

# CLARION CALL

Volume 1, 1985



## Disinvestment

As the numbers of unemployed grow, what do Black workers want?



# HOW TO REACH US

## CONTACT NUMBERS:

Department of the Chief Minister, Legislative Assembly building: (0358) 749111  
All other Government Departments: (0358) 9211

## CORRESPONDENCE:

Secretary, Department of the Chief Minister, Private Bag X01, Ulundi, KwaZulu 3838.

Clarion Call is the official magazine of the KwaZulu Government.

Published by the Bureau of Communications, KwaZulu Government, Private Bag X01, Ulundi, KwaZulu 3838.  
Telephone (0358) 742102

Editorial Consultant: Mrs Suzanne Griffin, PO Box 783966, Sandton 2146. Tel: (011) 7833280.

Printed by Kingspress (Pty) Ltd, 12 Chrome Crescent, Empangeni Rail.

Chief M G Buthelezi is Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha - a liberation movement which aims at fostering Black unity and peaceful change throughout South Africa.

Inkatha has a paid up membership of nearly one million people and all the elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly were voted in on Inkatha tickets.

For further information regarding KwaZulu and Inkatha please contact:

Mr Z Khumalo,  
Personal Assistant to the President of Inkatha,  
Private Bag X9,  
Ulundi, KwaZulu 3838.  
Tel: (0358) 9330

The Communications Centre,  
PO Box 9463,  
Johannesburg 2000,  
South Africa.  
Tel: (011) 8346346/8346140

Inkatha Institute,  
17 Davenport Road,  
Durban,  
South Africa.  
Tel: (031) 223493

Information Centre on South Africa,  
PO Box 70425,  
1007 KK Netherlands.  
Tel: 0 20 769757

## INKATHA LEADERSHIP

**President:** Chief M G Buthelezi — Chief Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs and Police.

**Secretary-General:** Dr O D Dhlomo — Minister of Education and Culture.

**Deputy Secretary-General:** Chief S H Gumede — Minister of Works.

**Chairman Social and Cultural Committee:** Dr F T Mdlalose — Minister of Health and Welfare.

**Chairman Security Committee:** The Rev C J Mtetwa — Minister of Justice.

**Chairman Economic and Finance Committee:** Mr S Z Conco — Chief Whip, Legislative Assembly.

**Chairman Political, Constitutional and Legal Committee:** Dr D R B Madide — Minister of the Interior.

**Chairman Women's Brigade:** Mrs A Mchunu

**Chairman Youth Brigade:** Mr K Zondi

**National Organiser Youth Brigade:** Mr N Mafole

The Inkatha office telephone number in Ulundi is (0358) 9330.



# Investment in SA — a strategy for liberation

**THE** disinvestment (or divestment as Americans call it) debate is gaining momentum both in South Africa and abroad.

This issue of *Clarion Call* highlights the controversy and the viewpoint of Black South Africans and their elected representatives who believe that investment and job opportunities are a strategy *for* liberation.

While totally opposed to the apartheid policies of the South African Government, they are convinced that disinvestment will only increase the suffering of their fellow Blacks and will not hasten the day of their political liberation.

This report presents the views of

hundreds of thousands of Black workers and their families (altogether numbering millions) who have massed at rallies throughout the country to voice their opposition to disinvestment.

It shows pictorial evidence of these people who have stood up and asked to be counted — men and women who have cried “NO!” to disinvestment across the length and breadth of the country. People who have crammed into marquees in the heart of rural KwaZulu and who have packed stadiums in the sprawling city of Soweto outside Johannesburg and in other Black townships throughout the Reef.

They see disinvestment as a misguided and simplistic strategy that has no chance of any real success.

And they query why the proponents of disinvestment both in South Africa and abroad have never tried to consult or obtain a mandate from ordinary Black workers — who are the ones disinvestment will effect the most.

Only one Black leader has done so — Chief M G Buthelezi - and their response to his question: “Do you believe in disinvestment as a strategy for liberation?” has been an overwhelming “NO!”

Blacks understand the issue and its implications. They are capable of speaking for themselves. They know what is in their political and economic interest.

While grateful for the moral concern of people from other countries, Black workers feel they should direct their own struggle for liberation.

They ask whether good people in New York, Washington, Quebec, London, Bonn, The Hague, Paris, Rome, Sydney and other world centres really understand the other side of the disinvestment debate in faraway South Africa.



*Waiting for a day's work at a township meeting place for job seekers. Today millions of Blacks in South Africa are unemployed.*



# WHITE HOUSE

**“... disinvestment and the economic isolation of South Africa will bring about increased immediate hardships and starvation and will increase disease in the short term — without medium and long term gains to balance deprivation and suffering ...”**

THE following is the text of the thoughts expressed to President Ronald Reagan by Chief Buthelezi during their White House meeting:

Mr President, Sir, the time that you can afford to devote to the South African question must be counted in minutes per month rather than in hours or days.

Politically you are the most powerful man on earth and your responsibilities extend into a multitude of domestic and foreign issues and are global in scope.

That you have taken the initiative to invite me to meet you here in Washington and are now devoting time to talk to me is a signal to every decent Black South African that you are genuinely concerned to do something constructive to bring about change in South Africa.

On behalf of Black South Africa, I thank you for inviting me here and for the interest you are displaying in our plight.

It would appear to us that the constructive engagement policy will necessarily involve the United States in a carrot and stick approach, and we have taken heart at glimpses of the stick in your recent statements.

You have said: “There are occasions when quiet diplomacy is not enough ...” And you have remarked that the United States “... has said on many occasions that we view racism with repugnance ...” Mr President, we appreciate this forthright condemnation of apartheid.

You Mr President must go down in our history as the first American President who had the courage to clutch the thorny South African nettle boldly and

publicly. The United States never had a South African policy. It now has one. Those who follow in your footsteps will inherit your initiatives and will have to build on things that you have started.

Your assessment is correct, Sir, that it is now time that the South and Southern African situation was placed permanently on the American political agenda.

Because your policy is about us and our country and because it is about our future and the future of our children, I have a duty and a democratic right to weigh up what you, Sir, are aiming to do and to comment publicly on the merits of what you and your administration are attempting to accomplish.

You will hear conflicting voices from Black South Africa - some made strident by the medi



# TALKS



Chief M G Buthelezi at a meeting with President Ronald Reagan, Washington, February 4, 1985.

amplifying machine and others made cautious and sober by the demands which are placed on real leaders with mass followings. I hope, Sir, that you will listen to the latter, even if you have to take cognisance of the former in your own domestic party political situation.

The United States is a great democracy and the American people should feel obliged to give added weight to the views expressed by leaders who involve themselves in constituency politics where they sink or swim on their ability to gather demonstrable Black support which can be directed towards political objectives.

I, Sir, founded Inkatha as a liberation movement a short ten years ago and in the space of one decade Inkatha has grown to have nearly a million paid-up

members.

I am a leader chosen by millions of ordinary Black South Africans from every walk of life and I represent people in both rural and urban areas. In addition, I am a leader by hereditary right and history itself demands and I remain as a committed leader in the struggle for liberation.

What I say to you, Sir, is acclaimed by millions and on behalf of Black South Africa I constantly reiterate that we need Western involvement in the development of South and Southern Africa. We need American engagement if it is constructive.

Western leaders should not gamble the future of South and Southern Africa nor should they jeopardise the role that the West can play in developing and stabilising Southern Africa as a region on the strident and dubious voi-

ces expressing radical rhetoric so often amplified by the media.

I ask you, Sir, to continue weighing up your responsibilities and the responsibilities of America against the background of what effective Black leaders with real mass constituencies have to say.

History has taught me and Black South Africa that past Western democratic posturing and verbal condemnation have left apartheid intact. I see today in the United States an upsurge of genuine concern about apartheid. But I also see a great upsurge of verbal condemnation of apartheid and the kind of posturing which has been of such little significance in the past.

There is a storm brewing in the

*Continued overleaf...*



United States about American responses to apartheid and I think that time will tell that many of those who are involved are serving double agendas.

They may well be indignant about the lack of even minimal human rights for Blacks in South Africa, and they may well be genuine in their indignation. For this indignation and genuineness I am deeply grateful.

They may, however, have other agendas in which apartheid is being used as an issue to beat you, Mr President, and to discredit your administration.

Some are making a political football out of our suffering, and I ask you to stand firm and to do whatever you can to de-politicise the question of what America can do to aid those who are not involved in the struggle for liberation.

