustments the price of failed sanctions will be sifted ever-increasingly lower and lower down the social scales until blacks pay for the cost. For sanctions to work they would have to be so comprehensive and so rigorously applied that they would end up destroying the foundations of future economic growth. I have stressed time and again that economies cannot be switched on and off at political will and the final effect of really successful sanctions against South Africa would leave any post-apartheid government without the means to govern. If a democratic government is established in South Africa which does not have the means to govern for the benefit of

the people and does not satisfy their aspirations, it will soon be under siege. For me it is not simply a question of bringing about a democracy. It is a question of bringing about a democracy that can last. And yet, in every Western country, there are divisions between those who favour sanctions against South Africa and those who oppose them. There is no agreement about what the actual consequences could be. I agree that the preservation of human rights is a matter of international concern. I agree that the violation of human rights which is inherent in apartheid demand international action. The West has applied moral pressure against Pretoria to no avail and needs to undertake some kind of future action. Punitive economic measures are measures the West feels it can take as one of the few or

the South African Government spells the need for a holocaust and doom. We are the victims of apartheid; we are the oppressed. We suffer from the Draconian measures applied against black South Africans. We are intensely aware of the recalcitrance of the South African State President and his Government. There is, however, only a small minority of blacks in South Africa who have any doubts whatsoever that apartheid can be vanquished and will be vanquished by black opposition to it in South Africa. For us black South Africans it is not a question now of whether apartheid can be eradicated. It is a question of how finally it is going to be eradicated and what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid. Talk of sanctions against South Africa as a last resort and non-violent option, does not

accord with our perceptions. The risks involved in applying economic sanctions against South Africa are not justified by the desperate need to immediately take last resort steps to avoid a holocaust. They are not justified by fears that the Draconian measures which uphold apartheid are so all-powerful that black democracy cannot mount the kind of pressures which will ensure change. The greater the economic development of South Africa is the more vulnerable the National Party's leadership becomes to the final outcome of the conflict between its left and its right. The more Na-

tional Party members perceive South Africa to be threatened from without, the slower this process of internal readjustment will become. The threat of sanctions and the threat of violent onslaughts impairs the process which will inevitably end up creating the pressures which will ensure that State President P W Botha becomes less recalcitrant and more amenable to political reason. An ever-increasing number of blacks and whites are recognising that they have a common cause in wanting a normalised South Africa. A rising tide of opinion in black and white society is demanding the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type industrial democracy. Whites are concurring with blacks that the preservation of the free enterprise system is vital and that the only way this can be assured is by dismantling apartheid.

"As President of Inkatha I dare not express my own opinions. I am an elected leader responsible to the largest mass movement ever to have emerged in the history of South Africa. Inkatha rejects disinvestment as an option blacks wish to endorse. Its members have repeatedly expressed themselves unanimously on this issue at successive Annual General Conferences."

the only options available to it. I argue that these are Western perceptions giving rise to Western reasoning which we as black South Africans reject. I deeply appreciate the sense of outrage Westerners feel when they see how blacks suffer under apartheid in South Africa. I appreciate their humanitarian concerns and I appreciate the moral statements Westerners want to make in calling for sanctions against South Africa. It is tragic that friends of the South African struggle for liberation so disregard the views and the sentiments of the majority of blacks who are the victims of apartheid. Black South Africans fundamentally disagree with Western observers who believe that the struggle against apartheid cannot succeed in bringing about radical change and establishing a just society. Black South Africans disagree that the recalcitrance of

Who Is Right And Who Is Wrong?

Western observers are confused by the different signals which black South Africans are sending out about the desirability or otherwise of sanctions. In assessing who is right and who is wrong, and in assessing who represents the real sentiments of black South Africa, a number of things have to be borne in mind. Opinions of black leaders who cannot be censured by grassroots people must be regarded as more suspect than black leaders who can be censured when it comes to deciding who has the right to speak for black South Africa. As President of Inkatha, I dare not express my own opinions. I am elected to articulate the views of the massive (1.6 million) membership of Inkatha. Inkatha rejects disinvestment and its members have repeatedly expressed themselves unanimously on this issue at successive Annual General Conferences. I know of no mass membership organisation which is democratically structured and

which has an elected leadership directly answerable to the people which endorses sanctions. It is black spokesmen in the South African Council of Churches, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions who call for sanctions. Not one of them is directly answerable to a mass membership organisation. They are all chosen for office by committees which are themselves not elected committees. The African National Congress Mission in Exile calls for sanctions. The vast majority of blacks who call for sanctions do so in part because they are committed to destroying the free enterprise system in South Africa. This is understandable because they see the destruction of the South African economy as a necessary step that must be taken before apartheid can be eradicated. It is very significant that black leaders who are most committed to using revolutionary violence to bring about a one-party socialist State, call the loudest

for sanctions. Black democracy in South Africa is shackled. Prominent leaders are in jail, organisations are banned and there is no freedom of expression and freedom of political association for blacks. The black masses in South Africa are precluded from determining the who's who of leadership. It is therefore necessary to judge whether or not the majority of blacks support sanctions or not by looking at the way the ordinary black man in the street behaves. Black workers vote with their feet against disinvestment when they stand in queues outside the factory gates of foreign investors desperately seeking work. Not one single foreign-owned factory is out of production in South Africa because blacks refuse to work in it. In fact in most cases blacks prefer employment in a foreign owned factory because Western investors have led the field of black worker advancement and corporate responsibility. Black South African workers know that unless they work their families starve.



An Alternative To Sanctions

The Path Of Peaceful Change

At a recent meeting in London with Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, both she and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed that change in South Africa was more likely to come about in an expanding economy and not through sanctions. Downing Street officials told *The Times* of London that Mrs Thatcher had emphasised her belief in the important role foreign companies could have in bringing down apartheid. Both leaders had agreed that the key to starting negotiations was the release of Dr Nelson Mandela and the suspension of violence. Andrew McEwen wrote in *The Times* that the Prime Minister's decision to meet Dr Buthelezi was a "pointed gesture, clearly meant to be contrasted with her refusal to meet Mr Tambo, President of the African National Congress, which she described last year as a terrorist organisation..." Mrs Thatcher, said *The Times*, had made it clear that she regarded Dr Buthelezi as the "leading voice of black moderation in South Africa" and the meeting had brought back into focus "the alternative path of peaceful change." In a memorandum to Mrs Thatcher, Dr Buthelezi said apartheid was

doomed and it was only a matter of time before it was dismantled. He expressed his "deep appreciation" to Mrs Thatcher for the quality of her international leadership on the South African issue and thanked her for her opposition to punitive economic sanctions. The battle lines were being drawn, he said, for what South Africa's antagonists hoped would be the final struggle to achieve

they were less clear - to the point of reticence - on a number of related issues. For example : ... How long would it take for the South African Government to be forced to capitulate or at least agree to a democratic power-sharing system? ... What were the consequences should the South African Government not relinquish control? In particular, what were the implications for the

"Mrs Thatcher has made it clear that she regards Chief Buthelezi as the leading voice of black moderation in South Africa... and argues that change is more likely to come about in an expanding economy. To destroy jobs in the search for freedom would be wrong and counter-productive."

THE TIMES, LONDON.

the total economic isolation of South Africa. While the exponents of this approach were perfectly clear about their aim of ridding the country of its present government.

See opposite page

Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, greeting Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi at 10 Downing Street, London, on July 27.

country's economy and for the vast majority of the population who were economically vulnerable? The answer to the latter was that a situation would come into being far worse (in terms of human devastation) than anything ever caused by apartheid. The potential for conflict would increase dramatically - to the disadvantage of blacks. The country would be devastated economically, the worst possible setting for any non-apartheid society which might eventually

arise. He told Mrs Thatcher that people who championed sanctions often asked : "If not sanctions... what else?" This was a question to which there were answers which could not only influence opinion to a point where the disaster of the current course was averted, but could offer a course of alternative economic action aimed at bringing about a liberated and democratic South Africa.



If Not Sanctions, What Else?

A Plan Of Action To Give Blacks A Chance

Dr Buthelezi suggested to Mrs Thatcher that a feasible plan of action be drawn up to achieve the following objectives:

- ... **The economic upliftment of blacks and increased spending power which would arrest their present poverty and curb poverty-related behaviour such as communal violence**
- ... **Greatly increased educational opportunities for blacks**
- ... **An environment which was better conducive to family life and community development**
- ... **The social integration of all South Africa's race groups**
- ... **A redistribution of wealth**
- ... **The elimination of racial discrimination**
- ... **The stimulation of job creation**
- ... **Elimination of the exploitation of labour**
- ... **Protests against apartheid**
- ... **Enhancement of the quality of life for blacks**
- ... **The encouragement of industrial decentralisation to stimulate economic growth in rural communities.**

To achieve these objectives the following plan of action could be considered.

A Conditional Trade/Investment Strategy

This alternative plan of action to sanctions could address all the stated objectives in feasible terms and take into account the likely foreign policy actions of countries who would wish to support the principles contained in such a plan. It should consider the likely economic effects on the entire sub-continent and the practicalities regarding implementation, the mechanics of control, the likely attitudes of the South African Government and the plan's probable acceptability to other major players such as foreign and local business.

A Conditional Trade/Investment strategy would offer substantial benefit to all major participants including the currently disadvantaged peoples of South Africa, overseas investors, foreign governments, the SA business community and all the people of sub-Saharan Africa. Conditional Trade/Investment offered a prescribed code of conduct to all firms operating in South Africa (foreign and local) requiring them to accept certain practices which, if accepted on a large scale, should provide the driving force behind the desired transition of society.

Finer details of the plan, Dr Buthelezi stressed, were open to further debate as to how maximum effect could be achieved. The strategy, as itemised, should therefore be seen in a broad context with the emphasis on its value as a viable, integrated and solid strategy which, with further imaginative input, could be brought to fruition.

A) EDUCATION :

- (a) Employers to offer literacy and basic skills programmes to all black employees. This addresses the need of those generations who, through lack of basic formal education, find themselves disadvantaged.
- (b) Employers to run modern world orientation education for employees and their families. This could be by video showings on such topics as : How to use the legal system ; How to plan personal finance ; Personal health care ; The importance of education ; The role of the trade unions ...etc.
- (c) Employers to offer subsidised education to a certain number of children (two, for the sake of argument) of every black employee with more than a stipulated minimum period of service.
- (d) Employers to introduce strategic staff training with a view to promotion of black skills on the factory floor and the integration of Blacks in the upper strata of the corporate hierarchy.
- (e) Employers to offer university/college bursaries to a selection of deserving black individuals.

B) ECONOMIC UPLIFTMENT :

- (a) Employers to pay all employees equal wages for comparable work.
- (b) Employers to at least meet predetermined minimum wage levels for workers, especially those classified as industrial labour.

OUTLINE OF CONDITIONAL TRADE/INVESTMENT COMMITMENTS :

(c) Employers to consider productivity and initiative-linked incentive pay schemes.

(d) Employers to conform to stringent criteria that discourage retrenchment.

C) EMPLOYEE RELATIONS :

(a) Employers to encourage racial mixing by initiating social gatherings and sports activities among staff.

(b) Employers to insist on courtesy code in all employee interaction.

(c) Employers to encourage a constructive

labour union involvement, to advance labour interests.

D) WORKING CONDITIONS :

(a) Employers to enforce non-segregation of races in any part of the working environment.

(b) Employers to comply with predetermined conditions at the workplace - especially on the factory floor.

E) TRANSPORT :

(a) Employers to take sympathetic action in

respect of the commuting difficulties experienced by many employees.

F) HOUSING :

(a) Employers to introduce revolving loan schemes to assist employees with their housing requirements.

G) HEALTH :

(a) Employers to offer a regular clinic facility to black employees and their families.

(b) Employers to encourage black employees to join an established medical aid scheme.



(c) Employers to provide disability-type insurance for employees.

H) SOCIAL :

(a) Employers to join together in sponsoring social/sports facilities in black townships - especially facilities for the youth.

I) REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

(a) Firms to do business wherever possible with small black businessmen, including the informal sector.

(b) Employers to negotiate share ownership schemes for black employees.

(c) Many of the practices mentioned above amount to a redistribution of the firm's profits for the upgrading of Blacks.

J) JOB CREATION/PROTECTION

(a) See I) (a) above.

(b) Major firms to consider the franchising of production processes to black entrepreneurs.

(c) Employers to use excess profits to create new ventures instead of buying out competing firms and rationalising activities at the cost of jobs.

(d) Firms to consider the employment of venture capital in rural industrial development programmes.

K) POLITICAL CHANGE POLICY :

(a) Employers to bring pressure to bear on the Government to rescind apartheid legislation.

(b) Employers to encourage the Government to work toward a democracy based on full participation by all South Africans.

Dr Buthelezi added : The above suggestions have implications for the earnings of employer firms. They are asked to forfeit a percentage of profits to meet the financial requirements of implementing these principles. Certain protagonists of disinvestment might be motivated by morality and altruism. The plan might appeal to others because it offers a stable environment in which they can continue to operate profitably. However the plan's success would depend on the number of subscribers. It clearly requires additional incentives which make it the natural course for the

business community to subscribe - and perhaps disincentives to resisting subscription.

Suggestions include :

A - FOREIGN COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

(a) Subscribers to have the blessing and encouragement of their own governments and be granted a degree of trade advantage.

(b) Subscribers are allowed to receive further investment from their foreign parent companies.

B - LOCAL COMPANIES

(a) Foreign governments open their internal markets to the products of subscribers, where they compete on their own merits.

(b) Foreign governments allow locally-based subscribers to import the latest technology and expertise. Previously embargoed raw materials are also made available to subscribing companies.

(c) International business forums are opened to participation by the staff of subscribing companies.

(d) Advanced educational opportunities are made available by foreign interests/governments to staff (and their families) of subscribing companies.

(e) Other restrictions against South Africans are lifted in respect of subscribing firms and their staff members.

(f) Non-subscribing firms are disadvantaged by consumer resistance, staff dissatisfaction and ostracism by subscribing firms.

ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT :

It is unlikely that the South African Government would intervene against the Strategy because :

(a) It does not challenge its authority.

(b) Its position against sanctions and disinvestment is close to the Government's own position.

(c) It serves to stimulate the free market and benefit the economy as a whole.

(d) Reduction of poverty would have a positive effect on problems in the black townships.

(e) The stimulation of trade would favour South Africa's balance of payments.

IMPLEMENTATION AND CONTROL :

A body would have to be established to evaluate applications for subscription to the plan and equate the practices to the particular firm's profitability and resources - the degree to which it can meet its requirements. Experts would have to devise appropriate formulas. Monitoring of individual firms' adherence to the practices could be undertaken by any one of various organisations such as :

- a specially constituted "watchdog" body
- The South African Institute of Chartered Accountants ; or
- Specially trained shop stewards.

