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EXPERT SAYS FIRMS CAN EFFECT S. AFRICAN CHANGES $(1,160)$ By Ken Broadhurst

## USIA Staff Writer

WASHINGTON -- American companies have been at the forefront of removing racially discriminatory practices from the South African workplace, according to an analyst with an independent corporate research organization in Washington.
"Greater outspokenness" on the part of the U.S. business community in South Africa can have a significant impact on Pretoria and lead to cinanges that South Africa's blacks will consider meaningful, says David P. Hauck, a senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC), which reports on economic and social issues that affect corporations and institutional investors.

In testimony January 31 before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hauck and three other witnesses reported on the extent of American economic involvement in South Africa and the impact U.S. companies have had on the pace and direction of social and political change there.

Also testifying before the Africa subcommittee, chaired by Representative Howard Wolpe of Michigan, were Ford Motor Vice President William D. Broderick, who spoke on behalf of the signers of the Sullivan Code of Fair Employment Practices; Dr. Jean Sindab, executive director of the Washington Office on Africa, a lobbying group for majority rule in South Africa; and Dr. Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., chancellor of the State University of New York, chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and a director of the Ford Motor Company. Wharton was testifying as a private citizen, and not in any official capacity.

Subcommittee chairman Wolpe, a Democrat, said the purpose of the hearing was "to deepen our understanding of the contemporary U.S. economic relationship with South Africa and of the possible economic and political consequences of U.S. economic'sanctions."

Representative Jerry Solomon, the highest ranking Republican member of the subcommittee, expressed his opposition to apartheid and told the witnesses that despite differing opinions among Americans on how to deal with South Africa, "the goals remain the same." He said he hoped the January 31 hearing would be "a first step towards a positive and objective public debate on what the American approach to South Africa should be."

Solomon added, "One of the issues that concerns me is that our record on the subject of unilateral trade sanctions is not all that impressive. As a matter of fact, they have been complete failures. It usually ends up hurting us more than the intended victim."

IRRC analyst Hauck told the House panel that, from the U.S. point of view, American economic involvement in South Africa is not very large. "Only one percent of this country's total direct investment overseas is in South Africa," he said.
"But from South Africa's vantage point," Hauck pointed out, "U.S. direct and indirect investment, (including) bank loans and trade, is significant." He said that U.S. companies account for nearly

Hauck told the panel that segregated work areas, changing rooms, cafeterias, and washrooms are "a thing of the past" at most U.S. firms operating in South Africa. And he said that "an active minority of the U.S. firms in South Africa began challenging Pretoria's restrictions on training and advancing blacks into more skilled positions in the late 1970s."

Hauck also pointed out that "a handful of U.S. firms" had recognized independent black trade unions in South Africa at a critical time in the development of such unions. The firms did so in the face of opposition from the South African government and the rest of the business community, he said, adding that they were willing to work out a more equitable approach to labor-management relations with the new unions.
"All of these changes...are now largely accepted by most companies and the government as well," Hauck said.

And while workplace reforms "do not directly undermine apartheid," he said, "they may serve to weaken it indirectly by changing white attitudes."

Ford Vice President Broderick, speaking for the 135 U.S. companies which adhere to the voluntary Sullivan Code of Fair Employment Practices, also told the congressional panel that many U.S. companies "actively -- and successfully -- participated in efforts to bring about changes in South Africa's discriminatory labor laws, including the removal of restrictions on the formation of black trade unions."

The Sullivan code, named for the Reverend Leon Sullivan, a black Philadelphia clergyman who has led the effort to encourage American companies to practice racial equality in their South African businesses, was first signed by 12 companies in March 1977. It calls for equal pay for equal work regardless of race and an increase in the number of black managers, and was recently amplified, Broderick said, to include a call for the elimination of all apartheid laws.

He said companies which have signed the code have not limited their efforts to the workplace. "Spending on community development activities has more than doubled since 1980," he said, adding that these activities include:
-- non-employee education programs;
-- business development support;
-- deposits in black-owned banks;
-- housing, health, welfare, and recreation programs;
-- assisting employees with residential rights; and
-- support for public interest law firms.
"Total corporate spending on these activities through June 30 , 1984, is in the neighborhood of 100 million dollars, in addition to tens of thousands of corporate employee days contributed in the education, training, and assistance areas," he said.
"The greater the economic power -- including trade union power -and the educational level of the black community...the more successful it will be in making its political voice heard," Broderick told the panel.

He challenged the advocates of U.S. withdrawal from South Africa "to demonstrate in a credible way exactly how and when disinvestment would result in something other than loss of jobs for thousands of people."

Both New York State University Chancellor Wharton and Washington

*     - Un wiric.f nirector Sinaub called tor u.S. companies to cut
tieir ties with South Africa.
"U.S. corporations employ only 70,000 blacks -- including
'coloreds' and Asians -- only one percent of the total black workforce," Sindab said. "Even if they wanted to be a good influence, the impact on the South African economic and political system would be Wharton sai he conclusion that, while there has by U.S. firms, "for the overwhelming, vast majority Africans employed indeed the situation is worse."

He added, "What we face, fundamentally, is the need to address the broader foreign policy question...in terms of the national conscience of the United States, not the corporate conscience, not the personal conscience which $I$ would express. That is a far more difficult issue to deal with. At core, the fundamental question is to adopt a broad NNNN

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(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)
REBEL LEADER SAYS THE ANC IS NOT YET READY TO TALK $(1,450)$
February 1 Washington Post carried the following front-page article by Glenn Frankel, under the headline "Rebel Plans More Violence: 'This Is No Time to Talk,' Exiled S. African Says." (BEGIN TEXT)
A top military leader of South Africa's main , movement says.his organization is not yet main exiled resistance in return for talks with the white-ming ready to lay down its arms intensify its sabotage campaign inside sory government and plans to

In his first interview wit chief of staff of the militar organization, Joe Slovo, (ANC), said, "This is no time enough to impose anything on them. $n$ to them because we're not strong

The three-hour interview took
capital that, under condian identified.

Slovo, 58, a former lawyer and a Communist who left South Africa 22 years ago, heads the government's most-wanted list and has been portrayed by police there as the white master terrorist who has manipulated the movement's black majority toward Marxist ends.

He is alleged to have planned most of the ANC's major sabot terrorist operations, including four explhe ANC's major sabotage and nuclear power plant in 1982 and the 1983 osions at the country's sole Force headquarters in Pretoria that killed that killed 19 persons and injured 200,
Slovo denied that he had planned the Pretoria bombing but said he did play "a productive and useful role" in the movement's military operation. He said while he regretted civilian casualties, some were

US Government rejects

Argus Fore ni Senvice
WASHINGTON: - The United States Government today rejected Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for foreign companies to set a deadline of 18 to 24 months to press for reform in Soputh "Africa.
The Nobel Peace Prize winner's Johannesburg newis conference was widely reported in the US Press. He was quoted as saying punitive and economic sanctions" should be applied if reform conditions imposed by foreign investors were not met in South Africa in the specified time ${ }^{3}$ But in Washington'state De partment spokesman Mr Rob ert Bruce said the US did not agree that a spécific timetable should bé set ot that sañtións should be imposed as punitive actions.
The exchange over sanctions comes at a time when hostility towards apartheid appears to
have increased dramatically throughout the US and when sanctions :measures are being readied for debate in the US Congress"and other legislatures.
Meanwhile, after a break over the holiday 'period, antiapartheid demonstrators have resumed their campaign of provoking their own arrests near South African diplomatic offices in the US.
Yesterday nine people were arrested near the SA embássy in Washinington.
So far more than 430 people, many of them politicians, academics and labour leaders, have been arrested in 11 cities since the protests were launched in Washingtont by the
 on Novembet dity w ment sporesman for the move onstrations would sbread to 20


# short-term outlook ooor, says Wilking 

this question-and-answer session, Mr Lou ${ }^{\prime}$ jilking, president of the Midland Chamber of udustries, gazes into a rather clouded crystal all and offers a sombre view of the year ahead for the Eastern Cape.

I Hit vehicle manufacturIHE vehicle manufacturEnent in the economy of Port Elizabeth/Uitennize, ended 1984 with atics at a very low level. Iow will the sector fare 1985?
In 1982 new passenger ar sales totalled 283427 :14 272822 in 1983. It is fnrecast that sales for 1984 will be 265000 units

- However, a comparison in the annual sales figures dnes not reflect the real impact of the downturn
In the first half of 1984 car sales were 159181 units, ie an averge of 26530 units per month. The average for the second half of 1984 was 17.636 units. This is a drop of $33 \%$.
The pattern for commercial units was the same, It tis forecast that new ipassenger car sales in 1985 aill bee 230000 units and commercials 130000 units. T. rticis, expected that the tow level of vehicle sales sxperienced in the last six months of in the last six stinue into the first half of 1985 with increases in volurne forecast for the re mainder of the year.
If one looks at the last six months of 1984 average of Troughly 27400 units, the 1985 monthly average of a forecast 30000 units is up about $9,5 \%$ ".
antw The PE\& Uitenhage man: , ufacturers are expected to take $34 \%$ (about the same as 1982 and '83) of the total market in ? 84 , that is about .136000 units.
orf their share remains at $34 \%$ for 1985 the volume wwill drop to 122000 units and this can only improve if they' can achieve a larger sishare of the market
$\therefore$ To hold the area's volrume would require $37,8 \%$ of the market, up $3,8 \%$ over o1984, which will be difficult to achieve given the -extreme competitiveness of the South African vehicle market:


By Louis Beckerling
Business Editor

Sanlam have bough into Nissan, which would seem to suggest that in the medium/long term he outlook for the indus ry must still be attract ve from an investment point of view:
The question is incorrec in its assumption, as it is understood Sanlam have bought into Messina Min ing, a company which owns Nissan, Steelmobile, Motorware, among a number of companies, as well as Mes ina's mining interest.
Obviously Nissan is an mportant entity in this acquisition and it's assumed that Sanlam consider the automotive sector an attractive long-term' venture -Vehicle, density among white South Africans equals the United States however in the non-white sector vehicle density is similar to other Third World nations.
South Africa, while it is aced with many problems, also has many opportunities. The country is blessed with large quantities of rare and semi-rare minerals, it has a First World infrastructure and it has employable people.
If things like the housing shortage can be arrested lectricity is installed in those areas requiring it,


At his investiture as president of the MCI for 1985 is Mr LOU WILKING
and education is expanded for all peoples to equal levels, then many jobs can be created.

As the economic wheel begins to turn and if it turns rapidly; the non-white people of South Africa will participate in the economic fruits of this lovely land and they will buy electrical appliances and furniture and clothes and TVs and automobiles.
If their automobile density then equals the whites', there will be 10 million more vehicles sold - that's three times what's on the road today, and that generates more jobs at the venicle manufacturers, at the component suppliers ${ }_{j}$ at the petrol stations, at the repair garages, at the finance houses... and so the wheel turns.
I think Sanlam sees these opportunities, not today's problems - which they also see as unique opportur nities.

After many years of talks about the need for rationalisation in the automotive industry Ford and Amcar are looking at various options. If some type of merger results from these talks, do you see this pressurising other vehicle manufac- (centre), managing director of General Motors, with MCI office-bear ers (from the left) Mr PETER MORUM (vice-president), Mr BILL ODDY (deputy president), and Mr HENRY WHITTAKER (outgoing president) and Prof LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER, guest speaker at the MCl's annua meeting.
turers into
At last count the vehicle capacity on one shift of manufacturers is about 740000 units.
The forecast for 1985 is 360000 units and the all. ime record volume for any year was 453541 units in 1981.

It is obvious that there is more capacity in place than required on a one-shift asis and cost efficiencies do not begin to occur until facilities are worked on a two-shift basis.
So it would appear that manufacturing rationalisation will occur, if synergies exist between companies.
If this leads to cost efficiencies for the rationalised companies, others will have to look to similar means to remain competitive.

The $\mathrm{PE} /$ Uitenhage area, since the development of the local content programme in the early 1960s, has changed from being the least costly area to build vehicles to an area of substantial location penalty. Most raw materials and component suppliers are in the Reef area and so are most of the customers
The net result is a vehicle on average costs R150 to R200 more in Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage than in the Reef area.
The 136000 units produced by this area in 1984 carried a penalty of about R20 to R27 million.
The Midland Chamber of Indūstries has Chamber of
ating with the Decentralsation Board for several years for assistance to the area.
In 1983 a nominal freight rebate on limited methods of shipment was given but his did not address the problem meaningfully.
After further discussion additional decentralisation assistance has been prom sed and if it is implement ed it will correct about half the problem.
The Mayor, Mr Ivan Krige, was very right in tating the area is bein "ripped off".
For too long the area has had an attitude of "nothing we can do about it".
As a result the shoe business, which used to be $60 \%$ in the area, is down to $15 \%$, and the automotive indus try, which used to do $62 \%$ in the '60s, is down to $34 \%$ !
However, the problem is broader than individual companies, or the Midland Chamber or the Mayor.
It is the people of Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage.
How many of our professionals, our politicians and hopkeepers, the worker of Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage, support their own area?
If they don't, they may wonder where their patients, or voters, or customers or employees have gone!

PE/Uitenhage is the home of many mult hational companies. In his regard do you envisage the "disinyest :ment plea' currenty be
ing campaigned in the US having any effect on the potential expansio of the multinationals in Port Elizabeth/Uiten hage?

As a protest against the South African Government's policy of apartheid, in sotion has been passe in some US states and muin palities, and introduced in others, requiring disin vestment of state and mu with activities in South Africa.

Further, legislation has been introduced on the national level to prohibit new US investment in and bank loans to that country.
General Motors is firmly opposed to the South African policy of apartheid.
The corporation has spoken out publicly and privately against such policies and continues to attempt, wherever possible, to change the policy of apartheid through the channels open to foreign manufacturers operating in South Africa
General Motors, however, does not support legislation dictating the disinvestment of securities of firms with activities in South Africa, as this could penalise companies which, through their commitment of resources as well as the dedication and efforts of their local managers, are contributing to the achievement of social justice and racial reform in that country
Clearly, firms which subscribe to the Sullivan principles and are committed proving egation and phoudis, investment
It can be asumed that the ultimate effect of wide spread disinvestmentlegis-: lation would be the withdation would be the with-

## companies from South

 AfricaAn emotional tone typifies the arguments in fa vour of disinvestment.
The usual argument isis that apartheid is ${ }^{16}$ morally. evil and no nation or company should deal with a government that enforces apartheid, because if it does, it is encouraging that government.
This argument is 'based on abstract moral values that fail to take into account the effect of disin:
vestment on human beings

On the other hand, the On the other hand, the most powerful argument against disinvestment is both moral and pragmatic: namely, that the only people who will be signint cantly hurt would be the very people Americans seek to help - the nonwhite people of South Africa.

If American companié were to leave South Africt, the American leadership role would be greatly di' minished, and the progress made to date could bé reversed.

There would be a loss of: jobs if American companies were to merely abandon their operations.
American operations could also be replaced others less sensitive to the needs of non-whites.
Moreover, it has been pointed out that disinvest ${ }^{2}$ ment would also tend to destabilise the economies of the countries neightyaz ing South Africa.

Botswana, Lesotho Swaziland (all of which'ate

Senator Edward Kennedy again ducked the disinvestment issue today when he told top businessmen he would postpone making his decision known until after his trip.
Senator Kennedy told the Johannesburg meeting that he "will offer specific recommendations" about disinvestment after his trip and after he had spoken to more South Africans.

Addressing the combined Chambers of Commerce this afternoon, he also urged businessmen to welcome the emergence of new forces for peaceful change such as the United Democratic Front.

## US disinvestment: R28 000-m at stake

By Michael Chester

The stagering chunk of the South African economy at stake in the disinvestment issue has been assessed in a special survey undertaken by Professor Carl Noffke, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University:

- More than 350 United States companies have nearly $\mathbf{R 6} 000$ million inyested in South Africa.
- The number of USicompanies carrying on business here in import and export trade is estimated at 6000 or more.
- Loans from 'US banks to the private and public sectors in South Africa accoint for another R12 000 million.
Andif all items are covered in the count including the value of
andishares held by Americans, the overall US investment in South Africa soarsiso a phenoménal R28 000 nollion.

However, on the other side of the coin, Professor Noffke points out that a recenti analysis by the Institute fop European Economic Studies, based init London, warned that most Western nations would fous seriously weakened - economically and strategically - in the deventiff oss of trader with South Africa.
 Which thé West depended included chromium, cobalt, manganese and platiom plus copper, nickel and vanadium.




Police and
SADF on list

WASHINGTON - In the first of an expected series of anti-apartheid steps in the US House of Representatives this session, Congressman Howard Berman of California yesterday introduced legislation bẩning American exports to the South African military and police.
The Bill, co-sponsored by 28 other congressmen, would also stop the sale of personal computers "which could be used to enforce the pass laws".
The introduction of the measure by Mr Berman, a Democrat, is the second bid to introcrat, is the second bid to introduce sanctions since Co
The first was an announcement by Senator William Proxment by Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin that he would introduce a wide range of economic sanctions measures in the
enate.
The Berman bill, which includes aircraft that the SAAF wants for coastal patrols to replace the obsolete British Shack"as long as apartheid-exists" "as long as apartheid exists".

Senator Kennedy said: " $I$ feel I should caütion you that neither the American people nor the US Congress will be satisfied with repeated generalities without real movement towards a new reality in South Africa.
"I want to make it clear now that we cannot accept statements of goodwill as a substitute for concrete actions to achieve fundamental rights."
The senator said he had heard the claim of some change in South Africa already but this had been accompanied by continuing repression and far behind.
"The public statement last night by business organistaons calling for reforms, including an end to forced resettlement, could be an important milestorie - if it not only reflects a sentiment but signals genuine change."
Many businessmen had been ahead of the Government, as, for example, when the Federated Chamber of Industries,"and Afrikaanse Handelsinstituit had called for the release of imprisoned labour leaders.

But the justice that businessmen could do would ultimately men could do would ultimately be undone if they did nothing
about South Africa's unjust legal code.
The senator slammed the Mixed Marriages Act and laws on immorality, group areas and influx control as "the reigning relics of a discredited racism" which had to be repealed.

South Africa's top business leaders had earlier snatched $t=3$ initiatixic from Sentor Kenrym as he, was preparing to address them today. They put forward their own demands for political reform including one that blacks should have the vote.

## Demands

, Whe demadnds, compiled with the support of the country'silargest business groupingsuwere made availäble to Senator Kennedy yesterday.
Wheirs reform plans iñciude six demands for dismantling apartheid:
Meaningful political participation fon blacks including the

OBlack South Africans should be allowed to own shops and conduct trade anywhere in the country. There should be no job reservation

- South African citizenship for all"meaning an end to the policy of declaring black people citizens of tribal homelands.


## Detentions

- Free and independent trade unions
- Cutting back the wide-ranging power of the police to detain people without charges.
© Ending forced removals.
Senator Kennedy met some of the businessmen privately last night.
The demands were endorsed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chambers of Industry, the allblack National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, and the Steel and Engineering In dustries. - Political Staff, Associated Press.
- See Page 11.

THE United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (Ummawosa) was yesterday urgently seeking a meeting with visiting United States Senator Edward Kennedy, following the dismissal of almost 500 workers by the controversial US Union Carbide company.

The workers were dis missed last month from the Tubatse Ferrochrome plant near Lydenburg, managed directly by Union Carbide (USA) - a signato ry of the Sullivan Code.

Union Carbide jumped into world headlines late last year after a gas leak from its Bhopal plant in India claimed the lives of at least 2500 people.

Union Carbide USA owns $51 \%$ of Tubatse Ferrochrome and holds the management contract, while the South African Gencor mining group owns the remaining 49\%.

Ummawosa claims the workers were dismissed after meeting before work one morning. They had asked a manager to address them on the findings of an
inquiry into a senior white shift supervisor, who allegedly assaulted a black worker. The company mistakenly assumed they were refusing to work unless the supervisor was fired.

Workers requested the meeting after a seven-day deadline for a decision about the supervisor, agreed on by a joint unionmanagement committee, had expired.
They were locked out of the plant the next day and met at the gate by a strong security contingent, including South African Police.
The plant's management has since terminated the union's recognition agreement and told workers they might apply for re-employment by tomorrow, but would be treated as firsttime applicants. This means those re-employed will lose service benefits.
Union Carbide's group personnel manager, Mr Ce dric Robertson,-yesterday claimed the workers had refused to work unless the supervisor was fired and said they were only dismissed after management had invited them to return to work several times.

$\qquad$

 "I have no quarter with the ANG
whatsoever. It's a pro-Soviet movethat could ultimately bring power to

 tion of apartheid....Weakens them as
an ally, weakens them in terms of
 his attitude towards South Africa.



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 heid, but are not willing.to see South
Africa destroyed as a nation.


 made clear. "We don't buy the disinvestmen port disinvestment, a spokesman has
 ufV Yinos of pasodio zex uows
 The Star's Washington Bureau. see South Afrića destroyed as a nation", reports



## SA Govt warning of likely disinvestment tive

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. - The government is preparing the country for the economic shock of further American disinvestment, which it regards as highly likely.
In a series of private meetings with businessmen around the country, a senior Foreign Affairs Department official has been warning businessmen to brace themselves for the blow.

Hitherto the government has been tightlipped on the subject of disinvestment and has played down suggestions that it could have significant repercussions.

But Foreign Affairs assistant director Dr Mark Burgher had talks with groups of businessmen in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg warn ing that disinvestment lobbying in the United States could produce significant results.

## 'Cutting edge'

"He said that all we can do is to try to influence the manner and direction in which disinvestment comes," said a prominent Durban businessman who attended a Durban Chamber of Commerce and Natal Chamber of Industries

## A big dilemma for Kennedy?

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. - Whatever proposals he makes after returning here, Senator Edward Kennedy will face tough competition - and possibly an awkward dilemma - if he seeks to become the Senate's leading voice of opposition to apartheid and "constructive engagement".

Congressional sources said yesterday they were certain the Massachusetts senator would proffer his own anti-apartheid bill, rather than signing one with the stiff legislation proposed last week by Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin.
Mr Proxmire's bill, known as S 147, combines all the anti-South African language contained in last year's aborted Export Administration Act.

A quartet of leading Republican senators, covering the complete ideological spectrum, are currently piecing together an alternative "omnibus" bill that would contain a mixture of punitive, but non-economic, measures and would at the same time seek to provide unprecedented aid to black business and education.

Mr Kennedy's problems include:

- However potent his Iineage, he remains a member of the minority party in the Senate.
- Any attempt to out-radicalize Mr Proxmire will automatically be doomed.
- If, on the other hand, his South African trip persuades him that economic pressure may not be the best solution, he will be reviled by the very constituency sor which he is seeking to be the spokesman.

Despite the South African issue's current high profile, Mr Kennedy's trip has caused no sensation here. News coverage of it has been pre-empted by the Geneva arms talks and it should also be recognized that the Kennedy aura has faded dramatically in recent years.
meeting with Dr Burgher.
"He wanted us to help blunt the cutting edge."
Mr J L Viljoen, deputy director of Foreign Affairs, confirmed that Dr Burgher had visited businessmen in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg.

The department's deputy Director-General, Mr Carl von Hirschberg, said: "This is one of the responsibilities of my department - if we hear of developments overseas we brief the people who will be affected and let them know what can be expected.
"It's quite likely that certain disinvestment measures proposed in the US Congress before its adjournment in November will come into effect in the next session."

Although official US Administration policy was against disinvestment, American cities, states and organizations were being spurred by the "disinvestment lobby" to take action which could strike telling blows on the South African economy, Mr Von Hirschberg said.

## Motion adopted

"The threat is there. A number of American city administrations and states have already adopted disinvestment measures, and a lot more measures are being proposed.
"Recently the US Association of City Treasurers adopted a disinvestment motion."
He said it was obvious that local business viewed disinvestment seriously from the fact that prominent business organizations such as Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federated Chamber of Industries and Seifsa had presented touring Senator Edward Kennedy with a memorandum on the subject.
Man
Mail cörrespondent


NEW:YORK - The New York State Governor, Mr Mario Cuomo, has ordered an investigation to determine whether the stăte could dispose of its' investments in companies that do business with South Africa.
However, the sole trustee of the state's massive public employee pension fund, Republican State Comptrolier, Mr Edward Regan, has refused to join in the Democratic Governor's prográmme.'
Delivering his annual State of the State address, Mr Cuomo said he was ordering his tax and human rights.commissioners "to determine whether an effective state programme of divestment from companies doing business with the Government of South Africa can be adopted."
The Governor, often mentioned as a possible US presidential candidate in 1988, said that while he understood "our federal constitution clearly vests the conduct of foreign policy in the President and the Congress, there occasionaliy arise certain. issues which so transcend the normal discourse of dip lomatic relations that individuals, and even 'states, are obliged to express their views and act accordingly"
"We are unequivocily op-" posed to the evil system
of apartheid in the Re public of South Africa," Mr Cuomo said. "The funds of the state.must not be used to support that system we so strongly oppose."
In his message, Mr Cuomo said he would call on Mr Regan to join in the disinvestment study. However, a spokesman for Mr Regan said that would not happen.
"While he finds apartheid reprehensible and strongly opposes it, he will not participate in the study," said Mr Marvin Nailor of the comptroller's position.
As head of the $\$ 21$ billion (R43,7 billion) state employees' pension system - the largest US public employee pension system outside the Federal Government - Mr Regan decides where the system's money will be invested.
Mr Nailor said that of the 500 companies the system had invested in, about 100 did business in South Africa.
"That includes GM, IBM, Ford and many others," he said.
Legislation has been introduced in the state legislature that would require state officials to end investments in companies that do business in South Africa. Similar legisla-
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## From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. - The extension of the Sullivan Code in the United States should be matched by the EEC, the Financial Times urged in an editorial yesterday.
The Sullivan Code, subscribed to by a fifth of the United States companies in South Africa, sets out six principles which include non-segregation in company facilities, equal pay, training programmes for non-whites and improved housing, education and health care for black employees.

## Freedom

Last month employer responsibilities under the code were taken fur. ther and the code now asks United States com panies to campaign for the right of black bu sinesmen to set up in ur ban areas and for complete freedom of mobility for black workers.
The Financial Times editorial said: "Behind the code is an increasingly concerned lobby in the United States, based on the black vote, which can back breaches of the code with consumer action.
"No comparable lobby exists in Europe, where the EEC code of conduct for companies with inter ests in South Africa has - perhaps for this rea son - limited impact
"The extension of the Sullivan Code should nevertheless be matched by the EEC."
Although the Financial Times editorial does not mention it, the Rev Sullivan will meet repre sentatives of a number of British companies with major interests in South Africa shortly to persuade them to match the Sullivan Code.

## Changing mood

The Financial Times said that if the EEC matched the Sullivan Code it would be reflecting "the changing mood of the local business community in South Africa".
The editorial referred to the "unprecedented" step by six employers' federations in South Africa this week in call ing on the government to make concessions to the black community.
It said the South African business community had made calls for reforms in the past, but the
new call for reform after what could be seen as a watershed year.
Referring to the recent black unrest in South Africa and black trade union activity, the Financial Times declared: '^All these pressures can only make more urgent the need to dismantle the apartheid system."

## Furnishing

group's R4m rights issue
JOHANNESBURG. -
World Furnishers Group Ltd said it will make a rights issue to raise about R4m, to be underwritten by its holding company, W \& A Investment Corp Ltd, Mr R Swindler and Mr H Rose, said.
World furnishers saidthe severe adverse economic conditions in the short-term had caused it to take a cautious view by strengthening the capital base.
As already announced, ${ }^{m^{2}}$ World Furnishers Pretax income fell to $\$ 3,94 \mathrm{~m}$ in the year ended June 30 from $\mathrm{R} 4,18 \mathrm{~m}$ in the previous 12 months. - Reuter



Unions
USU dis
The unions have also
called on the US to purcalled on the US to pur-
sue a vigorous campaign of constructive disen gagement and to ensure that nuclear, computer and dêfencé technology is not 'sold, or licensed
or franchised in Soùth Africa.

The president of the Council" of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), Mr James Mndaweni, said the US should terminate its involvement in so-called homelands because of the exploitation that takes place in these territories.

## Fosatu

This view has been supported by Fosatu's president, Mr Chris Dla
mini, who said that the federation has written letters to the US Gov: ernment protesting: the involvement of American companies in the "homelands."

## He said that most

 American companies operating in South Africa did not adhere to the Sullivan Code of Conduct and were exploiting wlack ${ }^{\text {² }}$. workers by refusing to pay them$\qquad$



## By JOSHUA RABOROKO- Labour Reporter

FOREIGN companies operating in South Africa face massive industrial action unless they adhere to the Sullivan and European Economic Commission codes.

This tough warning was yesterday issued by the country's most powerful trade union federations, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa). Together these federations account for more than 250000 of the country's labour force.

The federations have demanded the creation of special committees to monitor the activities of foreign firms in South Africa. They claim that, while the codes were introduced several years ago, they have not been adhered tó by some foreign companies in South Africa.
These companies have under-employed blacks, continued to pay them wages far below living standards, and their black staff work under conditions far inferior to those under which whites work.

Although the two federations did not indicate what type of action they envisage taking, it is expected that the unions will organise more strikes and product boycotts to pres-yosurisethemultinationals:

## Boycotts

In recent months several unions have called for boycotts of products produced by most multinational companies - an action reminiscent of the largescale boycott against the American company, Colgate in the early '80s.
The warning by Fosatu and Cusa comes after affiliates com-

# Multinationals in SA face industrial action 

plained bitterly about companies not observing the codes.
Other independent unions, The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (CCAWUSA), and the Motor Assemblies Components Workers. Union of SA (Macwusa) have also raised their voices about multina. tional companies' refusal to adhere to the codes.
The Sullivan Code, designed basically for American companies, was drawn up by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, one of the early leaders of the civil rights movement in the United States.

The Code stipulates, inter alia, non-segregation of races in all eating, comfort and work facilities; equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same penod of time; increasing the number of blacks and other "Africans" in management and supervisory positions; and equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
Fosatu's president, Chris Dlamini, said they have made recommendationsto several American companies and Mr Sullivan himself regarding the treatment of some multinationals in South Africa gave to black workers.
"We have also urged that the codes be monitored by a special committee based in South Africa. We have had no positive move and unless this is done we shall be forced to put pressure on the companies, like we did with Colgate a few years "ago," he said.

Mr Dlaminisaid American companies have taken advantage of the "cheap labour" in the "homelands" and have invested in these territories, especially in KwaZulu.

A co-ordinator of the Sullivan principles in SA, Mr Lionel Grewen, said that as far as he was concerned the codes were monitored.


Rev LEON SULlivan. .
code.


MANMPRIGESIT


Political Correspondent THREE visiting Ameri can congressmen spoke out against both disinvestment and apartheid yesterday after a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in Cape Town.
The Republican congressmen - Mr Bud Shuster of Pennsylvania, Mr Clay Shaw of Florida and Mr Robert Smith of Oregon - are on a 10 -day visit to "South Africa as guests of the pro-government South Africa Foundation
Following the twohour neeting, dubbed by $\mathrm{Mr}_{5}$ Bótháas useful and opensmrashuster said that whilenthe visiting group "abhorred" apartheid, theyfelt it was nec-
essary to work "constructively" for change in South Africa.

He predicted that pressures by the disinvestment lobby in the United States would produce a "major battle" in the Congress this year.

He felt that it was unlikely US lawmakers would pass measures favouring disinvestment, particularly if they saw evidence of "continuing progress" in South Africa, but added that Congress's stand on disinvestment could well alter if change in South Africa did not materialize.

Mr Smith said disinestment would hurt the black population most:


## Business Day/foreign

The long US debate on disinvestment in $S A$ is changing from frenzied rhetoric to legal moves as more cities, states and trade unions join the antiapartheid campaign.

## SENATOR Lowell Weicker of Connecticut

 last week became the first US senator and a Republican at that - to be arrested for demonstrating against apartheid outside the SA Embassy on Washington's Massachusetts Avenue.It was an indication of how US attitudes towards SA are changing that the event was not regarded as very big news. The liberal Mr Weicker was the 190th on a long list of prominent personalities to have been taken into custody outside the embassy in a non-stop daily protest.
His gesture was the latest symbol of the breadth of the growing nationwide anti-apartheid movement that has become increasingly vocal in its questioning of the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement with SA. This movement is now strongly pressing US business to sever inks with the country and calling for economic sanctions. The latest protests have not yet achieved much in concrete terms. But they have succeeded in putting the Administration and many large companies on the defensive and heightened the chances of some sort of legislative action against SA in the new Congress that gets down to business next month. .This month 29 Congressmen introduced legislaton to prohibit US exports of computers, military and police equipment to SA to reduce the "brutality and violence against the people of SA". Quite separately from the moves in Congress, a nationwide divestment campaign for the withdrawall of all American assets from SA is gathering pace. Five states - Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan andNebraska - have passed divest ment lawsibarring investment of pension or other -state funds in companies doing business with SA. More than a dozen cities, including New York, Washington, Boston and Philadelphia, have done the same and more states and cities are expected to follow suit this year.

Of the 350 or so American companies operating in SA more than 200 have significant investments there, with a book value of $\$ 2,3 \mathrm{bn}-\mathrm{about} 1 \%$ of total US investment abroad - according to the US Chamber of Commerce. The figure has declined from $\$ 2,6 \mathrm{bn}$ in 1981, although that may be due as much' to economic problems in SA as to the protest

## increasing

movement in the US. Other estimates put American investment including loans and $\quad$ gold stocks, at \$14bn.

Faced with the new momentum behind the divestment movement, the companies, including Ford; General Motors and Mobil, are beginning to fight back, organising corporate committees and lobhev ing groups. Many companies do not, however want to be publicly identified with the campaign, for fart. of being tarred with the brush of apartheid.
The companies, like the Administration, argue, that pulling out of SA is not going to end apartheid. and will only hurt blacks the most. It would point anis. end to any chance of the companies exerting a a beneficial influence
Almost 130 US companies have now subscribed to the so-called Sullivan principles, first advanced eight years ago by the Rev Leon Sullivan of Philae delphia, which call for wage increases, improved training and housing for black workers, and an end to segregation at work. Last month, about 120 com panies agreed to strengthen the principles by press-: ing for broader changes in SA society, including the repeal of all apartheid laws and policies.
The activists, however, argue that such measures affect only about $1 \%$ of the labour force and are not going to end apartheid. They believe that the com: panies are simply saying that they will step up their efforts as a public relations manoeuvre to head off pressure for divestment
The most important test for the antiapartheid movement, however, is likely to come on Capitol Hill, where the Democrat-controlled House passed a package of four sanctions in 1983, including bans on d further bank loans to or investment in SA and ariend to the import of Krugerrands.
The measures foundered in October after opposite tion by the Republican-led Senate. But something very like them is almost certain to be introduced in the House again in the coming weeks, and Sen William Proxmire, a Wisconsin Democrat, has pledged to do the same in the Senate.
The new Senate is probably marginally more liberal than its predecessor and Mr Proxnirecfore casts that his Bill will pass. Perhaps more import antly, the recent protests have succeeded in chang ing the climate of debate into one in which SA has fewer public defenders. - Financial Times.
whtrwat
Own Correspondënt
JOHANNESBURG.
United States companies operating in South Africa are now openly worried that anti-apartheid lobbying could leave them no option but to pull out of the country.
In an effort to counteract the rising tide against the United States-based companies, the American Chamber of Commerce in"SA (Amcham) has called on South African busininesses to ask the US companies they deal with to lobby against the threate ${ }^{2 \circ}$ of boycotts and disinyestment laws.
Unlessiachange in the thinking :ofip US' policymakersaftakes place, trade with the US could
aliso be severely curtailed. With two-way trade worth about $\$ 5$-bil lion dollars in total the US is South Africa's biggest trading partner.
The executive director of Amcham, Mr Stephen Bisenius, said in an in terview yesterday that there was no doubt that efforts to reduce US corporate involvement with South Africa had risen dramatically and would increase still further
The anti-apartheid issue was becoming more fashionable every day. "There is a snowballing effect taking place as the copycats join in."
The president of the US company Norton Abrasives, Mr Donald

Melville, concurred with this view when in Johannesburg.recently, saying pressure on US-owned companies to reduce or discontinue their oper ations in South Africa was likely to increase.
While pressures on State and municipal bo dies to divest their pension funds of companies doing business wïth South Africa have grabbed most of the headlines, there are moves afoot which could have a fargreater impact on the South African economy.
The SA Human Rig̀hts Act, due to go before the current session of Congress, would ban any new US investment in the country, prohibit US bank loans to the "South African Government and outlaw importation of Kruger rands.
Attempts last session to pass similar legislation failed to get enough support. This time, however, the moves come from a conservative Republican senator, Mr William Proxmire, who is likely to find a more favourable audience given the current anantiapartheid climate:
As an indication of the lack of interest in the positive 'social activities of US companies in South Africa, Mr Bisenius pointed out that Senator Edward Kennedy had refused to meetimanagement of a single US subsidiary whilethin South 'Africa:

Môst feared
While the SA Human Rights Act is likelyto have the biggest initial impact on the South African economy, Mr Bisen:ius said US firms feared a "secondary boycött"; New York City and Boston, for instance, were, planning legislationsito ban dealing withetry company which traded with South Africa.
The purchasing power of such organizatibns was so large that such a boycott, would undoubtedly force US companiês - there are more than 8000 - to stop all deal ings with South Africa, even ifonly a few major buyers adopted.thépolicy. $\qquad$

 Tontory Sub-committee is trying to free America's aerospace, steel and motor industries from dependence on South Africa's strategic minerals.

## Different

Such is the furore over South Africa that a gold expert in America is about to launch an initial share offering in a precious metals in vestment company that will not hold a single share in, or bar of gold from, South Africa's mines.
The reasons for the actions of Congress and the precious metals investment company are different, but both indicate an underlying trend for America to do less business with South Africa.
Jeff Nichols, president of Precious Metals Advisory Inc, says the decision to se up a close-end investment fund for precious metals de voted to Northern American production and mines was based on business logic

## Growth area

A growing number of American universities and corporations wish to hold a part of their investment portfolios in gold or gold shares. But . the institutions, and many of America's pension funds, are under pressure from students and shareholders to keep out of South Africa.
Not only does Mr Nichols hope to tap that market with his North American investment fund, but he believes US gold production is a growth area.
"By investing only in North American precious metals we will have no social, polití cal and or foreign-exchange difficulties. We also think that the growth in output in North America and Canada will expand enormously in the next few years.

By Lauren Chambliss: Washington

## 27185

 'Efen without a major increase in the price of gold, we believe American mining shares will appreciate as output grows. The growth potential in America's fledgling gold industry is superior to that of South Africa's mining companies."His company will launch its share offer in Wall Street in the next six months. But even at a proposed capitalisation of $\$ 300$-million, Pre cious Metals Advisory is unlikely to take away business from SA's gold industry

## Underscored

But Mr Nichols' decision not to invest in South African gold underscores how serious the issue has become.
A move is afoot in Congress which couldhave a long-term impact on SA's mineral sales to the US.

America imports \$1-billion of cobalt, chromium, manga nese and platinum - more than half of it from South Africa.

President Reagan recently cited South Africa's vital mineral resources as one reason to support and maintain comfortable relations with the Pretoria Government. For years, congressmen opposed to economic sanctions have argued that any action could result in the South Africans blocking mineral imports to the US.

## Soviet bloc

A study by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment concluded how ever, that the US could curb its heavy dependence on South Africa and Soviet-bloc nations for strategic minerals through scrap recycling increased research and development, conservation and greater domestic production.
Although the report confirmed it would be years before America could wean itself from South Africa's minerals, Congressman Dan Glickman, a Kansas Demo crat, believes there is grow ing support for an eifort to be
made for mineral independence

Mr Glickman believes it is essential for America to pre pare for an eventual cut-of in South African minerals.

## Flexibility

He says: "The pressure is there. I've talked to people in the American Mining Con gress, in the aerospace indus try, the steel industry. They all use or are involved in strategic materials and minerals.
"I can't say whether the loss of materials would be because of an overt act on our part or because of trouble in South Africa. But the US needs independence and flexibility in dealing with South Africa. It has much less now than it could have because it's so dependent on some of these strategic minerals.'
Under the Critical Materials Act passed by Congress last year, the Commerce Department has tried to address the question, albeit hesitatingly.

## Decade

The department has sponsored conferences at which the steel and aerospace companies, together with the Bureau of Mines and the Defence Department, have analysed America's strategic mineral needs in the next 20 years.
Most experts agree that it would require at least a decade of research for the US to become independent of SA's strategic minerals.
Tom Wolfe, a former pre cious metals expert with the US Treasury, says: "Given the tight US Government Budget constraints, there is no practical possibility over the next few years of any sig nificant increase in Federa funding for either strategic mineral stockpiling or stimu lative domestic production US dependence on the traditional sources of strategic minerals will be unchange in the foreseeable future.
 duce or discontinue their operations in South Africa is likely to escalate in the future, experts have warned:
The executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in SA. (Ancham) Mr Stephen Bisenius, yesterday said that the chatimber' has advised South African businesses to urge US companies to lobby against the threat of boycotis:and disinvest-f ment.育教
Hee said: "If US companies disinvest in south Af rica many black people:will suffer because there will be less jobs for them, especially in the, rural and homelañds where vacancies are scarce. What
${ }^{2}$ The pressure on USS to divest themselves of South Africa has been intensified and have grabbed most of the headlines as anti-apartheid lobbyists. presséd them to pull out of SA:
II IT the: latest development South African black trade'inion's have asked US companies to stop further mivestment in this country while 'apartheid stil exisistsanid have threatened to take industrial action if the companies do not adhere to the Sullivan Codes'

## Boycott fears

In an effort to relieve the pressure, Mr Bisenius said that they" have advised the SA businesses to urge US companiés to lobby against the threat. Unless there was a change in the US policy-makers, trade with US could be severely curtailed.
There was no doubt that efforts' to reduce US corporate involvement with SA had risen dramatically and would even increase further in the future, he warned
"The anti-apartheid issue is becoming more and more fashionable as there is a snowballing effect taking place when copycats join in,"Mr-Bisenius said:
He said there were other méans of bringing about change in this country; but disinvestment would lead to suffering and spell misery for many blacks, who were already reeling under the escalating unemployment rate as recession bites.
The US was opposed to laws such as influx confrol, groutp areas and others, but "discontinuing investment will only spell disaster for most people, especially blacks."
Referring to adherence to the code, he said all the companies that are signatories ơbserved the codes. Even those who have not signed it do adhere to them, adding that there could be a few exceptions:

Howevyer, US firms feared a secondary boycott and it was time for them to be on the offensive.
merger:

## Ford

## quits PE

THTOMKENGERNON , PORT ELIVABETH FOR motor company and the Ango motor manufacturing arm Am carthaverged and willoper ate under the name South Atros: can Motor Corporation:

Ford workers weretold about the move today at a series of co-ordinated metings at all the Company's Port Eliz abeth factories where manag ers read a statement by the compay sproduction director, Mr Neville Cohén 6
The statement said the company would not be moving próz duction facilities from Rort Elizabeth before the endot the year a and added that theres; wouldalways be some tord? presence in Port Elizabethy but did noteelaborate further of the result of the meeting was made known by employees of the company who said the new was only what we liave beent expecting all along!
There was ino mention in the statementor possibléretréch ments of Ford staff, now or in the mear future but it dia say that are detailed statement : would be issied to the Pres this afterioon
 An mployee said the state ment mentioned that the company had said the reason bey hind the move was that tithad not received sufficient\% return on "its': investment in Porty Elizabeth.
Mr Cohen said he netsonall would not be taking part thithe new venture Whe Mayor ofiport Elizabeth Mryan Kige, said mistaction to the Lorataman mers that it x yas another Mammer box' to a port Eitatatizecon omy, already reeling in theteco. tomic downturnut 5my
 alarm 3 and ilispondency said there is no zieed ópanic because we have beent given this 12 month breathing space. Hut the Government thest row helphus or watch Port



THE anti-apartheid lobby against United States companies operating in South Africa is building up while a leading trade unionist has come out in support of investment in this country.

And American churcheshave been urged to oppose the withdrawal of US investment in South Africa in
a study about to be pubby been joined by most lished by a Washington of black trade unions who based "think tank".

Publishedbytbonnies to stop investing in ethics and public policy 0 this country while apartcentre, the study says: heid still exists
"What outsiders should $\$$ According to the ask for (in South Africa) study, which looks at the is not perfection but a ${ }_{y}$, role of the churches in serious effort to provide the issue of disinvestcivil rights and economic ment in SA, "isolating opportunities for all." $\quad \underset{\sim}{\text { S South Africa and its }}$

## Pressure

The pressure on US to disinvest has been intensified. Some of the com- $\frac{y}{4}$ panies are openly wor- 5 ried that anti-apartheid $\}$ ned that anti-apartheid bate tensions and lead to
lobbying could leavef greater poverty, injusthem with no option but to pull out of South Africa.
The lobbying has
people from the economy of the West is no solution to the complex racial and political situation in that country.
"It can only exacertice and violence," the stady says.

In a foreward, Mrs Luc.y. Munbelo, the
leader of the National Union of Clothing Workers, rejects disinvestment as a means of forcing change in Soutt Africa.

## Vitality

"The vitality of South Africa's economy offers more hope to South African blacks than destructive forms of pressure from abroad. Only indigenous movements - trade unions, political groups, the schools within South Africa can bring about positive change," she says.
"Outsiders can influence it, but only through participation, not isolation," she added.

Making recommendations to the churches at the end of the 106-page study, Mr Sincere says that while church leaders and organisations have an obligation to speak out on public issues, they have an equal obligation to speak responsibly.

According to sources, proposed legislation due to go before the current session of Congress includes the SA Human Rights Bill, banning any American investment in SA, prohibiting US bank loans to the Government and outlawing the importation of Krugerrands. has to be taken seriously, but nothing similar is occurring in Britain, Mr Colin Brant, director of trade promotion for Britain and British Consul-General in Johannesburg, said at a lunch yesterday.

British companies were máking a contribution to the development of South Africa.

He wanted to encourage British companies to come to South Africa 'as fast as they can,' to do business. Those that invested here did so under the umbrella of the-EEC code of conduct and, to his knowledge, there had been no political withdrawals.
'In'no way have people been discouraged from' in' vesting (in South Africa) on poltical grounds,' he said. Seven percent of Britain's world-wide investments was coming to South Africa.
South Africa was a very important customer for Britain, being number 12 on the trading list. Mr Brant said thät visible trade figures to the end of October had passed the $£ 1$ billion level and he hoped for a record year.
'Invisible trade was also substantial. About 120000 visitors from Britain came to South Africa eachyear and many of these were businessmen
Mr'Brant said that the situation of some years ago where British firms were poor deliverers and were not competitive, had been overcome in the past five years.
The British inflation rate had been kept down and pricesswere more stable. The pound was probably undervalued, he said.
'Commenting on the Durban Consulate siene 'he said the Bitish had acted honestly if not very competently'robuthouth Africa's critics would have a field day because of South Africa's decision not to retarn the Coventry Four for trial.


- 2 The Argus, Thursday January 311985


## $\frac{\text { Cart }}{\text { Car move: Gloomy }}$ forecast for PE

From Ken vernon Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. - Organised business here has warned of "severe economic damage" through Ford motor company's withdrawal from Port Elizabeth.

The city has been stunned by the of the Ford/Amcar merger and Ford's planned move to Pretoria, even though the blow was seen coming for months.

Business and civic leaders said the move would force other motor manufacturers and ancilliary industries to examine their involvement in Port Elizabeth and would discourage new investment.

## Only solution

Mr Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, said the motoriondustry directly contributed 25 percent of the city's gross economic output.
"Ford alone contributed approximately eight percent and no city can afford to lose eight percent of its economic base without suffering severe economic damage."

The chairman of the Greater Algoa Bay Developnent Committ'ee, Mr Alan Ward-Able, said the only solution kas to
attract other industries to fill the gap left by Ford.

Workers at the Ford Neave plant - the company's oldest - expressed dismay and disbelief that they could be the first to lose their jobs under the new arrangement.

## Vagueness

Some workers said they were unhappy at the vagueness of the information the company had given them.

A letter addressed to the workers and signed by Ford managing director, Mr Brian Pitt, which was circulated in the company's plants yesterday, gave no hints about possible retrenchments or planned closures.
M. Mr or ganiser for the National Automobile and Alined Work: ers' Union,' said he felt Ford and Anglo American had acted in a "completely irresponsible manner" toward their social responsibility that the industrial giants had long espoused.
"We learnt only yesterday of the merger after having pressed Ford for months for fuller consultation. Now we learn that negotiations had been going on for nearly a year."

PE r
PORT ELIZABETH
This city was stunned yesterday as the full im pact of the intended impact of the intended closure of most of Ford South Africa's oper ations here struck home
And with talk of fur ther industry rationalization, there were fears that the figure of more than 2000 jobs expected to be lost at Ford alone might be only a fraction of the total, including many small-ancillary industries, threatened inresult of the announce. ment.
Among the results of the merger announced in Johannesburg yesterday between Ford and Amcar (jointly owned by Anglo American Corporation and its industrial arm, Amic)

## Headquarters

Coth Ford and Amare absorbed in new motoring giant called South African Motor Corporation (Samcor) with Amear having a 60 percent share and Ford 40 percent.

- Amcar head.
will be in Pretoriarters
- Alth Pretoria

Ford seeugh not final,
Ford seems certain to close its Neave plant in Port Elizabeth completewy by March next year with the loss of 2000 jobs.

It will then be sold if a
buyer can be found. - PE will retain production of the Sierra, Ford's tractor operation and the product develop. ment division.
Ford yesterday denied that disinvestment pres sure in the US or union militancy in PE had played any part in their decision.

## Implications

The largest union fected by the merger the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu), will b testing (Naawu), will be testing Ford and Anglo American to "give proof" of their public state ments of social respons? bility.
Naawu said in a statement they would be negotiating to see if the companies were prepared to translate claims that they were aware of the socio-economic implica tions of the move into ac tion.
The statement was is sued after delegations from Naawu, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union (Macwusa) and Union (Macwusa) and the allwhite SA Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union met senior management in Johannesburg Tuesday.

Port Elizabeth MPs reacted with shock yes terday to the news of the merger, describin of the move a "bodig the for the city. body-blow"
MrJohn Malcomess expressed the fear that the move would have a "rip ple effect"
"Component suppliers might move and indeed General Motors who General Motors who plant might have to move in order to remain competitive with other competitive with other facdies which get subsigovernment." the
Describing the move as a "terrible body blow to Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage", the MP for Uitenhage, Mr Dawie le Roux, added that in a wider sense it was in a blow to the whole decentralization policy.

The leader of the La bour Party, the Revallan Hendrickse, said the clo-death-knel"almost a death-knell for many families in these timany economic hardship". Sapa, Political Staff and Own Correspondent this 400 lose jobs in Cape this week, page 2

- Amcar and Ford merger - R1-bn turnover expected, page 14

Own Correspondent: American Industrial JOHANNESBUR Corporation (Amic), who Anglo Americanand control Amcar Motor Ford are to merge theip thinoldings and its franSouth African motor chises for Peugeot, manufacturing openty Mazda and Mitsubish ations.

 over of R1 billion adeded which Ford SA is a suband assets of R700m willisidiary, will control be called the South Aftideabout 40 percent.
can Motor Corporation 4 政 (Samcor).

Anglo American

## Final ratio

Cors. The final ratio will be decided once Ford SA and Amcar have audited their 1984 accounts, and will be based on their net worth.
The merger is likely to see the transfer to Amcar's Silverton, Pretoria, plant, of most of Ford's production in the East ern Cape.
The rationalization programme is expected to take 18 months to complete.
Although a final decision has yet to be taken, production of Ford and Amcar vehicles is likely to be centred on two assembly plants - Silverton and Ford's Struandale plant at Port Elizabeth:
Ford's nearby Neave plant is expected to close, with the loss of 2000 jobs, as well as Amcar's 150 -man Port Elizabeth truck manufacturing operation.

## ": Conclusions

4 Announcing the merger yesterday, Amcar's chairman, Mr Les Boyd, said: "Our studies indicate that we could produce all the vehicles we will require in the two
; most modern plants, Amcar's Silverton assembly plant and Ford's Struandale assembly plant in Port Elizabeth.
"Hence in the course of the next several months we will review and reach conclusions on the transfer of production of Am-
"At the same time, we will continue production at Ford's engine plant at Struandale. We will be achieving the improved efficiencies we are seeking and taking positive steps to ensure the new company's long-term success.
"The specific timing of these actions is still to be determined but it will take up to 18 months to complete manufacturing rationalisation."

The reduction of Ford's Eastern Cape operation is likely to have serious effects on the region, which relies heavily on the motor industry.

## Operations

Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen are all based around Port Elizabeth. The departure of any one of them could have a ripple effect on the dozens of motor component manufacturers and tyre companies which rely on them for business, and cause tens of thousands of jobs to be lost.
Mr Boyd, who will become chairman of Sam
ibilities to employees and the community.
"We plan to provide an economic safety net for any employees affected and we are working with the authorities and private commerce and in dustry on re-training programmes and alternative employment opportunities."

Samcor is expected to come officially into exis tence in March, and will receive an immediate injection of $R 200 \mathrm{~m}$ in new equity, cash and subordinated loans

The R 200 m will be provided by Ford Canada, Anglo American Corporation and Amic. The decision on who pays what has yet to be decided.

Ford is SA's second largest vehicle manufacturer, and Amcar the third. Together they account for about 25 percent of the car marke and 20 percent of the truck market.
Mr Lindsey Halstead, vice-president of Ford in North America with responsibility for Ford SA, said the merger was made necessary by South Africa's overcrowded vehicle market, in which 11 car manufacturers and 17 truck manufacturers competed fory a, combined market of only 400000 vehicles:s
He added that it was
part of a worldwide trend in which motor manufacturers were-increasingly recognising the advantages of cooperation and joint undertakings.

He said: "The nature of the global automotive business has changed so remarkably over the past six years that Ford sim ply cannot continue to do business as in the past."
Mr Halstead said Ford and Amcar would contine to use separate dealer networks once the merger was complete. Despite trong speculation that certain Ford and Mazda cars models might bé merged into a single model, he said no such decision had yet, been taken.

He denied suggestions, that Ford's decision was taken under pressure from the US disinvestment lobby.
cor, said yesterday the $\qquad$ new company would work closely with "the unions and the government to minimize any effect the merger would have on the Eastern Cape.
He said: "We are very aware that the eventual scaling-down of operations in Port Elizabeth will have socio-economic effects on the Eastern Cape, but we wish to emphasize strongly that the new company willipe well aware of its respon-
$\qquad$

THE announcement of the merger of Ford and Amcar and the subsequent transfer of much - if not all - of Ford's manufacturing plant to Pretoria is seen as the beginning of the end of the major role the motor industry has played in the economic history of this city.
At one time virtually all of South Africa's motor industry was concentrated here, earning the "Friendly city" the tag of "South Africa's Detroit".
The involvement of the multinationals brought prosperity and growth to both Port Elzabeth and South Africa, while their position as foreign-based companies meant they were placed in the forefront of advancing the position of the country's and the city's black population.
There is now a real fear that the Ford move will precipitate a general exodus of motor vehicle manufacturers as well as their attendant componentmanufacturing industries.

## Vast area

Last October when negotiations between Ford and Amcar were first confirmed the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Government would not consider any plans to save the city from a possible Ford move, saying that the Government's responsibilities were firstly to the country as a whole and secondly to the entire economic region - a vast area including the whole Eastern Cape, Ciskei and parts of the Southern Cape.
Port Elizabeth's pivotal role in the development of the South African motor industry goes back to 1905 when the thenfledgling Ford Motor Company picked the name of a Port Elizabeth hardware merchant out of a catalogue and wrote to him asking if he would consider distributing Fords in South Africa.

The cars were imported fully
assembled until 1924 when the company acquired a disused woolshed in Port Elizabeth and started assembling vehicles from parts brought from the Canadian Ford subsidiary.

An old advertisement touts the pleasure of owning a "fiveseater Ford tourer - with selfstarter" for only $\$ 165$.

## Woolshed

In 1926 Ford were joined by General Motors which also aquired an old woolshed and started assembling vehicles.
The prime advantage Port Elizabeth offered the companies was its well-developed port for landing the parts needed to assemble the cars.
Both world wars gave the motor industry in P.ort Elizabeth a major boost when the port could be utilised for re-export and by 1947 the final member of the Big Three, Volkswagen, joined Ford and GM by acquiring land at Uitenhage nearby.
Until the early 1960s the local content of the vehicles produced at the Port Elizabeth plants remained below 15 percent.

## Local content

But in 1963 the Government called for more local content to be incorporated in the products and it is from this time that the decline of the industry in Port Elizabeth will be dated.
Contrary to what is being said now, the market for vehicles has always been in the Jo-hannesburg-Pretoria area but, when all parts were imported by sea, Port Elizabeth remained a viable assembly centre, especially when low fuel prices allowed cheap transport to the main markets.
With the local content percentage increasing to the present figure of 66 percent, the viability of Port Elizabeth as a manufacturing site has correspondingly decreased.
The Ford move is a final rec-
ognition of this process.

- Behind the very real fears of the city fathers now is the realisation that the pressures which brought about the Ford move are also working on other manufacturers.
GM managing director Mr Lou Wilking says that while his company is not at present involved in any deals like the Ford/Amcar agreement it would welcome being involved with a strong South African partner in its operations here.

He said in three other African countries - Egypt, Zaire and Kenya - GM had local partners in their operations.

It has been rumoured that GM has been talking to insurance giant Sanlam about a partnership of some kind this is denied by GM - and it is thought that a GM/Nissan merger at some future date is not out of the question.

## Blacks

If the motor multinationals were to leave Port Elizabeth it would be the end of a partnership which has broken much new ground in the South African industrial arena.

The Big three have been in the forefront of the trend to advance blacks into relatively senior positions, even if only reacting to pressure from their home countries through programmes like the Sullivan Code.

The companies pioneered the concept of employers' social responsibility in this country and led in community projects to aid their workers' off-duty aspirations as well as becoming deeply involved in providing suitable housing.
The multinationals also proved to be a fertile ground for the resurgent trade union movement in Port Elizabeth and the thousands of people who will be thrown out of work may yet write an unhappy final chapter to the Port Elizabeth motor industry.

# Sullivan hails Ford-Anglo deal as breakthrough <br> Industrial Editor <br> Motor Corporation intends <br> prospects remained bleak, 

ANTI-APARTHEID activists in the United States have welcomed the merger of Ford and Anglo Ameri can's motor interests in South Africa

The Reverend Leon Sullsvan, author of the non-dis crimination Sullivan Principles for US business in South Africa, hailed it as a breakthrough.

Announcing details of the merger this week, Ford's vice-president responsible for South Africa, Mr Lindsey Halstead, said Ford would continue to conform to the Sullivan code.

He said: "We have advised the Rev Sullivan that Ford Motor Company will continue to be a signatory to the Sullivan Principles and that the South African
to contanue implementing its standards throughout the combined operations."

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that the Rev Sullivan said yesterday: "If Anglo American adopts these principles, it will break new ground in dealing with the South African Government."

Anti-apartheid activists in the US see it as proof that Ford, America's secondbiggest motor manufacturer, is responding to their pressure.
"We had to finally face the facts," said Mr Willjam Broderick, Ford's director of international affairs. He said the company shared in enormous SA motor industry losses last year and
with 11 car and 17 commer. cial vehicle makers fighting over the comparatively small and fragmented market.

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports that a Ford spokesman said yesterday the doomed Neave plant would not close until the end of the first quarter of next year. He added that there would be no retrenchments until then.
He said the Neave work force included 1550 hourly paid and 200 salaried staff Ford's total employment in Port Elizabeth was 5104
Mr David Hauck, a South Africa specialist with the US-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre, a non-partisan corporate
monitoring group, said yes terday that while US disinvestment pressures had not been a factor in Ford's decision, the economic constraints of apartheid had contributed.
"Many US companies have stayed in South Africa waiting for the black market to take off," he said. "It hasn't. Blacks simply haven't become the consumers everyone was hoping for."
He said that Ford's decision would not remove the firm from the disinvestment movement's lists.
"I am not aware of any State or city disinvestment legislation that lets com panies off the hook if they own less than $50 \%$ of their South African subsidıar ies."


More pressure
strongly urge Congress to pass legislation that would mandate corporate disinvestment from South Africa," Ms Jean Sindab director of the Washington Office on Africa, told a House subcommittee on Africa at a briefing on South Africa.
However, Ford Motor Company Vice President, Mr William Broderick, speaking on behalf of companies that have signed the Sullivan Principles which lay down guidelines for fair employment practices, told the panel that withdrawing corporate investments would damage chances for forcing change in Pretoria's policies.
"Sullivan Signatory Companies fully share the sense of frustration felt and expressed by many, including our critics over the slow pace of change in South
Africa's racial laws." he said
"We are concerned, however, lest that frustration lead to ill-considered actions which, however well-intentioned, will not in fact, result in any improvement in the tatus of black South Africans," he added
Ms Sindab argued to the subcommittee that without the massive corporate investment in South Africa, "Pretoria could not run its very expensive and complex apartheid system".
SIMON BARBER reports, meanwhile, that the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz yesterday gave "constructive engagement" a powerful vote of confidence saying that the Reagan Administration had "accomplished much" in Southern Africa, but repeated that "apartheid must go".
Appearing before a Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr Shultz said there was less cross-border violence in Southern Africa than at any time in moresthat a decade; "progress is being made toward a Namibia settlement; we have strengthened our ties with Mozambique and otherregional states, and South Africàitself has developed co-operative relations with



FORD South Africa insists that its merger with Amcar does not represent disinvest. ment and that it is in South Africa to stay but its rivals are unconvinced.
Ford, they say, brought along more to the party greater market share and nowhere near Amcar's losses yet emerged with only $40 \%$ of the equity against Anglo's $60 \%$ of the new company called South African Motor Corporation (Samcor).
The partners have injected R200-million in cash and loan conversions to bolster the merged company's capital base. Industry observers say Anglo American has obviously put up most of the cash.

## Question

At the end of the day, Ford has a minority stake in Samcor where it once had a whol'ly owned SA operation.
One question is whether it will maintain this stake or diminish it as disinvestment pressure intensifies in the US. Another is whether 10 years from now Ford's famous products, which have been on the roads of South Africa for 60 years, will continue to be seen here.

Lindsey Halstead, Ford's vice-president in charge of SA operations, avoided the question when asked if Ford would transfer casb from its Canadian parent. He said merely that the conversion of loans was effectively a cash transfer.

Observers say Ford has assessed its operations worldwide and that the Dagenham : plant in the UK and the Belgian plant might be closed.

## By Don Robertson

The team that investigated Ford's European operations was apparently in South Africa last year and reported on a declining share of the market and falling profits.

Ford SA says: "We intend to stay and will support any losses that the new company might suffer in its first few years of operation."

Les Boyd, chairman of Amcar, says unaudited figures show losses at Amcar of R42-million for the year to December last - before interest and foreign-exchange provisions. It is believed the figure could be as much as R100-million.

The shortfall in 1983 was R69-million and R50-million in 1982.

Mr Halstead says: "We will also be in a loss position, but not of this magnitude."

Last year, Ford cars had $14,3 \%$ of the market. Amcar, which includes Mazda, Mitsubishi and Peugeot, had $11,9 \%$. In the light commercial market, Ford had $13,3 \%$ with Amcar down at $9,3 \%$. Amear had a much largen share of the heavy truck market at $12,3 \%$ compared with Ford's $2,9 \%$.

## Full tilt

But whether the deal does represent a move for Ford to distance itself from South Africa or not, the benefits of rationalisation are expected to be considerable.
Initially, production from Amcar's truck plant in Port Elizabeth and Ford's Neave assembly line will be moved to Arncar's Silverton factory near Pretoria, which will run at near capacity on a single

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RATIONALISATION of manufacturing facilities between Ford and Amcar will result in an tnitial reduction of about 2000 hourly padd workers, but the crunch will not come this year.
The intention is to eventually close the old Neave assembly plant in Port Elizabeth, but management of Samcor has guaranteed that this will not happen in 1985. Trade anions and Government authorities will be consulted on all retrenchments.
Fears that component manufacturers in the Eastern Cape will suffer are discounted by Bill Hayward, executive director of the National Automotive and Allied Component Manufacturers Association.

He says that although some of Ford's manufactaring activities might move to the Reef, components conld still be sourced from Port Elizabeth which has certain transport and other concessions. Additional concessions, slmilar to those enjoyed in decentralised areas, are being sought.

Some component manufacturers in the area already supply motor manufacturers in Pretoria and Darban.
shift. Ford's Struandale plant is also expected to run at full tilt.

But the real benefits will come from model rationalisation as both have cars and trucks which compete directly in price and performance.

It is beheved this will be achieved through "badge engineering" whereby one model will be produced by a single factory and sold as either a Mazda or Ford, with minimal cosmetic changes. This is done by Ford and Mazda in other parts of the world and is possible through Ford America's $25 \%$ stake in Mazda of Japan.

The Mazda 323 and Ford Escort could be produced as a common car as early as next year. The Granada is almost certain to disappear, although the Sierra, which was launched only 18 months ago, will probably te around for at least three years.

## Challenge

Speculation is that Mitsibushi's Tredia, which has been far from successful, will be withdrawn and replaced by the new Gallant and that Samcor will shed the Peugeot.
In the short term, Samcor management will have a tremendous challenge to pull together the manufacturing facilities and dealer networks and maintain credence in a market dominated by consumer loyalty.

The merger raises the question of who will be next. Eyes are on Nissan, Volkswagen and General Motors, all of which deny courtship of any kind. Nissan and VW are linked in Japan and in some countries Nissan and GM produce what SA knows as the Pulsar.


American businesses in policies want to see inSouth Africa, under troduced "more correctly try in protest at its race policies, yesterday
$+$ American Chamber of Commerce in South Afri-
$\therefore$ ica, said the new Ameri-
${ }^{2} 1$ and $\rightarrow i$ defined, aims to affect almost all trade, licensing agreements and technology transfer between the : US and South Africa."

Economic sanctions which US opponents of South Africa's apartheid
a year in which more than 200 people died in continued unrest in South Africa's black townships.

Mr Bisenius said the new organisation would combine the vested interests of firms located in South Africa with those of about 8000 US corporations which trade with SA.

It would aim to protect and expand trade and investment and would be "totally independent, highly flexible and funded only by the private sector".