Apartheid has a kind of evil virulence and it has a proven durability. There are many who are making the tactical error of attempting to encapsulate this virulence in an isolated South Africa shut off from Western influences.

The indiscriminate economic, social and political isolation of South Africa, applied mindlessly and regardless of consequences for each action, will deeply and adversely affect the non-violent democratic struggle to bring about radical change. The total isolation of South Africa would favour those who aim to bring about change by violent means and to establish a socialist or even communist state.

It is indisputably true that Whites cannot manage mining, industry and commerce on their own and that the sustained economic growth to which they aspire can only be achieved by moving towards parity between Black and White.

White political apartheid is now under very real siege by economic reality and the non-violent transition from apartheid society to a society based on the principles of open democracy will be greatly enhanced by a sustained high rate of economic growth.

Disinvestment and the economic isolation of South Africa will bring about increased immediate hardships and starvation

and will increase disease in the short term, without medium term and long term gains to balance deprivation and suffering.

I am acclaimed by millions when I say that while the struggle for liberation in South Africa needs Western inputs, it is primarily a Black South African struggle which we ourselves wage for our own future.

I speak for millions when I say that we see tactical and strategic advantages in a rapidly growing economy. The West, Mr President, must allow us to determine our own tactics and strategies and to charter our own course into the future of our choice.

Black South Africa knows that there are no easy solutions to the apartheid problem, and we certainly know that an armed struggle which continues to fail and which exacts terrible prices will destroy the foundations on which we will one day have to build a future.

Quite apart from the moral issues involved, and quite apart from the fact that an armed struggle tends to shape society for authoritarian governments of the future, I have other concerns about the use of violence.

Black South Africans know that without bases in neighbouring states, and without international diplomatic, logistic and material support and, furthermore, without areas inside South Africa which can be liberated, the armed struggle must fail.

Whether, Mr President, your bold grasping of the South African thorny nettle in your formulated constructive engagement policy will bear the fruits that all democrats hope for, remains to be seen.

Experience gathered over generations makes me and my fellow Black South Africans sceptical about the role of the West in our struggle.

I believe you are right in formulating a South African policy. I believe that within this framework Dr Chester Crocker has played a positive role in Namibia but the vast majority of ordinary Black South Africans are not yet aware of anything meaningful in their own lives which has flowed as something new from America because of constructive en-

gagement.

I and all Black South Africans applaud the emphasis which has been placed on aid for education programmes in South Africa.

The struggle for liberation would be strengthened by American-backed educational programmes and would be strengthened even further if educational aid were extended to health education and educational programmes which are complementary to the in-service training programmes aimed at vocational advancement in work situations.

I am particularly aware of Black South Africa's appreciation for the aid which is given for humanitarian purposes. American assistance given to us for drought relief and to help us meet the terrible plight of those devastated by floods by cyclone Demoina was greatly appreciated.

Mr President, the responsibility to liberate South Africa is ours, but the West must not underestimate the desperate need to provide humanitarian aid to suffering communities involved in our struggle.

When ordinary suffering humanity is sustained by aid programmes, more morale in the struggle for liberation rises. The raising of Black South African morale is something the West can do and should do, and will I hope accept as a very important input to the struggle.

Mr President, may I in conclusion express the real fact that the value of educational and other aid programmes backed by the United States will have a greatly diminished value if they are based on partisan American assessments of the Who's Who in Black South African politics and not on needs and opportunities.

The need to be blind to Black party political affiliations in South Africa cannot be over-emphasised.

I plead for aid for Black South African organisations across a broad front of Black South African activity and I ask you Mr President and your administration to do everything that can be done to remove aid to Black South Africa from the American party political arena.



EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH UNITED STATES CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 1985

Meaningful political dialogue is notoriously difficult to pursue, even in the most propitious of circumstances. Even where there are common objectives and there is a traditionally defined system of social, political and economic values, political groups can be at loggerheads and experience grave difficulties in discussing things meaningfully and rationally. One has only to listen to parliamentary debates in Western democracies to take the point that I am making. As soon as vested interests are associated with power struggles, situations are represented and misrepresented and it becomes extremely difficult to have meaningful conversation.

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

A FEW REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE. 5TH FEBRUARY 1985. MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON

Big business in the United States is faced with a political debate about what it should do and should not do. The rising tide of American interest in South Africa and public indignation against apartheid is being raised to the point where we can anticipate a spate of congressional activity. Those opposed to President Reagan will use his policy of constructive engagement towards South Africa as a stick with which to beat him, and it is inevitable that in these circumstances, those jockeying for positions of power and influence will take every opportunity available to use the South African question as an in-pot to their activities and their lobbies.

# American dialogue

Influential Americans including Senators, Congressmen and the chief executive officers of large corporations heard Chief Buthelezi explain during his recent visit to the US that the crucial question now was whether or not big companies could play a positive role in the process of helping to bring about change in South Africa.

He told them: "I am watching with some interest how American companies will in fact respond to the current situation. If big business has a job of work to do in South Africa beyond the turning over of dollars; if America as the world's leading industrial nation, and the world's leading democratic country, uses big business as a party political tool, and if activists and lobbyists in the United States beat big business in the field of public relations and mount the kind of pressures on big business which forces their hand in South Africa, then we will be witnessing something we have not yet witnessed before."

In the past big business interests in the West had participated in the development of the South African economy and had done so within the framework of apartheid. They had been party to the fact that economic development had favoured Whites at the expense of Blacks. There was now no doubt that the West generally and big business in particular were — in the last generation — blind to the horrors of apartheid. This was not the case now and American businessmen had "seen the writing on the wall ..."

America, he said, had the kind of massive wealth which afforded it the luxury of being involved in South Africa or not being involved. Big business in America was aware of that power and one of its options was to withdraw now in the certain knowledge, and perhaps even capitalist arrogant knowledge, that they were not foregoing involvement in the development of South and Southern Africa forever.

He said Congressmen and Senators in particular would be receiving conflicting signals from Black South Africa... Black South Africans had the right to differ with each other and to pursue differing aims and objectives. However, as a democrat he believed that the final arbiter of who was "acceptable" and who was not acceptable, were the masses of ordinary Black people. No other organisation in the country was endorsed by ordinary people as effectively as Inkatha was endorsed. For that reason he asked that his observations be taken seriously.

Chief Buthelezi asked Americans to "employ their indignation skillfully and rationally" and to bear the following nine points in mind:

1. The practice of democracy is deeply and adversely affected by circumstances of mass poverty. I ask Americans to remember that Black South Africans do not wish to destroy the foundations of future progress by indulging in the politics of anger which is satisfying in the short term but detrimental in the medium and long term.
2. The majority of Black South Africans seek to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa through the politics of negotiation, and by employing non-violent means.
3. Ordinary Black South Africans see politics as a bread and butter thing and as a vehicle for improvements in their standard of living and in individual family circumstances.
4. Black South Africans are intimately aware of White power and that it will be used to protect Whites preferentially if South Africa began to feel the effects of economic isolation.
5. Ordinary Blacks do not distinguish between those among them who were forced to live in urban ghettos by apartheid and those whom the same apartheid forces to live in rural areas. For them, the rural/urban dichotomy does not exist as a political dimension, and for them life under apartheid rule is as obnoxious for Blacks in apartheid-created townships, or apartheid-created so-called homelands.
6. Black South Africans do not wish to pay terrible prices for failing strategies and they neither believe that the armed struggle, nor the effective economic isolation of South Africa, could succeed in destroying apartheid for the foreseeable future. Both the armed struggle and increased economic deprivation, which Blacks would experience as the result of effective economic sanctions against the country as a whole, would involve Blacks in paying heavy prices for gains which would be minimal if there be any gains at all.
7. Black strategists with their feet on the ground are aware that people who suffer as we suffer, experience losses of morale in the face of the prospects of greatly increased suffering. It is the taste of something better which galvanises impoverished people to demand more and which creates a sustained determination to struggle for that more.
8. Righteous indignation which vents itself against South Africa's White apartheid bosses but which also extolls casualties from Blacks, must be rejected, as the use of bombs against strategic and military targets in South Africa which kill and maim ordinary Black citizens in the process, must be rejected.
9. Americans must always remember that the international might of the United States should not be used to dictate to Black South Africans about what they should do and what they should not do, and what they should suffer and should not suffer, as Americans give vent to anger and indignation against the horrors of apartheid.



SENATOR Edward Kennedy, in his well publicised tour of South Africa in January, made it clear in his speeches that he plans to "offer specific recommendations on divestiture" to the American people and to the Congress of the United States.

