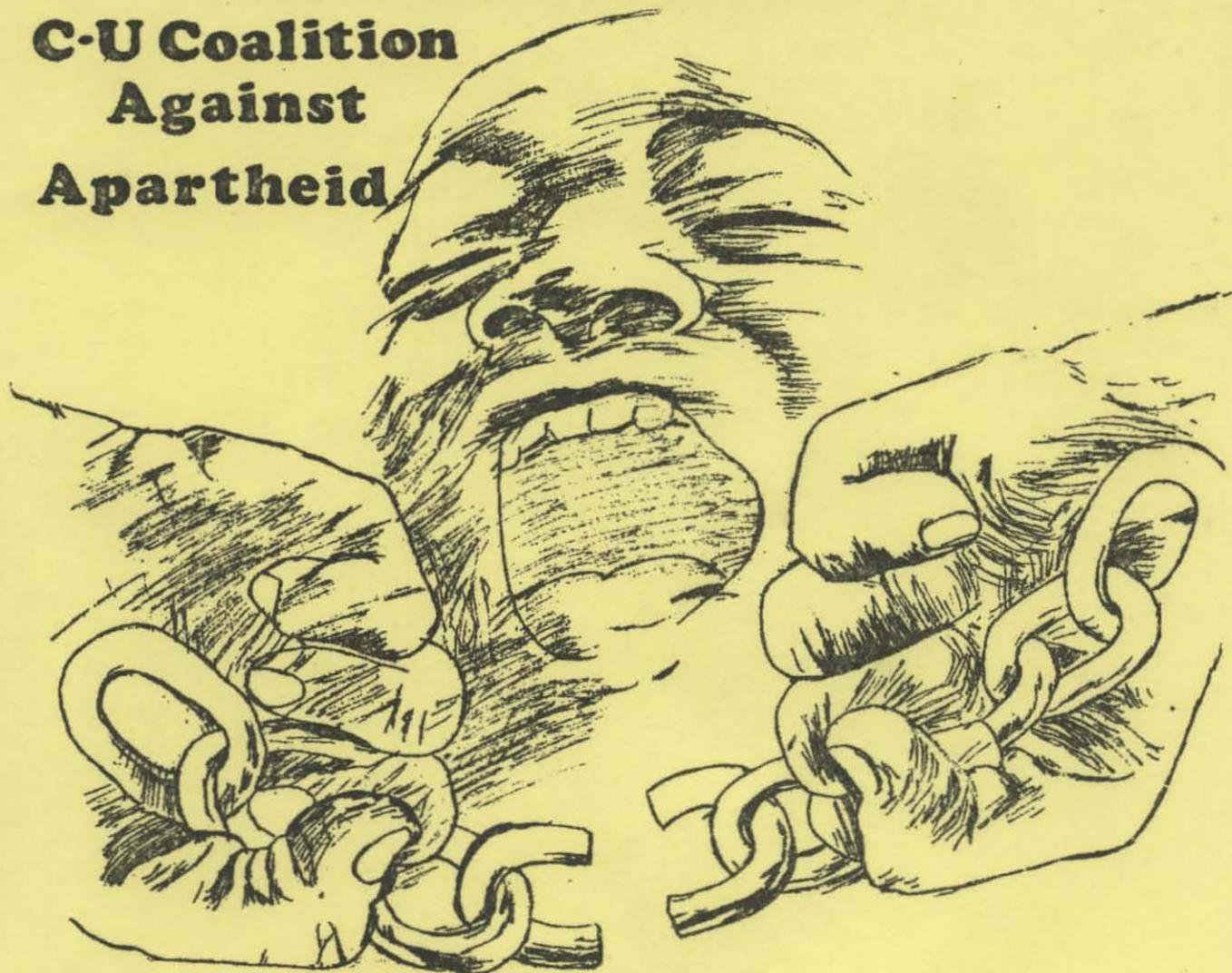


C-UCAA

**C-U Coalition
Against
Apartheid**



Position Papers I ~ facts and views ~

- CONTENTS:**
- *What is Apartheid?
 - *The U.S. Government, Corporations and South Africa
 - *Liberation Organizations of Southern Africa
 - *The Case for University Divestment

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ERRATA

Page 2, paragraph 2 of the 'Why Divest' section contains an ironic yet confusing error. The corrected sentence should read " Its African workers are paid between \$73 and \$213/month (heavily weighted towards the lower end). "

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WHAT IS APARTHEID?

INTRODUCTION

Apartheid is the South African system of integrated economic, political and social institutions which maintains white minority rule. Economically it is based on the network of job restrictions, pass laws and black 'homelands' (Bantustans). Politically it is based on the repression of African Trade unions and political organizations. Socially it is maintained by the inferior education available to Africans and the inculcation of the racist apartheid ideology in the white schools.

Historically, apartheid did not just descend on the black majority when the Nationalist party took power in 1948. Its beginnings are rooted in the colonial conquests and racist policies of the Dutch and British. The earliest forms of the pass laws were applied to African males in 1809 (1). In 1938, under the Boer republic, laws were passed denying Africans the right to settle in white areas, except as servants. Africans couldn't own land or firearms, participate in politics or be at large without passes signed by whites. (2) In the mid 1800's the British established the first reserve area for Africans. Between 1886 and 1922 separate educational curricula for blacks and whites were introduced (3). Job restrictions became codified under the 1922 Apprenticeship Act, effectively restricting apprenticeships in industry to whites, by setting a minimum requirement of 8 years of schooling (4). However W W II created the need for an urbanized and industrial black work force. Color bars and educational restrictions were liberalized. But economic dislocations after W W II, due to returning servicemen, overcrowding in cities, and unemployment, coupled with the now large number of blacks in urban white areas, increased discontent among whites. Under the rallying cry of the "Black Menace", the Nationalist party came to power in 1948, and the apartheid system began to take its present form.

GENERAL ECONOMIC DATA

The South African government divides the population into four racial categories African - 17.7 million (70%), White - (European descent) - 4.1 million, Colored (mixed) - 2.3 million, Asian (mostly Indian) - .7 million (5).