He added: "To emulate our opponents, this organisation must also work around the clock and maintain constant vigilance against anything which would affect trade and investment." Reuter. , की 4 ,,$m$

## New Yorkin driye for SAdisinvestment

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK - New York City has introduced disinvestment legislation aimed at forcing American banks and firms to stop doing business with South Africa.
At a Press conference to announce the new disinvestment drive, civic leaders and trade union officials headed by Mayor Ed Koch described it as the strongest measure yet taken by an American city to cut financial ties with South Africa.
The Bill will stop all city dealings with banks or trust companies that:

- Underwrite securities for the South African

Government.

- Make loans to the South African Government,
except loans for educational, housing or health facilities available without discrimination.
The Bill also requires firms wanting to carry out contracts for the city to agree to:
- Not supply the city with any goods from South Africa or Namibia.
- Not make any direct sales of goods or services to the South African military, police, prisons, or Department of Co-operation and Development, except for food and medical supplies. Firms must state that they have not done any such business in the last 12 months.
The new Bill, supported by all major figures in the New York City Council and the city's labour movement, follows last year's decision by the city's pension fund not to invest in corpora tions that operate in South Africa without adhering to the Sullivan code of employment practices.

A total of five US states and 11 cities have adopted laws requiring pension funds or state employees to disinvest.
"In spirit, in practice and in law apartheid is evil," said Mayor Koch.
"As a government committed. to certain inalienable rights, it is appropriate that the City of New York will not give aid and comfort to apartheid."

He said the Bill was a "prudent mechanism by which city resources can be used to pressure the South African Government to eliminate the abhorrent institutions and practices of apartheid".
Mayor Koch said the financial power of New York was such that he expected all banks and firms dealing with the city to adhere to the new provisions.

# MRGuJT $8 / 2 / 8856$ <br> New York moves to force US firms, banks to disinvest 

## Argus Foreign Service

 NEW YORK. - New York City has introduced disinvestment legislation aimed at forcing US banks and firms to stop doing business with South Africa.And in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Donald Regan, the Mayor of New York, Mr Ed Koch, proposed that the US mint its own gold coins, because "one source of income for South Africa is the sale of the Krugerrand"

At a Press conference to announce the disinvestment drive, civic leaders and trade union officials headed by Mr Koch described it as the strongest measure yet taken by a US city to cut financial ties with South Africa.
The legislation will end all New York City dealings with banks or trust companies that:

- Underwrite securities for the South African Government.
- Make loans to the South African Government, except loans for eductational, housing or health facilities available without discrimination.
- Advertise or promote the sale of Krugerrands or other coins minted in South Africa or SWA/Namibia.

Firms wanting to carry out contracts for the city will not be permitted to supply the city with goods from South Africa or SWA/Namibia. In addition, they will not be permitted to make any direct sales of goods or services to the SADF, police, prisons, or the Department of Co-operation and Development, except for food and medical supplies. Firms must state that they have not done any such business in the past 12 months.

## Last year

The new legislation, supported by all major figures in the New York City Council and the city's labour movement, follows a decision last year by administrators of the city's pension fund not to invest in corporations that operate in South Africa without adhering to the Sullivan Code of employment practises.

Five states and 11 cities have adopted laws requiring, pension funds or State employees to disinvest.

At the conference Mr Koch sand: "In spirit. in practice and In 'dw apartherl $: ~$ evil


Anyone going into the city centre tomorrow is warned to take $\mathrm{RI}, 50$ because Matie students will be there selling their rag magazine, Akkeriol. All ready are, back, from left, Cathy Ward, 20, Marrietjie van der Westhuizen, 19, Nikola van
der Merwe, 19; front, Virginia Pratten, 20, and Rykie Oosthuizen, 19.

## Woman burnt to death in car boot: 2 married men in court

Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. - The horrific Klerksdorp case in which a young woman was allegedly locked in the boot of a car which was then set alight took a new turn today.

Two young married men, both fathers of small children, appeared in the Klerksdorp Magistrate's Court charged with murder and rape.

Mr Joseph George Scheepers, 21, of Blyde River Street, Klerksdorp and Mr Schalk Johannes Burger, 20, of Magrieta Prinsloo Street, Klerksdorp were not asked to plead

They 'rers remanded in cus-
tody until February 21.
Mr Scheepers, a father of two, was on the run after escaping from the military detention barracks in Pretoria when the crime was commit ted. He is stationed at 16 Supply and Transport Depot, Potchefstroom.

Tall, dark-haired and tanned, Mr Scheepers wore a wind breaker in court and glanced nonchalantly around the court.

Mr Burger, who is also mar ried and has a two-year-old child, is unemployed. He is small, sported boyish stubble and an open-meck shart in court and appeared nervous

The men wopeared in connectilun
killing of Miss Ginny Goigzeone, 21 , at the weekend and a vicious assault on her boyfriend, Mr Jacob Wessie, 28.

Two other men appeared in court earlier this week in connection with the case. They were Mr Jacobus Valentine Adriaan Matthysen, 20, of Klerksdorp, who was doing his national service at the Air Force base in Potchefstroom, and Mr Daniel du Rand, 19, a telecommunications apprentice working for the post office in Alberton.

There are thus only two servicemen involved in the case. and not three as previonsiy reonrim

# Wilking criticises economic policies 

## LOUIS BECKERLING

 Business EditorTHE present state of the South African economy "cast doubt on the ability of the Government to manage its own affairs", according to Mr Lou Wilking, managing director of General Motors.
Addressing the annual dinner of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants in Port Elizabeth last night, Mr Wilking predicted he would "get no medals for what I'm about to say, but it must be said".
"As business people, what would your assessment be, of a country which has seen:

- "Double-digit inflation for over a decade;
- "Interest rates rise from $7 \%$ to $25 \%$ in four years;
- "Its currency devalued in excess of $60 \%$ in a little over two years
- A government that employs nearly $60 \%$ of all whites increased their salaries by $30 \%$ in a year of. major recession.
- "GST raised from $6 \%$ to $10 \%$ in less than a half a year - and it looks as if it will add another $2 \%-5 \%$ in March.
- "A government which
continues to implement programmes that add tremendous cost to the economy such as the Atlantis Diesel Engine plant, and the Saldana rail line?"
These were "but a few items of concern," said Mr Wilking, which "have created a stop-start economy not matched anywhere".
Continuing uncharacteristically blunt attack on the Government, Mr Wilking said businessmen in South Africa were urged to "get out and tell the world what change is taking place in South Africa".
"I can assure you this is taking place, but when is the Government going to assist the telling of the story by doing away with the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, detention without trial, and the Group Areas Act?
"If this can take place, then this disinvestment issue can be laid to rest and I would hazard an educated guess that the economy could begin to come right and South Africa can fulfil its promise in this beautiful spot in the sun."
On prospects for the motor industry, Mr Wilking said the Ford/amcar merger would result in a "further decrease in market share for the Eastern

Cape".
It was inevitable, however, that certain mergers would take place.
"We have more manufacturers relative to market potential than any other country in the world.
"Furthermore, in recent months the taxes imposed on the motor industry have placed the industry in a very unfavourable situation.
"A run-down on recent taxes from which the industry has suffered tells its own story - customs duties, excise tax, ad valorem tax, increased general sales tax, perks tax, and most recently the new proposed taxes on wages and floor space, which, I must reluctantly mention, will all ultimately be borne by the consumer."
Mr Wilking contrasted this high-cost production with the fact that the South African motor industry had the capacity based on a single shift only - to produce 740000 vehicles, whereas forecast demand for 1985 was 360000 units and the alltime record volume achieved in the country was 453541 units in 1981.
"It is obvious that there is more capacity in place than required on a oneshift basis and cost effi-
ciencles do not begin to occur until facilities are worked on a two-shift basis
"So it would appear that manufacturing rationalisation will occur if synergies exist
The PE/Uitenhage area, said Mr Wilking, had since the development of the motor industry in South Africa, changed from being the least costly area in which to build motor vehicles, into the most expensive.
"However, the problem is broader than individual companies, or the Midland Chamber, or the Mayor. It is also the people of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.
"How many of our professionals, our politicians, and shopkeepers, the workers of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, support their own area?
"If they don't, they may wonder where their patients, or voters, or customers, or employers have gone.
"I don't wish to embarrass my hosts this evenig, but how many of you working and living in Port Elizabeth are driving products manufactured in the Eastern Cape?"







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## Mayors to highlight disinvestment issue <br> selves - are kicking up dust by

BIG-shot American mayors like New York's Ed Koch are not having the disinvestment stage all to themselves
Their counterparts on this side of the Atlantic may have a thing or two to say about it and when they gather in the city tomorrow disinvestment will head the agenda.

South African mayors generally get the backseat limousine treatment, doffing their hats when required or liberally apportioning praise and congratulation.

But going some way to change the image, our mayor Mr Sol Kreiner will be putting the mayoralty of South Africa's biggest cities in the limelight. And he believes they have an active role to play.

He has invited the civic heads of Durban, Johannesburg, Soweto, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth to the city for the first formal get-together of mayors since 1905 .
. It will be a think-tank on common issues, including the effect of disinvestment on the "ife and work of people in large urban areas".

It's a touchy subject.
Cape Town knows Mr
Kreiner's view after he spelled it Kreiner's in an open letter to visiting Senator Edward Kennedy earlier this year. He said he believed disinvestment would "hurt the people most whom I would like to believe you (Mr Kennedy) would wish to help most".
Many people will disagree. They see disinvestment as a long-term lever to prise off the apartheid clasp.


Politically controversial, the issues surrounding disinvestment have a vital bearing on urban life.
For that reason it's commendable that mayors are taking it up. Good luck to them.

Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' and Residents' Association has taken exception to being labelled a pillar in Mr David Senekal's election campaign against Mr Jan van Eck, MPC in the Ward 13 by-election.

Chairman Mr Morrie Silber denied the association was helping Mr Senekal but said confusion may have arisen "because one of our executive committee members may be helping. Yes, I imagine that's possibly what it was".
By the way, the Progressive Federal Party has pointed out it did not approach Mr Senekal as a possible party candidate, gleaned last week from wicked speculators slinking about the ward.

Now there are new developments.

Stirrers in the ward - being
careful not to identify them-
spreading spurious stories about Mr van Eck's campaign through anonymous telephone calls. Mr van Eck is understandably an noyed at this gutter-level ploy.

But Mr Senekal's assurance that it is not part of his election drive - "I would rather lose honourably than win dishonoura-
bly" was how he reacted raises questions about a third party in the ward whose motive is not clear.

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Before the debate on pools goes down the plug (probably the best place for it now, anyway) readers may find a glance backwards illuminating.

Flipping through yellowed cuttings on the achievements of Mr Isaac Ospovat - apropos the naming of the Grand Parade stalls area - I sniggered when I found a story from 1967 headlined "Coloured Lido Decision A Bombshell".

You see, the council recognised a need for more facilities. Casting about for opportunities, it found the stretch of beach opposite Paarden Eiland and decided to put a lido there. The Government agreed. At first. Then came the bombshell. The Department of Planning summarily sank the proposal.
Now millions of rands later, in the lean high-interest 80s, the City Council is being jumped on about facilities and overcrowding.

And what do you know. The lido idea is a afloat once more. I wonder if anyone will try to sink it again?
shares
would sell its holdings in
Motorola Incorporated: if
the company continued to
sell communications equip-
ment to the South African
military or police
Harvard's president, Mr
Derek Bok, said they sim-
ply reached a point "where
we decided that no further
persuasion or efforts to
vote on shareholder resolu-
tions had a reasonable
chance of success",
F Baker started doing busi-
ness with South Africa in
1982 when it took , bver the
California-based Enviro
tech.
Envirotech, a mining
equipment firm, had"been
active in South Africuand
was a Sulliyan Code signa-
tory: Baker decided to
abandon Sullivan ini 1983.
A company vice, presi-
dent Mr Ronald Turner,
explained: "It's expensive
to be a signatory, ant dwe
were not supportive of the
rating system,"
, Harvard saiden it had
asked Baker for wan ac-
counting of its labourpriac-
tices in South Africasibut
4, that the company had re-
fused to oblige

# Carvel's ice ${ }^{-n^{2} 2^{85}}{ }^{8 m}$ way ${ }^{62}$ f life for ${ }^{\text {²m }} \mathbf{S A}$ 

Business Times Reporter NEWCOMER Carvel is out to make ice cream a way of life in South Africa.

The American franchise operation claims that its drive to popularise ice cream is increasing the size of the market and benefiting all producers.

Carvel's 42 ice-cream parlours had a turnover of R10 million in 1984, and R15-mil-
lion is expected this year as more outlets are opened.
The managing director of Carvel SA, David Hilewitz, says he receives about five calls a day from parties interested in starting an icecream parlour. One parlour will be opened every week for the next three months, and Mr Hilewitz expects 70 to be in operation by the end of the year.

## Awakening

Since the SA operation began, only one parlour has closed, but its failure was caused by lease problems.
It took Carvel SA a few years to put its show on the road, because it was bedevilled, by fragmented ownership, 'the five sleeping partners, including a lawyer and a dentist, taking no part in managment
But Mr Hilewitz unfroze
the business and brought in
Benny Goldberg of liquor
fame as a $50 \%$ partner
Mr Hilewitz attributes most of the business's success to the US company, which offers huge financial support to its franchise operators and a superb product.
Entrepreneur magazine in the US has voted Carvel the fastest-growing franchise operation in the US. Its slogans include "America is as fresh as Carvel ice cream" and "Carvel has become a way of life."

## Quality

Mr Hilewitz is enthusiastic about the quality of Carvel ice cream. He admits that it is more expensive than its competitors, but says it is value for money. For one thing Carvel is not inflated with air like other ice creams.
Carvel uses SA milk and imports the other ingredients - last year's import bill came to about R500 000.

ing parlours

Quality is monitored and fresh ingredients are used every week.
SA's ice-cream market is estimated at R100-million at retail level.
South African's eat about 16 -million litres of ice cream a year. Australia, with a similar climate and, less than half SA's population tuses 214-million litres sof ice cream a year.

US and Australian conSumption is about 30 pints of ice cream a headr against South Africa's five pints
The SA operation is purely franchise and capital required to fit out a shop is R90 000.
Carvel US has been operating for 48 years and South Arrica was the company's first foreign venture. It is now an international business with 1200 parlours, 900 of them in the US. Franchises for another 500 parlours have feen sold.

# Disinvestment moves 1. continue in US <br> From SIMON BARBER <br> the rating system. The top management decid- 

WASHINGTON. - Two of America's' wealthiest universities took disinvestment actions this week.
Harvard sold its 60000 shares in Baker International Corporation, a manufacturer of mining and pipeline equipment, after the firm declined to give the university any information about its employment practices in South Africa.
Stanford formally warned that it would sell its holdings in Motorola Inc if the company con-
tinjed to sell communi:
cations equipment to the
South African Defence
Sorce or police.
THwas Harvard's first
such move. Both univer-
sitiesthave thus far resisted diemands from stu sisteddemands from stu-

Harvard's president Mr Derek Bok, sáid yesterday: "We simply reached a point where we decided that no further persuasion on efforts to vote on shareholder resolutions had a reasonable chance o success."
Baker International started doing busines with South Africa' in 1982 when it took over the California-based Envirotech Corporation.

Envirotech, a mining equipment firm, had been active in South Africa and was a Sullivan Code signatory. Baker decided to abandon Sullivan in 1983.
A company vice president, Mr Ronald Turner, explained: "It's expensive to be a signatory and we did not support
ed that the money could be spent in the best interests of our employees."
In a detailed report on its decision, Harvard said it had asked Baker for an accounting of its labour practices in South Africa, but that the company had persistently refused to oblige. The university is waiting for similar responses from three other firms which it declined to name.
According to MrDavid Hauck, a South Africa analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, a number of universities are tightening their policies with regard to South Africa-related investments: "There is definitely a rethink going on at many campuses."

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## From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. - Barclays Bank (UK) has begun an urgent review of its operations in New York City following the introduction of legislation to cut city funds to banks that lend to the South African Government.
The top-level review by Barclays comes in the wake of fears that Barclays Bank of New York - a subsidiary of Barclays UK - could be directly threatened by the legislation.

The move by the New York City authorities the first city to introduce such legislation-has already caused Citibank, the largest US lender to the South African Government, to say that it will liquidate all its loans to the government by the end of next month.

## 'Alarm'

The move to cut off hundreds of millions of rands in city business from banks and corporations that maintain ties with Pretoria has triggefed an alarm at the Barclays headquarters in London - a frontline target of the anti-apartheid lobby.
Barclays Bank of New York has already lost millions of rands in busineis through forfeiture of the Rockland County actount (New York Stte) following the adyption of anti-aparthed legislation in the mounting disinvestment canpaign.

4 spokesman for Barclays said yesterday that tht situation in New Yqk was "under review" buhe would not disclose the extent of Barclays buliness with the New Yofk City government under the client confideniality rule.
(mplications
He said Barclays had not yit had time to study the pending legislation or to nake a comprehensive asessment of the implictions of the move.
t' In nother move yes
terdayMrs Adelaide dambo, wife of the president o the African Nationa Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, was ap pointed b the Barclays Shadow Bard-an antiapartheid lobby which monitors the activities of UK.


From RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK. - The South African Govern ment is threatened with a cut-off in lending from most of America's biggest banks as a result of an agreement forged with New York's politi-
cal bosses.
Included is Citibank, a key lender in the past, which announced that it was closing its books on all lending to the government.

Though only just introduced, a proposed bill to prohibit the deposit of municipal funds in banks that do business with South Africa is being obeyed by all banks handling the city's money, City Hall officials said.
. The
city's local
deposits come to about $\$ 4000-\mathrm{million}$ (R8 000million). Led by Citibank and Manufacturers' Hanover Trust, New York is headquarters to five of America's six largest banks and six of the top ten.

Together, their assets total more than 200 -bil - Iion dollars (R400000million.
Citibank is understood
to have hired a-special
consultant to oversee its
compliance with the tight regulations contained in the bill. According to bank vicechairman Mr Hans Angermueller, it will
clear its last outstanding loan by March 31.

Regarded as certain to become law, the bill opens up a new front for the disinvestment campaign and is reckoned as menacing as any the South African Government has had to contend with.

As well as shunning government loans, the banks would not be able to promote Kruger rand sales. $\qquad$ es.

NEW YORK. - Citibank reiterated at the weekend that it had no plans to withdraw from private sector lending in South Africa, even though it planned to eliminate all outstanding loans to the South African Government from its books by the end of next month.
Last week New York City officials announced a proposed bill that would use the city's financial clout to penalize banks and firms doing business with the government of South Africa.
The proposed measure would prohibit the city from depositing funds with banks that.underwrite South African securities, make loans to the South African Government, or promote the sale of Kruger rands.

The City Comptroller, Mr Harrison Goldin, had said Citibank was the only commercial bank not in compliance with the proposed legislation. - UPI

## US bank ágreestocit SA ties <br> NEW YORK. - The giant Citibank, <br> Goldin said Citibank was New York's

under intense pressure in New York will soon eliminate all loans to South Africa and curtail its financial relations with the Government.
The dramatic move should serve as a sharp reminder to the South African Government that New York City would not condone the nation's apartheid policies, city officials said.
Mr Harrison Göldin, city comptroller, released a letter on Thursday indicating Citibank intended to comply with a proposed Bill that would prohibit New York from investing in any bank that did business with South Africa.

Mayor Edward Koch said the dozen banks the city dealt with would "conform" to the Bill "because the business of New York is so large it will have that impact".

The legislation was described as a blow to the policy of apartheid and Mr
sole commercial bank not yet in compliance with the proposed measure.
He said the R800-million to R1 000 million New York had on deposit with Citibank would be withdrawn unless it agreed to comply.

A Citibank spokesman said earlier that Mr Goldin was "misinformed" and that it expected its business with New York to continue "even under the terms of this law, if it is passed".

But a letter was later released in which Citibank said it planned to "eliminate" existing loans to the South African Government by March 31 and that no plans to lend more money to SA had been made.
The proposed Bill, announced on Thursday, would bar New York from depositing its daily investments of about R2 000 -million to R3 000 -million with any bank doing business with the South African Government.

Funds would be withdrawn from banks that underwrote South African securities, made loans to the Government or promoted the sale of Krugerrands or other coins minted in SA or in South West Africa.
The Bill would also require firms bidding for contracts with New York to agree to restrict their South African business dealings.
And it would require firms bidding for city contracts to agree not to make direct sales of goods or services - other than food or medical supplies - to the South African military, police, prisons system or Government agencies that enforced apartheid.

New York City, corporate headquarters for most US banks, is also pressing for a programme under which investments in firms doing business with the Government would be withdrawn from its largest municipal pension fund. - UPI.


By MIKE LOEWE and KIN BENTLEY BIG business in Port Elizabeth has backed the head of General Motors South African, Mr Lou Wilking, in his call for Government action-to defuse the disid. vestment threa ( $4-82)(62)$
In a major ypeech hast-night Mr was suggese that while busines百by for South Africa overseas, the Government itself had to act by repealing harsh and discrim inatory laws. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ E. POS In particular, ae pornted to the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, which forbids sexual intimacy across the colour line, and laws which allow detention without trial
Mr Wilking also outlined the country's economic woes, pointing out that double digit inflation had endured for a decade and that the vast civil service was an mnaffordable burden.
Mr Peter Morum, managing director and executive vice-chairman of the Firestone Rubber Company, said: "I think Mr Wilking's statement of the facts and of issues is valid. We have to address these issues. We have to handle them."
Overseas investors looking at the situation had watched the value of their investments dropped by more than $40 \%$ in two years.
The South African economy was oper-
ling on an "ad hoc manner".
"More important than anything is the fact that we do not have an economic strategy," he said. "We need to get the private and pablic sector working to gether. We need to develop our export dustries.
"We have got to get control of the money supply. We have got to get control of expenditure in the public sector. We have got to get a handle on inflation."
He said the disinvestment lobby in the United States had grown info a very strong campaign.
$0^{2} y^{2} a^{\text {very }}$ "I think it is up to all of us to citcumvent this wave building up in the United States. It is a highly emotive issue. The pickets are getting an enormous amount of coverage."
Mr Peter Searle, managing director of Volkswagen, said: "I fully support Mr Wilking's statements. The management of the economy should be the No I priority and it is critical that a policy centred around future economic growth and ecomomic employment opportunities should be established."
Another top local businessman with multinational links felt the Government was doing strange things, getting the country into deep trouble and urged it

- Turn to Page 3


## PE industrial leaders rally behind Wikking <br> South Africa's detractors overseas could

 take beed of Mr Wilking's comments.The managing director of Goodyear, Mr Wally Life, said the recent incidents at Crossroads near Cape Town, in which 18 people have died, had "totally neutralised the progress we have made" in combating the disinvestment campaign in the United States.

He said he had formed an International Affairs Commmittee on the Midland Chamber of Industries, which would be assisting in this task.
Major reforms by the Government would assist the committee tremendously, be said.

Mr Life said there had to be an end to "forced removals, the harassment of squatters, the relentless clampdown on trade union and community leaders, detention without trial and so on" before be countered effectively.

- Mr Life said the International Affairs Committee would be addressed by the Executive Director of the South African Foundation in London, Mr David Willers, at a lunchtime meeting on March 8.

He said the committee would also promote "more direct interchange with opinion makers in major areas of the world".
Executives in Port Elizabeth would be briefed on ways of communicating the true situation in Sonth Africa with influential people when they went overseas.

The chances of this working would be inproved considerably if the Government implemented fundamental reform, he said.


AKRON (Ohio) - An American company is to spend about R1 million annually for the next three years to support programmes enhancing economic opportunities for blacks in South Africa.
Announcing this here yesterday. the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company said Firestone South Africa (Pty), in which the American firm had a 25 per cent equity interest, and other manufacturers in South Africa had frequently been confronted by serious shortages of skilled labour, despite the high level of black unemployment.
It also concluded that the South African company's future marketing opportunities would largely be determined by the ability of blacks to earn incomes sufficiently high to permit them to become active consumers of tyres and other automotive products.
"As a result of its deliberations, the board decided that Firestone could respond more effectively to its ethical and social responsibilities as a United States investor in South Africa and to the long-term economic interests of its shareholders, if it dedicated approximately 25 per cent of the dividend income and trademark fees that the company receives from Firestone South Africa to support educational and training programmes that were
responsive to the need of blacks in South Africa.
"Firestone will begin immediately to channel funds to the South African Council for Higher Education (Sached) trust and the Institute of In ternational Education," and also intended to increase its support of the Iqhayiya Technical College, the company said.

Sached is a multiracial, black-led organisation which addresses a wide variety of educational needs in South

Africa.
The New Yotk-hased Institute of International Education sponsors students from South Africa who attend American Colleges and universities on the understanding that they will return to South Africa on completion of their studies

Iqhayiya Technical College, which has about 1000 students, is the first privately-funded technical college in South Africa, according to Firestone. - SAPA

PORT ELIZABETH.General Motors (South Africa) will Manday for a workers on Mond weeks, perter which the position will be reviewed.
The lay-off affects about 10 percent of GM's 4000 -strong workforce and are across the board. The announcement comes shortly after General Motors dis closed a multi-mine exrand assembly line
pansion programme.
The managing director of GM, Mr Lou W: "This said yesterday: come measure has bece the necesling out of the levelling out in the vehicle market in year has not occurred, behas not occumber of eco cause of a numbers affecting the country.'
He said that during the
the eight-week lay-off
period, only models requiring reduced manquiver would be built
The regional secretary
of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu), Mr Les Kettledas, said yesterday that the union naturally prefered lay-offs to retrenchments.

He said, however, that the union was concerned,
that extended lay-offs
could affect workers' un-
employment benefits.
GM's lay-offs come at a:
time when they are lag-
ging behind their local. competitors Volkswagen and Samcor vehiclesales.
The mayors of seven South Eddy Magid, Mayor of
Kunene, of Soweto of Johannesburg Mr Son disinvestment Sey to discuss matters of Strohfeldt, of Bloemfontanding (from left) are Kreiner, of Cape Town and left) are Mr


## Municipal Reporter

MAYORS of seven South African cities are to apcounto their American der terparts to reconsicurrent support for the

## against invecampaign

 this country this countryA press statement rehistoric meeting City of the ming in the Cape Town mayors of tein, Durban Bloemfonburg, Port JohannesPretoria condemia and Soweto formed, mischie uninirresponsible" attitude of certain United attitude

## Disinvestment Mayors' plea

mayors towards disin riment
The mayors resolved a
me meeting to adopt!"a thrust determined and thrustful" approach to for anter this and called for a co-ordinated called from the private sector and local govern sector respond to the diminent to ment campaign the dinvest "Thempaign.
The mayors consid
people thousands ofkilo metres away, however well-meaning, that caus South Aric damage to reasons rica for political the cause would advance colour cause of people of quality of improve their and misguide, was ironic served misguided and deserved to be corrected They statement said. ing "a number of nsider

62
cal steps", including a "Mayor-to-mayor, per-son-to-person appeal or reaction by the cities to suffer in les are likely bers".
'The mayors would er much welcome closfellommunication with fellow-mayors in Americerned that were conanced that their balanced and friendiy tions to the communicathe US Che president of Mayors in Conference of not received January had sy of received any courtethe statement said.



# Citibank spreads its ${ }^{2}$ SA wings 

By Ciaran Ryan
CITIBANK has ertended its global telecommanicatlons network to Port Elizabeth, scotching ramours that it is scaling down its Sonth African representation.
Citibank is represented in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Port Elizabeth is now linked by satellite to Chtibank's world network.

Launching the telecommunications
link, Cltbank's senior vice-president responsible for Northern Europe and South Africa, Gordon Phelps, said reSouth Arrica, Gordon Phetrawing from ports of Citibank's withdrawing from ed in New York as reflecting a major policy decision to cease lending to the policy decisian Government.
"Since the South American experience most United States banks have decided not to lend to governments.

This decision is not almed specifically at the South African Government, but at all governments.

What has bappened is that all loans by Ctibank to the South African Government run out on 30 March this year and no farther loans will be made Lending to governments is not a profitable area for us as the margins are extremely small." JOHANNESBURG. - While the United Stavoid sancernment would do everything pected a "tough battions against South Africa, it expected a tle" because of recent news enerman Nickel, Ambassador to Sou said on Saturday.

Mr Nickel was interviewed by SATV shortly before his return on Saturday to Washington, where he will inform his government on the disinvestment issue, expected to come up in Congress.

The ambassador said that while there had been a "good deal of progress in reform in the past few weeks" events such the Crossroads unrest and the arrests of United Democratic Front leaders "tan block out the story of reform" in the Amer media.
"Events like that happen, and negate the impact of the good news which happened in the past few weeks," Mr Nickel said as one may lament it".
"We need evidence of forward progress to rally the moderates to fight sanctions, because my administration is firmly convinced that punitive measures stration is freat harm to the South African economy and especially those most exposed, which means the black majority - without there being any chaneed,"
the political objectives of sanctia
the ambassador said. - Sapa
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some Californian dockers refused to and wine could be affected while
textile exports are another touchy
subject. and wine could be affected while
 find expression in other quarters.
 Reagan, which restricts SA steel The voluntary restraint agreeThe voluntary restraint agree

The alloys and minerals which SA
exports to the US are "critical to the $\stackrel{0}{0}$
 e uetd on iudt u! sulqәau e plou exports to the US to $0,42 \%$ of that defence, high-tech and precious

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# Disinvestment may harm US investors <br>  <br> By Gerald L'Ange <br> mance." aged portfolios can prob- for most portfolio man- <br> above average market capitalisation and tradd- 

WASHINGTON
American investors could lose money by boycotting companies operating in South Africa, according to a new study.

The study was released by the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, Inc (IRRC), which conducts what are generally acknowledged as impartial analyses of social and public policy issues in business.

The report, issued by the centre's South Africa review service, says that
"the most important conclusion is that divestment will have a detrimental effect over the long term on portfolio perfor-

A pension fund or simi-;' lar investor might get better returns from a policy of avoiding companies with South African operations, according to the IRRC's latest report. However, risk and ongoing trading costs will increase, it says, and "these costs' will have a detrimental effect
"In general a large portfolio (one with $\$ 50$ million to $\$ 150$ million in equities) that is actively managed will feel the effects of total divestment most severely and have to bear potentially substantial costs," says the IRRC.

Small, passively man-
ably kéep divestment costs relatively low, according to the IRRC.
The findings of the study contradict assertions by proponents of disinvestment that institutional investors such as pension funds will not suffer and may benefit from refusing to invest in US companies operating in the Republic.

The costs of divestment can be reduced, perhaps significantly, by the use of different management techniques, says the IRRC, but "the elimination of South African related securities from investment funds will require substantial changes
agement styles to reduce these costs - changes that many fund manag ers may be unable or unwilling to implement."

Spurred by pressure from anti-apartheid activists, an increasing number of states and cities in America have moved to bar pension fund and other investments in US companies operating in South Africa.
The IRRC report is based on what the centre describes as "a critical review and analysis" of nine earlier studies on the South African disinvestment issue.
The nearly 300 US companies doing business in South Africa have
ing activity in their shares, and their stock represents relatively safe equity investments, the: IRRC found.
"Complete divestment eliminates more than one-third of the market value of all equity securi:ties in the United States' and it would exclude vir:tually all of the Standard and Poor's 500 companies: in several major indus:tries.
"Partial divestment"; eliminating only the approximately 170 companies that have not signed the Sullivankprinciples, for example: would have a correspond ingly smaller impact ter
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Prepared by the Washington-based Intvestor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC), the study con:eludes: "A" large portorio having $\$ 50$ million to $\$ 150$ million or more in equities - that is acLively managed , will feel the effects of total divestment most severety and will have to bear potentially substantial costs.
The IRRC also suggests that the long-term disadvantages of divestment may be obscured by the strong short-term performince of non-South Africa related stocks.

The report is based on an analysis of nine major divestment studies completed between 1978 and 1984, which dealt with seven public pension funds and one private endownent fund.
Total divestment, IRRC finds, means excluding up to 32 of the top 50 stocks in terms of market value. It also excludes virtually all of the 500 companies in the constriction, electrical, automotile and drug industries. $h_{0}$ mot
The' 'South' Africa-free universe: of companies offers above'ayerage devidents\%and earnings *fo with but'at the price of serious's trade-offs: the firmsthaye relatively higher dea te their stocks
are more volatile and their market capitalisation and the trading volume of their stocks is half that of componies doing business in the republic.

4 he
Divested portfoliosiare therefore intrinsically less stable and automaticall incur much higher transaction, researchiand liquidity costs as fund managers struggle to meet their fiduciary responsibilities.
'Estimates of onetime transaction costs? range for 1.5 to 6 percent of the value of stocks sold to comply, with a divestment policy,' the study finds. 'Estimates of ongoing, additional transaction costs range from 1 to 3 percent of the value of stock traded.

## Costs up

'Research costs will increase as managers will have to follow a larger number of smaller companies, and rapid trades inthesmaller capitalisation world of South Africa-free companies will expose a fund to increased liquidity costs.'
'If'State and local governments are nonetheless determined to proceed with divestment, the IRRC warns, 'it should be clearly understood that the elimination of South zfrica-related securities from investment funds Wingequire substantial Changes for most portoWeducertheses.costs to change st that many fund mangers may be viable 0 rumptivig to implement:

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THE Aisinvestment câmpaign in the US is beind skilfully orchestrated and has seri－ ous implications for South Africa，accord－ iñ to Mr Warren Clewlow，executive di－ rector of Barlow Rand．

Mr Clewlow was speaking at a function held by the French Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Johannesburg yesterday． $\mathrm{w}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{Mr}$ Clewlow said South Africa could ex pect．a．steady escalation of withdrawals of
one kind or another．
The statement by Citibank that it would not grant fresh loans to South Africa after March this year was an indication of what was to come．

Recent announcements by President Botha，such as the granting of 99 －year leasehold and the opening of business areas to all races，would not be enough to prevent the disinvestment campaign．

He urged all companies to write to their
contacts in the US informing them of the changes taking place and providing them with the information with which to lobby South Africa＇s case．
＂We have nearly reached the bottom of the economic slump，and I am sure things will shortly improve．
＂It is essential that we expand our manu＂； facturing sectors so as to create employ－ ment．Continued foreign investment could help us to achieve this．＂


## 'More pressure for change'

## Sullivan takes



The Star Bureau

LONDON - Representatives of major multinational corporations involved in South Africa will gather on Friday to hear the Rev Leon Sullivan plead for intensified pressure for change to be put on the South African Government.
The meeting - in historic Leeds Castle, southeast of London - has been organised by a group of leading American comparies deeply involved with the author of the Sullivan Code of fair employment principles.

The code has been endorsed by most US companies operating in South Africa, including Goodyear, Control Data, Titibank, General Motors, Mobil and Caltex.

British companies at the meeting will include Shell British Petroleum, Barclays Bank, Rio Pinto Zinc and possibly the General Electric Corporation.

It is understood the meeting will also be attended by Swedish and Italian businessmen.

Mr Basil Hersov, chairman and managing director of the Anglovaal Corporation and president of the South African Foundation, Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of Premier Milling, and Mr Jan Steyn, head of the Urban Foundation, will attend as observers.

Invitations for the meeting: went out from Mr Edward Heath, former Conservative Party Prime Minister, but his spokesmen deny that he will
chair discussions or that he has organised the event.
In a sense, the meeting is another in an annual series between the Rev Sullivan and British businessmen t to "compare notes" on progress being made on fair employment codes in South Africa.
$\therefore$ While most American componies in South Africa have signed the Sullivan Code, many British and European companies apply the earlier European Economic Community's Employment Code.

## ENDORSEMENT

With increased pressure in the US for disinvestment, it appears a number of major, US companies hope to pre-empt legislalion on investment ins ca by making' the Sullivan: Code tougher and gaining endorse mint for it in Europe.
This code goes far beyond the EEC's voluntary code, requiring signatories to bring direct political pressure on the South African Government.
Company representatives due to attend the meeting refused to. comment yesterday, but it is clear most. British businesses remain opposed to moving from the EEC to the Sullivan code. .

It is not certain what the approach of Swedish and Italian businessmen will be.

Most British "companies operating in "South Africa feel they have been in the vanguard of social change and thatetheir efforts predated the Sullivan Code. : .


Democratic Party Congressmen leading the cámpaign against South Africa's race laws and President Reagan's policy of constructive engagement have decided against calling for disinvestment, it is learned here.
Thiey have instead drafted legisiation to ban new investments and bank loans to South Africa and end Krugerrand sales in the United:States - and give the President the right to waive these sanctions if South Africa introduces reforms
Détails of the legislation will be released at a news confêrence in Washington later today.

It means that there will probably be no serious attempt in Côn-
gress this year to force US; com-
panies to end their operations in
Sónth Africa:
Ltis is also understood that there will be no concerted at-
tempt to force US' companies to become signatories to the Sulli-
van Code on employment prac-
tices mas measure resisted by many companies, especially
smaller ones which protest aboüt the high cost of auditing to conform to the code.
fanother omission from the legislation sis the threat" to ban
South African Airways from
landing in the US:
Drafting of the legislation was completed this week. It will be known as the Anti-Apartheid Bill and will help to set the battleground in the House of Repre sentatives and Senate for a long fightover apartheid. w
Abhorrence atataty White whithot sto ndividu\% M Congressmen from pursuing Ghe trown le gistation, it has been designed by the Democrats to be
Whe most remistictactions package possible ncorporating ony those aspects of previously
hitroduced legislation that stand a chance of being approved.
H 2 bhe Democrats had been hop:
 Che ssice but there werefew
 Whépublican foreign policy leaders Senars Mr Rechard Lugar and Mrs Naney ensse-

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 baum, are drafting their own legislation, but it is learned that they have been so busy "with other matters that they have not spent much time on it.

The Lugar-Kassebaum legislation will aim at holding the Democrats' Bill at bay and try to tread a delicate path of supporting President Reagan's constructive engagement policy while indicating to South Äfrica abhorrence of apartheid.
Congressional sources said they expected the Demorratcontrolled House of Representatives to approve the Billfover--whelmingly but that it would run into difficulties in the Sen, ate, where the Republicans have a sislender majority. It could be vetoed by President Reagan if it passes both chambers.
Sources said actions by the South African Government would have a big impact ón the Vote Gequine reform could bee Suade waverers to vote"against the Bill - but further tepress: ion would work the oppositty way.

David Braun reporttofrom Cape Town that senior officiats: of the Department of Foted Affairs are monitoring evêts in the US closely but are notitare pared to react tofre ports intilla morgceqar pattern is evidentit
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termines, and both houses of Congress agree, that Pretoria has taken one or more specific steps to lift apartheid. Those steps include:

- Ending the "denationalization" of black South Africans.

Permitting blacks to seek employment wherever they can find it and allowing black employees and their families to live near their workplace

- Ending forced removals.
- Abolishing


## Group Areas Act

© Entering "meaningful" negotiations with "truly representative leaders of the black population".

Implementing UN resolution 435 in South West Africa/Namibia.

- Freeing all political prisoners.

US firms that violate the loar and investment bans would be liable tol fines of up to R2-milion. The measures closely辎esemble those passed by the House of Representatives last year, except that they do not require compliance by US firms with the Sullivan code. The waiver clause is also new.
The bill is being sponsored on the Senate side by Senators Kennedy, William Proxmire, Paul Sarbanes and Lowell Weicker. All are Democrats except Mr Weicker, ma, liberal Republican.

The House sponsors are Congressmen Gray, Stephen Solarz, Howard Wolpe, chairman of the :House Africa subcommittee, Walter Fauntroy, Howard Berman, and tone Republican, Mr tiamilton Fish.


From SIMON BARBER

- WASHINGTON. - Congressional Democrats led by Senator Edward Kennedy and Congressman Williand Gray, chairman of the powerful House Budget Committee, yesterday took charge of the South Africa debate on Capitol Hill, jointly introducing an anti-apartheid bill.

Never before has the same South Africa legis. lation been introduced simultaneously in both houses of Congress.
The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, as it is officially known, calls for the following:

- No new investment in, or bank loans to, any sector of the South African economy. This specifically includes any transfer of funds to South Africa "to establish or
finance American companies". Reinvestment of local profits is permitted, as is the purchase of South African stocks on international exchanges. - Bank loans to the South African public sector may be permitted "to operate educational, housing or health facilities open and accessible to all on a non-discriminatory basis"
- No Kruger rand imports into the US.
- No computer sales of any kind to the South African Government, not even spare parts and servicing for computers already sold.
The loan and investment bans may be waived for 12 months at a time, if the President de-




# Revised Sullivan Code may buy valuable time <br> A CONFERENCE held in the Leeds Castle in Kent this week might have been the last <br> JOHN BATTERSBY reports from LONDON 

 Cand
chance for the South African business community to defuse the growing disinvestment campaign.

The conference - described by the organizers as "private" - was remarkable in several respects.

For the first time it brought together the Reverend Leon Sullivan, leading South African businessmen, United States company executives and executives of leading British companies who have firmly rejected disinvestment as a means of accelerating reform in South Africa.

Mr Sullivan wrote the code of conduct for US firms operating in South Africa.

## Revised <br> principles

Acting as chairman and organizer of the conference was Mr Edward Heath, a former British prime minister. He gave a tough warning when he visited South Africa in 1981 that failure to grant blacks political rights would lead to revolution.

The conference, set up by Mr Sullivan with General Motors' backing and with Mr Heath's assistance, was a follow-up to an earlier meeting with British executives in 1983. At that meeting Mr Sullivan sought British support for his revised Sullivan principles.
The revised code requires signatories to apply direct pressure on the government to dismantle apartheid.
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NEW YORK. - In a ma- now at a turning point jor report yesterday, the While American comWall Street Journal said the United States political storm about South Africa was mounting, and that many believed US involvement was now at a turning point.
"The storm is fuelled both by events in South Africa - where growing racial polarization clouds the economic as well as the political outlook - and by pure US domestic politics," it says
"Many corporate plan ners and politicians be lieve that US involve. ment in South Africa is
panies continue in pub lic to fight the growing pressures on them, in private more and more are questioning the value of staying.

The report says: "Most (American) companies don't seem poised to leave South Africa, and few are willing even to talk about that prospect No one is predicting imminent revolution there. But the political pressures are buffeting US firms from both sides.'

The report says some executives who decided years ago against investing in South Africa were glad now.

Mr John Bierwirth, who in 1967 was head of National Distillers and Chemical Corporation's international business and decided not to build a plant in South Africa, is quoted as saying he did not want to be responsible "for sending someone to a country where, if the policies continued, there was going to be a revolution".
The South African issue had "taken on a life of its own in the United States - partly on its merits and partly because it is tailormade for political exploitation. Politicians can denounce apartheid and urge sanctions to prod its government without feeling direct consequences at home".

But the report also quoted Representative John Conyers, a longtime anti-apartheid militant, as saying: "This is really hot in Congress. I've never seen people here, outside Vietnam and the nuclear questions, that interested in a purely foreign issue.'

The issue, Wall Street Journal readers were told, "is galvanizing liberals and conservatives alike". - Sapa

## Parliament and Pólitics



PARLIAMENT. - South Africans should accept that the disinvestment campaign in the United States could lead to "significant economic damage" - including loss of jobs, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned yesterday.
Speaking in the House

- a of Delegates in a debate on a Private Member's motion on disinvest ment, Mr Botha said the government viewed the threats seriously and would do all it could to contain and defeat them
"We have faced sanc tions before. We have faced this threat for more than two decades We beat the arms embar go. We beat the oil embargo, With the country's help, we will once again beat this threat," he said.
In spite of opposition to sanctions by the US administration and by the governments of South Africa's other major economic partners, the threat was considerable.
The US legislative proacess, combined with the "anti-South African" majoritiess in the House of Representatives, "the


Mr Pik Botha
majority of states, and most major cities, made variety of "hostile" actions possible.
But the "boycotters" could not succeed.
"Indeed, we can and will not allow it. We must, nevertheless, be forewarned of and pre pared for the dangers," he said.
The "misplaced and perverse" sense of jus tice and humanity being displayed by the "wealthy men and women" in the US who advocated disinvestment would lead to famine and degradation for millions of blacks.
"We Africans face a
harsh reality which is too little understood in the US. This is the reality of the first of all human freedoms, perhaps the most fundanentas of them all: freedom from want and famine. Destroy a job and you take away a family's food," he said.
Yesterday's debate was noteworthy for the unanimous rejection of disinvestment by the Indian MPs.
The chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the presence of US firms in South Africa, had nlayed; and would continue to play, a
significant role in bringing about change in the country.
The Leader of the Opposition, Dr JN Reddy, called for even greater involvement by US firms in promoting social and economic upliftment among. less privileged South Africans.
The proposer of the motion, Mr Ahmed Arbee, the Solidarity MP for Eastern Transvaal, called on US legislators not to rush into legal curbs on investment in South Africa.
He urged them to heed the views of all South African leaders, and to be aware of the opportunities that could be created for greater communist influence in South Africa if the disinvestment campaign succeeded.
Mr. Pat Poovalingam, the Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, said he did not want to see the country damaged just because the government did "stupid things". He said :disinvestment had been a communist threat for 20 years. "Liberals" in the US who believed they had suddenly discovered the strategy were unwittingly following the Moscow line.

##  <br> Mayors clash as New York takes on anti-SA laws

Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. - A letter from the Mayor of Johannesburg, councilman Eddy Magid, criticising New York's decision to withdraw its investments in South Africa, has drawn a political rebuke - and a Biblical quotation - from New York's Mayor, Mr Ed Koch.

Referring to Mayor Koch's best-selling autobiography, Mr Magid wrote: "Having read your book, Mayor, I have difficulty in associating the Mayor Koch that I got to know from the publication with your present initiative on the question of disinvest-
ment."
New York's plans to withdraw its municipal pension fund investments in companies that do business in South Africa - reported to involve about R8-billion - were described by Mr Magid as "misguided and irresponsible".
In his response, Mayor Koch wrote: "Apartheid is an unconscionable evil that defies any explanation or justification."
He concluded his letter by drawing a parallel with ancient Babylon, when King Belshezzar, in a dream, saw a warning at the end of his reign written on a palace wall.
The King ignored the writing on the wall and was killed that night.
"South Africa," Mayor Koch wrote, "still has time."

The trustees of what is New York's largest pension fund voted last August to begin phasing out the fund's investments in companies that do business in South Africa, starting with those companies directly linked with South African Government enterprises.

The popular and putspoken Mr Koch - who is fighting a third-term election this year against, for the first time, a black candidate - first rejected then supported the move.

He made public the correspondence from South Africa at the same time as he signed into law municipal legislation restricting New York's trade with South Africa.

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aparthêid

Own Correspondent NEW YORK. - Mayor Ed Koch has signed into law a Bill withholding billions of dollars' worth of municipal funds from banks that do business with South Africa.
To take effect from July, the Bill also forbids municipal agencies to buy South African goods or services.
One effect is to exclude most of America's biggest banks from underwriting loans to the South African Government.

## R8 000-million

New York is home to five of the nation's six largest banks and six of the top ten and none are likely to challenge the city, which has the equivalent of about R8000million on deposit at any time.
Justifying his action, the mayor released an exchange of letters with the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Eddy Magid, which concluded with a warning in the form of a biblical parable.
Citing the dream of King Belshezzar, who ig-
nored handwriting on a palace wall and then was killed the same night, Mr Koch closed his letter by submitting "South Africa still has time". .
Earlier in the letter, he said: "Apartheid is an unconscionable evil that defies any explanation or justification."
Mr Magid had written to Mr Koch on February 28 to call New York's policy "misguided and irresponsible". The letter included a lengthy statement from seven South African mayors, contending that disinvestment by any American city would hurt "a great many commercial and industrial workers of colour".
The Mayor of Johannesburg also struck a personal note.
"Having read your book 'Mayor', I have difficulty in associating the Mayor Koch that I got to know from the publication with your present initiative on the question of disinvestment," he wrote.
City hall circles here say a further approach was made to Mr Koch on ${ }^{-}$ the basis of his religion and South Africa's sup--port for Israel.
In terms of the new 'Bill, banks that do busiiness with the city will not be permitted to promote the Kruger rand.
American firms that deal with the South African police or military or with the Ministry of Cooperation and Development will also be discriminated against when they bid for city contracts.


## DISINVESTMENT <br> The Sullivan Code a sham or a sjambok?

MICHAEL ISIKOFF of The Washington Post exposes some of the hitherto unknown motives driving the manwho gave his name to a business code which is popularly, but mistakenly, seen as the alternative
,
Q HAS there really been progress in South Africa as a result of the Sullivan Code?
A There's no question about it. The principles have created a revolution in industrial race relations, a revolution that has its own momentum.
Q Are American companies making these changes because they believe sincerely that apartheid is wrong, or because they're afraid of the kind of political pressure that you and others will bring on them?
A They're making the changes largely because of the pressures that are on them. When I started the Code it took two years to get 12 companies to sign up. Two years! And I got all kinds of letters from companies telling me they wouldn't support it.
Whey told me to mind my own business, that it wasn't the role of business to get involved in political affairs. But'the pressures of the anti-apartheid movement - and hopefully some persuasion that I was able to exert - began to move companies to become signatories.
Q The advocates of disinvestment are really saying something very different. They're saying desegregated lunch facilities mean nothing in a country where blacks cannot vote. Many of them say the Sullivan Code is a sham.
A I would agree with them. Did you hear what I said? Q You would agree with them? But you just said that they have created a revolution.
A Of course. I would agree with many who would say they are a sham because they don't understand what my objectives are. The Code is a beginning and a process, an evolving pro cess that is strengthened with each step and each phase.

Now my aim is that the impact of this will become ! pervasive enough so-that not only American companies, but compa nies of the world that have South African:operations, will add' much much more to the much more to the
dismantling of dismantling of
apartheid - along with other thrusts.
Remember I keep saying "along with other thrusts" L never saw the Code ás being á so lution to the apartheid problem


## The Reverend Leon Sullivan

Q Should legislation be passed at the state and municipal levels requiring disinvestment in companies that do business in South Africa?
A Yes. Yes. You must remember that I do not agree with the companies on the disinvestment campaign.
Q But these companies are saying exactly what you are saying. They're saying they are doing good in South Africa by being there.
A But I'm sorry, I'm telling you where I am. I am not representing the companies, I'm representing Leon Sullivañ. And I'm using the companies as a strategy. I think we need the disinvestment campaign to keep pressure on the companies.
Q How are your relations with the corporate executives who have signed? How do they like having their company's behaviour in part dictated by a black Baptist minister from Philadelphia?

A It doesn't matter what they think about me. I know where I am going and the only thing I want is the companies to be pushed on my wagon. Then it's up to me to drive them as far as I can to the ulti. mate objective.
Q I believe you've supported the proposal to make the Code mandatory. Yet the companies say that would destroy the whole system by bringing in lawyers and tying up the process in bureaucratic red tape.
A That is their opinion. My opinion is that the Code would be far more effective if it were made mandatory. Then every company would be required to live up to it. And if they didn't
there should be embargoes and sanctions and ultimately the loss of government contracts.
Q Some companies that have dropped out say you are engaging in corporate blackmail.
A I wouldn't call it blackmail. I would say that I am diligent about my business!
Q These companies say they are answering to their stockholders, not the Reverend Leon Sullivan.
A And I am answerable to God and my own sense of conscience.
Q You've recently added to the Code, requiring American signatories to lobby to abolish apartheid laws. Is that an appropriate role for American companies operating in a for eign country?
A There is no question I think it is, particularly in a country with such unjust laws. Companies have vast lobbying strength. Vast. They can change presidents of America. Companies can elect US senators. Companies in foreign countries can determine what happens in foreign countries.
Q Isn't it true that many of these companies are very unhappy about this new requirement?
A Yes. So what? For seven years I've had people expressing uncomfortable feelings to me on things. I intend to make them uncomfortable. That's the way you get change. But companies supported the emplificaions (to the Code) unanimously. Publicly.
Q And privately?
A Well, privately is another matter. Some of them talked to me personally. They say: "Rev-
erend, I think maybe youtye gone too far. I don't think wio can get too deeply into this kind of thing. Be careful."
Q And you said?
A I have my direction and I'm gonna follow it.
Q How did you get involved in the South African issue in the first place?
A I've been part of the civil rights movement all my life? When I came to Philadelphia 35 years ago I found a lot' of unemployment among black youth and I began to try to find jobs for them. But segregation was so strong, so prohibiting; that we couldn't get jobs for young blacks in businesses.
So I created boycotts. 'I boyis. cotted companies that discris minated against black people, one at a time, until the compás nies opened up thousandstor jobs for blacks in Philadelphiat
During all this process Ifot a, call from General Mótors and they asked me to join theif board of directors in 1971: And one of the first things I ran into was South Africa.
When I left South Africa they took me in a little room and stripped me of my clothes, down to my underwear, to look and see what I was taking out: I realised if this could hâppen to me in South Africa, then what happens to the blacks who live there? The impact on me was devastating.
Q Some argue that only a revó: lution with violence is ultima: tely going to change the white Afrikaners.
A It might be so, yeah. What I am striving for is to avoid it. I am in the tradition of Jesus. Christ and Gandhi and, I hope, to some extent Martin Luther King. I look upon myself as" ${ }^{\prime}$ " man of peace who want's to find a way, along with others., to avoid violence.
Q You were pro-disinvestment at that time?
A I held that GM should get out of South Africa. I held that view until 1975. I made speech: es on the stockholders' board, one major speech.
Q What changed your mind
A In 1975 I went to Lesoth.: They announced where I would be staying and I said if anyone wanted to see me, they could.
The next day and night many people came to see me black, white coloured, Asians. One group was of union workers and they asked if I could not get American compa nies to be an influence for change in South Africa.
They said that it had never been tried before

## BY CHRIS EREIMOND <br> Pollitical Correspondent, <br> PARLIAMENT.

SOUTH AFRICANS should accept that the disinvestment campaign in the United States could lead towsignifícant economic damage" $\geq$ Including loss of jobs the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr:Pik Bothä, warned yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Delegates in a debate on a Private'Member's motion on disinvestment, Mr Botha said the Government viewed theirithreats seriously and would do allit could to contain and defeat them.
We have faced sanctions before. We have faced this threat for more than two decades. We beat the arms embargo. We beat the oil embargo. With the country's help we will once again beat this threat," he' said.
In spite of opposition to sanctions by the US"Administration and by the governments of South Africa's other major economic partners, the threat was considerable.
The US legislătive process, combined with the "anti-south African" majorities in the House of Representatives, the majority, of stätes, ánd in most major cities, made at Variety of "hostile" actions possible.
 SImdees, we can and will not allow it. We must thevertheless, be forewarned of and prepared for the dangers," Mr Botha said. is Thie threat would, be defeated because most South Africans strongly resisted disinvestment - including some black leadersiowho represented consistently antitiGôverthént viewpoints.
The misplaced and perverse" sense of justice and humandity being displayed by the wealthy men and women" in the US who adyocated disinvestment would leád tof famine and degradation for millions of
 3 Whe Africans face, a harsh reality whiop grstop litte understood inithe US This is the 3edity of the first of all human freedoms, recthas the most fundamental of the all areedon from wantand famine Destroya jobaty dyoutake a a waya family's food, he

determination to allow South Africans to detérmine their own future:s whe the कy Wéselcome the constructive help and adutce of our friends," but we reject de nands and preserijtions, he said.
KHe called on all South Africans to speak and act together, promptly, systematically and in co-ordination to counter disinvestment campăigns.
4 Most Americans and Europeans are men anid women of sound judgment and goodwill. Too many are misled because they do not hear what South Africa's people really want We can and must reach them," Mr Botha said. 3 f. 48 en.
it Yesterday's debate wás noteworthy for the unanimous rejection of disinvestment by the Indidian MPs.

Most speakers, however, reaffirmed their opposition to apartheid, which some blamed for the current disinvestment campaign.
The chairman of the Indian Minister' Council, Mr Ámichand Rajbansi, said the presence of US fifirms in South Africa had played and would continue to play a significant role in bringing about change in sthe country.
CThe léader of the opposition; Dr J N Reddy, called for even greater involvement by US firms in profroting social and economic upliftment among less privileged South Africans. The proposer of the motion, Mr Ahmed Arbee, the Solidarity MP for the Easterf Transvaal, called on US tegislators not to rush into legal curbs on investment in South Africa.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, the

## Pik sappeal to SA

## $\square$ From Page 1

Solidarity' MP for: Reservoir Hills, said he did not want to see the country damaged just because the Government did "stupid things".

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that the influential Wall Street Journal has reported that US companies have begun in private to question the value of staying in South Africa.

Caught between SA's problems and growing political outcry at home, US business plans "no new major investments or bank loans in South Africa any time soon", the business daily said in a front page review of current attitudes adding that those who years ago resisted the lure of investing in SA "are glad now that they did".
"Many corporate planners and politicians believe that US involvement in

South Africa is now at a turning point, 黍 the paper reported.
"While American com" panies continusin public to fight the growitg pressures on them, in pivate more and more are questioning the value of staying."

One executive with long involvement in SA told the journal: "This is a very pivotal time. A lot of corporate planners are saying that unless there's significant change in apartheid in the next one or two years; we're going to get the hell out. The situation will only get worse."

Only one instance of a US company moving into SA was cited - an insurance broker specialising in protection against fires, revolutions and other calamities.
"Our clients have a greater need for our services in South Africa now," it told the journal. "They're" concerned about getting wiped out."

## Leaders reject

 disinvestmentCABINET ministers and prominent Western Cape businessmen commented on disinvestment at a New Southern African Club lunch yesterday.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, Mr Amıchand Rajbansi, said that disinvestment would directly destroy the politi cal awareness of black people in Southern Africa.
"Any action against South Africa would be a move Ans the whole of Southern Africa. The political salvation of the black community depends on the rise of black consciousness and political awareness."

- The Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hen drickse, said: "We believed that a new situation had been created in South Africa; the beginning of a revolution of race relations. We are living through hat revolution, in terms of social change and politi cal change.'
He said that those calling for disinvestment had wanted to create a situation in South Africa wher anarchy and political chaos could thrive
"Look at who is calling for disinvestment in the United States. It's not the 'Have-nots', it's the 'Haves'
"Give us a chance and we can show those people that this country can be a place where people can live happily together," he said.
- The president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce Mr P Krawitz, said that poverty was the only result of a disinvestment campaign.
He described those who advocated economic sanctions as "sadly misinformed do-gooders".
- The president of the Western Province Chamber of Commerce, Mr Oswald Mama, spoke of continued "conditional" investment in South Africa by foreign companies.
"Black areas are the hardest hit - they are very much impoverished. If some of the investment could be channelled into black areas, we could also play a meaningful role in the economy of the country by providing jobs for our own people," he said.
"The answer does not really lie with the Unites States but right here in this dear South Africa of ours. More attitudes must change in this country."

Cape Times, Tuesday, Mârch 12, 1985 1i: Contacts ${ }^{(22)}$ urged with US firms

Staff Reporter
TO combat the disinvestment campaign, the South African business community needed to establish a personal or "grassroots" level of contact with their counter parts in the United States', a prominent American economics adviser said at a New Southern African Club lunch meeting on disinvestment yesterday
The speaker, Dr Jack Holland, former profes sor of management at California's San José University and an ardent supporter of US President Ronald Reagan, was addressing about 200 members of the Western Cape's business and political community.

## 'Utterly destroy'

For Americans and "in the eyes of the world" disinvestment in South Africa was a fact, Dr Holland said.
"Disinvestment .is something that the publicc doesn't realize - it's something that could ut terly destroy this country."

In outlining the situation in the US in which the call for disinvestment had grown, Dr Hol land said the South Afri can business community could expect no sympathy from Washington DC or from the Americian press.

The American press was an entertainment medium and not an educational one - "they have to have good copy; that's bad news only", and thrived on sensationalism
Dr Höland said he knew nothing about Crossroads - other than what he read in US newspaper reports - "which I don't believe, anyway".
"I notice your own press isn't'doing too well," he said, commenting on a report in the Cape Times on Senator Edward Kennedy's visit to South Africa.
However, one aspect of Senator Kennedy's visit had pleased him, he said.
"Blacks telling Kennedy to go home - that was a demonstration that the blacks care deeply too, and did not want the absolute lies to go on."
Commenting on the upsurge in civil disobedience by prominent Americans over South Africa's internal policies, he said: "That's not an eruption over South African policies; it's a regular eruption by a group of people like George McGovern and Jane Fonda. They do it every three years.
"This (his invitation by the club to speak at the lunch) is the answer for you in America," he said.
"Don't rely on the press. We've got to quit relying on the media to tell the truth. It's not their ball game - unless it serves their interests. Don't rely on the Reagan administration. The answer lies in getting more and more Ameri can businessmen out here.
"I'd urge every one of you to drop a letter to an American chamber of commerce or contact a management club in the US. Send them the SA Digest or other publications," he said.

Disinvestment was a" hot issue that was being handled out of ignorance, but it was up to the ${ }^{\text {" }}$ South African business ? community to change ${ }^{\text {- }}$ that ignorance, he said
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## JOHN BATTERSBY London Burèau

LONDON－A top level delegation of
South African businessmenhias scored a
doreakthrough in the propaganda battle
to undercut mounting pressure for Unit－
ed States disinvéstment in South Africa．
MThe breakthrough came at what had
－been planned as a secret summit of South
African，British，American and Swedish
＂businiess executives under the chairman－
ship＇of the former＇British Prime Minister，
Mr Edward Heath
The focus of attention at the meeting was the Rev Leon Sullivan，author of the Sillivan code of conduct for US companies operating in South Africa．

the director of the Urban Foundation，Mr
tañ＇Steyn，and included Mr Tony Bloom， executive chairman of the Premier Group；
0 Mr ．Basil Hersov executive chairman of
AInglo Vaal and Mr T•R
－Hofmeyr，exécutive di－ 4 rector of Barlow Rand．
－Es Informed sources said thế：conference：had Wbrought South African business leaders to a closer understanding with Mr Sullivan who，in
＂turn，recognised the vial role that SA business－ wien were playing in pro－等moting internal reforms． frithe－top－security meeting was held on Thitirsday and Friday Wast 6 week behind closed woiors in Leeds Castle， set in pictureque －countryside about 60 km from siondon．

The conference was organised：by＇US＇multi－ national interests through Mr Sullivan and ${ }^{\wedge} \mathrm{Mr}$ Heath，without the plessing of either the Britishior South African ogovernments，and against the advice of the UK－SA Trade Associ－ ation：
Abland statement re leased Yafter the confer－ ence contained the es－ sence of a remarkable new consensus which ，will simultaneously in－ efensify business pressure Fon the SA Government cand underciut the grow－ ing momientum for out－ right disinvestment． Fir The presence of a three－man Swedish dele－ gation headed by Dr －Aake Magnusson，chair－ man of the Counci of Swedish Industries，is considéred of particular stinificancee as the signiticancee as the －Sinedisi Goyernment has been at the fore front of disinvestment movés aimed at fstepping up international pressure for mandatory economic sanctions against Smandizafica．
stheformal statement agreed by the 18 chief executives present，said participants hind＂agreed to continue their individual $\checkmark$ and collectiy efforts to encourage reform


had been＂one of several such meetings＂， particpants conceded privately that there had been no comparable gathering in the past．

A low－key secret meeting held betyeen a handful of American and British execu－ tives and Mr Sullivan in London＇s exclu－ sive Inn－on－the－Park in 1983，ended without agreement on a reform strategy．

South African participants in the confer－ ence pointed to the significance of a key paragraph in the agreed statement：＂It is important to reflect that economic growth and productive investments are essential forces now taking place in South Afri－ ca．．．The participants are encouraged by the progress that has been made．＂
This，sources said，concealed a protract－ ed discussion on shop－floor developments involving black trade unions and progress towards the acceptance of black urbanisa－ tion and the eventual phasing out of influx control．
A paper delivered by the Urban Foundation＇s Jan Steyn－entitled ＂The Social and Legal Situation in South Africa and which way the coun－ try is heading and one by Anglo Vaals Ba － sil Hersov on the role of private business：in lead－ ing change－formed the focus of discussion．
The South African del－ egates argued that foreign investors could achieve more by contin－ ued involvement in South Africa than they could by opting for disin－ vestment or outright confrontation with the South African Govern－ ment．

But there was general agreement among them that it was important to keep Mr Sullivan on the side of Sputh African business because his de－ mands that foreign in－ vesters should ssupport political changet were not as＂radical＂＂as those being demanded by Sen－ ator Edward Kennedy and other influential fig－ ures．
They argued that while it was up＇to US business to counter the disinvestment lobby in the US；South African business had＂a responsi－ bility to see that apart－ heid was dismantled so that there wouldriolong－ er be groundstion adisin－ vestment lobbyys

Although there was no discussion on the cetails $\therefore$ of Mr Suilivan＇s to principles－whichin theiridraft：fort catit on signatories to play a direct political role in promoting reform there was wrad agreement thatilocal and foreignd pressure should be intensified \％\％

British executives who．attened the con－ Wathoughthe statement said the meeting hat principles on them．


## Optimistic US firm boosts

ONE American company is out to reverse the ment process and improve its marketing the disinvestAfrica, particularly Port Elizabeth

Miller Electric believes the ren. end of the year and wants the recession will lift at the So.through Afrox; its distributor it is the upturn. - and Port Elizabeth is being giv, it is boosting stocks ation:
Mr:Peter Holder sales cin ', he was optimistic abor, sales manager of Afrox; said today he was optimistic about the state of the motorindustry industry must pick up soon.".
In an pick up soon.
In an interview with the Evening Post today, Mr dent of Miller' Electric sales and marketing vice 'presias much business as posicid his company was outt to do as much business as possible in South Africa. ${ }^{\text {thrent }}$,
South Africa wäs one of the four-biggest importers of the MillerElectric products in the world
He made light of the'anti:apartheid Bill puished b: Senator Edward Kennedy to put pressure on American companies to: withdraw business from South Africáa."
"No thinking businessman would support thiss," he
 He was not:alone in this belief Móst of the busines meniness from South Africa would to realisede to " withdriaw Wousiness from South Africa would be very detrimantaw

Now York
THE South African Government spent more than R 800000 trying unsuccessfully to prevent the passage of a Massachusetts law penalising companies that do business with the Republic, newly released records reveal.
Now state officials want to find out how the money was spent.
Jubilant antl-apartheld activists halled the discloaure as proof of the potency of their dislnvestment campaign.
They see it boomeranging on South African efforts to counter simillar Bills pending in 10 other states.
All that is known so far is that the operation was conducted by a professional lawyer-lobbylst working closely with Ambassador Brand Fourie in Washington.

## Costly failure

It ended in abject failure with only seven out of 164 leglislators siding with Pretoria.
It was the costlest lobbying effort of any kind in Massachusetto last year.
the on January 4 when whatate legislature overWhemingly defeated an jward King to veto the Bill

- :which prohibits state em. iployee pension funds from beling invested in comn panles and banka doing, African Government.
Thie State Senate rejected tiie veto by a vote of 23-5 and the lower house over-rode It by 194-2
It \$was the firse King tveto :ever to be thrown out and the stato now has three years to sell off R120-milyears to seil off hation worth of shares and bonds in 82 companles, including many of America's largest.