In an address to 600 members of various Chambers of Commerce in Johannesburg, he said that neither he nor the American people could accept statements of goodwill as substitutes for concrete actions to achieve fundamental rights in South Africa.

Since his return to America, newspaper reports from there have speculated that the Senator is set to "turn the heat on American businesses operating in South Africa" as a prelude to championing tougher economic measures against South Africa.

It is believed Senator Kennedy is likely to sponsor legislative measures in the United States that will call for "selective disinvestment" or "constructive disengagement" by American companies found to be supporting or entrenching apartheid.

There is doubt whether Senator Kennedy, who has already co-sponsored Bills urging a stop to new American investments in South Africa, will call for total disinvestment immediately.

Kennedy strategists are expected to seek out views in the US on how best to monitor the activities of American companies who have links with South Africa and how others can put pressure on the country.

In an interview with the Johannesburg Sunday Express, Senator Kennedy was asked what measures by the SA Government he would regard as being far-reaching enough to make him review his anti-apartheid campaign.

Senator Kennedy said they would include "expansion of the vote" to people of all races, restoration of South African citizenship to Blacks and a halt to forced removal and resettlement of Blacks.

He told South African businessmen that private communications of concern from corporate leaders in SA to Government officials could "... only be gestures, words spoken on the wind..." if business was also busy implementing pass laws against Black families and accepting and aiding other measures which entrench apartheid.

He said no test was clearer for South Africa now, no issue more closely watched in the outside world, than the fate of the union movement.

"To have unions is not enough; to respect their rights is essential," he

# Kennedy



*Senator Edward Kennedy in South Africa.*

said.

Senator Kennedy added that to fire workers for striking made a mockery of any claim to free collective bargaining.

The state of South Africa's unions was also inextricably related to the status of Black people in the rest of the legal system.

On his return to America, Senator Kennedy said he had found that "only Whites in South Africa oppose disinvestment ..."

This statement was slammed by various Black leaders and academics who said they were "astounded" that Senator Kennedy had programmed his memory so selectively.

In an editorial headlined "Amazing forgetfulness," the Durban Daily News pointed out that Senator Kennedy could hardly have missed the central point made at a prayer breakfast he attended — hosted by Chief M G Buthelezi.

It said the "... leader of the country's largest national group" had told him that not only the Zulus but ordinary working Blacks opposed investment.

Hundreds of demonstrators greeted him in Durban with pro-investment banners and Black businessmen have also spoken personally to him pressing their opposition to investment.

The Director of the Centre for Applied Social Studies at the University of Natal, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, says research among working class Blacks has shown that they are against disinvestment.

Research among more politically polarised Blacks might conclude, he said, that they supported investment.

"It therefore depends on which Blacks you are talking about," Professor Schlemmer added.



# and Buthelezi ... what they said.

DURING his meeting with Senator Edward Kennedy in Durban, Chief M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, made it clear that he believed that the problems of South Africa would be resolved within South Africa by South Africans.

He said that if there was one message which the United States Government and other Western Governments needed to hear was that Black South Africans were "... ordinary people who behave as human beings behave the world over."

South Africa was in a situation of flux and change in which opinion was deeply divided about what to do and what not to do and about the goals which Blacks should be striving for.

The history of the Black struggle for liberation could be written as one Black failure after another to bring about radical change. Failure after failure had produced one new attempt after the other and Black politics was characterised by raging disputes about what next should be done and how it should be done.

It was not surprising that Black groups in South Africa were at loggerheads with each other about both aims and objectives and about tactics and strategies to achieve them.

Chief Buthelezi went on to say that what has become known as the Black Consciousness grouping tended to look towards a socialist future. This rejection of the free enterprise system and capitalism as a philosophy was not surprising.

What little free enterprise that had emerged in South Africa had not benefited Blacks — capitalism had been misused.

Black experience was one of political subjugation supported by economic oppression and the experience of seeing successive governments siding with big business to maintain the status quo.

The step beyond the call for socialism was the step into the armed struggle.

"Those who reject the country's existing institutions and its political and economic order must necessarily tend towards revolutionary approaches using revolutionary tactics and strategies," he said.

Like every other Black leader Chief Buthelezi said he had to consider carefully revolutionary options "... and I did so while the fires of deep anger burnt in my breast ..."

Black South Africans would be, he added, the last people on the continent of Africa to triumph over racist-inspired social, economic and political oppression.

However, the victory of Africa had taught him that the political victories in struggles for liberation were "but first steps" into a tortuous future.

Chief Buthelezi assured Senator Kennedy that "my views have not changed one bit" since he had discussed the South African situation with his late brother, Senator Robert Kennedy.

"In short, I am and have always been an opponent of the National Party Government which rules us without consent in South Africa..."



At his most recent rally at the Jabulani Stadium in Soweto, 30 000 people turned out to welcome Chief Buthelezi.



# “THERE’S NO SOCIALIST MAGIC FOR AFRICA ...”

IT HAD been “a sobering experience” watching, over the years, grand experiments in African Socialism, Chief Buthelezi told Senator Kennedy.

He had seen just how little socialism had done for so many people in so many parts of the continent.

“Thus, when I seek wisdom from Africa and when I draw on African experience, I am cautioned by other people’s experience of revolutions striving for a socialist future ...”

“As a Black leader faced with the realities of South Africa here and now, I dare not take models of liberation from elsewhere and apply them simplistically to our own circumstances.

“The fundamental lesson I have learnt is that the process of bringing about radical change is the very process which lays the foundation for the future.

“So when I, like other Black South Africans, have time and again examined the utility of revolution and the desirability of rejecting capitalism in favour of socialism or communism, I have done so soberly ...”

Chief Buthelezi said 50 percent of all Black South Africans were 15 years old and younger. There was vast unemployment and it was Blacks who were unemployed or under-employed.

There were vast backlogs in essential services — in housing, medical care and in education. It was Blacks who suffered because of these backlogs.

Rural areas were desperately overpopulated and agrarian revolutions would only alleviate suffering. They would not bring about any real change in the quality of life of the people.

“There is no socialist magic and no communist magic which will feed the hungry and house the poor,” the Chief emphasised.

After looking around Africa and the Third World, he had become convinced that the free enterprise system held out more hope for “people in our circumstances,” than any other system.

“The free enterprise system is the most potent development agency at our disposal,” he said.

“I therefore find myself unable to commend an idealist socialist future to my people — no matter how attractive the trappings of socialism appear to those who have suffered so desperate-

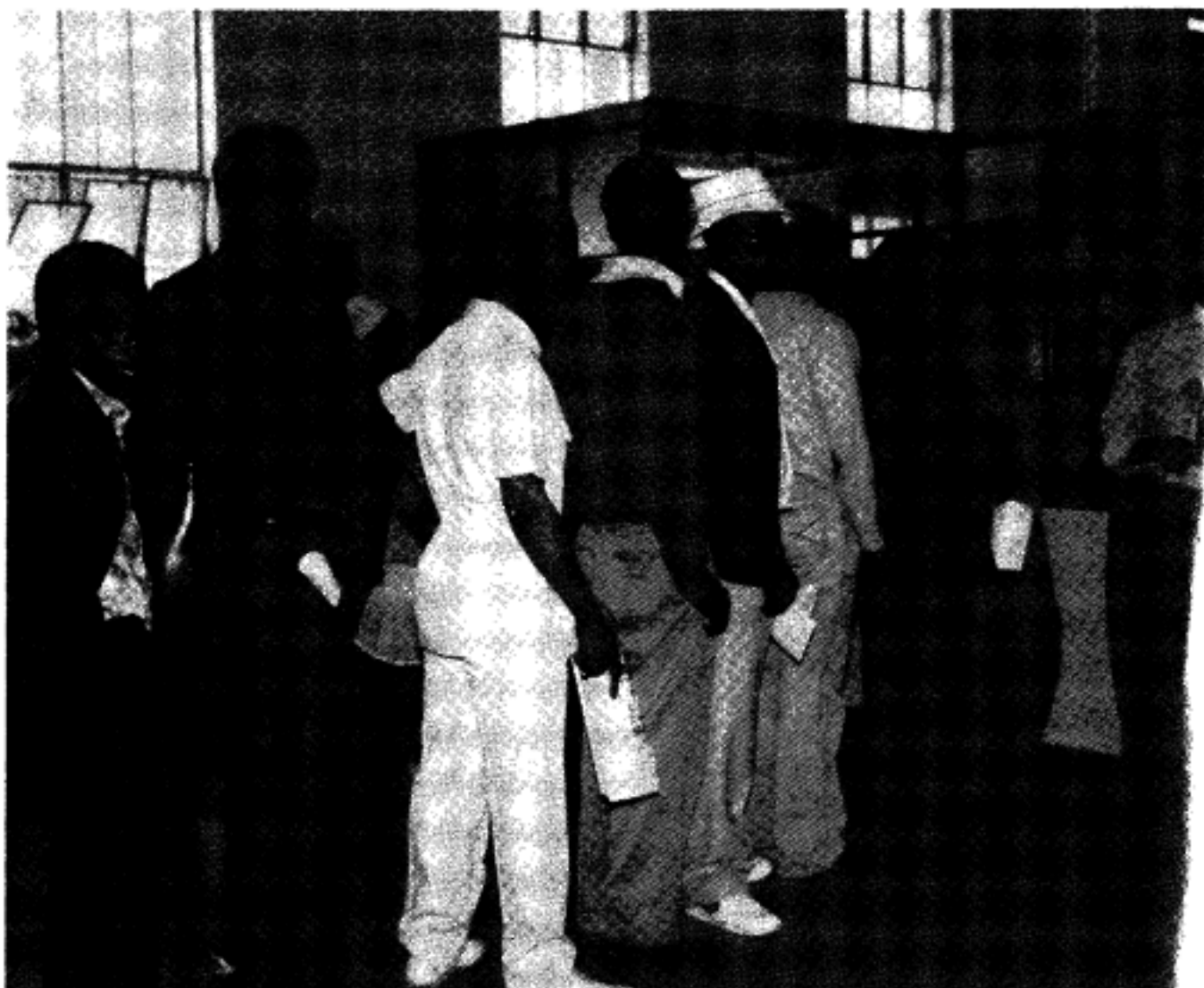
ly and for so long from oppression which has been inspired by the West and supported by the West ...”