The average monthly wage for these groups, in various sectors of the economy was:

<u>Average Monthly Wage (US \$ -1975)</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>African</u>	<u>Colored</u>
Mining	\$891	\$ 99	\$224
Manufacturing	\$729	\$147	\$ 86
Construction	\$703	\$142	\$270

(Note: The government established poverty datum line - the minimum survival income, excluding medical and educational expenses, is \$141/month.) (6)

This differential has always existed in South Africa. The industrial development of South Africa was financed from the huge profits reaped from its mineral resources such as diamond and gold mines. The profitability of these mines was completely dependent on a steady, abundant and cheap supply of black labor (7). The continued development of South Africa as a nation with one of the highest profit rates in the world is based on perpetuating cheap black labor. It is the purpose of the Bantustans, the pass laws, the job restrictions and the educational system to continue this supply.

THE BANTUSTANS AND MIGRATORY LABOR

The Bantustans comprise the 13% of South Africa officially set aside as the 'historical homelands' of the African peoples. Eventually destined for a sham 'independence, the homeland territories possess no significant economic resources. Very few industries, no large cities, ports, airfields or mineral resources are present in the Bantustans (8).

All Africans are technically citizens of a Bantustan; they are classified as foreigners inside white South Africa. The population density of the Bantustans is twice the South African Average. The per capita income is one-fifteenth. Government documents (the Tomlinson Commission Report) found 70% of the Bantustan

land to be unsuitable for cultivation(9).

Transkei is usually selected as a model Bantustan, being the first to be given 'independence'. 90% of the households in Transkei subsist on less than the poverty datum line. 60-70% of the African children die of malnutrition before age 10. In Transkei there are 355,000 adult men of working age. With no major industries or towns, there is employment, mostly public service and domestic labor, for only 41,000. 105,000 farm available land, 64,000 are unemployed and 155,000 provide a cheap source of migrant labor.

The Bantustans exist for one reason only. They are a source of cheap migrant labor. The poverty of the Bantustans forces workers to migrate to white areas for employment. Under the restrictions of the pass laws, economically unnecessary Africans are kept out of the white area, where they could pose a threat to minority rule.

The existence of the Bantustans forces the Africans into a migratory pattern. In 1922, when the Stallard commission originated the Bantustan idea, it was said the African ...

"should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart when he ceases to so minister." (10)

In 1947, the Nationalist party leaders said:

"The policy of our country should encourage total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a natural process of separate development... The Bantu in the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of whites." (11)

...or in 1968, when the Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs commission said:

"We are trying to introduce the migratory labor pattern as far as possible in every sphere. That is in fact the entire basis of our policy as far as the white economy is concerned, namely a system of migratory labor." (12)

A pattern of migratory labor serves many purposes. Industrialization after W W II created a permanent urbanized black work force. Tribal patterns were broken down and replaced by a national consciousness. Politically, migratory labor assures control over the black workers, reducing the threat of radicalized black workers in white urban areas. The returning of unemployed Africans to the Bantustans is an attempt to keep unrest out of white areas. Economically, it assures a steady, reliable black labor force at cheap wages, for the industries, mines and farms.

Once the black worker leaves the Bantustan, he is under the rigid restrictions of the pass laws. He must obtain a permit to look for work in white areas. He must always carry his passbook, with details of his employment, travel, work and residence permits. In white areas he must live in the black townships, basically ghettos. He has no right to own property in white areas.

The pass laws are used to break African resistance to apartheid. In white areas an African without a passbook is automatically subject to arrest. 1370 people per day were arrested under pass laws in 1973. (13) In 1969, 850 workers in Alexandra Township were arrested on passbook laws to break a general strike. Housing permits and unemployment benefits or workmen's compensation are denied to those whose passbooks aren't in order. All 'superfluous' labor - the sick, elderly or unemployed are deported to the Bantustans. By 1974, 2.4 million people had been removed to the Bantustans under these policies.

Supposedly, the Bantustans, following Transkei's example, will achieve 'independence', an 'independence' recognized and supported solely by the South African regime. The governments of the Bantustans are titularly run by puppet tribal chiefs, dependent on salaries paid by the South African government. These leaders have no popular support, relying on South African backing for their power. Only 20% of Bantustan government revenues are generated locally. Direct control is exercised by the South African government through a Commissioner General; governmental departments are effectively run by white administrators. In the Transkei, half of the parliament is appointed by the South African government.

The Bantustans are completely without economic resources, forcing over 70% of the economically active adult male population into migrant labor (14). This dependence upon migrant labor reduces the threat to the white regime. The little industry in the Bantustans is monopolized by South African government agencies in partnership

with South African or foreign investment (attracted by the lack of a minimum wage).

Very little money is spent to develop the Bantustans. Investment in the Bantustans itself is discouraged. Instead the South African government heavily subsidizes the development of white areas bordering the Bantustans. In 1974, \$ 294 million was spent to decentralize industry, \$194 million in white border areas. Investment in the Bantustans was only 35% of that in the white border areas.

The border areas are another attempt at a solution to the threats of radicalization of trained, urbanized black workers existing in white areas. Instead, Africans must live in the Bantustans and commute to white areas. The border areas consist of established white towns excised from the Bantustans. The South African capitalists benefit from lower wages than in the urban areas. By controlling the growth of industry in major white areas, thereby reducing the need for a large black workforce in the cities, workers are forced back into the Bantustans, to work at lower wages.

EDUCATION

In 1953 when Dr. Verwoed (later to be Prime Minister) was Minister for Bantu Education, he stated apartheid policy on education:

"A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community...The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him... There is no place in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor...for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community." (15)

Free, compulsory education for whites ages 7 - 16 is given. There is no compulsory education for Africans. Also, Africans must pay for books, school and examination fees and uniforms. They must even pay for their own teachers; one-fifth of all African teachers are paid privately by parents. As a result of the limited number of places available to black students, and the extra costs, two-thirds of all African children have less than five years of schooling.