Lobby agents
Documents on file in the Massachusetts Secretary ol Stat 's office Identiffed Mr Stephen Riley as the South Arican Government's Arrican Governments gave no clue how the money was spent.
Mr Riley works sifor Smathers, Symington and Herlong, a Waghington law firm retained by Pretoria.
Ambassador Fourle declined comment, except to confirm through information counsellor Pleter Swanepoel that the firm "does some legal work for us".
"Here we have the Government of South Airica epending R300 000 and nobody knows on whom that money was spent or how it was applied to try to Influence 'this'state's, government", sald Mr Michael Connolly the Massachusetts secretary of state.
A'total of R800-million in investments has been affectfed by the passage of Bills over the past year according to Mr Dumisane Kumalo, projects director of the American Committeo on Africa and a coordinator of the disinvestment effort
He claimed that Chryser's decision to sell off lts South African Investments was in part influenced by the campaign. nervous few months as the political and economic time bomb of disinvestment ticks away in Washington. But last week's shootings in Uitenhage, which, ac cording to official figures, left at least 19 dead, could have been the death blow to moves to stave off disinvestment legislation,

It is now a realistic prospect that within months the United States legislature will ban new investment and legally enforce a barrage of damaging economic sanctions against South Africa.

A number of Bills, varying in intensity, are now before the United States Congress, and whatever results from the complex United States legislative process could be the start of much more severe and widespread economic sanctions against South Africa by the Western nations.

The Proxmire Bill named after its author Senator William Proxmire iprovides, among other things for a ban on new? United States investment in South Africa, a ban on the importation of Krugerrands to the United States, the prohibition on American banks from making loans to South African enterprises and the legal enforcement of fair employment practices by United States subsidiaries in South Africa.

The "Anti-Apartheid Act" of 1985 - sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy and Congressman William Grey - provides for a similar ar-- ray of selective sanctions, with the requirement that these provisions could be waived if the country com-

## 2nm mir <br> PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK <br> ... concludes his report

Economic time bomb of US disinvestment
mits itself to genuine the United States will conreform.

To become law, the proposed legislation will have to be passed by both Houses of Congress - the House of Representatives and the Senate - and, after last Thursday, it is more than likely that this could happen.

The only force which could then prevent the Bill from becoming law was if President Ronald Reagan decided that it interfered with United States foreign policy and used his veto.

Even while the federal legislature debates the issue, state and even city administrations have been divesting "the "pension fund" and other investment money under their control from companies with investments in South Africa.

Some 20 United States states have had disinvestment legislation introduced, while 11 major cities have passed this legislation.

And while the whole matter is undecided, the "hassle factor" of investing in South Africa is playing no small role in dissuading companies from investing in this country.
Even in the unlikely event that current legislation will be thwarted, pressure for disinvestment in
tinue.
While American visitors to this country often point out that South Africa has a low priority rating in American politics, there has indeed been a surge of interest in recent months.
Testimony to this interest, particularly within the Democratic Party, have been the demonstrations at the South African Embassy in Washington and the visit to South Africa by Senator Edward Kennedy.
In broader terms, there are several schools of thought on disinvestment in American politics though according to the United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel - there is an American consensus as far as racism is concerned
Mr Michael Spicer has divided the advocates of disinvestment into three groupings.

- The "moral" lobby who are so disgusted with South Africa that they want simply to pull out.
- The disinvestment hardliners who believe the only way to pressure South Africa into change is to impose total sanctions.
- The "wets" who believe in selective disinvestment as a tactic, a carrot tempting South Africa into change.

Opposing disinvestment are the advocates of "constructive engagement",

President Reagan's foreign policy in South Africa.
This position is summarised by Mr Nickel's view, expressed on TV recently: 'You won't get very far with the South African GÖvernment if you treat it as an enemy. You have to be on speaking terms to get something done".
The American business lobby in South Africa on the whole supports this view, holding that American firms in South Africa can only have a positive effect.

Mr Nickel believes that as long as there are signs that the South African Government is moving away from apartheid, then "we still hold the moral high ground", a statement which has been undermined by the Uitenhage shootings.

He said: "Our policy is based on the necessity of peaceful change, which we see as much more difficult to achieve against the background of economic depression than against the background of economic growth".

But to what extent does America want to bail the South African Government out, in the interests of preserving capitalism here from a possible socialist take-over, and to what extent is it wary of burning its fingers by supporting a threatened regime?

When Mr Nickel was asked how good a friend his country had been to South Africa, he replied by paraphrasing President P W Botha: "What matters most in relations between nations
is not friendship, but interest".
It was a cynical reminder: not to confuse the two con-: cepts when assessing the possibility of the West and the United States in particular - imposing economic sanctions against South Africa.
White South Africans can no longer automatically assume that because of the Cape sea route and its stra-. tegic mineral riches that it will always be in the West's interests to protect the status quo in South Africa.
As Mr Nickel observed, those interests are not play. able like cards in poker.

United States long-term thinking must surely include the question of whether the maintenance of apartheid will not hasten. revolution, whether reform is not the best way of preempting revolution and whether it is not a good idea to get on the right side of the people who will be ruling the country in 20 years.

How they will answer those questions - and whether disinvestment be-: comes a reality - depends on events inside South Africa, as much as it depends on United States internal politics.

For this reason, last week's shootings in Uiten-: hage - and the ongoing unrest in the townships - has seriously undermined the millions of rands spent on lobbying in Washington, and the succession of reformist statements which the Government has issued this', year.


By RICHÄRD WALKER NEW YORK. - The Bank of Boston is to stop all lending to South Africa - pri vate or otherwise.
It was "not the best place to do business", a spokes man said after the decision. The bank has deposits of around R22 000-million, making it 17th in the league of lärgest American banks. Ittannounced a policy of not lending to the South African Government in 1978, being one of the first to do so. The new rule means that it will also refuse'loans to private firms and banks in the Republic, again'placing it in the vanguard of activism.
In ariother development, the président of the huge American IBM business
machine corporation, $\overline{M r}$ John Askers sald Invest ment in South Africa"was the only way to encourage positive change.
"Only a truly international corporate effort can make a difference," said the IBM president, "That way black, Asian and coloured might some day enjoy peace and freedom. It may be an impossible dream. But I'm not ready to give up on it."
Mr 'Askers' stated that IBM had "again re-examined" its policy of doing business in South Africa: "We have concluded that we should remain there? he announced. A lengthy exposition of his arguments was carried in the New York Times newspaper. ©


## Business Day/foreign arsul $28(3(35562$

## Disinvestment a useful tool could create widespread unemployment;

WASHINGTON. - The American disinvestment campaign is an effective tool in focusing attention on South Africa's discriminatory racial policies, several black South African businessmen said in Washington yesterday.
They said, however, that South Africa's blacks would suffer if American companies withdrew from the country.

- The businessmen appeared at a luncheon sponsored by the Ethics and Public Policy Centre, a group which recently published a study opposing disinvestment as a means of changing the system of legal segregation.
" "The fact of the matter is that this disinvestment campaign is bringing results," said a furniture manufacturer, Mr Habakuk Shikwane.
He added: "I know changes are coming. Ihave seem them coming. But if you stop, then they (the white government) stop.'

The businessmen are visiting the US at a time when Congress is considering legislation that would impose punitive sanctions against the South African Government.

At least five American states and 20 cities have adopted measures to divest themselves of companies doing business in South Africa.
Lawmakers are considering Bills that would bar new US investment in South Africa and end the sale of Kurgerrands, among other things.
Opponents, including the Reagan administration and Ethics Centre president, Mr Ernest Lefever, maintain disinvestment would do little to bring about reforms in South Africa's racial system.

The centre is a conservative research organisation dealing with human rights issues.

One businessmen, Mr Mahomed Kajee, said he feared fultiscale disinvestment
could create wiospread and "possibly a bloodbath."
The schisms among blacks were noted by Mr Peter Davidson, a hotel executive from Durban. "There is no unanimity in South Africa on this issue," he said.

Carried to its furthest extension, Mr Davidson said disinvestment could ulti-: mately lead to a blockade of South Africa; a move that would hurt everyone.

Yet Mr Willie Ramoshada, a black: banker, said he knew of no alternatives tor the disinvestment campaign as a means of putting pressure on the whites. .
"Blacks would openly say"n disinvestment ... is the only tool available in 1985," he said.
Mr Ramoshada also said the blacks' to ${ }^{2}$ priority was education, including integra-, ted schools.

## South African firms contributed money

 to pay for the businessmen's trip. Sapay AP.

# Apartheid dying, PFP MP tells US financiers <br> Argus Foreign Service <br> penstein, nonetheless pratsed <br> African-Government has stead- 

NEW YORK. - Progressive Federal Party MP Horace van Rensburg startled a group of convervative Wall Street bankers with a declaration that "apartheid is terminally ill and will soon pass from the scene".

He told them the PFP totally opposed apartheid, regarded it as unjust and indefensible and was working vigorously for its end.
Several of those present, said they were surprised but also impressed at the vigour with. which Mr van Rensburg attacked "the heart" of the Gov-, ernment's racial policies.
. Mr van Rensburg, speaking at a lunch at Manhattan's World Trade Centre given by the South African Consul-General in New York, Mr Abe Hop-
the Government for its "good faith and courage" in trying to bring about reform.

- "It has to be realised," he said, "that every step in this direction taken by President PW Botha threatens his Government from the die-hards on his right.
"But the tragedy is that at a time when liberal reform measures are being undertaken, often far ahead of those demanded by South Africa's crities, many countries abroad are turning the screws - demanding changes that are already in 'effect."

One example was the disinvestment movement in the United States.
"There is a large irony" in the ${ }^{\circ}$ fact that for 35 years the South
fastly refused to change and now that it is starting to do just that, a disinvestment campaign has been launched in the United States that can only hurt black workers in South Africa and set back the substantial and real movement towards political and social reform in the country."

Mr Hoppenstein introduced Mr van Rensburg as a "violent opponent of apartheid".

Mr van 'Rensburg responded with a smile: "No, not violent. I prefer the description 'implacable' opponent of apartheid."
The audience, an influential segment of Wall Street bankers and investment brokers, iistened attentively.

schools and other institutions
throughout the US＇${ }^{\text {andid }}$ the world． throughout the USt and the world． the world catches cold．${ }^{\circ}$

When Harvard coughs the rest of
America takes note．
The issue of divestment is thus
vital to South Africans vital to South Africans and not
something that should be－glibly ig－

Why is Harvard against complete divestment？Not because it believes in apartheid or the present system lieves by being involved in the coun－ try it can help the forces of
progressive and social change．

Should we，as South Africans，not encourage this？Should we not be helping harvard to assist us in find－ tion to our problems？

South Africa is already regarded as a pariah state in the internation－
al community．We should not want al community．We should not want prevent this from happening？

Quite clearly，by embärking on a process of real and substantive，re－ just and humane society for all our people．

policy．A huge campaign has been
mounted to force Harvard to adopt苞
 companies that have an interest in
South Africa，but also the snowball South Africa，but also the snowbuses，

Could South Africans，in this
 tional relations，wish for a more ba－

At issue now，and during the next
few terms at＇Harvard，is this very
 lone． ever，not to adopt this analysis and 0
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0 may be in store for South Africans $f$ this attitude becomes fashionable． I believe some valuable lessons
can be learnt from the Harvard ex－ A few years ago，Derek Bok，pres
dent of the university，wrote an dent of the university，wrote an岂 sponsibility regarding divestment．

[^2] Harvard would only support ds． （a）When the nature of a company＇s operation in south Africa was such，
 coughs，America takes note．＂

 for three years，he was an
for International Affairs．He
iversity＇s attitude toward disin－
strengthen existing regime rather
ment and social policies．
（b）If a company failed to follow the
Sullivan Code（a code of employ－
ment practice and policies that
ameliorate the effects of apartheid）．
Harvard would not support a gener－ for three years，he was an
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（b）If a company failed to follow the
Sullivan Code（a code of employ－
ment practice and policies that
ameliorate the effects of apartheid）．
Harvard would not support a gener－ Furthermore，Massachusetts is
being used as a model for similar legislation now pending in more
＂So what＂，South Africans say．



 Americans，armchair liberals，what
do they know about our policies anyhow？ 27 Nobel Prize winners，it has also accumulated a treasure chest of R5 000 million in endowments．
－2səaul to peaids əpim－pijom $\forall$
 American companies with close links with South Africa－and both the pro and anti－disinvestment lob－ bies have eyes glued on which way
the university will go in the debate． Neither side minimises the influ－
ence it could carry in political and
public opinon． policy of divestment．Such pressure is emanating，not only from minori－ from concerned church groups and from concerned church groups and
knowledgeable academics and alumni．

Precedent has already been set in
Massachusetts，where the decision Massachusetts，where the decision
was taken to divest from any US
company that had any interest in company that had any interest in South Africa．
Public pens
Public pension funds in Massa－
chusetts have three years in which to comply．State and municipal leg－ islation already passed in the Unit－


* • "Or we can do business in a way
that provides a model for a society
gin which black, white, Asian and
coloured might someday enjoy
peace and freedom. we do.
 a tragedy, wash our hands of it and
wait for the explosion that may or


 Mr John F Akers, IBM's presi-
dent and chief executive officer, in in the country.
 has re-examined its business
interests in South Africa and NEW YORK. - IBM,


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- Bernie Fanaroff, national organiser of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), and Alex Irwin, national education secretary of the Federation of SA. Trade Unions (Fosatu), said the code never went far enough and though it had a certain relevance when introduced in 1977, it had now been superseded by unionbargaining.
They both said the less-publicised EEC code of employment practices was more influential at the time.
"The Sullivan Code was vague on wage levels at first and didn't deal with union recognition," said Mr. Irwin: "The EEC code was relatively explicitin
"The EEC code had a certain amount of moral force, but not so much as to make a difference," said Mr Fanaroff. "Those who claim otherwise fail to explain why South African companies - which were not answerable to Sullivan or the EEC - progressed at the same rate as foreign corporations."

A combination of pressure from South African unions, from brotherly overseas unions and a general recognition that companies were going to have to deal with unions and they might as well do it now, was making foreign and focatafing improve their conditions, said Mr Eanároffer

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THE Sullivan Code now categorically demands that signatories pay wages of at least the minimum living level plus 50 percent, according to the code's Co-ordinator for SA, Mr Lionel Grewan.

MrGiewan, who works for Citibank in Johannesburg practices for US companies in SA was one of three introduced in 1977. The EEC produced a code for European companies, and the Urban Foundation (UF) and the South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saeccola) issued a code for local companies.

From what the unionists and the codes' spokesmen said, it appears that:

- The EEC Code is the most influential.
- The Sullivan Code is the only one to maintain an independent monitoring system and is

now taking the lead in lobbying the SA Government.
- The UF-Saeccola Code is the least influen, tial, partly because international pressures which can be marshalled against foreign firms defying the codes do not exist for local companies.
- Where strong unions exist, union-management bargaining makes the codes redundant.


## Code

Replying to the chargethat the UFSaeccola Codewas "toothless", Dr Robin Lee, managing director of the UF, said the code was designed to make companies aware of their responsibilities to employees and society.

The UF was not going to toughen the code because it realised that "collective bargaining had come to stay".

But in its defence Professor Blackie Swart of Unisa found in 1980 a high awareness of the UF-Saeccola Code among South African
companies and that it had an inpact on policies.

Lionel Grewan said that although the EEC Code recommended a minimum wage level of the minimum living Ievel plus 50 percent, the EEC Code had no mechanism for checking that firms were complying. The 140 Sullivansignatory companies were monitored by Arthur D Little Inc of Massachusetts.

Mr Tony Gooch, the British Embassy's labour attache, pointed out that a major difference between the American and EEC codes was that Sullivan was a tightly-organised affair whose terms could be revised every year. "-
The European companies, however, were not "signatories", had no "co-ordinator", submitted reports to their various national governments, and their code could only be revised by joint decision of the EEC Council of Ministers.
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## ］Argus Foreign Service

 WASHINGTON－A major piece of legislation has been stalled in the US Senate by a dispute over a demand by Sen－ －Wator Ted Kennedy for a State 2．Department inquiry into the ＂stiooting of the Eastern Cape demonstrators．The dispute is claimed by some sources to reflect the strong anti－South African feel－ ing．aroused even among Re－ publicans by recent events in the Republic：
．The The Senator＇s demand has ，blocked action on an extension of the Export Administration ＂Act，which has to be renewed annually to authorise the Gov－ ernment＇s control of United States exports and a wide rangé of related activities．

Whe The Republican leadership in ＂the Senate wants to extend the Act for 75 days to keep the Act＇s powers in force．
d But Senator Kennedy has ＇ubeen able to block the renewal under a rule providing for yunanimous consent to certain Senate actions．

He is refusing to give his consent until he receives a guarantee that the Senate will be allowed to vote on a resolu－ tion he introduced last week， calling for an independent OState Department investigation ilito the Eastern Cape deaths．

## witm Setback

Democrats claim the Repub－ IIican leadership in the Senate dwants to keep＂the resolution from coming to a vote because of，indications that it would get reduced＇support．＂
This would be seen as a set－ back to the Reagan administra－ tion＇s policy of constructive en－ gagement with South Africa．

According to Senate sources， consultations have been going on to resolve the dispute ever since Senator Kennedy precipi－ tated it last Thursday．
．Whe Senator＇s resolution，co－ sponsored by Republicañ Sena－ tor Lowell Weicker，asks the Secretary of State to report the results of his investigation by April 30 ． A数等


2 Senator Edward Kennedy
Among aspects the State De－ partment would be＇asked spe－ cifically to examine would be the number of deaths in the rioting．
Introducing the resolution last Tuesday，Senator Kennedy pointed to discrepancies in ini－ tial accounts of the shootings given by Government officials， journalists and other indepen－ dent sources．

## Dialogue

…The State Department has refused comment on the Ken－ nedy－Weicker resolution．
＂However；State＇Department： spokesmen have deplored the violence and repeated the Reá gan administration＇s calls for dialogue between the Govern－ ment and black leaders．
$\because$ Refering to the ban on meetings by the UDF and other organisations，a State Depart－ ment spokesman said：＂Weicon－ tinue to believe that measures aimed at silencing legitimate and peaceful opposition to apartheid are not conducive to finding a solution to the coun－ try＇s major problem．＂

These measures，the spokes man said，did not appeato to be？ consistent with President PW Botha＇s offer on January 25 to establish dialogue with black leaders．



THE National Productivity Institute (NPI), in a statement to be distributed overseas, says that even without overseas disinvestment in South Africa, unemployment in the country could reach 2,4-million by 1987.
Disinvestment by US companies would "exacerbate South Africa's pro ductivity and employment problems, and create more poverty in the long run.
"This would affect many more people than the estimated 700000 who are economically dependent on US companies."

Dealing with the unemployment situation, it says that even with annual economic growth rates of $3,6 \%$, indications are that it will reach 2,4 -million.
It says American investment in South Africa was distributed over most major economic sectors and tended to be in technologically advanced industries such as petrochemicals and transport equipment, which were key growth areas in this country's economy.
"Disinvestment would have the im-
mediate effect of creating unused capacity in US-owned corporations, resulting in capital productivity decline.
"The investment vacuum could certainly be filled by local or non-US operators, but withdrawal of US management skills, know-how and multinational negotiating strength would result in rapid and general productivity losses and thus economic decline, especially since managerial skills and know-how are in critically short supply in South Africa," the NPI states.
The presence of US corporations had raised skill levels across a broad section, bringing competency, human development and, with it, economic growth.
"This process has conferred most benefits on the black people of this country and they would undoubtedly Suffer most from US disinvestment," the NPI says.
It would also "cause productivity to decline, with all its economic conse quences, and this may trigger disinvest ment by other foreign investors."Sapa.


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## Protests

In New York, marchers will rally outside the headquarters of Mobil Oil and then converge on the South Áfrican Consulate General at the same time as other protests are being held outside the offices'of the Fluor Corporation" (a builder of energy projects for the South Africań Government), Citicorp (the largest private lender to South Africa) and Deak Perrera (biggest .US marketer of Krugerrands).
The Rev' Jesse Jackson and Congressman Ronald Dellums, who has introduced legislation to ban US investment in South Africa, will be among the featured speakers.
The disinvestment movement in the US claims that through its actions, more than dollars 1,2 billion have been withdrawnfrom thie holdings of companies doing business ${ }^{\text {With }}$ South Africa and that new disinvestment legislation is pending in 28 states and tozany cities across the country.


JOHANNESBURG. - The fivelihood of about 750000 black South Africans employed in the engineering industry would be directly affected if the disinvestment policy succeeds, the Federation of Societies of Professional Engineers (FSPE) said.
In a statement, the chairman, Mr Colin Spence, said because such a large proportion of all employees in the engineering industry were black, if the industry diminished as a result of disinvestment, it was considered that about 10 -million black South Africans could be seriously and directly affected.

He said about 340 US companies were directly represented in South Africa in the engineering field and 80 percent of their employees were black. The companies generally set a good example of equal job opportúnities, non-discriminatory wages and fair employment.

The principles of the Sullivan Code had been implmented in virtually all companies in the engineering industry, Mr Spence said.

He said all but four nations on the African continent maintain economic relations with South Africa and disinvestment would also have a ripple effect throughout the whole continent, further enhancing poverty and hun-
ger in a region already seriously threatened.
"On the contrary', continued and increased foreign investment is required in South Africa in order to uplift the quality of life of our black population in the shortest possible time and to strive towards complete parity in the physical, social and political lives of all our people," Mr Spence said.

The FSPE felt disinvestment would be bound to fail in the long term because, although it would cause serious temporary harship, it would eventually generate permanent self-reliance. This had been shown to occur whenever economic sanctions had been tried previously.

Mr Spence said the profession doubted the bona fides of many of the protagonists of disinvestment and doubted their understanding of the implications of their policies.

It was also significant that most people in South Africa opposed disinvestment, including most black political, community and trade union leaders.

The FSPE represents 12 institutions of the engineering industry and more than 181000 engineers of all kinds. - Sapa.



## Financial Editor :

TRADE sanctions and investment boycotts by the United States were unlikely to shock the South African economy, Mr Simon Jenkins, political editor of the influential publication, The Economist, says in a special survey.

Instead of leading to conditions requiring political adjustment they could produce counter-measures that in the short-term would probably boost the economy.

Nationalist policy-makers believe sanctions could be used to promote self-reliance, develop home-grown skills and diversify South Africa's markets.
"Sanctions and disinvestment would not, as their wilder advocates suppose, deliver a bodyblow to the South Africa economy; they might even help its restructuring - as happened in Rhodesia."

## Invulnerable

He says that trade sanctions must be serious to a nation which exports 30 percent of its gross national product. Yet most of South Africa's exports are of minerals (half is of gold) and these are regarded as relatively invulnerable to sanctions.
"It is unlikely that Japan or Israel would refuse to import minerals, including some of the world's cheapest coal".
"The most serious economic sanction America can exert on South Africa is similar to that exerted over most of the world economy. With the rise in the dollar has gone a fall in the gold price from $\$ 850$ an ounce three years ago to about $\$ 320$ an ounce today.".
Imports, particularly of capital goods, theoretically could be hit by effective sanctions. Yet sanctions were notoriously inefficient in stopping goods reaching those prepared to pay for them.

## Eager to pounce

"West German and Japanese suppliers are eagerly waiting to pounce in these markets, either as importers or licensees should America abandon them.
It was not feasible that American trade sanctions would undermine South Africa's balance of payments, let alone shock its economy.
Nor would disinvestment have any greater impact. The recession has already led to a fall in foreign investment's share of South Africa's new fixed capital formation, from 10 percent in 1982 to 3,8 percent in 1984.

An American disinvestment law could lead to South Africa imposing retaliatory controls on the export of American dividends, he says.

## Ironic effect

"This would have the ironic effect of pushing up retained corporate earnings, leaving companies with more resources to reinvest and thus giving the South African balance of payments a boost.
West Germany did not consider "negative economic measures" a useful contribution to peaceful change in South Africa, he said. Business could create the economic growth that was crucial to the solution of social problems.
He reported that West German exports to South Africa increased by a third in 1984 to R3,9-billion.
"Disinvestment would be like once-for-all Marshall Aid".

Mr Jenkins questions the rationale behind the calls for sanctions against South Africa.
"Deliberate action by one (rich) state to depress living standards in another (largely poor) one is scarcely defensible.
extreme circumstances for a specific goal not achieveable by any other means short of war.
""The onus must surely be on the aggressor not only to prove the case for aggression but also to set out the steps by which aggression will achieve swift victory.

## Vague terms

"The American disinvestment lobby has fulfilled these requirements in only the vaguest terms."

Mr Jenkins suggests Americans should undertake "reconstructive engagement" on the unofficial and personal level, reflected in contact, in commerce, in intellectual and cultural exchange.
"It is the engagement of constant argument. Boycott and ostracism work no better in international affairs than they do in personal relations":

- The West German Ambas: sador, Mr Carl Lahusen, disassociated his country from calls for trade sanctions against South Africa when he opened the German exhibition at the 1985 Rand Show on Thursday.


## Hunger striker collapses

NEW YORK-A woman student at New York's Columbia University collapsed and was rushed to hospital yesterday, the 13th day of a hunger strike to protest pgainst investment in South Africa. 62 NM $878185^{\circ}$
The woman, one of seven hupger strikers, was treated
and then released from the St Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital.
Six other students have been subsisting on water and fruit juices during the hunger strike. - (Sapa)

## US court stops <br> Uncticik <br> NEW YORK.-Columbia <br> ditional amnesty" for the

University obtained a court order yesterday to bar students from blocking building entrances, but the students vowed to continue their four-day protest against the university's investments in South Africa:
Mr Joshua Néssen, a student spokesman; said telegrams were sent to the university president, Mr Michael Sovern, and members of the board of trustees asking for a written"policy statement favouring disinvestment of Columbia's South Afri-can-related investments and a promise of "uncon-
demonstrators.
Several hundred stun dents have rallied daily since Thursday in front of Hamilton Hall.
On Sunday night university officials went to court and obtained the order from State Supreme Court Justice Harold Baer which requires "an end at this time to the actions of demonstrators prevent ing full access of theiso lumbia community to Hamilton Hall". "4
The judge set a hearing for Wednesday morning atwhich time the stuidents must show cause why a permanent restraining order should not be issued
In addition, seven stüdents have been on a hunger strike since March 25 , protesting aganst South Africa's apartheid system.
Two of the hunger strikers were taken to Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital on Saturday. - Sapa-
Reuter

tion. South Africa's massive infla
tion rate, he said, was directly at tributable to an increase in blac
wages without a concomitant in rease in productivity. was entirely the whites' fault ly educate and train blacks, which in turn was why US corporate inFew other audiences would likely have let him explain. This one



 Resistance, who held the panel en
thralled for an hour. Truth squads
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 That is the first point. The

 vidson and the rest are honour-



 other "vested interests" presum-

All of which is increasingly


 vestment.
 And so on for a couple of hours.
Finally the South African selected
to be the day's spokesman was
summoned: Mr Peter John David-
son, Umlazi businessman and
member of the Inkatha central
committee.
He did his best to persuade his
interlocutors that Chief Gatsha
Buthelezi was not altogether on
their side, and lamented, rather.
poignantly under the circum-
stances, that Americans had not
bothered to discuss their anti-
apartheid strategy with those it
was intended to help.
Such a dialogue was clearly not
being advanced by this proceed-
ing. The panellists, having given
the meeting's token about 15
minutes, ran out of questions and
turned to Mr Muller whom they
evidently found to be closer to
their own wavelength.
MrMuller advanced a thesis that
almost anywhere else in Washing-
ton would have been suicidial, so
hard did it beg for misinterpreta-
tience with the team's suggestion The South Africans sat looking
that South Africa was getting
patiently befuddled as the first patiently befuddled as the first
witness, retired Admiral William witness, retired Admiral Wies to grab South Africa's minerals stupidity in refusing to let the navy
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 recent visit as the government's
guest.

To demonstrate the erosion of racial barriers, he recalled lunching at a hotel with this realy Africa Foundation. You wouldn't Next up was Mr Marion Smoak, Next up was Mr Marion smoak,
the SWA Washington lobbyist for
thmistrator general's


 better in every way, and began to
 want the vote now ... nothing has
changed for people who are living and dying in shacks." Game, set and match to the disinvestors.
号 and he was from the Washington
Times. An act of mercy that. Staged in a tiny room in the subterranean bowels of the Russel
Senate Office building (not a single senator or congressman attended), the event was billed as a meeting of the Committee to Re-
store Internal Security. The panellists resembled noth0
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 mounts in South Africa, tre Atlantic to dissuade America from The merits of this strategy would be debatable even if Pretoria de clared a total moratorium on shooting demonstrators.资 men are convinced their presence
over here will somehow cause conover here will somehow cause con-
gressmen and state legislators torelent, they should at least try to
be seen in the right kind of company. Last week, a group of black South Africans was shepherded
into town by Mr Gerald Muller, a former managing director of Nedsomething to stem the disinvest-

## Rabid elements

In the space of two days, and with the help of the South Africa
Foundation, which made most of Foundation, whingements, the seven-man band unwittingly managed to associate itself and its cause with the
most rabid elements of American Colonel Blimpdom. ence arranged by Alabama Sena-

 litical spectrum somewhere out
beyond Senator Jesse Helms, his mentor. in Pretoria - notably those who supplied him with data for his hearings on Swapo a fow erwise, but it is hard to imagine a stream respect. was judged newsworthy only for its being disrupted by a black South Howard University'sradio station. Miss Terry Mphahlele lost pa-
company and its insurer previously settled 8300 claims for about R600 million. The alleged problem with the Dalkon Shield concerned strings attached to it, which were designed to aid in its removal. Some investigators have said they believe the strings acted as wicks which allowed bacteria to travel to the uterus
The company said 4500000 Dalkon Shields were distributed, including 1700000 in 79 countries overseas. A company spokesman said all but a few of the damage, suits had been filed on behalf of women in the United States.
According to Dr Peter Massel, senior gynaecologist at Durban's Addington

Hospital, the news of the Dalkon risk is rather 'old hat'.
'The manufacturer had them taken off the local market several years ago, and recommended that any wearers should have them taken out. We have a few at our family planning centre,' he added, 'but only as historical relics!'

Dr Massel said it was unlikely that any South African woman who sees her doc tor regularly would still be using the de vice.
In the unlikely event that any were, he strongly urged them to see their GP or family planning centre at once.

THE manufacturer of the Dalkon Shield intrauterine contraceptive has announced in Washington that it has set up a R1,2 billion fund to pay damages claimed by users of the device.
A H Robins Company took the Dalkon Shield off the market in 1974, amid reports of injuries to users, including spontaneous abortions among women who became pregnant in spite of using the device.
Since then the company has faced thousands of lawsuits from women who claimed they were injured by the IUD.
As of last December 31, there were still 3800 unsettled injury claims. The
seven hunger-strikers, blocked a Columbia University building for a third day yesterday to protestagaist the school's investments in firms doing business in Sonth Africa.
The demonstration at the main entrance of the Hamilton Hall administration building would continue until trustees agreed to sell investments in South Africa said Mr Joshua Nessen, a spokesman for the protesters.

Mr Nessen identified himself as a Columbia graduate and national student co-ordinator of the American Committee on Africa, a group
strikers had taken only liquids since March 25, said Mr Nessen. They were demanding a meeting with Columbia's president, Mr Michael Sovern, he said.

University spokesman Mr Fred Knubel said the school's investments in South Africa comprised about R60 million of the school's R128 million endowment. He said Columbia's student-faculty senate asked for a freeze on those investments in May, and the tristees agreed to a cap of R1 million, the level at that time.

Columbia's trustee chairman, Mr Samuel

Higgingbottom, said that divesting "has very little impact" because the school held relatively few shares in any one company. He also said there was "an honest issue" of whether US companies in South Africa provided a service by employing blacks.

Mr Nessen argued that any divestiture created political pressure on our firms to leave South Africa, and that the importance of the jobs for blacks was far outweighed by the support the companies lend the apartheid system. -Sapa-AP.




would hold a "tea said on Tuesday they would hold a "teach'in", "this week to support a student protest against the university's investments with companies doing The teachouth Africa.
hoc group crs, who have formed an adAgainst Apartheid, Columbia Faculty be held this evening the teach-in would student demonstring - one week after student demonstrators blockaded the front
doors to a campus doors to a campus building, Hamilton Hall About 100 students have been on the Hall steps of the building around the clock since the protest began
University officials reported no developments son their side of the dispute on Tuesday and'student protest leaders were mosty busy trying to get telegrams of support from political and civil rights leaders.
They have received They have received support so far fro

Against Apartheid Special Committee National Congress of and the African as several local black lead Africa, as well Levar local black leaders.
Free South Africa are scht Coalition for a in court to answer to a coled to appear manding an end to th a court order deThe stun end to the blockade steps of Hamilton Have refused to leave the and classroom buildin, an administration ity agrees to buding, until the universwithdrawing to a three-year deadline for rations doing all its investments in corpoAbbie Hoing business in SA.
International Party a founder of the Youth singer, Pete Seeger (Yippies) and the folk ures in the anti-wer,;both prominent figmet the students on protests of the 1960s, Hamilton Hall on Monday
war protests in the a 1960 site of student anti-
war. protests in the 1960s. - Sapa-AP


## World coverage

 on UitenhageAT LEAST three international news magazines Newsweek, the Economist and Time, with a combined
circulation of many millians circulation of many millions - have given "splash" cover-feature prominence to the Uitenhage shootings last month under such headlines as "Flames of Anger", and "Repression and Violence in South Africa".
The latest issue of Time magazine, which would normally have been obtainable in Cape Town last Thursday, reached bookshops only on Tuesday this week. The distributors were unable to explain the delay.
The main feature in this widely-read publication is devbted to the Uitenhage clash, on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings, and is illustrated with a number of photographs in colour and monochrome.
One of the pictures in colour, alongside that of "plainclothes men with shotguns in Uitenhage" shows Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Abel Hendricks talking to a police officer in a Cape Town street, over the caption "Verbal cross-fire as policemen prepare to arrest Boesak".
Much of the Time feature on Uitenhage is devoted to the debate in the United States on disinvestment in South Africa and it ends with the statement that: "The government's violent reaction to protest and the counter-violence that inevitably follows have con-
vinced many South vinced many South Africans, black and white, that the
vicious cycle will continue for vicious cycle will continue for some time.'



Argus Foreign Service NEW YORK. - The editor of National Review magazine, Mr William Rusher, said on television here that petty apartheid was going faster in South Africa than it had in the United States.

Mr Rusher, a renowned con! servative, took part in an ABC Television discussion last night on a big student demonstration taking place at Columbia University, New York.
Several hundred students have occupied part of the campus to protest the Ivy League university's $\$ 30$-million (about R60-million) investment in firms with business interests in South Africa.
Mr Rusher, who recently returned from his seventh trip to South Africa, said there had been "enormous change" in South Africa. "The system is getting better" he said.

He quoted Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's statement that disinvestment would harm most the blacks it was designed to help.
"NATURAL HABITAT"
Mr Rusher said that Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was quoted criticising the effectiveness of American firms in effecting change in South Africa, did not have a constituency among South African blacks.
"His natural habitat is the American media," Mr Rusher said.

Mr Anthony Glover, a student at Columbia who last night came off a form of "hunger strike" to draw attention to the protest, said that in the 25 years during which they had invested in South Africa, American firms had not changed the system - "it has become more oppressive".

He said many American companies supported the apartheid system. Under the existing legislation they could be required to co-operate with the South African Government by providing military strategic needs.

THE disinvestment crowd sees victory in the apparent stampede of US banks declaring themselves unwilling to extend further credit to the South African Government． South Africa should be grateful the disin－ vestment crowd is so easily satisfied．
Superficially，the string of new policy state－ ments emanating from some of this country＇s larg． est lenders is rather alarming．
Wells Fargo got things rolling in December last year with a promise of ideological virginity thenceforth．It would not even lend to the South African private sector，much less purchase South African Government bonds．
Citicorp took up the chorus in February when it announced that all its oustanding loans to the South African public sector－some 20 million dollars－would be off its books by the end of March．
First Chicago Corporation，more timidly，asked the Investor Responsibility Research Service to let it be known that its one remaining sin－ 419000 dollars to S A Transport Services－would be liquidated as of March 1.
Manufacturers Hanover protested that it had been innocent since 1976 and did not intend to lapse＇in light of social，economic and political conditions that have prevailed since that time．＇

## No further lending

North Carolina National Bank Corporation，which， as a percentage of its assets，reportedly had a larger exposure in the Republic that any other US bank last year，announced that that exposure had dimin－ ished dramatically as of early this year and there would be no further lending to the government．
The Bank of Boston，avowedly clean since 1976 ，but under federal scrutiny for making substantial unreported cash tranfers overseas，took the opportu－ nity to reunveil its policy on March 25.
Phibro－Salomon，a major merchant bank and com－ modity trader，informed；Mr：Harrison Goldin $y_{i, t}$ the comptroller of New York City and a tireless hound on the trail of the tainted，that＇as a matter of policy＇it had underwritten no loans to the South African Gov－ ernment since 1981.
Parenthethetically，the company＇s chairmatins John Gotfreund，also reassured Mr Goldint that it would no longer be selling South Africa petroikeum products，adding＇It is our present intention to mizin－ tain this policy in effect while the existing social sys－ tem in South Africa continues．＇

Sounds serious，doesn＇t it？It sounds even worse when one considers that bankers do not as a rule like， it to be thought that their lending practices may be subject to political activism．On this occasion they are hiding their motives，if at all，behind the very， thinnestion veneers．

Whenpressed to expand on their corporate pieties？ and＂earnest hints at risk analysis，most spokesmen＇ forthirghtly admit they have been pressured by reli－： gious and other interested groups，stockholders， 10 ． cal governments and letters from Mr Goldin．They concede，in short，that there is considerably more profit in doing business with the domestic clientele than in dealing with Escom，Yscor，etc．

## Not so doom－laden

Which is ironically but exactly why the news isn＇t so doom－laden as might first appear．The fact is that US lending exposure to the South African public， sector－last year it was in the paltry region of 373 million dollars－has long been minimal．Most of the recent announcements are little more than disinvest－ ment crowd－pleasing glosses on existing reality American banks have not suddenly decided to stop lending to the Government：compared with the Brit－ ish，the Germans，the Swiss and other Europeans， they never really started in the first place．

Another point made this week by a vice－president for one of the above banks，is that South Africa＇s de－ mand for U S capital has dropped markedly with its recession and with the dramatic rise in the dollar＇s value against the rand，a rise this banker partly at－ tributed（based on conversations with the SARe－ serve Bank）to heavy South African currency purchases in fourth quarter 1984 to pay off dollar loans．
Given its remarkable－and again recession－in－ duced－trade balance，and a debt service ratio that is better than those of the U S，Canada and Australia， South Africa is unlikely to starve for foreign capital， whatever the American activists do．Witness，as the aforementioned banker did，the overseas inflow of some R900 million into the Johannesburg Stock Ex－ change over the past couple of months．

## Remedies available

Furthermore，should the taboo against lending to South African parastatals spread，there are always remedies．An American bank wishing，for example， to＇finance a purchase of U S heavy machinery by Yscor will readily find an intermediary lender．An－ other resort is privatisation：let Escom，for example， be traded on exchanges around the world．
Finally，the bad news．According to one respect－ able school of thought，there is a development－the ban on all new loans and investment proposed by Senator Edward Kennedy et al－that could wreak more havoc than most of its authors seem to have imagined，could even force the Republic into default， Here＇s how：the chief defect of South Africa＇s aggre－ gate dollar debt is that most of it is short term．Some bankers estimate that about four billion dollars will fall due to U S lenders in the next 12 months．Passage of the Kennedy Bill would force the debt＇s owners to， call it in rather than roll it over．With the Reserve Bank stretched beyond its limit，South Africa would ${ }_{B}$ have little choice but to impose draconian exchange controls，perhaps even freeze foreign assets．That its credit would be destroyed is not necessarily a worst： case scenario．
With any luck，the banks＇sudden pleas of voluntary； good behaviour will forestall Congress＇urge to legis＇ late trouble．


## R20m IBYT Plan

 for black schoolsBy. ANDREW DUNCAN

IBM has announced a R20 million, fivenyear programme to help improve education and economic de velopment among black South Africans.
The programme; to be funded from IBM South Africa's earnings, will provide 250 schools with "Writing to Read" computerassisted education systems.
IBM's president tand chief executive officer, Mr John Akers; said the company believed the programme could hẹlp áccel erate the process of peaceful yand meaningfúl
change Mr Jack Clarke, managing director of IBM South Africa, said IBM had already helped contribute to wards positive change in education and training, añ "Writing to Read" "was: a logical extension of that effort
in another important area - job creation and the'development of black éntrepreneurs. However, for this to take place with the correct momentum, obstacles rect momentum, obstacles ual's ability to participate in the free enterprise sys tem willthave to tobe

IBM says the systems which will be used to enhancé Eng gish languàge reading and writing ${ }^{7}$ skills will servémore than 37.000 elementaryschool children each yean when fully mented作"Writing to Read" is a teaching tool tiant uses a computer based system to teach children how to write everything they cân say; and to read everfothing they can write.
Laborator es each equipped with computers typewriters andaydo yisu al equipment opened at 42 blăck primary
In a'dition, we hope to mopened at 42 black make further contributions a schools. "r ate

Motorola won't sell to SA
RDM US FIRM Motorola Inc has promised RDM to comply with the law prohibiting $3 / 485$ New York city from deatiing with 3 firms that sell to certain South Afri62 can agencies, Mayor Edward Koch (62). said yesterday.

THE N NVEST MENT crowd sees victory in the apparent stampede of United States banks declaring themselves unwilling to extend further credit to the: South African Goveriment. South Africa should be gratefull the disinvestment crowd is só easily satisfied ${ }^{3}{ }^{3}$
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Morgan Guaranty Trust j2 under' fire for tivo loans to Escom and a third, made available in January, to the Industrial Development Corporation - followed with an undertaking not to misbehiave again until Pretoria had reformed its ways:":
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Heres how: the chief defect of South Africa's aggregate dollar debt is that most of it is short term.

Some bankers estimate that about R8 000 -million will wall 3 thue to United States lenders in the next. 12 months. Passage of the Kennedỳ Bill would for̂ce the debt's owners to call it in rather than roll it over. The Reserve Bank stretched beyond its limit, South Africa would have little choice but to impose draconian exchange controls;perhaps even freeze foreign assets.

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With any luck, the banks' sudden pleas of voluntary good behaviour will foreI stall Cóngress' urge to legislate trouble. .



DETROIT：－General MO tors and Ford have de－ clared they intend to ＇keep operating in South －Africá＂despite a cám－ paign by opponents of apartheid who want them to withdraw．
The world＇s two largest car companies told share iholders they；opposed withdrawing business from＇South Africa be： cause a pullout would
harim efforts to improve the lot of the country＇s black majority．
Both companies said they followed equal employ－ ment guidelines för all races in their operations． añ＂d ${ }^{\text {G }}$ M said withdráwáal mond＂＂set back the＂ cause of human rights and peaceful change＂．
Some shareholders have pressed GM and Ford to halt the sale＇of motor ＇vehicles to SA＇s，militäry and＂Molice as long＇as the white－minority govern－ ment continued its policy of racial＇segregation．
But GM told shareholders ＂last wweek that halting salési tó South Africàn se－ cüritỳl forces could．end itss＇business in the coun try． 9 生的昜
－One shiareholding pension organisation；the New York City Employees＇ Retirement Fund ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ has charged that vehicle sales：to the police and military by Ford and GM gave ${ }^{3}$ important＇support to what it calls／＂Pretor－ ia＇s＇aggressive acactions＂．
Ford responded to the New York fund by saying．it had repeatedly de－ nounced apartheid，spent money to advance its black South African em－ ployes and lobbied 4 against diṣcriminatory lăws．＂．
The company also said di－ recticonfrontation，would Adoless to aid the cause of racial equality andsim－ Yorove conditions in SA y tha a the strong applica antion of equalemployment ，principles
GM wás even more orceful in opposing an endito in－ Vestment，saying this would actually set back a the antilaparthed cause We feel the greatest Tamount of social pro gress comestinitimes of one＂GM official said－ Sápa Reuterty Sapa Reuter

DETROIT - General Motors and Ford have declared they intend to keep operating in South Africa despite a campaign by opponents of apartheid who want them to withdraw.

The world's two largest car companies told shareholders they oppose withdrawing business from South Africa because a pullout would harm efforts to improve the lot of the nation's black majority.

Both companies said they follow equal-employment guidelines for all races in their operations and GM said withdrawal would "set back the cause of human rights and peaceful chánge."

Some shareholders have pressed GM and Ford to halt the sale of motor vehicies to South Africa's military and police as long as the government continues its policy of racial segregation.

But GM told shareholders last week that halting sales to South African security forces could end its business in the country.

However there is greater public support than ever in the United States for comprehensive economic measures aimed at ending apartheid.

Opposition Democrats in the House of Representatives recently voted overwhelmingly in favour of a non-binding resolution urging economic sanctions against South Africa.

The concern of US car executives over the growing international movement for business withdrawal from the Republic was illustrated recently when GM chairman, Mr Roger Smith, attended a meeting of US and

European corporate leaders in Britain. in
The leaders discussed action:r by businesses in South Africa ton oppose apartheid.
Anti-apartheid activists say withdrawal from South Africand by companies such as GM and" Ford would impair the Pretoria? government's abiliity to enforce . $\therefore 3$ its racial policies.
One shareholding pension organisation, the New York City $A:$ Employees' Retirement Fund,': has charged that vehicle sales to $\rightarrow$ the police and military by Ford and GM give important support * to what it calls Pretoria's ag- gressive actions.

Ford responded to the New York fund by saying it had re peatedly denounced apartheid,' spent money to advance its black South African employees and lobbied against discriminatory laws.
The company also said direct confrontation would do less to aid the cause of racial equality $:-$ and improve conditions in South : Africa than strong application"' of equal employment principles.

GM was even more forceful in opposing an end to investment, in saying this would actually set back the anti-apartheid cause.
"We feel the greatest amount of social progress comes in : times of economic expansion," ${ }^{\mathrm{H}}$ one GM official said.

Business analysts give the : withdrawal campaign's propos- als virtually no chance of adoption by GM or Ford shareholders.

Similar ideas put before the firms' annual meetings received only minimal support in 1979. - ,, Reuter.


NEW YORK " Bishop Desmond" Tutu has now sent two telegrams to Co-
lumbia University students pledging his support for "their protest against
investment in South Africa, student leaders said yesterday.
TStanding outside Hamilton Hall on the Columbia Campus, sititin leader Mr Daniel Fass said the bistiop was concerned at the way the , university authorities had tried to use his náme in support of their position.
"He has "sent two tete Grams to us, and in each one he has pledged support for our protest. We are very pleased.
The students want Columbia' to sell R76-million in stocks it owns in .26 major corporations that do business in South Africa, including IBM, Ford, General Motors, RCA, the Washing ton Post and CBS.
More than 100 students began the around-the-clock protest on April 4, chaining and barricading the main entrance to Hamilton Hall, an administration and classroom building. Their numbers have swelled to hundreds during the day,
and the rallies have at-
tracted prominent political activists including singer Pete Seeger
A black civil rights group has also applauded the pro test.

Mr Benjamin Hooks, leader of the National.Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, said the NAACP sent the Students a telegram on Fri day welcoming "those who are now joining the strug"(ee againstlapartheid". WThe students also have been encouraged by Colum-
bía alumni who staged similar but more tumultuouts demonstrations in 1968 to 'protest' against defenceselated research by the uniuerisity during the Vietnam War.
fowith the sit-in continiuing to get saturation imedia coverage in the United : States, parallels are being.
drawn between it and the Vietnam protest movement.
In 1968 , five university blocks were'destroyed in rioting, and many students went to hospital.
Organisers say they believe "apartheid could" become as important an issue in the United States as Vietnam was in the 60 s and early, 70s,
Other central figures 'in the protest are Senator Gary Hart and the Rev'Jesse Jackson; both of whom have sent messages of sup: port. ${ }^{\prime 2}$
Yesterday there was a festival àtmosphéré on campus as demonistrators basked in warm, spring sunshine on the steps of Hamiltön 'Hall, "which stu: dents have renamed'" Mandela Hall"
The building has béen daubed with slogans, pamphlets and posters denouncing South Africa and investment in the country

- Bishop Tutu and Governor Mario Cuomo of New York will receive honorary doctorates from the University of Rochester, New York, on May 12 , it was announced yesterday.
University officials said the awards would be made at a ceremony on May 12. Bishop Tutu will receive an honorary doctorate in divinity, and Mr Cuomo who is fast emerging as one of the most powerful figures in US politics, will receive an honorary doctorate in law.
It will be Bishop Tutu's first visit to the United States since his installation as Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

Sources say that scores of universities and institutions throughout the US are seeking Bishop Tutu's'acceptance of speaking engagements. The sources say his trip to Rochester could turn into a full-scale tour of the country.
, Mr Cuomois generaly regarded as a"likely candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential 'momination in 1988. Sapa-AP.

# General <br> <br> Argus Bureau <br> <br> Argus Bureau <br> <br> PORT ELIZABE 

 <br> <br> PORT ELIZABE}
bow to mounting dis - General Motors would not United States: it disinvestment pressures in the South Africa or to had no plans to withdraw; from Elizabeth to the Reef

These twin
in Port Elizabeth yesterd were given at a ceremony of General Motors' 1500 ay to mark the production
Attending the 150000 th car in South Africa. vice-president in ceremony was General Motors South African operations, of Latin American and
VITAL COMPONENT

He told dignitaries, who included the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman: "I want to say that we're determined to remain a vital component Port Elizabeth
Evidence
Cormack and General Motors', said both Mr McMr Lou Wilking was Motors' managing Director, ing up for the new Opel Kadert investment in toolap for the new Opel Kadett
About R40-million is believed to have been invested by General Motors to produce the new model and the 1500000 th vehicle that rolled off General Motors' production line - a new Kadett Gsi - represented "the very latest in engineering technology and design," said Mr Wilking. At an earlier press conference the company's
marketing director, Mr Hal Carpenter said
_____ Mal Carpenter, said it aimed
to capture 15 percent of the lower-medium priced car market in South Africa - "which this year will represent 54 percent of total passenger cars market ed."
At the conference Mr Wilking emphasised that a merger of production facilities with other South African manufacturers could only take place where this made economic sense and led to greater output from General Motors' plant.
Though the company had repeatedly stated that it would welcome either a South African shareholder or a manufacturing partner no discussions with propective associates had yet taken place.
Commenting on the Ford/Amcar merger announced earlier this year, Mr Wilking said no commerger.
"And, whether they do in the future . . . who


[^3]
#  <br> 数 surreptitiously helpful 

NEIL LURSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports on the quiet diplomacy against disinvestment by South Africa's economically dependent neighbours

EFFORTS by the South African Government to lobby against American disinvestment are getting quiet but apparently effective support from some of South Africa's black neighbours.
They have stayed out of the strident public debate here over the demand that American companies get out of South Africa as a protest against apartheid - but, unobtrusively, they are letting it be known that they will also suffer if South Africa's economy is harmed.

Typical of this approach is the attitude of Botswana officials in Washington.

A senior Botswana official said today: "We are very plain about our relationship with South Africa. In general, we do not support the disinvestment campaign against South Africa and Botswana cannot participate in any international boycott.
"We are, after all, in the same customs union. Besides, embargoes are hard to enforce People can talk about the effectiveness of boycotts, but reality shows otherwise.


Member countries of the SA Customs Union
"We are not taking an active role in the disinvestment debate, but when the occasion arises - as it does - we make our position clear. Of course, disinvestment and new investment are two different things. While we do not want South Africa's economy to be harmed, we would like to see new American investment come to the newly independent neighbouring countries," the official said.
"There is some US interest
in Botswana as a country for investment, but our trade ties are still small, largely because of the distances and because Botswana is not well known here.
"But we can offer stability, a democratic system, and support for free enterprise."

The newly arrived ambassador of Zimbabwe, Mr Edmund Garwe, declined today to comment on the disinvestment debate.
"Oor views would be supportive of the position taken by the Organisation of African Unity," he said.

But it is understood that Zimbabwe officials have said in private, off-the-record meetings here that they do no regard disinvestment as an effective tool against South Africa, pointing to the way in which the Ian Smith government was able to overcome international embargoes for years.

The economy of Zimbabwe, like that of most countries in Southern Africa, is dependent on South Africa's.

The significance of that fact has not been lost on the South African Government's foes in the US Congress.

While there have been some attempts in the congress to force disinvestment, none of the serious legislation affecting South Africa calls for such a drastic step. Rather, the proposed bills call for bans on new investments and loans, and new trade curbs in the absence of reform in South Africa.

## and trade unions step up pressure

NEIL LURSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports on a special meeting on South Africa by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

TOP international labour leaders are calling for partial disinvestment and tougher sanctions against South Africa - but are stopping short of pushing for total disinvestment at this stage.

However, Mr John Vanderveken, General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, warned here that disinvestment was an aim for the future and said mandatory UN sanctions should be adopted to enforce South Africa's economic isolation.

Mr Vanderveken spoke at the end of an extraordinary meeting of the ICFTU executive board in Washington on the situation in South Africa.

He said the board had never before met to discuss just one issue, but that the situation in South Africa was at a crisis point.
Mr Vanderveken said the growth of a strong black trade union movement in South Africa was the most effective measure to beat apartheid.

Asked by a South African journalist how trade unions could develop if sanctions and disinvestment removed jobs, he said that if the issue was jobs or freedom, freedom was more important.

Mr Vanderveken outlined a pro-
gramme approved this week by the ICFTU to beat apartheid. It calls for:
$\square$ Tougher sanctions, including tightening of the arms embargo
$\square$ The ending of internapromotion
$\square$ A ban on new investments, bank loans and IMF loans
$\square$ A ban on the purchase of Krugerrands, South African coal and on contracts for the expansion of South Africa's nuclear energy
$\square$ Punitive action against ship owners and companies who supply oil to South Africa.
$\square$ Compulsory disinvestment by companies operating in the fields of energy, armaments and high-technology and by those companies identified by black trade unions as violating international standards of labour practices.
$\square$ International pressure against white emigration to South Africa, including the closure of all South African recruitment and tourist promotion offices and trade union action against companies that seek white workers for South Africa
$\square$ Vigorous discouragement of sporting and cultural ties with South Africa. Mr Vanderveken said the ICFTU
was calling on all governments not to receive South African Government officials and other "exponents of apartheid."

The international labour movement also planned to increase pressure on multinational companies operating in the republic and on South African companies operating overseas.

He said these companies had of apartheid and that their vulnerability to international trade union pressure should be exploited.

Mr Vanderveken outlined measures in which labour leaders could target the companies and said that in the case of obstruction by management
there should be "appropriate solidarity action."

The ICFTU board, he said, also called for international labour support in the struggle to overthrow "obnoxious" infux control and migrant worker laws and would work toward strengthening the economies of South Africa's neighbouring countries to reduce their dependence on South Africa.

Mr Vanderveken said these measure were necessary because diplomacy had falled to get across the abhorrence felt by people all over the world at apartheid.

## Anti-SA PROM at US varsities

NEW YORK. - A judge been encamped on the yesterday began efforts to end a $2^{11} 2$-week sit-in at Columbia University by students protesting against the school's ties with South Africa.
Acting New York State
Supreme Court Justice Burton Sherman briefly met attorneys for the university and about 100 demonstrators, and ordered another session to morrow to discuss a ne gotiated settlement.
He left temporary restraining orders in effect against both sides. One restrains the students from blocking the door way of Hamilton Hall, although they have been doing so since April 4. The other restrains the university from arresting the students unless they become violent, some-
thing they ; have vowed thing the
not to do.
The students have
building's steps to probuilding's steps to pro-
test at Columbia's R65million investment with companies doing business in South Africa
Although the students have shut the doors to Hamilton Hall with a chain and padlock, the building remains accessible through an underground passageway from another building.
Meanwhile, police have ended a week-long anti-apartheid protest at the University of California at Berkeley. More than 150 people were arrested on trespass charges when police moved in at dawn on Tuesday.
The demonstrators'are demanding the tremal of R3,4 million sintuniversity funds fromeompanies doing business in South Africa. - Sapa-Reuter-AP

## PULL-OUT DISPUTE

NEW YORK. Claims by the New Your corporations to is succeeding in gettin $\mathrm{Y}_{\mathrm{OH}}$ City disputed. to pull qut: of South Afring American Moveral banks and (ind Dind baye geen Monday by the city treasurer, Mr Harrison Goldin
that companies were respon He said they were divesting to council pressure steps to comply with council polipletely or:taking Mr Goldin said City Inncil policy
Jiquidate all South African assets after any was to Oter from Mr Goldin.- ${ }^{-}$, assets after receiving a
president of Chowever Mr Johi Herndon, a vice totally incorrect because cing, said the clánim. yice to liquidate the entire company In ling had decided Manufacturers Han company.
Gave agreed to ban all low waid by Mr Goldin to "That's Mants where we were all along spokesman said:
Pretoria since Hanover had
Meanwhile it whe said. granted no loans to mayoanwhile, it was
$\$ 38600$ of stoew Eard Koch, had that New York's not comply with owns in three compaken to sell
The firms Foods and Stanteallegheny Inten subscribe to the Sy Works - apparional, General -
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 neśs Machiñes corion ation (IBional Bus day pledged it "will not seli (IBM) yeste the South African military, police, prisons agenciess for the national sec̣urity the department that administers the passbook system, or'the department of Home Affairs."
The pledge is contained in letter published in the New York Times from Mr
Nictor MacDonala, IBM's vice president "Nor do we have computers' installed at It follows IBM's recent announcement that athe South "African Department of Home (1) Ans secent announcement thăt 'Affairs," Mr MácDonald "writes.

Little to monitor their progress. $9 / 4(8)$
"Many companies are naïve and, believe it or not, still don't think the disinvestment lobby will affect them. They don't realise how serious the situation is. The guys are very gung-ho about establishing and implementing social programmes, but I have a hard time getting them to realise that they have to do more.
"For example, the adopt-a-school programme, is well and good, but it's not enough. It's basically band-aid and doesn't tackle the fundamentals of unequal education; lobbying government is equally important. About $\$ 100 \mathrm{~m}$ has been spent on social programmes since the SC's establishment, but financial expenditure isn't enough to qualify for high-score ratings. Getting the signatories to focus on long-term issues is very difficult."
Today, the major criticism levelled at the code is that it has no teeth and isn't enforceable - though this could be changing. "We can't take action against non-complying companies now, but legislation could well be introduced in Congress this session which will enforce compliance with the code. I think coercing people into doing things could be counter-productive," Grewan says. "I think we'd lose the creative element if it becomes compulsory.'

## MATHEW NELL

## Conquering blocks

SA's black housing problem is seldom discussed without mention being made of the impossible number of houses needed to meet the backlog and the increasing demand resulting from the rising tide of urbanisation. But Matthew Nell, GM of the Urban Foundation's (UF) first housing utility company in the Transvaal, the Family Housing Association (FHA), is attempting to find some answers.
"Opening up opportunity and options for more people from both the formal and informal sectors to participate in housing supply is far better than attempts at a single uniform co-ordinated response," he says.

A housing utility company is entitled in terms of the Housing Act to avoid taxes and to apply to the National Housing Commis.sion for funds. "The FHA is run on a nonprofit basis. Its purpose is to enable housing to be provided on a non-speculative, affordable basis while operating on competitive business principles," Nell explains.

For seven years, Nell (35) has run the UF's housing programmes in the Transvaal. His function has been twofold: to apply pressure for legislative and policy changes in black housing, and to run the foundation's site-and-service and self-help housing projects.

These projects, in Soweto, Katlehong and Sebokeng, with a turnover of R20m, have become part of the FHA. A smaller, closeknit unit in the UF will continue to concen-
trate on policy - while the FHA tests and confronts it in the field.
Nell explains: "Our objective is to increase the supply of housing in the PWV, in a way that's responsive to social and economic realities. We figure out what market demand is, and how to change supply to meet it. Essentially we're not just another construction company because we operate to generate and increase private initiative."
He stresses that the FHA pays and will continue to pay its own way, otherwise its efficacy is limited: "We must be able to compete for resources without relying on subsidies."
The FHA is considering moving into the Pretoria area though its present priority is black housing. "But we plan to move into the supply of coloured and Indian housing as well," Nell says.
The Association's biggest project is in Soweto's Protea North, providing servicing to 2500 sites: "We acquired the rights to develop the land, organised design, township proclamation and so on. We pre-sold $75 \%$ of the sites to formal and informal developers
and employers. The other $25 \%$ is set aside for owner-builders, the man in the street."

The FHA also provides a housing service, with a range of options aimed at enabling a family to manage its own building, by providing access to house designs, bulk purchased materials, bond finance and an aftersale technical advice service.

A mild and relaxed enthusiast, Nell provides information on his field precisely and easily. "Running a utility company is ideal for an engineer, planner or builder in earlyto mid-career. It provides the experience of running a company, and the opportunity to make a social contribution as well," he says.
Nell studied building science at Wits, and then "for two years I built high-rises, until I knew I wanted to work in low-income housing." He took a master's degree in town and regional planning, and did research into company housing policies for the CSIR's Institute of Personnel Research
In 1978, he joined the UF and started work on its self-help housing project near Carletonville, one of the first in the country. Nell spends about half his time on site in


Nell . . . structural reform more than changing legislation
know．King promises to get back to him．
＂The time has come for a bold approach，＂ he continues．＂The economy will never stabi－ lise until the socio－political order stabilises． It＇s difficult to formulate a monetary policy of high interest rates like in the US and UK when SA hasn＇t got a social security system －a net to catch the unemployed who be－ come hungry and restless．＂And as chairman of Operation Hunger，King knows what he＇s talking about．＂If you have structures which lead to hardship and on top of this apply economic hardship，it＇s just looking for trou－ ble，＂he adds．

In recent years，King＇s social conscience， and his hand，have become increasingly ap－ parent in KG corporate reports．This isn＇t surprising as he spent time working as a reporter on the Sunday Express in his youth． The then editor Johnny Johnson，so the story goes，made him the highest offer ever made to a Saan journalist at the time in the hope of retaining his services．
A quick thinker，the only time King pauses before answering is on the subject of the KG＇s victory over the JSE in the Sanki deal． ＂I think they arrived at the right decision，＂is all he＇ll say．

Enter Kirsh：＂I need an answer now，Mer－ vyn，＂he says．And the two scuttle off to whisper behind close doors．

## LIONEL．GREWAN

## Labour monitor

Lionel Grewan，national co－ordinator of the Sullivan Code（SC）of labour principles，was working in Iran when the Shah was deposed， so he＇s accustomed to upheaval．Back in SA six years later，with the US disinvestment lobby gaining increasing vigour，he＇s simply keeping his head down and getting on with the job of ensuring that SC signatories com－ ply with its principles．

Grewan（43）helps US investors in SA structure programmes to achieve their objec－ tives and also helps them overcome obstacles． However，his most difficult task is ensuring that the signatories make sufficient progress in dismantling discriminatory structures． ＂This is the only thing that will appease people in the disinvestment lobby，＂he ex－ plains．

However，in Grewan＇s opinion，the disin－ vestment lobby is unlikely to provide any answers．＂It＇s been a good coercive stick for prodding US companies into taking a long hard look at themselves，＂he concedes．＂But rather than disinvest，I think US investors should focus on progressive reconstruction －the upliftment of black communities．＂
The SC lays down standards for US com－ panies operating in SA and is probably the most highly publicised tenet of foreign in－ vestment in this country．＂When it was first formulated in 1977，tackling desegregation， in the workplace was its major task，＂ Grewan explains．＂But this was just the first phase，and we＇ve moved beyond that now．


## Grewan ．．．＂US investors should focus on progressive reconstruction＇f．

The second phase involved getting out into the community through upliftment pro－ grammes，and the third phase，which we＇re now in，provides a completely new direction．
＂Our main emphasis is on talking to gov－ ernment about removing restrictions and making known to them the kind of inhibiting practices that affect business．＂Countering criticism that the SC＇s usefulness has been superseded by increased bargaining power in the workplace，Grewan explains that dia－ logue with government is now a prime focus．

Grewan was born and schooled in Durban， but he speaks with a foreign twang．He left SA in 1964 and worked as an English teach－ er in Zambia for 10 years before receiving a grant to study maths at the North London Polytechnic．In 1977，he found himself in Isfahan working for Bell Helicopter，teach－ ing pilots．
＂One Friday afternoon I was on the street with my family and we heard shots from the market square，＂he recalls．＂We headed for the nearest hotel and lay low．This was the start of the revolution．＂Soon afterwards，his
wife and two children went to the US for safety．
＂I saw the Shah go and the Ayatollah arrive，＂Grewan says，＂and three months later the State Department finally decided to evacuate all employees of US companies．＂ Grewan joined his family in America and completed a few courses at Indiana Univers－ ity before deciding to return to SA where he joined Citibank as a training officer．In－ creasingly he found himself dealing with social responsibility issues and last year was appointed SC national co－ordinator．

Though only 140 of the approximately 300 US companies in SA are now Sullivan signa－ tories，the number is rising rapidly．＂As pressure in the US intensifies，everyone wants to get on board，so we＇ve had 18 new signatories since February，＂he says．

But this isn＇t the whole picture．Last year eight companies received failing grades for their progress，and rather than pull up their socks，they pulled out．Twenty－nine other companies also backed off，unwilling to pay Boston management consultants Arthur D at US Campus
NEWYORK - Hundreds of onati=apartheid dethonstrators demanding that the University of California sell R3 200-billion in Sodithe Arican investments massed on campuss on' Wednesday to support a calli, for a boycott of classes.
There were no arrests at the university in Berkeley like thóse which sent 159 pro testers to the county jail on Tuesdayifor investigation of trespassing and illegal lodging itill but 29 had been released dy Wednesday morning
Antilapartheid protests also continued at Coliumbia University in'New York City and at Rutgers University 'in New Brunswick ${ }^{2}$ New Jersey

Bedsheet banners continuéd to flap'outside 'Sproul Hall' 'headquarters for the Berkeley campus administration and focus of the et eltteday protest. One said:" Divest Nơw or Régret Later."