OTHER POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES :

The process could be the beginning of a future integrated South African society with the integration of cultural value systems and the ending of racial estrangement. There would be immense implications for all the states of the sub-continent of Southern Africa where there are such benefits to be had from co-operation. The plan offers foreign countries the opportunity to make positive foreign policy input to South Africa - as opposed to the negative input being urged on them by the sanctions/disinvestment lobby. There would also be decided economic advantages to the international community in South Africa achieving democratic liberation without the destruction of the economy. Dr Buthelezi concluded : The plan outlined strays into a number of political, social and economic minefields and is open to various criticisms. It must be emphasised therefore that the objectives and fundamental principles are intended simply to offer a framework for a viable alternate plan of action to disinvestment/sanctions. Debate should be encouraged, as should further development of the plan.

What The Future Holds?



With tens of thousands of jobs still to be lost if more sanctions are imposed, a leading South African academic has warned that the country's demographics are "ticking away like a time-bomb" and the country faces catastrophic unemployment.

Half of the eligible workforce in South Africa is likely to be jobless in less than 12 years' time.

Cape Town University deputy vice-chancellor and social ethics professor, James Leatt, says that between 33 percent and 44 percent of South Africa's economically active workforce (the majority being black) cannot be accommodated in the formal sector of the economy on current development trends and economic growth indicators. He told delegates to the Black Management Forum annual congress in Cape Town recently that while businessmen were discussing the economic future, the demographic time-bomb was "ominously ticking away". Of the total population of 34-million, more than 70 percent were African with a steadily increasing

birthrate. More than 50 percent of the African population was under the age of 20 and half lived in urban areas. The percentage of black school leavers with senior certificates or better was already outstripping all other population groups and this was growing. "The demographic pressures already present in our society are enormous and cannot be swept under the carpet," Professor Leatt stressed. By the year 2000, 50 percent of the workforce would be unemployed if more jobs were not created. There was a powerful fiction abroad, he said, that South Africa was a relatively wealthy country whose problem was that its wealth was in the wrong hands. "Irrespective of who owns the wealth of South Africa, this is a comparatively poor country with a GNP per capita eight times lower than the USA and four times lower than New Zealand," Professor Leatt added. "I am not saying that wealth is in the right hands, nor do I want to imply that current redistribution policies can be justified. In fact, I think capitalism and apartheid have piggybacked on one another to the advantage of whites. The point is even more fundamen-

Youth in South Africa. What hope have they got?

tal. The economic base is not substantial enough to defuse the demographic time-bomb which is ominously ticking away. This carries its own compelling imperative." South Africa was a developing country grappling with the twin challenges of industrialisation and democratisation. Accumulation of economic growth required careful nurturing of the economic engine. "There is considerable comparative evidence that market related industrial development has been the most powerful engine of wealth generation the world has known. Not only so, as Adam Smith observed, there is an organic link between commerce and liberty. To put it another way, if market related industrial development is successful in generating economic growth for a sizeable proportion of the population, pressures towards democracy are likely to appear."

Sanctions Will Prolong Agony -

John Kane-Berman



For the outside world to perpetuate the myth that it could end apartheid would simply prolong the agony of the people in South Africa by offering false hopes and empty promises.

This was the thrust of the message delivered in March in Washington by Mr John Kane-Berman, Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, to the United States congressional sub-committees who considered the new proposals to introduce tougher sanctions against South Africa. In evidence before the sub-committees, which asked him to give evidence they appear to have totally ignored, Mr Kane-Berman said sanctions involved great risks and very uncertain gains. There were strategic and moral arguments against sanctions, he said. The single most important strategic objection to economic sanctions was that they would slow down the pace at which the balance of economic power would shift in favour of black people. The moral objection was that if, for example, South Africa was no longer able to export coal, thousands of people, most of them black, would be out of work. "Sanctions would certainly inflict costs on whites too, but their generally higher level of saving gives them a safety net which quite simply does not exist for blacks," he said. He pointed out that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights said everyone had the right to life, that no one should be subject to inhuman treatment, that everyone had the right to work

and the right to an adequate standard of living. To his mind international action that put people out of work was a violation of these clauses of the declaration. Mr Kane-Berman said that as long as the illusion persisted (that the outside world could end apartheid) it strengthened one of the greatest obstructions for action for changes - "the belief that black people are powerless and that they must therefore rely on others to bring about changes on their behalf." He added that there was "no doubt" that sanctions, if effectively imposed, would mean more black people out of work and an increase in the incidence of malnutrition and black infant mortality - already eleven times that among whites. Noting that there was a school of thought that said that starving blacks would rise up in revolt, Mr Kane-Berman suggested that this was doubtful. Nevertheless, even if they did, "they would face a security apparatus already immeasurably strengthened by sanctions because they forced it to become self-sufficient in every item of armament it needs to suppress internal revolt, not to mention its capacity to inflict enormous costs elsewhere on the sub-continent. No real threat to the security of the State, these youngsters would certainly pose a threat to a black trade union movement already worried that the growing reserve army of unemployed can undermine the bargaining power that it has won against heavy odds." Mr Kane-Berman said that there was substantial evidence garnered during the past 15 years which demonstrated that a growing economy generated forces which

blacks could harness to empower themselves to do the job of dismantling apartheid. Foreign influence could help them in this task - but only if it did nothing to undermine black empowerment. "The most striking development in South Africa is indeed how ordinary black people are taking matters into their own hands, and the very parliament from which they are excluded is having to catch up behind them," he said. The crucial ingredients of black empowerment were:

- Rising wages enabling people to move out of overcrowded townships into the usually more expensive accommodation in white suburbs;
- Increasing levels of education and skills shown to have forced a policy change with regard to black unions;
- The availability of more jobs and better incomes in urban as compared with rural areas, and
- Action and organisation.

He argued that fully-fledged imposition of sanctions by the UN Security Council were not a realistic possibility in the foreseeable future. They would have to be backed by a complete naval blockade of the coastline to bring about the desired objective. Conceding that most black people favoured pressure against apartheid, Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that a steady stream of different opinion surveys strongly suggested that the

majority of black people rejected pressure which threatened their own jobs. He suggested that the reluctance of most blacks to sacrifice their jobs should be respected. "Not only because it is their standpoint, but also because

there is a great risk that damage to the economy will retard the process of black empowerment." Mr Kane-Berman said that from a strategic point of view the most im-

"Great risks... and very uncertain gains"

portant argument against sanctions was that they will undermine the most important non-violent weapon that black people had at their disposal, which was their labour

power. He reminded the subcommittees that black people constituted 65 percent of the economically active population and an increasing proportion of the national workforce's skilled component. He also reminded them that by the year 2000 blacks will account for 44 percent of private consumption expenditure, against 20 percent in 1970.

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says that everyone has the right to life, that no one should be subject to inhuman treatment, that everyone has the right to work and the right to an adequate standard of living. To my mind, international action that puts people out of work is a violation of these clauses of the Declaration." - John Kane-Berman, Executive Director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

What will Kennedy say now?

The influential Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre has concluded in a recent report that most black South Africans do not favour sanctions and disinvestment. The report by the IRRC is especially significant as the Centre's highly respected research has been a catalyst in the past for the US disinvestment campaign. The Centre is an independent non-profit research organisation.

"MOST BLACKS NOT IN FAVOUR OF SANCTIONS"

tion. It based its latest findings on an analysis of existing opinion polls and interviews

conducted independently in South Africa by its own researchers. The report identifies considerable differences between black rank-and-file opinion and the positions of opposition elites whom Congressional sanctions proponents cite to justify their actions. The IRRC discounts claims that the polls have been distorted by fear of official reprisal. "The State appears more concerned with silencing public figures (than ordinary people



seen in the photo
interviewed by press
return from SA in 1985

who are capable of mobilising sanctions campaigns." Unlike most sanctions advocates, the IRRC finds the polling data sufficiently credible to conclude: "The majority of Africans in SA do not advocate that US and other foreign companies withdraw from SA

and do not favour economic sanctions against SA as a tactic to help end apartheid if those measures will also increase black unemployment." Based on two polls - the Mark Orkin survey of August-September last year and the German African Foundation survey of June-July - the IRRC shows support for sanctions at all costs by a "hard-core minority" measures between 14% and 26%. Three polls sponsored by separate organisations between June 1984 and May

1986 had shown evidence that a substantial minority of urban blacks - some 25% - advocated disinvestment by foreign companies. This is in direct contradiction to numerous surveys conducted by proponents of sanctions and disinvestment which when published received considerable publicity.

Mark Orkin, Director of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry working in association with the Institute for Black Research, published a book on sanctions called "The Struggle and The Future - What Black South Africans Really Think" (Ravan Press) in which he claimed that 73% of Blacks in metropolitan areas in South Africa favour some form of disinvestment. In the book Mr



Orkin was highly critical of the stance taken by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha and produced figures which he claimed showed "minority support" for their decision to primarily oppose sanctions for moral and practical reasons. The IRRC report vindicates Dr Buthelezi's consistent claim over many years that the majority of South Africans do not support sanctions. The report also supports views expressed in Clarion Call, Volume 1, 1985.

The IRRC report said that what almost all of the polls also showed was that many more blacks might conceivably support sanctions and disinvestment if they were convinced that such actions would NOT increase black unemployment. "Some of the polls also show that many blacks are not convinced that disinvestment and sanctions will help end apartheid," it said. The IRRC said the "ambivalence" expressed in black opinion surveys was reflected by the leaders of organisations that had large black constituencies. "The policies of major union, political and church organisations range from unconditional support for comprehensive economic sanctions, to support only for sanctions that will not increase black hardship, to adamant opposition to any form of sanctions or disinvestment." In its analysis of organisation views, the study finds:

...The ANC, PAC, AZAPO and NACTU support sanctions and disinvestment unconditionally, with the SACC leaning strongly in that direction;

... Archbishop Desmond Tutu's views tend to be mixed, ranging between calls for sanctions specifically aimed at securing the release of political prisoners and open-ended negotiations at one extreme and for the symbolic severing of diplomatic relations at the other;

... The SA Catholic Bishops' Conference

and the Cape Action League seek specific tactical sanctions - an international airline ban, for example - but are "anxious that sanctions not be imposed that will destroy the economy or increase black hardship".

... COSATU, while broadly supportive of

sanctions, appears to be shifting position, especially on disinvestment.

The report noted: "Ideally, many COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Union) members would like to see the world impose comprehensive sanctions in one decisive blow that would disable the government relatively quickly. "Instead, they have been forced to deal with a situation where disinvestment and sanctions have been imposed piecemeal, which hurts their members' interests but does not visibly affect the white establishment."

THOSE WHO HAVE GONE

And what of the suffering left behind?

Another report compiled by the Investor Responsibility Research Centre has revealed that a total of 115 non-US firms have disinvested from South Africa since January 1, 1984 with 40 percent of the non-US firms withdrawing since the beginning of last year. During the same period 162 US firms have left. Of the non-US disinvestors, the largest number - 49 - were British. There were 12 Canadian, eight French, seven Australian and seven West German companies. Some 606 multi-nationals continue to have direct investment or employees in South Africa. These break down into: 195 British, 150 US, 137 West German, 29 Swiss, 24 French, 14 Dutch, 12 Australian, 12 Canadian, 8 Italian and six Swedish. In addition 88 non-US firms - mostly Japanese - maintain licensing, distribution and other non-equity relationships in SA. Mobil, the largest US employer in SA, is now 24th among foreign-owned companies. While most disinvesting companies that gave reasons for their withdrawal cited weak economic conditions in South Africa, some told the IRRC that domestic pressure in their home countries had become too difficult to withstand.

Have They Got It Right?

According to a report by the US House Foreign Affairs Committee, the success of sweeping new US sanctions will be "medium to long term" and "at the margin". It is intended that the Bill, now titled the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments of 1988, will "act as a depressant on South African business confidence". At the same time US companies forced out by the law must negotiate transferring their business assets to their employees or their unions, the report states. The value of those assets in a deliberately depressed economy is not addressed, as Simon Barber, a Washington-based correspondent pointed out in stories filed to SA newspapers. The report makes it clear that should there be a Chernobyl-type accident at Koeberg or other South African nuclear facilities, the US would be barred even from providing assistance "for humanitarian reasons to protect public health and safety". It says the measures "will not result in any noticeable decline in the US economy", and, according to an appended finding by the Congressional budget office, will only cost the US taxpayer \$5 million next year, rising to \$14 million in 1993. This is in stark contrast to recent estimates that the existing sanctions have already cost the US coal industry at least \$250 million and could cost the nuclear processing industry close to \$300 million annually. (See Wall Street Journal editorial, May 5, published in this edition.) Earlier legislation, the report argues, has failed because South Africa is a "dedicated sanctions buster" and because the mildness of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid

Poverty - -The Enemy Of Democracy

Only large-scale sanctions applied by united international action would bring white South Africa to its knees, says Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He told a group of American industrialists and business people visiting Ulundi that it was "unthinkable" to him that sane people - knowing the facts about South Africa's mass poverty - could support actions which could succeed only if mounted on a scale large enough to destroy the country's potential growth. Such large-scale sanctions would commit South Africa permanently to Third World poverty because the vastly spreading poverty they would create would become the mortal enemy of democracy. Only a totalitarian state could emerge to survive against the background of the total destruction of the South African economy. "Democratic governments need the means to govern for the benefit of the people, otherwise in the end there is always revolt against them," he said. "Rob South Africa of its future economic growth potential and you rob it of its future democratic potential."

Act "has encouraged the South African Government to believe that it can hold on to its monopoly of power indefinitely." The Bill is said to be supported by COSATU, NACTU, UDF, AZAPO, ANC, PAC, the SA Council of Churches, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak,



who are described as the "preponderance of those whom blacks have indicated they regard as representative leaders."

The jobs already lost

The Durban Chamber of Commerce has described as "conservative" the claims by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, that between 60 000 and 100 000 jobs for blacks had already disappeared because of disinvestment. Chamber president, Mr Ivan Dodd, said in a recent Press interview with the Durban Daily News that if jobs lost and jobs not created were taken into account, this figure would be even higher. "What has to be understood is that the lack of new inventory from the industrial community impairs new developments, and many new jobs which ordinarily would have been developed, are not being created," he said. "In fact our

economy needs to grow in real terms at between 4 and 5% a year and between 5 and .6% in Natal, simply to mark time." Mr Dodd told the Daily News that Dr Buthelezi was "absolutely right" to have refuted calls by Archbishop Desmond Tutu for greater punitive action and for full sanctions against South Africa. "Archbishop Tutu, in calling for sanctions, seems to be ignorant of the fact that organised business has consistently sought to improve the lot of the black, not necessarily for altruistic reasons, but because the development of mass markets are essential for its own survival. "By calling for sanctions, he is impairing the only real machinery that exists for change and the upliftment of the black people in South Africa. "This fact is patently clear from our recent past when during periods of high economic growth, more black people have been integrated into the free enterprise economy than during periods of stagnation and negative economic growth."