In 1969-1970 government expenditures on education were (16)

	unit cost/pupil Rands
White	282
Colored	73
Asian	81.02
African	16.97

Africans and whites study substantially different material. On the primary level Africans receive religious training (25%), languages - Bantu, English and Afrikaans(36%), arithmetic(15%) and craft work (17). Whites receive an inculcation of apartheid ideology. A heavy dose of white superiority is supplemented with a biased historical outlook. Africans are presented as thieves and murderers of whites. The original white settlers are presented as blameless farmers who settled in unoccupied land, and were later attacked by savage blacks in an effort to dislodge them. Current black urban life is studied mostly in the context of the need for economic and political control over blacks. (18) Under 'race studies', whites

learn: Administration and Control - native locations and towns

Compounds and Hostels - black townships in white areas

Problems - housing, crime, deterioration of tribal authority (19)

TRADE UNIONS

South African capitalists use labor laws to keep blacks in unskilled, low paying jobs, preserving higher paying jobs for a privileged stratum of white workers. This racial policy is used to divide white and black workers. White workers fear being undercut by cheap black labor. South African capitalists exploit this fear by reserving skilled jobs for whites. This is done through color bar legislation reserving specific jobs or types of work for a given race; by legislation prohibiting a black from being placed superior to whites, and by a general lack of educational opportunities for blacks. (20)

Job Category	White	Colored and Asian	African
Supervisor	68.2%	11.6%	18.2%
Apprentice	89.8%	10.2%	0.0%
Operator-skilled	13.4%	34.6%	52.0%
Semiskilled	----	11.1%	88.9%
Other	59.3%	16.6%	24.1%

The resulting job segregation causes most of the income differential between whites and blacks

After the end of W W II the trade union rights of black workers were quickly destroyed. In 1945 the Dept. of Labor refused to recognize any unions which did not exclude Africans. In 1951, African unions could no longer register, and were ineligible to use government collective bargaining apparatuses. In 1950, The Suppression of Communism Act was passed. While the government did not actually have to prove anyone was a communist, any individual opposing apartheid could be banned. A Banned individual was effectively a prisoner in his own house. Banned, an individual could not engage in any political or social activity, or communicate with more than one other individual at a time. These acts were used to destroy opposition to apartheid and to make organization against apartheid legislation or policies more difficult.

In 1956 all multi-racial unions were prohibited. All strikes or industrial actions by Africans were prohibited. All disputes were to be settled by white government officials. In 1955 the South African Congress of Trade Unions was formed, linked to the movements for national liberation. It participated in strikes, boycotts and demonstrations. In 1963 all legal activities of SACTU were banned.

Strikes, work stoppages and slowdowns were illegal. African strikers lost the right to live or work in their area. In Durban dock workers striking in 1969 were arrested and given four hours to leave Durban. (21)

In 1973 a purely formal right to strike was given. Strikes were still prohibited in 'essential industries' - including workers employed by local government authorities, public services and food supply and processing. Later, the Minister of Labor was given the right to declare any industry an 'essential service'. Where not directly prohibited, strikes were strangled by restrictions of month-long processes of arbitration by the Bantu Labor Offices and the Minister of Labor. Since 1973 there has been only one legal strike - in which workers on a picket line were arrested as constituting an illegal gathering under the Riotous Assembly Act.

CONCLUSION

We have detailed how the apartheid system works to exploit and control the black majority in South Africa. It continues this exploitation and oppression, in the face of mounting black resistance, only with the support of its allies in the western world -- primarily the United States and England. For more information concerning American involvement in South Africa, and the nature of the black liberation movements, please see our other pamphlets.

FOOTNOTES

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) African Workers Against Apartheid International Defence and Aid Fund, P.2 | 14) Divide and Rule, P.61 |
| 2) Divide and Rule, S. Africa's Bantustans International Defence and Aid Fund, P.5 | 15) Apartheid, La Guma ed., 1971, P.46 |
| 3) Forbidden Pastures International Defence and Aid Fund, P.15 | 16) Forbidden Pastures, P.31 |
| 4) Forbidden Pastures, P.15 | 17) Forbidden Pastures, P.43-44 |
| 5) Forbidden Pastures, P.6 | 18) La Guma, P.63 |
| 6) S. Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations, Seidman, 1977, P.21 | 19) La Guma, P.61 |
| 7) Race To Power, Africa Research Group, P.23 | 20) Seidman, P.25 |
| 8) Seidman, P.25 | 21) This is Apartheid, A Pictorial Introduction International Defence and Aid Fund |
| 9) Seidman, P.27 | |
| 10) African Workers Against Apartheid, P.5 | |
| 11) Divide and Rule, P.7 | |
| 12) African Workers Against Apartheid, P.5 | |
| 13) Seidman, P.26 | |

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA

The racist South African apartheid government is becoming increasingly isolated and subject to pressures from not only the black majority within the country, but from people and nations throughout the world. The United Nations General Assembly has passed numerous resolutions condemning the South African apartheid regime, called upon all governments to put an end to military aid or cooperation and "to take effective action to prohibit all loans to or investments in South Africa"; it has further declared the South African government to be illegitimate and affirmed "the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination."¹

The U.S. has not only voted against or abstained on these resolutions, it has continued to play a dominant role in lending the Vorster regime the support it needs in order to stay in power.

The U.S. helped South Africa obtain a loan of \$463 million in 1976-77, \$76 million of which is U.S. money. These funds not only gave crucial support to their ailing economy but also amounted to almost exactly as much as the South African government's increase in military spending for 1976-77 -- \$450 million.

The U.S. government's Export-Import Bank, which underwrites the economic risks involved in export sales, has increased its financing of exports to South Africa by five times since 1971. These guarantees, which amounted to over \$200 million in 1976 allow South Africa to obtain credit which its increasingly unstable political situation might otherwise prevent it from receiving.

In October 1977, the U.S., along with Britain and France, vetoed economic sanctions to be imposed on the Apartheid regime by the U.N. (The above quoted General Assembly resolution specifically called on the U.S., Britain, and France to "desist from misusing their veto power in the Security Council to protect the racist regime of South Africa.")