 Mötórs
The Berke daemonstrators, about half students and halesawearesidents, had compläined that unive thity regents wónd not movecup discussion of divestment onf the university's moneyhnyestedinifirm 3doing business in South A rica to theiririay meeting in 'Berkelley The issuedes on thepune agenda.: 'Sapa-AP Nearly 30000 Americans paraded through Washington to protesi $\int 0 W 010$ against the US military build-up. South African 224485 broad range of Reagan Administration policies. The peaceful march along with simultaneous demonstrations in San Francisco and Los Angeles, protested against the nuclear arms buildup. apartheid racial separafion policies in South Africa, and the US involvement in Central America.

Led by black activist and former presidential candidate the Reverend Jesse Jackson. the protesters marched pist the White House and filed down the mall in the
centre of the city to the steps of the Capitol building where congress meets.
In a firey speech from the Capitol steps, Mr Jackson said: "We are going to fight to free Johannesburg."
More than 80 separate groups took part in the "festival of protest". which is to continue for three more daysin Washington so the demonstratorscan lobby congressmen.

Organisers putthe size of Saturday's crowd at 100000 . But Park police estimated it at 26000 . The crowd in San Francisco was set at 50000 and in Los An. geles at $40(0)$ - Sapa Reuter.




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|  | ties alumbia's authori- | said that at most, 400 of | e |
| terday began dismantlin | themselves of more than | Columbia's almost 20000 |  |
| their three-week-lon | R60 million in companies | registered students had | unced just |
| -in against apartheid. | that do business in South |  | es before a state |
| e protest will 'end | Africa. | These kids have spent | ered the demonstrators |
| mally tomorrow. | Many students now see | most three | , the onstats |
| ision | test as a defeat. Many of | he end they got no- |  |
| protest came suddenly | the clearly disenchanted | where," one university | hey have been "bârricad- |
|  | protesters cried openly | official said yesterday. | ing in defiamine of pre- |
| Many of the protesters | as it was announced that | "All they got was a great | vious countorders. |
| are upset by it, because | the demonstration was | deal of publicity, certain- | Sapa |



Tambo in
sanctions
méetings
Own Corresporident
NEW YORK. - African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday briefed congressional aides at the start of a week-long visit
keyed to the bid to im. pose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Senator Edward Ken nedy and Congressman
William Grey - sponsors
of sanctions bills -
helped arrange the breakfast meeting.
The ANC chief lunched with the editorial board of the Washington Post and later addressed the congressional black caucus.
Mr Tambo's arrival was delayed because of visa difficulties, de-
scribed by one closely in-
volved source as "tre-
mendous". In particular,
the delay foiled the ANC's plan for him to address last weekend's Washington demonstrations



By NEIL LURSSEN Argus Foreign Service WASHINGTON. - In an attempt to head off bipartisan moves in the United States Congress to impose economic sanctions on South Africa this year, Republican Party leaders have introduced their own softer anti-apartheid legislation.

The move means that the battle lines have finally been drawn for the congressional clash:over South Africal

And the Secretary of State,

Mr George Shultz, has wàrned that the issue - which looks like being as divisive as the Nicaragua debate - could "tear the country apart".

The Bill, introduced in the Senate yesterday, seeks to:

- Increase aid to South Africa's blacks through a $\$ 15$-million (about R29-million) scholarship fund and grants of R1,5 million (ábout R3 million) to community organisations;
- Make adherence to the Sullivan code compulsory under threat of financial penalties;
- Promote the expansion of black-owned businesses through the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation;
- Require the President to order economic sanctions if significant progress in eliminating apartheid has not been made by March, 1987.
The new Bill has a powerful set of sponsors - Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, Senator Robert Dole, Senate májor ${ }^{\prime}$ ity' leader; Senator Charles Mathias, whose own apartheid Bill has been incorporated, and Senator Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the Senate's 'African Affairs subcommittee.

Whether it, will win enough support to defeat Democratic Senätor Edward: Kennedy's much tougher Bill; which demands immediate economic sanctions, is not yet clear:4
Signals that the confrontation will be fierce came yesterday when Senàtor Kennedy and the Republican co-sponsor of his Bill, Senator Lowell Weicker, appeared before Senator Lugar's committee to make impassioned pleas for sanctions.
The fact that mas mas 10 , senators attended yesterday's heäningston a day which saw. the start of the most in portant: legislativée yent of the year the budget debate - is seen as andindicationof the importance

ate

hage, affected by slop'pages since last Friday, are set to return to work on Tuesday
And about 3000 General Motors workers returned to work yesterday after downing tools on Thursday. The workers accepted an interim wage increase between 14 c and 24 c an hour.
14c andustrial action at the $\therefore$ Industrial action at the three plants came after a deadlock was reached at Industrial Council level Industrial the Eastern Province Automobile Manufacturers Association - representing the three companies - and the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu).
As a result of the deadlock the companies agreed to negotiate in terim wage adjustments at shop floor level.
Yesterday negotiations continued between Volkswagen and VW shop stewards. Mr Fred Sauls, general secretary of Naawu - the trade union representing the majority of workers at Ford, GM and VW - said last night VW workers had decided to accept an increase offered by VW management of between 14 c and 24 c an hour.
f A VW spokesman confirmed that the company had been advised of the workers' acceptance.

Mr Les Kettledas, regional secretary of Naawu, said workers at Neave walked out yesterday afternoon after wage talks began between the company and the union yesterday morning.
Mr Kettledas said talks would continue between the union and Ford on Monday.
Amcarir could
drop Peugen Industria ELONGER Industrial Editor
AMCAR, which joined forces with Ford earlier this year to form Samcor, is thinking of dropping its
Peugeot dealership Peugeot dealership.
Amcar officials are re-assessing their ties with the French motor manufacturer
following the decision to forge porate identity for Mazda and Mitsubishi, Peugeot's partner in the Amcar stable
From the beginning of next month, under a new corporati dealers will trade Mazda, Mitsubishi I logo, MMI, short for
The exercise, to be acporated.
increased publicity campaign is anied by an to be completed by october R 2 m bill will be shared between Amated the Japanese parents of Mazdeen Amcar, bishi, and South African Mazda and Mitsu-
Mr Spencer Sterling dealers
ing director, said yesterday was intended to yive deale the change market identity. give dealers a clearer
Our dealers have accepted the new name with enthusiasm and we are sure that MMI will very quickly become sure miliar name to all South Africans," he said
Until now, Peugeot vehicles have been sold with Mazda and Mitsubishi through the Amcar dealership, and before that Sig. ma.
Mr Sterling said yesterday that Peugeot spares and service would continue to be available through MMI dealers
improve Peugeot's pere being sought to country. Peugeot's performance in this "Am.
France will and Automobiles Peugeot of rrance will study alternatives aimed at rangements for Post appropriate ar to recapture the position to adopt in order viously in Southe position it enjoyed preAccording to Africa," he said ternatives include amcar sources, these always between Ae a possible parting of the One said yesterdar and Peugeot.
decided at this time bay: "Nothing has been alternatives being considered."

## Valid facts

The weekly bulletin of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce calls on Cape Town companies - particularly smaller ones - to use their contacts in the United States to help "in shaping key American opinion on the question of disinvestment".
The bulletin quotes Assocom's chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons.
"It is possible by carefully marshalling valid facts to demolish or discredit almost every argument that has been advanced so far for disinvestment.
"Everyone in business must take action now before irrevocable decisions are taken by the United States Congress.
"People with contacts in the United States must urge these contacts to lobby their congressmen and senators to vote against any form of US disinvestment."
Mr Parsons suggests giving contacts an "objective, balanced assessment of the politi-
cal and economic factors".

The deal, with German and Swiss banks as joint lead managers, was signed in Cape Town today by the Minister of Finance, $\mathbf{M r}$ Barend du Plessis.

It is the forerunner of more such transactions to be completed in Europe soon.
;Government officials are describing this' as a shot in the eyerfor the disinvestment lobby overseas.

Mr du Plessis spoke at the signing ceremony today of "the esteem and credit-worthiness enjoyed by South Africa in the international capital markets" and of confidence in the economy's long-term growth prospects.

## Crucial role

He said: "In spite of attempts - in recent months by forces ill-k-disposed towards South Africa, we do enjoy the support of thousands of investors who not only recognise this as an at$r$ tractive investment country, , but also acknowledge the crucial role that South Africa plays in the economic development of Southern Africa."

Today's deal is the first such transaction lead-managed jointly by Commerabank and the Union Bank of Switzerland, with a consortiun of 12 others co-managing.

It is for six years at a coupon rate of 12,5 percent with an ; issue price ofs 09,5 percent.

In this year's budget Mr du Plessis provided for an amount of R350-million for net foreign borrowing.

Mr du Plessis said the Government's foreign debt was R3 600-million ( $\$ 1900$-million) on March 31.

The level of foreign debt could not be regarded as excessive and amounted to 10 percent of the central Government's debt in 1984.

Between 1978 and 1984, he I added, South African public sector borrowers had succeeded in reducing premiums payable above the London interbank offered rate to "very modertate margins".

- South African companies are being urged to ask their American contacts to lobby congressmen and senators to vote against any form of US disinvestment.


NEW YORK-Citing declining profitability in South Africa, some American corporations have begun to cut back their South African operations.

But analysts and some company officials say that the increasingly militant campaign against American involvement in South Africa is also having an impact, the New York Times said yesterday.
Noting that in addition to internal pressure at home, American companies have to worry about the political situation in South Africa, the newspaper quotes Mr Landis McKeller, an economist at Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates in Philadelphia, as saying: 'It would be difficult to imagine a worse operating environment for business.'

The article also notes that in a report to clients two weeks ago, Rinfret Associates, a New Yorkbased consulting firm, warned: 'South Africa could deteriorate rapidly -into another Rhodesialike situation of protracted guerrilla warfare.
'Corporations operating in South Africa should be prepared to write off the country if this occurs.
'We áre not pushing the panic button. But we are advising clients to be pre-
pared for the worst. It could happen at any time.'
The article says, however, that disinvestment could be 'a blunt instrument' since it affects only 300 American companies.
The article notes there are more than 5700 other American companies doing business in South Africa, biy selling products without opening their own offices. (Sapa)

Whawn Correspondent
CAPE TOWN - A five-point plan for businessmen to take a : stand against the disinvestment campaign is advocated by Mr - Raymond Ackerman, chief executive of the Pick'n Pay supermarker group, in his annual report today.
"Although the motives of those who advocate disinvestment may well stem from good intentions, it is our view that such a policy can only lead to a hardening of attitudes and a state of economic retrogression which will harm all the people of'South Africa."
"To play a meaningful role against a disinvestment policy which, in his view cannot be beneficial for this country, it was important for businessmen to take a stand in:

- Seeking to persuade the Government to repeal discriminatory legislation, "one of the main causes of dissent and upheaval in South Africa".
- Implementing fair policies in their companies so that a living wage and equal opportunity are afforded to all workers.
Improving training methods and job advancement programmes to assist in fulfilling ther aspirations of black people in the business community.
Not being afraid to speak up on the need to implement change in the country.
PTo put forward positively What is being achieved in South Africa to create improvement in soiciety.


The Star Bureau
NEW YORK - The financial controller of New York state, Mr Edward Regan, has announced he will fight impending moves to disinvest part of the state's $\$ 24000$ million pension fund from companies in business in South Africa.

The New York State Pension Fund is one of the largest in the US.

Mr Regan said he believed
New York could best protest
apartheid by continuing to invest in companies doing business in South Africa so that pension fund officers could then bring pressure on those firms for racial change.

The Governor of New York, Mr Mario Cuomo, has appointed a panel to study the issue of state divestment.

## Bank loans soar

NEW YORK - While some American corporations have begun to scale back their operations in South Africa, bank loans to the South African private sector have soared.
Lending by American banks to the South African private sector have jumped from $\$ 495,2$ million in June 1981 to $\$ 1100$ million last September.
However, almost all American banks have stopped lending to the South African government and its agencies.

Figures put together by the Federal Financial institution Examination Council and the Bank for International Settlements show that American bank loans to the government and its agencies have dropped from $\$ 623$ million in 1982 to $\$ 343$ million last year.

## Ban on fund

SACRAMENTO - A state assembly committee voted yesterday to prohibit future state pension fund investments in any of the 350 American firms that do business in South Africa.
"US investments maintain the apartheid system by providing South Africa with much of the capital needed to maintain the economy and make sure whites enjoy a high standard of living," assemblywoman Ms Maxine Waters told the public investments, finance and bonded indebtedness committee.

The committee voted $7-5$ to sent her bill to the ways and means committee.

But, lacking the votes, she dropped her related bill, which would have required the state pension funds to sell off their current holdings in firms with South African investments.

The pending legislation would prohibit pension funds from the $\$ 25$ billion Public Employees Retirement System and the $\$ 13$ billion State Teachers Retirement System from being invested in stocks or bonds of firms doing business in South Africa.

## College sells shares

NEW YORK - Dartmouth College has announced that it is selling about R 4 million in shares in two companies that have business dealings with
against apartheid continued at Cornell and the University of California.
Elsewhere, nine people were arrested in Atlanta after an anti-apartheid protest at IBM's stockholders' meeting, and the Iowa legislature approved a bill to require divestment of state funds invested in companies doing business with South Africa because of apartheid.

Dartmouth trustees decided to sell holdings in the Republic Bank of Dallas and KimberlyClark Corp, said college president David McLaughlin.

The sales are not a response to campus pressure but are in line with the college's policies on investments in businesses with South African holdings, he said.

The college says the bank has indicated a willingness to lend to South Africa while KimberlyClark, which owns 39 percent of Carlton Paper Corp, has failed to demonstrate to the college that Carlton was complying with the Sullivan Principles.

In California, the mayor of Berkeley, an Oakland councilman and an Alameda County su; pervisor were arrested with nine other people at the Berke- it ley campus for blocking public entrances to.. University Hall, the headquarters for the University of California system. - AP.
 supports programme of action against SA ,

LONDON: - MMr Neil Egramme includes:
 the Labour Party, Thas breaking of diplomatic given his full support to selations, with South Afthe Anti-Apartheid Movement's radical, tiopoint programme of taction against South Africa. $x^{2}$ A.
At a meeting with Archbishop: Trevor Huddleston, president of the movement, Mr Kinnock also agreed to speak at the rally the movement is planning for Trafalgar Square on June 16 as a protest against the South African 'Government's "repression".
Today, Archbishop Huddleston is to see Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary.

He will urge 'Sir Geof frey to take action on the basis of the 10 -point programme in an effort to end apartheid in South Africa and to bring SWA/Namibia to independence under United Nations Resolution 435.

A ban on all new investment in ${ }^{-1}$ South Africa and on the sale of Kruger Rands in Britain. .

- The end of Government promotion of trade with South Africa.
- A ban on the sale of North Sea oil to South Africa.


## AGREEMENT

- The strengthening of the arms embargo.
- The end of the novisa agreement between Britain and South Africa.
- A ban on imports of coal and uranium from South Africa, together with a programme to end British dependence on South African minerals.
- A ban on the purchase of South African goods by Government departments.
 - occommittee thearing when andattempt by one of
"them to soften Sanctions slegislation against
${ }^{2}$ South Alrica wajas éjected by Democrats. :
期After the



$\therefore$ Before it ereaches the floorsof the House, it must go through the formality of iapproval by the House wForeign Affairs Committee - 4 probably tomorrow.
$\because$ "The Kennedy-Grayłegislation would ban US bank soloans to the SA Government sand its corporations, "ezprohibit new ; iprivate American investment in SA, "sustop the sale of kruger Rands in the US, and bar the export of American computers to SA unless they are vinfor schools. thaty
A A similar biill nas been introduced in the US Sen-
 thathe hearing was a joint sitting of two House subecommittees that deal with African affairs and international trade. Both have "Democratic majorities



## Recently visited SA

After a number of technical amendments to the Kennedy-Gray Bill had been approved, Congressman Mark Siljander, a conservative Republican who recently visited South Africa, outlined anti-apartheid legislation of his own af empt
It, too, envisages tough sanctions against SA * but only if a specially-appointed commission finds after three years that no substantial progress has been made in eliminating apartheid
If that is its finding, it can recommend all the sanctions in the Kennedy-Gray Bill as well as "changes in diplomatic relations". The Bill includes forced adherence by US companies to the Sullivan Code and the funding of millions of dollars to help black education, trade unions, business and political advancement.
The Democrats rejected the measure immediately, saying that after 37 years of Nationalist rule it was a waste of time to spend three years studying apartheid which had just got worse. The time for sanctions was now.
Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York said the Siljander measure was a classic example of the thinking that had produced the Reagan policy of constructive engagement - "too little and too late".
Congressman Howard Wolpe of Michigan said it was merely a way of trying to avoid sanctions. But sanctions were needed this year as the US answer to increased oppression in SA which included police brutality, the charging of 16 UDF members with high treason and the firing of 21000 black workers after a strike.

As soon as the measure was rejected, Congressman Siljander walked out, joined by his Republican colleagues, Congressmen Dan Burton of Indiana and Michael DeWine of Ohio.


## Worla Briefs

Sow Ha COMS 85 committee yoted this week to prohibit Tuture state pension investments in any of the 350 American firms that do business in'South Africa
"US investments maintain the apartheid system by providing South Africa with much of the capital needed to maintain the economy and make sure whites , enjoy a high standard of living," assembly woman"Maxine Waters told the Public Investments Financéand Bönded Indebtedness Committeéa The comnittee voted $7-5$ to send her'bill to the ways and means committee - Sapa-AP:
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$\qquad$
$\qquad$

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## US ${ }^{\text {ctseg }}$ call for SA sanctions

WASHINGTON. - Two foreign affairs sub-committees of the House of Representatives yesterday approved economic sanctions against South Africa in an attempt to pressure it to abandon apartheid.
The bill, approved on a voice vote, would prohibit new US investments in the country and bar the sale of computers or $\epsilon$ bank loans to the government. It also would halt importation of South African gold coins into the US.
The sanctions are contained in one of more than 20 bills condemning apartheid that have been introduced into the House this year. Similar measures are pending in the Senate.
Last year, the House approved similar proposals but failed to win Senate approval
However, this yeare there is wider support intu both houses with grow-o ing criticism of apartheid in the US since the virtually daily demon? strations began at these South African Embassyid


## By RENEE MOODIE

THE United States Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, yesterday said he was confident President Ronald Reagan would stand firm against pressure for disinvestment, but called for the help of South African business in the battle against disinvestment.
Giving the keynote address at the opening of a twoday conference on social responsiblity in business organized by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa (PRISA), Mr Nickel said a diminished American role in South Africa would neither aid the reform process nor be helpful to joint efforts at regional stabilization.
Addressing about 150 businessmen, academics and public relations experts from all over the country, Mr Nickel said: "We need to be able to say to the American people that progress is being made in South Africa.
"We need to be able to say that black employees of your companies have access to housing, educational opportunities and goods and services consistent with their salaries.

## Straitjacket of apartheid

Mr Nickel said there was probably no place in the world in which the social responsibility of business had faced greater challenges than South Africa.
He said it was not surprising that South African companies had been in the forefront of the reform process, as business could not thrive within the straitjacket of apartheid.
"Apartheid remains the single greatest barrier between the South Africa of today and the bright economic future which we all hope tomorrow will bring. How corporations respond to that challenge will shape and instruct your future, the region's future and the future of our relationship."
Mr Nickel said mounting political pressurean the US to "do something in South Africa refle"ctedlsome of the deepest aspirations of the American political consensus" and it spoke for the millions of Americans who found apartheid morally repugnant and politically insensitive.



Senator Edward Kennedy

## Pik denies SA is downgrading links with US

## Parliamentary Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has strongly rejected reports that South Africa is downgrading its links with the United States by appointing a comparatively younger man as Ambassador to Washington.

The appointment of Mr Herbert Beukes, 43, who was the number two at the Embassy, was announced yesterday. He is to replace Dr Brand Fourie, who took over the post after retiring as Director General of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Responding to reports that the US considered the appointment as a downgrading of links, Mr Botha said: "Any suggestion of this nature amounts to an insult to the South African diplomatic service."

Mr Beukes joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1966 after working as a lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch and as a journalist on the Burger.

By NEIL LURSSEN
Argus Foreign Service WASHINGTON - A plan to impose economic sanctions on South Africa passed an important milestone in the US House of Representatues when the House Foreign Affalrs Committee approved il by 29 votes to six.

The measure adopted was the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985 - the key effort this year by Democrats, with some Republican support, to punish South Africa for its race policies.

The Act, introduced in the House by Congressman Bill Gray of Pennsylvania and in the Senate by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. has four main provisions

- A ban on bank loans to the South African Government and its corporations;
- An end to new US investment in the private sector;
- A prohibition on Kruger Rand sales in the US;
- A ban on the export of US computers.


## Easy hurdle

Four Republicans were among the 29 members who voted for the sanctions. All six opponents were Republicans.
The sanctions face only one more easy hurdle in the lower chamber of Congress. They must go to the vote on the floor of the House where approval is a certanty. Congressional sources say this could happen in as little as two weeks.
House approval does not mean that the sanctions will become law. They must still get through the US Senate, where their fate is less certain.

While the House committee was approving the sanctions, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were examining them in another committee room.

At this meeting, Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's chief Africa policy-maker, had an acrimonious exchange with Democratic Senator Paul Sarbannes of Maryland.

When Senator Sarbannes, a persistent critic of constructive engagement, asked how Dr Crocker could defend his policy when thousands were demonstrating against it, Dr Crocker retorted: "There are a lot of people that are on the moral equivalent of a free lunch"the implication being that they had no personal stake in the situation in South Africa.

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## Ford stops production during PE plant strikes

Argus Bureau<br>PORT ELIZABETH. - Ford Motor Company is to close down its entire manufacturing operation here next week because of strikes this week at component supplers.

Only administration sections will continue to function.

This week workers at two Eastern Cape motor component industries downed tools over the same wage issue that halted production at the three motor manufacturing plants.

Mr Bob Kernohan, Press relations manager at Ford, said the company was critically short of vital parts and by early today assembly lines were cripplingly slow.
He said the shortage of parts was a result of industrial action at component manufacturing industries, and Ford had no option but to close its plants from noon today.

## VOLKSWAGEN

As Volkswagen SA's entire range consisted of front-wheeldrive vehicles it had not been affected by the plant closure at Borg Warner, which manufactures rear driving axles, Mr Graham Hardy, communications' manager at VW, said today.

Production at Borg Warner in Utenhage ground to a halt yesierday when workers downed tools after demanding an interim wage increase. Borg Warner supplies rear driving axles to General Motors and Ford.

Mr Bob Holcombe, treasur-er-controller at Borg Warner, said the company had suffered "substantial losses" since the workers went on strike at midday yesterday. Management would negotiate with shop stewards over the interim wage increase today, he said.
It could not be established whether General Motors would whether forced to close, but it is believed that the company's production will be affected.


THE US disinvestment campaign is beginning to take its toll on South African trade.

The director of Export Trade and Promotions, Mr Sarel Kruger, warned yesterday that boycott action had led certain influential distributors in the US to shy away from marketing SA products.
Speaking at a Johannesburg seminar on export trade to the US, he said growing anti-SA feeling was manifesting itself.
"We can already detect a restraining influence on trade brought about by the new Country of Origins regulations which came into operation on January 1," he said.

Other examples were the relatively small advertising budgets and the reluctance of SA firms to use more aggressive promotional methods; the relatively high freight costs especially on "low priced-high volume" products, the high cost of air travel and other inhibiting factors.

The US, he said, had become SA's most important export market with Switzerland, Japan and Britain ranking second, third and fourth respectively.
SA, however, supplied only $0,78 \%$ of the United State's total imports in 1983 and ranked 23 rd in importance tas an overseas supplier.
"The US is the greatest single mar-- ket in the world and it is abundantly clear the market offers vast potential for SA exporters provided they do not shrink from the political turmoil which our country is facing in parts of the US."
An analysis of the Top 10 ' commodities in SA's export trade with the US, he said, showed that non-ferrous metals, Krugerrands, non-metallic mineral manufactures, steel and inorganic chemicals represented more than $80 \%$ of the total exports to the US in 1984. A diversification of our export package to the USA should therefore receive top priority.
Mr Kruger said the strength of the

## By WINNIE GRAHAM

US economy had increased the buying power of that country so much there was now talk of the imposition of an import surcharge. The relatively low -ruling rand/dollar exchange rate as compared with other curencies, however, still made South African products very competitive as far as foreign puchases in that country were concerned.
Inspite of these inhibitions, he added, South African exporters were showing increased interest in the US market and American firms were also interested in our products.
He listed these export commodities as having shown increases over the past five years. South African exporters could make even bigger inroads: PRODUCT

1984 (\$ MILLION)
Fruit and vegetables $\qquad$ 46,9 Raw textile fibres and waste (excluding wood top
Organic chemicals. $\qquad$ 24,7 inorganic chemicals 17,0
......... 160,7 Yarns, fabrics, textile articles ....... 12,6 Wearing apparal, accessories........ 18,7 Leather.......................................................... 6,8

The chairman of Barlow Rand, Mr Warren Clewlow, who is vice-chairman of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, told the seminar, however, that the campaign was "heightening US interest in Sonth Africa".

Some South African exporters had substantially increased their business with the United States, particularly foodstuffs, chemicals and allied products, textiles, clothing and materials.

Speaking during the seminar, Mr Ronnie Lubner, the chief executive of Solaglas International, said that the depressed economy provided "the worst possible conditions" for South African companies, to embark on an export drive.
South Africans turned to exports when business was bad hoping it would provide the "magic" that would set things right.
"But companies should look at exports when conditions are good and the rand is at 80 cents to the dollar,n he said. "If they succeed then, they will have proof they will succeed when times are normal."


Police have arrested 112 anti-apartheid protesters who were blocking. the entrances to University Hall, headquarters of the University of California system in Berkeley.

Those arrested were
part of a crowd of about 1000 student demonstrators demanding that the sprawling nine-campus system of the University of California divest the R3,4-billion it has invested in corporations that operate in South Africa.

Also arrested were Angela Davis, the radical activist of the 1960s and 70s (shown raising her fist in the picture) and the Rev Cecil Williams, a prominent San Francisco. civil rights campaigner. Both had addressed the
demonstration.
The arrests, almost all of which were voluntary, bring to 391 the number of arrests at the university's Berkeley campus. alone since the antiapartheid protest started there on April 10.
firms that a group of employers known as the Ezakheni Employers' Association, with few exceptions, pay similar wages. By contrast, employers in Ladysmith proper generally pay much higher wages.
Lasher Tools, for example, a US company and Sullivan Code signatory, pays a starting wage of R77,85/week compared with Tidwell's new average weekly wage of around R23. Dunlop pays R76,95/week.

Tidwell MD Richard Rebone claims the examples quoted by Mawu are not representative. He says he has yet to see an accurate survey of the average wage paid by Ladysmith industrialists. Moreover, he believes that the wages paid by Tidwell at Pieters are "higher than most, if not the highest, in the region when all things are considered." In addition, he says he has tried without success to get guidelines from government on recommended minimum wages.
Predictably, Tidwell's wage policy has brought it into conflict with the union which has been organising its workers. When workers confronted management with wage demands during a work stoppage last year, five shop stewards, and later the entire work force, were fired. Some were selectively reemployed but Schreiner claims others with union connections were debarred.
Mawu is now suing the company in the Durban Supreme Court for their reinstatement under a clause in the Wage Act which provides that workers may not be victimised for union activities. While most labour law has been suspended at Pieters, Schreiner contends that the Wage Act is still applicable.
That may be arguable. But the matter is deemed sufficiently serious to attract the attention of the American Embassy which officially supports adherence to the Sullivan principles. Labour attaché Nicholas Stigliani says he and the company have exchanged views. But as the matter is a "private one between the union and the company," he says there is little the embassy can do besides "offering some moral suasion."

An important argument here, of course, is that it seems more important for people to have a job, even at underpaying Tidwell, than to have no job at all.
can base metals proin giant South Afri tain on the marketucer Black Mouni according to market for about $\$ 75 \mathrm{~m}$ A deal coild senior group source next two monthis
A spokesminns.
Africa - which Gold Fields of South $55,4 \%$ of -the equity owns remaining scribed Black equity - last night' de company of its kind in tha "the leading
He added. "Not in the world today" companies are making suy base meta The mine was thing such profits." base metals' mines star of the GFSA quarter mith mines in the December
Sales reveni $43 \%$. rise in net profit R34,7m for the period jumped by $25 \%$ to net profit moved frod (1984:R27,8m) and The chairmed from R8m to R11,7m George Munrön of Pheips Dodge," Mr parties" - all were looking to buy the inter the US -north-west Cape mine the interest in the
the
ers' Phelps Dodge has industry observ short of cash for some time and is bavely ing at torrid time in the US cond is hav,
Mr. Munroe declined to reveal the identities of the suitors or the price "wiell asked, although he said that it was "wello over R100m".
He saí
He said. Black Mountain had been an ning and: had operatiom the beginmade givo money.

Z By patinck McioughLin 4 His con
His company dion and in the dicovered the or boa agreement with GFSA entered, intookn came majority GFSA Which then be agers of ority stockholders and man-

Bla project
from the Mountain was highly geared
costs were start (initial developient when South Africed at about R190m) but rising it had a lot io covest rates began "It's now a lot to cover ably that will be reflected so presim We get." wo reflected in the price Mr Munroe said that there was question of GFSA - which in no the original share which in terms of has first right of refusal - being able to match the offers of the other intabe to mining groups. But it was a question of GFSA's evaluation of the selling price - Asked if another South African mining house were among the suitors min- Mr Muinroe said:" "It's possible."
Mr Dru Gnodde, chairman of Blac GFSA GFSA, said his group was not negotiating with Phelps Do dge, but was waiting for the group to "come to us" "
"Black Mountain has been in Mand out of profits for 'along time. In' the last two quarters it made just under R12m'a quarter.
We would hope it-will ${ }^{4}$, cant profits this prices remoin year if base meta terms," he said.


By RIAAN DE VILLIERS Labour Reporter THE Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) supported the current disinvestment campaign against South Africa as it believed that "pressures of this kind should be brought to bear on the government", a top Fosatu official declared last night.
Fosatu would also "wholeheartedly" süpport total disinvestment - including the withdrawal of foreign companies at present operating in South Africa-if it could be given the assurance that this would bring about the changes desired by workers, Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of the powerful federation of independent unions, said.
However this was "unclear" and it had "reservations", about whether these changes would be brought about by disinvestment alone.

Spelling out official Fosatu policy on the is-
sue for the first time within South Africa, Mr Foster said it was also "not in favour" of the withdrawal of foreign companies operating in South Africa at this stage.
"We have a lot of members at foreign companies such as Ford, Generalv.Motors and Volkswagen. We have no mandaté from our members there to say they must iwithdraw, and it would màke no sense to advocate their withdrawal at this stage
"Workers" have a vested interest in those factories; and we in fact belevewe arepart-owners of those factories.
"In any case, I don't think workers would want to inherit a bankrupt country," he said.
But he added that Fosatu might call for their withdrawal in future if this came to be "in the interests of workers".
Mr Foster's comments followed widespread interest in a speech on the issue by another top $\mathrm{Fo}^{\text {- }}$
satu official this week
Mr Alec Erwin, Fosatu's national education secretary, reportedly told a Durban audience that foreign multinational companies in South Africa should not be allowed to pull out their investments. They had become part of the ocial structure and should remain.
"The workers helped build companies like Ford," he was quoted as saying, and added that he did not believe that withdrawal of foreign investments would correct South Africa's problems. Mr Foster said yesterday his remarks reflected offical Fosatu policy as determined by internal discussions

## Incorrect

He confirmed that these were the first public statements on the issue by Fosatu officials but added that he had stated Fosatu policy in these terms on "numerous occasions" overseas.

He said Mr Erwin's reported remarks "broadly" reflected thist policy. "But any impression the report may havécreated that Fosatu is opposed to disinvestment "is incorrect;" he added.
Prominent irade unionists in the Western Cape yesterday expressed interest in the statement bút would not comment. : Mr, Erwirp could not be contacted for further comment.


NEW YORK - Forty-six elderly people were arrested yesterday incan anti-apartheid protest in Berkeley, California, and three men were arrested in Boston when they de monstrated against the sale of Krugerrands.
In Florida, ${ }^{\text {, }}$ legislators voted 5 -2 for a plan that would have the State disinvest nearly R3,6 billion in holdings among companies that do business in South Africa and $\mathbf{T e}$-invest in other companies.
Three people were-arrested in Boston on charges of trespassing at the currency exchange firm Deak-Perera after a sit-in to protest, the sale of Krugerrands. «,
A.rally was .planned for Friday at Rutgers University, New York where students plan to demonstrate outside a board of governors meeting. --Sapa-AP.:



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A rally was planned for Friday at Rutgers University, New York, where students plan to demonstrate outside a board of governors meeting. - Sapa-AP.


Wh: WSHINGTON - Pension fund officials in 20 US states and cities have sold more than companies in the past two years in the name of divestment in South Africa.
The companies include IBM, Exxon, Gen-
eral Electric and General Motors.
The officials have taken a gamble by enormous liabilities and must increasingly rely on investment income to pay retirement benefits owed to millions of American workers.
The movement is spreading. At least 20 more states and cities are considering proposed divestment legislation.
Even proponents of divestment acknowledge that it can be a risky strategy, both more harm to public retirement systems in the US than to South Africa, where American business accounts for only about three percent of all investments.

The question is whether divested public pension funds can meet legal obligations to beneficiaries while satisfying the concerns of apartheid foes. Can they generate the income they need if they are prohibited from investing in the more than 30 percent of America's blue chip corporate giants that do business in South Africa?

The firms represent nearly 50 percent of the market value of America's major corporations.
Critics argue that elected officials who call for divestment are putting politics before prudence and abdicating their fiduci-
ary responsibility to the 14 million current and future beneficiaries of public retirement systems.
Supporters and critics of divestment agree that the movement has had some impact on American firms with SA ties.

But there are other signs that divestment has not slowed the pace of investment in SA.

Loans from US banks to the private sector in South Africa rose from $\$ 608$ million in 1981 to $\$ 939$ million by the end of 1984, says the Federal Reserve.

One response to all the political and economic uncertainties surrounding the divestment movement has been partial divestment by some states and cities, such as Connecticut and New York City.

They have adopted policies enabling them to retain investments in companies that follow a voluntary code, the Sullivan Principles, that calls on them to practise fair employment and work for an end to racial discrimination.

One of the most comprehensive critiques of total divestment was published early this year by the Investor Responsibility Research Group, a Washington organisation founded 13 years ago to inform churches and foundations on how corporations were responding to social policy issues.

The critique summarised nine reports by financial analysts on divestment and concluded that for state and local pension funds "divestment will have a detrimental effect over the long-term on portfolio performance". - Washington Post.
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## $\therefore$ 论Political Staff

 "MR ${ }^{\prime}$ HORACE"van Rensburg MP (Bryanstion) is sout step with the Progressive Federal Partyscaucus again - this time sover a trip to the United 'States to oppose the disinvestment"campaign.- Mr van Rensburg informed the PFP caucus only days before he was due to leave that he was to be sponsored on a trip to the US by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The leader of the PFP.;Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today the caucus decided that although it was in favour of actively fighting disinvestment, it could not support the use of Government money to pay for trips to do so.
...scrt was felt it would be more effective if we did so under our own steam and terms," he said.

Eve of departure
"This was conveyed to him virtually on the eve of his departure and he had obviously made a number of arrangements by that stage which he could not cancel."

Mr van Rensburg today declined to comment.
Smirvan Rensburg and his - Wife, Mrs Pat van Rensburg, the MPC for Bryanston and a Randburg town councillor, have been a source of controversy in the PFP for-some


They failed to attend the PFP Transvaal congress last year, following Mrs van Rensburg's suspension from the PFP Randburg town council caucus over a dispute on mixed amenities in the town. She was later re-admitted.

The MP for Bryanston is known to be on the conservative wing of what he himself has termed the "PFP coalition".



WASHINGTON - While a major American pontical research group claimed in a new study that disinvestment would strengthen rather than weaken apartheid, activists today forced a Washington shop selling Krugerrands to close its doors for the second day.

These are were among the latest developments in the growing row over US ties with SA as concerned groups on either side of the issue try to influence the US congressional debate on economic sanctions.
Others include a decision by Washington's Smithsonian Institution to examine its investments in companies that do business with South Africa, and a vote by the trustees of Georgetown University here to liquidate their investments in companies that fail to sign the Sullivan Code.
The new study on disinvestment comes from the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based "thinktank" with strong ties to the Reagan Administration.
Noting that few, if any, Americans defended SA's "brutalising racial separation", the study said that disinvestment would be a serious mistake.
The report said: "It would penalise SA's blacks and actually make the dissolution of apartheid more difficult. Disinvestment is based on a a misreading of the process of change in SA, and an historically un justified confidence in the effectiveness of boycotts."


## Argus Foreign Service

LOS ANGELES. - The author of the Sullivan Code, the Rev Leon Sullivan, has called for a total US economic embargo on South Africa "if apartheid has not ended legally - and in practice - within the next 24 months".

Mr Sullivan has also demanded that, in the meantime, a variety of economic sanctions should be used to exert pressure on those US companies that fail to comply with the code to leave South Africa.
Writing in the Los Angeles Times, he says: "I would rather see 50 US companies remain in South Africa aggressively promoting equal rights, and actively opposing apartheid, than 300 firms using the Sullivan Principles as camouflage for business as usual."
Mr Sullivan, a Philadelphia minister; civil rights activist and the first black member of the board of directors of General Motors - initiated the Sullivan Code eight years ago as a means to exert pressure on US firms to push for social change.

## Tougher demand

Essentially the principles are an equal rights code designed to improve the living standards of black employees of American firms in South Af-


A tougher demand which re quires US companies to active:
ly lobby againșt apartheid was recently added.
The adoption of a time-table to impose a total US economic embargo, which reflects a new, politically more vigorous stance, does not mean that he has abandoned his own guidelines.

He believes the Sullivan Code is working and that it is responsible for having started "a revolution in industrial race relations across South Africa".
But, he writes, "the pace of change is far too slow.'

Mr Sullivan notes that more than 100 US companies in South Africa still do not support the principles, and that some that claim to be supporters are dragging their feet.

## Leave South Africa .

He adds: "All US companies should fully implement the principles, and those that fail to do so should be pressured to leave South Africa."
Mr Sullivan calis on' the US Congress to make the new version of the principles mandatory for all American companies in South Africa, "backed by embargoes, sancetions and other penalties" for "non-compliance".
He further calls for a moratorium on all US economic expansion in South Africa iuntil apartheid is officially ended
"There should be an end to the sale of the Kruger Rands in this country, and to the sale of any US equipment, materials or services to the militáary or police, backed by Congress with embargoes, sanctions and other penalties.
Mr Sullivan adds:" "It. is clear now that a timetable niseces sary for conclusive action in South Africa. Lives are being lost daily, and the nation is on the threshold of revolition "It is my view "ht int it vapartheidhias not ended legally - and in practice - within the next 24 months, South Africa should be faced with a total US - economic embargo, which I hope would be followed by other nations."

NEW YORK: - The creator of the Sullivan principles is now calling for full American economic sanctions against South Africa if apartheid is not "legally" and actually" ended within 24 months. This Śhouild include a total withdrawal of Américan büsiness, says the'Rev Leon Sullivan, who maintainis his équalrights code for United States business is' working, but not fast enough. In an re-appraisal published yesterday, he supported proposed bills to ban new US investment in the Republic but also urged Congress to make the recently-amplified Sullivan principles mandatory for all US com panies in South Africa "backed up with embargoes, sanctions and other penalties for non-compliance".
He urged that nonAmerican companies active in both the Republic and the US "should be required to follow"stringent equal rights principles in South Africa; or face severe US importrestraints"

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WSows the author of the Sullivan Cotes, the Re Eeon H Sullivan, in his corporate responsibility in South Africa.
": Mr Sullivan has also demanded that in the meantime, a variety of economic sanctions should be used to pressure those US companies that fail to comply with the Sullivan Code to leave South Africa.
In an article in the Los Angeles Times, he writes: "I would rather see 50 US companies remain in South Africa aggressively promoting equal rights, and actively opposing apartheid, than 300 firms using the Sullivan Principles as camouflage for business as usual."
'Mr Sullivan - a Philadelphia minister, civil rights activist and the "first black member of the board of directors of General Motors Corporation - initiated the Sullivan Principles eight years ago as a means of persuading American firms to push for social change.
Essentially the principles are an equal-rights code that is designed to improve the living standards of blackiemployees of American firms in South Africa.
A tougher demand which requires US companies to actively lobby against apartheid was added recentHy.
Mr Sullivan's adoption of a time-

the pace of change is far too slow... far more must be done by US and foreign firms".

table to impose a total US economic embargo, which reflects a new, politically more vigorous stance, does not mean that he has abandoned his own guidelines.
He believes that the code is working and is responsible for having started "a revolution in industrial race relations across South Africa".
But, he writes: "The pace of change is far too slow ... far more must be done by US and foreign firms - and much, much faster."
Mr Sullivan notes that more than 100 US companies in South Africa still do not support the principles and that some that claim to be supporters are dragging their feet.
He says: "All US companies should fully implement the principles, and those that fail to do so
should be pressured to leave South Africa through total divestment actions, stockholder resolutions, boycotts or other means."

Mr Sullivan calls on Congress to make the new version of the code mandatory for all American companies in South Africa, "backed by embargoes, sanctions and other penalties for non-compliance".
He further calls for a moratorium on all US economic expansion in South Africa until apartheid is officially ended.
"There should be no new investments or bank loans to the South African Government or its agenicies," he writes. "There should be an ", end to the sale of the Krugerrand in this country and to the sale of any US equipment, materials or services to the military or police, backed by Congress with embargoes, sanctions and other penalties.
Mr Sullivan concludes: "It is clear now that a timetable is necessary for conclusive action in South Africa. Lives are being lost daily and the nation is on the threshold of revolution.
"It is my view... that if $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{p}}$ apartheid has not ended legally - andin practice - within the next 24 months, South Africaushoula be faced with a total US economicembargo, which I hope would be for lowed by other nations.': ${ }^{\prime \prime \prime}$

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There si wioquestion in my mind that South African companies have been int: the This'is hardly surprising, for business cannot thrive within the straitjacket of apartheid, an essentially pre-industrial political ideology which in $_{r}$ many respects runs counter to the functional requirements of an expanding industrial society.
Most of the corporations which have institutionalised policies of corporate social responsibility have done so in the belief that racism and an efficient free enterprise system don't mix.

Most of these corporations have come to realise that a stable, welleducated, well-housed labour force is a productive, highly motivated partner in the production process. By adopting such views you have given the lie to those who argue, on ideological principle, against "investing in apartheid".

It' is unfortunate, but perhaps understandable, that in years past black employees have identified their companies' public silence with acquiescence in and support for the system of apartheid.

Certainly no one would maintain that, before the emergence of heightened corporate commitment to community development and worker welfare; there was no validity to this black resentment (and we must acknowledge that there are still employers unwilling to face up squarely to their corporate responsibility).

But the evolution of worker/employee relations in this country puts the lie to the notion, expressed by some, that business presence here is; in the Marxist terminology often chosen to express it, simply "capitalist exploitation".
That simplistic description does justice neither to the efforts of the companies nor to the strides made by emerging trade unions. It is a resort to"the kiñd of rhetoric which obscures the real issues and thereby complieates the search for solutions.
One of the vehicles you have created as a demonstration of your concern in the Urban Foundation which has - been instrumental in achieving progress in such key areas as the - rights of black South Africans to own property and recognition of black permanence in what used to be called white urban areas.

I believe that additional solutions are available to those with the courage to seek a new equilibrium between society and the corporate structure.

The EEC and Sullivan Codes are common ground on which societal concerns, economic rationality and corporate self-interest meet.

They are a moral embodiment of corporate needs, a vital test of sincerity in a society whose majority requires proof that the Marxists are

# Nickel calls forthelp to combat disinvestenent 



Nickel . . . "the job is not finished".
wrong and, equally important, they are a promise held out by the best of business thinking to a concerned world.

The codes are also a medium for business to communicate with government. While corporations have no political mandate, they have every right to inform political leadership about their needs.

The latest iteration of the Sullivan Code, which calls on American companies to engage in active lobbying against apartheid laws, has raised some eyebrows. However, American companies, as corporate citizens and as South African taxpayers, also have a right to make their concerns known.
In this respect the American Chamber of Commerce has taken the same line as that set out by several South African employers' organisations in United States Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel spoke at the
recent conference on social responsibility of business held
by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa. This
is an edited version of that address. no way to justify fewer job opportunities in the Republic when more are so desperately needed.

Even those who would propose lim-ited-period disinvestment are more than a little disingenuous and unrealistic - the argument that investment can be turned off now to be turned on again at some undefined future date requires more than normal dose of economic naivete.

Disinvestment presents itself as a "moral" rather than a political policy. It arrogates to itself exclusivity in the battle against discrimination and labels those who oppose it as mere participants in the system motivated by nothing more than the desire for profit.

It is not well thought through with respect to its political consequences and takes little account of our joint efforts to create regional security in Southern Africa.
atit is also poorly thought through in terms of applied morality. For in applied morality one has to consider the likely results of a policy. Good intentions, as we all know, pave the way to hell.
But there is a second fact which I must bring to your attention. The mounting political pressure to "do something" is real and reflects some of the deepest aspirations of the American political consensus.

## 'The simple fact is that racism and efficient, modern capitalism cannot co-exist.'

making representations to the Government.

One of the most important reasons for expressing these views now is that the best way to fight disinvestment is to produce positive news from South Africa.

In the face of calls for punitive economic measures, whose effect we see as primarily negative, the word that fair labour practices aimed at overcoming a bitter heritage of repression are at work in South Africa is an antidote.

We believe that support for enlightened business practice in South Africa

It speaks for the millions of Americans who find apartheid morally repugnant, politically insensitive and a moral issue on which the Manichean confrontation of good and evil is the only possible outcome.

The desire to "do something" affects even those who accept that disinvestment is not the way to go. In their search for doing something positive, they focus on making the Sullivan Code mandatory.
I do not believe that this step is desirable either. The very success of Sullivan Code compliance is based on the code's voluntary nature; manda-
about a confrontation between the companies and the enforcers.
In that game, the biggest ${ }_{\text {plosers }}$ would be, I fear, the people that the code is designed to help.:
The political consequences of disinvestment are not appealing. Anything which diminishes the Anderican role in South Africa is not, at this juncture; helpful to our mutual efforts regional stabilisation.

A diminished American role in South Africa will not aid the reform process already under way.: I amconfident that President Reagan "will: stand firm. But having outlined, the views of those who would. fimit American involvement in this market, I ask you again for your help. in making the battle easier for us. "

We need to be able to say to' the American people that. progress is being made in South Africa. We'néed to be able to say that black employees of your companies have aceessity housing, educational opportunities, goods and services consistent with their salaries.

We need to be able to confront the proponents of disinvestment with the news that equal skill levels in South" African industry receive equal pay, regardless of race.

We need to be able to say that South African industry has moved forthrightly into the modern eratos industrialisation and has,come tot the understanding that its"future success' is based in large measure onits abilio ty to out-produce competitors through: the creation of a stable, trained and highly-motivated labour force.

We need to be able to repore progress in restoring to black workers. the family life which apartheid regut lations have torn apart.

I believe that in South Africa you have demonstrated, for the most part, a real commitment to social change.
The job is not yet finished. Apart: heid remains the single greatest bait: rier between the South Africa of today. and the bright economic future which we all hope tomorrow will bring.

How corporations respond to that' challenge will shape and instruct youit future, the region's future and the future of our relationship.


By Frank Jeans
South Africa's bid to host international conferences received a setback this week with the sudden cancellation of a major conference which would have brought to this country world experts in the field of newspaper production.
The big get-together of representatives of companies operating Goss Metro printing presses was scheduled for October this year, but the sponsor, US giant Rockwell International, producer of the Goss machines, has informed the Metro Users Association of Southern Africa that the conference has been called off.
The official reason? "Lack of international support."
It is thought, however, that the underlying cause of the cancellation has been the recent build-up of political pressure in the US and Britain.

The sudden call-off has resulted in an estimated R50000 loss through cancellation fees for hotel bookings and functions in Sandton and Cape Town for about 250 delegates as well as a Blue Train trip - and picking up the bill will be Rockwell and its South African agent, Haddons.
It would have been the third world-wide quality productivity conference for newspaper production men.
The first was in Newcastle, the second in Miami. The South Africa meeting would have been specially significant because this country is acknowledged as a world leader in the field of newspaper colour reproduction.

Mr David Murray, chairman of the Metro Users Association of Southern Africa, says: "We are very disappointed and frustrated at this turn of events."


# $10 / 5$ for - 12 <br> Retrenchments cut by 140 after negotiations <br> JOHANNESBURG. - One of the most 

successful union negotiations in reducing retrenchments has been achieved by the Food Beverage Workers Union, a Cusa affilinate. with the Coca-Cola Bottling Companies of the East and West Rand.
Union spokesmen, who met with Coca-Cola management yesterday said 203 workers from three different Coca-Cola factories had initially been faced with retrenchment. But the company had reduced the intended number to 63 , following further negotiations with the union this week
Spokesmen said the first retrenchment announcements had been made in February and would have affected 104 workers at the Bedfordview and Benrose branches.
After negotiating with the union management reduced the number to 20. The rest of the workers agreed to work on a "rolling-leave system" which entailed taking unpaid leave every sixth week.
Last week Coca-Cola management ( announced that 99 workers would be
retrenched at their Devland branch, but after negotiations only 43 will be affected
Workers had indicated through the unon that they were willing to either go on rolling leave. work every 20 days and forfeit two days of their monthly salary, or put in a limited amount of unpaid overtıme work to save costs.
Union spokesmen said management had also agreed to implement some of the alternatives suggested by the union to save the jobs of remaining workers.
They said these were the first retrenchments by Coca-Cola and an agreement had also been made with agreement had also been made with
the company that there would be no further retrenchments for the rest of the year.

Union officials are still discussing the position with management, but.criteria for retrenchments have been jointly settled upon and consist of a "last in, first out policy", key skills and work attendence records.
Company spokesmen could not be contacted for comment yesterday.
FOPM,
NEW YoRK - Two major cor-


HAS the South African business community decided fighting the United States disinvestment campaign is a lost cause? To judge by what its captains told the U S Council for International Business last week, it certainly looks that way.

A full account of what happened at the conclave in New York's ritzy Harvard Club is impossible because the outside world was barred. The corporate world evidently feels it can only be sincere under conditions that convince everyone else it has something to hide.
In this instance the furtiveness was particularly sad because the South African delegation had a new and unusually important message which if publicly heeded could help, not perhaps to dampen the current seemingly irrevocable American urge to get irrational over South Africa, but certainly to channel it in a more constructive direction.

Delegation
The delegation comprised Arthur Ham-mond-Tooke of the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Afrikaanse
economic sanctions and to be urged to go out and fight the good fight. It didn't happen.
Instead, the South Africans told the Americans that they were reactionaries who should rapidly mend their own ways rather than focusing on the fol lies of the disinvest ment crowd. The sanctions debate in Congress, on campuses and in state and city legislatures concerned a domestic agenda. It was time to focus where the action really was.
The gathering will probably be remembered most for Mafuna's speech. Most who heard it were profoundly disturbed. People generally are when their comfortable prejudices are shattered.
If I read him right, what he was saying was that the old argument against disinvestment, etc - that it hurts those who we are trying to help - had become worse than patronising.
have to become considerably more energetic, if only to avoid strikes and their concomitant unpleasantness.
They must start talk. ing seriously to black leaders and elevating blacks to senior management positions. They must start helping their employees against 'official bureaucracy and excessive intrusion of official policies into (their) work and nonwork lives', must speak up against forced resettlements, and fight for home ownership rights. 'There is little point in protesting that these issues fall outside...business requirements'.
The audience was stunned. In the heated debate that followed it seemed for the first time that it was Americans rather than South Africans using that dreadful phrase 'But you mustunder. stand...', though a fair number agreed. There were some angry
charges of 'political opportunism', naivete and even, privately, of ingratitude. Something slighly more refined had obviously been expected from this black entrepreneur.
The really startling thing, however, was not what Mafuna said, but what his colleagues had said before him. Except that they used the polite dialectic with which South Africa is otherwise always discussed at such gatherings, they had been equally radical.
Steenkamp began his talkonblack unionisation thus: 'I think it's time we stopped congratulating ourselves on (labour reform) and recognised it for what it is - merely the first and most visible manifestation of a much more comprehensive process...there is something basically nonsensical about a line of reasoning which says that man as worker is divisible from man as citizen.'
For good measure, he even quoted Senator Edward Kennedy with approval for his observation that 'to fire workers for striking makes a mockery of any claim to freecollective bargaining.

## * Take a risk

Hammond-Tooke took up the Steenkamp man-as-worker/man-as-citizen line even more bluntly: 'A calculated risk needs now to be taken that the blacks in South Africa are willing to participate in a process of peaceful political development if they are assured of the integ. rity of the country's political processes in whichtheyare bargaining.'

More shocking to the audience, had it been attentive, was his suggestion, foreshadowing Mafuna's, that American business do more or get out. The time had come for a policy of limited' and 'selective'
and tight the good fight: It didn't happen.
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'Then answered the Lord unto Job out of the whirlwind'. - Job 40 v 6.
GOD uses many methods to make known His Will. Emphasis has been laid on 'the still small voice.' and that it is possible to learn the Will of God in the quietly in is a blessed experience to spend time His peace to allow the presce and to experience and to permit your the pressures of life to subside rect order. In the silence you to fall into their corance and healing., and an ever deepening. awareness of God's'L'ove:
If you lead a busy and pressurised life you wilk find consolation in the fact that God spoke to Job in the whirlwind: In the bustle of modern life, where the next task, it seems futile to think that God can make His Will known in such conditions, but He is Lord of all activity as well as the Master of the Silence:....
In life's whirlwind God can guide you, if you seek Him and are prepared to be obedient to His Will. The awareness of His Living Presence can be with you at atl times and underall conditions. Feverish the rush of a busy life you knowing Him if, amid the rush of a busy life, you turn to. Him. You will
find Him waiting to listen to your. Then your haste will become positive and constructive, and you are able to do all things and constructive, and yo
PRAYER THOUGHT; Helpme, Lord, not to allow the busyness of life to separate me from
You: You:
ing itself for tough economic sanctions imposed by the United States Congress to force accelerated reform of apartheid.
The American foreign policy mood is unpredictable (except for the knee-jerk reaction to everything Cuba does), but my impression during a recent visit to Washington was that the threat of serious curbs on American investment in South Africa has passed.
It is hardly necessary to qualify this with the statement that should a large number of blacks die tomorrow in clashes with the police, disin vestment (even trade sanctions) is a real possibility.

## Exacerbating black unemployment

Business leaders in South Africa and the United States have lobbied vigorously against disinvestment on the following grounds:

- Disinvestment will hurt South African blacks, the people it is designed to help, by exacerbating black unemployment.

America has limited leverage and is unable to accelerate the pace of apartheid reform since it is responsible for less than 20 percent of the foreign investment in South Africa
The argument that disinvestment will be counter-productive for evolutionary re form in South Africa has steadily gained ground in recent weeks. A pro-investment attitude draws on the deep-seated American belief shaped by historic experience, that economic growth will produce the rise of a black middle class which will command increasing power and respect on behalf of all blacks.

There is, in fact, no American public consensus for farreaching trade and investment sanctions. A recent Harris poll (conducted, however, before the Uitenhage shootings) showed that majorities in the United States opposed economic sanctions against South Africa: they were against prohibiting bank loans by 51 percent to 41 percent, against blocking new business investment by 54 percent to 39 per ${ }^{1}$ cent, against ending all trade with South Africa by 64 percent to 29 percent and against forcing US businesses to close down South African operations by 76 percent to 18 percent.
There is also a changed perception of the possible effect on South Africa of severe diplomatic and economic sanctions. Initially, there was widespread support for the view that tough American action would "traumatize" South African politics, a reaction that would presumably force Pretoria to face up to the need for power-sharing with blacks.

In recent tumes, the realization has dawned that America has but limited leverage over South Africa. In Congress there is a growing bipartisan


President Reagan . . . difficult veto
approach towards South Africa which has rather more limited objectives.
It above all wants to signal its displeasure with whites and sympathy for blacks. If this has the effect of hardening white attitudes, so be it, for the United States wants to distance itself from apartheid. It is no longer enough for America to profess abhorrence of apartheid, some concrete steps must be taken.
The bill Congress is likely to pass by September is, barring some major atrocity in South Africa, unlikely to contain the economic sanctions suggested by Senators Kennedy and Weicker. The chances are good that it will prohibit new loans to the South African government and state corpora
tions, make it compulsory for US companies to comply with the Sullivan labour code aimed at the desegregation of the workplace and training of blacks and provide American funding (in the region of $\$ 10 \mathrm{~m}$ to $\$ 20 \mathrm{~m}$ ) for black advanced education and training.
"Displeasure with South African whites" may well take the form of cutting down on consulates, withdrawing American military attachés in South Africa and dealing the serious symbolic blow of withdrawing the landing rights of South African Airways.
Experienced Washington watchers believe that President Reagan will find it difficult to veto such a bill if it finds strong bipartisan support as appears likely now.
In economic terms these measures will not affect South Africa much. The jump to a mandatory Sullivan Code is not big. Moreover, American banks have already virtually stopped lending to the South African government and its agencies while greatly increasing their loans to the private sector excluding banks (up from $\$ 495$ billion in 1981 to $\$ 1,1$ billion in 1984) and to banks (up from $\$ 1,08$ billion to $\$ 3,5$ billion in the same period).

## US not unwilling

## to introduce curbs

It is not possible for the South African government to "reloan" from the private sector but it is more likely that it will look for credit in the European money markets.
Compared to what was envisaged a few months ago, this will be a rather limited American response. Instead of actually imposing sanctions, it rather warns that America is not unwilling to introduce curbs, but will for the moment stop at this point.
In mainstream American
politics, the argument is now generally accepted that the threat of sanctions probably has much more effect than would the reality of their implementation.
In the next year or two, most of the action will occur outside Congress. The move to divest institutional funds from American companies with subsidiaries in South Africa has made great strides. On American campuses, South Africa has become the hottest issue since the days of the Vietnam demonstrations.
Since 1976, about 40 universities have sold $\$ 292$ million of stocks in South African-related companies, but this figure is destined to grow dramatically and local governments last year alone divested $\$ 12$ billion of stock from companies involved in South Africa.
These divestment moves have been encouraged by recent findings that they need not be costly. Institutions which sold SA-related stock. tended to switch to high-technology stock which has generally out-performed shares in companies with South African interests.
As yet, this has had no impact on the shares of these companies but there are many companies who worry about how their public image will be affected. Coming on top of the decreasing profitability of their operations in South Africa and their fears concerning our country's stability, the option of selling out is becoming more attractive.
As to the extent that American companies voluntarily withdraw, it will be easier for Congress in future to impose further curbs on US economic and diplomatic ties with South Africa.
South Africa has no reason to be complacent over the softer line Congress is likely to take this year.

## 'US managers veer from (6) SA investments' <br> "They say they're moving into these

NEW YORK. - Managers of precious metals investment funds, flush with fresh cash since the recent run-up in gold, are "steering new money away from South African investments" according to a major report in the influential Wall Street Journal.

According to the report. managers say they are not acting in sympathy with mounting pressure within the United States to shed South African holdings as an anti-apartheid statement.
"But," the Wall StreetJournal report Bds, "they worry that as tensions in adds, South African intensify, culminating recently in a series of strikes by 14000 black miners in Klerksdorp and the bombings of two gold-mining firms holdings of South African gold share are becoming increasingly risky".
The newspaper quotes Mr Howard Ruff, publisher of the Financial Success Report newsletter, as saying: "Six months ago I would have been moving most of my money into South African shares, but now, I'd put three out of every four dollars into North American shares."
It also quotes Mr Marty Mcneill, metals analyst of Dominick and Dominick Inc, a New York brokerage firm, as saying: "Any free money that can be diverted out of South Africa, will be.
The newspaper reports: "While fund managers say they aren't shedding South African holdings, they are aggressively moving new funds into North American, and, in some cases, Australian gold-mining shares.
tocks before individual investors with similar worries buy them and bid up similar worr."
The Wall Street Journal reports: "South Africa's increased political unrest, and subsequent calls for divestment, come at a time when manager have much new cash to invest."
It quotes Mr A D Mcewan, president of CSA Management of Toronto, which manages gold funds totalling US $\$ 190 \mathrm{~m}$ (R380m), as saying: "It's become very unpopular in the US to own South African stocks.
"If this trend continues, it's very possible there going to be a general divestment by US holders, and that could be men worse for the stocks than South even worse Africa's political climate.'
The Wall Street Journal says South African mining officials are not excesAively concerned about the mood at sively stage.
Mr Eugene Sherman, economist and international investment manager of International Gold Corp, an associate company of the South Africa Chamber of Mines, is quoted as saying: "There's always been a certain degree of trepidation in buying South African shares, and that trepidation is heightened now. But managers continue to overcome it."
Mr Sherman predicts that managers will "Move more quickly out of the whares if they get the feeling things are shares if they get the mines," but adds getting worse at the mines, that for now "the shares continue No do well" in relation to bullio

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It is not possible for the South African Government to 'reloan' from the private sector, but it is more likely that it will look for credit in the European money markets.

## A limited response

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In mainstream American politics the argument is now generally accepted that, as William Raspberry phrased it in the Washington Post, the threat of sanctions probably has much more effect than would the reality of their implementation.

In the next year or two most of the action will occur outside Congress. The move to divest institutional funds from American companies with subsidiaries in South Africa has made great strides. On American campuses, South Africa has become the hottest issue since the day of the Vietnam demonstrations.
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## Disinvestment encouraged

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As yet, this has had no impact on the shares of these companies, but there are many companies who worry about how their public image will be affected. Coming on top of the decreasing profitability of their operations in South Africa and their fears concerning our country's stability, the option of selling out is becoming more 'attractive.

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Exert pressure on South Africa, Tutu urges Americans

Sacramento - Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday ugged American politicians to exert $p$ pessire to wine 162 arity toy He avoided specificelly ealli for fecistation requiring disinvestment in companies doing ousiness in South Africa.

He told a packed session of the California legislature: "Please help us exert pressure . . . political pressure, diplomatic pressure, but, above all economic pressure. Stad 4585
"Help us bring about this trenfendous new society." - Sapa-Reuter.

RICHARD COHEN of 'The Washington Post discussed disinvestment with the PFP's financial sp

LAST week H H Schwarz, as his business card reads, was working Capitol Hill, telling Senators and Congressmen that it was a bad idea for American firms to pull out of South Afri-
ca - not a very surprising position for a member of the South African Parliament, you might think.

Harry Schwarz would shoot you a look for suggesting that. He abhors his Government. But he loves his people.
Schwarz, a member of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, is someone you hate to meet. He's a challenger of con victions, a person who hangs question marks on the end of sentences that should end with ringing certainty.

He does this by asking questions himself. This is one of them: Have you ever looked into the face of a man who has no job ?
Schwarz has. It was his father, a German refugee who arrived in South Africa during the depression of the 1930s. He went out one day to seek a job as a clerk at Woolworths and returned still unemployed. Schwarz looked into his father's face and has never forgotten what he saw.

That face many times over would be seen all over South Africa if American corporations pulled out, Schwarz'says. Men and women - most of them black - would be thrown out of work.

The 120000 people working for some 300 US corporations would have to seek work elswhere. They could work no more for firms that, prodded by American civil rights groups, have integrated their workplace and pay equal wages.

These are firms that are teaching skills, that are developing a black middle class and, in the case of IBM, that have established a trade school for blacks.
Why, Schwarz asks, should the blacks of South Africa have to lose jobs so that Americans can make an unambiguous statement about racism - a statement that costs them nothing? What, he asks, is accomplished by simply washing your hands of South Africa so that you can announce you are morally untainted by apartheid, when doing that means the loss of jobs and the disinte gration of families?

Maybe, as some people say, this hardship will forge revolutionaries. The theory is nice The reality of revolution often is not. The two extremes take up arms and those in the middie tend to get mowed down.
Harry Schwarz robs people like me of the satisfaction of unambiguous indignation -'of pretending that the entire South African issue is as easy as being arrested at their embassy.
Maybe the reality and the symbolism of economic sanc-


Mr Harry Schwarz
tions would so jolt the South African Government that it would have to change its policies. And maybe in that case the jobs of a small percentage of the work force is a price worth paying.
But the point that Schwarz makes is that these are hard choices, not easy ones like choosing between good and evil. Morality is always cheap when someone else pays the cost.

This business of either washing your hands of South Africa or punishing it economically is a complicated one. Even black South Africans cannot agree on the proper course.

Of course there is always something to be said for asserting your own morality, for pro-
claiming something so rotten that it cuts through all complications; something so evil that as Tevye discovered in Fiddler on the Roof, sometimes "there is no other hand". A Apartheid ought to be that something. But Schwarz won't permit it:

Schwarz is the other hand personified. He respects university students for their moral indignation, but he wants to tell them it would be best if American corporations remained in South Africa and pressed for reform. It would be best, he says, if the American government consistently denounced apartheid, prodding South Africa to do away with it but exerting pressure in a way that the victims of apartheid do not also become the victims of the anti-apartheid movement.

Schwarz asked: Do you withhold aid from Ethiopia because their government is abhorrent ? Do you let people starve because their rulers are communists?

The questions Schwarz asks, however you answer them, complicate what for many people is the moral equivalent of a free lunch. They look upon the face of racism and find it repugnant.
Schwarz asks that they also look upon the face of an unemployed father. It makes this free lunch no different from any other. It has its price. wards progressive direction and development in industrial community and hope that other companies will see this development in the same light, according to Mr J Mnisi, Saawu's organiser.

Catepillar's general manager Mr Ian Leach said that the company has always promoted the interest of its black workers in terms of its own affirmative action programme and looks forward towards constructive dialogue between the two parties.

The South African Motor Corporation and the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union have - also concluded a new wage andservice agreement for hourly -paid workers at the com'pany'siplant at Silverton, Pretoria.

Samcor and Naawu said, negotiations were conducted in a "constructive atmosphere" and that full cognisance was taken of the depressedstate of the economy and the requirements of the workers.
In a joint statement released in Johannesburg, they said:
"Against this background, we believe that the agreement reached provides in the fairest possible way for the requirements of the company and the members
"The agreement, which takes effect from May 11 for a period of one year, caters for across-the-boardincreases ranging from 15 to 18 cents per hour, depending upon the labour grade.
"This brings the minimum basic wage for the lowest labour grade to R2,45 per hour.
"In addition, workers at the Samcor plant in


Silverton participate in a productivity scheme, which adds another 10 cents per hour to their wages, on reaching 91 percent productivity and can go up to 26 cents per hour on sthe achievement of 110 percent productivity."
SIGNING a recognition agreement are Mr J Mnisi of Saawu and MrI Leach manager of Catepillar company.