A Wrecked Economy Won't End Apartheid

In an article in the Washington Post on June 15, under the above headline, veteran SA anti-apartheid and human rights campaigner, Mrs Helen Suzman, argued against more sanctions. The hugely respected Progressive Federal Party politician argued that sanctions would hurt black workers the most and would in effect take away the best weapon available to blacks - economic power. Mrs Suzman said: "It is surely senseless to blunt the only weapon with which blacks can improve their position at the work place and beyond the work place." On the same day, in a lead editorial headlined "More South African Sanctions?", the Washington Post said: "A Bill imposing tough new sanctions against South Africa is coming along, nearly all investment and trade would be ended, and if the

purpose is to express a hatred of apartheid and an impatience with its slow dismantling, this bill surely expresses both. The white minority regime has just extended the two years state of emergency, tightened censorship and curtailed political activity by the black labour federation. The regime's reach for reform, such as it was, has been closed off by the surge of opposition on its right. In Washington, the House said South Africa has not made the "significant progress" the 1986 act sets as the standard for lifting the lesser sanctions imposed at that time, and has even gone backward. In this analysis of what has happened, the House is right, but what it needs to ask is why progress has been disappointing. This underlies the argument against sanctions that Helen Suzman, a South African parliamentarian and veteran

opponent of apartheid, makes. Precisely this notion of giving blacks an economic base from which they can if they wish withhold their own labour and purchasing power stirs the strike movement that is becoming an increasingly important arena of black struggle. The bill was brought along at a moment when it could be hitched to the election campaign. Michael Dukakis may have doubts about the Jackson team's platform demand to designate South Africa as "terrorist" but he is foursquare for sanctions. In the Senate the issue is what changes will be made to win enough Republican votes to surmount the expected presidential veto. But we don't think any new sanctions are justified while such doubts exist about whether the old ones were wise."

Blacks Don't Want to Be Beggars

Black South Africans want to be "liberated on their feet and not as corpses and unemployed mendicants", the Secretary-General of Inkatha and KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said recently. Opening a new paint factory in Natal, whose owners employ more than 2000 workers, he hit out at what he called the "sheer cruelty" of South Africans who spent time in the country and overseas advocating sanctions, disinvestment and disruption of the country's economy. Millions of workers would be deprived of their legiti-

mate right to earn a living were such campaigns to succeed. "Apparently the rationale is that instead of breeding chaos, violence, repression and economic depression, black unemployment and poverty,

they will bring order, peace, democracy, economic growth and liberation," Dr Dhlomo said. "Black people want to be liberated on their feet and not as corpses and unemployed mendicants." He congratulated certain companies for their equal opportunities programmes for employees also covering such social projects as community development, urban and rural school development and support for primary, secondary and tertiary education. There could be no business for business, he added, in an environment that was polluted by disparities and discrimination measures of all descriptions.





... *gee from Mozambique in Gazankulu.*

- Picture by Struan Robertson

Rural Hu

... In 1980, nine million South Africans living in the black rural areas had incomes below the poverty line. Of these 1.4 million had no measurable income whatsoever.

... 60 percent of urban blacks have incomes below the household subsistence level.

... In the so-called "homelands" the recent drought and then floods have imposed a norm of abject poverty and have brought rural areas to the brink of disaster. Large

numbers of cattle have been lost and crops have not survived on pocket handkerchief plots.

... More than 250 000 have lost their jobs in the maize industry alone and extensive mechanisation in the agricultural industry has meant many jobs have been dispensed with permanently.

Mrs Ina Perlman, Executive Director of Operation Hunger, has published the following Operation Hunger figures. Operation Hunger is not a political organisation and does not make political statements. However, the organisation believes it is imperative that the potential disastrous consequences of negative economic action be made known. Some figures and facts :

EASTERN CAPE : Operation Hunger presently feeding 224 876

Port Elizabeth is a classic disaster area with 47 percent unemployment and 87 000 people fed. This tragedy is directly linked to

Flood-eroded land that cannot produce food in KwaZulu.

- Picture by Struan Robertson.

disinvestment. Ford laid off 3000 workers after its amalgamation with Samcor. General Motors became Delta and after the strike that followed 2 000 jobs went permanently. If the tyre companies and Volkswagen opt out, Port Elizabeth will become a ghost town.

VENDA : Operation Hunger presently feeding 37 000

Migrant employment in Venda has dropped by 37 000 in the past five years. Most migrants work on the Reef in secondary industry or in the fruit industry. The former was hit by the recession and the latter is largely dependent of export to Europe. The above figure of 37 000 is expected to double to 74 000.

GAZANKULU: Operation Hunger presently feeding 41 900 in Kuruman.

If the EEC countries impose sanctions, 11 000 will lose their jobs in the Letsitele Valley. A further 99 000 would come into the feeding scheme.

BOPHUTATSWANA: Operation Hunger presently feeding 41 900 in Kuruman.

This figure represents an increase of 9 900 people since 1987 -- the figure is due to a combination of the lessened demand for asbestos and manganese and trade embargoes. 20 of the 46 mines in the area have closed down. Sanctions will cause this figure to escalate even further. There is already 70 percent unemployment in villages like Padstowe, Deerham and Slough. If platinum is not classified as a strategic mineral, the Khayakulu area between Rustenburg and Swartruggens will be maximally affected as the drought in the Western Transvaal has led to a massive layoff by farmers and the mines and their fringe industries are the major source of rural in-

Operation Hunger is already feeding 1.3 million people. Only eight percent of rural people in South Africa are subsistence farmers in the real sense of the word. The average rural family of five needs at least R95 a month in hard cash to maintain a minimum survival level.

....The average rural family income today is **R39 a month.**

... Surveys show that 70 percent of urban blacks send at least 17 percent of their incomes to rural dependants. Disinvestment will cut off this supplement to rural incomes.

... 55 percent of all deaths in the African community are children under five years of age.

... 65 percent of South Africa's total population is functionally illiterate. The majority of these are in the rural areas.

er and Sanctions



come. If, as is possible, 2 000 people lose their jobs a further 18 000 could go hungry and be at survival risk. In the Brits area Operation Hunger feeding is directly related to the closure of the Alfa-Romeo plant.

NATAL/KWAZULU :
Operation Hunger presently feeding 176 568

In January 1986 the Danish coal embargo became effective and two mines closed down. 2 000 men were laid off. In March 1986 the Bishop of Dundee asked Operation Hunger for urgent assistance for 22 000 people directly affected by the closure of the mines. In September 1986 Operation Hunger had to implement feeding for 8 000 people in the Pongola estuary due to re-

trenchment by the coal mines and the hotel industry - the major employers.

WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAPE : Operation Hunger presently feeding 11 000

Sanctions and the export of minerals are burning questions if you live in Namaqualand and the Northern Cape. The world slump in copper retrenched 3 000 men in 1983. The only large scale employers are the diamond, zinc and copper mines. Feeding numbers here are expected to double to 22 000.

KANGWANE : Operation Hunger presently feeding 76 231

Coal mine and steel industry lay-offs have

doubled here in one year. A total coal embargo will send this area plunging into the disaster pit. A 1987 survey done in Kangwane and published in Indicator puts the average family income at just over R200 a year.

BORDER AND CISKEI : Operation Hunger presently feeding 127 038

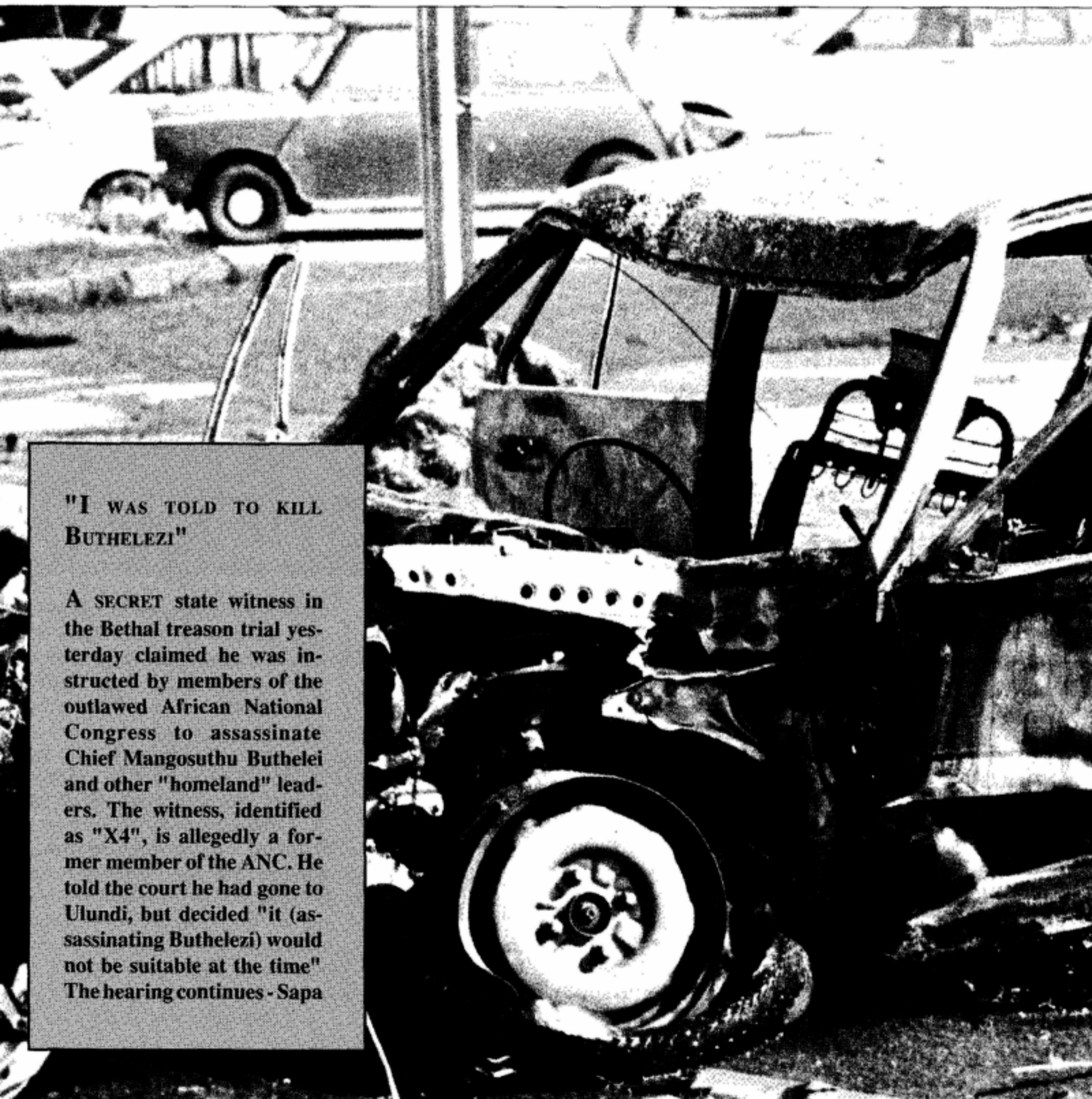
East London is as bad if not worse than Port Elizabeth. The last major employers are Mercedes-Benz, Rowntrees and Johnson & Johnson - all foreign companies. In the hinterland the so-called "border industries" which were mainly textile have retrenched with US sanctions already imposed.

ANC To Step U

Inkatha members a target says A

"I WAS TOLD TO KILL BUTHELEZI"

A SECRET state witness in the Bethal treason trial yesterday claimed he was instructed by members of the outlawed African National Congress to assassinate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other "homeland" leaders. The witness, identified as "X4", is allegedly a former member of the ANC. He told the court he had gone to Ulundi, but decided "it (assassinating Buthelezi) would not be suitable at the time" The hearing continues - Sapa



Violence

military chief



The African National Congress recently announced plans to step up violence in South Africa which was immediately followed by a wave of bomb blasts, particularly in Johannesburg. Men, women and children of all races have been killed and maimed. One particularly gruesome attack on an amusement arcade in Johannesburg resulted in a pregnant woman losing her unborn twins. Another bomb attack at Roodepoort, near Johannesburg, killed four people and injured 20 others. A car bomb outside a packed rugby stadium in Johannesburg killed two white men and injured others. Blacks and whites were victims. In widely reported interviews with the international media, the President of the External Mission of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the Chief-of-Staff of the military wing of the ANC, Mr Chris Hani, totally dismissed suggestions that the organisation should abandon violence. Mr Hani, who runs the ANC's guerrilla operation called Umkhonto we Sizwe (*Spear of the Nation*) told Michael Hornsby of the London Times in an interview in Lusaka, Zambia, that targets for assassination included members of Inkatha's central committee. Mr Hornsby wrote that Mr Hani was "unapologetic in his support for the selective killing of black 'collaborators', such as policemen and township councillors. He said the ANC's policy was to politically "isolate and destroy" Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Mr Hani claimed the terror campaign had two main aims: boosting black morale and resistance and extending the war to white-zoned areas to the point that whites are forced to live behind the protection of police and army patrols and "barricades and burglar bars." One of the main priorities for Umkhonto, Mr Hani said, was developing the concept of a "people's war." That entailed sending in experienced ANC instructors to train and equip Umkhonto cells inside South Africa. Mr Hornsby described Mr Hani as having a "curious mixture of charm, political passion and ruthlessness." In an interview with *The New York Times*, Mr Hani was quoted as saying the ANC's intention was to make whites see that "when they are maimed and



they are in hospital, others will go there to visit them and will say: this is the price of apartheid." Mr Tambo told Andrew Mc Ewan of The Times in London, that the ANC would not give up violence even if the South African Government made that a condition of direct negotiations. There was no precedent he claimed where there was a unilateral cessation of hostilities before negotiations were started. Mr Tambo was quoted as defending the use of barbaric "necklace" murders of victims where petrol-filled car tyres are used to burn people alive. Mr Mc Ewan said Mr Tambo attacked Dr Buthelezi "in unusually strong terms" for making speeches against the ANC following a London meeting between the ANC and Inkatha in 1979 and for allegedly being "useful" to the SA regime. In another interview with the London Times in Lusaka, Mr Tambo and Mr Hani were again quoted by Michael Hornsby as saying that the ANC would use "revolutionary violence and forceful persuasion" against blacks who participated in municipal elections. Mr Hani said he regarded white members of Parliament, judges and others, as legitimate targets for attack or assassination. He wanted to see the sabotage of facilities in white urban areas stepped up.