Why does the U.S. government continue to support this racist system? To answer this one must look at the economic and political stake it has in maintaining the status quo in South Africa.

Profitable Investment

U.S. multinational corporations account for about 17% of foreign direct investment in South Africa or about \$1.67 billion.² (Their role is probably greater than this, however, due to control over British affiliates or subsidiaries and other foreign firms.)³ A dozen of the largest of these companies, about 400 of which have investments in South Africa, are listed below:

A Dozen of the Largest United States Companies in South Africa⁴

Company	Employees	Sales*	Assets*
Ford	4,731	\$220	\$170
General Motors	3,800	\$250	\$160
Coca-Cola	3,800	N.A.	N.A.
Mobil	2,869	\$500	\$333
Goodyear	2,590	\$44	\$58
Firestone	2,500	N.A.	N.A.
Caltex	2,200	\$400	\$200
Carnation	1,587	N.A.	N.A.
General Electric	1,587	\$80	\$60
Otis Elevator	1,500	\$28	\$15
Del Monte	1,492#	\$15	\$8
IBM	1478	\$163	\$89

* In millions of dollars

Includes 1,332 seasonal workers

N.A. - not available

Source: Investor Responsibility Research, Inc.

These monopoly corporations are among the largest in the U.S. and the world. They are able to reap larger profits than elsewhere under the apartheid system: 19% in 1974 for South African investments as opposed to a world average rate of return of 11%.⁵ There are several reasons for this: first, the black workers who constitute about three-fourths of the labor force have no political rights and thus little power to bargain collectively for higher wages. The average African worker in mining and manufacturing received a monthly wage of \$99 and \$147 in 1975. Second, the effect of the South African government's bantustan policy is to create a huge supply of cheap labor for the mines and factories in the white and border areas. The bantustans (comprising 13% of the land), which are supposed to be "homelands" for the 80% black majority, are too overcrowded and poor to provide a living for most of them. Thus in 1970 eight million black people were forced to seek work in the white areas.⁶ This enormous reserve of cheap black labor is increased still further by the influx of immigrant workers from neighboring countries which South Africa dominates in a colonial (Namibia) or neo colonial (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland) relationship.⁷

Third the repressive machinery of the South African state, the support it enjoys among a white minority which owes its high standard of living to the exploitation of the black majority, provides a climate for investment which foreign businessmen regard as "stable." (Some of them may be beginning to reevaluate this estimate, however, in light of the 1976 Soweto uprisings.) Thus 80% of all U.S. investment in manufacturing in Africa is invested in South Africa, and U.S. manufacturing firms reaped 90% of their African profit here in 1974. And unlike their investments in most other African countries, which consist mostly of last-stage assembly and processing plants, "U.S. firms have begun to establish backwards linkages between their manufacturing interests and the rest of the [South African] economy ...almost all of U.S. investment in the manufacture of machines in Africa is concentrated in South Africa (96.8% in 1974)"⁸ Manufacturing firms took in a profit of 16.6% and 15.4% for 1973-74 in South Africa, as opposed to 2.8% and 6.2% in the rest of Africa for the same years.⁹

Trade, Loans, and Financial Capital

Trade between the U.S. and South Africa reached \$2 billion in 1976; exports from the U.S. to South Africa totaled \$1500 million, while imports to the U.S. were \$500 million, leaving a balance of nearly a billion dollars in favor of the U.S.¹⁰ The U.S. became South Africa's leading supplier of imported goods, with South Africa helping to offset the United States' rapidly growing trade deficit and providing a much needed market for manufactured goods. South Africa is the U.S.'s principal trading partner in Africa. Also significant is the fact that the U.S. imports 30-40% of its chrome, 40% of its platinum, 36% of its manganese, as well as large proportions of its asbestos, antimony, and other minerals from South Africa.¹¹

Loans outstanding to U.S. banks totaled \$3 billion by mid-1977.¹² The two Rockefeller banks, Chase Manhattan and Citibank, who own about 15% of the assets and deposits of all commercial banks in the U.S. itself, are especially powerful in South Africa. In addition to their own branches there they exert control over the South African economy through British banks.¹³ They formed part of a consortium of ten American banks which helped rescue the South African government with a \$40 million loan in the post-Sharpeville Massacre* period.

* In 1960 the South African government fired on a crowd of black people at Sharpeville, who were protesting against the pass laws. Sixty-nine people were killed and hundreds wounded. This brought worldwide denunciation of the apartheid regime, and the resulting loss of confidence by corporate investors spurred an economic crisis. The Chase consortium's aid thus came at a crucial time.

Even more important is their influence with the largest industrial U.S. corporations there, a number of whom have members of their boards of directors who also sit on the boards of these banks. With these connections, as well as the links between the various corporate directors and the U.S. government, the banks help to co-ordinate the planning of corporate ventures in South Africa. The following table (pg. 4), which shows only these two banking firms and IBM, provides a clear enough picture of how financial and industrial capital combine with the U.S. government for the purpose of plundering and draining the very lifeblood of the African people.^{13a}

Southern Africa and U.S. Global Strategy

In addition to their direct financial stake in the apartheid system, the U.S. corporations and government's continued support for the South African regime stems from other reasons pertaining to their worldwide struggle for access to markets, resources, spheres of influence and domination of the world's people. As the strongest military power in the region (thanks largely to the U.S.), South Africa represents a powerful ally. In October of 1975 South African troops invaded Angola, with Washington's approval, to intervene on behalf of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), whom the U.S. supported with at least \$40 million, against the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).¹⁴