Senator Kennedy’s reaction to these remarks, made after he left Durban and had arrived in Cape Town, somewhat stunned Chief Buthelezi and

those who attended the breakfast.

Senator Kennedy said that “nothing” Chief Buthelezi had to say had “... convinced him of the validity of the homelands system ...”

This subject was not discussed at a



*Queueing for work at a labour bur-*

## DECISIVE ISSUE IS THE VOTE

SENATOR Kennedy reminded South Africans time and time again that the decisive political issue in the country was full and equal citizenship for Blacks.

“It is disheartening to hear it said so often and with such confidence that progress is being made in this country — only to learn that the basic question of political participation for Black South Africans is hardly ever raised, and never really taken seriously, in the dominant precincts of White power. Even the talk of reform stops before it touches the ballot box.”

Senator Kennedy said Whites in South Africa feared the possibility of violence and chaos.

“Yet, State-spawned and State-sponsored acts of violence only nurture the reality behind the fear and draw the chaos closer.

“The repression which reaches across the years, from the labour rebellion at the Rand when 700 people died in 1922, to the jails and pass courts of 1985, has killed the yearning of Black people; it renews itself with each generation.

“And with each cycle of disappointment, of hopes dashed and beaten down, of children imprisoned and protest struck down, surely the ultimate danger grows greater.”

The course of resistance was the one most likely to “make the worst fears true ...”

He quoted his late brother, President John F Kennedy, who said in 1962: “Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevi-



# “My brothers and sisters ... do you want disinvestment?”

AT MASS rallies throughout the country, Chief M G Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the 980 000-strong Inkatha movement, asks this question:

“Do you support disinvestment as a strategy in the struggle for our liberation?”

Not once has he received a mandate from ordinary Black South Africans to pursue the tactic.

The following pages contain extracts from Chief Buthelezi's speeches during the past year at meetings which were collectively attended by more than a million people.

At the Thokoza Sports Ground in the East Rand he asked: “... You, my brothers and sisters, are ordinary South Africans. Do you want disinvestment? Do you want South African factories to close down so that you lose your jobs?”

“Do you believe that the economic boycott of South Africa will pay a political dividend for you?”

Chief Buthelezi then told the audience that every time he asked these questions people, the same as they had, replied “No!”

He added that this demonstrated that Black South Africans were just not prepared to destroy the little bit that they had in pursuit of tactics and strategies that would not work.

“In the present economic climate how could I dare say that Black people must lose more jobs than the jobs we have already lost and are going to lose?”

He went on to say that European governments and organisations who had lavished millions of rands on Black South Africans involved in the struggle, frequently did so “with strings attached...”

“When I and my emissaries have gone abroad to seek European and North American partnerships in the pursuit of our aims and objectives, we have again and again been bluntly told that we cannot expect help unless we join in the cry for disinvestment,” said Chief Buthelezi.

He told the crowd: “Politically impoverished White liberalism in Europe and North America does not hear your voice, does not hear you rejecting dis-



investment as a strategy.

“We in Inkatha cannot sell our souls for money and we refuse to dance to the tune of those who hold the purse strings.

“We value whatever help we can get, but in the final analysis we know that we Blacks of South Africa stand on our own and have to rely on our own resources when it comes to the push.”

Very often, he went on, those who had “so much money to lavish on us”, not only demanded that Inkatha join in the cry for disinvestment but also that they subscribed to the principles of the armed struggle.

“Every one of us is prepared to die for what we believe,” he said.

“Over generations we have demon-

strated our valour in battle but this valour does not make us stupid and we know beyond any shadow of doubt that now and for the foreseeable future those who are committed to the armed struggle do no more than turn our children into cannon fodder ...

“If I followed double agendas and talked out of both sides of my mouth at the same time, Inkatha too would share in the largesse from Western Europe and North America ...

“But when a Black political movement sells its soul and sells the birthright of the people in order to qualify for foreign aid, it is doomed.

“The struggle for liberation must be waged by South Africans through democratic opposition within the borders of South Africa ...”



# ALL THESE PE

## Buthlezi flays 'youth gone mad'

**JOHANNESBURG**—The South African Government would not be toppled overnight and those who thought they could easily make the country ungovernable were 'vain in their stupidity', Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told more than 30 000 people in Soweto yesterday.

Addressing a prayer meeting for black unity, Chief Buthelezi, the chairman of the South African Black Alliance, said the Congress of South African Students 'worked among the children', helping them to lose their lives on township streets and expecting them to forgo their education which the people had

whole world what they should do'.

Chief Buthelezi added: 'They think they have discovered the struggle for liberation, and they regard as futile all the wisdom that black South Africa has learnt over so many generations.'

'Nowhere in Africa and nowhere in the Third World has youth ever

you and destroy the things that you yourselves have strived for.'

Referring to the two-day stayaway by black workers earlier this month, Chief Buthelezi said he was not opposed to strikes and the use of black consumer power to support political demands, but he rejected strategies forced on ordi-

8 The Natal Mercury, Thursday, February 14, 1985

## Jobs mean life, chief tells U S finance paper

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told executives of the Wall Street Journal in New York yesterday that the withdrawal of investments in South Africa by Americans was a strategy against black interests and not a 'punitive stick' with which to beat apartheid.

Chief Buthelezi said for

large American companies to opt out of the South African situation was to opt out of the prospects of being catalysts in the process of change.

The era of big business in South Africa 'siding with the oppressor' had passed, he said.

It was the large corporations which had broken apartheid barriers, leading to real advancement for black workers.

'Ford's bold indenturing of black apprentices against the law hastened the day when job reservation had to be abandoned,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said big business kept alive organisations such as the Institute of Race Relations.

International capital could back educational and development programmes, he declared.

He said it would be

unforgivable for unemployment and under-employment in South Africa to be exacerbated and for the already 'horrendous' backlog in housing, education, health and welfare services to be increased.

Chief Buthelezi said millions of black South Africans already lived in dire squalor. Jobs made the difference between hunger and starvation, between life and death.

AN ESTIMATED 30 000 people at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto roared their approval when Chief Buthelezi had this to say about the disinvestment issue:

‘It is tragic that when we Blacks differ we resort to calling each other names.

I have experienced denigration merely because in my talks abroad I have always argued that the majority of Black people in this country have never given me the mandate to go to multi-national companies abroad and to tell them to withdraw their investments in South Africa — as our brothers in the external mission of the ANC have urged them to do all these years.

I have argued that the majority of Black workers have not yet expressed themselves in favour of disinvestment either directly or through their trade unions.

I have argued that those who argue in favour of disinvestment need to visit labour bureaux's such as the one in Market Street to see the number of Blacks that queue up for days on end for the opportunity to get a job.

And yet there are people who talk of those of us who argue in this way in favour of investments as if we are traitors to the Black cause.