Why The Armed Struggle Won't Work In South Africa

"The ANC is no longer seeking a democratic solution to South Africa's problems. Black South Africans are being exhorted to

kill and destroy for political purposes. The politics of intimidation are on the ascendency and everywhere in the country

Black SA Never Consu

In replying to Mr Tambo's interview with the London Times, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi wrote him. He said: "In the past Mr Tambo and I have shared friendship and a common cause in a matter of deep regret that because of subsequent ideological differences and varying actions in order to become an internal surrogate of the ANC the trouble between us started. It is my view with The Times, and in so doing tragically furthers black disunity. From allies in the past it is quite simply a hideous untruth. This is to imply that we are stabbing ourselves and the rest of the country and have informed him I will meet him at any time to discuss our differences in the interests of the people and the racist policies of the South African Government. I see no reason why we should not see fit to our common struggle for liberation. I am condemned by Mr Tambo for 'making a statement in the most provocative and dangerous manner in its radio broadcasts and publications. Only the Press that they planned to "eliminate" members of Inkatha's Central Committee and "deserted" elected by many as their spokesmen, articulate not only our own views but those of the press so because we were never consulted about their decision to opt for the so-called "armed struggle" lost to us. They believe in the sanctity of life. When I condemn sanctions and disinvestment I cannot in all conscience contribute to furthering the abject poverty and misery in which they implement policies which I detest? Or is it because the ANC supports violence, sanctions and the future of South Africa unless imprisoned ANC leader, Dr Nelson Mandela, and other prisoners? I want a future South Africa in which there is a multi-party democracy. Are Mr Tambo's sights



democratic forces working through non-violent tactics and strategies to bring about change through the politics of negotiation are under siege. Across the length and breadth of the world I do not see revolu-

tions authoring stable, democratic societies in which there is a government by consensus. Violent revolution can only be replaced by violent counter-revolution in an ongoing cycle of tumultuous political

events. The kind of revolution the ANC is attempting to create won't work in South Africa because the masses do not support revolutionary activity. Black South Africans have to be intimidated into violent activity and support for it by hideous means. For a revolution to work, the security forces and the civil service must be divided in their loyalty to the Government. There is no evidence that the SA Police, army or civil service harbour revolutionary threats. The SA military machine is the most powerful in Africa. White South Africa has, in a manner of speaking, barely unleashed its claws when it comes to its military strength. The ANC have no 'liberated zones' within the country which can act as a springboard for attack against the State - nor do they have a springboard in an adjacent State from which attacks can be mounted. There is in the West a kind of dangerous romanticism about freedom fighters and there is also a sympathy for the politics of violent protest in South Africa. Centre field forces, which must ultimately salvage our country from the ruins of apartheid and stave off the threats of destructive violence, are devalued by this romanticism and misplaced sympathy."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

id About ANC Violence

ublished letter to that newspaper that he "strenuously refuted" Mr Tambo's allegations about each in our own way, for the end of apartheid and for a new and united South Africa. It is a strategies, the ANC now wishes to destroy me politically. When, in 1979, Inkatha declined all but reasons that Mr Tambo now slanders me in an intemperate manner, as evidenced in his inter-Inkatha and I have suddenly become alleged agents of the racist South African regime which South Africa in the back. Personally, I am prepared to attempt a rapprochement with Mr Tambo solidarity. I have repeatedly called for a multi-strategy approach towards eliminating apart-als and organisations cannot, without submitting to the dictates of the ANC, contribute as they against the ANC' and yet he knows only too well that his organisation constantly attacks us in nk the head of the ANC guerrilla wing, Mr Chris Hani, stated in interviews to the international Those of us who have chosen to remain with the black masses in South Africa, and have been represent. When I condemn appalling violence perpetrated by the ANC as official policy, I do and there are many millions who do not believe that all avenues of peaceful change have been ecause I have a mandate to do so and, living in the midst of black suffering as I do every day, ty of South Africans exist. How does this make me 'useful', as Mr Tambo alleges, to racists who vestment? How does the fact that I have refused to enter into any negotiations whatsoever on isoners are set free, make me 'useful' to the SA Government? I want to put South Africa first. ght on the ANC returning to this country as a Government from exile no matter the consequences?"

ANC terrorism

Business Day - 5 July 1988

The car bomb which exploded at Ellis Park on Saturday gave point to the recent threat from the ANC's Chris Hani to end the "sweet life" in South Africa by attacking white civilians. The ANC has made the descent, as such organisations inevitably do, from a policy of violence to a policy of naked terrorism, succumbing to a barbarism greater than the evils it purports to fight. For success, its policy of terrorism depends on white South Africans permitting fear to govern their responses. All hopes of peace in Algeria was lost when French *colons*, in similar circumstances, retaliated by massacring innocent Arabs in the streets. That stage, thank heaven, has not been reached in South Africa. Whites, knowing they are a target of the beastliest kind of attack, can still steel themselves against the fear and rage which those attacks are intended to induce. They can still resolve to resist the view, recently attributed to an embittered Israeli soldier, that "hatred can be answered only by hatred". A civilised outcome remains in prospect as long as South Africans distinguish the perpetrators of atrocity from the decent, humane people who constitute the majority of all races in this country.



Joburg Bomb Attacks Climb To Eight - And It's Only June

By Revelation Ntoula for the City Press, June 1988

Wednesday's massive bomb blast, which ripped through an almost exclusively black amusement arcade in central Johannesburg, pushed to 8 the number of bombings in the city this year. It was one of the worst explosions in the Johannesburg area this year - injuring 10 people, including a pregnant woman who

ANC committed to continue violence

The ANC yesterday vowed it would never tone down on violence against Pretoria in spite of threats its policy might lose its international support. This emerged after talks between senior ANC officials and visiting New Zealand Foreign Minister Russel Marshall. The ANC said New Zealand had agreed to help fight Pretoria and to grant scholarships to ANC cadres. A Nelson Mandela scholarship would be launched next year. - ANO, Sapa-Reuter.

Business Day, 16 June 1988



later gave birth to twin girls, one stillborn. The May 20, 1987, Johannesburg Magistrate's Court blast, when 4 policemen were killed and 9 civilians injured outside the court, also rates high on the list of blasts this year. A total of 20 people have been killed in blasts this year, and almost 100 injured. The following is a chronological list:

- **January 23** - mini-limpet mine explodes at a Kokstad social club. No-one injured.
- **February 12** - A hand-grenade is tossed into a shebeen in Thembisa. Three injured.
- **March 1** - A remote-control bomb damages a bus carrying army personnel in Benoni. No-one injured.
- **March 2** - Petrol bomb hurled into a

- Mamelodi school. Two children injured.
- **March 27** - A massive car bomb explodes outside Krugersdorp Magistrate's court. Three killed, 22 injured.
- **April 9** - A limpet mine explodes near the Atteridgeville Development Board offices. No-one injured.
- **April 11** - Bomb explodes on the Johannesburg-Randfontein railway line. None injured.
- **April 11** - A device explodes at Witpoortjie railway station. No-one injured.
- **April 14** - A limpet mine explodes outside the Johannesburg City Hall. None injured.
- **April 15** - A limpet mine goes off near a Pretoria cinema complex. One killed.
- **April 20** - A bomb explodes near Parliament in Cape Town. No-one injured.
- **April 24** - A hand-grenade is flung into private house in Kagiso. No-one injured.
- **May 5** - A hand-grenade is flung into Mamelodi home. No-one injured.
- **May 5** - A bomb explodes in Kagiso police quarters. No-one injured.
- **May 10** - A hand-grenade is thrown into a policeman's house in Silverton. One-year old baby killed.
- **May 20** - An anti-personnel grenade explodes in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. Five injured.
- **May 22** - Three hand-grenades are hurled into a crowd in Orlando West and several shots fired. Two killed, 38 injured.
- **May 26** - Two bombs explode in Pretoria. Four injured.
- **May 27** - A bomb explodes in Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. No-one injured.
- **May 27** - A bomb explodes at Johannesburg station. One injured.
- **June 3** - A blast rocks central Roodepoort. Four killed, 19 injured.
- **June 22** - Johannesburg explosion. Ten injured.

Tambo in war of Words

LONDON - *ANC president Oliver Tambo became involved in a war of words with BBC television newscaster Michael Buerk on Friday when the newsman accused the ANC leader of running a terrorist organisation. During the BBC's lunchtime news bulletin Mr Buerk grilled Mr Tambo about his organisation's policies. Mr Tambo had been invited to the BBC studios to comment on President P W Botha's decision to reimpose the state of emergency.*

The Sowetan, June 13, 1988

NO!NO!NO!

Fifty Thousand Times

"We (resolve) to inform the whole world that the black masses in South Africa reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support ..."

At one of numerous mass rallies held regularly to test black opinion on the issue of sanctions, disinvestment, black unity and other crucial issues, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, recently asked more than 50 000 people gathered near Durban if he was right in rejecting sanctions on their behalf. The crowd roared their approval. They were opposed to sanctions and disinvestment. The following are extracts of Dr Buthelezi's address to the rally and the resolutions passed unanimously by those present.

I tell the world that those who most employ the politics of intimidation and those who most want a violent solution to South Africa's problems call the loudest for punitive economic sanctions against South Africa. They tell the world that you want foreign companies to leave whether or not you lose jobs. They tell the world that you have chosen to support disinvestment and you will willingly suffer more when many, many thousands of black South Africans lose their jobs. "I tell the world no, a million times no. I tell the world that black workers in South Africa reject disinvestment. I tell them they reject anything that loses jobs. I tell them that the more jobs there are for blacks the stronger opposition to apartheid becomes. I tell them that black bargaining power grows when there are more blacks in more jobs in more cities. I tell the world that sanctions is not the only thing left to do and

it is not the last thing that can be done before violence overtakes us all to destroy everything. "Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence.

"Am I right in telling the world that those who call for disinvestment the loudest do not call for it because they want to avoid violence? They call for it because they are violent. Do you agree with me? Tell the world what you think.

ROAR FROM THE CROWD : "WE AGREE WITH YOU. YOU ARE RIGHT."



More than 50 000 black South Africans rejected sanctions and disinvestment a

"The issue that confounds the whole black struggle for liberation is that black spokesmen who represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody, posture as your saviours and speak on your behalf. This is p



lands Stadium, near Durban, to pray for black unity and to focus on the issue of economic sanctions. In a unanimous resolution they strategy.

particularly the case on disinvestment. Look at the greatest proponents on disinvestment in South Africa. There is Archbishop Tutu. There is Dr Allan Boesak and there is Mr Elijah Barayi, the president of COSATU.

There is also the Reverent Frank Chikane, the Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches. They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South

Africa. These spokesmen say they realise that these things which they advocate would cause you to suffer. The argument which my Archbishop (Tutu) uses so often in response to this, is that blacks have

always suffered and blacks would not mind suffering a little more for their freedom. If we were going to get our freedom immediately, this would be an entirely different matter. The facts are that we would suffer indefinitely for years without achieving freedom. I, as an elected leader, cannot prescribe this for you unless you yourself tell me that this is what you want.

"Do they speak on your behalf? Do they represent you when they speak? Tell the world what the answers to these questions are."

THE CROWD ; "THEY DO NOT REPRESENT US."

Black workers reject the pipe-dreams and the false promises which political idealists try to persuade them to accept. Black workers know there is no leap into Utopia. They know that political victories will find their real rewards in the freedom to compete equally with others to improve one's lot in life. I say to foreign governments : drop this disinvestment issue; stop dragging the suffering of blacks in South Africa into West European and North American party politics. They must let black workers fight for one South Africa with one Parliament resting on universal adult franchise without dividing them one from the other by feting celebrity spokesmen who have no constituencies in South Africa.

"My brothers and sisters, tell me now today who is right. Am I right in rejecting disinvestment on your behalf? Speak that the whole world may hear you."

THE CROWD : "YOU ARE RIGHT, WE REJECT DISINVESTMENT."

"We who are in this country and who struggle against apartheid on the ground where the battle will finally have to be won, do not have to be taught about black politics. We are involved in it. We know who is doing what.

Senator Edward Kennedy and the US Sanctions Lobby:

"Right now in the United States there are Americans who are fighting to have a law passed which will virtually cut off all trade between the United States and South Africa and bar all investments. Every American investor would have to withdraw his invest-



ments from South Africa. Senator Edward Kennedy is in the forefront of this fight to increase sanctions against South Africa. To prepare the way for additional economic sanctions against South Africa, Senator Kennedy called for the United States' Government's General Accounting Office to conduct a detailed study of American disinvestment from South Africa. The Committee which was to do this research was told to produce a report and to ignore what black South Africans themselves thought about the matter. Senator Kennedy does not care two hoots in Hell whether you as the workers of South Africa support or reject sanctions. I can at least understand why Senator Kennedy is so tragically brutal about what you yourselves think. He wants to make political gains for himself in American politics. It does not matter to him that it is at your expense. All that matters to him is that it is a political gain for him.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

Archbishop Tutu only recently returned from the United States where he made passionate appeals to the people of the United States to demand that their govern-

ment pass laws which will cut all economic ties with South Africa. Archbishop Tutu addressed small groups and large groups. He was interviewed by newspapers and he was screened on American television networks being perceived to be a spokesman for black South Africa, telling the whole world that blacks wanted disinvestment. My brothers and sisters, you the black workers of South Africa have already today told the world bluntly that black workers reject disinvestment as a strategy they wish to employ. You reject what Archbishop Tutu and the recent delegation of Churchmen led by Archbishop Hurley are saying on your behalf.

"You have told the world that they do not speak for you. Do you agree ... is this what you told the world?"

REPLY : "YES, THEY DO NOT SPEAK FOR US."

"I am mentioning what Archbishop Tutu has been doing in the United States... because I am talking about the need for black unity. While the South African Government is not on the run from violence, apartheid is on the run from economic reality and



RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE RALLY

We black South Africans at this mass prayer meeting know that no power on earth can make us accept apartheid. We know that apartheid is doomed and we know that a final victory over apartheid can now be achieved if blacks draw together in unity as the sons and daughters of Africa should draw together.

We therefore resolve :

(1) To appeal to all black organisations to close ranks against the hideous injustice of apartheid and to develop a united black national force capable of dealing the final blows necessary to eradicate apartheid forever.

(2) To appeal to every Christian leader in South Africa to consult with blacks at a congregation and parish level and at the Synod level to ensure that statements they make on behalf of black South Africa are representative of mass opinion and are not divisive.

(3) To reject Archbishop Tutu's appeal for economic sanctions against South Africa and call on him to consult with blacks before he talks on their behalf.

(4) To reject the approaches of the delegation of church leaders led by Archbishop Hurley, which included leading dignitaries of the South African Council of Churches, which made representations to Sir Geoffrey Howe and is busy making further representations to West European governments to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

(5) To inform the world that the black masses in South Africa reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support.