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PARIS—Anti-apartheid campaigns in the United States were an 'electoral battlefield' aimed at black voters, President Botha was quoted as saying in an interview published here.
Mr Botha said, however, he did not believe American businessmen American bared to lose money through disinvestment.
The Paris daily newspaper, Le Figaro, published Mr Botha's replies to a series of questions about the current South African situation, headlining its report 'South Africa - a vital stronghold for the free world'.

Asked about the threats of economic sanctions and disinvestment from the U S, he said: 'We have been made into an electoral battlefield by the Democrats and Republicans to please the black voters in America. But are American businessmen ready to withdraw and lose a lot of money I don't think so.
'I can't understand this
negative attitude. If you are a leader of the free world and you want to keep the Soviet Union out of South Africa, then you do not weaken the existing power.
If this country should tip over into the Soviet influence, the world's biggest strategic mineral reserves would be controlled by the communists. South Africa is, therefore, of vital importance to the free world,' Mr Botha said.
Mr Botha said the aim of revolutionaries in South Africa was to wreck the daily life of the black: population.

## Confront

'Their aim, which they have stated publicly, is to make the country ungovernable.'
The only way to restore order, he said, was to confront the revolutionaries, while at the same time developing the country $\nsim$ znomically with new seducational and training systems and new political structures - 'and that is
what we are doing'.
Asked whether he intended releasing Nelson Mandela, he said Mandela had refused to agree to non-violence - 'I think he is under pressure from the communists and the African National Congress, who are forbidding him from accepting my offer. It would be madness on my part to free a man, knowing that he was going to call for insurrection,' he said.
The President described South Africa's relations with black African countries as 'more and more co-operation in all sorts of ways, such as transport and health'. He said the more South Africa was criticised in the United Nations, the more that cooperation increased.
Asked how South Africa reacted to hostile world opinion, Mr Botha replied: 'Politically we are not an island, but we cannot let other powers impose their own solutions. We must find those solutions ourselves.' (Sapa)
 launched a boycott of shops in Howick, Natal, to put pressure on local business to persuade BTR Sarmcol, a British multi-national, to negotiate with the union.
In another development about 2000 workers at Dunlop SA in Durban have threatened to strike this week if BTR refuses to conclude a recognition agreement with Mawu.
This follows Sarmcol's dismissal of more than 900 striking workers almost three weeks ago, and will bring the number of strikers at Dunlop and Sarmcol - both subsidiaries of British Tyre and Rubber to 2970 .
A Mawa spokesman said workers at Dunlop had Wareed to strike if BTR Sarmopl insisted in refusing Wageed tiate with the unionnof insisted in zefusing聲列d this week
Workers at Sarmcol were dismissed for going on an "illegal" strike, according to the company. The union, however, has claimed that the industrial action was legal in terms of the Labour Relations Act.
Mawu also claimed that none of Sarmcol's workers had returned to work and that Dunlop had threatened to seek an interdict to prevent the strike action.
The company's spokesman said about 400 people, most of whom had been laid off by Sarmcol, had been employed to replace the strikers. Twenty of the sacked workers had asked to be re-hired or reinstated.
The company had agreed to sign a preliminary recognition agreement with the union in 1983, but had not negotiated with the union over the strike.

# Disinvestment talk takes a nosedive 

## By Simon Barber NM DO/S/85

WASHINGTON-Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut is a man in the Kennedy mould. His credentials as a liberal Democrat, regularly fattened by savage forays into President Reagan's Latin America policy, are unblemished.

It therefore came as something of a surprise to his colleague from Massachusetts when he threw in his lot with someone else's South Africa bill recently, particularly when that someone else was Delaware's Senator Willam Roth, a Republican and a-conservative one at that.

The Roth Bill is designed to derail the Kennedy offering on the grounds that the latter, its sponsors' protestations aside, means divestment.

Blocking new investment in South Africa, the Roth people say, is tantamount to telling U S companies that their operations in South Africa will not be allowed to compete with their European, Japanese and indigenous rivals and will, therefore, have to be sold or liquidated with potentially grim consequences for their black employees.

## Consulates

Instead, Roth and another conservative, Kentucky's Mitch McConnell, propose to manifest American displeasure with Pretoria in suitably symbolic ways that do not attempt to tamper with beneficial things like markets, trade and employment: to wit, an end to South Africa's US landing rights, the closure of at least one consulate and a mandatory Sullivan Code, all rendered logical by a number of other measures designed to promote the education and economic clout of that portion of the South African population for whom direct flights to New York
are not a paramount concern.
Dodd's decision to jump ship came as a particular blow to the Kennedy men because they had counted on him to push their language in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where they do not sit.
Nonetheless, it was not as unexpected as might appear. The fact is that there are many in the upper chamber who worry that Kennedy is going too far. One of them, if he could bring himselī to let on to the congressional black caucus and other radical voices that wag him, may be Kennedy himself.

## Opposition

Very gradually and with precious little help from South Africa, disinvestment is starting to lose favour.
The Washington Post has editorialised against it. One of the paper's most dependably trendy columnists, Richard Cohen, has written: 'Morality is cheap when someone else pays the cost'. Besides, why else would Kennedy and his co-sponsors in the House, chiefly Congressmen William Gray and Stephen Solarz, spend so much time protesting (too much) that theirs is not a disinvestment Bill?
A number of major black organisations are beginning to question the point of view expressed last week by Michelle Kourouma, director of the national conference of black mayors, that disinvestment is a must because 'we have nothing to lose and everything to gain: freedom'.
The National Association of Blacks Within

Government is deeply divided on the issue, according to its executive director, Mr Ted Adams. Many of his members, he said recently, fear that divestiture could amount to 'throwing the baby out with the bath water'.
Adams' own preference was 'a mounting more in the divestment direction, but I would not like to see it happen all at once. I'd like to determine over time whether it's a good thing'.
The Washington-based Joint Centre of Political Studies, a leading think tank on black issues, takes an even more unequivocal line.
John Burroughs, a senior fellow at the centre and former ambassador to Malawi, told the Los Angeles Times: 'United States firms are doing more good by being there.

## Doubts

Divestiture would be detrimental, not so much for black employment but as a force for social change. Other countries won't hesitate to come in an take up the slack'.
Even the national Urban League (not to be confused with its South African eponym) has doubts, though it pays lip service to the Kennedy Bill.
Said a spokesman: 'We do not favour divestment. We favour the Sullivan principles and no new investment. We belleve the workers are the ones that would be hurt'.
The objections raised to disinvestment at city and, state levels concern not merely wisdom.
The matter of legality, which has thus far remained surprisingly dor-
mant, is brewing in Los Angeles, where Mayor Tom Bradley last week neatly timed the unveiling of a plan to purge the city's pension funds of South Africa-related stocks to coincide with the arrival of Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The city commissioners overseeing the three funds involved are not happy at the prospect of having to sell off nearly a quarter of the R4000-million worth of assets for which they are responsible. Bradley, with Tutu at his side, told a Press conference that they'd better get happy, else they were fired.

## Ultimatum

The Washington City government let go a recalcitrant fund manager undersimilar circumstances last year, but Bradley's ultimatum broke new ground. A considerable body of com.mon and case law exists to define fiduciary responsibility and to protect retirement systems from outside intrusion.

It would be optimistic to believe that common sense or law is going to bring disinvestment to a halt, particularly since some of the country's most powerful city, state and union trustees - including Harrison Goldin, comptroller of New York City and ultimate arbiter of its R42000-million pension funds - openly espouse the cause. Nonetheless, the tide may be turning.

The problem politically is that many of the legislators who have leapt on to the bandwagon have locked themselves into positions from which there is no return.

NEIL LURSSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington gives a preview of an important vote on sanctions due to be taken in the US tomorrow

THE political struggle here over economic sanctions against South Africa has become intense with the United States House of Representatives scheduled to vote on the issue tomorrow.
On the floor of the House will be the Anti-Apartheid Bill of 1985 introduced by Congressman Bill Gray of Pennsylvania with 145 co-sponsors. An identical Bill has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Edward Kennedy and others.
It seeks to ban bank loans to the South African Government, stop all new private investment, prohibit the sale of Krugerrands and end the sale of US computers to the South African authorities.
It is certain that the measure will be passed by the Democratic Party-controlled House. At issue on Tuesday will the extent of the victory and how the vote is taken.

Proponents of the Bill are lobbying hard for a landslide victory - and are sure they will get it. They argue that a massive Yes-vote in the House
will be persuasive if the Re-publican-controlled Senate passes a softer sanctions Bill later this year and representatives of the two chambers have to hammer out a compromise measure to send to President Reagan.
One of the Democrats' strategies is to demand a recorded vote. This means that the vote of each congressman will be on the public record. A vote against sanctions can be used against congressmen who have significant numbers of black and liberal constituents.
Opponents of the Bill want a voice vote in which the individual votes go unrecorded. This, they say, will make it easier for Republicans, embarrassed at the prospect of being seen as supporters of South Africa, to vote against the sanctions.
Sources in the Democratic camp were confident today that they would secure a recorded vote in spite of intense lobbying against it by their opponents.

The House Rules Committee has set aside two hours for to-
morrow's debate - a sure indication that many congressmen want to participate. It is expected that the recent deaths of detainees and the wave of street violence will be cited as reasons to take tough action against South Africa.

Opponents of the Bill will echo the Reagan administration's view that reform is, in fact, taking place in South Africa and that the US must try to retain its influence there during the period of reform by maintaining economic links.
Complicating the issue tomorrow will be three amendments - two to soften the sanctions slightly, and one calling for total disinvestment and an end to US exports, the latter from Congressman Ron Dellums of California.
But even the softer sanctions would, if accepted, be a major setback for the South African Government. One proposal, based on a Bill introduced in the Senate by Republican Senators Bill Roth of Delaware and Mitch Mc Connell of Kentucky, would add to the ban on bank
loans to Pretoria a ban on SAA flights here and a restriction on the number of South African consulates in the US.

The Reagan Administration is pinning its hopes on a Bill introduced in the Senate by the Foreign Relations chairman Republican Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana with powerful support from the party leadership.

The approach of this measure is to give the South African Government two years to implement reforms before sanctions are applied and, in the meantime, to provide financial support to improve the lot of South African blacks. It would also make the Sullivan employment code mandatory for all US firms in South Africa.

Sources on both sides of the debate said today that they expected at least some of the sanctions to be approved by the joint congress this year but were reluctant to speculate on details.


WASHINGTON.-HSupporiers of a congressional Biill to cimpose economic sanctions against South Africa as a pro test aganst its policies won a ekey test vote but put off final , 解ction until next month
mon The Bill would prohibit new loans to businesses in South Africa. loans to the South African Government and loans to any businesses controlled by the Government, and would ban imports of Krugerrands and exports of computer equipment.
.... Before adjourning last night, -the "JS House wof Representatives defeated an samendment - which would have weakened the Bill abysexempting from sanctions US firms in South Africa which follow non-racial employment policies.
vot odgansy the amendment was 256 to 148 , a margin its ssupportersssaid sindicated the Bill would -probably pass without major ehanges. :

Supporters of the Bill said it would send a clear message to South Africa of US opposition to apartheid. Opponents said it would reduce jobs for blacks in South Africa.
A similar Bill was passed by the House last year but was not taken up by the Senate. The Reagan Administration opposes the łegislation.


Mr Howard Wolpe, a Michigan Democrat, said: "This Bill woffers the opportunity to adjust Our policy toward South Africa aso it reflects our own values.

Mr Newt Gingrich, a Georgia Republican. said: "If we discourage American business in South Africa, who will be there to show how change can be made?
"All we would do is weaken their reconomy, isolate further the whites and create a vacuurn to be filled by Arabs, Japanese and Europeans."

Further äction was put off until June 3 'because the House has scheduled iebate for the rest of this week on the federal budget resolution. There is then a recess for the US Memorial Day holiday next week. -



Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. - The Ford Motor Company is to close its Struandale motor assembly plant here for more than a month.

The company said today the move was necessary because the new vehicle market remained depressed.

About 850 hourly-paid workers will be affected by the closure from today until July 2, and Ford has said it will help financially stricken employees by organising special long-term, no-
interest loans, and by helping to secure special unemployment benefits.

The move has been criticised by the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, which will discuss the closure at a special meeting. Union officials say they will suggest that Ford reschedules production in preference to total closure.

The Ford statement said other company plants in the city would continue to work a four-day week. favour of American disinvestment they would simply quit their jobs and take care of it themselves，the United States House of tepresentatives was told yes－ sterday（82）Sow forn 2315185

But heriable survey iad shown that 75 percent of rse thacks opposed the withdrawal of US compa－ ，ininesterepublican congressman Mark Siljander of Michiigan told his colleagues
$\mathrm{Mr}^{2}$ Siljander，who recently visited SA，was one of ethe first speakers in the debate on SA sanctions that started iñ＂the House of Representatives yesterday atternoon．
It is éasy for US（congressmen）in our comfort－

able abodes and with our full stomachs，earning 75.000 －dollars a year，to tell others not to feed them－ selves and their families because it would be for the betterment of their future． It is easy for us to tell others to sacrifice，＂he said
＂But it seems pretty clear to me that the people in South Africa are not going to sacrifice as much＇as we want them to．＂

垵彩
Although the sanctions－a four－part package contained in the Anti－apartheid Act of 1985 －was expected to be approved yesterday by a large major－ ity，the House adjourned after hours of livelydebate with the issue unresolved．

# Has the disinvestinent tide begun to turn? 

RAMSAY MILNE of The Argus Foreign Service in New York reports on the first signs of resistance in the US to the disinvestment drive

HAS the tide begun to turn against the widespread United States disinvestment campaign that is threatening to cut off billions of investment dollars from South Africa?

There are signs suggesting that this is indeed happening, though in some state legislatures and on college campuses the emotional anti-apartheid drive is likely to continue.

The first indication of hardening resistance to disinvestment came with the fierce, instantaneous opposition to moves in the New York state legislature, announced this week by New York's governor, Mr Mario Cuomo, calling for a five-year withdrawal of the R9billion New York has invested in US firms doing business in South Africa.

When the move was made six months ago to withdraw New York city's estimated R4billion from US companies trading in or with South Africa, it spurred an outburst of antiSouth African sentiment.

Since then, other state and city legislatures, under the pressure of an unprecedented
political campaign, have also yielded to the anti-disinvestment movement, but with noticeable signs of dis. sent from opponents willing to risk the political opprobium, often in cities with large black voting blocks, of seeming to "support apartheid".

This week the opposition "went public," with newspapers and TV commentators either opposing disinvestment outright or questioning the motives of its supporters or what effect on South African opinion the moves were likely to have.

Today, the state of New York's financial comptroller, Mr Edward Regan, his fellow Republicans in the legislature already determined to halt the governor's disinvestment move, responded by hinting that he might do the same as his predecessor who instituted a court action a decade ago when the legislature ordered him to use the state pension fund to help bale out a bankrupt New York city government.
Some of the most trenchant opposition has come, suddenly and unexpectedly, from newspapers in several major cities.

One newspaper with a nationwide circulation of 1.4 mil lion and two of New York's most widely read dailies today devoted their entire editorial comment space to the issue and all came out strongly against disinvestment.

One of them, the Daily News, said: "Governor Cuomo says the state should demonstrate the abhorrence of our residents to the pernicious system of apartheid.' If apartheid isn't wound up by 1990 , New York will sell all its holdings in companies that do business in South Africa.
"Cuomo may then feel good - but nothing will be changed. That's the trouble with 'divestiture.' It's just a gesture."


US protestor outside SA embassy

Even stronger language came from the rival New York Post today.

It pointed out that New York's huge investments in
such companies as General Motors and IBM were made with one purpose in mind - maximum return.
"It cannot be any other way The law is very specific on that point. Yet Cuomo and Fink would change the law."

The paper said they cited "moral imperatives" and insisted that political consideration should determine investment policy.
"In essence, Cuomo and Fink are proposing the conversion of New York's two principal pension systems into a political weapon - nothing less."

Similar views, though couched more guardedly, have been expressed by such papers as the Wall Street Journal, Christian Science Monitor and the Los Angeles Times.

The two liberal "establishment" newspapers, The New York Times and The Washington Post, which have in recent weeks been bitterly critical of South Africa, have been notably silent this week.

One source who has been monitoring the disinvestment campaign said today: "It would be a mistake to think the steam has gone out of the campaign. But what is significant is that when the Washington demonstrators and the students on the campuses were occupying centre-stage, they seemed to be carrying the day.
"But all along, it has been apparent that there is massive opposition in the US to the very principle of disinvestment. That opposition, which is where the real political muscle lies, has only now started to make itself felt."

## Merger <br> +NM 23. 5.85 to form <br> samem Samror sented sen

-JOHANNESBURG -
The merger between Anglo American Corporaion and Ford Motor Company to form the South African Motor Corporation (Sameory, was seqled yesterday

Mr Les B Boyd, mex ecutive dikector of Anglo American, who is the charman of the new company, and Mr Lindsey Halstead, vice-president Ford Motor Company U S with responsibilities for South Africa, signed the merger agreement at Anglo American's head office in Johannesburg.
In a joint statement issued after the signing Mr Boyd and Mr Halstead said' "This consolidation reflects a present need for greater efficiency by both companies in a constrained, highly competitive national market with minimal prospect for short-term growth.

## Output

We are confident that this merger will soon strengthen our product range, productive capacity, market competitiveness and our long-term presence in South Africa.
'This merger, which is based on business considerations, is both timely and on target. Discussions between Ford and Anglo American began nearly 14 months ago. Fi nal signing of the Samcor agreement could only be effected after the 1984 balance sheets of both partner companies were available.
'Reflecting assests and liabilities shown in these statements, Ford Canada will hold a 42 percent interest in Samcor while Anglo and associates will have a 58 percent share.
'In South Africa as in' a number of other countries, such mergers now represent a necessary adjustment to changing competitive realities. As part of this process, but particularly because of the continuing depressed state of South Africa's economy, Samcor will find it necessary to achievefacility rationalisation. - (Sapa)






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Keeping 'close eye' <br> \title{
Keeping 'close eye' on disinvestment campaign - De Lour
}

NEW YORK - The disinvestment campaign presently sweeping across the United States is being assisted by the downturn in the South African economy, says the Director General of the Department of Finance, Dr Sop de Lour.

Dr De Lour, who is in the United States after attending a closed meeting of investors in New York, told Sap that although the purpose of his visit was not to investigate the disinvestment campaign, he was keeping a "close eye" on developments.
There are about 30 Bills before the United States Congress which in one way or another call for the withdrawal of American business interests in South Africa.
"I think the disinvestment campaign that is being waged here is being assisted by the velatively low returns compared with what have been earned in the past years in South Africa . . simply because at the moment we are in the down part of the bustness cycle," said Dr De Lour.

Dr De Loor added: "But as soon as that (business cycle) starts picking up and the re-


Dr Jook de kor
turns start increasing, then I think investors will be less worried about what the political problems are and they will assess them in a professional way."

He said, however, that the South African economy was gradually "forming a very healthy fourdation".
"It's working well ... interest rates are coming down. There are very good signs in the wind
and one would just have to see. It's a long path but it will be worthwhile in the end."

As to the conference of investors, which was arranged by the New York publication, The Institutonal Investor, Dr De Loor said there were investors who were "very interested in what we had to say is going on in South Africa".

He said: "There was a very substantial interest in South Africa ... we have several queries that we will be following up when we get back home."

He described the atttide towards South Africa at the conference as "positive" and "heartening".
"They were professional investors and not politically orientated. They wanted to know the risks and rewards, to make a pure investment decision ... they were apolitical or, should I say, non-political investors.
"We were able to give them a little bit of background information as to what is going on in South Africa because they were unable, from what is published in the press here, to really get what we feel is a more balinced view," he said. Sap

NEW YORK - A form chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the body that counsels American presidents on financial strategy, has warned that disinvestment from South Africa
meant "giving up our business interests and any practical leverage we may have had for effecting social progress" MriMurray Weiden: baúm, now director of the Centre for the Study
of American Business at Washington University in St Louis, said in the Christian Science Monitor the controversy related to whether American private investment in the Republic helped or hindered the process of moving South African society away from apartheid.
Mr Weidenbaúm said an ironic aspect "is the nature of the opposition in that country from the extreme right, as well as the extreme left".
"Those advocating the violent overthrow of the existing order want to see that nation destabilized by the exodus of US companies," he wrote

What is far more revealing is the opposition by the firmest supporters of apartheid. The latter view US companies as leading South'África to economic and social freedom; and thus to the multi-racial society that they oppose."


## African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI-The threat of American disinvestment had shaken South Africa and it was not in anybody's interest that the Americans now overplayed their hand.
This is the view of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Economic Affairs of the region.

In his policy speech in this portfolio in the Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said blacks in South Africa were grateful for the increased pressure which had been the consequence of the American debate on disinvestment.
However, he pleaded with Americans to let the matter rest there so that blacks in this country could capitalise on whatever gains there may
have been.
Chief Buthelezi warned that the American debate on apartheid and on disinvestment as an appropriate retribution for apartheid needed to be taken far more seriously than the average South African recognised.
'I simply do not believe that white South Africa, and the National Party in particular will respond positively to real economic pressures being brought to bear on this country,' Chief Buthelezi said

## Survival

'White South Africa has got fat to live off and the world has repeatedly seen what can happen when governments turn economies into war economies and take the kind of war-time measures which the reality of a threat produces.'
He maintained that, in such a situation, white
survival would come first and those who were really working for the economic isolation of South Africa regarded blacks as expendable items in the political games which they played
The Chief Minister said many people tried to hang the label round his neck of being a capitalist stooge' when he argued the case for continued investment.
There were some who accused him of siding with irresponsible capitalism in the terrible exploitation of black workers.
'This is a slanderous lie. I have always warned capitalism that exploitation spells out the doomsday message of free enterprise interests,' he said

Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu Government was deeply concerned about the future of work-
ers and had always cham pioned the cause of trade unionism.
He said he had already suggested to the KwaZulu Finance Corporation (KFC) that the time had come for the relevant authorities in the region to draft a code of employ ment practice for industrialists operating in KwaZulu.

## Mandatory

Chief Buthelezi said the KFC had established a committee under the chairmanship of Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal to undertake this task.
He said if the KwaZulu authorities could not make a code of conduct mandatory, then they should strive to make such a code binding on those employers and workers by their mutual consent.



# Inkatha fights disinvestment <br> serpest on 245r 

NO mass meeting of black' South Africans had ever approved of disinvestment as a strategy agains apartheid, said a petition handed to the United States Consul-general, Mr.Harry Geisel, at his Durban North residence yesterday by members of the central committee of Inkatha and an/estimared 2 00m sup-

The petitidn, wicic. wasstipplemented by9 97 of
signatures collected by Inkatha aganst disinvestment, also stated that no democratically elected leader in a membership-based organisation of any importance had ever been given a mandate to accept disinvestment as a viable black political option.
"On behalf of black South Africa, we petition President Reagan, the senators of the USTA and its congressmen to reject all pressures exerted on them to express abhorrence of apartheid through disinvestment in South Africa," said the petition.


2 Cape Times, Tues
 , protests to US consul
Own Correspondent
DURBAN:-Twenty bus: loads of Inkatha suppor ers yesterday arrived at the Durban North home of United States ConsulGenerál Mr Harry Geisel and handed him a petiand handed him opposing the with Trawal of foreign investfiments from South Africa: Mr Geisel said the prothest $\star$ showed the seriousEness' of the situation. "I楽will not forget this day. FAll the American people Twant is what is best for all the people of "South Africa."
Presenting the 967 -signature petition, Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of 'Inkatha's Central Committee, said: "We, a's the elected leaders of our community, wish to demonstrate to the outside world our strongest objection to disinvestment.
"The large turnout is to highlight the hardship and suffering our people are undergoing because of unemployment. Blacks will be the first to suffer if foreign businesses are allowed to pull out."
He said people who were advocating disinvestment did not represent the black majority. "We say"to hell with disinvestment and, to hell with sanctions."

Mr Sabelo said Inkatha
had-1.000 000 card-carry ing members, , and that there were some 146000 without jobs in and around Durban.: .

THE anti-disinvestment campaign took a new turn yesterday when 20 busloads of Inkatha supporters arrived at the Durban North home of United States ConsulGeneral Mr Harry Geisel and handed him a petition opposing the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa.
The nearly 2000 demonstrators, some carrying placards, sang freedom songs as they marched into the gardens of the American envoy's palatial home in 'millionaire's row' in Monteith Place.
They filled every available space in the sprawling gardens and some climbed trees to get'a. bird's eye view of the ceremony.
Placards read: 'We want jobs for subsistence', 'No to disinvestment', 'When did the másses call for disinvestment?' 'We want jobs' and The clergy : are not the Workers nor political leaders:-we are the massest
The consulate was closed yesterday; "Memorial Day, 'á public ${ }^{2}$ holiday in America.
itafter receiving the petition, Mr Geisel, said he was impressed by the protest and showed the seriousness of the situation. Thwill not forget this day. FAll the American people want is what is best for all the people of South Africa:'

## Objection

Mr Geisel said he was leaving for Cape Town later in the day to hand The petition to American Ambássádôr Mr Herman Nickle for transmission to Washington.
Presenting the 967 -signature petition - part of N 10000 -siginature protest Tgainst disinvestment Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of Ink athán's central committee, said: "We às the elected leaders of our community wish to 'demonstrate to the outside world our strongest Objecton to disnvest-1 ment
The targe turn out is to hifhilight the hardship 2ad desuffering our people "areefurider going because of :unemployment. Blacks


Inkatha demonstrators, carrying placards, pac Geisel in Durban North yes will be the first to suffer . sanctions.' if foreign businesses are allowed to puill out.'
'We totally disagree with Bishop Desmond Tutu's stance. He is not an elected leader. We say to hell with disinvestment and to hell with Mr Sabelo said Inkatha represented 1000.000 card-carrying members and was fully behind the sentiments" expressed by its leader, "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, during his recent visit overseas.

## The petition

THE petition signed by 967 blacks called on President Reagan to reject all pressures for the withdrawal of investment from South Africa.
It said no mass meeting of black South Africans had ever approved of disinvestment as a strategy against apartheid.
No dèmocratically elected leader of any organisation of importance had ever been given a mandate to accept disinvestment as a viable black political option.
The petition said disinvestment would minimise positive Western influences which were needed in South Africa to speed up the process of change. It would further the politics of violence and damage the politics of reason.
Disinvestment was advocated by those who could not see that economic progress gave rise to intergroup dependencies.
Massive backlogs in black housing, education, health and welfare services would not be made up if the economic foundations of South Africa were damaged in liberating it from the tyranny of racial oppression,
'Black poverty will be greatly increased if effective disinvestment campaigns lower unemployment levels.
'The US, as the world's leading industrial demderca$c \dot{c}$, should do'everything in its power to foster the eeconomic development of the whole of southern Africa.
'This obligation to Africa and to the Third World will not be served by damaging not only the South Africal economy, but also impoverished neighbourhood economies.'



# An investment strategy to undermine apartheid 

FEW Americans, if any, defend apartheid in South Africa. But they are deeply divided on how to make it disappear. The hard line is called "disinvestment" - strong, legal measures to put pressure on US companies with SA investments to pull out. This strategy is supposed to make government recognise that apartheid is too costly to sustain. The second, softer, approach is described by the Reagan administration as "constructive engagement" and involves extensive economic and diplomatic contact to dissipate siege mentality in Pretoria and foster gradual change. Frustration with the "inadequate success" of constructive engagement has generated additional momentum in Congress for legislation on disinvestment

But disinvestment would be a serious mistake, penalising SA's blacks and making the dissolution of apartheid more difficult. The concept is based on a misunderstanding of Afrikanerdom and a historically unjustified confidence in the effectiveness of boycotts.

## Marginal

Disinvestment would have at most a marginal impact on SA's economy. Even if disinvestment did begin to bite, it would slow the workplace reforms pioneered by the progressive US companies in SA and weaken black unions while strengthening the position of conservative white workers. Most important, disinvestment could blunt the economic forces that are slowly, but inexorably, undermining apartheid's foundations.
It is the unstated premise of disinvestment that this policy will achieve reform only if the country is polarised further, leading to violent and bloody revolution - out of which, perhaps, a peaceful and stable democratic state will emerge. One trouble is post-colonial Africa offers no precedent for this.
Nor is constructive engagement, albeit much sounder than disinvestment, a sufficient policy. Rather than relying only on the diplomacy of such an effort, the US administration should fashion a more activist strategy, recognising that it is economic growth, coupled with the colour-blind employment practices of US companies, that poses the greatest threat to apartheid. The $\$ 2 b n$ in US assets in the country represents $20 \%$ of total foreign direct investment, dominating such areas as oil and computers.

STUART BUTLER<br>director, domestic policy studies, Heritage Foundation

Instead of disinvestment, increased US participation in the SA economy should be encouraged. The US government should provide special assistance through US companies to upgrade the educational and management skills of black South Africans and help them form businesses of their own. Assistance also should be given to US trade unionists to train black union organisers.

Finally, technical assistance and encouragement should be given to speed the recent decision by government to return to the private sector key segments of the nationalised economy, thus taking control from conservative bureaucrats
A recent analysis by the Economist claims the effect of US disinvestment would be small and could could conceivably boost the country's economy. Total investment from outside SA has "slowed to a trickle," falling below $\$ 100 \mathrm{~m}$ a year.

And the disinvestment rationale ignores the possibility of SA retaliation. Dividends sent abroad by firms in SA are three times greater than foreign investment entering at present. Disinvestment thus could be countered by a dividend export freeze. So disinvestment would be "once-for-all Marshall Aid".

## Threaten

The British journal also points out that if US companies were forced to withdraw from SA the action would threaten the employment of 120000 blacks, many of whom have learned new skills and earned promotions in progressive, desegregated US companies. If these firms closed, many of their black employees would be liable for deportation to the tribal homelands. More likely, government would nationalise the companies or allow local firms to take them over.

Black South Africans comprise about $75 \%$ of the country's work force and half its skilled labour. As the economy has grown, shortages of white labour have allowed blacks to force themselves into occupations once reserved for
whites. Disinvestment may be favoured by black organisations and liberals in the US, but polls reveal that it is opposed iby SA's urban blacks, who strongly rsupport the presence of foreign firms that have done so much to improve their economic and social status.
SA's black National African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, for instance, sent a memorandum to Senator Edward KKennedy during his visit to-SA attacking disinvestment as inhibiting eco nomic growth, "which is a powerful catalyst in the process of peaceful social and political reform in the country". The same view was expressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a fierce opponent of apartheid. He called disinvestment "tactical madness."

## The choice

Those SA blacks who oppose disinvestment are denounced by SA's militant black leaders and their US allies for two reasons. First, to be successful politically they must seek to persuade Congress and the American people that the choice is simple and stark - either one supports "the blacks" in SA, who are supposedly unanimous in their support of disinvestment, or one supports white racism. To recognise the deep disagreement among SA blacks regarding strategy would make it easier for Americans to oppose disinvestment.
Second, some advocates of disinvestment seem to favour revolutionary change in SA. For them, there is sense to the old revolutionary dictum: the worse, the better. As such, the fact that disinvestment would hit blacks harder than whites is a virtue, since it would drive blacks into economic despair and militancy.

The politics of Afrikanerdom reinforces the argument that disinvestment will fail. The history of SA has been characterised by Afrikaners seeking to retain their ethnic and social identity against outside threats - from the English, from the non-whites and even from erosion by industrialisation.

The US administration and Congress should reject the call for disinvestment and instead attack apartheid's soft underbelly by encouraging even more US investment in SA, thereby speeding up the corrosive effect of economic growth on the foundations of apartheid.


By DAVID WELSH<br>This is the last of two extracts from an extended article by Professor Welsh which appears in the journal Leadership (first quarter 1985).

IT WOULD be a serious mistake to dismiss the disinvestment lobby, at least in the United States, as a bunch of misguided radicals.
True enough, there are radicals among them, but there are also many sober-minded and relatively moderate people who argue for some form of sanctions not as a means of destabilizing South Africa into a revolutionary situation but rather as a means of inducing non-violent change.
Apart from any other concerns, politicians are perceiving that disinvestment is an issue that will run and that they should exploit it for their own political purposes. Even significant numbers of Republicans are quite likely to line up in support of the imposition of some form of sanctions. Increasingly the debate is going to become less about whether or not sanctions are imposed, but over how far-reaching they ought to be.

## Anśwer may be negative

How should we respond to the mounting threat? In my view the major thrust of the response ought to be to demonstrate that not only are sanctions unlikely to achieve any of the goals that their proponents claim, but that they are likely to hinder reform in South Africa. This has to be a subtle argument that relies on nice distinctions, because I have already conceded, as I think one must, that the threat of disinvestment has been one factor in spurring reform.
On the other hand; those who believe that damaging the South African economy, whether by threat or by deed (or both), have an obligation to show how this will induce change. Can they show that sanctions have played a significant part in promoting desired political change in other states against which they have been applied? Virtually all the evidence suggests that the answer must be in the negative. . .
The apparently endemic violence that has marked South Africa since mid-1976 should not be confused with revolutionary violence.
For all the horrifying loss of life and the destruction of property, most of the violence has been a relatively inchoate expression of anger and frustration rather than a planned, systematic attempt to overthrow the state.
The question of sanctions has an indirect though real pertinence here. Imagine a hypothetical situation in which all of the real grievances of urban blacks (rentals, education, lack of effective local authorities, etc.) were held constant but unemployment was very small. Would you have had the violence? One cannot be very certain but I am inclined strongly to doubt it.
Now, if sanctions increase unemployment, there is consequently every chance of increasing violence in the already tense urban areas.
Port Elizabeth is an unfortunate prospective case in point. Already it has a black unemployment rate of over 30 percent, and with the contraction of its motor car industry, several thousand more unemployed will swell the pool. Its black townships have been the scene of sporadic violence for nearly a decade, and this new development can only aggravate matters. Endemic violence reduced Port Elizabeth's locational attractiveness to entrepreneurs, so that its chances of breaking out of the vicious circle are proportionately reduced.
If applied, sanctions may well make it virtually simpossible to cope with the massive problems of
population growth and the provision of jobs for the burgeoning population.

With its population likely to double in 29 years and with a need to create at least 250000 jobs per annumn (others project an even higher figure) just to provide employment for new entrants into the labour market, South Africa needs a growth rate of seven to eight percent.

In recent years, however, the economy's performance has been poor: annual growth rates have* been nowhere near the targeted 5,5 percent, investment has been declining, and unemployment
 Prof David Welsh has taken on alarming proportions. Far from creating 250000 jobs annually, the number of black-occupied jobs may well have shrunk. Fears of disinvestment, among other factors, have made their contribution to this dismal picture.

An alternative view of change points to the leverage that blacks might acquire in an expanding economy.

In making this argument the assumption is that the strategy of armed struggle or liberation through violence will not succeed. If this is so, blacks have to look at alternative strategies, and none is more promising than seeking the maximize their economic bargaining power.
With the steady abolition of statutory restrictions on black upward occupational mobility (only in the mining industry do restrictions remain) and the chronic shortage of skilled and other highly trained personnel, the next decades should see striking black advance.

Indeed, a Human Sciences Research Council projection is that by the year 2000 eight out of 10 skilled jobs will be performed by blacks. Other projections suggest that blacks will constitute a sizeable minority in the managerial stratum by the same time. Black urbanization will probably double in the next 20 years, despite efforts to curb it. Another important index is black consumer power, which is now roughly at the same level as white consumer power.

## Black economic muscle

The unionization of the black urban labour force has also proceeded apace over the past five years since the government's recognition of the right of blacks to participate in statutory industrial bargaining. Some 20 to 25 percent of urban black workers (excluding domestic workers) belong to registered and unregistered trade unions. This figure is likely to grow quite rapidly.
To point to these indices of actual and potential black economic advance is not to overlook the growth of unemployment and the deteriorating conditions in black rural areas.
On balance, however, the indices suggest growing black economic muscle. It could not be argued that this growing muscle converts automatically into political power, but it is highly likely that the more economically advanced and better educated a population group becomes, the more it will demand a share of political power and the less easily it will allow itself to be discriminated against.

If this argument is correct then it largely undermines whatever case might be made for sanctions as a source of change. More than this, indeed, it can be contended that sanctions. run clean counter to the most hopeful strategy that blacks can pursue to secure their own liberation.
I believe that it is possible to demolish or seriously to discredit every single argument that has so far been advanced in support of the idea of sanctions. In the interests of all South Africans this must be done. But the most convincing answer of all would be to demonstrate thàt we are serious and sincere in our proclaimed desire to abolish racial discrimination and tricreate a decent and compassionate society firmlwhed on a respect for human freedom.


In the face of initial guccesses of the US disinvestment lobby, the American Chamber of Commerce in SA (Amcham) has started to make its voice beard more clearly on political and economic reform in SA. Last week, the Amcham board met Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis, Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers and senior officials of five government departments for discussions on policy reforms.
Amcham has also presented a formidable memorandum to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, as chairman of the special Cabinet Committee investigating black rights. Among other things, the memorandum asks government to announce its intention to grant the parliamentary franchise to blacks, for the unbanning of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and the scrapping

of influx control.
Amcham has also sent out a questionnaire to its members, asking them for their views and practical problems on questions like influx control, group areas, business rights for blacks and black citizenship.
The covering letter states: "In order for us to approach the government on issues of reform and change, we need to be as specific as possible about which changes we want to see. We need to specify which irritants and constraints we would like to see removed and which suggestions we propose that will lead to a more equitable society and to a more productive work environment."

In the memorandum to Heunis, Amcham states:
$\square$ Government should announce that it is its intention to grant parliamentary franchise to blacks, and that this will be done when an appropriate formula has been agreed upon by the leaders of all population groups;
$\square$ Government should also announce that once this formula has been agreed upon, the franchise would be extended also to blacks resident in the homelands;
$\square$ Blacks should be given representation on the State President's Committee on National Priorities;
$\square$ This formula can only be arrived at by South Africans themselves through an agreed process of negotiation in which representatives of all race groups and political parties can freely participate. Therefore, the ANC and PAC must be unbanned and their leaders now in prison or exile should be granted an amnesty, subject to their agreement to participate in lawful democratic procedures and to dissociate themselves from violence;
$\square$ Government must immediately issue a clear statement to the effect that the black local authorities are a form of three-tier government only, and that their establishment should in no way be seen as a substitute for black political rights at other levels;

- Government should embark on an explicit programme to phase out influx control and the migrant labour system within a stated period of time;
$\square$ Continuing to deny blacks the right to own land in freehold, a right which lies at the very heart of the free enterprise system, is likely to undermine black commitment to that system. The granting of freehold rights would remove a major piece of discrimination and would be conducive to greater political stability in black townships;
$\square$ Population removals do grievous damage to SA, both in terms of racial goodwill within the country and in terms of the country's image abroad, and should be stopped immediately; and
$\square$ CBDs should be opened to all, and discretion should not be left in the hands of local authorities. All petty restrictions that inhibit both formal and informal business development in black townships should be removed, and the Welgemoed Commission's proposals restricting minibus taxis should be rejected.


Foreicir firms in sa- U.S.A. $1985^{\circ}$

JUNE - DEC.

rica.
Even without the Cabinda incident, the sanctions were certain to have been approved by the US House of Representatives.

The critical issue now is the extent to which Republicans in the US Senate feel let down by a military act which, it is alleged, was aimed at sabotaging an American oil installation and not at gathering intelligence.

Their attitude could tip the scales on sanctions.
A spokesman for Senator Edward Kennedy, sponsor of one of the sanctions Bills, said today: "I think the State Department believes it has been deceived by the South African Government.
"They stuck their necks out for a policy of constructive engagement which they thought would be sensible and make progress. Now they have been shot in the back. I can understand their anger."

## Their disappointment

What was supposed to be just a farewell call yesterday by outgoing South African Ambassador Dr Brand Fourie on US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, turned into yet another opportunity for the Americans to express their disappointment at Pretorid's explanation for the raid, sources said.

Since the raid took place, they said, Mr Fourie had been called to the State Department six times. The American Ambassador in South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, had seen the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, three times.
"We have the matter under urgent review with the South Africans," a State Department spokesman said.
"We continue to press firmly at a high level for a satisfactory explanation from the South African Government. We are disappointed that the South African Government has not yet provided such an explanation."

Asked whether he thought the raid would affect US ties with South Africa, the spokesman said: "We take this incident very seriously. It is too early to say what effect it will have on our relationship (but) we are clearly entering a serious passage with the South Africans."
In spite of its openly expressed annoyance, the Reagan Administration continues to oppose economic sanctions, fearing they will blunt the movement toward domestic reform and the achievement of US diplomatic goals in the region.

The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives long ago ran out of patience with the administration's policies in Southern Africa and wants tough action this year to express US abhorrance of apartheid and Pretoria's actions against her neighbours.

## Period of grace

The Republican-controlled Senate may be able to forestall immediate sanctions and opt for a two-year period of grace.

A clearer idea of what Congress will decide will emerge today when the sanctions debate resumes in two areas.

The first will be on the floor of the House of Representatives where Congressman Bill Gray's package of four sanctions measures - bans on new investments, bank loans, Krugerrand sales, and computer exports - is expected to go to the vote this evening.

The second is in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier in the day, when senators are expected to decide on the form of the South African
(Turn to Page 3, coi 8)

## Troop withdrawal welcomed

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent
AMERICAN sources today cautiously welcomed the announcement of the withdrawal of South African troops from Calueque.

It was interpreted as an attempt by South Africa to win back world confidence that it was sincere about securing solutions to the region's problems.

The West apparently remains highly sceptical about South Africa's version of why it had reconnaissance commandos in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda.
The last small group of troops at Calueque, on the border of Angola and SWA/Namibia where there is a big hydroelectric installation, had been withdrawn, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said.

## SA COMMITTED

He said the assurance had been given to the US at a meeting with the American Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel.

Mr Botha also reaffirmed that the Government remained committed to the implementation of the international settlement plan based on UN Resolution 435 if an agreement could be reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from SWA/Namibia.

# Will US firms help eradicate apartheid? 

THE AMERICAN Chamber of Commerce has:submited memoran dum to the Government on
munity outside the homelands.
While the points raised in the memorna 2 se the cause or bitterness in the country, one wonders if Amcham would have raised these points if American companies operating in the country were not under pressure from their country.
Also, since the seventies, the same companies have been telling the world of their adherence to the Sullivan Principles. Now that pressure is mounting, it has to be seen if these companies, while criticising the Government, will -implement the Sullivan Code and eradicate racism and exploitation in their
companies.
citphe' memorandum Was presented to the Minister of Constiand Planal Development Chris Heunis, in his Chris Heunis, in his
capacity as chairman capacity as chairman
of the special commitof the special commit-
tee on March 7, this year by a delegation from Amcham. The South African Institute of Race Relations received permission to publish the memorandum "in view of the importance of the issues raised".
The memorandum dealt with the following key issues: Urbanisation and influx control; housing; removals; migrant labour; business rights; citparticipation. nocratic participation; negotiaAmcham said it ha Athe intention it had ing a constructive maktribution to cone conof policy form process of policy formulation." After reading what the memorandum contained, one wonders which country the American Chamber of Commerce refers to, especially in the previous paragraph. And that is wherethe tragedy lies, not much consultation was done by the Amcham deleigation. Firstly, they
did not consult black leaders and organisations before they randum. If they mosome of their proposals would not have been accepted by the majority of black people.
If what Amcham has been led to believe on tegislation governing
trade unions was true trade unions was true, one would expect the leading members of the chamber to check on the number of trade funionists who are in detention, in prison and those who have gone into exile - not died in police custody, like Mr Andries Raditsela - before exposing their ignorance in public: When one comes to' the "ever greater numbers in skilled and managerial posts now being occupied by dabout the memorandim the better for all concerned. It would be interesting to know how many companies Who belong to "Amcham have employed blacks in great numbers for the above positions.
There is desegrega-
tion of sport and tion of sport and sport facilities, Amcham
says. This is true but says. This is true, but


MR Chris Heunis. the Caledonian stadium in Pretoria and the sad plight of Na tional Soccer League (NSL) side, Arcadia, has never come to their has never come to their notice, nor has the Loftus Versfeld sta dium, not to mention their private suites a Ellis Park stadium, which their employees do not enjoy. They also seem not to have heard of the Pretoria Parks' issue.
On the one hand Amcham speaks about ways that-could generate funds for the local authorities in black areas that could be granted freehold rights, and on the other they talk about of homelands by blacks.

Amcham should have been told that blacks do not care much for the local authorities, whether just have funds or not, just as much as they do not care for the homelands. People do not have to be urged to grant others what is rightfully the other person's property. The South African Government knows as much as anybody else in this country and, elsewhere that blacks belong to this country. Blacks do not have to beg for "rights".
The Amcham, through their memorandum, wanted to be seen to be doing something for blacks in this country, while they are playing for time and making more money - a reason why some black organisations reject American capitalism and all it stands for. The memorandum says nothing that was not known and re jected already
The chamber has much more to do. It must take the lead in the "ambitious proposals they made propo- like als they made - like spective of what Section 10 rights they māy have, build decent houses for so-called migrant labour in their employ, so that they employ, so that they
can live with their fam
ilies and not in the hostels we see mushrooming in the townships. Some hostels are those provided by companies and some may have shares in them.
In its preamble, Amcham says: "We do
so in the knowledge that there are no simple solutions, but we
believe that our viewpoint may be helpful to point may be helpful to American companies American companies in South Africa contribute to the country and benefit from it and therefore want to contribute from our own experience both here and in the United
States." States."
On urbanisation and influx control, Amcham says it is aware that the system has been under review for some years, and that certain modifications of a positive nature have been made, among them that blacks qualified for permanentresidence in the urban areas and may change, their jobs in the past The memo reads furth wish strongly to urge the Government to embark on an explicit programme to phase out influx control within a stated period of time.
The costs of continued influx control in South Africa are high. Such costs include: The direct costs to the taxpayer of policing and administration; opportunity costs to the economy and to business resulting from artificial restrictions on the free movement of labour and; social costs in terms of damage to goodwill between the goodwill
"We believe that the present process of phasing out restrictions on the upward mobility of black labour into more skilled jobs should be accompanied by a deliberate programme to phase out geographical reout geographical re-
strictions. As black strictions. As black
employees are exposed employees are exposed
to more responsibility to more responsibility
and move into more and move into more senior jobs, it frequently becomes necessary to transfer them from a company's operations in one part of the country to another. The influx control laws are a major hindrance in this connection," Amcham says.

On housing Amcham said the intro-
duction of the 99 -year


The American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham), recently met $\mathbf{M r}$ Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development. The South African Institute of Race Relations has issued a topi cal paper on the meeting. In this article, Sello Rabothata, SOWETAN senior reporter, looks at
the meeting.


Code.
leasehold system in many black township was a major step for ward, and the Govern ment's recent an nouncement that this ystem will now be ex tended tocertain townships in the Western Cape is also to be welcomed. Amcham again strongly urged he Government to grant freehold rights to urban blacks which the chamber believes is be-
ing given serious thought. It said the granting of freehold ights in urban town hips would remove major piece of racial discrimination, and at the same time be con ducive to greater political stability. if Amchamility.
Amcham adds that: Continuing to deny black people the right to own land in free-
hold, a right which lies at the very heart of the free enterprise system, likely to undermine black commitment to that system. Granting freehold rights in urfreenold rights in urban townships is im-
portant from another point of view, i.e. it would create a source of income for local authorities in these areas, as they would be able to levy assessment rates upon such property."
Population removals do grievous damage to South Africa, both in terms of racial goodwill within the country and in terms of the country's image abroad. Amcham again urged that the immediate cessation of removals apply not only to blacks removed to the homelands, but also to coloured and Indian (and the small peốplè rềmovedin
terms of the Group Areas Act 'Some of the communities removed are relatively prosperous (economi cally), and it is tragic to see such commun ties destroyed.
The migratory laboursystemshould also be phased out Denying a worker the right to live with his or her spouse and family is not socially desir able, is not conducive to productivity, and is morally wrong. It is in compatible with the sanctity of marriag and family life. Allow ing migrant workers to bring their families to live with them at their places of work would involve costs, but the Government would be entitled, if it were to agree to the abolition f the migratory la bour system, to call
upon the private sector upon the private sector contributing towards housing and infra. structural develop-

## US anger

## at Cabinda incident

Cont from Page 1
legislation that will go to the Senate for a vote.
Most expectations are that a Bill by the committee chairman, Senator Richard Lugar, will prevail. It calls for a twoyear delay before sanctions are implemented and seeks to aid blacks with education and business grants.

IMMEDIATE
However, at the most recent meeting of his committee, Senator Lugar said he was ready to consider other immediate steps.

This has been taken here to mean that he may agree to sanctions from other Bills being attached to his own Bill as amendments.

There is a wide range of options for the amendments, ranging from the ban on new US investments to restrictions on the number of South African consulates in the US and a ban on South African Airways landing rights.

BIPARTISAN
Before Cabinda, analysts had predicted that the immediate : sanctions Senator Lugar had in : mind would be relatively mild.
They said his compromise attitude was clearly intended to forge a bipartisan approach to the South African question and an attempt to assert Senand leadership in Congress.

Now they are not so sure that the amendments will be mild.

AFTER a day of confused debate the Senate foreign relations committee yesterday rejected Senator Edward 'Kennedy's propsal for immediate bans on new investment in SA, and on Krugerrand imports, in a $9-7$ parity line vote.

Italso rejected an attempt by conser, vative Senator William Roth to terminate SA's US landing rights and to close one of its consulates.
Nevertheless, the Republican-dominated panel voted $12-5$ to end all US-SA núclear commerce, bar bank loans to the SA government, restrict computer sales to the SA private sector and to government agencies not involyed in the implementation of apartheid, and to make the Sullivan Code mandatory.
F Furthermore, the committee, overWhelmingly supported threatening Ken-nedy-style sanctions within 18 months 'to start March 1987 - unless Pretoria was judged to have made substantial progress towards . the elimination of apartheid:
Previously, the time limit had beén set at two years. The reduction was pro: posed by the committee's chairman, Senator Richard Lugar.".
The committee was initially divided - over what penalties to impose on US
firms failing to comply with the Sullivan principles, and the exact level of funding for black education projects.
The sidenators finally decided to deny US government trade aassistance to firmsignoring the code. Educational assistance times existing levels.
The panel also agreed to extend US government loans and lending guarantees to black-owned businesses, to require the President to begin consultations THith US allies on a concerted programme of sanctions, and to force the US embassy and consulates in SA to abideffy the fair employment standards.

A last-minute effort by Lugar to soften the mucleà trade ban, on the grounds it might help dissuade the administration from eventually vetoing the overall Tegislation, was soundly defeated.
Frothe combined decisions setian inw " high water mark for Senate maction against South Africa, and came as the Housé of Representatives settled inifor a full aress debate on its version of the Kentedy bill, sponsored by Congress-' man William Gray.

The full senate is expected to take up the committee's decision by the end of the month as an amendment to the State Department Authorisation Bili which funds the diplomatic service Senate staff members predicted that the lăno ing rights ban would be reintrodiced during the floor debate.
The senators appeared to be universally outraged by South Africa's contro ${ }^{-1}$ versial ${ }^{*}$ military operation in Cabinda, andicalled on Frank Wisner, the Deputy; Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, to explain.

Wisner said SA Ambassador Brand: Fourie had been summoned to the state Department seven times since the incident, to meet Secretary of State George Shultz.
"We find South Africa's explanation: unconvincing and unsatisfactory'," the officials said, adding that the US was still trying'to determine the truth.
McCónnell, a conservative Republican, spooke for many when he said: "While the United States has been supporting constructive engagement on behalf of US and South African interests in peace and regional security, South Africa was coducting a mission designed to sabotage American business and put American lives at risk."

Meanwhile, Business Day's Liondon Bureau reports that an official report published yesterday concludes the University of California could lose $\$ 100 \mathrm{~m}$ in the first year if it sold: off shares in companies with ties to South Africa.

This finding is certain to add to the anti-apartheid controversy "which has stirred up the biggest student protests since the Vietnam war era.

At stake is a portfolio worth $\$ 1,4 \mathrm{bn}$ in 35 blue-chip American companiès with subsidiaries in South Africa, including IBM, General Motors and Cocascola.

So far, steps towards partial or total divestment of holdings with links to South Africa, mostly in pension funds; have been taken by six American'States, 26 cities and 39 universities.

But the combined total has reached only $\$ 1 \mathrm{bn}$ - less than half the sum controlled by the University of California which has nine campuses and is the biggest institute of higher learning in the English-speaking world.

Yesterday's 1000 -page report was compiled by the university's treasurer and legal adviser for the ruing body of 28 regents.

The loss of $\$ 100 \mathrm{~m}$ in the first year inclinded $\$ 21 \mathrm{~m}$ in brokers' fees and the remajinder from the impact on share pricesiof the massive sell-off $-\$ 317 \mathrm{~m}$ dollars in IBM alone.

The report said the university may have difficulty defending divéstment as financially responsible in any lawsuit. '

It also suggestd that selling shares would have little impact on the companies involved and even less on South Africa's racial policies.

JOHANNESBURG：－ South Africa has threat－ ened to retaliate if the United States goes ahead with disinvestment legis lation now before Con－ gress，SATV News re ported last night．
It quoted the Deputy
Minister of Foreign Af
fairs，Mr Louis Nel，tell
ing a meeting in For Beaufort last night that if the measure was passed South Africa would＇ex pel the million or so black workers from other Southern African states who were in this country illegally to seek a living： ＂．＂If legislation goes through the US this week，our enemies will be back next year push－ ing for more．Therefore it＇s necessary to put our foot down．
＇＂The Américans must
realize that if they go ahead with disinvest－ ment，South Africa will have to defend itself，and it will have to consider defending itself in a way that shows the world that South Africa is a region－ al power in－Africa，＂Mr Nel said．
He also spoke of the re－ quirements of any new deal
Mr Nel said the rights of each group should＂be protected＂inouth Africa：
He sã id the goven ment wished to sit down and talk with moderate black leaders to workout a blueprint which would take these realities into account and find a solu－ tion aceptable to the majority of whites and blacks－Sapa

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-FFTOM SMMON BARRER

## WASHINGTON. - The

 Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a 9-7 vote on party lines, yesterday rejected Senator Edward Kennedy's proposal of immediate bans on new investment in the Republic and on Kruger rand imports into the United States.It also rejected a bid by conservative Senator William Roth to termipate South African land ing rights in the US.
Nevertheless, the Re-ipublican-dominated - committee voted 12 to 5 'to end all nuclear commerce between South Africa and the US, bar bank loans to the South African Government, restrict computer sales to the South African private sector and to government agencies not involved in the implementation of apartheid, and to make the -Sullivan Code mandatory.

Furthermore, the committee overwhelmingly supported threatening Kennèdy-style sanctions withins 18 months - to start in March 1987 - un less Pretoria was judged to have made substantial tprogress towards eliminating apartheid.

- 卒


## Education

The senators also voted to increase funding for black educational projects to $\$ 15-$ million (R30-million), nearly four times existing levels.
They also agreed to extend US Government loans and lending guarantees to black-owned businesses and to require the president to begin consultations with US allies on a concerted programme of sanctions. A lastminute effort by the chairman, Senator Richard Lugar, to soften the nuclear trade ban, on the grounds that it might prevent the vetoing of featedislation, was defeated.
The senators were unanimously outraged by South Africa's contro versial military operation in Cabinda, and called on Mr Frank Wisner, the deputy assistant Secretary of State for Africa, to explain.

There are eighteen members of the committee, not all of whom are necessarily present when votes are taken.




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 Mr Raymond Parspns, chef executive of Assocom, said it was
impossible to predict the precise actions in-
tended by critics in the US, but South Africa
should brace itself for the possibility of sanc-

 in the next 18 months - or face sanctions. show reat progress in sweeping away apartheid with

 that may be imposed by the United States. suotpoues yitim adoo of surid jigəpexis mau vised by big business today to start laying
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Mr Raymond $: i$ - The Argus Foreign Service reports from Parsons Washington that the Reagan Administration's efforts to save South Africa from eco' nomic sanctions received a severe setback when a key committee of the United States Senate voted 16-1 to support sanctions, including a ban on bank loans to the South African Government.
The vote makes it likely that both chambers of the US Congress will approve sanctions this year and that President Reagan will ultimately have to decide whether or not to veto them.

It is a blow to the Administration's policy of constructive engagement, a cornerstone of which is that sanctions will retard the momentum of reform in South Africa.

After a day of intense debate, the Republican-majority committee approved a Bill introduced by its chairman, Senator. Richard Lugar, but added amendments from other Bills that make the original measure much tougher.

The Lugar Bill seeks to aid South African blacks through educational and business grants and directs the President to impose sanctions if no progress has been made in eliminating apartheid within 18 months.

The amendments added yesterday are not subject to the 18-month delay. They are:

- A ban on United States bank loans to the South African Government, except for education, housing and health facilities available to all;
- A ban on all computer exports to South African security forces or: agencies enforcing apartheid;


## Nuclear trade

- A ban on nuclear trade and co-operation between the United States and South Africa;
- A provision that the Sullivan code become mandatory for the estimated 300 American companies in South Africa.

The committee rejected Senator Edward Kennedy's sanctions package which included an immediate ban on Krugerrand sales in the US and an end to new American, investments. It also rejected a move to end all SAA flights to the United States:

While the Forèign Relations Committee was hammering out its sanctions provisions from the many that had been proposed, the House of Representatives was debating its own sanctions measure, the AntiApartheid Act of 1985.

This measure, introduced by Congressman Bill Gray of Pennsylvania, is identical to the Kennedy Bill and it is certain to be approved.
The House adjourned without taking a final vote. It did; however, reject by ywide margins amendments proposed by- Rean publican congressmen that sought to softem the sanctions by making ther baranenew in: yestmentsis subjectiot the ap proval of blácksing SoutheAfriz ca, and the han onkrugerrand
 ing in violation of the Generals Agreement on ${ }^{\text {triniffs }}$ and Trade.


THE American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (Ämcham) recently presented a memorandum to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, in his capacity as chairman of the special Cabinet committee investigating the question of African rights outside the homelands, in which it emphasised that government should rest upon the consent of the governed.
"All adults, irrespective of race, should be accorded the right to representation in the legislature that has ultimate control of their lives," the memorandum said.
"While we are aware that all blacks in South Africa (broadly defined in this document to include homelands that were formerly part of South Africa) have a franchise for legislatures in the homelands, we do not believe that this alters the fact that ultimate control remains in Parliament in Cape Town and in the State President, who is vested with the control and administration of 'Hlacks' affairs."
" ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ This was '""partly because almost half of the blacks in South Africa reside outside the homelañds, paṛitly because all 10 homelands are heavily dependent of Parliament to fbalance their budgets, and partly because some two-thirds of the homelands' collective gross national product is "earned in the white-designated areas".
Amcham says it believes South Africans will ultimately devise a solution acceptable to the great majority of the country's'population, and that the nature of the system (federal or unitary, protection of rights on a group or individual basis and so on) would ultimately have to be decided among South Africans of all, Faces and political


#### Abstract

Legislation is now being prepared in the US Congress that would impose certain economic sanctions against South Africa - with tougher measures on the cards if South Africa does not move de monstrably towards scrapping apartheid within 18 months. But what would American business like to see happen here? In a recent memorandum to the special Cabinet Committee investigating black political rights, the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (Amcham) spelt out its views. KIN BENTLEY reports:


parties "during appropriate negotiations".
It says it would applaud it if the Cabinet committee's process of consultation with black leaders proved to be a first step in that direction.
On local government, it says the Government should issue a statement saying that black local authorities are only a form of third-tier government "and not a substitute for black political rights".
It also warns against the proposed taxing of companies based on their number of employees, which could discourage business investment.
Instead of seeking finance on a local level to make up infrastructural backlogs in black urban areas, it says the Government should introduce direct subsidies for development and upgrading, on a similar basis to that provided to homelands.

It says it can see no "sound economic or administrative reason" for the exclusion of blacks from the proposed Regional Services Councils, which according to a Bill tabled last year would include whites, coloureds and Indians, but only allow blacks to obtain services on a contract basis, not as formal members.

It says the regional development advisory committees in the eight development planning regions (which straddle homeland 'boundaries) are a recognition of the "inevitability
of joint decision-making on matters of common interest".
It calls for such economic joint decision-making to "evolve into joint decision-making on regional, political and other issues".
This could be achieved through black and white negotiation and compromise and evolve into "component units of an ultimate federal political system for SA" if such a system was decided on.

Nationally, it says the above proposals for local and regional government would pave the way for the successful implementation of an "appropriate formula for black participation in Parliament".
The Government should announce that it intends granting parliamentary franchise to blacks (including homeland blacks), when a formula has been agreed upon by the leaders of all groups.

Blacks should also be given representation on the State President's Committee on National Priorities, "since it will play a major role in determining budget priorities".
Amcham says it believes "an appropriate political formula for SA can only be arrived at through an agreed process of negotiation".

For it to be effective, it says, "it must necessarily include leaders or organisations now proscribed and/or in exile". Such
organisations should be legalised and their leaders in prison or exile granted amnesty, "subject to their agreement to participate in lawful democratic procedures and to disassociate themselves from violence"

All people in detention without trial should be charged or released.

- The memorandum urges the Government to embark on "an explicit programme to phase out influx control within a stated period of time.
"The weight of international evidence shows that the process of urbanisation can seldom be indefinitely arrested.
"In addition, urbanisation is a necessary prerequisite of economic growth.
Influx control resulted in costs "of policing and administration, opportunity costs to the economy and to business resulting from artificial restrictions on the free movement of labour, and the social costs in terms of damage to goodwill between the races".

The memorandum says population removals "do grievous damage to South Africa, both in terms of racial goodwill within the country and in terms of the country's image abroad.

Removals, it says, are "the one thing most likely to ensure success of the disinvestment lobby in the US, which would harm both American companies and South Africa itself.
They are "frequently
accompanied by coercion, and once people have been removed, particularly into some of the more densely populated homelands, they suffer stress and deprivation, and become an additional burden on the taxpayer.
"Some of the communities removed are economically relatively prosperous, and it is tragic to see such communities destroyed,"

There would be a saving through halting removals, "since the State would no longer have to provide housing for people who have been moved".

- The memorandum submits that "concomitant with the phasing out of influx control, the migratory labour system should also be phased out".
It sees the denial of a worker's right to live with his or her spouse and family for very large parts of his or her working life as "not morally right" or "compatible with the sanctity of marriage and family life".

Allowing migrant workers to bring their families to live with them would involve costs, but these could be partially met by the private sector.

- The memorandum also urges the Govern ment to remove the "petty restrictions that inhibit formal and informal business development within the black townships".
"Amcham believes that in the interests of maximising job creation, restrictions on business development in CBDs and black townships should be reduced to the barest essentials."
- Calls by Amcham for freehold title for blacks in South Africa and for the opening of central business districs have, sinice the submission was made, largely been met by the Government.


## Speechreport erroneans: Minister, Mr Louis Nel <br> This would mean that <br> country illegally to seek

yesterday denied that he
had threatened to $4 r e$ taliate" against US disin vestment by sending more than one million foreign black workers out of South Africa.

He said in a statement last night after viewing a TV video of a speech he made in Fort Beaufort on Tuesday night, which has created an international reaction, that news reports of the speech had been "erroneous".
Mr Nel explained that what he had said was that if the disinvestment campaign succeeded and led to greater unemploy ment, South Africa would have to look after its own citizens first.
more than sone million blacks of: neighbouring countries, axexuding Transkei, Bophuta tswana, Venda and Ciskei, who were working here illegally would have to be sent home.
Organizations cam paigning for US disinvestment in South Afric would, if successful b contributing to instabil ity and suffering.

- In Johannesburg, SABC-TV news yester day corrected a report it broadcast on Tuesday night that Mr Nel had told the meeting at Fort Beaufort South Africa would expel the million or so black workers from other Southern African states who were in this
a living, -if the US went ahead with tisinvest. ment legislation.
The SABC's corrected report says:

The possibility of retaliation by South Africa. if the US goes ahead with legislation to enforce disinvestment, has been raised by the Deputy Minister of Foreign AfMinister of Foreign
fairs, Mr Louis Nel.
Mr Nel told a meeting , at Fort Beaufort that if the disinvestment mea sures became law in the US, one of the options open to South Africa would be to expel the one million or so black workers from other Southern African states, who were in this country illegally.
Mr Nel said America would have to realize that if it went ahead with the disinvestment campaign South Africa would have to consider taking steps to protect itself, in a way that would make the world realize that South Africa was the regional power of Africa - Political Staff and Sapa


Pressure from US:

- Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. - Pressure lobbies inside the United States have been warned by Mr Harry Oppenheimer, doyen of big business in South Africa, that the South African Government will not surrender to threats of sanctions and disinvestment.

And the influential former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation has added that the Government stance will be backed by "virtually all the whites, most of the coloureds and Indians and significant numbers of the blacks".

The warning comes in the wake of moves inside the United States Senate to give South Africa an 18-month deadline to show real progress with reforms - or face sanctions.

## SLATED

In turn, Mr Oppenbeimer has slated the South African Government for moving far too slowly with reforms to dismadntle apartheid.
In spite of substantial progress in recent programmes "even reforms that have been agreed in principle seem to be held up interminably by a mass of red tape", he writes in a special publication entitled Disinvestment.
Neil Lurssen of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington-that rejecting lastminute appeals by three of President Reagan's Cabinet ministers not to vote for sanctions against South Africa, the United States House of Representatives approved by 295 votes to 127 the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985 that would impose tough new trade restrictions.

## OVERWHELMING

Joining the 239 Democrats who supported the sanctions were 56 members of the President's Republican Party.

The Bill's sponsors claimed that Republican support, together with Tuesilay's overwhelming vote in the Republi-can-majority Senate foreign relations committee in favour of a separate group of sanctions, was clear evidence of bipartisan opposition in the Congress to-the administration's pelicy of constructive engagement.

## DIFFICULT

This would make it extremely difficult for President Reagan to veto the sanctions when they reach his desk in August or September.

The measure approved by the House was introduced by Congressman Bill Gray of Pennsylvania, a black church leader and chairman of the house budget committee.
It has four sanctions measures:

- A ban on new bank loans to the South African Government or any of its corporations and entities.
- A ban on computer sales as well as spare parts and services to the South African Government.
- A ban on new investments by United States firms in the Repoblic. This would not affect re-investment by United States firms already operating there.
- A ban on the sale of Krugerrands in the United States.


# IBM firmly ${ }^{2} \mathrm{~m}$ mitted to trade with SA 

Computer giant IBM has no intention of pulling out of South Africa and does not support trade restrictions against this country, according to a statement from the corporation yesterday.
"We wish to restate that, as a matter of policy, IBM does not favour trade embargoes or other trade restrictions and will continue to make those views known," the statement said.
"Moreover, IBM recently restated its continuing interest in doing business in South Africa, at the same time respecting relevant US licensing regulations."