In addition to its military power, South African corporations (which are largely intertwined with U.S. and other Western capital) have greatly penetrated neighboring states, thereby dominating them to a greater or lesser degree. Namibia is an actual colony, which South African and U.S. companies exploit as a source of minerals (diamonds, copper, lead, uranium) and other raw materials, while South Africa uses it as a market for its manufactures: 90% of Namibia's imports are from South Africa.¹⁵ Swaziland, Botswana, and Lesotho obtained political independence from England in the mid-1960's, but their relationship with South Africa is a neo-colonial one, with basic industries oriented toward export and owned by South African companies or combinations of South African and U.S. or other Western companies. These countries also provide an export market for South African goods and their economies are distorted so as to maintain this relationship. In addition they supply hundreds of thousands of migratory workers for the South African mines. (It should be noted here that South Africa is itself a neo-colony of the Western industrial powers and therefore exports mainly non-manufactured goods to, and imports manufactured goods from these countries.)¹⁶

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is also a neo-colony of South Africa, although it is the second most industrialized country in sub-Saharan Africa, next to South Africa itself. Like South Africa, the wealth of its white minority derives from the exploitation of the black majority, and it could not have survived, without South Africa, the economic sanctions placed on it by the U.N. since its "independence" from Britain in 1966.¹⁷

United States Policy

While visiting Nigeria in April of this year, President Jimmy Carter announced that his administration had broken with the past and was committed to an Africa "that is free from colonialism, racism and military intervention by outside nations." He condemned South African Apartheid and called for "genuine" majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia.¹⁸

What do these words amount to in practice? Less than two months after

1. DIRECTORSHIP IN OTHER FIRMS INVESTING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND FORMER HIGH U.S. GOVERNMENT POSTS HELD BY SELECTED DIRECTORS OF LEADING U.S. FIRMS WITH INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA - 1975

Leading U.S. Firms Investing in South Africa	Present (or former) Director or Officer of Leading U.S. Firms Investing in South Africa	Names of other companies with direct involvement in South Africa in which Directorships are held	Dates on which held high U.S. Government Posts (partial list)
--	---	--	---

Banking

Chase Manhattan Corporation	Rockefeller, David	Chase International Investment	Chairman, President's Commission on White House Fellows, 1966- Director, Overseas Development Council
	Butcher, Willard C.	Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., Chase International	
	Connor, J.T.	Allied Chemical Corp; General Motors Corp.; Chase Manhattan Bank	U.S. Secretary of Commerce, 1965-1967 Director, General Motors Company
	Dilworth, J. Richardson	Chrysler Corp. Chase Manhattan Bank, Diamond Shamrock Corp.	
	Furlaud, Richard M.	Squibb Corp., Olin Corp.; American Express Co.	
	Jamieson, J.K. Lazarna, Ralph Lilley, Robert D. Loudon, John H.	Exxon Corp. General Elec. Co. A.T. & T. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.	
	Myers, Charles F.	U.S. Steel Corp. Burlington Industries	
	Pratt, Edmund T. Smith, J. Henry Stone, Whitney	Pfizer, Inc. Colgate-Palgate-Palmolive American Express Co.	
First National City Bank of N.Y.	Palmer, Edward L.	Borg Warner Corp. Del Monte Corp. Corning Glass Works	
	Costanza, G.A.	Owens-Ill Co. Nat'l Cash Register	Econ. & Financial Advisor, Depts. of Internat'l Commerce, State & Treasury 1941-51

Spencer, William	Phillips Petroleum Corp.	
Batteu, William	J.C. Penney Co.	
deButts, John D.	U.S. Steel Corp.	
Eilers, Louis K.	Eastman Kodak Co.	
Garvin, Jr., C.C.	Exxon Corp.	
Grace, J. Peter	Ingersoll-Rand Co; Kennecott Copper Corp. Deering Milliken, Inc. Braden Copper Co. (subs. of Kenn. Copper); W.B. Grace & Co.	
Gray, Harry Jack	Aetna Insur. Co.	
Hatfield, Robert S.	Kennecott Copper Corp.	
Haynes, H.J.	Standard Oil of Calif.	
Houghton, Amory	Corning Glass Works	
McCoy, Charles	E.I. duPont de Nemours	
Milliken, Roger	Westinghouse Elec. Corp.	
Pigott, Charles M.	Standard Oil of Calif.	
Rees, William	Chubb Corp.	
Sheldon, Eleanor		Pres., Social Science Research Council
Smith, Darwin	Kimberly-Clark Corp.	

 Corporation

I.B.M.	(Brown, Harold) (Consultant, Aero- yet-General Corp., (1956-61)	Secretary of Air Force, 1961-1977 Secretary of Defense, 1977-
	Davies, Paul L.	FMC Corp; Lehman Bros., Inc.
		Trustee, Committee on Internat'l Dev- elopment; Direc. Ex-Im Bank
	Fox, John Michael (Chair. and Chief Exec. Officer, United Brands, 1967-71)	US Sec. of Comm., 1965-67; Dir., Federal Res. Bank of Boston (current)
	Cary, Frank T.	Morgan Guaranty Trust Comp.
	(Katzenbach, N.)	US Attor. Gen., 1965-66; UnderSec. of State, 1966-69
	MacNaughton, D.S. (Moore, W.H.)	Exxon Corp. RCA Corp.
	Watson, T.J. Watson, T.J.	Director, Economic Develop. Council Member, Council on Foreign Relations
	Williams, A.L.	Mobil Oil Corp; First Nat'l City Bank; Eli Lilly & Co.
		Chair., President's Comm. on Internat. Trade & Investment Policy (1970 -71)

Carter spoke against "military intervention by outside nations" the U.S. provide transport, supplies, and logistical support for French and Belgian troops that invaded Zaire's Shaba province to protect Western investment there. The U.S. veto of economic sanctions for Namibia and its violation of these sanctions in order to profit from the exploitation of Namibian mineral resources belie any pretended concern about colonialism. 18a

Carter's call for "genuine majority rule" in Zimbabwe must also be looked at in terms of the current political facts. Without going into details of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, it is clear that the Patriotic Front (a coalition of the Zimbabwean African National Union [ZANU], led by Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwean African Peoples Union [ZAPU], led by Joshua Nkomo) which is waging a guerrilla war against the white minority regime there, is getting closer to victory and its goal of establishing an independent democratic state. In view of his impending collapse, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith reached an "internal settlement" in March of this year with Bishop Abel Muzarewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau, three black leaders inside the country. This agreement leaves the 263,000 whites control of the black majority (6.7 million) quite strong: they would retain veto power in Parliament for at least 10 years, continue to dominate the army, police, civil service, and judiciary as well as retaining other privileges. The 49 African countries at the United Nations condemned the Agreement as a "sellout".