(6) To call on West European and North American governments in particular to assist black South Africans to maximise economic development in South Africa to ensure maximum possible growth of live-giving and life-saving employment opportunities.

black opposition to it. It is being dismantled step by painful step. Politically the South African Government is weak. The kind of black disunity that spokesmen like Archbishop Tutu create when they campaign, as he did, for disinvestment is tragic.

AFTER APARTHEID :

"It is quite clear to us that a real political battle is taking place in black South Africa about what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid. Archbishop Tutu and the delegation led by Archbishop Hurley can speak like they do because they are opposed to the free enterprise system. Archbishop Tutu has stated publicly that he hates capitalism. I do not mean that it is acceptable to me holus-bolus without being shorn of its exploitative aspects. Political divisions in South Africa about what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid are becoming ever-increasingly problematic. I have never been ideologically inclined myself. I am a pragmatist and I attempt to do the best I can to give political expression to the important principles which the masses elected me to office to observe. . The masses want a multi-party democracy that can work and they want a life

in such a democracy in which they can improve their standards of living. Right now blacks want jobs. They will want jobs tomorrow and they will want jobs after liberation. Blacks are just not interested in destroying the economy to vastly increase the already hideously high levels of unemployment. Black South African workers have never wanted to destroy the places where they work. They have only struggled for free entry into the free enterprise system. Black South Africans want a multi-party democracy in which the free enterprise system will be free to provide the number of jobs that are needed and to generate the kind of wealth that any government in this country will need to deal with the hideous backlogs that there are in black housing, education, health and welfare.

"I therefore strive for a multi-party democracy and accept the free enterprise system as something the people need and will continue needing while they wage their war against poverty, ignorance and disease. You the masses here today are the workers of South Africa. Do you endorse what I am saying?"

REPLY : "YES."

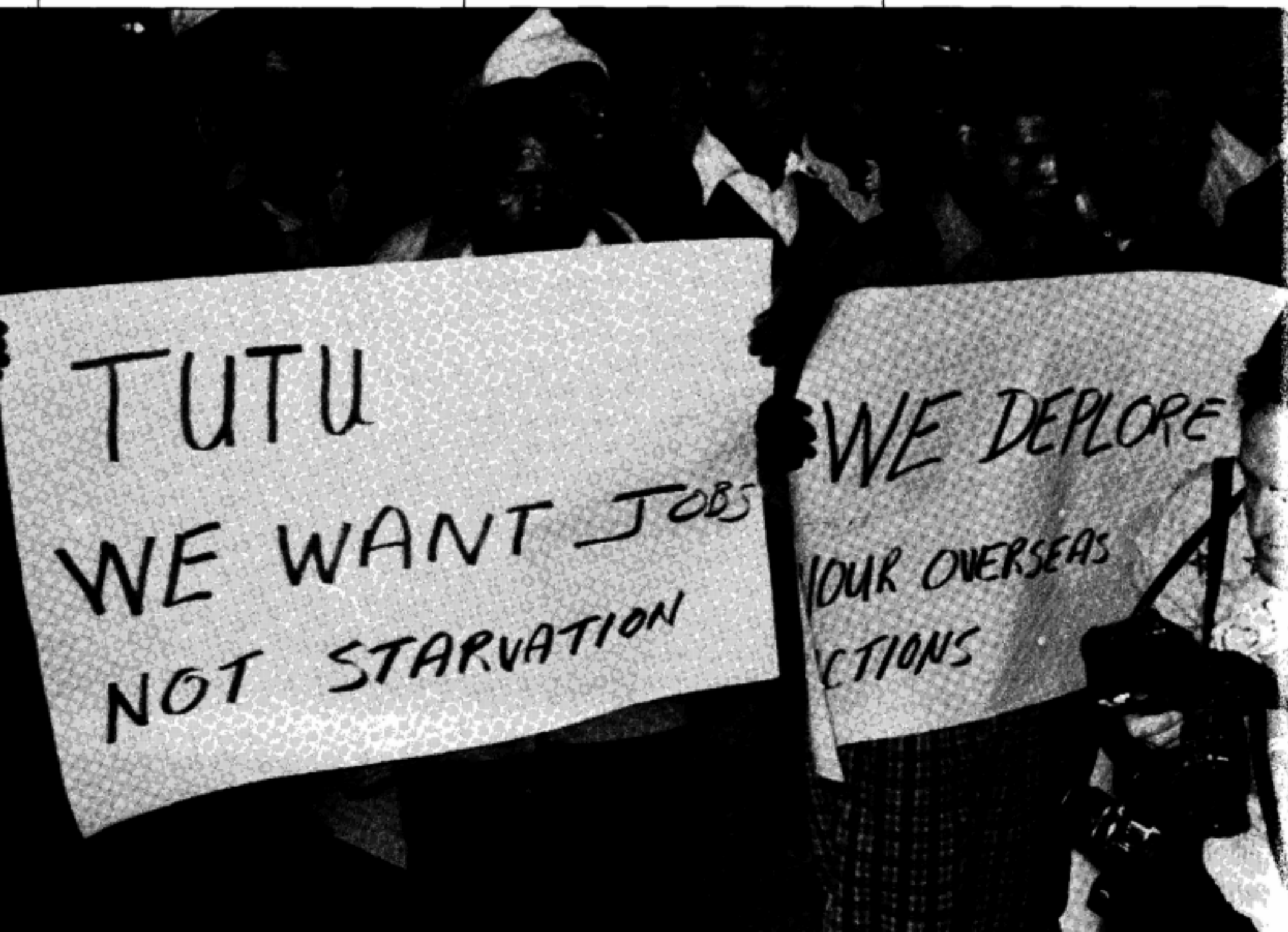
ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU

His Personal Support For Sanctions

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, has for many years advocated increasing economic and diplomatic pressure against South Africa. Admitting he does not have a mandate to pronounce on this subject on behalf of the Anglican church in the country, he says he speaks in his "private capacity". However, because of his position, his personal views are given

extraordinary credibility abroad as if he does, indeed, have considerable backing on this issue. Unbiased research has shown that this is not the case. In South Africa he has refused to publicly debate sanctions on theological, moral and other grounds with various religious leaders and others who have challenged him to do so. Supporting proposed legislation in the US Congress and Senate that would virtually cut off economic ties between the US and South

Africa, Archbishop Tutu's backing has lent considerable impetus to those who are attempting to push the measures through regardless of the consequences. In a recent interview the Archbishop said: "I do not want sanctions for the hell of it... the problem is apartheid and not sanctions." Archbishop Tutu's view is that black South Africans, having suffered for so long, are prepared to suffer even more. There has been hostile reaction to this from placard-



waving black workers who recently demonstrated against his pro-sanctions stand after he returned from a visit to the United States. In Port Elizabeth a multi-racial crowd of 500 was reported to have jeered him when he arrived at the airport there. More than 50 000 Inkatha members opposed his stand at a recent rally near Durban (80 000 trade unionists said

"no" to sanctions at another mass meeting) and church groups and numerous other bodies have also made it clear that they oppose measures which will hit blacks hardest. At the Inkatha rally the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"We reject Archbishop Tutu's appeal for economic sanctions against South Africa and call on him to consult with blacks before he talks on their behalf."



*Archbishop
Desmond Tutu*

Authoritative surveys, including several by the highly respected Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre (independently funded by the private sector in the US), are consistently showing that sanctions will have grim consequences for South Africa's blacks and are not supported by the black masses. A senior US official, Mr Charles Freeman, deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, disclosed at a congressional hearing recently that black South African anti-apartheid activists were telling the US government "behind closed doors" that they had "strong misgivings" about disinvestment. And yet Archbishop Tutu is continually dismissing arguments that economic sanctions will hurt blacks by saying, as he did at a commencement address at Emory University in Atlanta in May, that these were the pronouncements of "those who suddenly decide they feel sorry for black people." Bishop Tutu has accused those who reject sanctions of "collaborating with apartheid" and of being "effective allies of the most immoral system in the world", which is obviously vigorously denied by those concerned, including Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Britain's Prime Minister, Mr Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States and West Germany's Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl. He has equated others who oppose sanctions as being like "nazis." His statement in Moscow that the people of South Africa were "grateful to the Soviet people for backing their fight against apart-

heid" (with reference to the armed support the Soviet Union gives the pro-violence African National Congress) has also created considerable controversy in South Africa. Anti-apartheid activists obviously all share Archbishop Tutu's abhorrence of apartheid and racism and his desire for the creation of a united non-racial South Africa. However, many with considerable constituencies who oppose sanctions abroad, including Inkatha's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, often find themselves labelled by the Archbishop's epithets as a matter of course and wrongfully dismissed as "apologists" for white South Africa and the Pretoria Government. These smear tactics have an additional consequence of furthering black disunity which is desperately needed in the final push to dismantle apartheid once and for all. Archbishop Tutu's words have created a climate in which those who dare to disagree with him are, in many cases, unfairly stigmatised as supportive of an unjust system of Government they in fact despise. Archbishop Tutu has said he believes sanctions are "the last non-violent means available to oppose apartheid." Others believe the price of black suffering will be too high and that, ultimately, only increased investment resulting in growing black bargaining power will truly liberate South Africa's black masses. Are proponents of both points of view entitled to their opinions? Judging by the behaviour of certain politicians and groups abroad, apparently not - especially if you don't support sanctions.

Black workers in Johannesburg protest against Archbishop Desmond Tutu's support for sanctions on his recent return from the United States where he called for increased economic measures against South Africa. Similar demonstrations were held elsewhere throughout the country.



Tutu Supports ANC But Not Its Methods

*Church "understands" support
for violence*

The world's Anglican Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference in Britain in August passed a resolution on "war, violence and justice" saying they "understood" the feelings of those who, "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice..." The resolution caused immediate controversy and the Conference was charged by some newspapers as "blessing terror". A second resolution was then passed condemning all violence in Northern Ireland. The Conference was then accused of "inconsistency" as far as South Africa was concerned. The Conference resolution said war was "incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ." It added "there is no true peace without justice" and that reforming unjust systems was "an essential element of our Biblical hope..." In subsequent interviews, the Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said that he condemned all violence, whether employed by those who wanted to overthrow an unjust system or those who defended it. However, he understood the motivations of those who, as a last resort, had turned to violence against an unjust government. "I say times without number until I have driven people to distraction that I am opposed to all forms of violence," he said. "That is why I have said I support the ANC insofar as it aims to

bring about a new kind of society in South Africa, but I do not support its methods. Yet I would say again without any sense of contradiction that I understand (them when) they say that they have exhausted all options and that is why they have chosen the way of the armed struggle." Although no Anglican church in South Africa has voted support for sanctions, the Lambeth Conference called on churches to support sanctions calculated to have the maximum effect in bringing apartheid to an end. It also voted overwhelmingly for church disinvestment from corporations with a "substantial" stake in

South Africa. At the same time, in the United States, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned of the dangers of a Christian absolutism leading churches to take sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides. The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church in Dallas, Texas. He also cautioned against "Christian adventurism" on the part of what he called way-out church leaders. "The church errs when it abandons ordinary

folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely-called just war which cannot be won," he said. There was no one organisation which could bring about the liberation of South Africa on its own. Apartheid was an evil which had to be fought on every level at all times. For him this spelt out the need for black unity based on a common acceptance of the need for a multi-strategy approach. He said: "I cannot say that Christ is not there across our borders where revolutionaries are being trained. I cannot say that He is not there on our borders where soldiers are deployed against the revolutionaries. South Africa is a deeply polarised society and I know that Christ is there on both sides of every conflict. He is therefore in every organisation because no organisation is totally right and none is totally evil."

No cosmetic words can conceal the ugliness of what happened at the Lambeth Conference last week. No excuses will absolve the bishops of the Anglican Church of the evil they have done in proclaiming their "understanding" for murder, maiming and torture.

It does not matter that they immediately panicked over the uproar they had caused, and declared that they condemned all violence in Northern Ireland. They still offer their tacit support for terrorism in

The Sunday Express, August 7 1988

Foreign Workers In South Africa

Some 80 percent of these contract workers are employed by the South African mining industry. Approximately half of their total earnings, calculated in 1984 as some R400 million, is remitted annually - providing several neighbouring states with a sizeable portion of their national income. In Lesotho, for example, more than fifty percent of the gross national product is derived from remitted earnings of Lesotho migrant workers : of the country's 200,000 workforce, more than 140,000 work in South Africa. Bearing in mind the black African extended family concept, it has been estimated that some two million non-South African black women and children, in addition to their legally employed menfolk, are dependent on the South African economy. In addition to those legally employed in South Africa, there are an estimated one million other non-South African blacks illegally employed in the country. These workers similarly remit earnings and support families across the region. Comprehensive sanctions would hit both these groups of workers very hard indeed. Even the passionately pro-sanctions United Kingdom-based Catholic Institute for International Relations, while disputing the number involved - arguing somewhat self-defeatingly that **only** 600,000 SADCC nationals work in South Africa - concedes that their wage remittance are "nonetheless critical to the incomes of many SADCC households." The South African involvement in the region is a multifaceted one, touching virtually every aspect of day-to-day economic life. The cumulative total of long-term South African financial credit guarantees, for example, to Southern African countries is in excess of R350 million - short term credit extended to black African states comes to more than R250 million annually. In the words of the London Financial Times, October 13, 1985 :

"Indeed, in just about every sphere of economic activity - electricity supply, bank credit, tourism, air transport, essential imports especially petrol, but also food grains, fertiliser, and heavy capital equipment - there is a high degree of South African participation or even control. Scope for "de-linking"... is limited."

The dangers to the region of attempting to impose a serious sanctions/disinvestment package on South Africa were also summed up :

"If it were possible to envisage a short, sharp economic blitz to force political change on Pretoria - Harold Wilson's weeks rather than months - then the damage suffered by the frontline states might be contained to manageable levels. But a prolonged campaign lasting more than five years could have disastrous effects on several countries already classified as among the world's less developed economies - especially if Pretoria were to retaliate vigorously."

Source : *The International Freedom Foundation.*

There are some 370,000 non-South African blacks from neighbouring states legally employed within the South African economy. The major countries of origin of these workers being Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland.