It is time we considered our strategies and our reaction to differences we have on strategies.’



IN A statement issued at Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi said he believed that foreign investors could play "a vital role" not only in the development of South Africa but on the whole sub-continent.

‘South Africa has an industrial base which the whole sub-continent needs, he said.

To destroy that base for immediate political needs is shortsighted in the extreme.

South Africa's Black population is growing at a rate of three percent per annum and the vast unemployment and underemployment which now exists will soon become far more problematic than it has ever been before.

Unless this country's economic development is hastened dramatically, and unless we have sustained rates of economic growth, the victory we struggle for will only lead to demands on future governments which will be impossible to satisfy.

Speaking to President Nyerere on one of my visits to Tanzania, he described his battle with post-liberational problems of poverty. Many Third World African states have had to do the same.

We have the advantage in South Africa of being able to look back over time at the experiences of others during their struggles for liberation.

I am quite determined that in my own leadership, I will not exhort Black South Africans to seek immediate political gains at the expense of destroying the foundations of the future.’





# OPLE SAID 'NO!'



**“... the free enterprise system remains the most powerful system man has ever devised which is capable of fostering sustained economic growth ...”**

CHIEF Buthelezi told another rally in Ulundi that Black South Africans were aware of the fact that they would not be able to live off the land in a post liberation period.

While every effort would have to continue to be made to make rural areas self-sufficient in food, the country as a whole had passed the line beyond which industrialisation was synonymous with survival.

A great deal could be said about the relative merits of socialism and capitalism.

However “... when all this is said and done, and whoever scores points off others in polemic academic debates, the free enterprise system remains the most powerful system man has devised which is capable of fostering sustained economic growth ...”

Economic systems and political systems went hand in hand.

The only real future worth having in South Africa was a future in which the society would be democratic and the country's economic organisation would be one in which the value of the free enterprise system was maximised.

Millions of Blacks were dependent on their cash income and millions would starve within days and weeks at the most if work opportunities dried up.

Disinvestment lobbyists who sought to isolate South Africa economically put their own political purposes before the good of the country and before the good of Black South Africans.



# TRADE UNION LEADERS SLAMMED FOR NOT CONSULTING MEMBERS

CONCERNED groups of Black workers have expressed their dissatisfaction with what they claim is a "dangerous" lack of consultation between union leaders in South Africa and rank and file members.

Chief Buthelezi acknowledged at his last Soweto rally that he had received delegations from workers who were extremely unhappy about the situation.

The Chief said he had supported trade unions all his life and had always championed trade unionism.

"I have done so because I see workers and peasants as the salt of the earth and trade unions as vital to the struggle to liberate this country from social, economic and political oppression.

"I stand behind trade unionism but, some leaders are destroying union power in vain and stupid and costly mistakes.

"... some boast that this country can be reduced to ungovernability by violence and rioting ..."

He said Inkatha's nearly one million paid-up members and many thousands of others who supported Inkatha, represented a cross-section of Black South Africa.

Many were members of a wide range of other organisations, including trade unions, in addition to belonging to Inkatha.

Hundreds of thousands of Inkatha's members and supporters were therefore members of organisations whose executives had affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"And yet the UDF attacks Inkatha," said Chief Buthelezi.

"In attacking Inkatha they attack the sentiments of the very people they claim to represent... and I am getting a constant feed-back from Inkatha members who are deeply disturbed about what the executives of some of the other organisations they belong to are doing ..."

Chief Buthelezi went on to say that Inkatha's executive had learned over many decades that "... leadership that cannot be disciplined by members



*Not one major union in South Africa is known to have consulted or obtained a mandate from its rank and file members on the disinvestment issue.*

have always led people astray ..."

"They have always done things which in the end people reject," he added.

"The United Democratic Front and some of the executives of its affiliate organisations act high-handedly.

"Who, for example, elected the members of the Transvaal Stay-Away Committee?

"Who was consulted about the tactics and strategies that the committee adopted? What procedure was used to appoint its chairman?

"How much consultation was there between the UDF's national leadership and its affiliate organisations before the UDF threw its weight behind the stayaway?

"There was a glib orchestration and an under-hand power-play to deceive the world that the stay-away was democratically decided.

Chief Buthelezi said all Blacks knew of the hard work which had gone into forming trade unions to represent them.

He said: "Now that the workers of this country have achieved something at last, there are those who come jealously to snatch the fruits of their struggle from them.

"Trade union organisations which are used for purely political purposes will cease to benefit workers.

"Black political forces which move in, like jackals and vultures, to feed on the success of workers, must be rejected.

"There must be consultation between political forces and work forces. There must be combined strategies, but whatever workers do through trade unionists, they should do through trade unionists...

"We all know that there was no proper consultation between workers and those who called for the stay-at-home (work boycott) demonstration.

"We know that the unions themselves were outmanoeuvred and that the rank and file workers are now left to suffer the consequences that flow from ill-conceived action ..."



# Tutu will call for sanctions, unless ...



*Bishop Desmond Tutu addresses Senator Edward Kennedy at Jan Smuts Airport before the Senator's departure from South Africa. Dr Allan Boesak is pictured, left, listening.*

VARIOUS newspaper reports have claimed that Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has warned Western governments against giving aid to South Africa.

Bishop Tutu was quoted as saying in Frankfurt in January: "South Africa is capable of looking after its people but the Government is not carrying out its obligations. If the country were to disarm, a considerable amount of funds could be released."

Bishop Tutu is also said to have urged Western nations to press South Africa for improvements in human rights — otherwise he would seek sanctions if Western firms did not aid Black workers.

Bishop Tutu was speaking during a visit to West German evangelical churches which raise more than R2-million a year for the South African Council of Churches, of which Bishop Tutu was general secretary until February when he was installed as Bishop of Johannesburg.

Bishop Tutu said Western nations should insist on the abolition of banning orders and the ending of forced removals and demand that all those detained without trial in South Africa be released or brought to court.

"... what must our people do which will awaken in the West a real revulsion which will lead to action to dismantle apartheid?" Bishop Tutu asked.

Firms should house Black workers as family units and free trade unions should be introduced.

"If this is not done within 18 to 24 months, then I will call for punitive economic sanctions against the South African Government," he said.

He went on to say that the situation in South Africa was

already volatile and violence could start exploding in rural areas as well as towns.

A report quoting the Dutch Foreign Ministry in the Hague said Bishop Tutu had said South Africa's Blacks needed two years to find a "peaceful solution" to their problems.

During talks with the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, Bishop Tutu said the international community should not impose economic sanctions against South Africa's apartheid Government for the next two years.

If no solutions were found within those two years, international economic sanctions should be imposed, the spokesman quoted the Bishop as saying.

Bishop Tutu also told Mr van den Broek that international political and economic pressure on the South African Government should be increased gradually.

Bishop Tutu, together with Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, invited Senator Kennedy to South Africa on behalf of the United Democratic Front and the South African Council of Churches.

The tour was marked by various factions hostile to Senator Kennedy — in particular the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), some groups from within the United Democratic Front, the White right wing and also White liberals and businessmen.

Bishop Tutu said he was "saddened to the point of tears" that Senator Kennedy was forced to cancel his final speech in South Africa because of a demonstration by AZAPO.

A report in The Times of London said Senator Kennedy's tour had served "... only to bring to the surface the polarisation among the people whose cause he sought to champion."



# What the papers say

THE South African public should have no illusions regarding the seriousness of the disinvestment issue. Both English and Afrikaans newspapers are following developments in detail.

Of considerable interest is the operation of the Sullivan Code of Conduct for American firms operating in South Africa.

The code, developed in 1977 by the Rev Leon Sullivan, a Baptist preacher and social activist who has a seat on the board of General Motors, has recently come under fire from various quarters.

Its purpose is to establish fair employment practices in South Africa and to channel US business resources into activities that promote social and economic improvements for Blacks.

Chief Buthelezi has said publicly both in South Africa and in the United States that while applauding its principles, he believes its "monitoring" structure should be reassessed.

Its founder, Mr Sullivan, no longer believes adherence to it should be voluntary and is backing congress moves to make it mandatory. As a result, the US State Department is said to be "putting pressure" and "twisting arms" to get US companies to sign the code voluntarily.

However, a Washington study by a research organisation with close ties to the Reagan Administration, the Heritage Foundation, says the code has created a controversial backlash with



major foreign and domestic policy implications for the US.

The code is regarded by some companies as "low grade blackmail..." according to the report.