The U.S. had no harsh words for this agreement (the more blind reactionaries like Brzezinski actually wanted to support it) but realizing that any agreement which excluded the guerrilla movement was doomed to failure, sought to bring about a new one that would include the liberation forces. When this failed they then tried unsuccessfully to split the liberation movement and win over Nkomo to the "internal settlement." At the present time the U.S. congress is considering supporting the "internal settlement" by discontinuing economic sanctions on Rhodesia.

As for the South African apartheid system itself, the Carter administration's real attitude can be judged by the unabated support through investment, trade, loans, U.N. votes, etc. outlined above. In addition to this must be included the role of the U.S. government in arming the South African regime, which continues to this day.

The United Nations' arms embargo of 1963 against South Africa had little effect on arms suppliers such as the U.S., Britain, or France, who have since then helped to build the South African military up to the point where its power now exceeds the combined forces of most of sub-Saharan Africa. The air force now has over 600 combat aircraft and more than 200 helicopters. The army possesses more than 500 tanks and 200 Panhard cars fitted with 90mm guns, as well as several hundred other armored cars and nearly 1000 armored personnel carriers. Although the U.S. has consistently maintained that it has complied with the arms embargo, the following major items of U.S. military equipment are included in the South African arsenal:

M-3A1 armored personnel carriers	M-7 105mm self-propelled guns
T-17 El Staghound armored cars	M-109 155mm self-propelled guns
M-47 Patton main battle tanks	Lockheed F-104G Starfighter jets
M-41 Walker Bulldog light tanks	North American F-51D counter-insurgency aircraft
M-113A1 armored personnel carriers	Augusta-Bell 205A Iroquois helicopters
Commando V-150 personnel carriers	Lockheed Hercules C-130B transport aircraft

Most of the U.S. weapons have been sold since the arms embargo began. Usually they are manufactured under U.S. license by a foreign company, who then ships the weapons to South Africa. Deliveries of some U.S. equipment were continuing last year.¹⁹

Even more monstrous is the fact that South Africa may in the future have the capability, if it has not already, to build atomic weaponry. The nuclear technology and enriched uranium were provided to South Africa by the U.S. Atomic Energy Agency and various corporations, ostensibly for purposes of generating electricity.²⁰

* * * *

In spite of the calls for withdrawal of foreign investment by numerous black and progressive organizations within South Africa (including the African National Congress, the Soweto Students Representatives Council, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Students Organization, the Christian Institute in South Africa) and outside, and by the U.N., the U.S. government has not taken even the smallest step in this direction.

And the U.S. corporations are "digging in their heels": Caltex (jointly owned by Texaco and Standard Oil of California) is spending \$134 million to increase its refining capacity in South Africa;²¹ Henry Ford II announced at the end of his visit there early this year that Ford also planned to expand its operations;²² Goodyear said they could foresee "nothing that would lead us" to withdraw.²³

"we've been there for 50 years, and we plan to be there for a long time to come," said a spokesperson for the General Motors Corporation.

But their time is running out. The liberation movements will succeed in South Africa as well as in Zimbabwe and Namibia, freeing the African people from the yoke of racial oppression, colonial domination, and U.S. imperialism.

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LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS

1) What are the Liberation organizations in southern Africa and what are they fighting for?

Azania (South Africa) There are several liberation groups in Azania. The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912. In its early history ANC organized protest against the Natives Land Act, which set aside 87% of the land for whites only.¹ In 1952, the ANC began the Defiance Campaign in protest to the enactment of the "Suppression of Communism Act."² Thousands of African people were arrested for entering "European Only" post offices, railroad stations and other facilities. No one resisted arrest, the idea was to fill the jails with passive resisters.³

In 1955, the ANC called for 50,000 volunteers to collect "freedom demands" from all sectors of the South African people. Thousands of demands from all around the country were incorporated into the Freedom Charter, which read, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice... only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief."⁴

The adopting of the Freedom Charter as the program of the ANC which had been the main organization of African people in Azania led to a division within the liberation movement. In 1959 the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed by many African nationalists who left the ANC.⁵ This split reflected sharp differences between the ANC and the PAC concerning the role of the whites in the revolution, and the significance of African nationalism.

In 1960 the PAC organized a nationwide "stay at home" to challenge the Pass laws.⁶ 250,000 Blacks gathered outside police stations all over South Africa. In Sharpeville 5000 Africans gathered peacefully. The police, without warning, opened fire on the crowd - killing 69 and wounding several hundred. Major protests followed the Sharpeville massacre, including a widely supported general strike. The South African government declared a state of emergency, banned all meetings, curtailed the press and arrested several hundred people without charges.⁷

The Sharpeville massacre represented a turning point in South Africa's long history of repression of the African people. Since Sharpeville South Africa has been arming itself extensively. (see U.S. involvement paper) The South African military has grown from 10,000 men and a budget of \$450,000 to 130,000 men and a budget of over \$2 billion.⁸ Former Defense Minister, R.D. Botha, stated clearly the main purpose of this military build-up, "Do not think we are arming to fight a foreign enemy... we are arming to shoot down the Black masses."⁹

Following the Sharpeville massacre both the ANC and PAC were forced underground.¹⁰ The slogan of armed struggle against white minority rule - put forward by both organizations - dates from this time. Sharpeville demonstrated to the Azanian people that the white minority regime would never give up its domination peacefully.