REGISTERED FOREIGN WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Country	Male	Female	Total
Angola	19	3	22
Botswana	26865	1379	28244
Lesotho	134497	3696	138193
Malawi	30749	662	31411
Mozambique	73146	40	73186
Swaziland	20302	1612	21914
Zambia	2410	11	2421
Zimbabwe	7273	31	7304
Other	74747	683	75430
Total	370008	8117	378125

Source : "Southern African Facts Sheet", No 19, January 1987

What the papers are saying

Business

Day - May 13, 1988

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has assured Americans that black South Africans, people like himself, prefer any hardship and deprivation to their bondage. If he is right, black South Africans owe him a great debt of gratitude, for



he has raised enormously the chances that they will be deprived, and that in increasing numbers they will suffer hardship. Whether black people will, in this generation, shake off their bondage is less certain but he has made the choice for them. The Archbishop, who lives in the style of the oppressors rather than of the oppressed, has employed every device of rhetoric, and every trick of moral blackmail, to ensure that sanctions are imposed. He accuses the Germans of opposing sanctions because, he says, they

still bear the taint of Nazism. The Japanese he accuses of being still bound by their Nazi alliance. He accuses Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl of having decided that blacks are expendable. He accuses blacks who oppose sanctions of being like the Jews who collaborated with the Germans "to line their pockets". Coming from anybody else, such intemperate and far-fetched nonsense would be dismissed as mere ravings; coming from the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, a Christian Archbishop, his rethoric will shape public attitudes. The cunning with which he has baited his traps is (if one dare apply the word to a holy man) diabolical. Any black South African who now complains that he has had enough of deprivation will be dismissed as the equivalent of a Jewish collaborator with the Nazis. Any trade unionist who, in a shrinking labour market, begins to doubt that workers can thrive in a shrinking economy, will find that he has been so smeared in advance by the Archbishop that he will get no hearing. Any German or Japanese who doubts that the way to liberation passes through the empty bellies of children will find that the Archbishop has employed the European holocaust to brand him as a Nazi.

There is one thing, and only one thing, left for the victims of sanctions to do. They can insist that Archbishop Tutu and his highly privileged, prosperous family share the suffering which he has called down on the heads of his people. He should earn no more than the least of his parishioners, and eat no more than any of them. He should travel no farther, dress no better, be no warmer or drier than the least of them. He has, by pinning the labels of "collaborator" and "racist" and "Nazi" on all who disagree with him, silenced all other views. The suffering which he has invoked can be averted only if the Nationalist gov-

ernment can defeat sanctions. To the extent that they fail to overcome sanctions, he bears responsibility for what ensues. He will undermine his own credibility, and make a lie of what he has said, if he chooses now to look down on the suffering of his people from the heights of privilege which he occupies.

The Daily News

May 30, 1988

It is extraordinary that South Africa and the United States, two nations which seem to totally misunderstand one another, are moving on a collision course that could be deeply destructive for both. Enforcement of the new Dellums sanctions Bill which is due to come before the US House of Representatives early next year could have shattering consequences. If it is passed in its present form it would, under threat of million dollar fines, give US citizens and corporations just 180 days to offload all their South African investments. Twice the annual turnover of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, some R25-billion-worth of shares in local companies, would have to be dumped together with a further R2-billion in direct US investments. At best, the big losers would be individual Americans who would obviously lose massive sums of money on investments that would be handed on a plate to local investors. It would be wrong to assume, however, that South Africans would not suffer. The price would be paid almost entirely by thousands of black workers, many of whom live be-

yond the borders of this country. The price that white South Africans would pay would be a largely political one; a probable lurch to the right and a further slowing of the reform process. Not surprisingly in the circumstances, many blacks, like the 30 000 Inkatha members who packed an Umlazi stadium yesterday, are showing great concern. They at least understand that sanctions are unjust and misguided.

Sunday Times

June 19, 1988

A time-honoured saying cautions that one swallow doth not a summer make. Yet two developments this week in the sanctions saga justify a pinch of cautious optimism. The one is the finding of the United States-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre that the majority of black South Africans do not want sanctions. The other is the influential Washington Post's opinion that new sanctions are not justified. The sanctions debate has so far been driven by emotion, not reason. Why else do otherwise apparently sane men travel the world begging for the deliberate impoverishment of their compatriots? Yet countering the obvious folly of sanctions abroad has been difficult for two reasons. Sanctioneers have maliciously equated opposition to sanctions as support for apartheid and, second, the anti-sanctions cause has often been damaged by some of its most vociferous supporters - right-wing flakies, rent-a-mobs and, we have to admit it, even the South African Government whose track record on human rights is less than impressive. But even the most ardent sanctioneer would have difficulty in tackling the credibility of the Investor Responsibility Research Centre. Indeed, it was this organisation that was partly responsible for giving a gloss of respectability to the original sanctions campaign. The Washington Post, similarly, has distinguished itself in the past with its forthright, sometimes brutal, criticism of apartheid and the South African Government. What has brought

about the rethink? Most of it undoubtedly stems from a changed mood within South Africa. The resistance's Prague Spring is dead. Now, subdued and hungover, many of those organisations opposed to the South African Government have realised that they got it wrong with sanctions - dreadfully wrong.

Instead of humbling whites into becoming reasonable it is driving them to greater obstinacy. Where sanctions were supposed to strengthen the opposition they are weakening them - fracturing unions and impoverishing black South Africans so they become more, not less, susceptible to co-option by Pretoria. Will this new realism gather sufficient transatlantic momentum? It is hard to know: Sanctions have now become part of the personal agenda of too many US politicians. This is not surprising. A politician's job, after all, is to get elected: Truth and integrity all too often run a poor second. What is less understandable is why some South Africans should feel obliged to continue assisting these foreign opportunists in the cruel, damaging deception that is sanctions.

Wall Street Journal - May 5, 1988

This week the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a ban on virtually all U.S. investment and trade with South Africa. It is generally acknowledged that the sanctions already in place have caused thousands of black South Africans to lose their jobs. What isn't known is that sanctions have cost just two small parts of the U.S. economy more than \$600 million since 1985. By almost every standard, the sanctions imposed on South Africa in 1986 have been a failure. The dismantling of apartheid has slowed to a crawl, black businesses are shutting their doors and American influence in the region has never been lower. But South Africa itself has never been the only concern of the pro-sanctions lobby. It is noteworthy that these major pro-sanctions drives always seem to emerge in U.S. election years, suggesting they have more to do with influ-

encing political outcomes here than in South Africa. But sanction politics can cut both ways, and before Members of Congress throw more gasoline on the fires of South Africa they might want to examine the costs sanctions and disinvestment have imposed on the U.S. A recent study by Wharton Econometrics found that a U.S. embargo on imports of South African coal led that country to slash its coal prices in an effort to maintain market share. Wharton found this so depressed the world price of coal that U.S. coal exporters lost \$250 million in 1986 and 1987 alone. The National Coal Association says this meant lost jobs for between 3,000 and 7,000 U.S. miners. The pending sanctions bill would also ban imports of chrome, platinum and other strategic minerals, though some strategic minerals could be imported if a President were willing to certify they were essential for defense. A U.S. Bureau of Mines study due out this month estimates a ban on minerals would cost the economy \$1.85 billion a year. The Commerce Department says banning imports of uranium and uranium oxide would cost the U.S. nuclear-fuels industry \$300 million a year. Federal import bans have been supplemented by dozens of state and city governments that have forced their pension funds to sell the stocks of U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. The New Jersey Division of Investment reports that divestment cost the state \$32.5 million in brokerage fees and \$330 million in lower stock earnings in the two years since its divestment began in August 1985. Wisconsin's state investment board estimates that a proposed investment bill would cost more than \$34 million a year in lower earnings. Thor Ronay of the Washington-based Foundation for Africa's Future points out that New Jersey's investment losses alone could have bought 160,000 South African black squatters modest homes with indoor plumbing. Sanctions supporters in Congress are well aware of their economic effects as well as the dwindling support they enjoy among South African blacks. But the same Members who passed a 1,000-page trade bill ostensibly to "protect" American workers are willing to destroy jobs with another round of sanctions. Rep. Stephen Solarz admits more sanctions might cost U.S. jobs, but says, "It may well be necessary in the pursuit of vital American interests for us to be prepared to pay a certain price ourselves at home". As always, the price won't be paid by members of Congress but by others.

SA May Face Ethiopia-Type Situation

Do Those Who Support Sanctions Realise The Implications?

The following is an article reprinted from the South African black news paper, *City Press*: Should the present birthrate in South Africa be maintained, the country's population will increase within 35 years from 28,5-million to more than 138-million - 60-million more than can be effectively housed and fed in this country. The majority of the present generation of South Africans will be witnesses to this catastrophe, if urgent counter measures are not introduced immediately. The Department of National Health and Population Development and the Population Development Council have been busy for some time with a dynamic population development program in an effort to counter this impending crisis. Seminars have been arranged throughout the country to inform South Africans about the problem. The PDP's approach is that a balance between the population growth, the natural resources and the socio-economic ability of the country can only be brought about by improving the standard of living of all people. It has been proved throughout the world that an improvement in the quality of life directly leads to a decline in the birthrate. Where the level of education, income and occupational status improve, people are inclined to spread the birth of their children and to limit their children to the number they can afford to rear. Every inhabitant of South Africa - from the businessman to the housewife - can make a contribution to improve the quality of life of fellow citizens and to ensure that the South African population will stabilise at 80-million people by the end of the next century.

Experts say farmers can make the biggest contribution. The following figures illustrate the problem:

- * Eleven-million South Africans live in rural areas.
- * Between five and six-million people - bread-winners and their families - live on farms owned by whites and they portray a typical Third World way of life. They maintain a high birthrate and are completely dependent upon the farmer.
- * Eight out of every 10 farm workers

be countered through education and training, say the experts. If an individual has a low level of literacy, his standard of living will be comparably low and the birthrate in his family will be comparably high. In South Africa, 56 out of every 100 people are still illiterate. In Japan, for example, only one person out of 100 is illiterate and the country lowered its birthrate three-fold, from 3,4% to only 1,4%. Illiteracy among South African women is a source for great concern. About three-million women in South Africa cannot read or write. Research has proved that the level of education and the income and status of employment of women played the most important roles in family planning. A huge population growth would place an unbearable burden upon education in this country. It was expected that by the year 2000, South Africa would have about 1 652 000 more children of school going age than any other developing country with a similar population. The commitment to education would represent an astronomical sum of R 700 000 000. Formal education alone would therefore not suffice. Informal education and training would have an important role to play. Everybody can make a contribution to prevent chaos in South Africa. If collective endeavours failed to curtail the population growth, South African children and their descendants will be confronted with conditions similar to those presently found in Ethiopia, the Sudan and in some other countries in Africa. Famine, poverty, unemployment and a complete social collapse will face the future of our children.

In South Africa a baby is born every 25 seconds - this represents nearly 3 000 babies every 24 hours. Should this birthrate be maintained, the following may happen in the country: It will have a population of 47-million in the year 2000. A population of 85-million by 2020. 140-million by 2050. 800-million a century later - the year 2100.

The last figure represents a population exactly 10 times more than South Africa can feed and house. Such vast numbers will lead to a total collapse of standards of living, social collapse, poverty and unemployment. Presently, South Africa's population doubles every 34 years, while the prosperous countries, representing only a quarter of the world's population, double their population every 118 years.

- cannot read or write.
- * The status of black women is very low.
- * Facilities like schools and clinics are not readily available.
- * The average birth rate among black people is calculated at 5,1 children per woman.

This figure clearly proves the effects that living standards, literacy and the acceptance of modern living patterns have upon the population growth. It has been calculated that even at a growth rate of 3% , as many as eight-million people will be unemployed by the year 2000. The problem can

Every wage earner feeds 12 people....

Latest estimates show that 2,5 million blacks have already been hit by sanctions imposed against South Africa. Statistics reveal that every wage earner in the country feeds, on average, 12 mouths. The lower the economic scale, the greater the number of mouths affected. About 60 000 jobs have been lost through the withdrawal of foreign capital and the closure of plants - or from foreign plants being sold to local interests who had retrenched staff. In addition to this, about 150 000 jobs have been lost through production cut-backs as a result of lost overseas markets. For black South Africans there is no such thing as "limited sanctions". When a black man or woman loses his or her job, they lose everything. There is no social security and it is highly unlikely they have savings to fall back on.

The people of the United States, particularly political leaders, are urged to end this indignant head long moral rush into doing the wrong thing for laudable reasons. The black community should least of all be expected to carry the costs of any steps Americans take against apartheid. The South African Government is able to make adjustments which will immunise whites against the worst sanctions can do. The huge white conglomerates and massive white concentrations of capital employ the kind of brains that can shift, reconceptualise, divert and disguise. It will be business as usual for the people at the top who have

made the adjustments and who are not dependent on the people at the bottom. It is blacks who will pay the price of sanctions. The chairman of the giant Anglo-American Corporation, Mr. Gavin Relly, noted in his annual statement recently that the attainment of a five percent growth rate was regarded as fundamental to South Africa's future as a peaceful, prosperous, state. He said: "Justice and equity do not flourish in conditions of poverty, whatever the politics of the party in power. South Africa will never be able to muster the resources

"Justice and equity do not flourish in conditions of poverty." - Mr. Gavin Relly.

needed to provide decent living standards and opportunities for its growing population unless it can attract foreign investment, as distinct from institutional aid. Foreign capital will still not flow here, even after apartheid has been abolished, if that otherwise desirable state of affairs should be brought about by means so violent as to leave behind an economic wasteland ruled - as history shows it would be - by extremists opposed to private capital and property."



Blacks Are The Losers As US Companies Pull Out

The departure of US companies from South Africa has had little impact on the SA economy but has had grim consequences for black employees and their communities.

This was the conclusion of another recent study by the influential Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre who found that far from undercutting apartheid, disinvestment was "contributing to a consolidation of economic power by SA's whites ..."

Simon Barber, reporting from Washington for *Business Day*, noted that the study said the flight of US "deep pockets" had meant the loss of corporate contributions to "community development programmes and to groups challenging SA's apartheid policies." "The new owners

... must often cut back, particularly if they are searching for ways to cut costs in order to repay the loans taken out to purchase the operation." Also, "many SA managers,

according to the IRRRC. Even, "trade unions generally give US firms higher marks for labour relations than SA companies, because US firms are less likely to respond to

strikes with mass dismissals and lockouts." US companies also "clearly outperform SA companies in the minimum wages they pay." "In mid-1987, the lowest wage paid by any US company that had signed ... the Sullivan principles was about 40 percent above the median wage for unskilled labourers in SA industry as a whole." The study found

"Disinvestment is contributing to a consolidation of economic power by SA's whites ..."

Investor Responsibility Research Centre,
Washington

without the prodding of US parents ... are reluctant to support organisations that overtly challenge the status quo." Labour practices, including training and job advancement for blacks, have largely remained unchanged under SA owners, ac-

that three-fifths of the 114 US firms that left SA between January 1, 1986 and April 30 this year, sold their operation to an SA company or their subsidiary's local managers. More than half of the departing firms retained "non-equity" licensing or distribution ties with their former operations. "These agreements help to ensure that the disinvesting company will continue to earn income from SA, and keep its name and products visible there without the costs of direct investment."