The statement comes after confusing

By TONY KOENDERMAN
reports from Washington carried in Business Day which suggested that computer companies, including IBM," were backing restrictions on computer sales to the SA government.
The facts about the disinvestment legislation currently moving through the US Congress are less alarming than some reports have indicated.
The Gray Bill, sponsored by "Con-' gressman William Gray and others including Stephen Solarz and Howard

Wolpe and passed this week by the Hbuse of Representatives, would ban the export of computer hardware and software for use by the SA government or any of its agencies.
However, a softer Bill, (the Lugar Bill), is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
This calls for a ban on the supply of computer equipment only to certain government entities - the militáry, police, prison system, national security agencies, black administration boards and government agencies that "discriminate against non-whites.



proposal by 379 votes to 40 . He then
suggested an internationally super-
vised referendum instead of a poll, vised referendum instead of a poll, votes to 30 .
Such determined ignorance is not unSuch determined ignorance is not
usual. When a black Namibian bishop
otue went to Washington to plead for once went to Washington to plead for
belp in finding jobs for his people, then-
Senator Walter Moxdale torned the cleric's visft into a show of support for
sanctions, prompting one journalist to sanc whether he proposed to starye the
ask
blacks entil the whites surrendered.

Of coorse, that is precisely what the
sanctions campaign is intended to
achieve
The American politicrans krow it;
they are not stupld. Their difficulty is that sanctions have become a moral
litmus test. To doubt' is to be damned.
It's like saying, "Let's be fair to titler". It's like saying, "Let's be falr to Hitler".
Keep that in mind while you examine the Lugar-Mathias bill adopted by
votes to one in the Senate Foreign Rela-
tions Committee this week. It's a marvellows piecce of legislative cynicism.
The bill calls for an end to certain computer sales which are already proAdministration Act.
It calls for an end to bant loans, of
which there are hardly any. (A quick which there are hards this week pro-
search of the recol
duced two small loans, both to Medduced two small loans, both to Med-
unsa, and somese cases Fhere Americans had taken up smal shares of loans
Hoated in Earope by SATS and Escom.)
it woold ban nuclear cooperation, of which there is noge (bat not, apparently,
imports of Sonth African uranium
which America may yet need).
$\overline{\overline{\mathrm{MONEY}}}$



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## U <br>  <br> observing code for all Workers.

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## Mercury leporter

 THE United'SStates Con-sulate-Generll in Durban is observin! almost all the conditiols of the Sullivan Code ind the minimum salarypaid is more than R10 00 a year.This was ointed out by the Consul-General, Mr Harry Gesel, who was commentifg on a report that one of the recom mendations of the Foreign Relajons Committee of the US Senate last week wat that the provi sions of the code should 3 made'binding on over
missions of the Amprican Government.
iHe satd the lowest paid member of staff, the driv ex, eapried just under R11000 a year - 'pretty good wages, I think'.
. Members of the consulate did employ domestic servants, but because the servants were not employees of the American Government their sala-
ries were not governed by the Sullivan Code.
It was possible for $U S$ employees to pay their personal employees in accordance with the code and then claim reimbursement from the American Government

But, said Mr Geisel, this was still 'very much in the air' and it had not yet been resolved where to draw the line $\frac{a}{a}$ how far the provisions of the code should be extended.

The consulate was observing all conditions with regard to equal and fair employment practices and provisions which dealt with equal pay for equal work.
The consula'fe employed six people - three whites and three blacks.
At the Cultural Centre in Durban, governed by the same rules, four South Africans were employed - one white and three non-whites.

# CAIE Trans $10 / 6 / 005$ divided sanctions impact 

WASHINGTON. - The proved by the Senate first punitive United States legislation against apartheid appears to be headed for approval by Congress, but American politicians and analysts are deeply divided about its impact on Pretoria.

The Reagan administration opposes any form of economic sanctions, insisting its policy of "constructive engagement" is the best way to coax reforms.

Yet opposition to South Africa's racial policies has grown so rapidly in the past six months that many legislators believe President Reagan will be unable to veto a sanctions bill sent by Congress.

## Diluted

The House of Representatives last week approved a bill to forbid new American invest${ }^{1}$ ment in the Republic, US loans to its government, the export of computer equipment and the import of Kruggerands.

A diluted measure ap-
foreign-relations com mittee was expected to reach the full Senate next month.

Groups such as the Free South Africa Movement, the organizer of nation-wide anti-apartheid protests since last November, welcome the congressional action, but would prefer total American disinvestment from the Republic.
At stake are the interests of about 350 American companies in South Africa, including General Motors, IBM, Ford and Mobil.

Together, they have direct assets of between two and three billion dollars (R4 to R6 billion), mainly in oil and computers, and represent about 20 percent of total foreign investment in South Africa.

In addition, some 6000 American firms have dealings with South Africa and total US investment in the country, including direct and in-
direct ties and commercial bank loans, is estimated at some 14 billion dollars (R28 billion)

Some experts believe, however, that even total US disinvestment would have little economic impact, as Pretoria's West European and Japanese trading partners would step in to fill the gap.

Ms Carol Rae Hansen, of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, said legislation imposing economic sanctions would have the same effect as the international arms embargo, which made South Africa self-sufficient.

However, Mr David Scott, a representative of the black foreign-policy group TransAfrica, which created the Free South Africa Movement, said there was no indication that American investment could be substituted that easily.

The administration argues that economic sanctions would hurt blacks in South Africa most, with the 120000 working in US companies being the hardest hit.

Speed pace
Legislators in favour of sanctions say the bill is intended to put pressure on Pretoria to speed the pace of political and social reforms for the black majority.

I don't believe this' particular package of sanctions is going to "bring the South African economy to its knees," said Mr Gregory Craig, chief foreign-policy aide to Senator Edward Kennedy, a vocal foe of apartheid. Rather it was to signal that the US would work hard to influence the dismantling of apartheid.

Others, however, deny Pretoria is susceptible to such pressure.
"The idea that the South African Government is going to commit political suicide by dismantling apartheid is laughable," said Mr Stuart Butler, director of do-mestic-policy studies at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank. - Sapa-Reuter

## Divestment:(6) <br> - No great ${ }^{4 t 50} 5$ damage' to SA

NEW YORK. - The influential New York Times, in a lengthy editorial comment yesterday, said that American disinvéstment "would not greatly damage South Africa's economy",
The newspaper added, however, that the fact that sanctions might not have great economic impact did not make them worthless.
"On the contrary, they would deliver psychólogical and moral blows against the Afrikaners without great damage to the economy on which blacks, too, depend.
$r$ "As the Afrikaners show with their energetic lobbying against sanctions, what they dread most is ostracism from the community of Western nations."
The newspaper said: "The indicated House-Senate compromise on sanctions against the Republic would serve notice that Americans no longer accept the apologies and pieties called constructive engagement'. If South Africa's white rulers want to regain their standing in the culture led by Americans, they will heed this plea to demonstrate gradual but real progress."
The New York Times said "two, concerns" had impeded America's "assaults' on apartheid".
"One is that strong sanctions might hurt the Republic's blacks more than their oppressors. The other is the administration's view that sanctions would only harden the white regime without really hurting it.

## Corporations confused on objectives

"Yet the president's alternative of. 'constructive engagement' has come up empty.
"Americans have, therefore, been struggling, incoherently, to create their own diplomacies, mostly demanding that state and city governments, univer-i sities and pension funds sell off the stocks of companies operating in South Africa.
'But this has left America's largest corporations' confused about the objective. Are the companies expected to work harder against apartheid in South Africa, as some have tried, or to abandon all profit from such an abhorrent system??'
The newspaper said the threat of disinvestment "may be more potent than the fact. The 300 American companies in South Africa can perhaps"advance the careers of their 70000 black employeest But if forced to leave, American companies would belmostly replaced by investors from other countries, who are likelyto be indifferent to apartheid.
"American disinvestment, in sum, would not greatlyrdamage South Africa's economy," the newspaper concluded. - Sapa-AP

Effects of US legislati
on SA computer indus

ONE OF the components of the anti－apartheid Bill recently passed in the United States Con－ gress is a ban on the export of computers to South Africa．What exactly does this mean and what are the consequences for SA？
Initial reports from Washington in－ dicated that a total ban on the sale of all computers to South Africa was in－ corporated in the Bill．This，in fact，is not so：Gray Bill，sponsored by Congressman William Gray and others（including Stephen Solarz and Howard Wolpe），seeks to ban the sale of computer hardware and software for use by the SA government and any of its agencies．
This could have dramatic conse－ quences，because although US com－ panies have long been prohibited from supplying computer hardware and software to the SADF，the SA Po－ lice and any other government agen－ cies which are responsible for the en－ forcement of apartheid，other government departments and para－ statal organisations rely heavily on computers sourced from the US．
－Organisations such as SATS，SAA， ．Iscor and Escom all use American wcomputers and software to a greater ＊or lesser extent．However，a milder ＊Bill－the Lugal Bill－is presently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee．This Bill calls for a ban on the supply of computer equipment tonly to those parts of the government －which have already been denied the
＇use of US equipment by previous leg－
islation during President Carter＇s term of office．

The fact that the Gray anti－apart－ heid Bill has already been passed by the House of Representatives does not mean that it will be automatically endorsed by the Senate and signed into law by President Reagan．
If the Lugar Bill is signed into law －it will make very little difference to ${ }^{2}$

## PETER VERNON

the leading US computer companies operating in SA－such as IBM，Bur－ roughs and Sperry．They do not sup－ ply computers to the military，police or government agencies responsible for maintaining apartheid．
If the stricter Gray Bill does be－ come law，then there will be some contraction of the market for US sup－ pliers，but computers will still be sup－ plied to companies in the private sec－ tor．The vacuum caused by a ban on the supply of computers to all govern－ ment departments and para－statal organisations will doubtless be filled by computers from Britain，Europe and Japan－a fact which will not have gone unnoticed by lobbyists rep－ resenting US computer interests in Washington．

The Japanese invasion is taken very seriously in the US and Ameri－ can computer companies are unlikely to readily welcome the loss of an ex－ port market to the Japanese．

While restrictions on the import of computers from the US provide some incentives for local manufacture， massive investments would be re－ quired to set up production facilities and research，development and engi－ neering laboratories to locally manu－ facture mainframes．This would make a complete import replace－ ment programme impractical．
SA does have the technical capabil－ ity to produce microcomputers and intermediate－size minicomputers and certain peripherals，such as termi－ nals and some printers．
Tariff protection would probably be necessary to make such activities viable，and tariff protection almost inevitably leads to higher prices， which are eventually passed on to the consumer．Furthermore，protection tends to inhibit adoption of the latest technology－a critical factor in the． fast－moving computer industry．

© MIAS VAN VUUREN ．．．＂any legislation which withhoids technology is bound to put us in a less competitive position＂

Even if tariff protection were to be granted，the size of the local market would mean that the capital and tech－ nological resources required would be punitive unless export markets could be found．

Other problems face US companies doing business in SA．The strength of the US dollar and the recent import tax imposed by the Minister of Finance means that profits are being squeezed to buffer the effect of higher prices．Furthermore，some customers are deferring decisions on new sys－ tems because of higher prices and the poor economic climate．

There is also $\dot{P}$ holders for US draw from SA．A and cities have quiring the wititu： invested in come in SA；certain ns．．．． have also taken：－：

US computer ： business in SA are tude towards sures：they point more for positive actually here ${ }^{4}$－ out；they state they intend to ste by American lezi－

IBM＇s presinten tive officer John ． ed that：＇We $\mathrm{L}=\mathrm{Z}$ important things mote change is to tional develonio．． underline the fant stay in SA，IBM nounced a five－y： improve the entire ic development $i=$ initially cost R20． from the company

Mike Blmpent officer of Bu゙ぇー．．： the US，is on rea． opposed to disin： gagement．Mias executive of bui． pointed out that which withholds ？ is bound to put us tive and competiti．
Perhaps the SA is in the me： need computers maintain our Since trade emion： tally effective， stricter embargoe to the latest high slowly drift back benefit no one in i or white．

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## PETER VERNON

the leading US computer companies operating in SA - such as IBM, Burroughs and Sperry. They do not supply computers to the military, police or government agencies responsible for maintaining apartheid.
If the stricter Gray Bill does become law, then there will be some contraction of the market for US suppliers, but computers will still be supplied to companies in the private sector. The vacuum caused by a ban on the supply of computers to all government departments and para-statal organisations will doubtless be filled by computers from Britain, Europe and Japan - a fact which will not have gone unnoticed by lobbyists representing US computer interests in Washington.
The Japanese invasion is taken very seriously in the US and American computer companies are unlikely to readily welcome the loss of an export market to the Japanese.
While restrictions on the import of computers from the US provide some incentives for local manufacture, massive investments would be required to set up production facilities and research, development and engineering laboratories to locally manufacture mainframes. This would make a complete import replacement programme impractical.

SA does have the technical capability to produce microcomputers and intermediate-size minicomputers and certain peripherals, such as terminals and some printers.

Tariff protection would probably be necessary to make such activities viable, and tariff protection almost inevitably lears to higher prices, which are eventually passed on to the consumer. Furthermore, protection tends to inhibit adoption of the latest technology - a critical factor in the fast-moving computer industry.


- MIAS VAN VUUREN ... "any
legislation which withholds
technology is bound to put us in a less competitive position'

Even if tariff protection were to be granted, the size of the local market would mean that the capital and technological resources required would be punitive unless export markets could be found.
Other problems face US companies doing business in SA. The strength of the US dollar and the recent import tax imposed by the Minister of Finance means that profits are being squeezed to buffer the effect of higher prices. Furthermore, some customers are deferring decisions on new systems because of higher prices and the poor economic climate.

There is also pressure from stockholders for US companies to withdraw from SA. A number of US states and cities have passed legislation requiring the withdrawal of their funds invested in companies doing business in SA; certain educational institutions have also taken similar steps.
US computer companies who do business in SA are united in their attitude towards disinvestment pressures: they point out that they can do more for positive change if they are actually here than if they are forced out; they state unequivocally that they intend to stay unless forced out by American legislation.
IBM's president and chief executive officer John Akers recently stated that: "We believe one of the most important things we can do to promote change is to advance the educational development of the blacks." To underline the fact that it intends to stay in SA, IBM has recently announced a five-year programme to improve the educational and economic development of blacks. This will initially cost R20m and will be funded from the company's SA earnings.
Mike Blumenthal, chief executive officer of Burroughs Corporation in the US, is on record as being totally opposed to disinvestment or disengagement. Mias van Vuuren, chief executive of Burroughs in SA, has pointed out that "any legislation which withholds technology from us is bound to put us in a less cost-effective and competitive position".
Perbaps the most serious threat to SA is in the medium to long term: we need computers to improve and maintain our economic prosperity. Since trade embargoes are never totally effective, they tend to beget yet stricter embargoes. If we lose access to the latest high technology, we will slowly drift backwards. This will benefit no one in this country, black or white.



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事家
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LOS ANGELES - After an emotional, five-day fight, a State of California committee hat, yoted to restrict new pension fund investments in corporations that do business with South Africe. 62
The ant1-apartheid action, which formed pert of a proposed state budget package; will be yoted on by the California State Senate and Assembly later this week.
owbion 14.66
The new state budget willibstract pension fund administrators that by January 1 they should adopt plans to "end all new investments in institutions which make new investments or new loans to the Republic of South Africa".
 verage it has to influence reform in this country, KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi said in Johannesburg yesterday.
Speaking soon after his arrival from a trip to London and New York, Buthelezi said he had warned American businessmen that should disinvestment become a

By PETER WALLINGTON
reality it would be the end of their influence.
Buthelezi addressed a "Business ${ }^{\text {™ }}$ nternational Conference" in London and New York on black demands and the challenge to international companies. He also addressed a combined sitting of the California legislature and the Coun-
grip on $\mathrm{SA}^{\prime}$
cil of Regents at the University of California (Ucla).
Ucla had $\$ 2,4 \mathrm{bn}$ invested with companies which do business with South Africa
Buthelezi stressed that South Africa's neighbours would be badly hurt by disinvestment. "Many had not really looked at this, and I don't think this dimension has been stressed enough," he said.


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NEW YORK-In a major victory for the anti-disinvesd rejected pressure for the States, principals of leading universities have met and business in 'South Africa. total divestiture of their stoc
'We have an honest and strongly held position that the corporate presence in South Africa is oné of the positive forces for change,' Dr David McLaughlin, president of Dartmouth College, said after the meeting in New Yórk State.
${ }^{\prime}$ As long as we can assure that corporate policies there are constructive, our trustees feel it would be counterproductive to divest.'
The principals, who met in response to mount-- ing manding divestiture, were those of the socalled 'Ivy League' colleges, which include most of 'the nation's biggest and most influential universities.

## The

The colleges have billions of rands worth of investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

The disinvestment lob-
by, led by the Washington lobbyist Mr Randall Robinson, is expected "to' be enraged by the decision.
The colleges' decision was made in spite of a personal appeal to the principals by the Rev Jesse Jackson.
Most analysts believe the universities' decision is significant because of the extent of their endowments and their prestige in the US intellectual life.
Thër endowments the amount of money universities have for investing - range from $\mathrm{R} 4,6 \mathrm{bil-}$ lion at Harvard, the biggest of any U S university, to R400 million at Brown, the smallest in the Ivy League.;
While only some of the money is invested in companies doing ${ }^{2}$ business with South "Africa, the amount is in some instances a significant proportion. - (Sapa)

## By CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDEE

## nation had to be fought.

Conversely, Reid Weedon, senior vice-president of consulting company Arthur D Little - which monitors adherence of signatories to the Sullivan Code - argued that their code of fair employment practice had made significant achievements in SA.
Signatories collectively employ less than $1 \%$ of the black labour force, but in 1983 their black employees held $15 \%$ of the total 99 -year leases due to company sponsored programmes on home ownership and housing loans.
Achievements also included obtaining $100 \%$ desegregation in the workplace and full compliance in recognising representative unions among the 100 US parent companies which had reported last year.
All the companies now have equal pay for equal work and all but three and a few rural signatory companies meet the code's minimum wage requirements of $30 \%$ above the Minimum Living Level.
Johan Van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), outlined urgent steps the business community could take to advance black workers. These included:
$\square$ The use of good screening techniques to select candidates for advancement and identify areas where training would develop potential.
$\square \mathrm{A}$ corporate strategy to involve such blacks in horizon-stretching programmes to persuade them they could aspire to higher.
$\square$ Attending closely to company attitudes towards black advancernent which was inhibited because the informal support and encouragement provided within corporations was not
necessarily extended towards blacks. $\square$ The sponsoring of institutions which seek to close the gap between the formal education structure and skills needed to develop black managerial capacities.
$\square$ The setting up of a forum in each company by top SA management to consider job advancement, with the relevant trade union playing a pivotal role in discussions.
He stressed that black advancement was "central to businesses' own self-interest" because SA was in the middle of a skilled labour and management crises. But though black advancement provided business benefits, there were also associated costs.
There thus had to be sufficient productivity improvement in the longer term to justify the additional shortterm cost in advancing black workers, he said.
Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank SA, said that in comparison to other countries, SA experienced an intense focus on the role of its private sector in the community.
While he did not underestimate the role of this sector in pushing for government reforms, he believed business leaders could only pioneer change by putting together a strategy to develop understanding and communication in different business environments.
"This will require the input and thought of black people who are so often regarded as the object of readymade schemes instead of the co-initiators," he said.

Discussion revealed that though the political system was partly responsible for thwarting black advancement, the attitude of white middle management - the key level where new recruits were evaluated - was one of the biggest obstacles to change.

 $\therefore$ Sarmcol, offiscooperatigig with the policep to end the dispute between the inion and the compayy, , 远
FThe union claims that police harassment and ip timidation of its members has been on tho increase as seen by their "unprovoked confrontation" with the workers in Impopomeni at the weekenf.

The dispute between the parties revolues ardund the dismissal two months ago of about 975 werkers after they had gone on a legal strike, although man-

bers have been prevented from picketing outside
$\therefore$ BTR's head office in Randburg. So We Cras what it really is, and what it really does to the people,", the statement said.

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Union leaders have called on the company to meet the workers' demands or leave South Africa.

A BTR spokesman has denied that the company was collaborating with the police by acting against the workers and the union
:"The police are only trying to maintain civil order, but we are certainly not in alliance-with them. All we are doing is running the company," the spokesman said.

Police said they took action at Impopeni on Sun-: day against a crowd which stoned them rafter an order to disperse. They have denied taking action against the workers who planned to picket BTR's Randburg offices.

- Meanwhile, major strade union federations :and $\therefore$...merging trade unions. - the Federation of Trade
: Unions of SA (Fosatu) and the Council of Unions of
ki South Africa (Cusá) - have spoken strongly against
foreign companies with investments in South Africa.


Mr Lou Wilking (right), outgoing managing director of General Motors South Africa, hands to the chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Justice Jan Steyn (centre), a R1,6m cheque for non-white housing. On the left is Mr Robert "Bob" White, who will assume MD-responsibilities at GMSA in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

##  living improvement

1. By BRIAN GROBBLER LOW-INTEREST loans of almost R 4 million to improve living conditions of ${ }^{2}$ non-whites in South Africa were announced by Mr Lou Wilking, outgoing managing director of General Motors South Africa, in Cape Town yesterday.
Of the present R4m low-interest loans, $\dot{R} 2,3 \mathrm{~m}$ has been earmarked for South African educational institutions and charity organizations between now and 1988, and R1,6m for non-white housing development in the Port Elizabeth area.
The loan, the biggest ever to the Urban Foundation by a single company, came mostly from the GM Foundation in ther-United States, Mr Wilking said.

Mr Justice Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundationwa South African organization devoted to the economic and social advancemen
of non-whites, accepted a cheque from Mr Wilking for R1, 6 to be used on housing by the Foundation. It will permit the construction of 272 new homes and the improvement of 44 existing ones.
Mr Justice Steyn' described the loans as a "courageous investment" in South Africa.
GMSA is "committed" to helping the non-white people of South Africa Mr Wilking said, and has already provided more than R10m over the years. In 1980 GMSA spent R9m to upgrade facilities for all workers at its Port Elizabeth plant and for additional training facilities to prepare greater numbers of blacks and other nonwhites for supervisory and management positions.

The funding by GMSA will carry' forward and substantially augment existing programmes designed to enhance the upward mobility,of
blacks and other nonwhites by providing greater educational opportunities as well as a better way of life outside the work environment.
The R2,3m contribution to educational institutions and charity organizations will provide university scholarships, overseas study and skills development, commercial college training, training of doctors, dentists, veterinary scien tists and teachers, im proved library facilities, small business development, legal advice and counsel, relief of hunger and malnutrition and maintenance of recreational facilities.
Mr Wilking said the R4m reinforced GMSA's long-standing commitment to maintaining its leadership role in the advancement of blacks and other non-whites and would contribute to positive and peaceful change in South African social conditions.



FOREIGN－BASED com－ panes in South Africa are facing continued pressure from the disinvestment lobby while battling with the country＇s worst reces－ sion since the 1930s．

The Eastern Cape de－ pends largely on the motor industry which；on the whole，has played an impor－ taint role with regard to social programmes for employees．

A brief record of some of these programmes is：
－This week General Mo－ tors South Africa announced that for this year and up to the end of 1988 ，a grant of R2，3 million had been ear－ marked for educational in－ stitutions and charitable organisations and that R1，6 million in low－interest loans would be made available to the Urban Foundation for （＂non－white＂housing devel－ opment in the PE area．

The nearly R2，3 million，a GMSA．statement said， would be spent on a variety of things including univer－ sty＇scholarships，overseas study and leadership skills development，commercial college training，training of medical doctors，dentists and veterinary scientists， educational＂guidance， career counseling and work－ placement assistance，train－ ing of aspiring teachers and teacher upgrading，imp－ proved library facilities and training of more librarians， small business development legal advice and counsel，re－ lief of hunger and malnutri－ ton，and maintenance of recreational facilities．
＂In 1980 GMSA completed a R9－million project，which upgraded and fully inte－ grated dining facilities， comfort and locker rooms， and provided additional training facilities to pres－ pare greater numbers of ＇non－whites＇for supervisory and management posi－ lions＂．

The statement said GMSA was one of the first 12 US companies to adopt the Sullivan principles in 1977．Between 1977 and 1984， its contributions to South African educational and charitable organisations amounted to nearly R 4 mil－ lion．

－Ford＇s housing project， KwaFord，at New Brighton， was started in the post－war depression years，flourished in 1974 and today the 380 units there house about 1500 people．
In 1982 Ford，with the Ur－ ban Foundation，established 16 Spaceframe houses in Zwide for employees．
In 1984 R100 000 was granted by Ford to start ＂self－help＂projects in tasso－ cation with the Urban Foundation，which will pro－ vide 64 further much－
been built in the black town－ ship of Kwanobuhle， Rosedale Scheepershoogte，and neg tiations are underway for the development of further sites．＂
He said the total cost of this housing initiative cur－ rently stood at $\mathrm{R} 3,4$ million．
＂Volkswagen has also been actively involved in the field of education，which involves，inter alias，co－spon－ sorship of the VW／Goodyear technical centre，part－spon－ sorship of a black pre－pri－
ties in the industry．At present 157 ＇non－white＇ap－ prentices are receiving training in 12 different trades．
＂A unique feature is the one－year bridging pro－ gramme of compensatory training for those applicants who lack the rudimentary skills needed for selection as apprentices．
＂The first two black anti－ sans to qualify in South Africa came from the VWSA apprentice centre，as did the first three coloured

## Reports on the disinvestment issue by KIN BENTLEY

needed homes in Z wide．This project is underway．
All hourly－paid employees with a minimum of five year＇s service with the company are entitled to apply for a loan，either for a deposit on a house or for home improvement－ repaid interest－free over an extended period．
－Mr Graham Hardy， communications manager for Volkswagen South Africa said：＂Over the years VW and Uitenhage have be－ come increasingly inter－ dependent，and as such the majority of our pro－ grammes are confined to this area．
＂The VW housing scheme got under way in 1982 with an investment of R1 million． To date 153 homes have
mary school，bursaries and scholarships，careers quid－ ance programmes for black high school pupils，an extra lessons programme for black matriculants，and do－ nations of video equipment and video teaching．＂

He said mini－computers had gone to local black high schools and school books to children of black employees．

On the training front，he said，VW had spent just on R18 million over the past three years．
＂The VW apprentice training facility is by far the biggest in the SA motor manufacturing industry， and with approximately 300 apprentices，VW is cur－ rently training approxi－ matey $36 \%$ of all appren－
die－and－press toolmakers．
He said that while they did not actively publicise these programmes over－ seas，the parent company in West Germany was kept in－ formed on an ongoing basis．
＂The EEC code of con－ duct provided the initial guidelines for our man－ power policies and proc－ tises，but we have subs－ quently moved to a point where we are well in ad－ vance of these require－ ments，＂Mr Hardy said．
－Mrs Annelise van der Lain and Mrs Delene MacFarlane，spokesmen for Mercedes－Benz of South Africa，said the firm had embarked on several pro－ jects over the past few years：

They said the company
had，at its manufartime division in East Lond ing， established a training． centre at a cost of more than R1，3 million in build 5 inge and equipment．A fur－ the investment of $\mathbf{R 7 0 0} 000$ was planned for further ex－ tensions to this facility．
＂Since the establishment of the centre in 1981，more than 1000 people of all wat races have been trained or are currently being trained： in apprenticeship trades， skilled and semi－skilled． trades，and for supervisory； levels．
＂These people receive all tuition totally free of charge．The number of people trained exceeds the requirement of this com： many and as a result are trained for employment ： with whatever emp he they may choose and are tally free of any obligation to this company on complex ton of their training？
MBSA supported，by way． of financial contribution or in kind，various other inst： tutions，they said．

These included the Waltloo in－service－trañinte centre near Pretoria 名菵 expenditure，to date，＂in ex cess of R250 000 ort teacher in－service training； centre in Soweto（Johannes－： burg）and in excess R60 000 in ongoing support to various universities
＂The furthering of educe－ ton is being offered by this company to its employs by means of interest－ife loans for financing of any？ courses undertaken at technikon，college，univa sty，or other recognised inti stitution．＂

Financial support for the acquisition of homes wat： granted，in particular，te black staff who were mat－ ing use of the scheme to an ever－increasing degree．
＂To date，the sum total $0^{\prime}$ loans granted repayable ${ }_{2}$ a an interest rate of＂ $5 \%$ ； amounts to over R500 000 ：＂
＂The company conduits ongoing investigation in te further possible＂field＇s where financial assistance can be given for tile upliftment of＂non－white＂ persons over and above tit employees and their fame ilies．

## Lou Wilking has mixed feelings as he says farrewell

Mr LOU WILKing，due to be replaced on July 1 as managing director of General Motors，bid Port Elizabeth farewell this week．

After steering GM through mixed fortunes for the past eight years， Mr Wilking is due to hand over the helm to Mr Bob White，of GM＇s Detroit head office，with whom he will trade places．
＂My new position will be executive assistant to the Group vice－president responsible for overseas operations，＂Mr Wilking told newsmen at a Press oonference．
 feellings that I will be re－ turning to the States， since I have lived in Port Elizabeth for a longer period－outside of my home town，Cincinatti－ than anywhere else in the world．＂
During his recent visit to Detroit Mr Wilking had a＂foretaste of responsibil－ ities to come，when he was asked to deputise for his：new boss，Mr Jim Wa－ ters，at a meeting with the World Council of Churches on the question of ${ }_{3}$ GM＇s South African investments．
 mitment to remaining in South Africa，Mr Wilking fosaid fielding the disin－ uot yestment lobby in the

United States would be among his major respon－ sibilities．
＂General Motors has made its contributions to the local community over my period of office to the extent of some $\$ 10 \mathrm{mil}$ lion，and we have no in－ tention of abandoning this commitment．＂
Mr Wilking revealed that he had a tape－record－ ing of discussions with Nobel Peace Prize－win－ ner Bishop Desmond Tutu which indicated clearly that＂the bishop himself does not support disin－ vestment by US compan－ ies in South Africa＂．
＂If you listen carefully to what the bishop is say－ ing you will appreciate that he has never lobbied in favour of disinvest－ ment．＂

Mr Wilking said he was handing over to a succes－ sor at a difficult time．
＂We＇ve been down and now there＇s only way to go and that＇s up－the only questions are when， how fast，and how far．＂

Mr Wilking said the re－ cent relaxation in interest rates augured well for the industry and pointed out that on the basis of an average mortgage bond of some R40 000，each $1 \%$ downward adjustment in the bond rate put about R40 back into household－
ers＇pockets．
Furthermore，repay－ ments on motor cars would drop around R9 for each $1 \%$ decline in rates．
＂GM has the correct product line－up to exploit the easier market condi－ tions，＂and we look for－ ward with great anticipa－ tion to regaining the prominent market posi－ tion we enjoyed in the ＇60s，＂said Mr Wilking．
On a personal level Mr Wilking said he greeted his new appointment with mixed feelings．
＂However I do not be－ lieve I will be losing con－ tact，in view of the nature of the job that awaits me，＂he said．
Also present at Press conference was Mr Wilking＇s successor，Mr Bob White，who said in view of the particularly severe competition on the South African market ＂more affiliations，joint ventures，and joint pro－ duction－not necessarily mergers＂were likely in the future．
＂The costs of producing a new model are becom－ ing horrendous，so people will be looking increas－ ingly at sharing these bur－ dens，＂said Mr White．
＂But if there＇s＂going to be change GM would like to be dictating，that change，rather than play－ ing catch－up．＂

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Joy is against disinvest-
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pany is lobbying heavily on
this point.
"Increasing black educa-
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we believe the same will hap-
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"It does not make political
sense to oppose the economic sense to oppose the economic
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of South Africa merely be-
cause of the recession and the
weak rand "We believe the growth po-
tentral of South Africa as a
developing nation during the developing nation during the
1990s is exciting."



## Church to null Of SA $A^{4} 185$ <br> AMES OOWA - Leaders of the United Church of Christ have voted to divest holdings in com. panies with South African comnections and to stop doine datsiness with banksthat assist the Republc. 62 Miss (iudrey smock, the UCC' 'wold issues seceptary said the New Yorkhead quartered churchinas about R1 300 million inyested in pent sion and other funds, of which at least R 250 million is in holdings of American companies rica. - Sapazep.

 technology exports.WASHINGTON American pressure on South Africa to end apartheid looks set to intensify this week as Conpress moves closer to tres sanctions.
The Republican-led Senate, in a debate starting today, is preparing legislation that would be a sharp rebuff to President Reagan's cautious approach to Pretoria's policies.

Barring last-minute
hitches, the Senate acion would send a strong signal to the South African Government that Congress 'wants reforms to the apartheid system.
"It is "obvious that strong, punitive masures directed at the South African Governmont are necessary to stop the abhorrent treatmont of the black majorty," said Republican Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky.

## Curbs

Recently, the Demo-crat-controlled House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a bill for sanctions by 295 votes to 127.
House members ap proved economic curbs last year, but Congress adjourned before Senate action and the miasure died.

The measure that recently cleared the House is considered slightly stronger, and the plan before the Senate is seen as a tough bill.
The Senate bill won approval in the Senate Foreign Relations Com mittee by 16 votes to one.
Both the House and Senate versions would prohibit new US bank loans to the South African Government, irevent sales of US computers and technology that South African military or police could use in enforcing racial laws

Both bills would presvent US firms from making new investments or expanding their South African operations and would prohibit Krugerrand imports.
The House bill would apply these latter saneions immediately unless South Africa quicky enacted reforms, ranging from letting black workers live near their families to allowing blacks to vote.
Under the Senate varsion, the new sanctions would not be imposed for 18 months to give South Africa time to make progress on reforms.

Once passed, the Senate version must be reconciled with the Houseapproved measure before a final bill can be sent to the White House ${ }_{i}$ The Reagan adminit ration objects to both bill, contending that South Africa has made progress on lessening restrictions and that saneLions would only hurt working blacks.

## Filibuster

But in Congress the ad $f$ ministration's long, standing policy of con structive engagement with Pretoria is viewed as having accomplished too little.

Senate Republican leader Mr Robert Dole of Kansas hopes the bill will be passed in the coming week. Although. any senator can block the vote through lengthy debate or tabling multiole amendments, no threats of such a filibuster have been made.

Nevertheless, constrvative Republican sentors such. as Mr Jesse Helms of North Carolina are expected to offer strong opposition. -Sapa-Reuter

## Increased U S $*$

on the Johannesburg and Luxembourg stock exchanges, and Afex, which is listed on the London and Johannesburg exchanges, together have portfolios of prime guoted investments and property in the US.

The issue is the third stage in a process of reorganising the East Rand Consolidated Ple group (ERC). The underwriters of today's rights offer are Barclays
National Merchant National Merchant Bank Ltd.
West
corporate finance manager, Mr Simon Oliver, commented: 'The offer is to let Conafex increase its portfolio of quoted investments and deposits and diversify its general portfolio of investments The effect of the scheme will be to give South Afri: can investors in Conafex further benefits of over seas investments through the controlling holding in Afex.'
The final stage of the reorganisation has two forms: a rights offer and a partial offer.
In terms of the former, Conafex intends raising approximately $\$ 750000$ with a rights issue of 624173 Ordinary conafex shares on the basis of one new share for every existing two. The shares will be issued at $\$ 1,25$ each.
Barname will announce the terms of the offer to
day. It will open on
August 1 and close on August 10.

In terms of the partial offer, Conafex plans to ac quire a further 592362 Ordinary Afex shares This will increase Conafex's holding in Afex by 16,7 percent to 50,1 percent. The offer will be on the basis of 19 new Conafex shares for 20 Afex shares.
*Afterwards, Conafex will issue a further 562743 Ordinary shares to accepting members of Afex. On completion of the partial offer Conafex's principal investment will be a 50,1 percent holding in Afex, represented by 1784188 Ordinary shares with a nominal value of 50 c each.
Barname expects that the rights offer will in-
crease the cos net asset value of Conafex to $\$ 8246097$ and will raise shareholders' earnings to $\$ 251$ 298. from $\$ 164434$,

Afex, which was incorporated in Luxembourg in the parent company of a group with investments (as at September 30, 1984) worth \$1,5-millions in, the $\mathrm{US}, \$ 4,46-\mathrm{million}$ ? in South Africa and $\$ 1$-million in Zimbabwe.

Today's rights offer is the third stage in a : process by which EaSt Rand Consolidated Plc reduced its share capital and distributed its holding in Conafex to its sharehold ers. The second stage of the procests listed Conafex as the holding company of A Afex in the Indústrialinduitinal Holdings sector of the JSE on July 1 .

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## East ${ }^{4}$ Cape shat down by-strikes 

PORT ELIZABETH. - Volkswagen SA in Uiten-

- hage and the locomotive plant of General Motors at Aloes shut down today because of strikes.
ywherkers at Ford who went on strike yésterday

2-1, wow ikswagen management said that because so few workers reported for duty ${ }^{\text {atoday }}$ the entire plant would close for the day.
Last week Volkswagen workers downed tools for three days over the management's decision to lend mini-buses for the All Blacks rugby tour.
The plant closed yesterday afternoon after workers on the Golf production line downed tools.
The workers say they want their pension contributions paid out to them and are also unhappy with the existing pension scheme.

The Aloes locomotive plant is to close until Monday through an unresolved strike that started on Monday.
The workers at the Aloes plant downed tools on Monday over an alleged altercation between a white supervisor and a worker.

## PE platitits shut downt fiss strike

PORT ELIZABETH. Volkswagen and the 10 comotive plant of General Motors shut down yesterday through continuing strike action by the workers.
Workers at Ford's Neave plant resumed work yesterday but by 10.30 am had downed tools again. They went on strike on Wednesday. A spokesman for Ford said it was not clear at this stage whether the Neave plant would be closed down for the day. On Wednesday, for the second time this year, all three motor companies in the Eastern Cape had workers out on strike.

- Meanwhile the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) plans to go ahead with a strike on 27 gold mines and collieries throughout the country early next month, according to the union's information secretary, Ms Manoko Nchwe.

More than 210000 of the country's 550000 black miners are employed on the designated mines, which would make the strike. if successful, the largest in South African history.
Ms Nchwe said balloting at 16 of the 27 mines where the union is recognized had brought in more than 60000 votes favouring the strike with fewer than 1900 oppos

This represented 92 percent of workers on the balloted mines. according to the union's figures. "The strike is going ahead." Ms Nchwe said.
The industrial relations adviser to the Chamber of Mines. Mr Johann Liebenberg, saıd yesterday the NUM represented 85000 paid-up members on the mines.
"The chamber contends that the NUM does not have a mandate from the 27 mines where it is recognized, and most definitely not from throughout the industry," he said.

In Johannesburg, the Siemens management will meet representatives of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union' (Mawu) today to try to overcome the deadlock situation in which about 2000 striking workers were dismissed, a company statement said last night.
The workers were dismissed at five Siemens plants for going on strike on Monday to back demands for plant-level wage negotiations to supplement Industrial Council wage rates.

Siemens said the company was willing to consider re-employment of the fired workers, many of whom were loyal to Siemens. - Sapa



## Car industry strikers to (and go back to work'

Own Correspondent PORT ELIZABETH. Workers at Volkswagen in Uitenhage and Ford's Neave plant here are ex pected to return to work early next week, ending strikes at both factories
A spokesman for the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu), which represents most hourlypaid workers at both plants, said workers at VW were expected to return on Monday and Tuesday and Neave workers on Tuesday
Strikes at both companies started on Wednesday this week and affected about 5000 workers. Both plants were closed yesterday Workers at $V W$ downed tools after demands for refunds from pension contributions were refused. Workers at Ford stopped work because of the company's
refusal to backdate interim wage increases, the Naawu spokesman said.

These issues are expected to be high on the agenda when Ford General Motors and VW meet trade union repre sentatives in the Indus trial Council on Monday.

Industrial Council negotiations over wage in. creases have been going on for about eight months with no results.

Ford and Volkswagen spokesmen could not be reached late yesterday to comment on the expected return to work

Sapa reports that yesterday's talks between Siemens and the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Maawu) to break a deadlock after 1250 workers were fired for striking this week will be resumed on Monday.

Siemens statement
last night said Maawu delegates were told that the company was willing to re-employ the vast majority of the dismissed workers, as it believed them loyal to Siemens. It said that while the company "clarified" its refusal of the R1/hour increase, individual workers would receive an additional increase based on performance and merit.
The statement said, however: "A small number of the dismissed workers will not be reemployed where acts of violence and intimidation can be proved. In addition, where disciplinary records exist, this will also be taken into account."
The company added it was willing that a small committee, representing both sides in the dispute, investigate the fairness of each case. IBM to give
R10-m heast to
black business

Financial Staff
IBM SA is to make grants totalling R10-million over the next five years for the support of black business enterprise and job creation, and greater black participation in the economic system.

The company says the move is an expansion of its corporate social responsibility programme in South Africa.

It has also announced a special agricultural project which will use computer technology to help transform low-level subsistence farming in the KwaZulu area into income-generating small-scale agriculture.

About R700 000 will be spent on a resource centre providing various types of agricultural training for black farmers, including landuse management and productivity improvement. Altogether, the project will cost about

R2-million.
A R400 000 donation will go to a housing project for blacks, which will be operated in conjunction with the Soweto Building Contractors' Association.
The programme will provide a headquarters and training centre, as well as bridging finance, training and counselling for blacks who want to enter the building trades and establish their own building enterprises.

Another R300 000 will be shared equally between the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Get Ahead Foundation.

The sponsorship will be used to identify and provide a framework for changing the laws and regulations which impede the progress of black entrepreneurs wishing to take part in the free enterprise system.

ISUZU, a Japanese motor giant, has been able to side-step its government's ban on investment in South Africa, according to executive director Hishasi Ogawa.
"If the ban were to be lifted, we would be more concerned about investing here. However, General Motors (US) is the largest single shareholder in Isuzu Motors Japan with $34,2 \%$, so the investment needs of Isuzu in SA can be met by GM, who represent us here," said Ogawa, who is on a brief visit to SA.

Speaking through his interpreter, Isuzu overseas operations manager Yoshiaki Harada, Ogawa said Isuzu took no profits nor royalties out of SA.
"We supply the latest components and technology. While we take nothing directly out of SA, we are compensated through our relationship with the General Motors group worldwide."

Ogawa said SA was an important market for Japanese companies.
"Although we know that SA's economy is very depressed at the moment, we are confident that it will recover in a short time. There is potential in the black market here and we are confident that as their salaries and purchasing power increase, they will become good and important customers for Isuzu."

Despite the Japanese investmet ban, Ogawa said that there was no pressure on Japanese companies trading in SA to pull out.
Isuzu was naturally concerned with the depressed state of the SA motor industry, said Ogawa.
"We recognise that the market is de-


- HARADA

pressed and our marketing efforts are geared towards at least keeping our present $15 \%$ share of the diminishing medium/heavy commercial vehicle market and, if possible, increasing that share. We believe that the market has great potential."

Ogawa and Harada are in SA primarily for a courtesy visit to GM and Isuzu dealers.
"We have come to see the International Transport Exhibition and Conference (Itec ' 85 in Johannesburg), to hold discussions with GM and to pay a visit to some of our South African dealers."

He added that discussions included the possibility of GM exporting Isuzu components to Japan. "The decision on that will be based on the price, quality and dependability that GM can offer.'
Sales of Isuzu trucks in SA represent about $5 \%$ of the company's total world sales but it had no plans to introduce its range of passenger cars, said Ogawa.
1500 workers shut out at Ford plant after stoppages

Argus Burean PORT ELIZABETH Samcor have shut out $]$ ont


 H1 the wheters return io work and agree to continue working.
The move follows a week of s:uppeges by norkers demand${ }^{-1}$ E that recent wage increases bebachatied to February 1
Samcor insists on sticking to an Industrial Council agree. ment and backdating the increase to May 1.
Recently General Motors and Coll: wagen agreed to werkers demands to bachdate the mereases to February 1,
preciptating the Fora Neave walkous
Smeve tuthe relatmens a
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wo wuri mery car mine pectation of work no: periormed is a hopeless exercise"
"Before $u \in$ reopen the plan: we want an ascurance from the workers that they wi!! seturn to wurk and continue to vorh. he sald

## Denial

He dened that Samcor was taking adsantage of the stoppages to close the plant permanently - scheduied to happen at the end of the year in terms of the Ford Amcar merger.
"We have parts and material in the plant for several months production In the motor industry planning has to be done months in advance as parts have to come from as far afield as Europe." Mr Kernohan sald.
"We negotrated ulth ite workers for four das's belure we took this action That should show that we are not trying to take advantage of the situation,

- -...

predominate. Although current reserve estimates are not strictly reliable, most experts agree it is unlikely another major coalfield will be discovered in SA which could handle long-term export contracts or supply another Escom power station.

The major consideration, says National Coal Research Insti-
tute deputy director
Mel van Vuuren, is not the adequacy of reserves of lowgrade coal, but that "mining methods and utilisation are not wasteful."

But Falcon says both are wasteful: "Coal left in the ground is relativel. ${ }^{\text {- }}$ inert in terms of its reactive components, which makes it difficult to burn, and private sector consumers are not geared up to use the lower grades. This is the trend overseas."

The issue is sensitive, says an industry source. More mining houses are aware of the problem and are trying to retain coal for export contracts.

Amcoal MD David Rankin is reluctant to discuss the issue, but adds: "It is complex."
At the heart of the problem are coal mining techniques, government policy and long-term demand projections, both for export and local consumption. Consequently, producers differ in the degree of concern.

Rand Mines (RM) chairman Alan Sealy believes the industry is "very conscious of utilising collieries to the maximum." New mining methods enable previously sterile reserves to be exploited, he says.
"Multi-product" mining is also helping. Collieries tied to power stations, which burn low quality coal, can cream off higher grades for export. While government would like this applieu more widely, Sealy says scope is limited as there are few consumers on the $=-$ scale as Escom.

In the same way, he says, production costs
$\therefore$ the exploitation of lower quality, less =-sesible coal. Sealy considers price structry to be the main obstacle. "Existing price "-ferentials between grades provide neither -wucer nor consumer with incentive to de$=$ the use of the poorer coals."
Trans-Natal planning manager, Gavin I urner, points out that "theoretically, in a iet market economy we mine the coal for iich there is a demand. If a producer were
to mine coal of a significantly lower quality than competitors, no-one would buy it."
He says SA's best quality coal was mined out early this century. In the same way, what remains in 50 years will not be as good as that available now. However, he disputes Falcon's 20-year deadline. "The major producers, in particular, are capable of continu-

ing to supply known market quality needs for at least 30 years," he stresses. "Government export quotas, granted in 1981 to be phased over 30 years, were allocated on that basis.
"The point is," he says, "there is a real benefit to the economy from mining the most cost-competitive coal now."


The American Chamber of Commerce in SA (Amcham) has come out strongly against US disinvestment and sanctions legislation.

Amcham president Frank Lubke says he hopes the legislation expected to come from the Joint Committee of the two houses of Congress this year will not be too serious, and that it will allow US companies to carry on business without too many restraints. He also trusts that the House's draft legislation banning new US investment in SA "will fall away."
Expected to remain - at this stage - is
the banning of new bank loans to the SA government. "I expect the eventual outcome will be a strong message of US disenchantment with SA's racial policies. But I hope the beneficial impact of US business ties with SA will be allowed to remain largely intact," he says.

Lubke is adamant that US business links with SA play an important role in promoting social reform in SA. "US companies like IBM and Rank Xerox are deeply involved in voluntary social improvement programmes, and Amcham has recommended that its members continue the excellent work," he says.
Underlining Amcham's opposition to discrimination - "whether it occurs in the workplace or outside". - Lubke says US business has made a significant contribution towards peaceful change in SA. And that is exactly why they should stay on, he says.
"American companies have made considerable investments in the training and advancement of their black workers, as well as investing some R 76 m in the last six years in projects outside the work place. Any restriction on American businesses' ability to compete fairly, widely and openly must affect that contribution," he says.

Other statistics which show the increasing benefits of US business involvement in SA are:
$\square$ The number of blacks undergoing training programmes in US-owned companies jumped from some 5000 in 1979 to about 34000 in 1984;
$\square$ Expenditure on these programmes increased from $\$ 1 \mathrm{~m}$ in 1979 to $\$ 11 \mathrm{~m}$ in 1984; $\square$ The number of schools receiving financial support from US companies under the "Adopt a School" programme grew from 96 in 1980 to 280 in 1984; and
$\square$ Some $77 \%$ of all transfers of 99 -year leasehold properties to urban black South Africans take place to employees of US companies operating in SA.

Of Amcham's 180 US members - employing some 120000 blacks - 149 are signatories to the Sullivan Code of business principles. Lubke says Amcham does not monitor compliance with these principles as "they have their own organisation doing this." Nevertheless, in the past six months another 20 US companies operating in SA have become signatories.

Lubke says Amcham made no direct representations to the US Congress on disinvestment legislation, but individual members keep their US parents informed of developments inside SA.
"Only significant political and social reform will remove the disinvestment threat from SA," says Lubke. "We are encouraged by the attitude of the State President and the government to reform. But the question remains: How soon and to what extent will this be carried out? The US Congress and Administration cannot determine the pace of change in SA - it is in the hands of the SA government and its black citizens," he says.

# R10－in Tor firude 

IBM has announced it will grant R10－million to expand its current Corporate Social Re－ sponsibility programs in South Africa．
The main thrust of the initial programs over the next five years will be in support of black business enterprise，with the emphasis on job creation and greater black participation in the economic sys－ tem．

At the same time，the company has an－ nounced a specialagricultural project，aimed at using computer technology to help transform low－level subsistence farming in KwaZulu into successful small－scale，income－generating agri－ culture．

IBM South Africa managing director Jack Clarke said the company was taking these initia－ tives because it believed it should be engaged in tives because it oenge ine South Africa
＂We are on the threshold of accomplishing something truily worthwhile，which will benefit many people tremendously．
Mr Clarke－was speaking at a special ceremo－ ny in KwaZulu，where IBM grants will support the construction of a R 700000 resource centre． The centre will provide various types of agricul－ tural training for black farmers，including land use，management and productivity improve－ ment．＇

When trainees have returned to their own areás＇s＇extension agents will monitor and guide their progresss：

The resource centre forms part of the R2． million agricultural project，at the heart of which is an $1 \mathrm{BM}_{4} 4300$ computer．Hardware and software computers have been donated to the Universityof Natal for use by the Institute of Natal Resources in land－use planning．
＂G4timpaty

The Institute，funded by the private séctor， will now be able to store valuable information about existing and potential water resources， crop land，grazing land，timber，infrastructure and population patterns．It will also displáy these graphically．
The IBM system will thus facilitate the plan－ ning process．
IBM is also donating R400 000 to a black housing project，to be operated in conjunction with the Soweto Building Contrators＇Associ－ ation．
The program will provide headquarters，a training centre and bridging finance，training and counselling for blacks wishing to enter the building trades and establish their own building enterprises．
This pilot program will，generate employment and help reduce the housing shortage．
A total R300 000 goes to black organisations already working to increase black participation in the South African economy．Half will be given to the National African Federated Cham－ ber of Commerce and Industry，and the other to ber of Commerce and Industry，and in involved in the Get Ahead Foundation，which is involved in
establishing black business in formal and infor－ mal sectors．
This sponsorship will be used to identify and provide a framework for changing those laws and regulations which at present impede the progress of black entrepreneurs seeking to par－ ticipate in South Africa＇s free enterprise sys－ tem．Some of the money will be used as venture capital for blacks wishing to set up their own business operations．

An IBM South Africa Projects Fund has．been established to support charitable，educational and economic development work in this region． Some money will be granted directly to various organisations；but most of the money will be funded and administered by the Projects Fund．

IBM will ask for suggestions for future pro－ grams from organisations and individuals in South Africa and in the United States．


# RIGGIO 7 

Pay parity for teachers a step closer Further steps to bring abput parity in the salary scales of teachers of all rages have been announced by the Government
The Minister of National Education Mr FW de Klerk said in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday that the service dispensation of certan coloured, Indıan and black teachers would be improved from October 1 this year
He said the Government would spend R56 million between October and March nest year to reduce disparities between teachers of the various population groups. The adjustments were in accordance with the Government's commitment to the elimination of "un-

Ban new
loans says

ban on new bank loans and new investment in South Africa throughout the European Economic Community has been proposed by the Social Democratic Paryin a policy document 8

SDP leader Dr David
Owen salt Britain
should be working for a common European posituon in its policies towards South Africa and actively identifying with the excellent resolution put forward by France to the United Nations Security Council."

He warned there was a grave danger of Britain becoming isolated in the world community if it associated so completely with President Ronald Reagan's policies.
$\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{lll}\text { justifflable } & \text { disparities } \\ \text { based } \\ \text { group } & \text { on } & \text { population }\end{array}\right.$
Mr de Klerk said about 100000 teachers would benefit from the adjustments which apphed to teachers in the lower qualification categories
Lower qualified whites had already been placed on parity scales and would therefore not be affected. The same applied to teachers of other population groups who had already yeen placed on parity scales.
"Although good progress is being made with the ellmination of disparities, in practice the process cannot be implemented faster than available funds allow "
Mr de Klerk said individual teachers would not receive the same percentage adjustment because the disparities were not of equal size at all levels.

The announcement gave only a general indrcation of the adjustment and any further information would be supphed by the individual ministers of education. - Sapa

# Reagan 'will resist moves to disinvest' 

 would cut jobs and opportunities for blacks, the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz said yesterday."I believe, and the President believes, it is counter productive," Mr Shultz said, while flying to Helsinki to attend the 10 th anniversary of the Helsinki Agreement:
Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, has called on Congress to move rapidly on legislation imposing sanctions on South Afriea to force changes in its racial policies. He said he expected $\mathbf{M r}$ Reagan to go along.

THAFFECTS BLACK JOBS'
But Mr Shultz said that discouraging foreign investments!"affects the jobs of blacks whom you are presumably "trying to help".
He saideconomici progress for blacks was "a part of what it takes to end apartheid. We are working to end apartheid. We have no use for apartheid".
But he acknowledged that the South African Government might not heed US advice. "They will undoubtedily follow what they think their interests are," Mr Shuitz-said.
"Oür" interest is in getting them to see that apartheid must end." - Sapa-Associated Press.

# US banks to remain in South Africat 

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

## RUMOURS that two American banks - Chase Manhattan and Citibank - were about to close their Johannesburg offices were denied yesterday.

But a spokesman for Chase Manhattan refused to comment on a rumour that it was not prepared at present to lend any more money to South African customers.
The managing director in South Africa, Mr Simon Stewart, said he had no comment to make.
"We have a corporate public relations officer, Mr Fraser Seitel, and he is the only person who will make statements on this matter."

Mr Seitel said by telephone from New York: "Rumours are going round.
"We have an office in Johannesburg and we are going to maintain it. We have no investments in South Africa so it would not be possible for us to disinvest.
"We have had a standard policy since 1977 that we do not lend to the South African government nor to parastatal organizations nor to Namibia or the homelands.
"We have customers in South Africa but we consider our relationship with them a matter of confidentiality and have nothing to say about them."

Asked if the bank would be willing to lend to any new customers in South Africa or to make new loans to existing
customers, Mr Seitel said it was reviewing the situation constantly.
"But if there were any change in policy it would be something we would not announce nor disclose."

A vice-president of Ci tibank, Mr Stuart Hain, said: "There is no question of our going - we are here to stay, and there is no change in our lending policy."
A spokesman for Citibank in New York said it had stopped lending to the South African public sector some time ago but, "any rumours that Citibank is stopping lending to the private sector or is pulling out of South Africa are incorrect."

Mr Neil Behrmann writes from London that concern about repayments of foreign loans, and rumours that a twotier currency system would be introduced again, set off sharp decline in the the rand yesterday.
According to banking sources, he writes, Citibank sold South African public sector syndicated credits in the Euromarkets a few weeks ago.
London bankers told him that it was "extremely difficult" to roll over South African loans on the international credit markets.

Such was the concern about the renewal of loans and the weakness of the rand that several South African borrowers decided to repay them early.

The repayments pushed the rand down from $\$ 0,48$ to a low of $\$ 0,43$ before the currency recovered to $\$ 0,46$ again.

Against sterling, the rand was worth $31,5 \mathrm{p}$, a record low. Just over a
year ago, it was 56 p . There were also un confirmed rumours that West German banks were not renewing certain credit lines, Mr Behrmann writes.
A South African banker in London said that before the state of emergency, South African credits were on a margin of 0,75 percent to 0,87 percent over LIBOR currently 8,25 percent
It was now "exceedingly difficult" to raise
funds therefore so pre sent margins were bound to be higher.

Agefi, the international bond and credit news letter, estimates that in the first half of this year the South African public and private sector borrowed $\$ 948 \mathrm{~m}$ on the Euromarkets, compared with $\$ 828 \mathrm{~m}$ in the same period last year. Bonds accounted for $\$ 690 \mathrm{~m}$.
In 1984 South Africa borrowed $\$ 1,33$ billion on the Euromarkets and in $1983 \$ 1,4$ billion.
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RUMOURS of a possible withdrawal
from South Africa of Chase Manhattan
Bank



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Finance Reporter cerned over yesterday＇s
development，also en－ development，also en－ over－reaction．

The volatility could have been further exacer－ bated by the repatriation
of share sale proceeds from earlier disinvest－ ments by foreigners this
week．

Mr Andre du Plessis，in－



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## Ciskei welcomes visiting American businessmen

Dispatch Reporter BISHO - Seven American businessmen are on a threeday visit to Ciskei.

Yesterday they were welcomed by the Minister of Public Works, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, on behalf of President Lennox Sebe, who was in Johannesburg.

Chief Jongilanga told the visitors that President Sebe had successfully evolved a dynamic, progressive economic policy. A policy that not only revived entrepreneurship, but was also poised to attract investors.

He said the abolition of company tax, a reduction in the level of direct taxation and land reforms had created an economic climate that ecould enable business
men to take the necessary risk in order to create and develop business enterprises in Ciskei.
"Our President has transformed Ciskei into the Hong Kong of South. ern Africa so that the investor and men of your calibre should be satisfactorily rewarded for the economic risks they are prepared to take," Chief Jongilanga said
"Job creation and the generation of economic growth are Dr Sebe's weapon against poverty and unemployment."

Chief Jongilanga said there was no wisdom in calling for disinvestment in Ciskei because after independence all discriminatory laws were abolished, apartheid was dismantled and the President ushered in free enter-
prise.
Ciskei was trying hard to change the atmosphere and environment to suit the business community, to create new conditions where men and women of independent spirit would find it worth their while to start and expand profitable enterprise.
Chief Jongilanga said the present oubreak of violence in Southern Africa was the direct result of the neglect of the fundamental needs of human beings which had accumulated for many years and had hardened the hearts of the youth as they saw nothing but a bleak future in Southern Africa.

He said Ciskei hoped that South Africa would accelerate reforms and completely dismantle apartheid. NEW YORK-Chase Man- "units of multi-nationals hattan Bank - the third largest in the US, which on "Wednesday denied a rumour that it would pull out of South Africa - yes terday announced it had barred new loans to companies and banks operat ingin the country.
The rumour was thought to have been primarily responsible for the rand plunging more than 5 c against the dollar.
Banking sources here saíd the Chase would not renew loans or lines of credit to companies operáting :in South Africa, and would not advance additional funds under existing lines of credit
Included in its ban are loans to South African

American newspapers reported yesterday that Chase Manhattan had about R 888 milliön'in loans outstanding to the private sector in South Africa, or 0,7 percent of the bank's total loañ portfolio of about R135 billion at the end of June ${ }^{4}$ H
Citibank, which owns a bankíng'subsidiary in South Africa, announced yesterday that it would continue"lending to com"panies in South Africa.

A' spokesman said: 'We believe our continued presence, along with oth er U S companies' provides a positive force for opposition to apartheid and for substantial assis tance tóbläck South Afri

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 says Aportfoliocanget assets withowit in in South Africa 288 The 44 -yéar-old brioker argues that it makes: good business sense, specially for pension funds, to get rid of their South African holidings: He cités déclining profitability, possible consumer boycotts, get ting "a negătive corporate image and political instability ins South Af-: ricaasereasons for dives:" titure. SOW ETAN.
Bell's firm has pro-i vided economic research on, options after divestio türe fờ many ${ }_{3}$ companies already. Severalstates and municipalities including Connecticut; Wisconsin, Michigan and Washington DC have used his services. Daniels and Beil was founded in: 1971 and , has a goodreputation among traders for-specialising in municipal fī: nance, according to in-: dustry analysts.
Bell had been in the business for 10 years before he bought:a seat on the stock exchange.




PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent
ONE of the primary spurs to the American disin. vestment campaign, which could culminate next month in the signing of a compromise Congressional Bill, was a letter to former South African ambassador Brand Fourie signed by 35 Republican members of the House of Representatives.
This is the conclusion of Dr Bruce Rickerson, a political scientist who has specialised in Southern Africa and is now attached to the House committee on foreign affairs.
Rickerson, writing in the Rand Afrikaans University's latest American Review, says support for the anti-apartheid campaign - which intensified dramatically after President Ronald Reagan's re-election last November - was so great that no official of the Administration or Republican member of Congress felt politically safe enough to take the letter's signatories to task.

The letter was initiated by a House Republican coalition known as the Conservative Opportunity Society (COS), formed in recent years to counteract the Democratic leadership of the House.
Their action followed the visit by Bishop Desmond Tutu to the US; during which he became according to Rickerson - "a cult figure" in the American electronic media.
Tutu, he says, was the catalyst in the creation of a new issue for black Americans, needed in the wake of the Rev Jesse Jackson's failure to make any real impact on the Democratic Presidential campaign or on the outcome of the election itself.
The Free South Africa movement was formed in November.
COS felt it was either necessary or profitable to ally itself to a degree with the forces advocating a shift in the US stance on South Africa, and to attack the Administration's policy of constructive engagement.
The letter, says Rickerson, sent to Fouriesinieariy December, publicly questioned constructive èngagement and undermined Congressional Republican support for Reagan's policy.


## Disinvestment

## pressure mounts Syfrets chief

## THE pressure for disinvestment in South Africa is proving to be effective - in the past 10 weeks alone foreign investors pulled an estimated R365m out of the economy, the chief executive of Syfrets Trust Mr Brian Robinson, warns.

He told the International Women's Club in Cape Town that about nine firms had already left South Africa this year and 30 had left between 1980 and 1984.
"In June this year foreigners disinvested at least a net R90m through the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.
"May disinvestment was $R 75 \mathrm{~m}$ and last week alone it was estimated that foreigners were net sellers of equities to the tune of close to R100m and of gilts and semigilts to the tune of a further R100m."
Even a minor trade boycott of this country would prove damaging,

Mr Robinson said Although less than one percent of the total black workforce was employed directly by American corporations, a 20 percent effective trade boycott could prove disastrous for the South African worker.
"A 20 percent effective trade boycott could eliminate 150000 white jobs and 500000 black jobs and cost the country R 1000 m in foreign exchange earnings.

Workers have a vested interest in the maintenance of an efficient economy for they would not want to inherit a bankrupt country."
If the necessary level of investment and skills associated were not made available, Mr Robinson continued, industrial growth would decline, racial conflict would sharpen and the laager mentality would become stronger.
"Real earnings could stagnate and unemployment will increase," he cautioned.
He said that of the estimated $\$ 14$ billion United States investment in South Africa, $\$ 2.3$ billion
represented direct hold ings, which was equiv alent to 20 percent of all the foreign investment in this country.
However, United States influence was disproportionately strong in the oil, motor and computer industries.
The balance of the $\$ 14$ billion represented bank loans to local companies and shares purchased through the stock exchange
Mr Robinson warned hat, "firms are quietly reducing their South African ties by not increasing capital spending or employment; in effect pulling out through attrition." is to divest 62
STAR $7 / 8$ Stars foren il
News Service
LOS ANGELES - City: geles voted sunanimously *iesterday torapprove economic sanetions against South Africas
The 'plan involves a five-year phasing out of pension fund investments in US companies : that do business in South Africa. The plan will also have the city wilharaw its
R3,3 billion of "cidle" R3,3 billion" of "idle" funds held ${ }^{\prime \prime}$, banks; with Southifricanink

PEPSI-COLA said last nighit it had sold its interests in South Africa.
Keith Anderson, director of corporate communications at Pepsi Cola Corporation headquarters in Purchase, near New York, said the move was part of a major restructuring exercise announced in May 1984.

He said the company had sold its SA interests "in the last few months".
Anderson said the decision was part of a worldwide Pepsi decision to refranchise its international beverage operations, placing them in the hands of local business people.

He insisted it did not reflect on South Africa nor its policies.

He added that Pepsi would not disappear from the shelves. It had refranchised its bottling interests to local business people who would hold a Pepsi licence.
The international restructuring had affected virtually every one of Pepsi's major business lines, Anderson said, resulting in the sale of its transport sector
and sporting goods interest, Wiison said In the past, Pepsi International has had a combination of companyrowned and franchise-run bottling operations in the 147 countries in which it operates.
"This year we have essentially completed the sale of our foreign operations. In the near future, they will be $100 \%$ owned and operated by independent local business people. South Africa is one of the remaining countries where we have just converted, selling our organisation there within the past few months."
Besides SA, the move affects the Philippines, Mexico, Canada, Belgium and Brazil.
Anderson said the restructuring would reduce the company's exposure to currency fluctuations and asset pressure and that Pepsi's policy would be to rely on the knowledge of local business to which Pepsi had been refranchised.
hurscoay, August 8 ,


## linked to

62 politics'
$8 / 5 / 45$
NEW YORK- Pepsico emphasises that the sale of its South African bot-
tling operation was part
of a global streamlining and 'nothing whatsoever'
to do with politics.
The deal - with unidentified 'private interests' - would have no impact on the public or the Pepsi Cola that South Africans drink, the company insisted. NAercuiv
It declined to put a figure on the deal or to identify the purchasers, except to denyy that it was S A Breweries, which controls Coca-Cola in South Africateres
The restructing began in May 1984 and the South African sale leaves only one major bottling operation - Japan - to be disposed of, according to a spokesman at Pepsi's world headquarters.


## y RÖGER WILLIAMS <br> Chief Reporter

A NUMBER of international companies have been named in a New York survey as reviewing their links with South Africa or as having already decided to curtail their operations in this country.
But the survey shows that so far, few firms have decided to pull out completely.
At least one major company, Hewlett-Packard, a world leader in computers and calculators, has resolyed to stay in South Africa after looking at its position here under pressures from the disinvestment movement
Butt a number of others that have been named are stillundecided on their future relations with this country ${ }^{2}$.