The African people have been opposed to the apartheid policy of "separate development" in the Bantustans since its inception. The ANC and the PAC have demanded a return of the lands stolen from the native inhabitants by the white settlers (accounting for 87% of the land). In the '76 Soweto uprisings there was opposition to the Bantustans. Steve Biko was President of the Black People's Convention (BPC) which led the uprisings, and was murdered for his role in them. Biko stated the BPC's attitude toward the Bantustans; "our own attitude is that you cannot operate from a platform which is meant to oppress Black people. All these Bantustans are meant to contain the political aspirations of Black people by the Nationalist government... we should operate as a united whole towards the attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania and any... tribalistic, racialistic outlook is abhorred by us."¹¹

That this stand reflected the opinion of the vast majority of Azanians was shown by the Soweto uprisings, which spread throughout Azania, and by the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated in mourning for Steve Biko. When one of the Bantustan leaders tried to speak at a memorial for Biko he was driven from the stage as the crowd pelted him with rocks.

The Azanian people have also put up a determined resistance to the starvation wages, brutal working conditions, long hours and other aspects of their exploitation. In 1973 there were strikes involving over 800,000 workers.¹² In most of these strikes workers demanded decent working conditions and an end to apartheid. Following the uprisings in the Soweto schools there were demonstrations in most major cities; the workers went out on a general strike supporting the students' demands that they be taught their own languages and their real history. The workers also demanded an end to the pass laws. Thousands of passbooks were burned and many passbook stations were burned down.

* * * * *

The fundamental question in the liberation movement in South Africa is the question of what will replace the overthrown apartheid system. The adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC and the formation of the PAC had a great effect among the Azanian people. ANC declined in influence while the PAC, which opposed the Freedom Charter and called for Black majority rule, grew in influence.¹³ A poll taken by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1963 showed 57% support for PAC and 37% for ANC.¹⁴ Also, the recent upsurges in South Africa have revealed the increased awakening of Azanian nationalism. BPC, the South African Students Organization (SASO), and the whole Black consciousness movement, has within it the elements of Azanian nationalism. Steve Biko makes this clear, "As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realize that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the White man to "correct" the situation... this is where the cry 'Black man, you are on your own!' becomes relevant."¹⁵

The crucial issue is self-determination for the Azanian people, a return of the stolen lands, overthrow of the white minority regime with its hated apartheid system, and the establishment of Black majority rule. The 1976 upsurges in South Africa showed that the vast majority of Azanian people support these demands. The PAC has stated, "our political state is that of a semi-colony owned by the imperialist consortium of her foreign investors and trading partners who own more than 80% of South African private property in company with the white bourgeois of which the government is a significant part."¹⁶ The continued support by the U.S. government of the white minority regime and continued U.S. investment will only increase the intensity of these feelings among the Azanian people.

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia): The Blacks in Rhodesia are denied all political rights, there is also a pass system in Rhodesia and segregated facilities. The whites comprise only 4% of the population while owning 1/2 of the land.¹⁷ Blacks, who make up 95% of the population, privately own less than 5% of the land.¹⁸ This reflects the fact that the vast majority of Africans must work for the benefit of a few white land barons. Organizations of the Zimbabwean people began to appear at the turn of the century, protesting Britain's policy of colonial settlement.¹⁹ The main method used by all the organizations in Rhodesia until the 1960's was to make appeals to the British and other foreign governments against the effects of their colonial policy, in combination with demonstrations and meetings with the Rhodesian government.²⁰

The Zimbabwean African Peoples Union (ZAPU) was formed in 1961. In its early history, ZAPU, led by Joshua Nkomo, spent most of its time attempting to win support in Britain for the Zimbabwean people and lining up the U.N. and foreign governments to pressure the British government into intervening directly in Rhodesia. It was only after many years of these fruitless attempts to appeal to the rationality of British and Rhodesian colonialists that a decisive move towards armed struggle occurred.²¹

In 1963, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) was formed out of a split in ZAPU. ZANU was formed on the principle that the way to end white minority rule was armed struggle - a guerilla war in the countryside where most Zimbabweans lived as peasants.²² The first clash between government forces and ZANU guerillas occurred in April, 1966. One year later ZAPU began military operations. ZANU and ZAPU reunited in 1974, forming the Patriotic Front. One common military command (ZIPA) was formed from the previously separate armies of ZANU and ZAPU.²³ The programs of ZANU and ZAPU contain many common elements which enabled the two organizations to unite. Both aim to establish a democratic state in Zimbabwe based on one person - one vote which will work towards the realization of socialist principles.²⁴ The victory of the Patriotic Front will bring to an end Rhodesia as a settler colony of Britain and establish a democratic Zimbabwe.

The victory of the Patriotic Front is drawing closer. The guerillas have grown considerably over the last four years. In 1974 ZAPU had about 2000 guerillas; it now has over 10,000. In 1974 ZANU had over 4000 guerillas; it now has over 40,000.²⁵ Over the last years 100,000 people have fled to the guerilla bases in Mozambique, people are now arriving at the guerilla camps at the rate of 1000 a month.²⁶ Tens of thousands of whites have left the countryside, leaving many farms deserted. The Patriotic Front has announced that it has semi-liberated over 40% of the country.²⁷

The war has greatly worsened conditions in the white minority areas. The Smith government has established "no-go" areas and is forcibly moving Africans into protected villages. The peoples' villages are first destroyed, then they are moved into corrugated iron shelters which are surrounded by barbed wire. Then a broad strip of land is declared a "no-go" area and defoliated.²⁸ The situation inside these camps is miserable, the food supplies are deteriorating, malaria is widespread and most of the camps lack any sanitary facilities. No ploughing was done this spring in many areas around these villages as people were forced to stay in these camps. This is certain to increase the food shortage, already people are going hungry.²⁹ Recently a curfew (22 hours/day) has been announced and violaters are to be shot, hundreds have already been killed.³⁰

In 1968, the Smith regime spent 25 million Rhodesian dollars on security, in 1978 it will spend over 197 million Rhodesian dollars.³¹ The control of the Smith government is virtually non-existent throughout large areas on Rhodesia's borders. Government services, such as they were, are no longer provided and the people no longer pay taxes. Many white farmers have abandoned their farms and their land is being used by their former employees. The liberation forces have been attacking in almost every part of the country, and have broken into many of the protected villages.³² Sometimes rescuing people, sometimes just giving people medicine such as anti-malaria drugs.³³ At the same time, large numbers of Blacks are moving to the guerilla bases.