Amcham Warning

The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa has warned that the "enrichment" of local business by some disinvestment had

so far led to South Africans becoming "apathetic" about sanctions. An Amcham delegation recently met State President P W Botha in an attempt to impress on him the seriousness of the situation facing South Africa if the proposed US sanctions legislation became law. Amcham president Ian Leach warned that any action by the South African Government which further inflamed American public opinion on South Africa could worsen the situation. The chamber

called on the South African business community, the South African Government and South Africans of all races "to appreciate

the gravity of the situation and to realise the means of stopping further punitive measures against the country lies in our hands"

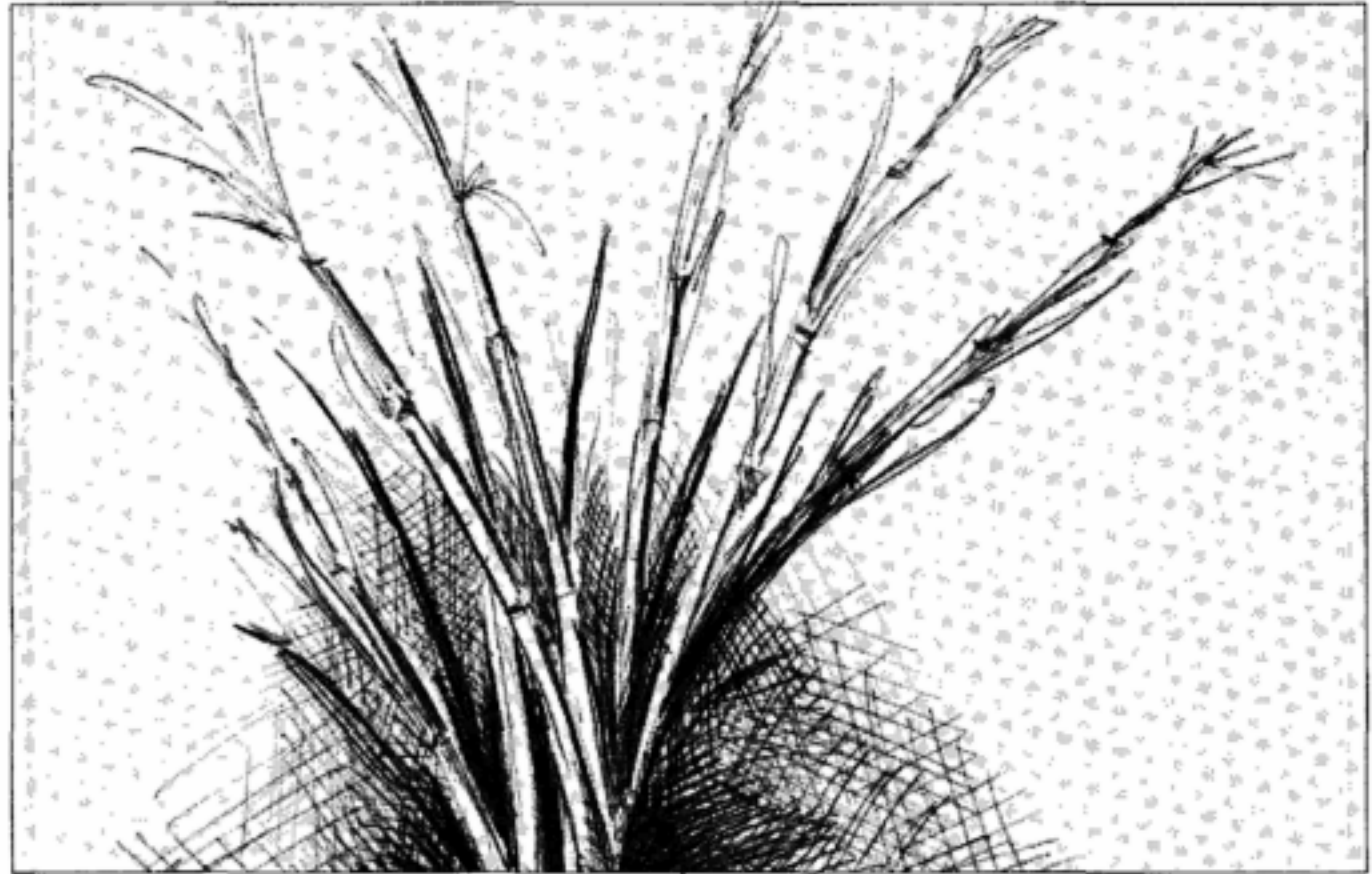
Why Won't They Listen?

The national president of the Jaycees in South Africa, Mr Vernon Matthysen, returned from a recent visit to the United States claiming that the authors of the US sanctions Bill before congress were "totally unwilling to listen to reason." After meeting Democratic Congressman Robert Dellums and Robert Brauer, aide to Dellums, Mr Matthysen said he was "amazed" at their attitude. "My impression was they do not care if their Bill will result in unemployment and misery in South Africa. They discount moderate black leaders and label them as 'stooges of the system'," he added. Dellums and his aide had said they were encouraged by the support they were getting from Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Meanwhile, Mr Matthysen said it appeared that the "average American" was not aware of the effects the planned sanctions Bill would have on blacks and whites in SA.

Sugar : 600 000 lives will be affected

Entire towns will close down

In yet another example, if the sanctions Bill proposed in the US by Congressman Ron Dellums becomes effective, more than 60 000 jobs in the South African sugar industry will be at stake. This will mean that at least 600 000 people overall will be affected. In addition to this, there are 23 000 black cane growers whose means of livelihood will most likely be destroyed. Mr Peter Sale, General Manager of the SA Sugar Association, has noted that the country's total annual sugar production is 2,1 million tons of which 90% is produced in Natal/KwaZulu. The present number of people employed in the sugar industry is 150 000. If sanctions are imposed, 60 000 jobs would be at stake as it is estimated there would be a production



drop of 800 000 tons. Mr Sale said the effect of sanctions on sugar workers and their dependents could be "catastrophic" as most had large families and the majority would find it almost impossible to find alternate employment. Few abroad real-

ised, he said, that there were whole communities around sugar mills and if sanctions forced them to close - as they would - the total economic activity in numerous towns in Natal, KwaZulu and the Eastern Transvaal would cease.

The US Will Become An Exporter Of Violence

If the United States persists with its sanctions programmes against South Africa it will, in effect, become an exporter of violence and terror. This warning came from Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in August when he addressed a reception at a medical centre in Cleveland, Ohio. With millions of black South Africans already unemployed, sanctions would leave many millions more in a position of "terrible desolation" through financial isolation, the limiting of external markets and the blocking of technological and management skills. Unless ideology was replaced by pragmatism there would be no hope for a future worth living, he said. Wrong steps would bring untold misery for generations to come. "South Africa is drifting into increasing poverty," he said. The

hope for the future lay in the encouragement of the free enterprise system and not in a socialist one-party state. "If you took everything owned by the five million-odd whites and distributed it among the 25 million people disadvantaged by the colour of their skin, all you would be doing would be ensuring national suicide. If the US cuts off foreign investments already made, it will become a net exporter to South Africa of violence and terror which can ultimately only set up a despotic failing socialism, however indirect that export will be," he added. On his return from the United States, Dr Buthelezi told a Press conference in Johannesburg that he knew many Americans had their doubts about sanctions. However, some could not be blamed for

supporting sanctions if South Africans such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu advocated such measures - even though the Archbishop had no mandate to do so and only spoke in his personal capacity. Dr Buthelezi challenged Archbishop Tutu to address a public meeting in Soweto on the question of sanctions. He said the majority of people would voice their objection to sanctions. "The Archbishop has a right to his opinions, I am not questioning that, but he shouldn't give the impression that he speaks for all black people in this country." The Anglican Church in SA had not accepted sanctions. There was not a single Anglican diocese which had passed a resolution supporting sanctions.



*In the name of the people of South Africa
Tribute to Nelson Mandela*

The birthday of imprisoned ANC leader Dr Nelson Mandela, who turned 70 on July 18, was celebrated by tens of thousands of Inkatha youth at a mass rally near Durban. In paying tribute to Dr Mandela, the President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, pleaded that the South African Government release him in the interest of South Africa. Even though the exiled leadership of the ANC had vowed to destroy his (Buthelezi's) leadership and had said it would ban Inkatha when it came to power, Dr Buthelezi said the movement did not expect anything in return for their pleas for Dr. Mandela's release. "We in Inkatha can pay no greater tribute to Dr Mandela than to say that he actually is the real President of the African National Congress," he added. "Our tribute to Dr Mandela is that whether or not he turns his hand

against us politically, or whether or not he drew us into what he was doing, we want him released. We lay down no conditions for Dr Mandela's release because we have a deep and abiding faith in the average black South African and are totally convinced that if Dr Mandela was released into a democratically unshackled black South Africa, massive historical forces would be released to work for the reconciliation of black and white." Dr Buthelezi said he believed Dr Mandela has been "misused" by too many political opportunists and various political operators who spoke in his name. "It is high time he was out of prison and was given an opportunity to contribute towards a solution to the South African problem." If he were released Inkatha believed he would be a "great force" for reconciliation not only between black and white but also between black and black. At

present "political nobodies" had tried to use Dr Mandela's name to promote the present black-on-black violence "something which we know he really abhors." He told the gathering that their voices went up "in a cry to God" to soften the heart of the State President, P W Botha. "We pray for Divine intervention in the Government; folly that just does not see that there can only be an upward spiralling of violence while black leaders who are capable of bringing about a permanent negotiated settlement of the South African problem are treated like mortal enemies. "We cannot negotiate behind the back of leaders who have not been given a chance to say whether they want us to negotiate or not. They must like all of us be free to make their choice on this matter." In telling the youth of Dr Mandela's history, he said that he joined the African National Congress in



1944 and was a prime mover in the establishment of the Youth League. Together with Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, J.K. Ngubane, Robert Sobukwe and others, Dr Mandela set about challenging the ANC from within. "What he and his colleagues did in the Youth League rejuvenated the whole organisation. Within a space of five years after the establishment of the Youth League it gained stature and influence which enabled it to be the dominant influence in crucial issues which the ANC was facing at its National Congresses. Eight years after having established the Youth League, Nelson Mandela was elected President of the ANC in the Transvaal. He was then only 34 years of age. Dr Mandela was one of the prime movers in the Defiance Campaign and perhaps did more than anybody else to establish programmes of action which drew together different organ-

isations opposed to apartheid. In all his political leadership, Dr Mandela never once put the good of the party before the good of South Africa. He was always there pushing for more dynamic action; pushing for greater unity within the ANC ... but he never pushed to cripple the good that other organisations could do and he was ever ready to join hands with whomever shared the prime objective of eradicating racism from South Africa." Even though he had been in jail for nearly 25 years, Dr Mandela still gave all the evidence of being committed to work for black unity. Dr Buthelezi said he could not imagine Dr Mandela coming out of jail and moving to join in escalating black-on-black confrontations. "I believe he would come out of jail to thump anybody whoever he or she may be who dared set black brother against black brother on the eve of a final black victory

over apartheid. "As I know him nothing can make Dr Mandela's heart to bleed more than the present black-on-black conflict and violence. "Dr Mandela would regard anything which detracted from the kind of black unity capable of making a final successful assault against the remaining foundations of apartheid as treachery to the struggle."

Dr Buthelezi said he believed Dr Mandela would regard it as "rank foolishness" for the ANC to make a mortal enemy out of himself and Inkatha in an attempt to "feed the myth" that the ANC was the "sole authentic voice of black South Africa." Dr Mandela would see it as "suicidal" for the ANC to think that it could succeed in the armed struggle if it had first of all to wage a war against Kwa Zulu. "As recently as 1985 Dr Mandela made quite sure that General Olusegun Obasanjo - a leading member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group - understood that I would have a role to play in the reunification of political black South Africa," Dr Buthelezi added. He told General Obasanjo, who has repeated this message outside the borders of South Africa, that: 'I may not agree with everything the Chief does, but I regard him as a Freedom Fighter in his own right.' General Obasanjo repeated Dr Mandela's words to Mr Oliver Tambo, the President of the External Mission of the ANC. "When Dr Helen Suzmen saw Dr Mandela in prison in 1986, Dr Mandela stated that there could not be negotiations without me and Inkatha having a role in them. "Several people that have come out of Robben Island over the years have brought the same positive message from Dr Mandela. This is apart from direct messages by letter to me and to my wife." Through the years of his bitter confinement in prison, Dr Buthelezi said he believed Dr Mandela had always kept an open and balance mind about critical issues. The worst that apartheid could have done to him had been done to him but there were no indications whatsoever that he had become bitter and twisted. Dr Mandela obviously had far too much dignity to accept release under imposed conditions. Dr Buthelezi said Inkatha called on God to "soften the hearts of both the oppressor and the oppressed" to make it possible for the work of reconciliation to succeed. "Without reconciliation we can have no national will to establish a democracy and to maintain it after it has been established."

Church Bodies Representing Millions Say No To Sanctions

Church bodies representing millions of South Africans of all races have come out in strong opposition to punitive sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment against South Africa. A forum made up of representatives of 970 church denominations and bodies was formed recently to take a firm stand against sanctions. The president of the Full Gospel Church of God, the Rev. M L Badenhorst, was elected chairman and has been authorised to form a committee representative of all the major groups and churches involved. The Full Gospel Church of God alone has 500 000 members in South Africa, about half of them Africans. The Indian membership is said to be the largest Indian Christian community in the country. The Church has challenged churchmen who support sanctions to produce scriptural backing for them. Pastor Badenhorst said in an interview widely published in South Africa that the General Moderature of the church had passed a resolution at a meeting in Durban saying they could not support any measures undertaken against South Africa by way of punitive sanctions, boycotts or disinvestment "as we find no scriptural authority for depriving persons of the means whereby they can earn a dignified livelihood or whereby they can be con-

demned to starvation through no fault of their own." The resolution also condemned the policy of apartheid saying it had no scriptural foundation whatsoever and was an offense to human dignity. The Moderature said: "We believe that a just and equitable dispensation should be instituted in our society in South Africa but by peaceful and non-violent means only." The General Moderature consists of 15 church lead-

would also drastically affect the finance of their churches, thereby hindering their ability to proclaim the gospel and help the needy. The forum's constitution strongly opposed discrimination based on colour, race, class or language. Referring to but not naming certain church leaders who support sanctions, Pastor Badenhorst said: "We have appreciation and respect for the whole Christian body of believers in South Africa and worldwide, and it is sad there should be a division on such cardinal issues such as this. We strongly base our doctrine on the Bible, the Word of God, and we have observed that Christians who plead for sanctions have not submitted one verse of Scripture or one acceptable theological argument in favour of this. We can quote dozens of scriptural references to support our stand." Those who supported sanctions had a right to their own opinions but they needed to be

The National Christian Development Fund of Southern Africa - an anti-apartheid church alliance - has also come out in strong opposition to sanctions and the sweeping proposed US Dellums Sanctions Bill currently before congress.