## - . $x^{2}$ Position still not clear

Among those whose position is still not clear is the subsidiary corganization, and a spokesman for fromiJohannesburpany Berk Pharmaceuticals said from Johannesburg yesterday that the firm's manabout Revlon's future, was in New York for talks Anotherus compan
American Company with international interests, American Cyanamide, which produces chemicals, the situation here.
The Pepsi-Cola Corporation announced this week mat, it had sold its interests in South Africa, but it turing exercise announced in May last year restruc-- pany spokesman has insisted that this move in no way reflects on South Africa or its policies.
International Harvester is another major interna-- butherempany that has pulled out of South Africa, but here too there is insistence that this has nothing to do with politics. The reason given for the firm's $\therefore$ withdrawal was that it is cutting back on its agricultural marketing production.
Apple, the world's second-largest manufacturer of personal computers, is shutting down its operations in this country, and though this is ostensibly for political reasons, competing companies believe Apple is making a political virtue out of economic necessity, as its sales have recently sagged badly.

No intention of following lead
The American-based computer giant IBM has said it has no intention of following Apple's lead.
Two major international airlines, Pan American (SAS), have announced tha and Scandinavian Airlines Africa.
Ane announced they are pulling out of South
Panam, the only American airline serving South Africa, is known to be in financial trouble and a drawal is connected with to say whether its withIt has been said on with disinvestment pressures, It has been said on behalf of SAS, however, thatits move is politically motivated and "is part onf whe international pressure on its Africa and increase Compational pressure on its government, ${ }^{\text {n }}$, 4
Companies, cited in the New York surveyta having curtailed itheir operations in South Africa in ery) and the Singer Corporation, manufac sewing máathines.

Put its stake on the markety
The American mining group Phelps Dodgethas: reportéty put its 44,6 percent stake in ${ }^{6}$ the tiant South African base metals producert Black moln tain, onthe market for about R150-million.
Rymours that the big international banks Chase Mainiattan and Citibank (the world's largest)' were about to close their offices in South Africa'have been denied, but a number of other US banks have said thiey are closely following political develop- ments in this country. Banks such as Bankamerica Corporation, J P Morgan and Company Inc, Mariufac turers Hanover Corp, First Interstate Bancorp and Crocker National Corporation have reaffirmed their policy of not lending money to the South African Government or its agencies.
Los Angeles, meanwhile, the US's second-largest: city, has approved a five-year plan to phase out investment of some R8 billion in pension funds in firms doing business with South Africa, UPI reports.
Under the plan, the city will start its phase-out by divesting stock in firms that supply military goods to the country the first year. The plan ends with a total withdrawal of allkinvestments four years later and inclưdes, withdrawal of funds from banks thăt sell Krúseriands.

NEW YORK $\sim$ - One Thest foreign currency dederss in the United States sald wodat. it had suspended silie sof $\$$ toth African Kruge rana gold gins in this countri
Leslie Deak, presidembitcyren-
cy dealer Deak-Denera Inc,
said in a statement: 'We have
decided to suspend the sale of
Krugerrands pending: the reso-
lution of proposals currently before Congress-to restrict the importation bithe 4 rugerrand."
"The compal continue to buy hack ariniger rands from investors port and sale to wholestaters," he added.
Deak-Perera, which has about 50 offices in the United States, has been the target of ariti-apart-, heid protests
Recently, investor concens lover a possible ban on Krugerrand sales in the United States have made the South African coin cheaper than its Canadian maple leaf counterpart.
US sales are believed to account ${ }^{-}$ for about half of all sales of Krugerrands - a major factor in South 'Africa's balance of trade. $\div$ Reuter.

## UN staff pension fund divests

NEW YORK - The United Nations staff : wor In July, at the initiative of France, 'the péfision fund, with investments worth more, Security Council urged UN member states that $\$ 4$ billion, has sold off all its holdings inseọmpanies doing business in South Aftieáaccording to a UN spokesmen. 62 \%if 4 ihe pension fund has no remaning in vestments in companies with operations in South Africa," he said
iDivestiture was well under way before the current state of emergency. The process received an added boost when a Nigerian reporter raised the issue at a news conference in June with the Secretary-Generall, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar. to halt new investments in South Africa.
Last May about $\$ 250$ million, representing some six percent of the pension fund, was invested in 30 firms doing business in South Africa


By last week, before the final selli-off, this had been reduced to less than $\$ 100 \mathrm{mil}$ lion, in 14 companies.

The UN spokesman did not identify the firms, which are thought to be based mainly in the United States and WesternEurope. - Reuter.

## fussa relations The cost of disinvestment

Suzanne Harvey of Prudential-Bache Securities in New York analyses the high cost to state and city pension funds of mandatory disinvestment in securities of companies doing business in SA.

The rapid escalation of violence in SA, and that the government's declaration of a State of Emergency, has clearly increased the odds in favour of passage of federal anti-apartheid legislation, as well as Bills in many state legislatures mandating disinvestment by state pension funds in firms that do business in SA.
Federal legislation restricting trades with SA would be symbolically important, but the disinvestment legislation pending in the states would have the real impact on investment policy. Seven states already have passed forms of divestiture legislation: Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. Serious legislative efforts are proceeding in 28 others.

The full implications of these various state legislative efforts are not known, but several states have done extensive analyses of how much disinvestment legislation would cost their pension funds, and have come to some rather startling and surprisingly detailed conclusions.
The state of Wisconsin, for example, committed to get out of SA-linked corporations within three years, maintains that such a Bill would "result in a one-time cost of over
$\$ 24 \mathrm{~m}$ due to additional brokerage fees and price discounts associated with divestiture."
In addition, the state says that there would be a recurring annual cost of over $\$ 50 \mathrm{~m}$, due primarily to reduced opportunities for investment selection. The state further maintains that this would grow at $10 \%$ a year.
The impact of this reduction in investment earnings would be a $\$ 40 \mathrm{~m}$ increase in state and local contributions to the retirement fund each year thereafter, the state says. In addition, benefits to pensioners would be reduced by about $\$ 10 \mathrm{~m}$ each year, or approximately $\$ 165$ a person a year.
A further effect of the Bill, according to the state, would be to prohibit investments in at least the following Wisconsin firms:
Allen Bradley (Rockwell International Corp. subsidiary), Allis-Chalmers, Applied Power Inc, Becor Western, JI Case (Tenneco subsidiary), Deere \& Co, General Electric, General Motors, General Telephone Co of Wisconsin (GTE subsidiary), Harnischfeger Corp, IBM, Johnson Controls Inc, Kimberly-Clark Corp, The Parker Pen Co, Rexnord Inc Trane Co (American Standard Subsidiary), Twin Disk Inc.
Among other things, the state made the following assumptions in its analysis:
$\square$ The amount of risk accepted in the funds managed by the Investment Board would be unctanged;
$\square$ The universe of stocks in which the board could invest would be narrowed. To ensure that no additional risks were accepted in the
portfolios would necessitate that a high percentage of the portfolio be held in cash equivalents (that is, US government bills/bonds) The portion of the divested funds reinvested in stock would be invested in other qualifying large companies or in smaller company stocks which typically have a higher return and higher risk than is now true;
प The universe of private placements would be narrowed. Maintaining the same level of risk and quality in the portfolio would necessitate allocating the funds resulting from divestiture between other qualifying companies and medium-term US Government bonds; and
$\square$ For each asset class, the following reduction in expected rate of return would result. (This reduction uses the State of Wisconsin's expected annual rate of return as their reference point).

|  | Reduction In <br> Expected |
| :--- | ---: |
| Asset Class | Annual Rete of <br> Return |
| Common Stocks ............... | $2,8 \%$ |
| Public Bonds .................. | $1,1 \%$ |
| Private Debt ............. | $0,2 \%$ |
| Mortgage and Real Estate .. | - |

The expected ongoing loss associated with reinvesting in a restricted universe of assets is therefore:


* As the increases in size, it would be likely that the dollar value of assets diverted from the current investment programme, to the alternativeoutlined in'this,fiscalnote will increase. This means that the reduction, in annual earnings would also increase each year. The rate of increase is estimated to be about $10 \%$ per annum.

In addition, the state concluded that three additional stock analysts would be required because the 65 companies that would be eliminated from the portfolio would be replaced by a large number of smaller firms that would need to be followed. This, the state said, would cost $\$ 104201$.
And finally, due to the increased volume of transactions, the state would have to hire one new trader for $\$ 37488$.

Pennsylvania also looked into the practical implications of divestiture and concluded that "securities eliminated from a large pension fund's portfolio as a result of South African disinvestment represent a large portion of the available investments. Many of the blue chip investments would be eliminated. This includes 31 of the largest 50 companies in the US."
In putting together a position paper on state House and Senate disinvestment Bills, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Public School Employees' Retirement System (SERS) used data presented in a study done by Wiltshire Associates.
According to the Wiltshire study, the list of prohibited companies would include 229 firms in the Standard \& Poor's 500 whose market capitalisation is equal to $50,2 \%$ of the total market value of that index. Furthermore, the study continues, the prohibited stocks make up $34,7 \%$ of the total market value of the entire equity market. The average market capitalisation of companies in which investment would be prohibited is $\$ 2,6$ billion.
The average capitalisation of the remaining companies is only $\$ 238 \mathrm{~m}$ - roughly one tenth the size of the average prohibited company.
The study further states:
"In terms of portfolio diversification, SERS has attempted to construct a highly diversified set of portfolios. Reducing available equity instruments by one third, and removing from eligibility a large portion of key industries, will reduce SERS ability to diversify. This is especially true given the relatively limited trading liquidity of the authorised stocks compared to the proposed prohibited stocks.
"Transaction costs and fees would be greatly increased and investment flexibility would be affected. However, because a smaller percent of the bond portfolio is invested in prohibited securities, bond management would be less affected.
"Assuming a $10 \%$ annual growth in

SERS' assets, even a one percentage point decline in total portfolio returns would cost almost $\$ 1$ billion over a ten-year period; $\$ 5$ billion over a twenty-year period; $\$ 18$ billion over a 30 -year period; and almost $\$ 60$ billion over a 40 -year period... Considering the fact that the actual rate of return for SERS assets was $13,7 \%$ in 1983 and $27,9 \%$ in 1982, in conjunction with the fact that a severalpoint decline in annual growth would most likely result from a SA disinvestment legisiation, the Commonwealth's taxpayers will have a very real and serious burden ... Because retirement benefits are fixed by contractual law, if investment returns fall and/or expenses rise, then contributions must be increased, and the taxpayers suffer."
As to the scope of the investment restriction that would be placed on the SERS by a South African-free portfolio, the study states that "if every US company that does business in SA is excluded from the SERS' portfolio, those excluded would be:
"One hundred percent of multinational oil companies, $100 \%$ of drug companies, $87 \%$ of chemical companies, $82 \%$ of automobile companies, $81 \%$ of aerospace companies, $73 \%$ of banks, $67 \%$ of machinery companies, $62 \%$ of electronics companies.
"A SA-free portfolio also prevents investment in many firms that employ tens of thousands of Pennsylvania citizens," the study continues.
"The hard-dollar value of those SERS investments that would be subject to divestiture with the passage of SA disinvestment legislation totals $\$ 906,7 \mathrm{~m}$, or $21 \%$ of the market value of the SERS Fund."
"Certain circumstances surrounding this figure should be noted," the study says. These include that:
$\square \$ 542,2 \mathrm{~m}$ of that figure are in equities, and that represents $42,5 \%$ of SERS present equity position;
$\square$ The debt-equity ratio of the SERS Fund is presently out of balance due to several factors, such as the recent dissolution of the $\$ 800 \mathrm{~m}$ Mellon equity portfolio in the first two quarters of 1984; and
$\square$ The fund's present cash position managed by Treasury is $\$ 1636 \mathrm{~m}$ or $37,8 \%$ of the total SERS Fund at present. If you excluded this cash position from the calculation, you would therefore be talking about a divestiture that actually eliminated $33,7 \%$ of the market value of SERS fixed income and equity portfolios."


We are S.A.'s leading tie manufacturers, being the major supplier to the largest chann stores countrywide. This recognition of unsurpassed craftsmanship in quality and design enables us to offer you corporate ties and scarves that will enhance your company's image. ployees there, their creator suggests.

Such companies could specify in contracts with South African companies that the South African firm must abide by the principles' equality code, -says Rev Leon Sullivan.
The suggestion comes as proponents of South African disinvestment begin to focus beyond the 350 U S companies with South African operations to the 6000 or more with export, import, licensing or minority shareholding ties to the country.

## Shares

Recently, the University of Massachusetts sold R82 000 worth of shares in the Foxboro company, which does not operate in "South Africat' but which sup"plies technology there.
Eoxboro is one of the firstinsuch company targeted in this way.
We have no facility, no employees ; no office in South Africa,' complained a Foxboro spokesman.
Major companiesc with minority shareholdingss in South Africa that have come under increased pressure include Newmont Mining and Kimberly-Clark, the"paper group.
So is Ford, which this year reduced its stake froma majority ownership.
'We haven't signed the Sullivan principles because it wóld be tokenism - we're not in a position to mandate their üse, isaid Kimberly̆-Clark vice- president William Wicks.

Mr Sullivan is suggesting that such companies

part of the eprinciplesthat ing that such companies could subscribe to the ${ }^{m}$

LÃKSITVG (Michigaí) Mitchigán will withdraw its finencial support for Souttit Africa and begin disistuesting more than R4, 4 billion in invest ments to protest against apartheid, Governor James Blanchard said yesterday. STARE Mr Blanchardannounced a plan for with-
drawal which included refusing to buy goobs or services from South Afri-
cera or an business in thrm, doin The governor als called for legislation to phase out over R6 billionworth of state pension fund investments in firms doing business there. Mr Blanchard, a Democrat, said he would apcarry out the policies and carry, out he policies asi method within 30 days He said the state wourd Gease to rasonate notice oneriod with any financial institutiondthatsells or buys kugerands -Sapa-Assotiated Press.









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WASHINGTON. - United States companies were already reducing their activities in South Africa in anticipation of a law imposing sanctions, anti-aparthied campaigners and businessmen said
Theyradd that US loans and investment in SA had fallen and would probably decline further. 44: "The threat of sanctions is having a chilling effect on business in South Africa," said Timo thy Smith, executive director of the Interfaith Centre for Corpor-
ate "Responsibility, a religious group opposed to economic links with SA.

Fred Stokeld, an investment specialist with the US Chamber of Commerce, said: "It would be hard to justify to a board of directors any new investment in South Africa."

The House of Representatives passed a sanctions Bill on August 1 to persuade the Pretoria government to end apartheid. It is almost certain to receive Senate approval next month
An uncompromising speech last week by the South African

State President, P W Botha, has put pressure on President Ronald Reagan to sign sanctions. legislation.
Reagan opposes sanctions'and favours constructive engagement.

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Dumisani Kumalo, project:djrector of the anti-apartheid American Committee on Africa, said Botha's speech was a boon for sanctions supporterss twesw
"Botha made President ${ }^{3}$ Reás: $y$ " gan look like a fool form having supported him all'this time," he said. - Sapa-Reuter.
in the disinvestment campaign following President Botha's speech last Thursday, the Republican Governor of the State of New Jersey says he will sign legislation to withdraw about $\mathbf{R 4}, 2$ billion in State investments from companies doing business in South Africa.
Previously it was thought that Governor Thomas
Kean, a strong supporter of President Reagan would yeto the Bill.
The divestment will take place over the next three years and could cost New Jersey State pension funds as much as R42 million.
Governor Kean said he had considered a conditional veto of the legislation, but had decided to sign the Bill veter President Botha's speech last week.
'We cãn no longer stand by and watch while a system
predicated on racism attempts to subjugate an entire people. Fiat
The time come for action to change - and to end, once and for all - the oppressive system of apartheid:
New Ji'tsey's pension system, with investments of more than R42 billion, covers 360000 workers and penmore sioners, Govers, police officers and other public employees covered by the system supported the disinvestment Bill.
It is pointed out, however, that the governor faces re-
black community.
The New Jersey Division of Investment recently listed the following 58 companies as those that would be affected by the disinvestment of State funds in companies doing business in South Africa:
Abbott Laboratories, American Cynamid, American Home Prod, American International, Armco, Borden, Bristol Myers, CBS Inc, CPC International, Carnation, Caterpillar Tractor, Chevron Corp, Citicorp, Coca-cola, Cooper Industries, Cummins Engine, Dart and Kraft, Deere Co, Dow Chemical, Dupont, Eastman Kodak, EaDeen Corp Exxon, FMC Corp, Firestone Tire, Ford Mon Corp, Exxol, Electric, General Motors, Gillette, Motor, General Electric, Geckard, Honeywell, Inger-soll-Rand, IBM, International Minerals, Johnson and soil-kand, Lilly, Martin Marietta, Merck, McGraw-Hill, Johnson, Lilly, Martin Mobil, Monsanto, Motorola, NCR Corp, Pennwalt, Pepsico, Pfizer, Phillips Petroleum.

## Local management

R J Reynolds, Smith Klein Beckman, Standard Oil (Ohio), Tenneco, Texaco, Upjohn, Warner-Lambert, Westinghouse, Xerox.
Meanwhile, the fall-out from the unrest in South Meanwas yesterday reported to be affecting Madison Africa was yestera the world's advertising business.
BBDO International Inc, the world's fifth-largest advertising agency, yesterday said it had sold its South African operation to local management. The terms of the sale were not disclosed. - (Sapa)

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## GOVERNMENT REVENUES

## An obscene tax haul

Treasury's revenues have gone berserk Inland Revenue's haul for July is up $58 \%$ on a year ago, paling money-supply figures, the inflation rate, borrowing rates, and even increases in government spending.
Revenue's July tax receipt increase compares with $29 \%$ in the first quarter on a year ago. The overall increase for the first four months of the fiscal year is $38,7 \%$, well ahead of March's $19 \%$ budgeted estimate.
Should the $38,7 \%$ increase apply to the year as a whole, the actual haul will turn out R33 billion, R4,7 billion more than projected in March. This would cover the Budget deficit of around R3 billion with change to spare.
Government spending figures are also, however, well over the budgeted figures. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis forecast a spending rise of $15 \%$ in nominal terms this year, a nil increase in real terms. Spending increased by $20 \%$ in the first quarter, rising $38 \%$ in July, and $26 \%$ for the year as a whole
compared with a year ago.
The conclusion - preliminary, since only a third of the fiscal year has run its course is that revenue and spending figures are so far from estimates that a statement to clarify matters should be expected. And certainly, the new revenue figures provide a powerful case for softening the tax burden.

Treasury officials are at pains - as they were when figures for the first quarter were released - to explain the welter of distorting factors behind collections and spending. Significantly, although Inland Revenue's haul for July is up $58 \%$ on a year ago, unpublished figures show no receipts from gold mines.

Gold tax payments - of which many are due this month - will be significantly bolstered by gold mine profits climbing on the weak and bearish rand, as well as the stable to bullish gold price. However, gst payments are certain to be smaller this month than in July, with the effect of last year's rate

## CITIBANK SITS TIGHT

Ctibank is" still the focus of local and overseas disinvestment speculation. According to some sources in London and New York, the bank is planning to close
its local operations.
Spokesmen from the bank both locally and in the US, however, continue to dismiss the rumours' as "absolute nonsense". As local vice-president Gerry van der
$\because M$ Merwe says: "We believe we are a constructive force for change here, and deny emphatically. that: iwe are considering "such á move."
$\therefore$ Adds : Citibank international affairs vice-presidènt" Wilfred Koplowitz: "We are extremely concerned about the situation in $\cdot \mathrm{SA}^{\prime}$ and "we hope the State of Emergency will be lifted, but we will nevertheless continue to lend to the privạte sector:"
Koplowitz says," however, that Citibank's lending to SA banks, which has always been a small part of its SA portfolio, is "going down in absolute and relative terms," but insists that the bank will continue'to lend to private sector borrowers.
It is well known that the bank has 300 of:SA's largest corporate clients with annual turnover generally of more than R20m:It has also been the blue-eyed boy of the Sullivan Code monitoring agency, 'Arthur Little. Almost $50 \%$ of its staff and $10 \%$ of its senior managers are black.

Citibank has, however, recently confirmed that it has liquidated its holdings of SA government and government-related securities.
The impetus for Citibank's portfolio shift, according to overseas sources, came from the recent passage of divestment Bills by New York's two largest pension funds, with combined assets of US\$16 billion. The Bills require the funds to divest any stock in companies that, among other things, hold SA securities. The pension funds have a large stake in Citicorp stock - currently just over 500000 shares.
The City of New York comptroller's office has apparently been holding high level talks with Citicorp officials in recent weeks. The local office insists, however, the portfolio shift was a board decision taken in 1980 to run this portfolio down over time.

During these high level meetings with Citicorp, the bank gave no indication that it was planning a total withdrawal from SA and, in fact, to the contrary, gave every indication it will continue to make loans to the private sector and maintain its operations in SA.

The other source of direct pressure has come from New York mayor Ed Koch. He has threatened to withdraw all the city's business from Citicorp because of the SA connection.
change impacting on the year-to-year changes.
Treasury officials say July's personal tax receipts were in line with the budgeted increase of $19 \%$ for overall revenue receipts. The real surprise, say officials, is the sharp increase in non-mining corporate receipts.
Overall, these companies are making smaller profits than a year ago.
The first significant action in March 1984 was to abolish a massive scheme of tax warehousing known as taxbase trading. Inland Revenue's Carl Schweppenhauser says this avoidance scheme knocked R800m off nonmining corporate receipts compared to estimates in the 1983-84 tax year.

Further corporate crackdowns included scrapping of lifo stock valuation for tax purposes; rescheduling certain allowances for plant and machinery; slashed training allowances; stricter rules for property improvement schemes; and reduction of the manufacturer's allowance.

Government spokesmen are determinied that government undertakings to maintain a firm hold on department spending will be honoured, and that the evidence of such discipline will become clear later in the year. If the average increase for the year turns out at the budgeted $15 \%$, instead of nearer to July's actual $38 \%$, deep tax cuts are on the cards.

For it seems certain that revenues will continue their blistering pace. The fat collection months, when gold mines pay, and consumers start their Christmas shopping, are yet to be accounted for.

## BANKING

## Fancy funding

In a break with past practice, Barclays Industrial Bank (Barnib) is to raise its own funds. This will enhance the bank's independence from its commercial banking parent.
Traditionally, Barnib has used Barclays funds for its financing operations, which include leasing, project finance, joint finance, factoring and property development.
Since its inception in 1972, Barnib has been highly successful within the Barclays group. Its assets rose to R 943 m at the end of 1984 from R10,6m in 1973. In the same period net profit reached R 40 m .
Says senior GM Johan Meiring: "We will now be able to raise cheaper funds and have a long-term funding source. Also, we will borrow a smaller amount from the commercial bank - up to now the amounts have been large because of our operational suc-
cess."
Another spin-off will be that Barnib's profits will be protected, says Meiring.
"What we are doing can be compared to taking forward cover. We will now be able to match our fixed rate lendings with fixed rate .deposits. Our loans from the commercial bank, however, were predominantly shortterm."

And the method of raising funds is a novel concept in the deposit marketplace. The scheme will offer a wide variety of interest rate combinations on fixed deposits at competitive rates over a one- to three-year period. The combinations, however, will be fixed from the date of investment. Although the minimum deposit is set as low as R5 000, Barnib is expecting deposits of R100 000 and upwards.

One attraction of the scheme is that it will enable investors to lock into rates set before this week's interest rate reductions. The product, called Fulcrum Deposit, will be launched later this week.

An innovative aspect of the scheme is that investors can determine at what stage they wish to receive the interest from their investment without having to tamper with the capital amount, says Barnib MD, Viv Bartlett.
It seems, however, that the appeal of the package also lies in its implications for tax. One of the few ways of shifting a tax liability from one year to the next is to defer interest payments. Investment income will be paid every six months and is also well-timed for provisional tax-payers. Investors who believe the marginal tax rate will fall, will also be attracted by the scheme.
Says Meiring: "Investors have had a limited choice in the market until now. This package goes some way to satisfying both the needs of the bank and our customers."
For example, an investor wanting to invest R40 000 for 36 months, and who requires a sizeable cash inflow at the end of year one, can specify that the interest of R15 200 (at an effective rate of $38 \%$ ) be paid at the end of the first year, without depleting the capital amount.
Should the investor wish to have his interest payment deferred until the end of year three, he will receive an effective rate of $50 \%$ for the third year.

## SASRIA

## Righting the rates

High risk political targets are bleeding the reserves of the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria).

Between September last year, when violence flared in the Vaal Triangle, and the end of July, "paid and outstanding claims" totalled R35m, according to Sasria MD Rodney Sabneeberger. This amount included more that 2500 motor claims and nearly 800 claims on fire coupons.

The cost of the arson, looting and mayhem

## FM INVESTMENT CONFERENCE

With 1986 likely to be a watershed year for SA, local eyes are already firmly fixed on international economic trends and their implications for business back home.

There are few with a better view of the worldwide picture than Rimmer de Vries, senior vice-president of New York-based Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, who will be one of the visiting team of speakers at the FM's Investment in 1986 conference on November 14 and 15.

To be held at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, the conference will cover major investment topics from monetary policy and interest rates to gold and the outlook for industrials.

De Vries will bring with him a wealth of experience of the international economic scene. No stranger to SA (he addressed the conference two years ago), he is Morgan Guaranty's chief international economist and editor of its publication World Financial Markets.
He has served on President Reagan's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness and is a member of the Economic Advisory Board of the US Department of Commerce. In 1980 he was a member of Reagan's economic task force in the runup to the presidential election.

And the list goes on: he is a member of Time magazine's board of economists;
the Conference of Business Economists;:: the Council on Foreign Relations; and the. Advisory Committee of the Institute for International Economics.

He is also a director of the Institute for . International Development and trustee and treasurer of the New Jersey Conservation Foundation.
Add to that his academic qualifications which include a BS from the Netherlands School of Economics and an MA and PhD from Ohio State University and the credentials could hardly be bettered.


De Vries is thus expected to make a: significant contribution to what is expected to be one of the best-ever $F M$ investment conferences.

But demand for the limited number of seats continues to run high and early booking is recommended to avoid disap-: pointment.

The contact is: Yvonne Courtney, FM Promotions Department, PO Box 9959 , Johannesburg 2000. She can also be contacted by phoning (011) 710-2480 or by telexing (4-88921).
in Natal is still unknown.
"It's difficult to put a figure on it because our assessors cannot even get in there."

Almost all the claims in this period have come as a result of unrest in black areas which has prompted renewed criticism of Sasria for its undifferentiated rating system.

Says Don Gallimore, chairman of the Sasria committee of the South African Insurance Brokers' Association (Saiba): "When Sasria was first formed in 1979, the rate for black townships was five times that for white areas. Current events suggest that some differentiation is now warranted."
Schneeberger disagrees. "The Sasria board is well aware of criticism levelled at us on this score but we review the situation daily and will only take action when we consider it necessary."
Support for the flat rate system comes from Santam's Cornelius Oosthuizen, chairman of the South African Insurance Assocation (SAIA).
"The main advantage of the system is that it is simple and easy to administer. The company is managed by SAIA on a nominal fee basis, with the result that Sasria has no staff and no overheads but that fee. The moment you go to a differentiated rating structure you need a staff of accountants, a computer, underwriters, claims clerks - and management expenses begin to escalate."

Says Gallimore: "It would be more expen'" sive to administer and monitor only if they were looking at a sophisticated tariff, differentiating by industry and geographical areas.
"But, if they have identified the areas and types of property which generate the claims, then it would be simple to differentiate and rate accordingly."

Oosthuizen, however, sees six years as too short a time to establish a pattern of claims from particular sources. Moreover, he says, the differentiated scale used originally by Sasria was dropped in 1983 because of complaints that it was discriminatory.

## TAX REFORM

## What chances?

The Margo Commission on tax is calling for evidence on a reform package which will have more than a marginal chance of implementation. No doubt the foreign precedent - reports often become instant archives is a good cause for wariness.
So far, no foreign report has been accepted and fully implemented. Some - such as the Meade Committee in Britain, which was not appointed by government - have been totally ignored. The Margo Commission may see
a similar tragedy for its package. It would appear that political and economic sense rarely coincide.

So it is hardly surprising the commission's 18 full-time and numerous part-time members welcome any information to help them promote their findings. Sceptics may say that with almost a year to go before it completes its report, the commission is facing the chicken-and-egg dilemma rather than tax reform per se.

In giving evidence to the commission in
his private capacity, Assocom chief executive Raymond Parsons argued that tax policy falls within one of the most thorny spheres of politics. The international trend in tax reform is to simplify taxation and it is usually accompanied by a broadening of the tax base.
In the US, President Ronald Reagan plans a cut in tax rates, fewer tax brackets, and fewer deductions.

The unforeseen political problems of tax reform were illustrated vividly earlier this
year in Australia. PM Bob Hawke's plan' called for substantial reductions in income tax rates to be neutralised by a broad consumption tax, similar to gst. Although this was eminently acceptable on paper, the proposal was temporarily aborted after a tax "summit." Other countries have been chewing over more fundamental tax reform.
Parsons argues that as a universal rule government decisions are taken in response to what it regards as a political problem. In

Continued on page 55
equate SA's risk rating with other problemplagued countries in the Third World.

Overseas investors are undoubtedly going to re-evaluate the situation during the ensuing months as they come to realise that the unrest is not going to be resolved in the short term through any current initiatives from the government. To blame the unrest on criminals and radicals is avoiding the issues because while undoubtedly these elements exist, the fundamental causes of the unrest have not been addressed.

It is not only more difficult for foreign business but it is now likely to be more difficult for foreign governments to support SA as they have in the past. This adds to the investors' problems.
What reforms would satisfy foreign companies?

As far as I am aware most US businessmen are not talking about a universal franchise at this time but are certainly talking about structural reforms, not simply the tidying up of apartheid. This covers a whole spectrum of issues such as SA citizenship for all blacks (including the independent homelands), influx control, housing, group areas, freehold rights, and political representation. Longer-term issues would include education.

However, what foreign companies will be watching closely is the reaction of responsible blacks in SA to whatever reforms are offered as change must come from within and has to be negotiated with legitimate black leaders. This process does not seem to have begun yet.

The situation in SA today demands statesmanship. The speech had clearly been intended for foreign consumption but there was nothing in it to satisfy foreign observers and it was not what the build-up had indicated. We heard nothing new at a time when concrete structures are required to get the reform process moving.
How severe is the pressure to disinvest?
The pressure is tremendous but is experienced differently by different companies. The "hassle factor" is a major reason why investments are vulnerable in SA because many subsidiary companies in SA do not generate more than $1 \%$ of their parents'

## profits.

The most severe pressure that US companies experience is not contained in legislation from Capitol Hill as the Bill most likely to be placed in front of President Reagan for approval is more symbolic than rea، in its impact on SA. Where companies feel pressure is from the many states and cities where procurement laws have been passed which deny the purchasing of goods and services from companies doing business with SA. This really hurts.

## What about local pressure?

I understand that blacks expect more pressure from foreign companies in SA. The question is to what extent businessmen can demand political reforms. The business community has in the past tended to concentrate on issues that directly involve them. Howerer, business should do more to campaign for the kinds of reforms that are necessary even if not directly related to their business activities because in the end everyone in SA is in the same boat. Consequently business will have to re-evaluate its traditional role in SA as regards lobbying.
Where blacks feel not enough is being done by foreign companies, they should approach individual companies or organisations to discuss the specific issues involved. Is investing in SA really benefiting the reform process?

I have no doubts about the value of investment in the reform process. Disinvestment is not the answer. What SA needs today is more employment and therefore greater investment is required.
Does SA still offer attractive investment opportunities for foreign companies?
Investors look for political stability, a satisfactory return on their investments, and the ability to repatriate the principal plus interest or dividends. These are the key issues. If one of these is threatened then the investment climate is prejudiced and the position is re-evaluated. In SA there is no longer such an attractive return on investment and political stability is now questionable, while the issue of repatriation is not currently a problem. The whole investment climate is thus much more subdued.
making ad hoc piecemeal changes, or in reform, tax policy is subject to three main pressures: public opinion; civil service advice; and private sector interest.
The international experience would suggest that tax systems, or reforms, which conflict with deeply-held values fail to gain public support. Indeed, maintenance of such a status quo is a continuing source of political risk.

Parsons observes that much current inter-' est in tax follows on the effects of inflation on tax rates, wage and salary claims, profitability, employment and rising government spending. The real interest in taxation, says Parsons, should stem from considering longterm advantages that might be derived from a tax system which is less economically distorting, simpler and more equitable.

He argues that public information among South Africans on tax questions and tax reform is low. The lack of information and proper perception increases the political risks of tax reform and also reduces the incentive to introduce it . Oh woe, the $53,5 \%$ marginal rate taxpayer.
The low level of tax education also strengthens the propensity of people to penalise or favour certain groups, so influencing the shape and agenda of tax policy. Taxation is perceived by many as a power relationship - its exercise is accepted where consent to the values underlying it are found.


Private interest groups, which often fill an information gap on the impact of tax and spending policies, sometimes lack impartiality in their perspectives. But their views, says Parsons, carry weight as they can influence public attitudes to what might otherwise be unpopular tax reform.

HAMIISH DONALDSON
Who will provide jobs?


It is natural to assume that the end of the recession will automatically bring about a drop in the level of unemployment. But, if the UK experience is any guide, companies which have cut back during the hard times will not rush to take on new workers. Instead they will look to improved productivity and automation to cut costs and minimise the impact of any future business downturn.

It is a remarkable fact that the increase in unemployment in the UK has not caused a drop in gdp - except in one year, when unemployment rose from 1 m to 3 m . On the contrary, gdp has increased steadily over the last four years - apparently oblivious to the rise in unemployment.
There are two conclusions to be drawn from this phenomenon. The first is that "full employment" merely concealed the true level of unemployment - as long as companies were prepared to tolerate excessive fat
on the payroll.
The second conclusion, which is socially rather unpalatable, is that fewer truly productive workers are capable of compensating for large numbers of unemployed.

It is in fact important that organisations are lean and efficient. Only in this way can they provide competitive goods and services and ensure their survival.
I prefer, in any case, to treat this productivity phenomenon as an opportunity rather than as a problem. If the big battalions can produce more with smaller workforces, then there is a huge reservoir of talent capable of being exploited to improve economic prosperity.

It is to the smaller businesses and, in particular, the smaller manufacturing businesses, that we must look for future growth to ensure that there is a proportionate reduction in unemployment alongside an increase in gdp growth. Labour-intensive small businesses must be part of the next economic upswing.

The past year has, however been particularly rough on the small business sector. Interest rates at record levels and plummeting consumer demand have provided far from ideal conditions for embryonic private enterprise.

Private interest groups, moreover, are of ten both a force for reform and reactionary. They are often decisive in tilting the balance of opinion, and government is obliged to take this into account. SA's political institutions can facilitate a package of tax reforms which are at once politically, economically and socially rational.
Such a strategy, although framed in the uncertainties of the real world, would map out to combine the objectives of an efficient and simple tax system. It would comply with the socially acceptable notion of equity, thereby introducing minimum distortion into social behaviour.

It would also be politically advantageous: Such a package, says Parsons, is that most likely to promote the widest degree of consensus in one of the most "difficult spheres of policy."


## New deal

Professional people may not be healthier than the rest of the population, but they are less likely to take time off work to nurse their ailments.

Job motivation is high and malingering rare - which makes them much soughtafter by insurance companies offering income protection policies.

And, for more than 40 years, they have been largely the preserve of the Professional Provident Society (PPS) which has had the edge on all other competitors because it pays no commission.
Now PPS is facing a serious threat from Old Mutual, which has entered the field with a professional income protection plan (PIPP) called the "FlexiProgram for Professionals."
This looks as though it is going to give PPS a run for its clientele.
PIPP offers group life cover of up to R150000, maximum disability income of R5 000 a month, the payment of a lump sum in the event of permanent disability, accident death benefit and cover for business overhead expenses.
PPS, which markets through Sanlam, offers life cover to a maximum of R125 000 and maximum disability income of R3 400 a month; it does not include the other three features.
Another advantage of PIPP is that part of the premiums are tax deductible, while PPS, being a sickness benefit society, subscriptions paid by members only rank for a rebate of up to R75 a year.
While it may not be able to match the FlexiProgram on these particular points, PPS GM Etienne Huggett believes the PPS scheme provides the best deal overall.
"An annual dividend is credited to all" members out of surpluses. This is paid to the member on retirement (or resignation from the fund) as a tax-free lump sum."

The policies differ on several other points,
Continuted on page 59

## US INVESTMENT

## Falling into bad company

Seven months ago Frost Sullivan，a New－ York based political risk analysis agency which caters for international business and insurers，rated SA highly among First and Third World countries．

SA was perceived as a country where investment and trade provided opportunities． This was based，the agency says，on the assumption that constitutional reforms her－ alded a strategy of gradual change．

It noted that State President P W Botha might have won the constitutional battle，but he had not won the war．

The country has now fallen into bad company and is on a par with the higher risk countries in sub－Saharan Africa and the world，according to the political risk forecast－ ing agency．In the July and August forecasts， SA＇s bad partners are high－turmoil countries． And，in the next five years or sooner，Frost Sullivan predicts SA will be in the very high politi－ cal turmoil bracket．

Two significant eco－ nomic factors which have put SA in a bad light are its high rate of inflation and unemployment． Based on a five－year


Tidwell，a mobile home manufacturing com－ pany and Blue Bell Inc．Neither company is a signatory of the Sullivan Principles．Pep－ sico，the Perkin－Elmer Corporation，Ford， the Singer Company and Pan American Air－ ways decided to sell their SA assets or close down SA operations this year．

According to a report in the New York Times some of the companies had special reasons for leaving SA．Singer sold up all its retailing operations in Africa and the Middle East．International Harvester says it is effec－ tively out of the country but this had nothing to do with politics or eco－ nomics，but is rather tied to a decision to move out of agricultural machin－ ery．

For US banks SA has up to now represented a fairly good financial risk especially for short－term credit and has attracted more than $1 \%$ of US foreign lending．
But after growing rap－ idly to rank as the 20th largest US creditor，SA exposure is shrinking fast．Loans to SA have already dropped off by $10,8 \%$ this year accord－ ing to figures released by the Federal Reserve Board．
Of the $\$ 4,2$ billion in total loans to SA， $\$ 3,5 \mathrm{~m}$ consists of short－term credit which will mature within a year．The remaining amounts are due to mature in one to five years．
Business with the private sector and par－ ticularly banks，has swelled and the value of loans to private sector banks rose steadily from $\$ 539,1 \mathrm{~m}$ in 1978 to $\$ 3120,3 \mathrm{~m}$ last year．Loans to private borrowers increased by $15 \%$ between 1978 and 1984 according to a Country Exposure Lending Survey．
Pledges to banks reached a high point of $\$ 3,8$ billion in September last year，but have tailed off to less than $\$ 2,8$ billion in March．

Lobbying groups，it seems，persuaded many banks not to do business with the government or its agencies in 1977 after the Soweto riots．The amount of outstanding public sector loans have shrunk from $\$ 794 \mathrm{~m}$ in 1978 to $\$ 373,8 \mathrm{~m}$ last year and $\$ 302,2 \mathrm{~m}$ in March this year．

In 1984，of 78 major US banks surveyed by Investor Responsibility Research， 33 banks reported they had policies on lending to SA．And 26 of these，in turn，had policies that prohibited lending to SA＇s public sector， including the homelands and parastatals．

Three would not do business with any SA corporations but did not include US com－
panies which have SA operations or invest－ ments．Another 43 had no policies regarding SA．Some banks require that loans provide some benefit to blacks and that they do not directly support apartheid．
In terms of actual lending，of the 68 banks interviewed， 43 reported that they had no loans outstanding with SA．Of the remaining 23，the majority（17）had extended loans to SA banks．Only seven had loans outstanding to private corporations and five had amounts still pledged to the public sector．

Of the 284 verifiable American companies with direct investment holdings in SA，most are American household names．They also represent a cross－section of all major US industries．

Few，however，employ more than 2000 people in SA or had investment assets worth more than $\$ 100 \mathrm{~m}$ at the end of 1984 ．

A closer inspection of American investors reveals that $91 \%$ of international oil com－ panies listed in the Standard and Poor 500 listing have direct investments in SA．In other major industries， $90 \%$ of office equip－ ment companies， $89 \%$ of drug companies， $88 \%$ of chemical corporations and $87 \%$ of auto－manufacturing companies have direct investments in SA．

Investment in SA，however，is a small part of American corporations＇total investment abroad．At the end of 1984 SA investments accounted for slightly more than $1 \%$ of all US foreign investment．

At the end of 1983 the largest American employer of local labour was General Mo－ tors，with 4949 employees，followed by Coca－Cola（4765），Mobil Corporation （3 342），United States Gypsum Co（2 631）， Goodyear Tire and Rubber（2510），Caltex （2151）and Allegheny International which owns Lion Match（2025）．

Ten companies employed between 1000 and 2000 workers．Most of the 300 or so companies with direct investment employ less than 500 people．

There is no doubt that SA offered increas－ ingly attractive business and investment op－ portunities until 1983．In the 15 years be－ tween 1966 and 1981 direct investment lept from an insignificant $\$ 490 \mathrm{~m}$ to $\$ 2,6$ billion．

At the end of 1983 there was a $13 \%$ decline from the $\$ 2,6$ billion benchmark to $\$ 2,3 \mathrm{~m}$ ．Until 1980 investments prospered． During that year American investors saw after－tax returns of an average $30 \%$ accord－ ing to the report．By the end of 1983 profits had fallen off to $7 \%$ ，as the economy swung out of the boom into a recession．

The stronger dollar，a decline in the eco－ nomy and the relaxation of foreign exchange controls made withdrawals easier．Between 1980 and the end 1984， 41 companies sold their equity or shares in SA operations or closed their offices．

Northwest Corporation，a major bank holding in Minneapolis and Harris Bank－ corp，which own Chicago＇s third largest bank，have said they will also cease new loans to SA．

Companies report they are monitoring the situation closely．Among those that have publicly stated they are withdrawing are


## cant <br> T1n+5 $24 / f 95$ ${ }^{6}$ Business

 cartel' cal forStaff Reporter
SOUTH AFRICAN businessmen have been urged to form an antiapartheid cartel - not only to promote change aggressively at home, but also to counter disinvestment moves abroad.
Professor James Dean, professor of economics at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, made the call on Thursday at a disinvestment. seminar at the UCT graduate business school. where he is a visiting professor:
He welcomed the move by Mr Raymond Ackerman to help form a group of businessmen to promote political change. But he believed the action should extend abroad, including the establishment of a highpowered Washington lobby to explain these actions to the American public.

## Mobilized

"The common economic interests of English, Afrikaner and black South Africans can and should be mobilized to overcome the present climate of political interia in South Africa and political malevolence abroad." he said.

Professor Dean believed local businessmen could do much more to influence the government and black anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa as well as reaching foreign businessmen and a foreign public which did not appreciate the reality of recent progress against apartheid.
He said South African business was largely depoliticized but knew that apartheid laws were, on balance, not in its best interest.
"South African business should form an ag. gressive anti-aparthe!d cartel. 「his cartel should bave both executive and public relations functions. ${ }^{\text { }}$

The business cartel nould

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- Co-operate wit foreign businessmen ol funding black appren ticeship, training an education programmes.
- Draw up a politica. agenda for change to fil the void left by the government.
- Negotiate "visibly and openly" the devel opment of these points with black economic, $\mathrm{pO}_{1}$ litical and religious leaders.
"Finally, the cartel" should communicate, with foreign anti-apart., heid voters. It should hire the best public relations firm avalable in Washington DC.
"It should put in place the fanciest little lobby Washington has ever seen in order to publicize and promote the measures being taken in co-operation with black leaders and with foreign business."
Professor Dean said the foreign lobby emphasis should be positive, not negative, and should neither denigrate the South African Government nor make excuses for apartheid.


## Opportunities

"The opportunities for constructive change, constructive investment, constructive cultural exchange, constructive international negotiation should be emphasized.
"Flows of people across the Atlantic ought to be vigorously promoted. Tourism and cultural exchange ought to be pushed.
"American public opinion has shown us time and time again that it responds in the end to accurate information and cogent argument. It can and will be persuad. ed by facts and the opportunity for positive rather than punitive acIon. he sald


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## Reagan adviser wants new tactic on SA:

 Use investment power 62to force faster reform
a) My Michael Chester - 4 -
President Reagan has: been urged by an adviser to persuade the United States Congress to take a U-turn on disinvestment and reshape policy to use investments in South Africa as a weapon to force faster reform.
The; advice stems from Dr Stuart Butler, of the influential Heritage Foundation think-tank in Washington, who believes that apartheid can best be underminied + by persuading President Botha to hand over more State enterprises to private control and allow black entrepreneurs to join the economic mainstream.
Dr Butler will be a key speaker at a special conference in Johannesburg on September 4 devoted to working out a plan of action to, influence the Government on speeding up the process of privatisation and the scrapping of"regulations that hold
back private ${ }^{\text {en enterprise }}$ and the creation of more black business ventures.
The conference; organised by the South African think-tank Syncom, has been sponsored by the Federated Chamber of Industries.
Dr Butler, now also a director of Syncom himself, is convinced that the US should change tactics away from disinvestment, which he argues would only harden apartheid attitudes in the political right wing, and instead:

## ECONOMIC POWER

- Pledge support to South Africa in any moves to hand over chunks of State industries plus services such as health, education and transportation to private enterprise; offering technical assistance to potential buyers of State assets.
- Foster the creation of more black business ventures by providing grants to US companies
in South Africa willing to train and guide potential entrepre:neurs; helping to create a strong. black business class that can. share in economic power.
- Provide funds to US companies which train South African black workers into higher skills and to US trade unions which volunteer tô train black union officials.
"US diplomatic strategy to" erode apartheid should now be bolstered by a strategy of investment leverage," (says 'D. ${ }^{\text {r }}$ Butler.
"Strong economic growth, not disinvestment, will undermine apartheid and encourage gradiual but peaceful and irreversible change."
The Syncom conference will also be addressed on black economic integration by Mr SR Mphaka, secretary of the job creation committee of the National Africanchámber of Commerce.
$\qquad$




NEW YORK- U S bankers fear that South Africa faces a crippling liquidity crunch in
international banks will cut lines of credit if e

The bankers said curtailment of loans to South Africa was likely to accelerate if the country's racial.crisis was not stabilised.

- Bankers and monetary officials in Washington estimate South Africa's short-term debt due within a year is about $\$ 12$ billion (about R30 billion) a figure far higher than the country's cash reserves and its projected. current account surplus. this year.
If the shortfall cannot be mèt by extending maturing loans or arranging new credits, South Africa will have no choice but to follow'the example set by Mexico and other Latin American nations that suspended foreign debt repayments in 1982, some bankers said.


## Strike

South Africa's black mineworkers' union said on Wednesday it would strike from Sunday at five gold mines and two collieries, adding to grave economic difficulties which have forced the Government to halt currency and stock dealing.
$\rightarrow$ The numbers indicate that if a substantial number of existing short-term credit facilities are withdrawn or suspended, South Africa faces significant problems in servicing its short-term debt in the next three or four months,' said one New York bank economist who follows the situation in South Africa closely.
He 'estimated South Africa's reserves at $\$ 2,6$ bildion (about R6,5 billion) tand its 1985 current account surplus at $\$ 2,5$ billion (about R6,25 billion).
WWilly nilly, they would havoitn declare a morato-
riumor request a rescheduling,' he said, adding that the next few weeks would be crucial to banks'decision-making.

- AAt the moment, U S banks are proceeding cautiously, cutting back some credit lines, extending others, and generally keeping a very close watch on the racial unrest in South Africa, bankers said.


## Credits

So far, they have apparently not followed last month's lead by Chase Manhattan. According to banking sources Chase decided not to renew maturing private-sector credits to South Africa. Chase declined to comment on the reports.
But signs are emerging that other major banks, -sensitive to the public outcry over South Africa, , are changing their , position.

Mr Wilfred Koplowitz, a spokesman for Citibank, said: 'We are monitoring the situation and adjustang our private-sector portfolio in a way consislent"with sound banking practice and basic coun-try-risk procedures.'
fHe declined to elaborate but said this should not be taken as a sign that Citibank is withdrawing from the South African private sector.
'There's lots of pressure on South Africa to prepay present credit obligations,' said another New York bank officer.
Because of the capital outflows from South Africa and growing speculation, the South African rand plunged to a record low on Tuesday of just above 35 US cents, prompting the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du 7 Plessis, to suspend foreign exchange and stock trading until Monday.
Analysts in New York said they expect the South African Government to make use of the breathing space to introduce a batch of measures aimed at restoring confidence in the rand, which had averaged about 81 cents as recently as the first quarter of 1984.

Mr Steve Cerier, a currency analyst at Manufac-
turers Hanover Trust Co, said he expected South Africa to reintroduce a dual exchange rate for the rand.
This would give investors an incentive 'to put money into South Africa and make it more expensive for them to withdraw.

## Controls

,
'If they don't impose exachange controls, the irand's going to melt \&:away,' Mr Cerier said.
l. If the measures are se2. vere, the rand could re$\checkmark$ bound for a while when strading resumes, analysts :said. But South Africa's reconomic and political uncertainties of the coun; try make the longer-term .outiook for the rand poor.
'These reforms will stabilise things in the short-term but in the longer-term it depends on confidence and the political risks outweigh the return on investments,' one analyst said. - (Sapai.Reuter)

The development was high on the agenda when Finance Minister Barend du Plesisi's called in South African representatives of major US-bainks on Tuesday afternoon and pleaded with them not to take unilateral action, the sources said.
At the same time, Dr Gerhard de Kock, Gover nor of the Reserve Bank, was holding a series of separate talks in New York with major banks including Chase Manhattañ,Morgan: Guaranty Bankers Trust and Manu facturers Hanover

## Borrowed

The talks, ilke all of Dr de KocksUS move ments hàve been veiled in secrecy, and the banks would not even officially confirm they had taken place.
$\therefore$ At the centre of the crisis, the sources said, was Nedbank, whose ${ }^{\text {N }}$ New York operations had been frozen by South Artica.
Since opening Ninew York two years ago, Ned bank had borrowed an"es-
 USS banks, relending it to South African concerns, the sources said.
$H_{6}^{2}$ Now that Nedbank in New York had been prohibited from repaying its U S debts, its American creditors were effectively expropriating payments to its"South African cli ents, 'the sources said
This would work if, say, an American car company ordered a shipment of platinum from a South African company and the American firm requested its bank to make payment to the South African firm's' bank in this case Nedbank
The American bank, a

## Simon Barber

Nedbank creditor, would then decline to transfer the funds, attaching them against what Nedbank owed it.

Both South Africa's decision to suspend Nedbank's New York activities and the US banks' actions are of questionable legality and could lead to a lengthy court fight.

Nedbank, New York, is techínically an American bank, raising serious questions of sovereignty:
American lenders:are particularly nervous about Nedbank because of the aggressive way it took positions in dollars in an attempt to compete directly with US banks for business, not only with South Africa but also in the $U S$ itself.

## Havoc

As the rand has lost its value, its'U S debt has begun, according to one banker, to äpproach 20 percent of its total balance sheet: t, $t$,
So far, othersouth Afrivur iments had not wext affected; but some bánk ers were worried that freeze on export earnings could spread.
This in turn could play havoc with South African imports as suppliers demanded payment in advance or letter of credit, creating a major cash flow crisis for South African firms.
Historically, South Africa had always been supplied on open account.
'It would be a tremendous shock to the system,' one banker, closely involved in the situation, said.
At a Press conference in New York yesterday,


Dr de Kock put South Africa's total foreign debt at between $\$ 21$ billion and $\$ 22$ billion or R54 billion and R56 billion, including $\$ 12$ billion or R31 billion due within 12 months.
Of that, Ri5 billion was in lines of credit between international banks, he added, emphasising that South Africa was at pains to minimise disruption to the inter-bank deposit market.
Nedbank accounted for a substantial portion of the inter-bank deposits and, asked whether that bank was in difficulties because of these lines, Dr de Kock said: 'These difficulties have been substantially, if not entirely, resolved.'
Asked whether the Reserve Bank would stand. behind Nedbank, Dr de Kock said he never discussed in public the affairs of private South

- TURN TO PAGE 2


- Ahas suggested the American disinyestraesi Tobbyagainst South Africa be countered by ar aggressive and well-orschestrated media campaign s 50 At a seminar on trithe Image bof south frican ${ }^{3}$ pganised by the Institute for Americansturies at the Rand Afrikaans University, ithe ${ }^{2}$ leader of the eight-member delegation from the United States, MMr"David "Balsiger, said they were in OSouth Africa to \%ind out what "this country was doing to tell its side of the story' better than the media in the United States. ${ }^{*}$
Mr Balsiger said an "offensive" approach would be a better response than the defensive, apologetic approach. He proposed a 12 -point plan of action which included:
- Using direct confrontation to coputco the "reforms-are-only-cosmetic" demonstrations.
- Compiling a pro-South Africa Press kit which would refer to "the on-going reforms, the Marxist assault and the effects of disinvestment" on the community.


## LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGN

- Encouraging American companies to justify to the American public, and not only their employees, why they have invested in South Africa. Also a letter-writing campaign recommending that these companies do not disinvest.
- A magazine publishing news iterns of relevance to the American public on South Africa.
- An offensive against the Soviets which would enable South Africa to "slip on to the back-pages of newspapers".

Mr Jack Waldron said the media in the US was waging a high-profile campaign against South Africa Mr Waldron is another member of the "New Christian Right" organisation which brings together 210 organisations clairning influence over conservative and moderate religious Americans and government opinion formers.
"Daily, the networks show people being shot, beaten or killed - this affects the thinking of the legislators
"They seem to say 'if you don't take a forceful stance against South Africa then you are endorsing apartheid'. This is how the news is 'framed',". he said

## Pull-out of LS firms goes on but some big ones arestay ${ }^{62}$ wing

MAN AMERICAN businesses and banks are gradually but steadily pulling out of South Africa because, as one bank spokesman put it, they no longer find that country'an attractive place to do business'.
"The private market is sending a much stronger message than offlcial sanctions have to the South African Gövernment that their policies arëe creating an economic climate ithat is unconducive for conducting 'business,' said Mr Jeffrey Schott; a research associate at the Institute for International Economics.
Most U S firms that are leaving häve relatively small operations
Thin'South Africa, said Miss Cathy Bowers, research analyst with the Investor Responsibility Research Centre Inc, which surveys U S and British business activity in South Africa. y
In some cases the business decision, was prompted by American laws discouraging ties with the apartheid regime. For example, Mötorola Inc dropped its sales of two-way radios to the South African police forces this year in rewisponse to a, New York City ordinance barring purchases from firms' dealing with South Africa, spokesman Mr George Grimsrud said.
${ }^{\prime}$ Some companies said they were firm in their intention to remain in South Africa, however
'There's been no change - it's
EDITORIAL comment in this issue by JO McMillan, MC Mattson, AGM Fishley, N G Elliott and B Parkes. Political headlines and sub-editing by $R$ J MacMillan, contents bill by $R$ Hawkins, cartoon by $P$ Lessing, all of 12 Devon shire Place, Durban.

## Special Correspondent WASHINGTON

just business as usual,' said Mr Cameron Calder, vice-president of international operations for American Cyanamide, a large chemical company. Its South African affiliates have 700 employees and had 1983 sales of 50 million dollars (R128 million).
Borg-Warner Corp said it had no plans to cut ties to a South Af rican affiliate that manufactures car and truck parts.
The latest jolt was a credit pinch-off last week by U S banks on South African companies. The banks are expected to resume lending money to South Africans after that" country ends a fourmonth moratorium on repaying loans.
Nonetheless, economists call the move the most significant step yet to affect private businesses in the controversy over South Africa's racial policies
U S Commerce Department figures show American business investment in South Africa, apart from loans, was 1,8 billion dollars (R4,6 billion) at the end of 1984, down from 2,3 billion dollars (R6,05 billion) at the end of 1983 and down from a high of 2,6 billion dollars ( $\mathrm{R} 6,6$ billion) in 1981.
Other changes that are under way:

- Engelhárd Corp, a big New Jersey manufacturer of chemical and metallurgical products, this year liquidated its wholly owned South African affiliate. The operation had 4,5 million dollars (R11,5 million) in sales in 1983, 2 percent of the company's total.
- Phibro-Salomon Inc, an investment banking firm, announced last month a withdrawal from South African operations. A
spokesman declined to comment on reasons. The company's South African assets had been estimat ed at less than 420 million dollars (R1,08 billion).

The Doall $\mathrm{Co}_{0}$ a Des Plaines, Illinois, , machine-tool-maker, closed its South African sales of fice. Spokesman Mr John Flink said the decision was based mainly on industry factors and the company wanted to remain in the South African market. 'It's about the only stable market at all in the area,' he said.

Coca-Cola Co announced the sale of majority interest in its group of South African bottling plants to a South African company, although it will continue to hold a minority stake. Soft-drink sales in South Africa have been down, according to spokesman Mr Randy Donaldson.

West Point-Pepperall; a Geor-gia-based textile company; sold its minority interest in a South African affiliate to local managers for one rand. 'Really there was no relationship between the social activity there,' said spokesman Mr Donald Downs, 'it was a purely business decision based on the fact that the operation wasn't profitable.
Because of racial turmoil the Bank of Boston no longer found South Africa 'an attractive place to do business,' said spokesman Mr Wayne Taylor. He acknowledged pressure from anti-apartheid U S customers.
Harris Bank of Chicago decided to end all loans to South Africa in March, spokeswoman Miss Mary Ullrich said. 'The reasons had to do with the political and economic situation in that country,' she said. 'Our concerns about the risk in that country ... led us to withdraw.' - (Sapa-AP)


A PULL-OUT of American business from South Africa is all but inevitable, unless the South African Government abolishes apartheid, the widely-read Business Week magazine predicts in the cover story of an issue due to hit the streets tomorrow.
"For US companies, disinvestment is no longer just a poss!blity," the magazine

Kirsh report
A HEADLINE on the continuation of the Kirsh Industries story on Page 2 of the Sunday Times last week gave a misleading impression of the Kirsh group and did not reflect the contents of the report

The report made clear that the proposed rights issue in Kimet ensured the viability of Kirsh Trading companies, Checkers, Dion and Russells, and that Mr Natie Kirsh's other interests were unaffected. We regret any inconvenience the headline may have caused.

## By PATRICIA CHENEY: Washington

says. "Since rioting broke ou a year ago, nearly every American corporation in the country has an escape plan."
The article, quoting a wide range of American and South African businessmen, points out that over the past year 18 US companies have stopped all or part of their South Arr: can operations and, overall, cas business has reduced emUS business has South Africans ployment of South Africans
from 90000 to 70000 during the past four years.
"Some US businesses are shrinking their exposure by selling out controlling interests to South Africans. Others, while not officially withd whe are reducing Fithdrawing, are little more their presence to ate a telethan a nameplate, a says the phone and
magazine.

Business Week identifies three reasons why American businesses are pulling out the worsening state of the economy; the escalation of violence and the unrelenting pressure from anti-apartheid
activists in the US to with draw.

More to the point, it says, "US and South Arrican executives alike are finding that their companies have run up against the llmits of doing business under apartheid."
"The apartheid system is an obstacle to economic development," Barbara Kommer, investor communicamions manager at HewlettPackard Company, was quoted as saying.
Business leaders also complained that there were no strong leaders, black or white, to deal with the problem. While many black leaders were either in jail or leaders exiled, the magazine charged that President P W Botha had failed to guide the coun try at critical turns.
"I would hope that someone is listening in Pretoria, but I haven't seen any sign of but " Patrick Moffitt, managing director of SA Cyanamid, told Business Week

Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay,
complained that President Botha's inability to come up with a plan for reform fllled him with a "sense of hope lessness", and business magnate Anton Rupert privately told Mr Botha that he should consider resigning, according to the magazine.
Business Week asserts that many business leaders are especially concerned that the bulk of South Africa's black see apartheid and capitalism as inextricably linked

While American businessmen still stand by the usefulness of the Sullivan Code of fair employment principles, which about hali the US com-
panies in the Republic adhere to, they seem to realise the code is merely a stopgap, not a solution, the magazine concluded.
It quoted Gavin Brown, B abour consultant with Levy Associates, which advises many US firms: "The code has probably done more good than harm But now it doesn't offer the kind of solutions that are germane to the problem." Backing up its case that US disinvestment is inevitable, the magauine points out that the average return on foreign investment in South Africa slid from 20 percent in 1980 to five percent.

## WEATHER AND TIDES

TRANSVAAL: Cloudy and cold with isolated light showers
FREE STATE: Clondy and cold with isolated showers over the eastern part.
CAPE: Fine and mild north of the Orange River; partly cloody and mild in the soutbern parts.
NATAL: Cloady and cool ${ }_{C}$
with possible ratn along the South Coast; cloudy and cold with occasional rain in the Interior.

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| Cupe Town | 0329/0930 | 1545/2159 |
| Mossel Bay | 0352/0951 | 18080/2218 |
| Kпумn | 0413/1008 | 1630/2233 |
| Port |  |  |
| Elisbeth | 0367/0958 | 1014/2223 |
| Enur London | 0350/0953 | 1808/2218 |
| Dutben | 0358/1006 | 1616/2226 |
| Walvis Bay | 0335/0928 | 1648/2158 |
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$\stackrel{4}{2}$

## Own Correspondent

 JOHANNESBURG.- At least two more foreign motor manufacturers are expected to pull out of South Africa in the next year.After Alfa Romeo's decision last week, that it could no longer absorb its losses in this country, industry officials and observers alike are confident more departures are on the way.

The managing director of Samcor, Mr Spencer Sterling, whose own company is the result of major industry rationalisation between Anglo American and Ford, said: "We confidently expect further rationali-
sation developments within the industry in the next 12 months."

## Nissan

Nissan chairman Mr Peter Whitfield expressed the views of many manufacturers when he said: "It is difficult to be the first one to pull out. It is much easier to be the second or the third."
With Alfa gone, most industry officials are predicting General Motors cauld be next. Management of the lossmaking compäny's American parent are due to meet in Detroit today to discuss the South African operation. Although the company has been a favourite target of the United States anti-disinvestment lobby, any decision on the future of the South African subsidiary is likely to be taken on economic,
rather than politica grounds
GM, the world's big. gest carmaker, is only sixth in South Africa and the new managing director, Mr Bob White, admits the company cannot keep accepting losses for ever.
He said recently: "Someone at GM is obviously looking at the to tality of the GM business in SA in terms of profits And I would have to sus pect that with the kinds of. losses we had last year and that we're going to have this year, you have to wonder if it's worth it in the long pull.
"So far GM has said it is worth it. But at some point that evaluation could change.'

## Renault

Renault is also expected to make an announcement on its future this week Senior officials re turned from France at the weekend after talks with management there Regie Renault, the French State-owned motor giant, is drawing in its horns after sustaining heavy losses worldwide. In view of the French government's recent stance on South Africa, the local operation could be in jeopardy, although sources say local Renault officials returned from France "with a smile".
Other companies at the centre of speculation in recent days have been Peugeot, which has yet to announce plans after the break-up of its rela tionship with Samcor, and Leyland

Observers point out

Leyland's future is tied in heavily with Renault for which it assembles vehicles at its contract assembly plant in the Western Cape.

Leyland has been scouting round for some time to find more work for the plant. Among those it is understood to have been wooing is Peugeot, in view of sug. gestions by the French manufacturer it would consider a joint operation with Renault.

Shopld the two carmakers abandon the market, however, it would put additional pressure on Leyland which has already pared its operations considerably following its decision some years ago to cease manufacture of its own cars here

Although it is unlikely to abandon its truck and bus operation, it could be forced to find some other ways of cutting losses.

## Ford sales up

 61,9 percentDEARBORN. - The Ford Motor Company announced yesterday that its domestic car sales for the September 1-10 period rose 61.9 percent to 63674 from 39328 a year earlier.

Ford said early September truck sales.increased 7.3 percent to 25934 from 24162 . Cumulative truck sales were 882768 , up from 805441 last year.

The company said the daily selling rates set re cords for the early September period. - Reuter
$\qquad$



horns after sustaining heavy losses worldwide. In view of the French gov-
ernment's recent stance on SA, the local operation could be in jeopardy, although sources say local Renault officials reOther companies at the centre of spec- ${ }^{-1}$ ulation in recent days have been peu-
geot, which has yet to announce plans geot, which has the break-up of its relationship with Samcor, and Leyland.

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ALB X ⿻⿻一𠃋十乡贝才，（New，York）
Trusy its of the State Uni－ vensty of New York，the luafect university system ${ }^{2}$ inthie United States，yes－ terday reversed an ear－ liér decision and voted to sell ．its remaining \＄11，5 million（R28，75 mil－ ＊ion）wownth，of invest－ mentsinicompanies deal－


## Concern over SA won't force ${ }^{2}$ out US manufacturer

"LEDERLE Laborsinoss. Day Reporter :
Cyanamid corporation, will not bision of the giant ${ }^{\text {i }}$ US Africa despite recent speculation be pulling out of South tion that the company was
In fact the company
vitamins and nutritional a leading manufacturer of States, has announced it supplements in the United division in South Afrit is launching a new health care manufactured nutrition which will market locally-

Director of medical and self-medication products yesterday he and Lederle's ducts Mike Schlumpf said ing manager Brian Sparg had just retur and marketUnited States where sparg had just returned from the at top-level with the parent comp had been discussed "There is naturally parent company.
tion in South Africa," Schlumpf about the political situavisit the United States, we mpf said. "Usually when we a few minutes with our Ameriscuss the gold price for moving on to the agenda American colleagues before day debating the political This time we spent a whole decided to continue business as usual"
Schlumpf said the business as usual."
introduced because of the growing division was being to treat minor ailments themselves.
"Our division aiments themselves
sponsible self-medication helping consumers make reto offer them a range of hish-quality self-m. "We plan health care products and high-quality self-medication the medical and pharma will be working closely with all consumers in South Afy professions so we can offer system."
"The only course consistent with American principles is to stay engaged as a force for peaceful change," he told the National Committee on Amerscan Foreign Policy
"Our interests and values are parallel because the present system is doomed and the only alternative to a radical, violent outcome is political accommodation now before it is zoo late"
Mr Shultz said President Reagan's sanctions order last month was directed against the machinery of apartheid but in a way that would not magnify the hardships of the victims of apartheid.