By 1983, 146 of the 350 US companies in South Africa had become Sullivan signatories and had spent more than 78-million dollars in pursuit of the principles' goals.

Complaints have risen because the participants have to deal with long questionnaires on their activities in South Africa and must submit to an

annual audit and pay high fees.

Many have had to spend more than R160 000 in the paperwork alone — only to receive a failing grade from the auditors.

Some have refused to invest in the time and money and as a result 30 of the 146 signatories were dropped from the Sullivan list in 1983.

Companies with "falling grades" can be the targets of disinvestment action and there is a "reflex action by the media to brand them racist" says the report.

## REAGAN SAYS US WILL WORK FOR CHANGE

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan says his administration intends to continue working "steadily and quietly" with South Africans opposed to apartheid to help change the system.

In a recent interview the President said he felt this policy was making some progress towards changing the South African political system.

Meanwhile the Washington Times reported the results of a public opinion poll which indicated that most Americans either did not know or did not care about the anti-apartheid demonstrations outside the South African Embassy in Washington.

The Washington Post reported that the dollar figure of US-South African trade last year was 4.5 billion dollars.

Listing South Africa's mineral exports, the article said nearly half of the foreign uranium delivered to the US Department of Energy for enrichment came from South Africa or Namibia.

In South Africa newspaper reports says the Government is preparing for the "economic shock of disinvestment."

In a series of private meetings with businessmen, a senior



official of the Foreign Affairs Department has warned them to brace themselves for the blow.

Early in February it was reported that New York is to become the first US city to act against the purchase of South African goods and against South African-linked businesses and banks.

A spokesman for the American Committee on Africa said many other cities were poised to follow suit.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has also transmitted to the UN Security Council a proposal by the General Assembly that it considers urgently the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.



# WHY I MUST SAY NO!

## U.S. investment in South Africa - the \$2,5 billion question

### The basic issues under debate

Hugh Murray, editor and publisher of the authoritative quarterly magazine 'Leadership SA' interviewed some personalities closely involved

There are indications that the debate on disinvestment is to put it more correctly the limitation of United States investment in SA is gathering momentum and a victory for US presidential candidate Walter Mondale in November could certainly see this campaign intensify.

Legislation would be approved. I suppose I have as much chance of getting all this legislation through as Chief Gertie Buthelezi of the Zulus has of persuading Prime Minister P. W. Botha to hold a National Convention.

Solozi 2003, however, that he is more hopeful now than ever that he will be able to come out of the conference committee with some legislation which those who have been behind his efforts will consider truly meaningful.

He explains: 'We fundamentally reject the view that American investment can play a positive role in setting up

estige and authoritative US finance magazine, *Fortune*, devoted a supplement to the question of US investment in South Africa in its issue of October 1, 1984. People interviewed include Dr Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and Mr David Rockefeller, former Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Chief M G Buthelezi, Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha and Chairman of the South African Black Alliance was also asked to contribute his thoughts. Some of his major points are printed below and on the following page.

ME the first question which must be asked in the disinvestment debate is what the people of South Africa themselves say about it.

Have yet to meet a humble worker who does not echo the sentiments of Soweto audiences. Oppressed as they are they will never support disinvestment. They have not and will not use it as one of their strategies for liberation.

How can I give my approval to pressure, regardless of the suffering they entail for my people? I cannot promise myself to tell the poor of this country that I am working for the cessation of foreign investment in South Africa. Investment which means jobs for the unemployed, clothes for the shivering and food for the hungry.

How do the Blacks manage to do the little we demand towards our liberation and the welfare of our families BECAUSE of the meagre investment that comes our way?

Disinvestment is, in fact, a strategy against liberation. Every foreign investor who has created employment opportunities in South Africa knows that by Monday morning there are hundreds of unemployed at their factory gates seeking jobs.

These people need a cash wage so they can buy food and their families can survive. Only when there is food in their bellies can they afford to take the time to consider their political horizons.

There are more than 20 million Blacks in South Africa. In KwaZulu

millions eke out a living as subsistence farmers, domestic and clerical workers and so on...

The desperate poverty of these people can be seen in the 1980 census figures which reveal that 50 percent of KwaZulu's rural population earned less than \$650 a year and 50 percent of urban dwellers less than \$1 500 a year.

People starve to death in KwaZulu.

And still the disinvestment question and the more general question of South Africa's isolation in the international community is constantly raised.

South Africa's internal policies are so repugnant to the human conscience that the isolation of the country and the crippling of its economy seems to many to be a moral course of action.

I understand the moral indignation of the world and I am glad for it. However, disinvestment is a wrong strategy, a misguided strategy and will do nothing to aid the struggle for liberation within the country.

It is, in fact tactical madness...

Various voices clamour for disinvestment.

The African National Congress Mission in Exile, having abandoned the internal struggle against apartheid in favour of mounting an armed attack against the Government and working in collaboration with international forces favouring a revolution and the use of violence for political purposes, espouse disinvestment as an essential tactic.

Within the country there are minority groups, there are church groups and there are groups among the intelligentsia who also favour disinvestment.

There are, however, other voices — the voices of the masses, who totally reject the tactic.

When General Alexander Haig visited South Africa I told him that we felt the process of change should be associated with the vitalisation of the free enterprise system and the maximisation of the country's productive capacity.

I also said that we recognise the need, if at all possible to bring about changes in partnership with Western interests.

I felt incumbent to make it clear, and I will reiterate, that the present Government's commitment to racist politics is giving rise to deepening Black anger. As anger deepens so will Black politics become increasingly careless about the economic consequences of Black political action.

If change is not brought about by democratic and non-violent opposition to apartheid (principles of Inkatha) then it will sooner or later be brought about by violent means.

That there will one day be a new dispensation in South Africa there is no doubt.

But what sort of South Africa will we all inherit in which to share power? For unlike the White supporters of the ruling National Party, we in Inkatha



are not racists.

It is unfortunate that many of the people who are in the forefront of the disinvestment campaign rely on the ANC for their guidance.

My brothers and sisters in exile are sadly out of touch. They forget that most of us work, live and die within the borders of apartheid South Africa.

I must stress that we cannot afford to adopt the attitudes of theoreticians towards our own suffering.

Those who advocate disinvestment have adopted a strategy born out of pathetic misanalysis.

Many factors have been ignored and on top of this is the fact that South Africa is not as vulnerable as many people think it is.

Consider the following:

- \* The South African economy has already reached such a level of self-sufficiency that disinvestment would only act as catalyst for greater achievements.
- \* The country is a nett exporter of food and energy to Africa and elsewhere in the world.
- \* It is an exporter of a whole range of strategic and other minerals.
- \* The economy of this country is already integrated with the vested interests of the Western industrial world and with the developing economies of Africa.
- \* Various British Governments tried to use sanctions to topple Ian Smith's Government of 200 000 White settlers and together with the United Nations failed. It is now known that some of the biggest names in commerce and industry throughout the world assisted in the sanctions busting which kept Rhodesia (as it then was) afloat.

So I must try to hammer home that it is too simplistic to regard any action meant to harm the economy of South Africa as something that will only harm South Africa.

Any harm to the South African economy would reverberate in Africa and throughout many Western industrial countries.

Disinvestment may shake South Africa's economic foundations. It would certainly pulverize the rest of Southern Africa — such is their economic dependence (although often hidden) on Pretoria.

One has to ask whether supporters of disinvestment merely wish to bring the Government to its knees... or, do they have in mind the destruction of the entire South African economy?

If so, the naivety of their quest is mind boggling.

This raises the question of — given

*"If we cut off investments we would lose jobs in this country and we wouldn't necessarily help Blacks in that country ..."*

**Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the UN.**

*"If you want a complete transformation of this society, the easiest thing to do is to get everybody packing their bags, taking money out, etc. But of course, the moment that you do that you create economic chaos. And that is a sure guarantee for full-scale, bloody, racial confrontation which would unleash a blood-bath such as we have never seen ..."*

**Percy Qoboza, South African journalist and former Neiman Scholar at Harvard University.**

*"I have spent my life in endeavouring to achieve trade union rights to assure all South African workers the necessary economic advancement and security that would in turn give them the clout and leverage to gain the political rights now denied to Black workers. This clout can be obtained only if South Africa remains economically sound... are we Blacks to achieve our political rights on empty stomachs?"*

**Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers.**

*"People in the US are demanding two totally contradictory things. On the one hand they want to help the Blacks by not investing in South Africa and, on the other, they demand that wages and other conditions be improved. But you cannot achieve improvements in the field of wages and other working conditions if industry is not registering a steady growth. The only way to bring about peaceful change is to allow a modern economy to build up — which cannot exist without the participation of vast numbers of Black people holding down skilled and highly paid jobs ..."*

**Harry Oppenheimer, former Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.**

the facts — why some people in the international community are still so determined to see this tactic endorsed by the captains of commerce and industry.