The Chairman of the Fund, Bishop Mzilikazi Masiya, said recently that sanctions would "lead to revolution" in South Africa. "All those people pressing and lobbying for sanctions claim to be doing it for black people in South Africa and that blacks would not mind a bit suffering more. That is a lie," he said. The Fund was organising a multi-million signature petition against sanctions for presentation to the United States embassy in Pretoria. Bishop Masiya added that he expected the support of the four million member Zionist Christian Church.

challenged to come forward and to say: "Thus says the Lord and the Scriptures." It was "surprising" that churchmen who supported sanctions did not seem willing to have a theological discussion with their opponents. He said the forum believed sanctions were contrary to the word of God "which instructs us to feed the hungry, not to deprive them of food."

ers representing the leadership from the black, coloured, Indian and white communities of the church. Pastor Badenhorst said that "from personal experience" the forum members could testify that the overwhelming majority of the people in South Africa were against sanctions and that these observations could be confirmed by a number of scientific surveys. He added that sanctions

but they needed to be challenged to come forward and to say: "Thus says the Lord and the Scriptures." It was "surprising" that churchmen who supported sanctions did not seem willing to have a theological discussion with their opponents. He said the forum believed sanctions were contrary to the word of God "which instructs us to feed the hungry, not to deprive them of food."

Realism not Emotion

We have to live in South Africa. We have to bear the brunt of the consequences of apartheid..."

It is time the search for a solution to South Africa's problems was "coldly calculated and based on sound research and analysis" rather than emotions and pandering to political interest groups, says the Rev Stanley Mogoba, President-Elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and President of the South African Institute of Race Relations. At an address to a meeting of the Interaction Council in Harare, Zimbabwe, Rev Mogoba said that South Africans were the victims of political rhetoric, both from within the country and from foreign governments that ignored the truth. "It is time that foreign governments, as well as the South African government, and other political interest groups, stopped playing to the gallery and began to make reasoned statements based on well-researched facts," he said. On the question of sanctions Rev Mogoba said: "It can perhaps be argued that sanctions have been a good educational device for the whole world. Sanctions at least illustrated to a world that didn't seem to care too much about the lot of black people in South Africa... that apartheid was institutionalised racism at its worst... But the world, I regret to say, consists of nations which have illustrated a fickleness of not inconsiderable proportions when it comes to the development of a creative and meaningful policy on South Africa. To be blunt, it is easy for the nations of the world to make generalised statements castigating the South African government in the strongest terms. The world does not have to live in South Africa. We do. We have to bear the brunt of the consequences of apartheid. I believe that world bodies and governments would have been

far more creative in their strategies if they had tried to come up with detailed policy recommendations which offer some way out for both government and its opponents of the present impasse. In order for sanctions to succeed, a massive operation would have to be mounted by the major powers of the world... one is talking of nothing short of a blockade of all the trade routes to and from South Africa. My candid view is that the threat of sanctions in fact proved more creative in getting the government to move than the imposition of sanctions have done. Simply stated, what has the government to lose now that sanctions have been imposed? While the threat of sanctions hung over its head, the carrot and stick method could be used. The imposition of sanctions, however, particularly by the United States and other Western European countries, and the continuing actions by other countries in the world, have removed the carrot ingredient and have left only the big stick approach. One has only to recall the defiant and aggressive attitude of the South African government's representative at the United Nations to know what South Africa thinks of the big stick method. So while sanctions cannot be recalled by the governments that have imposed them without those governments losing considerable face, honesty demands that one should warn oneself against stretching one's luck too far.



Negotiation... is the only viable option. It is an option that does not lend itself with ease, as do violence and sanctions, to the political rhetoric of those who prefer to be swayed by their emotions than by the facts with which they are confronted." - Rev Stanley Mogoba.

The Rev Stanley Mogoba, President-Elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and President of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

South Africa is perfectly capable of calling the bluff of the world and has in fact done so, in the strident invitation by South Africa's ambassador to the UN to the rest of the world to "do your damndest." Rev Mogoba said the only viable option was negotiation. "This is, of course, the most uncomfortable of the options. For it is an option that does not lend itself with ease, as do violence and sanctions, to the political rhetoric of those who prefer to be swayed by their emotions than by the facts with which they are confronted." He added that people may continue to destroy each other for a long time. "But at a certain point they will have to sit down and talk. Now if one is going to have talks at some time, why postpone that? Why kill first?" Rev Mogoba called for impartial international mediation for South Africa.

The Catholic Position

Last year the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference confused just about everybody when excerpts of a special commission which the Bishops appointed to examine sanctions were released. One newspaper reported "Catholics do U-turn on sanctions." Another said: "No U-turn on sanctions." However, the following are parts of the report that were published :

■ The economy of southern Africa is very precariously balanced. The application, therefore, of economic pressures against the country is only going to exacerbate an existing serious situation, so that despite optimistic observations by certain business commentators that the economy of the country is starting to recover tentatively, it

is reasonable to assume that as sanctions become more and more effective, the tentative recovery heralded by these commentators is likely to be destroyed.

■ It seems that an effective trade boycott is likely to be more detrimental than any disinvestment action. Export orientated sectors which would be most vulnerable to trade boycotts, are also the main employers of black labour, for example the mining and mineral industries. Measures leading to a decline in commercial agricultural output will also have serious implications for employment, particularly in those sub-sectors where labour in-put is relatively high to capital, and which are largely export orientated, for example maize, sugar, wool, deciduous and citrus fruits. An effective boycott of imports to South Africa would

result in denying foreign in-puts to local industries which will then curtail the scope for development in the South African manufacturing sector and a resulting increase in the rate of unemployment. It is estimated that should all exports of coal be banned, it could be expected that about 25 000 coalmine workers will be retrenched, with approximately 100 000 people depending on these incomes being affected. A total embargo against exports of agricultural products could lead to the retrenchment of approximately 100 000 workers in the western Cape and northern and eastern Transvaal. Workers in Natal are also threatened. The recent rejection by USA of some 500 000 tons of sugar is an indicator of the magnitude of trade boycotts in force. It is not known if an alternative market has been found, but the sugar industry is going to be considerably prejudiced a move that will inevitably lead to loss of farm work for agricultural workers. Most importantly the agricultural sector also provides accommodation to farmworkers and their families, for example housing facilities and farm schools. During 1984 nearly 460 000 pupils were enrolled in 5 477 primary farm schools. This represented about 30% of total black school enrolment in RSA. Adverse economic conditions which would arise in the event of total fruit embargoes could have a major impact on these communities.

■ As anticipated the whole issue of economic pressures has clearly had a totally counter-productive effect on government thinking. The whole sanctions issue has consolidated government in its retreat from meaningful and indeed, any, reform. What was anticipated by the pro-sanctions lobby early in 1986, namely an early change in government policy with expectations of imminent meaningful black participation in a regime overcome by the pressures of economic boycotts, is not likely to materialise, and will probably only emerge, but in an unpredictable manner, a long time ahead.

■ Sanctions are likely to continue to pre-





surprise business attitudes into applying their minds to the problems not only which have given rise to sanctions, but at possibilities of overcoming those possibilities ... there is no doubt that the economic decline in the country and the various pressures brought to bear have played a positive role in forcing businessmen and leaders to apply their minds to the whole subject.

■ The consensus amongst black people appears to swing like a pendulum depending on surveys, the questions asked, and who has reported on those surveys. In summary it seems logical that black people desperately want an end to the oppression of apartheid, and are willing to ensure some hardship to see this happen. It seems, however, that if the policy is likely to produce a loss of their vitally needed jobs, most blacks prove to be tentative about pressing the issue.

The commission concludes from this report that it cannot be said that blacks overall favour sanctions and are prepared to endure the hardship, a view apparently held by a

minority only, for when the stark reality of loss of jobs is presented, then quite humanly this spectre forces the preference for sanctions into the background.

■ There is a growing awareness of social responsibility in the private sector and in the business sector. Notwithstanding that

believe that a statement which says that because black South Africans are denied political rights, efforts to improve their economic, educational and social status are cosmetic or trivial, is a fallacy. Efforts are being made by numerous companies not only to play an identifiable role in the

upliftment of their workers, but also to contribute substantially towards the education and development of black leadership. Whilst the issue of 'constructive engagement' is dead as an official American policy, nevertheless there are still many companies working hard to promote the policies and the commission has been able to identify numerous corporations within the country making considerable contributions towards the upliftment of education and economic facilities to black people. The greater the economic power in-

cluding trade union power, and the educational and economic levels of the black community, the more successful they will be in making their political voice heard.



the whole issue of so-called 'constructive engagement' has been damned by certain forces and is criticised for example by COSATU as being cosmetic only, we be-

Getting Rid Of The Third Force

The following are excerpts of taped interviews with Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Sam Motsuenyane published in A Question of Survival by Michel Albeldas and Alan Fischer (Jonathan Ball Publishers).

What are your views on disinvestment and sanctions?

"Our position on that is that with disinvestment we are able to immediately get rid of a third force in this country. As soon as foreign companies come in here and begin investing, they become a third force. Let us first examine this politically and then economically. On a political level, as soon as a foreign country invests in another country, you introduce a third force, in that the government of that country obviously has to give approval for that company to invest in another country. Now when it does give approval, that government, by proxy, immediately starts having a vested interest in that country. When it begins to have a vested interest in the international political arena, it starts looking all over the world to see where its companies have invested and where its citizens are. And when a political blow-up

occurs in a place where that country has investments, it is not going to remain neutral. Let's take a very good example. The Americans, for instance, invest in South Africa and they have billions of rands in this country. The American government is aware that IBM and all the other companies have invested here. If, for instance, there was a revolution in this country, which would be

fought against the South African government, the American government would never remain neutral. They have to protect their interests, namely the assets of the companies which are American. Now it introduces that third force and it becomes problematic, particularly for our country. I have had conversation with people from the State Department in the US, and the Assistant Secretary of



Cyril Ramaphosa, Secretary-General of the National Union of Mineworkers.

State, Chester Crocker, sent me as far as to say: "We will not sit by and watch our country's assets go up in smoke when there is a revolution in this country. We will be compelled to protect those investments." Now that causes a problem for me. We would rather prefer disinvestment on the political level because then the third force is completely eliminated. We then start dealing with the South African government on our own, knowing that there is not going to be another force intervening, purporting to be protecting its assets..."

Support for Conditional Investment

The disinvestment and sanctions debate has been sloganised between "starving the Blacks until the Whites give up" - from the establishment side - and short-term suffering for long-term gain - on the opposition side. According to your perception, where does the truth lie?

Mr Motsuenyane : "Well, as far as I am concerned, disinvestment will not yield any positive results in terms of upgrading economic standards in this country and in the Black community. But it is an indication of the disapproval of the system by the world - which of course does register some impact in the minds of the policy-makers in this country. If for instance the world did not resort to sanctions, I believe this country would remain more and more complacent about its ability to negotiate and to do "business as normal" with the international community. But now that the resentment is being demonstrated through sanctions, perhaps it will activate the Government and the people of this country to move faster towards finding appropriate solutions for the country's problems. But I don't believe I see the gains of disin-

vestment in terms of upgraded standards. I believe a lot of suffering will take place as a result of the introduction of sanctions. Therefore my organisation and myself believe that we must not support total disin-

vestment. What we really should be supporting is conditional investment - investment on conditions - that will enable investors coming into our country to recognise standards that are desirable for the people

working for them. For instance, we are advocating a complete deracialisation of business. Business must at one stage no longer be seen as Black or White, it must **just be** business. When a man opens a business here, he should **not** be looking at employing Whites only in top positions of his business and then leaving the Blacks right at the bottom. I think he should look for qualified skilled people. Whoever comes should be eligible to become the MD of the company - which would be going against the normal practice of today. Another thing which we would like to see, is Blacks being able to buy shares in White companies..."



Mr Sam Motsuenyane, Chairman of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and the African Bank.



Dr ALAN PATON

Alan Paton, internationally acclaimed author of *Cry, The Beloved Country*, liberal and lifetime foe of racism and apartheid, died this year. In his last book, *Save The Beloved Country*, (Hans Strydom Publishers), a collection of some of his most famous articles and speeches since 1965, he wrote on disinvestment under the titles: *An act of Immorality* and *My nightmare*.

In *An Act of Immorality in Leadership SA* in May 1985 he explained: "I take very seriously the teachings of the Gospel, in particular the parables about giving drink to the thirsty and food to the hungry. It seems to me that Jesus attached supreme - indeed sacred - significance to such actions. Therefore, I will not help to cause any such suffering to any black person ... I am told that this is a simplistic understanding of the teachings of the Gospel. Let it be so. That is the way I choose to understand them. I am also told that I am ignoring the views of those black South Africans who support disinvestment. Most of these black South Africans will not be the ones to suffer hunger and thirst. Many of them are sophisticated, highly educated, safely placed. I also know sophisticated and highly educated black men and women who will have nothing to do with disinvestment. I choose to associate myself with them. I am told that, although I believe my views to be moral, they are, in fact, immoral because I will not take the side of those black people who want disinvestment. This is a new interpretation of morality to me, that I ought to adopt certain views because some influ-



ential black people hold them. I do not hold these views because they are acceptable - or not acceptable - to either black people or white people. I do not consider that the welfare of black people or the welfare of white people are the supreme considerations. The supreme consideration to me is the welfare of my country and therefore the welfare of all its people ... There is an often-heard declaration: "We do not mind suffering. We are used to suffering." But this again is often the declaration of those who will suffer least. To put it briefly, my conscience would not allow me to support disinvestment. For I must ask myself - and my readers who are concerned to do what is right - how long must the suffering it would cause go on before the desired end is achieved? A month? Two months? A year? Five or 10 year perhaps?..."

Dr Alan Paton :

"There is only one firm statement that I can make on disinvestment, that I will have nothing to do with it. I will not, by any written or spoken word, give it any support whatsoever."

MY NIGHTMARE

In another short piece entitled *My Nightmare*, Dr Paton writes that in a dream he becomes President of the World Disinvestment Campaign. The job queues grow longer. Unrest breaks out. A tall woman carrying a child and dressed in black comes to see him. "She looks like a sculpture of the Sorrow of the World. She gives me the child and I see that it is dead.

- Why do you give this to me?

- BECAUSE IT IS YOURS

How can it be mine? I have never seen you before?

- YOU TOOK ITS LIFE, THEREFORE IT IS YOURS.

She goes out of the study and calls to me. She points to the waiting women.

- THEY WILL BRING THEIR CHILDREN TOO.

"...when the police have taken away the body of the child I come to a decision. I get into my car... and I buy something I have never bought before. It is a gun. I go home and go into my study with the drawn blinds. There, surrounded by all the hundreds of books and papers that I wrote for the World Disinvestment Campaign, I shoot myself to death..."



INHLABAMKHOSI

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