## A CHALLENGE

He said South Africa was one of the most difficult challenges facing the US today. Americans naturally found apartheid totally reprehensible but the problem was what to do given limited American influence.
"Should we try to undermine the South African economy in an effort to topple the white regime, even if that hurts the very people we are trying to help, as well as nelphbouring black countries"
"Do we want to see the conntry become so unstable that there is a violent revolution?" he asked.
"History teaches that the black majority might wind up exchanging one set of oppressors for another and could be worse off."

It was not President Reagan's policy to wash US hands of the problem or to strike moralistic poses

Rather the policy was to use US influence to encourage a peaceful transition to a just sopiety.



Altech has taken over the local operation of US company Motorola Inc, which has moved to reduce its exposure in SA. Motorola has apparently been on the Altech shopping list for years, with management having started exploring such a deal in 1978. Altech has concluded manufacturing licences for all major products presently made by Motorola SA. To that extent, at least, the deal does not represent disinvestment by the US company.

Motorola Inc manufactures radio communications equipment, computer modems and semiconductors. Motorola SA claims to have $30 \%-35 \%$ of the South African market in two-way radios and paging systems, an area believed to have excellent growth potential. The deal is in line with Altech policy of expanding and consolidating its base in electronics, data processing, and telecommunications.

Chief executive Bill Venter declines to disclose any figures relating to the size of the deal. But it is thought relatively small for Altech, whose turnover in the six months to end-August amounted to R216m. Motorola SA is expected to have a negligible immediate effect on net assets and earnings.
Altech will become a non-exclusive dis-
tributor for Motorola's information systems products. It will continue to service Motorola SA products, offering national sales support, particularly in the commercial and transportation markets.

Daved Ross

## SPL heads for JSE

The combination of punitive interest rates and a buoyant stockmarket has encouraged a spate of companies to consider ISE listings - most of them fairly small. Latest of these is the computer-software firm, SPL, which first announced its listing intentions last February. It plans to list $15,3 \mathrm{~m}$ ordinary shares on October 14.
As a new investment vehicle in high-technology, and a service business into the bargain, SPL is likely to arouse considerable interest. It will offer $2,16 \mathrm{~m}$ shares to the public at 75 c each, to raise just over $\mathrm{R} 1,5 \mathrm{~m}$. Their forward earnings yield, based on profits last year of R1,4m, and projected growth this year of $28 \%$, will be around $16 \%$. This seems an attractive price for the firm, which is regarded as a leader in the high-growth software market. No equivalent software company is listed on the JSE.

SPL was established in 1969 by present chairman, Len Israelstam. "At the time the
local mainframe market was getting off the ground, but the software market was still totally undeveloped," says MD Lewis Folb. Israelstam obtained distribution rights to leading software packages, such as Walker Interactive products designed for IBM mainframes.
Although competition is now fierce in this market, says Folb, "we have remained the dominant force in mainframe software, although we have less of a presence in the micro market." But with most of the larger companies acquiring mainframe computers, he says, this is the area of highest growth potential.
Apart from imported packages, SPL has a large system development division of its own, employing some 65 programmers. Its imported products are unlikely to be affected by disinvestment pressures overseas, adds Folbe. "We have strong ties with our principals," he says. "Unlike hardware, it is almost impossible to monitor exports of software tapes."

This listing may seem to have the makings of a high-flying counter. Folb says that annual compound growth in profits was $28 \%$ in recent years. But a clearer picture of its potential will emerge only after the prospectus is issued.

Neville Glaser

## US firms to seek abolition of apartheid

 WASHINGTON -The/ Corman of Generaporation, Mr Roger Smith, said yesterday a council of American firms doing business in South Africa would seek to dismantle apartheid and give blacks politi cal rights.

Mr Smith said ene US Eorporate Council on South Africa would seek the abolition of laws that prohibit movement of blacks throughout the country and the granting of freehold property rights to all blacks.
In addition, Mr Smith said, the council would press for the dismantling of the migratory lablack spouses from their families, satisfactory citizenship provisions, and talks leading, to black participation in politics.

Smith and Burroughs chairman, Mr W Michael Blumenthal, announced the formation of the council in, September, saying that, as a corporate citizens of South Africa, the group would press for reforms' leading to the end of apartheid.

About 25 firms have joined the council thus far, zecording to GM.
"By being in Squith Africa, we think we may make a difference in moving more rapidly toward these goals, helping to bring an end to the tragic loss of life in that country while :accomplishing peaceful but meaningful change," Mr Smith said. Sapa-Associated Press.


Argus Foreign Service NEW YORK. - Fifty American cities have pledged to apply stronger sanctions against South Africa.

Representatives and mayors of the 50 cities met in New York at the weekend to discuss possible future actions against apartheid.

Mrs Jennifer Davis, executive director of the American Committee on Africa, leading the US disinvestment campain, said: "More needs to be done and the conference was called to plan action."

## TRADE EMBARGO

The conference was co-ordinted by the American Committee on Africa and cosponsored by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

The Rev Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition, opened the conference.
"Divestment does not merely take dollars out of South Africa, it is an investment in equalty," he sand.

He called for a trade embargo against South Africa.
"By taking the profits out of apartheid we take the motivation out of the reason for its existence," he said. "Every moral and ethical imperative that drove us to stop trading with Germany in 1945 must stop us from trading with South Africa in 1985.
"We are fighting for citizenship for South Africa," be said.

Among the legislators assembled were 14 mayors of the largest cities in the US and offacials from 36 cities which have already approved disinvestment legislation, involving billions of grands of public funds.

The legislators said they believed they had powerful leverage and this would be used to urge all pension funds to withdraw from US companies doing business in South Africa.

Pittsburgh, Portland and Boston had closed down South African consuls, their represendatives told the meeting. Africa's car companies has taken a nasty turn, with one major mañufacturer allegedly spread:ing rumours that another is about to withdraw. 1
Full-page advertisements by General Motors, the target of the campaign, recently appeared in the Press to counter the rumours.
THSALES SUCCESS
The managing director of General Motors, Mr Bob White,
said: "We are fully aware of the said: "We are fully aware of the questionable tactics of a major company in trying to discredit
General Motors becausé General Motors becausé of our sales success with the new Kadett T-Car and our overall sales improvement.
"We disapprove strenuously $\therefore$ and have taken the necessary steps in advising our dealers "that the withdrawal rumours are completely unfounded."
General Motors now occulpies third position in' the combined passenger and commercial vehicle market with sales of 24970 units for an 11,1 percent share behind majorecom-
petitors Toyota, with percent share ( 62 , 851 units) and VW with 25007 units, (ifi, percent share).
PARENT COMPANY,
Mr Mike Killeen, public at ${ }^{2}$ fairs manager of GMSA: says "There is no possibility of withdrawal. Our parent com pany believes that more can'be achieved by staying in South Africa.
"We're in a different position to some of the other SA-owned corporations like Samcor, who operate independently.
"GM South Africa is a whol-ly-owned subsidiary of GM Corporation in the United States and the parent company
would not anlow us to with. would notallow us to withdraw.
PROFITABLE
GM Corporation does well out of GMSA's custom With Opel and Isưzu, for instance, and to close down would deny GM a profitable outlet for their products, F :
"It has also been suggested: that GMSA hâs appealed un:successfully to the Southis African Government for financial aid, but there is'no truth hin the rumour"


President Reagan im osed sanctions on South Africa about a month ago, the United States has seen few signs that the South African government had heeded Washington's message
"I don't think we ca draw any real concluSion at this stage as to whether.our signals are being correctly understood," said Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.
The main impact so far of President Reagan's sanctions, mainly symbolic moves to curtail bank loans and exports, had been to stave off morẹ serious, punitive economic action by Congress.
Thie sanctions' may have effectively resolved the South Africa debate for the rest of this year, but the antiapartheid bill could be revived in January after Congress's Chiristmas recess , ma congressional source said.
4 Mr Reagan reversed his: ong-held opposition to stanctions and imposed his own on the same day thé Senate was duéfor bote bria package of stronger measures, a move critics say was call culated to avoid a polití
cally damasingtiot and defuse growing rub lic pressure for a chañ in US policy.
The congressional source said he believed administration officials "really want to get away from the focus on South Africa" to allow President Reagan to push ahead with pet domestic programmes such aspa mammoth tax reform plan.

Dr Crocker, askea whether he believed the US sanctions had contributed to prospects for change in South Africa replied: "I'm not going to say that we've played no role at all... but 41 wouldn't argue for 'a minute that our posi tions have led the government to do things it otherwise wasn't going to do."
Dr Crocker emphä sized that Mr Reagan's sanctions were meant a signal of US displeasure and not to dariage the South African econo my . They simply formal ized existing commer cial präctice.
Mr Gary Hufbauer, private economist and sanctions expert, said more impact derived from decisions several US states ${ }^{2}$ and dozens of cities and universities to disinvest from American firmsidoing business in South Africa.
Many US' firms hàve reduced or sold their operations there and the latest Commerce Dèpartment:figures show "thàt direct US investm'éritlon South Africa häs fallenfrom R7 billion in $198^{19} \mathrm{ta}^{\circ} \mathrm{R}^{\circ} 5^{\circ}$ billion 'lás's yeăr:- Säpa-Rêutere multinational corporation operating in South Africa, Control Data is aware of the need for social development in the country.
On its own, this is not unusual or unque. can companies in the company apart from other American companies in the country, however, is that it "hieves much toxards this end in the course of its "business-as-usual" operations
Control Data Corporation - the parem company - has, for many years, had as its business philosophy the bebef that it will use the technology and resources at the disposial to "address unmet needs of society" in all the countries in which it operates
The local subsidiary - which celebrated its 21 st annivercan be profitable last month -- has proved this approach Managing Dis
few countries in the world this Mahoney believes there are few countries in the world that offer Control Data as fine an opportunity to implement its business strategy as does South
Africa. From
trol Data has grown begings in 1964 in Johannesburg, Control Data has grown steadily, and today operates in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, employing 300 people - of whom about $25 \%$ are black.
The company was one of the first to sign the Sullivan Principles, and today enjoys a number one rating on the
Sullivan list. Mr Maho
not, and will not, apply however, that the company does purely at gaining Sullivan points "The kind of things woints.
one rating are the kind have done to achieve our number one rating are the kind of things we would have done
anyway," he said. any" ay," he said.

I Mong the benefits enjoyed by Control Data's black employees are:

- Assistance in the purchase of property
- The payment of travel adders" to cover the cost of commuting to and from work since the Group Areas Act prevents some employees from living close to their work - Subsidies towards the schooling costs of dependents
- An Employee Advi sory Resource program to help all employees and their families cope ith job and-home-rejob and-ho
problems.
The company also maintains a keen interest in the affairs of A)exandra - where many of its black employees live. Among projects tackled at Alexandra is the "adoption" by the company of the Skeen Primary School, and the assistance in the supply of books, furniture, science materials, Contro and boards. Control Data also supports a social worker at Alex, who helps solve residents' healeh employment and housing problems.


## 0

the products and front vice products and sertrol Data company's strategy in action.
A classic example of this is Plato - a com-puter-based education and trasning system. The improvement of education and job-related skills is a corner-

## Unique fir is putting back much of what it receives

stone of any effort to the Western Cape was bring about peaceful one of the first instituchange in South tions to use Plato in Africa, said Mr Ma- this country.
honey.
"There is, however, dire dire shortage of kind outside of North qualified teachers, America - having 140 trainers and lecturers, terminals. and this has created an deal climate in which to apply Plato to heIp resolve the situation". he said
The University of

Since the system was installed, the pass was installed, the pass
rate of first-year sturate of first-year stu-
dents - which was very dents - which was very
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The uses the "outreach" in which $\mathrm{Nitg}_{\mathrm{t}}$
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In an uffū prove teaches at its five $\ddagger+\cdots$. ing colleges, phuthatswana ment recently 75 Plato l̄̄̄̆́ tions.

The Medi. versity of which âiscaudy use of C--4 tration and purposes, is : ing the use of

the first instituto use Plato in ?unty.
$=y$ it is the larg-
itetion of its outside of North : having 140 $=$ the system -ned, the pass of first-year stu-- which was very
has increased by
ne of the newest Plato users is Rhodes University. The Plato project team at the uniproject team at the university is evaluating
plans to establish a plans to establish a program for school students in the Ciskei.
In an effort to imتīnn Cape was prove teacher training

The university also uses the system in an "outreach" program, in which students from ocal high schools are bused to the campus, where they make use of Plato to supplement their formal studies. at its five teacher training colleges, the Bophuthatswana Government recently installed 75 Plato learning stations.

The Medical University of South Africa which already makes use of Control Data equipment for administration and research purposes, is investigat ing the use of Plato for
education and training purposes
7 he versatility of computer-based education is underlined by its application at the St Anthony's Adult Learning Centre at Reiger Park, near Boksburg.

Here, residents from the area make use of the systern both during the day and in the evenings to learn typing, computer programming, sales skills, basic skills and a number of other subjects.

The concept of com-puter-bdsed training and education is also gaining wide accep gance in wide accepcial ind the commercal and industrial sectors.
A rumber of businesses make use of Plato, for example, to deiver traning material in a wide range of feids to their employees
The system is increasingly being used
to upgrade the academic skills of employees, many of whom were not able - for various reasons - to complete their formal schooling.
Control Data also operates a computercareer training centre career training centre
in Johannesburg, where young people of where young people of
all races can learn comall races can learn computer operations, programing and engineering.

F
here is a shortage of these skills in the country, and the hundred f graduates from the Control Dates from the have had no difficulty have had no difficulty at all in launching their areers in computers. Health care is an other area in which Control Data is active
The company particıpates in the sponsorship of two moble health clinics - which olus on preventive health care through ducation - operated by Baragwanath Hos-
pital.
The clinics teach basic medical and dental hygiene, nutrition and child care to resident of Soweto residents rounding areas.
Control Dat
Control Data com puter equipment is also used by a number of organisations whose activities have a bearing - in one way or another - on the wellbeing of South Africa's people.
The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research undertakes research in building foods, water, timber and oceanology using its Cyber mainframe.
 Data mainframe computers for most of its engineering calculation requirements.
Escom is also the world's largest industrial user of Plato, which is used for the training of employees of all races in subjects such as power station operation.

## All out to fulfil their social responsibility

ations.
To this end, the company is working on a feasibility study to form a consortium of American firms to creite a comprehensive education, training and job creation project for black people in South Africa accordis Mr Mahoney "I am convi ram convinced the presence of Control DSata and most other US companies in South Africa has been and continues to be, a significant force for mproving life for black South Africans and bringing change," he said.

Gike its parent company, Control Data is a firm believer in forming joint ventures to address particular situ-

It has provided this service as part of it social responsibility program which ex tends into many facets of community life particularly among black people whom it regards as being particularly disadana-
taged in South Ifrica.
The company has a number one rating, under the Sulivan Code of employment practice, but it says the programs which done anyway This article
hilosophy and describes the company's jects on which it has embaried the pro


A R40-million township development by a consortium of six private builders. formed to speed the building of housing in black urban areas, was launched in Mameiodi, near Pretoria. this weekend. It is the first major building consortium bringing iogether business interests which want to build homes in black urban areas. A quarter of the homes will go to individual blach General Manager Family Housders. The agreement setting up the consortium was signed by (left to right, topiMr MA E Nell, Council. Mr JP Nel, Town Clerk of Mamelodi Town Council. depment: Mr S P Marusela. Secretary of Mamelod; Town Mamelodi Consortium: Mr \& Ndiazi, Acting Mayor of Mamelodi. THE LARGEST US companies doing business in South Africa have formed a group which is designed to link ur with local businessmen to work out a lobbying s:rategy for reform.
Called the US Corporate Council on South Africes the group was started bi General Motors chairman Roger Smith and former Secretary of the US Treasury and Burroughs Corporation chairman Michael Blumenthai at a New York meeting on September 11.
The meeting was attended by the chief executives of the io vompanies who are joming forces to set un group The : sudscribe to the Sulivan principles on employment practices which stipuate equal treatment for blach and white worker
Th: compantes are Genera! Molors Burroughs, 1 BM
 corf. Fivos. Calles anc Deere
Kepresentatuves of the companes stated at the meeting that then corporation intended to stay in South Africa


The US Corporate Councii stated that it ammed ic influence positive change through dialogut.

The council nas invited all other sugnatorv companies of tne Sulivan principles - about half of the 350 US companies operaung in South Africe - to participate Letiers nave also been sem to intorm top 5outh Airicar busmessmen on the councils oblective:

Ine local contac: pomis in Souts Ainca nave been designated as Burrougns SA. tnrough cheí executive Mas van Vuuren ano General Motors SA through its managing arector Robert Whise
Among those who have been contacted in South Africa Pick in Pav cnarman Raymond Ackermn whe. said that tne move was significan! as it showed that tof L'S companies wanted to stay in South Atrica and inn arms with local business leaders in their figh: agansi apartheid
He sado that tre council had indicated that it aiso wanted to communicate directly with the Government at ane highest level
"This is the first time that US and locat business leaders are getting their act logether in fighing for change." Mr Ackerman said
Mr Van $V$ uuren says that six local business-
men have responded to the council's cal.
A meeting with the US group is planned for next montin at a venue either in the US. Europe or South Africa
The council has invited all other signatory companes of the Sullivan principles - abou! half of the $35($ US companies operaung ir South Africa - to participate

Letters nave also been sent to inform top South African businessmen on the council's objectives

The local contact points in South Africa have
oeen designated as Burroughs SA, tiorough chiel execuive Mias van vuuren and General Motors SA through ins managing director Rober: Winte
Among those who have been contacted in South Africe Pick in Pav charmar Rasmand Acherman whe said that the move was signinicani ds i shoued that tor US companes wamed to stav in South Africa and linr ams with focal ousiness leaders in their fight aganst apartheic
He said that the council nad moicated that in also wanted to communicate directly with the Gov. ernment at the mgnest level.
"This 1s the first time that US anc local business leaders are getung their act together in fighting for change" $M$ - Ackerman sand

Mi $\operatorname{lan}$ Vuuren says Inat sid toca' businessmen nave responded to the council's cal

## US FIRMS IN SA

## Sanctions deadline looms

American companies in SA employing more than 25 people have until the end of the year to ensure that their employment practices comply with the principles enunciated by President Ronald Reagan in the sanctions package he announced last month Failing this, they face a ban on US government export assistance to them in other parts of the world
But with the deadline just over two months away, the US State Department has not yet indicated precisely how adherence to Reagan's principles is to be monitored.
And a spokesman for the American Chamber of Commerce says he is not unduly concerned that the scheme will have serious consequences for US business because most of the firms which have SA operations already comply with the principles and the penalty for non-adherence is not very onerous.
Reagan's principles, which closely mirror those contained in the Sullivan Code, are that.
$\square$ Facilities in all US companies must be desegregated;

- US companies must provide equal employment opportunity for all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin;
- Remuneration systems must be applied to all employees without regard to race or ethnic origin.
$\square$ Companies must establish a wage and salary structure based on an appropriate local minimum economic level which takes into account the needs of employees and their families;
$\square$ Firms must undertake increasingly to place employees who are disadvantaged by the apartheid system in managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs to increase significantly their representation in such jobs; Reasonable steps must be taken to improve the quality of empioyees' lives outside the work environment with respect to housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health; and
$\square$ Fair labour practices must be instituted which recognise the right of all employees. regardless of race or other distinctions, to organise, form, join or assist labour organisations, without penalty or fear of reprisal. The right to refrain from such activity must also be recog. nised.

According to guidelines received from Washington by the US embassy in SA, companies which have not become signatories to the Sullivan Code will be encouraged to do
so. To determine whether American companies are complying with Reagan's fair employment princsples. the US will rejy, at least in part, on the regular reports produced by the Sullivan auditors, Arthur D Little Inc The intention is that this will obviate the need for the US government to set up a bureaucratic structure to do the monitoring.
But according to a spokesman at the US consulate in Johannesburg, the process of drawing up full regulations to implement this section of Reagan's executve order has not been completed. And regulations on how non-signatories to the code will be assessed still have to promulgated by the State Department.

## Other difficulties

The State Department also faces other difficulties. Some of the principles, for instance, will be difficult to assess quantitatively. Others are less specific than the Sullivan Code itself
For example, the Sullivan standard on wage and salary levels is that the minimum wage in particular geographic areas should be at least $30 \%$ higher than two regularlypublished guidelines - the University of SA’s Minimum Living Level and the Unjversity of Port Elizabeth's Household Subsistence Level. It is unclear whether Reagan intends to use the same criteria.

The State Department will also have to clarify exactly which US companies are covered by the order. Employers of 25 or fewer workers are exempted.

But there are scores of subsidiaries where less than $50 \%$ of the equity is owned by the US parent company. Where is the cut-off point? And in some cases ownership is indirect, through a subsidiary operating in another part of the world.

Sullivan Code signatories employ $60 \%$ $70 \%$ of the total number of pecile working for US companies in SA. In the last Sullivan Report, issued in October 1984, 115 US subsidaries were evaluated Of these, 83 were categorised as "making good progress" or "making progress" in implementing the codes' requirements.

The report hists 123 US compames with more than 10 employees which are not signatories to the code. It is not known how many of these have more than 25 employees and are therefore covered by the executive order.

Commenting on the executive order, American Chamber of Commerce executive director Ken Mason says that US companies in SA, which employ about 120000 people, have generally made great efforts to develop their employment practuces

He points out that they have spent large amounts of money on social programmes R100m on social and economic welfare schemes and R11m on training employees. (These figures include expenditure by companies which have not signed the Sullivan Code.)

Mason describes the intent behind this section of the executive order as "meaningful." Companies whose employment practices are not presently in line with the principles are likely to attempt to remedy the situation
But, he says, the depressed state of the SA economy means that there will be some US companies which will be unable to meet these standards.

He estimates that adherence to the code could add about $10 \%$ to the average company's pay package now - up from $3,5 \%$ when the code was first introduced.

The consequences for financially strained companies are, however, not likely to be serious. In general, export assistance from government "is not a dominant factor in determining whether a company breaks into the export market and has not been meaningful in assisting US exports," says Mason. And firms exporting to SA itself do not use US government financial export assistance at all

THE US Corporate
Council on South Africa
(USCCSA) has given its support to 91 South African business leaders who joined forces to support the " "politics of negotiation" and reject violence as a way to effect change.
"The USCCSA says it
supports the ideas and
initiatives of the group
of "responsible": busi-
nessmen" and will play
an active role in peace
fully achieving the goals
announced by the busi-
ness leaders on Septem-
ber 29 this year.
The USCCSA placed a
full-page advertisement
in yesterday's Sunday Times pledging its support to the businessmen The advertisement carried the signatures of the two co-chairmeñ of the US Corporate Council on South Africa, MrW Michiael Blumenthàl chairman of Burroughs Corporation and Mr Roger B Smith, chairman of General Motors Corporation.
Members of the steering committee $t$ and the council are all top executives of international companies, such ás'IBM Corporation, Caltex Pet roleum Corporation, Mo bil Corporation, Xerox McGraw-Hill, Deere \& Company. Colgate Palmolive $\mathrm{Co}, \mathrm{Coza}$ Cola and the Cháse manhattan Corporation.
$\qquad$

##  <br> TBM has endorsed its commitment to <br> LESLEY LAMBERT

 remain in South Africa and play a part in the process of meaningful change, according to the computer giant's man-agement-services director Peter Riches.He was responding to an article in a Business Day supplement which stated that IBM in the US would consider withdrawing business operations in SA unless there was significant political reform within the next two years.
"I spoke to our US company yesterday and can confirm 'that this'statement was never issued. IBM's position in South Africa; and through its US parent, has been consistent. We intend to continue to oo business in South Africa."

Like any company, IBM had to make a profit on its operations and'the fact that the rand had seriously affected IBM's SA profits could not be taken as a threat to leave, said Riches.
IBM has also spoken out on political change and has recently appeared in advertisements in SA newspapers, together with 90 other companies,'calling for specific, reforms. pompower innt i Business Day regretpyand apologises for any inconvenience itst incorrect statements on' IBM's intentions! in 2SA may have caused. The source of the statement is unable to substantiate it.
Wh By Mike Siluma
Achimpthat
American corporations in South Africa should use their influence to help bring obout political and social change in South Africa, a top Reagan administration official who is currently on a visit to this country has said. , According to Mr Clarence Hodges, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Equal Employment Opportunity and Civil Rights, failure to do this would lead to increased pressure by South African blacks for the withdrawal of such corporations.
Mr Hodge Said South Africanbased American companies must show evidence that they supported a fairer dispensation for blacks.
Noting that these companies used their political influence to solve business should now use its influence to solve problems outside the workplace. Business could not ignore the current social crisis as it had a negative effect on the business climate, he added. Responding to criticism by some unions that codes of conduct, such as the Sullivan Principles, had failed to improve the lot of black South Africans, Mr Hodges said if workers were not satisfied with the employment
codes the codes would have to codes the codes would have to be reviewed.
$\therefore$ "He rejected arguments that the involvement of American companies in South African political or social issues constituted interference in this country's domestic affairs. Such involvement was acceptable, and expected where it was in the interests of employees and a healthy business climate
W"The momentyou open up business in a country; give, jobs' to its citizens and pay taxes there, you are getting involved in the affairs of that country", he said
Addressing the question of black managerial advancement in the corporate world Mr Hodges said while there had been some movement on this front, 'blacks were dissatisfied
with the pace at which change wäs with the pace at which change was
$\qquad$





A MASSIVE campaign to A MASSIVE campaign to children to read and writeEnglish by 1990 was launched this week an American company - at a cost of R20-millions
But the motivation behind the generous grant is not enLirely charitable, says IBM programme manager Mr Toitjie Cilliers.
There's aiso a sound business primciple involved. The gant computer corporation believes whatever finances are ploughed into underprivileged sectors of the poprlation now. will be returned hy way of corporate profits I decades to come by the creation of a literate affluent society.
'Obviously that is only: minor part of the motivation
as an American company working in South Africa, we

## move into the 90 s

## By JEREMY BROOKS

have taken the principles of the Sullivan Code very seriously and are also dware of our coroorate responsibility to the community in which we operate, ' Mr Cilliers sald.

## Oversee

The computer programme, "Writing to Read", kicked off this week with the arrival from Amenca of four black teachers, seconded by the Department of Education and Training, who will oversee its ntroduction in schools across the country.
The teachers. from Port

Elizabeth, BophuthaTswana. Soweto and KwaZuiu, have been on a six-week training course in Washington DC, Florida and North Carolina.
The "Writing to Read" course is causing a revolution in traditional education circles.
Developed by an American, Dr John Martin, it makes use of a "talking" computer, which reads back to the child what it has written.

The system teaches children to associate sounds from the computer with pictures on a display screen.

Once they have mastered the sounds. children can
begin writing words, sentences and stories.
Dr Martin, a computer scientist with 35 years' experience in the field of children's learning, was conunced that children best leara to read by first being taught to write.

## Amazing

The results, said high school science teacher Mrs Beatrice Mokoena - une of the team sent to America were amazing.
"I came across five and six-year-old Grade 1 children who can think. read and write with a clarity and logic
dard 6,7 and 8 puplls in South Africa." she said.
'Lteracy in the 603 was nor too bad. the '70s was worse and with the '80s we've hit rockbottom," Mrs Mokpena sald
she pointed our she was experiencing the trends in her own camily - whifle her eldest was reading for a PhD in surgery at Oxford, the: youngest were having probw iems passing mame.
Mr Cilliers and Mrs Mo koena both agree fears that "Wriung to Read" fails to bridge g cuitural gap between the South Africanf child who does not speak Eunglish and ans counterpart in America are vahid.

Gowever, they point out that the iirst two years of the sive-year programme are designed to pinpoint areas which can be trodified and mproved for local conditons.

What those two years wili sroauce, ao one snows: Tritung to Read" has uniti, now neyer been used outside Amenca. asthough arrangenents are being made to use it in Puerto Rico.

# Burram <br> Burroughs is staying in in $^{(12)} A^{11185}$ 

BURROUGHS Corporation, thirdlargest computer manufacturer in the US, has stated to Business Day that it plans to stay in South Africa and remain a force for peaceful Thase.
This follows reports in US newspapers that Burroughs chairman Michael Blumenthal had revealed the existence of "contingency plan"" to close Burroughs ates.
The statement - issued by its US head office via a telephone Press conference between the company and Business Day in SA - contradicts Press and corporation reports from the US in the past few
days.

By LAWRENCE BEDFORD
The confusion resulted from several factors, according to Burroughs vice president (communications) Jeanette Lerman.

These include
$\square$ A report in the Detroit Free Press that used remarks made by Blumenthal about its Sullivan Code-adhering SA operation "out of context".
$\square$ The "false impression" about imminent disinvestment conveyed by this report was, it seems, compounded by Burroughs director of news relations Irving Geller, when contacted by other news organisations.

THE hassle factor w. E. Argus (62)



## DAVID HEXTER

# Life in the pressure－cooker 

In the face of mounting pressure on Citibank to pull out of SA，the bank＇s new CE，David Hexter，is adamant that his new posting is more than just a mopping－up operation．
＂Citibank has been here for 26 years and built up a profitable business，＂says Hexter． ＂We intend staying here and continuing to make loans to private sector clients．In the context of the moratorium，we aren＇t making new dollar loans，but we are continuing to make new rand loans to the private sector．＂

But back home，NYC Mayor Ed Koch is threatening to withdraw the city＇s deposits from the bank，pickets are the order of the day and a recent application for a trading licence in Washington was turned down－ some say because of the bank＇s SA connec－ tions．
After only two weeks in SA，Hexter（36）is well aware that he is going to be treading a daily tightrope trying to convince the bank＇s local customers of its genuine commitment to remaining here，yet ensuring that the reper－ cussions of political lobbying by NY share－ holders are avoided．
＂Part of my brief is not to make a mess of a delicate situation，＂ he says simply． ＂We＇re here and we＇re not embarrassed or ashamed about it but that＇s only one part of the equation． We have to be a force for positive change on the social and employ－ ment front and we be－ lieve we can be．
＂We＇ll do this by ensuring an environ－ ment in which pro－ gressive employment practices are ad－ vanced．We have to avoid generating the image of a fat－cat bank skimming pro－ fits off apartheid and have to use every op－ portunity to talk to business leaders and government represen－ tatives to reiterate Ci － ticorp＇s abhorrence of apartheid．＂
British born Hexter，an Oxford PPE，and a MBA gra－ duate from Cranfield School of Manage－ ment，has been with the bank since 1970，


Hexter ．．．reiterating Citibank＇s abhorrence of apartheid
his entire working life．He spent five years in Greece where he was responsible for corpor－ ate banking activities and the last three years in Britain where he ran the bank＇s commer－ cial banking activities．

Poker－faced response to awkward issues is clearly another skill he has picked up along the way．＂I don＇t know，＂is his favourite deadpan answer．＂I have no more informa－ tion than the general public about the debt rescheduling talks．They＇ll depend on the balance of payments，＂he says．
＂I don＇t know if Citibank will be making political demands．It＇s an unfair question．I don＇t even know if the other banks will make political demands．There isn＇t a homogenous stand．The European view might be entirely different from the US view．＂

Nonetheless，he actually blushes when asked about the extent of Citibank＇s loan exposure in SA before and after the morato－ rium．＂It＇s competitive information，＂he says．＂I＇m not being coy，but it＇s such a sensitive issue please don＇t press me on that．
＂The difference between the SA moratori－ um and moratoriums imposed on other coun－ tries is the lack of structure，＂he ex－ plains．＂There＇s no committee or formal body representing the banks as in other res－ cheduling exercises． It＇s very informal and ad hoc which means there are no minutes I can refer to．Every－ thing 1 know is third hand，so it＇s difficult to say what will even－ tuate．We＇ll just have to wait to find out the rules of the game．＂
Nonetheless Citi－ bank，with operations in 95 countries，is in SA for good reason． ＂The SA operation makes a substantial contribution to pro－ fits，＂Hexter says， ＂and I believe we can continue to run a prom fitable operation if we maintain our excellent client base of 200－300 carefully selected companies．My objec－ tive is to continue our tradition of selectivity which reflects our competitive advan－
tage and promotes our strengths．We are particularly good at problem solving，trea－ sury management and electronic banking．＂
Hexter insists that the bank has not called in any of its corporate loans except for eco－ nomic reasons．＂Our customer base is in very good shape and the quality of our perform－ ance is up to Citibank standards worldwide， in terms of the quality of credit．SA is a substantial economy though it＇s had some decline in growth．It＇s a bad depression but it＇s all relative．＂
Will the SA government be able to placate foreign opinion so that lending will norma－ lise？＂It didn＇t take long fo：confidence in SA to be knocked，＂he says．＂So if reform was communicated and manifested in im－ provements，perhaps confidence might re turn．＂
The problems that lie ahead are likely to sorely try Hexter＇s banking skills but one of his top priorities is solving a personal prob－ lem－just how to organise his forthcoming wedding to a British management consult－ ant．This will probably take place in SA． Hexter was given a month to tie up his affairs and ease his way out of his post when predecessor Tim Wood was recalled with two weeks＇notice：＂When Citibank makes changes，it doesn＇t waste time and Tim had been here four years．＂
How did Citibank persuade Hexter to come to SA？＂I think it＇s one of the most exciting jobs in the bank，＂he says，＂no hardsell was needed．The attention of the entire world is focused on this country，and I think that being part of the process of politi－ cal and economic change is a once－in－a－life－ time experience．．．＂

## DAMMY WATT

## Identity crisis

Image is a potent thing，Rand Mines has found．Under Chairman Dammy Watt，the group has undertaken a new corporate iden－ tity programme which returns its historic name，dating back to the last century，to the JSE boards． Incorporated in 1893 in competition with Cecil John Rhodes＇s Gold Fields，Rand Mines was effectively delisted by the Barlow Mines was effectively delisted by the Barlow
takeover in 1971．Transvaal Consolidated Land \＆Exploration（TCL）remained the
group＇s public holding company．Now TCL Land \＆Exploration（TCL）remained the
group＇s public holding company．Now TCL has been renamed Rand Mines．
＂Rand Mines is Rand Mines again，＂says． Watt，whose predecessors include randlords like Sir Julius Wernher，Friedrich Ekstein and Lionel Phillips．＂I hope the change will



there was indeed confusion - obviously not severe in financial circles, but "among government, suppliers and the general public there was a muddle as to our identity."

The group decided to change its name and make a publicity splash about it. There was no doubt what name would be chosen, Watt says firmly: "Rand Mines connotes an invaluable history. We were one of the first groups to undertake deep-level gold mining, we contributed major inno vations in rock me chanics, in the introduction of the cyanide process, in introducing medical consultants for workers. SA's uranium was discovered in our labs, and recently Rand Mines pioneered the use of ice to cool underground workings." Watt joined Rand Mines 35 years ago, after qualifying at Wits in chemistry and mathematics. "But I tired of analytical chemistry and, via additional on-the-job studies, qualified as a metallurgist." He worked at Blyvooruitzicht as uranium plant superintendent, at head office as a tech-
give an increased sense of uniformity and cohesion to those working within the group, and clean up any confusion as to our identity in the public mind."

After 1971, Rand Mines operated as an investment vehicle within Barlow Rand: "At the time of the merger, Rand Mines had a number of other interests besides mining, including stainless steel, ferrochrome and cement. These were redistributed within Barlow, and Rand Mines rapidly became known as Barlow's mining division."

But while it was still Rand Mines to those who had known the group a long time, to the public, TCL, with $75 \%$ of its equity held by Barlow, was not well known. "We began to feel we had a problem with our corporate image - there was confusion as to who we were. Instead of simply following our intuition, though, we commissioned researchers Campbell, Bellman \& Singer to check our image."
The researchers' report confirmed that
nical assistant, had a spell at City Deep, then went back to head office as consultant metallurgist. In 1972, Watt became a manager and director of Rand Mines. Between 1982 and 1984 he was deputy chairman and in April 1984 became chairman.
Present expansion plans, Watt says, include the development of the Khutala coal mine to serve Kendal power station, and the Majuba colliery to serve the power station of the same name: "We're looking for opportunities to expand. We're in a strong position, with profits up by a third in spite of a high tax bill and the weak rand."

The group has also moved from being predominantly a gold mining house to one which places greater reliance on coal for profits. "Coal contributes more than half our income. However, the four large gold mines in which we hold equity are huge operations. Harmony, for example, is probably the country's second biggest underground operation. With its 30000 people, it employs more than
our entire coal division." Another group gold mine, ERPM, recently announced an expansion which will extend its life for 50 years.

Before 1971, says Watt, Rand Mines' interest in coal was small: "It was a kind of stepchild, not the substantial operation it is now. After 1971, our coal interests really took off with the rationalisation of the Douglas operations at Witbank. We tendered for and got the Escom contract to operate the Duvha coal mine to supply the power station. In a joint operation with Shell, we began strip mining operations at Rietspruit, becoming the first mining house to undertake its own strip-mining. And with BP SA, we developed and managed Middelburg Mining Services."

Doesn't Watt feel regret that the group of whose history he is so proud has come under the Barlow umbrella? "Not at all. In fact, the merger with Thomas Barlow to form Barlow Rand was the beginning of Rand Mines' revitalisation. The group needed the approach of men like Punch Barlow and Mike Rosholt, who told us to stick 'o our knitting - to stop diversifying, and stick to what we know, which is mining."

## ED FINKELSTEIN

## Megabuck buyout bid

Not long ago, Edward Finkelstein, chairman and chief executive at R H Macy \& Co, was probably regarded as the top American retailer. His innovative and creative approach to business had brought about a miracle in merchandising which other retailers were quick to copy.

Finkelstein (60) claimed that by attracting affluent customers, using aggressive marketing and chic, high-tech promotion methods, he could eliminate downturns. And he succeeded in turning Macy's around from being a sluggish, mediocre performer into a market leader.
But in August, Finkelstein announced the worst results in a decade for Macy's. Just a month later, he shocked analysts and stockbrokers again, this time with a $\$ 3,6$ billion private buyout bid. The offer, which is expected to go through in four months, will put control of the chain in the hands of Macy's senior management, taking the focus and pressure off short-term results.
A strong leader, happy to mix with the famous and glamorous for business reasons, Finkelstein maintains a discreet personal profile. In recent weeks he has rapidly gathered critics, but maintained a dignified silence about the "troubles at Macy's."
The bold but expensive strategy to attract swelling numbers of young, fashion-conscious and upmarket customers was not likely to succeed in the lean US retailing climate, the critics contend. Instead of scaling down inventories and cutting prices to move stock, Macy's embarked on a programme to sell private-label merchandise.
Finkelstein brought a touch of theatre and

$\therefore$ WASHINGTON. - United States institutions 'have' withdrawn more than $\$ 5$ billion (R12,5 billion) worth of investments from corporations with South African connections as a result of anti-apartheid pressure and that might only be the start.
At least 20 United States' companies have ended or begun winding down their South African operations this year, urged on by shareholders repelled by the white minority-ruled country's racial policies and concerned by unrest there, according to analysts. New investment has virtually stopped.
"Money is not ideological. Money does not like turmoil. Money leaves," said Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, the black foreign policy lobbying group that organizes daily anti-
apartheid protests outside the South African Embassy in Washington.
"Corporations that did not go in are glad they didn't. Corporations that are there are trying to find a way out. There's no new money going in. The banks have had it," he said in an interview.

## Monitoring group

According to the American Committee on Africa, a monitoring group in New York, and the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC), 12 states, 39 cities and 67 universities so far have enacted legislation authorizing the sale of an estimated $\$ 5,4$ billion (about R13,5 billion) in shares in United States companies with South African ties
"The disinvestment
forces have already won in one sense," said Mr

John Chettle, director of the Washington-based South Africa Foundation, which represents South African businesses in the United States.
"They have discouraged billions of dollars of new United States investment in South Africa."
According to the Commerce Department, direct United States investment in South Africa fell from $\$ 2,6$ billion (about R6,5 billion) in 1981 to $\$ 1,8$ billion ( $\mathrm{R} 4,5$ billion) last year.
Some 300 United States companies still operate in South Africa. including IBM, General Motors, Mobil and Boeing.
Twelve states have enacted legislation partially or completely to disinvest an estimated $\$ 3,5$ billion (R8,75 billion), mostly in pension funds.
'Sex́ven states" - New' Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, Louisiana, Michigan and Wisconsin - have decided to get rid of South African-related stocks.
The other five - Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Nebraska and Rhode Island - would still allow investment in United States companies rated in the top category of the so-called Sulliyan code of fair labour conditions for blacks.
Of the 39 cities that have acted so far, affecting an estimated $\$ 1 ; 5$ billion (about R3,75 billion), the largest are New York, Boston, San Francisco, Miami, Philadelphia and Washington.
The 67 universities have together dumped more than $\$ 400 \mathrm{~m}$ (R1 billion) to $\$ 200 \mathrm{~m}$ ( R 500000 ) since April this year.
According to the analysts, America's 100 richest universities held a total of $\$ 24$ billion (R60 billion) in their combined investment portfolios.
An estimated 20 percent of that was in firms with South African ties. - Sapa-Reuter

/

in South Africa have States corporations operating State President. Mr P Went an urgent telex to the tensions" in the country's educating him to "lower The corporations, all sis education crisis.
Code of Practice, on Fridignatories of the Sullivan tensions in the current pile and the State over "aparontation between pureduce the likelihood of contineid education" and
Mr Pat O'Malley, chairmantinued school boycotts. Education Task Force and of the Sullivan group's live committee, said conc a member of its execusential if further school boycotts gestures were eswere to be avoided.
He criticized the Rev Allan Hendrickse chan of the Ministers' Council in the House of Represent made for who had said that while provision would made for supplementary examinations. there would be be no blanket concessions.
$\qquad$

WASHINGTON - Members of the US Corporate Councilon South Africa, a newly formed group of top American businessmen wanting to promote racial reform in the Republic, are tight-lipped about their meeting with leading South African businessmen in London last week.
WThe chief of General Motors
and co-chairman of the council,
Mr Roger Smith, "felt it was a very productive meeting;" a spokesman said. But he would not cominent further.
Other Influential American businessmen who' attended the meeting yaimed ultimately at dismaninting apartheid, refused to comment on the talks.
Reportedly at the meeting were Mr Smith, Mr Michael Blumenthal of Burroughs Corporation, $\mathbf{M r}^{*}$ Raleigh Warner of Mobil and Mr John Reéd of Citibank. The South Africans included Mr Gavin Relly of An glo American and Mr Mike Ro sholt of Barlow Rand

## Wirst meeting

Itwas apparently the first meeting between the two groüps since the businessmen declared efforts to end apartheid, and the formation of the USCCSA which has as members chief executive officers of large American companies:
Mr Smith said in a anewspaperinterview last month that South Africa's problems, id not necessarily have to be solved by a one-man, one-vote system. "I don't think you" have to go that far toget what needs to be done."
This was one of the matters to be worked out," he said. "We have got to abolish the statutory rules ignd the discrimina tory foundation of apartheid?

## x , - Sensitive

Corporate Council members regard present approaches and activities as, highly sensitive, knowing that their actions are being scrutinised in the US' by congressmen, pressure groups and lobbyists wanting apartheid smashed
Members of these wellorganised groups watch political
andeconomic transactions be-
tween South Africa and dhe



| Kodak deffonds Sa stanee |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| strenuous effort to justify its presence in SA to the American public. | trial Rep |
|  | apartheid is a repressive and repugnant |
| "*" system that must be abolished as quick- |  |
| to.the US Corporate Council on SA - has ly as possible," says chairman and CE of |  |
| put its argument in printin a booklet to Chandler. <br> be distributed to employees, stock- <br> holders and others on request. <br> "... It is clear that peaceful change |  |
|  |  |
| (\%) will become even more difficult without |  |
| In an attempt to sway the public, substantial and immediate reforms on Working' for Peaceful Change' in the part of the SA government. We urge |  |
| 1-South Africa highlights the positive them to dismantle the apartheid system |  |
| (stepsiKodak SA is making in company as quickly as possible." |  |
| The role of business in SA, added Chandler, was to press for this real |  |
| Whe company takes a strong stance on |  |
| the indefensibility of the apartheid poli- |  |
|  |  |

 Randall Robinson and his TransAfrica lobby have achieved nearly all they set out to do a year ago.
This week, the first anniversary of his arrest at the SA Embassy in Washington, is marked by a ban on US imports of Krugerrands and restrictions on US bank loans and computer sales to South Africa.

President Ronald Reagan has abandoned the basic principles of constructive engagement with Pretoria, and divestment statutes have spread through the country.
The Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC) has compiled statistics which show that more states adopted anti-apartheid measures this year than in all the previous years put together, and 40 universities adopted or extended divestment policies this year.
The measures took the following forms: $\square$ Divesting pension fund and other portfolios of shares and bonds from firms that do business with SA;
$\square$ Barring: new investment in those firms;

## Assets

$\square$ Restricting the deposit of public funds in banks and institutions that lend to SA; $\square$ Refusing to buy from SA-related companies.
$\because$ IRRC figures show these actions have affected more than $\$ 6 \mathrm{bn}$ in assets - about a third of all the "SA-tainted" stocks and commercial paper held by public institutions in the country.

Pressure to divest (6)
reaching peak in US

Most divestment statutes have allowed targeted stock to be sold off over a period of years, making it difficult to establish any direct relationship between divestment and share prices.
And only a fraction of the $\$ 6 \mathrm{bn}$ has changed hands.
Nevertheless, the companies singled out for having SA ties are finding it difficult to raise capital.
Leuthold group head Steve Leuthold says 73 US firms which did not satisfy the Sullivan rating system, or were not signatories to it, were under-performing. He compiled a "divestiture hit-list index" of the companies.
New Jersey governor Thomas Kean, on August 2, signed a law requiring $\$ 2 \mathrm{bn}$ of state treasury portfolios to be divested from all companies with SA ties.
The law also affected Sullivan signatories: Through the divestment law, Kean, a Republican, paved the way for similar legislation in New York state, Ohio and Wisconsin.
Major corporations like General Motors and General Electric rely heavily on public institutions to finance their debt through the purchase of their corporate paper.
If the institutions are barred from buying their debt, they might have to increase their bond yields by up to 15 basis points, warns

## Leuthold.

That is a heavy price to pay for the honour of being in SA.
The divestment movement, especially in New York, has already scared banks such as Chase Manhattan and Citicorp into dropping their SA business. The results have been devastating for Pretoria.
Even regional bankers are admitting that merely doing collections in SA is potentially too much trouble.
Now life is threatening to become impossible for the manufacturers.
The domestic costs of operating in SA are rising almost daily.

## Winning

Robinson and his allies are winning, and there is little that worthy groups like the US: Corporate Council on SA can do about it:s,

Council co-chairman Michael Blumenthal even admits his company, Burroughs computers, is making contingency plans to leave SA.
Only one of Robinson's objectives - the dismantling of apartheid - remains to be accomplished.
This should not detract from his laurels. The means have always been more important to him than the end.

US-SA SANCTIONS

## Companies taryeted

Tweive key US corporations have beer se lected as the target of a new ant-apartheia shareholder campaign. The companies. Burroughs. Chevron. Citucorp. Control Data, Fluor, Ford, General Eleciric. International Business Machines (IBM), Mobil. Newmon: Minng and Texaco - are all corporanons said to support apartheid through their ke: products and services.
The interiaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility, representing Frotestant and Roman Catiohc Churce organsations and their funds, has called on the corporations is end sales and service relatoonsimps with the South African government and governmentowned corporations.
"Our goal is no longer to encourage US corporations to ameliorate the eifects of apartheid but to apply their part in dismantiing the system," says Timotiby Smith. executive director of the centre.

Smith said the ecumenical funds would take new action, calling for the withdrawal of corporations from SA, selective buying campaigns and divestment of stock, if the companies failed to respond.
The corporatoons had strategic involvement with the South African government For instance, Mobil has refused to stop sales to the police and military and disclose information about sales to the South African

[^5]
political profile, IBM, a target of antiapartheid activists in the United States, is wading into political issues in SA.

Active for years in quietly promoting better race relations, IBM executives are speaking out to the SA government about white-minority rule, the persistent black riots and the stifling recession that many economists blame on the systam of racial separation.

These executives are doing even more in private, say company spokesmen.
IBM chairman John Akers, known for generally shunning politics, is on the steering committee of a 52 -strong group of US corporate chiefs who bought space in a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper on October 27 to pledge they would "play an active role" in dismantling apartheid.
On Noveriber 15, the group sent a message to President PW Botha urging him to be more conciliatory towards black pupils who were boycotting their schools.

Beyond that, Akers published an anticle in March in the New York Times criticising apartheid while justifying IBM's presence in SA.
"Business people are not social reformers in disguise," Akers wrote.
"But economic activity does have profound social effects, direct and indirect, that enhance the climate for change."
In September, after about 700 people had died in more than a year of riots, IBM waded further than ever into SA's
"It is imperative," the company said in a statement from its head offices in Armonk, New York, "that the South African government address the problems of apartheid with the compelling and urgent attention they deserve."
IBM also hinted publicly for the first time since it came to SA in 1952 that it might reconsider its role in the country.
The company statement said economic activity was a force for good and that IBM was going to stay in SA "as long as there is a chance that we, together with others, can contribute to peaceful change".

But the statement added: "The rapidly deteriorating situation is having a significant impact on IBM's South African business."

An executive of International Business Machines South Africa, IBM's SA subsidiary, said in an interview: "Where government activity results in bad business, obviously we would have to leave".
'He spoke on condition that he was not identified:
However, IBM's New York office reitcrated on November 20 its determinaton to remain "and work for positive social change in South Africa".
IBM, which operates in 130 countries, derives less than a $1 / 2 \%$ of its world-wide revenues from its SA investment.
Of the corporation's 2000 employees in SA, 286 are black, The corporation's activities in SA are entirely sales and service oriented. - Sapa-AP.
 E
The 67 universitie
have together dumper have than \$400 millio (about R1,05-billion) -
$\$ 200$ million (abou R526 million $\stackrel{\text { mabou }}{\text { miñ }}$
April this year.

[^6]ico, Louisiana, Michi-
gan and Wisconsin
have decided to get rid
of South African-reIated stocks.

The other five - Conland, Nebraska and Rhode Island -would
still allow investment
 in the top category of code of fair labour con-
ditions for blacks.
 up eight years ago by the Rev Leon Sullivan


## Argas Eurean

PORT ELIZABETK - in a new mow to this recession-hit city General Motors and BMW are discussing rationalisation" of excess manuiacturing capacity of their piants.
But BMW public relanons manager Nir Pierre de la Etev empnasised tha: the talrs were not coneerned 'at the presen:" with mergers or takeovers
"We are taiking ony of some form of co-operation," he salc
"With the car market in the state it 15. With total capacit: more thar tnree times greater than the presen market, plani utiusation 15 crucia?

Mr de la Rey saio BMW nac also had talks with other manufacturers about excess manutacturing capacity.
"In fact all the companies are talk-
fing to each other and booting for an answer to the problem"
c'It'was announced yesteriay that 1300 workers at the Ford division of Samcor in the city are to lose ther jons on Lecember 13 as part of the ric. tionalisation between Ford and Mas. á

Mr de ic Rev said Genera? Notors and BMY executuves had agreed tha: no details of their talks were to de re leased to the Eress. ano so ne coaic not say how long the talks had been golng on or what stage they had reachec

- But ne emphasiged that "no one is going to take us ove:

M - Peter Sullvan pubhe relations officer of General Motors in Port Elizabeth. said the company had no comment on the talks

## ｜Outrage as 1300 at Samcor axed

## own Corresbonaes

 POR：ELIZABETE： Organizec fabour tr the morot－manufacturing－secter nere nas lasnec
（1）ou：at sameors decisul． ic retrener abou：： 30 Forc workers 12 days Deiore Cnristma：

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The company ls 11 forming aftected staf： abou．tn teiserre－ ments Samcor closes fo： Cnristmas or vecember 15

GENERAL Motors, $\mathrm{a}_{2}$ United States multinatió nàl operating in South Africa, has "retrenched aboüt 250 hourly paid" workers in Port Elizabeth as recession and une: employment take theit toll in the Eastern Gape region. Soldtain
This brings the total number of workers res trenched by. the company since the beginning of $1982^{\circ}$ to approkimately 1150 , 29 , $10 / 85$ GM's public aftalt: Killen said the positions of an undisclosed number of salaried employ' ees were still to beereviewed as the company was going through "rough times", due to recession and problems in production costs.
"The tlatest retrench ments came into effect last Friday," Mr Killen said. He added that the company will conside another action next

The companyre: trenched a total of 650 workers, 540 in 'September 1982 and $110 \mathrm{~m}_{4} \mathrm{in}_{4}$ 1983. If laid , of 20 agot
"All workers \%emg re trenched willshergiven a pro rata bonus and at least one month's, salary depending on the num ber of years each ems - ployee has worked with the company, Mr-Killen said.

GM negotiated with the National Automobile and dilied Workers Union and the Motor Compone Workers Union of SA (M'acwusa) and the uniồns were "satisfied" with the ${ }^{\circ}$ benefits their members will.get.
Naawu's regional secretary Mr Lees Ketteldas said.. although the "package" the workers were going to get was satisfactory, the fretrenchments were nopt acceptable because of the current-economic crisis and unemploy ment in the region. He said: "Oür main concern is not-getting retrenchment benefits', büt we are worried about the loss of jobs by our members, espec̣ally when considering that many of the motor companies have laid off workers.
"Where willthese people look for 'wórk? Ford motor company has also indicated that it will lay off workers by December. The situation is going to be catastrophic for our sme bers and the commuinity at large."

Motor companiees that have retrenched workers in the region because of the economic dowiturn are: Ford, Volkswagen, Sigma, Toyota


## US companies call for further training for black teachers

CAPE TOWN - About 186 United States companies have urgently called on the Government to adopt immediate measures to upgrade the qualifications of more than 100000 underqualified black teachers.

For the second time in two weeks the companies - all signatories to the Sullivan Code - have attacked segregated education and described it as one of the major causes of unrest.

At the weekend they presented a 15 -page memorandum to Minister of National Education Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen, urging the Government to abolish apartheid in education.

Ten days ago they telexed an urgent appeal to the Government to take "urgent steps to lower tensions in the continuing education crisis".
The memorandum prepared by the Sullivan companies' task force on education recommended as an immediate and essential objective the upgrading of the qualifications of the 100000 schoolteachers through in-service education and training.
It added that "reforms in education without a commitment to the elimination of apartheid will lack credibility in the eyes of the majority of South Africans".
The companies offered to help in bringing about the fundamental changes needed through independent programmes outside the official system
The lack of properly qualified teachers was the single most serious factor seen by pupils as hampering their progress at school, and the most likely cause of school boycotts.
Although there would be a teacher shortage for the rest of the century, the effectiveness of every teacher needed to be developed.
"Unless the teacher problem is tackled, the private sector will be doing remedial work in education forever, and will struggle to train people effectively to run the economy."
Mr Pat O'Malley, chairman of the education task force, said: "In the long term the survival of the free enterprise system in South Africa depends on such reforms.
"Certainly, from the blacks' point of view, reform in education is important.as they see the system as limiting their access to the economy, and thus having a profound effect on their lives." - Sapa.


## IBM denies sturn lass of denes rumours

Persistent rumours that IBM is about to pull out of South Africa contain no truth, according to a company spokesman.
The rumours hà̉e been 'fuelled by an announcement by IBM that it is offering two voluntany staff, Yeduction' packages to 3 m o categories of employees. Thencentives are a direct re: sult 8 x the need to rationalise

Enployees of 50 and ólderare
tives, to take early retirement which include a substantial separation payment in addition to their pension benefits.
Employees who have been with the company thiree years and less are being offered a lump-sum payout if they resign.
A spokesman for the company said both programmes were voluntary. "Employ'ees are not being forced to leave: We have a fyll employment policy," the spokesman said.
Commenting on the company's commitment to 'South Africa, the spotesman said: "We are here to stay:

SOCIL PROGRAMMES
hThere are a lot of rumours floating around that IBM is pulling.out. We want to play a role in meaningful change in South Afrua: We have invested in several social programmés involvingRe million this yearificiuding educational schemes, well asitimban and rural programmes. "Whelieve the free enter-
 of the South African solution and therefore it is essential that companies like IBM stay,"m:"

## GM and BMW may be  merging

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. - Motor industry sources claimed last night that General Motors and BMW had concluded a deal which could lead to the two organisations joining forces.
The sources said the deal, if it led to a merger would mean the end of much of the Americanbased company's local range.
The popular Opel Kadett range would be manufactured by BMW at their plant in Rosslyn while the rest of the
range, including Ascona, Rekord, Commodore and Senator would be dropped, the sources, based in the Eastern Cape and Johannesburg. said.

But neither of the two companies was prepared to confirm the deal last night.
GM managing director Mr Bob White said: "The current trends in the economy lead vehicle manufacturers to consider ways and means to remain viable and competitive through rationalizing to the greatest ex-
tent possible and effecting economies in the process.
"A number of potential avenues are being explored and General Motors has talked to other manufacturers in similar positions.
"It is no secret that the international vehicle manufacturing industry is doing the same thing in order to offset the rapidly escalating cost of research, development and production.'

Meanwhile, Renault, which recently announced its withdrawal
from South Africa, is thinking again.
A spokesman confirmed: 'Yes, we are still busy talking,
It is possible that Renault cars could be built by another manufacturer and distributed through the existing dealer network as was the case before 1982.
Renault will have 2700 built-up vehicles when its contract with Leyland at-Elsies River ends next week, so stocks will continue to be available until May or June, the spokesman said.

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\begin{aligned}
& \text { GM, BMW link-up im iminent (ex } \\
& \text { GENERAL Motors and BMW are ex- } \\
& \text { pected to announce joint rational- } \\
& \text { isation plans within the next two } \\
& \text { weeks. } \\
& \text { Industry sources say a draft con- } \\
& \text { tract was tabled last weekend and both } \\
& \text { companies have reached agreement. } \\
& \text { An announcement, they say, is "immi- } \\
& \text { nent". } \\
& \text { GM and BMW have not confirmed or } \\
& \text { denied the speculation surrounding the } \\
& \text { two companies. A GM spokesman said } \\
& \text { he "finds it counter-productive to even } \\
& \text { comment". He denied that GM plans to } \\
& \text { assemble vehicles outside of its pre- } \\
& \text { sent production facilities. BMW's Mike } \\
& \text { Brandt said "no comment". } \\
& \text { The apparent reluctance of BMW } \\
& \text { and GM to kill the growing speculation } \\
& \text { about their talks lends credibility to } \\
& \text { the speculation. } \\
& \text { Sources say the likely outcome of } \\
& \text { the agreement is that BMW will as- } \\
& \text { semble some GK modelsat its fessifn } \\
& \text { assembly plant near Pretoria } \\
& \text { A link-up between the two com- } \\
& \text { panies would have political and eco- } \\
& \text { nomic benefits for both, say business } \\
& \text { analysts. } \\
& \text { The better economies of scale re- } \\
& \text { sulting from rationalisation would } \\
& \text { help shore up both companies' finan- } \\
& \text { cial position while, politically, neither } \\
& \text { company would be seen to desert an } \\
& \text { established market because of tempo- } \\
& \text { rary political inconvenience. }
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## PRICE MOVES AT A GLANCE



Incorrect"conclusions drawn by atid investigation'from the Department of Commerce into imported copper products has ef fectively let McKechnie Bros of Germiston off the hook.

The chairman of McKechnie Bros, Mr Murray Coutts-Trotter said yesterday he wáa delighted.

It was reported from Wash ington on Tuesday that the De partment of Commerce had issued a final ruling, stating that McKechnie was illegally selling
copper rod and wire - valued at $\$ 930000$ in 1984 - in the US at 3,3 percent below the cost of production

Mr Coutts-Trotter said the report was inaccurate as it was not copper rod and wire which was sold but low fuming bronze brazing rod.

Furthermore, it had been sold at prices above the cost of production.
The investigation, carried out from November 1984 to February 1985 hád "found that 24 per-
cent of sales were below the South African market price and the weighted average below this price was 3,3 percent".
"There have been no sales below the cost of production," Mr Coutts-Trotter said.
"These investigations are standard procedure and we are confident this one will die a natural death."
McKechnie exports to seven other countries and sales to the US are about three percent of the company's turnover.
"We expectivolumes to the US to be slightly higher than in 1984 but with the swinging rand, it is difficult to say whether the value will also be higher."
The decision by the Department of Commerce will now go before the US International Trade Commission which will decide whether the sales are harming domestic industries.
If it does, and doesn't realise it's mistake, then"an anti-dumping duty of 3,3 percent will be added to the cost of the rod.


## EUSINE88 DAY, Friday, Decamber 201886 <br> Pretoria blocks

needs of Venda, which has an averAccording to Rand Afrikaans Univensity Proll countries are sensitive about foreign competition with their tex-
tile industries, especially if they try tile industries, especially if then However, he believes Barker was badly treated by authorities as his
enterprise could have helped lowincome groups.
Barker has since been attracted

 eight weeks. R200,42.
And $46,6 \%$ of economically-active
females in Venda are unemployed, females in $20,2 \%$ among males.
 Pretoria after two years and
R250 000 invested in the clothing

 not have dealt through retaing
directly through hawkers. opinion was reBoard, but their opinion versed at the requel in Pretoria. Norris Barker, head of AATC, claims that such intervention wenillegal - country, such matters could
 partment of Foreign Affairs.
Barnard refused to discuss the
matter with Business Day.
According to Professor G G Maas-管合 Natal, Pretoria has no right to legal-
ALTHOUGH South Africa claims to
bend over backwards for foreign
capital and new industries, one Unit-
edStates company was stopped from
operating in Venda by the SA au-
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ALTHOUGH South Africa claims to
bend over backwards for foreign
capital and new industries, one Unit-
edStates company was stopped from
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thorities.
The African American Trading second-hand clothing import busi-second-hand would export all over
ness that
Southern Africa from Venda, but not into SA itself.
It was approved by the Venda Development Corporation and Industrial Development

## Ven

Venda Industrial.

## Anti-SANawhurts US city <br> NEW YORK - West Hollyubod, a dity <br> blisiness in South Africa wete returned

 with one of the Unifen-States' toughest anti-apartheid laws, is having trouble avoiding the purchase of equipment from companies that have ties with South Africa.West Hollywood's ordinance does more than ban investment of city funds in firms doing business in SA. It prohlbits the city from buying supplies and services from companies with financial ties with South Africa.
But city staff say most major manufacturers of computers, office equipment and vehicles do business in South Africa. Unless the law is changed, the city may not be able to buy such items.
As a result, staff have recommended that the city council soften the law to permit purchases from companies that have agreed to an affirmative action programme aimed at bettering conditions for black employees of US companies in South Africa.
When the anti-apartheid policy began in April, leased IBM office equipment and other products made by firms doing
and replaced with relatively unknown brands.
$\square$ The New York Post, the racy tabloid owned by media mogul Rupert Murdoch, has evened the score against a local television station which first broke the "scandal" about the Post using newsprint from South Africa.

A few months ago, media hounds throughout the city came down hard on the Post after television journalist Mike Taibbl revealed that Murdoch had, in fact, bought the offending newsprint.

The Post hit back by asking why three television channels, including the station that broke the story, earned about $\$ 6 \mathrm{~m}$ between them from advertising promoting one of SA's biggest companies - the De Beers diamond syndicate.

One Post reporter said:
"Last Wednesday we tipped Mike to another 'scandal'. His own network was profiting from a generous budget promoting De Beers."

Game score: one-all. - Sapa-Reuter-



NEW YORK - Most Americans do not want US businesses to pull out of South Africa in protest against apartheid, but there is no consensus on the correct United States policy, says a Media General-Associated Press poll released yesterday.

Asked "Do you think US businesses should stop investing or doing business in South Africa, or not?" $32 \%$ of the 1462 respondents said yes, $40 \%$ said no and $28 \%$ were unsure.
Eighty United States colleges or universities have divested all or part of their stock in South Africa-related companiessañd átleast 10 states and 32 cities have some kind of divestment policy, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, which monitors busi-
ness activity in South Africa:
In addition, about 20 American businesses have closed operations in South Africa in the past year.

Half the respondents said business divestment would hurt blacks and whites 28\% said it was immoral to conduct business in South Africa, and $22 \%$ had no opinion.

Slightly more than half the respondents said they believed apartheid would be abolished in the next 10 years and two-thirds said SA's problems would lead to civil war.

Respondents included a random, scientific sampling of 1462 adults across the US from November 8 to 14. The results were subject to an error margin of three percentage points either "way - Sapa-AP.
minn


## GM will not quit count <br> Finankial staff

General Motors has no intention of pulling out of South Africa and one the country's oldest motor assemblers is here to stay for a long time, according to a company spokesman.

Reacting to a report in The Star earlier this week that the industry was rife with speculation that GM would pullout its passenger car assembly operation, GM said today that th s sort of speculation could on! have a counter or negative ef. fect on the Port Elizabeth area and its employment situation.

The motor industry which es?perienced one of its worse downturns last year and which could well be even worse off next year will be bouyed by th. strong statement of intent.

Alfa Romeo denied to the las that it would not pull out o South Africa and today's state ment from GM will bring to al end the speculation that thiprestige motor manufacture will cancel its ties with this country.
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A BLACK-OWNED US firm has dropped plans to sell specially-toughened IBM computers to a Boksburg firm, after claims they were destined for a SA government agency.

Scientific Systems of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was to supply Edward L Bateman of Boksburg, an IBM distributor, with 100 "ruggedised" IBM personal computers (PCS). But staff at the small US firm protested that the deal was set up by IBM to dodge American embargo regulations.

Bateman MD John Treger has denied the allegation, saying the equipment was meant for the local mining industry.
The ruggedised model is housed in metal rather than plastic, is sealed to keep out dirt and is better able to withstand the bumps and wide temperature variations associated with military and some heavy industry use.

Scientific Systems does most of its business with the US Defence Department.
IBM reportedly declined to sell the model directly to SA. Some Scientific Systems employees accused the computer giant of arranging the transaction between their firm and Bateman as a way cof getting around the US ban on supplyining hightechnology items to the SA milite tary, police-or apartheid-enforcing govermment agencjes.

## US

 firm Buy day SA deal plansA spokesman for IBM corporate headquarters in Armonk, outside New York, denied the charge, calling it "misleading, offensive and without merit.
"If we were aware of any violations, we would take the appropriate actions and notify the appropriate authorities, the spokesman said."
An IBM SA spokesman said IBM had rigidly adhered to the embargo since it was imposed in 1978.
"In the US, as is the case locally, we sell PCs through a dealer network, and we have no knowledge of where the computers go."
Bateman MD John Treger said Bateman Process Instrumentation (BTI) was a supplier of capital equipment to the mining industry.
He said the company had acquired an export licence for the hardened PCs once they were launched by IBM in the US in May. Bateman intended to import the equipment "in due course although no purchase orders have yet been placed".


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