Why are they so persistent to push disinvestment even with the knowledge that we Blacks (whom they purport to be helping) are the ones who will suffer the most?

Already we fail to do more for ourselves because we are caught in the various cycle of poverty, ignorance and disease. Disinvestment would strip us bare.

So I must conclude that those who would advocate disinvestment do so in complete disregard of what Black people themselves think.

I have told the United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, that we Blacks are grateful for the concrete help we receive from time to time from the US as opposed to the radical rhetoric which has emanated from some Administrations.

Assessments of the South African situation by Western Governments, as I explained to Mr Nickel, are made up in terms of their own vested interests and they are different from the assessments which Black South Africans themselves make.

When it comes down to brass tacks foreign governments, the United States included, at this stage do not want to take sides in Black politics.

There is for them as yet insufficient clarity about who in Black politics will emerge victorious and what force will ultimately be the force that has to be reckoned with. There is a kind of waiting to see which way the cookie crumbles and there is kind of immoral opportunism at work which does not want to back the wrong horse.

In a country such as ours you cannot have an expanding political vision in shrinking economic circumstances. Ever-increasing poverty is an increase in political radicalism.

We believe the struggle for liberation must be waged by the people of this country and we will continue to reject any suggestion that external forces should move in to rectify our position for us.

Dialogue between America and Black South Africa needs to go far beyond intercourse between radical pressure groups in the US and protest by Black politicians in South Africa.

American national interests and South African national interests are not served by pressure groups which reject Black market-place pragmatism in favour of the magnification of forces of conflict.



# UNIONS CALL FOR ACTION BY THE END OF 1985

## But do members agree?

THE COUNCIL of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) has stated that it wants federal legislation on disinvestment to be enacted in the US by the end of this year.

The Council, which represents 12 trade unions comprising 249 000 members, issued a statement on disinvestment after its leaders met with Senator Edward Kennedy.

(It is not known whether the executives of any of the major Black trade unions in SA have held general meetings/ballots and put the issue of disinvestment to their membership for a mass and democratic response. Newspaper files do not record any such meetings/ballots having been held.)

The statement said it expected Senator Kennedy to pursue a vigorous campaign of "constructive disengagement" and to ensure that nuclear, computer and defence technology was "not sold or licenced or franchised in South Africa..."

CUSA also asked him to use his "personal capital" to divest from companies which did not meet certain criteria.

These include those who:

- "Do not adhere to just and equitable labour practice;
- "Do not endorse that all South Africans should enjoy all the freedoms that United States investors enjoy;
- "Do not commit themselves towards a just and free and undivided South Africa."

CUSA's president, Mr James Mndaweni, said the envisaged disinvestment legislation which Mr Kennedy was expected to achieve should clearly:

- "Stop new investments in South Africa while apartheid still exists;
- "Restrict the sale of Krugerrands;
- "Withdraw all investment which supports the apartheid system;
- "Terminate US involvement in so-called homelands;
- "Cease all supplies of whatever nature which assist the apartheid machinery."

Early this year, at a conference in Washington, some Black SA trade union leaders committed themselves to a policy of selective American disinvestment.

In the US for a conference with US unionists, they said they did not believe that US companies in South Africa were a force for good or adhered to the Sullivan Code of fair employment principles.

Mr Longway Kwelemthini, president of the Food and Beverage Workers' Union of SA said foreign companies used the Sullivan Code and a similar code put forward by the European community to justify their presence in the Republic.

Mrs Jane Hlongwane, general secretary of the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, added that the Unions' did not take the principles seriously because neither they nor the American unions were involved in monitoring the companies' adherence to them.

She said no American company had encouraged the growth of Black South African trade unionism.

Both the motor company Ford and the mining and manufacturing firm, 3M, were cited by the unionists as not adhering to the principles.

Both are signatories of the Sullivan Code and last year were rated in the highest category by the Arthur B. Little accounting firm which monitors the companies.

In his meeting with Senator Kennedy, Chief Buthelezi said it was good that he had spoken to various labour leaders.

He said labour unions were still "trying to find their feet in a new ball game" from which Africans had been excluded for many years.

Chief Buthelezi added: "... there are people (in Black politics) who dread the back-breaking job of organising people (and) who try to poach membership of some trade unions using them as political cattle who must do their bidding..."

He went on: "Some functionaries who help in running our trade unions, particularly of other race groups, behave just like Whites behave towards us when they pontificate for members of trade unions without consulting them, just as Whites dictate to us without consulting us..."

"Please do listen to what labour leaders say, but bear in mind that Black workers, as Black workers, have not yet called for disinvestment..."

"... I have not yet advocated disinvestment in South Africa. I have actually called for increased foreign investment on stringent conditions... but if apartheid has not been dismantled within two years, I will call for punitive economic sanctions whatever the legal consequences of doing so might be..." Bishop Desmond Tutu on the occasion of his enthronement as Bishop of Johannesburg in February.

"Any examination of labour relations in the current economic climate in SA start and end with the unemployment question. The correlation between unemployment and civil unrest in South Africa has been adequately established over the past two decades. It is being reinforced by patterns of more recent unrest which have been concentrated in those areas where retrenchment and lay-offs have been most severe — the East Rand, Vaal Triangle and the Eastern Cape..." Mr Andrew Levy, labour consultant, in an interview with The Star, Johannesburg.

"Loss of American investment would mean South Africa would lose one percent of a required annual economic growth of about five percent. That would be a serious blow to South Africa because it makes the difference between a barely adequate and an inadequate growth rate... the biggest help in fighting disinvestment is evidence of forward momentum in reform. We would like to think the overwhelming majority of South Africans see change as being in their own interests as well... the job is to prove the disinvestment lobby does not have a monopoly on anti-apartheid sentiment — even conservatives (in the US) cannot have attachment to them the label 'Soft on Racism, soft on apartheid...' The disinvestment question raises serious constitutional issues in the US such as the Prudent Investive Rule, the Commerce Clause and the Supremacy Clause which leaves foreign policy to the Federal Government... Mr Herman W Nickel, US Ambassador to South Africa, in a SABC-TV interview in February.





*The State President, Mr PW Botha. "... open discussion to improve communication ..."*

## PW BOTHA ANNOUNCES NEW BLACK FORUM

AT THE opening of Parliament at the end of January, the State President, Mr PW Botha, acknowledged that there were "certain problems" which led to frustration in Black communities.

He said that from deliberations of the Cabinet Committee it had become clear that "communication and mutual trust" between the population had to be improved if peaceful constitutional development was to be successfully pursued.

Mr Botha went on: "In my personal capacity as the person with the final responsibility for matters affecting the Black communities I have therefore, after consultation with those concerned, decided to supplement the activities of the Special Cabinet Committee by establishing an informal, non-statutory forum in which interest groups and representatives of the government bodies concerned will participate on an ad hoc basis and by invitation."

The forum, he said, would be chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. There would be open discussion on a wide range of constitutional and related matters to "improve communication" between the Government and Black communities and to create a "favourable basis for negotiations aimed at arriving at mutually acceptable development steps in the constitutional field..."

In his opening address Mr Botha also made it clear that "... it remains the Government's point of departure that, because of the diversity of South African society, it is neither desirable nor practicable to accommodate all communities in the same way..."

## BUTHELEZI SLAMS PLAN AS "A TALKING SHOP..."

REACTING to the State President's proposed forum for Blacks, Chief Buthelezi said it was clear that leaders like himself who rejected so-called "independence" had nothing yet to talk about with the Government.

"The forum which the State President talked about looks no more, no less, than a talking shop meant to divert all our attention away from seeking full political rights with Whites, Indians and Coloureds," he said.

"While we accept the principle of give and take in negotiations about our future, there is no way in which we as the African majority can accept being fobbed off with such lousy political crumbs."

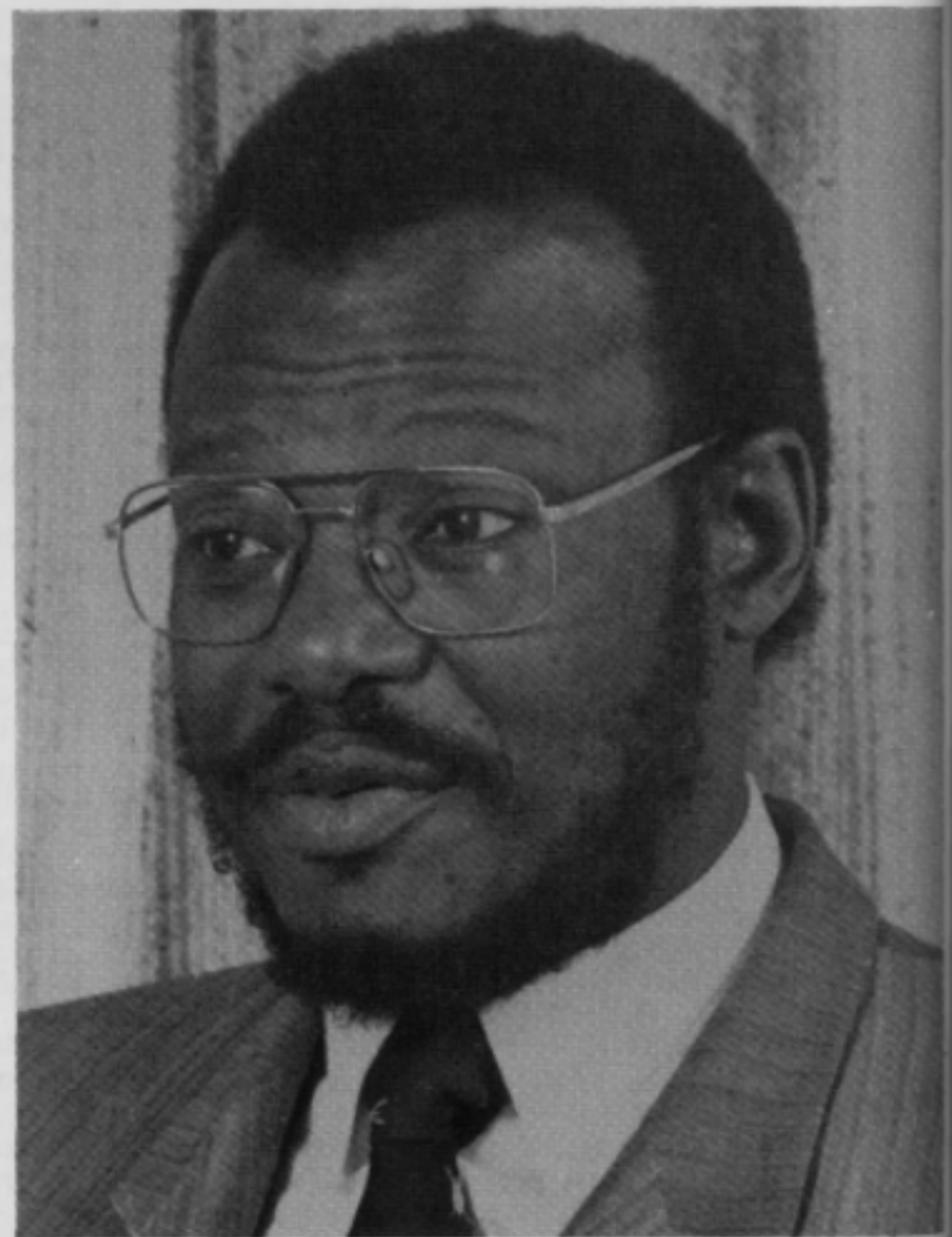
Chief Buthelezi said Blacks had extended a hand of co-operation many times and could no longer understand why they alone should always be called upon to co-operate all the time "without any suggestion from us being given even a cursory look by the Government..."

He added that it would be "extremely irresponsible" to give the Government the wrong impression that "we can co-operate in our own political suicide by going into things like the so-called forum, which looks like a toothless bulldog or at most a talking shop..."

Chief Buthelezi said the time for prescriptions by one race group for "the rest of us" had gone and would never return.

"The sooner this is realised the better the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa," he added.

"We reject the whole idea of splitting up the African people into those who are in the homelands and those who are outside."



*Chief M G Buthelezi "... we are being fobbed off with lousy political crumbs..."*



# Surveys canvass Black opinion

A NUMBER of surveys canvassing urban Black opinion on the issue of disinvestment have shown that an overwhelming majority oppose the strategy.

Internationally recognised sociologist, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Studies at the University of Natal, showed in one report that 75 percent of working Blacks were opposed to disinvestment.

## **“Rising unemployment will result in increasing unrest”**

A Human Sciences Research Council survey of 1 500 Blacks over 18 years of age in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area revealed that:

- A substantial 64 percent regarded economic pressure as their biggest problem -- including a lack of money and housing as well as unemployment problems. 21 percent felt that apartheid was their most serious problem.
- Over 60 percent said they felt Blacks would suffer most through disinvestment; 14 percent thought Whites would be more affected.
- Just over 56 percent felt Black pupils were wrong to boycott classes; 35,8 percent approved of boycotts.
- About 27 percent believed White Government institutions and leaders were responsible for the boycotts; about 25 percent blamed pupils and their representative councils.

Clarion Call was told that although the Minister of Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, puts the unemployment figure in South Africa at 500 000, unofficial estimates put it between 2,75 million and 3 million — and rising.

Concentrated in the major metropolitan centres in South Africa, unemployment is hitting mainly semi-skilled



*Chief M G Buthelezi talking to factory workers... none have told him they support disinvestment.*

and unskilled Black workers.

It is feared that the rising unemployment figures will result in increasing unrest.

In an interview with The Star in Johannesburg, Mr Loet Douwes Dekker, senior lecturer at the Wits Graduate School of Business Administration, highlighted another problem.

“Most South African employers see labour as a liability and not as an asset,” he said.

“As a result, in a recession the first cost factor which managements look at is the wage bill ...”

Professor Nic Wiehahn, head of the UNISA’s School of Business Leadership and chairman of the Wiehahn Commission, also told The Star he believes it is time to re-examine the type

## **“Most employers see labour as a liability and not as an asset ...”**

of free-enterprise system needed for South Africa.

“Until there is freedom in the economy, unemployment will be one of the negative side-effects of structural restrictions in South Africa.”

The lifting of restrictions on labour such as influx control, the Group Areas Act and discriminatory legislative practices would go a long way towards freeing the economy, he added.



# Too many workers — too few jobs

The following pictures were taken in the township of Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, early one morning in February. Hundreds of unemployed gather every day at various street corners in the township where it is known that they can be picked up by building site foremen and others seeking casual labour. The procedure is simple. The prospective employer drives up, calls out what he requires and the men scramble into the waiting trucks and cars. Now and again the men might be told what they will be paid for the day. More often than not they are told that they will be given "the going rate" of about R20 or R25 a day — if they are particularly qualified as plasterers, painters, bricklayers and so on. Basic labourers earn less.



**'I need  
one painter,  
one  
plasterer,  
one  
bricklayer  
...'**

**'Take me  
I can  
do it ...'**





# WHO'S WHO — AT A GLANCE

## KwaZulu Government Cabinet



**THE Honourable Prince Mangosuthu G Buthelezi B.A.; Lld (h.c.); Knight Commander of the Star of Africa (Liberia); French National Order of Merit; Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha, Chairman of the South African Black Alliance and Senior Traditional Advisor to his Majesty the King.**



**Dr the Honourable O D Dhlomo, B.A. B.A. Hons; B.Ed; M.Ed; D.Ed; U.E.D. Minister of Education and Culture.**



**Dr the Honourable F T Mdlalose, B.Sc; U.E.D.; M.B. ChB; Minister of Health and Welfare.**



**THE Honourable Mr H T Madonsela, B.A.; B.IUR; B.Ed; Minister of Finance.**



**THE Honourable Mr C J Mtetwa, Minister of Justice.**



**THE Honourable Prince L G Dlamini, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.**



**Dr the Honourable D R B Madide, B.A.; M.B. CH.B; Minister of the Interior.**

## Departmental Secretaries



**Mr E A Johns, centre front row, Secretary, Department of the Chief Minister with Mr W F N Wiggil (Interior), Mr H B Isherwood (Works), Mr H M S Ferreira (Agriculture and Forestry), Mr E F Oltman (Justice), Mr D Y Zimu (Education and Culture), Col. S M Mathe (Police), Mr W Van den Heever (Finance) and Mr A P E Mkhwanazi (Economic Affairs). Absent Dr D Hackland (Health).**



**THE Honourable Chief S H Gumede, Minister of Works.**



# SHARDAKHOZI

Bureau of Communications - Dept. of the Chief Minister.  
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.