The "protected villages" plan of the Smith government is exactly the same "strategic hamlet" program the U.S. used in Vietnam and it is resulting in the same thing: misery, destruction and death for many Zimbabweans and the ultimate defeat of the government.

The Smith government, however, has refused to surrender. A few years ago Smith boasted that no Blacks would enter the government for 1000 years. Now, Smith is taking part in a sham transitional government. The "transition" to Black majority rule is a sham because it calls for elections to a 100 seat parliament in which 28 seats are guaranteed for whites for 10 years, enough seats to block any meaningful reform. And the cabinet will be composed of half-white, half-black. Also, the present composition of the white controlled security forces will be continued.³⁴ On top of all this, the Smith government is asking the Patriotic Front to agree to the settlement and lay down their arms. Understandably the Patriotic Front has refused to sell-out.

Two recent events expose just how little transition is really occurring. Brian Hove, Co-Minister of Justice in the transitional government was fired April 28 for calling for more opportunities for Africans in the courts and police force. Hove denounced the government and said Smith, "believes in the substance of power remaining in white hands, with the shadow of authority passing to Blacks. That is his majority rule." On April 30, 1500 Zimbabweans demonstrated outside a meeting of Bishop Muzorewa's Party (United African National Council, one of the participants in the transitional government) chanting "to hell with the agreement."³⁵

The U.S. government has said it will not recognize the transitional government because it does not include the Patriotic Front. Does this mean the U.S. government sympathizes with the Patriotic Front? No, it does not. The U.S. and British governments are aware of the increasing strength of the Patriotic Front, especially its gains over the past two years. The transitional government is no solution to the problem in Rhodesia. If the U.S. and British cannot get the Patriotic Front to agree to their terms, i.e. terms which would protect the U.S. and the very large British investment in Rhodesia, then they will continue their efforts to split the Patriotic Front. According to Ndabaningi Sithole, one of the Black participants in the new government, British Foreign Secretary Owen offered him British assistance if he could bring Nkomo into the internal settlement.³⁶ The influential British paper Economist has argued that IMF aid to Zambia be conditioned on Zambia's getting Nkomo into the internal settlement.³⁷ So far, these attempts to either co-opt or split the Patriotic Front have failed and the fighting continues. There is also significant internal disagreement in the U.S. government over recognition of the settlement. The ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Clifford Case, introduced a resolution March 9 calling for serious consideration of the internal settlement.³⁸ The House has voted to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia at the end of the year, provided a new government has been elected according to the bogus constitution described earlier.³⁹

Clearly, Britain which has been the major arms supplier to the Smith regime and has substantial investment in Rhodesia is not going to suddenly switch to supporting the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe. Nor, will the U.S. government, which also supplied arms and has some investment there, but is also worried about the effect a victorious revolution would have on South Africa where there is much greater U.S. investment.

Namibia (South West Africa): Namibia, or South West Africa, was acquired as a colony by Germany in 1884. The interior of the country, where most of the people lived, was inhabited by several African peoples who were farmers, herders, and hunters. Four-fifths of the region was established as a Police Zone, which it remains today. In 1969 South Africa incorporated Namibia as "South West Africa", its 5th Province, and brought in the apartheid system: pass laws, contract labor, forced population removals and "homelands" system. Some observers consider conditions in S.W. Africa to be even worse than those in South Africa.⁴⁰ Namibia is as much a colony of the U.S. as it is of South Africa. U.S. corporations have large investments in mining and fishing, owning several large companies and approximately one-third of South African firms there. For example, the Tsumeb Corp. (a U.S. company) mines most of the base

minerals (mining accounts for 1/2 of the Namibian economy) and is the single largest employer of Africans in Namibia. In 25 years, Tsumeb has extracted \$1 billion worth of minerals from Namibia and annually pays South Africa \$14 million in taxes.⁴¹ Led by Del Monte, the U.S. fishing industry takes 90% of the Namibian annual catch to sell in the U.S. Meanwhile the Namibian people suffer from severe protein deficiency.⁴²

The U.S. government has been a big supporter of South Africa's occupation. A U.N. advisor reported in the fall of 1976 that the U.S. military has been actively training and supplying a Black Namibian army to fight against SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization) and has aided in training South Africa's occupation force of 50,000.⁴³ In 1975, the overwhelmingly majority of the U.N. voted that member governments should seize all minerals exported from Namibia by firms investing there until South Africa withdrew from Namibia altogether. The U.S., together with Britain and France, vetoed this measure.

These historical conditions have led to a history resistance by the Namibian people. The first colonial incursions were met by armed resistance - mostly the Africans were armed with traditional weapons, spears, shields, etc. This was followed by strikes of Namibian workers protesting contract labor, low wages and apartheid. There have been many mass demonstrations and pleas for international action. The Namibian people throughout their history have continued to fight against forced removal from their lands, high taxes and the contract labor system.

Out of such resistance, and the brutally repressive South African response, grew a liberation movement. The main organization leading this movement, the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) was formed in 1959.⁴⁴ SWAPO launched an armed struggle against South Africa in 1966. SWAPO was active in the strikes of 1971 and 1972 when 20,000 workers stayed home in protest against the contract labor system (the same type of labor policy that is applied by South Africa to the Bantustans).

Recently, significant progress has been made in SWAPO's armed struggle. SWAPO has captured large areas in the countryside. In these areas medical and social services have been set-up and people are being taught to read and write. SWAPO has also begun a program for the training of medical and paramedical personnel.⁴⁵ The South African government has been forced to recognize SWAPO. For years, SWAPO has been recognized by the U.N. as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Time and again South Africa has shown itself to be a most bitter enemy of the Namibian people. South Africa sabotaged the latest peace proposal which would have meant peace, South African troop withdrawal, and SWAPO's victory. South Africa demanded control of Walvis Bay, the only major seaport in Namibia. This attempt to maintain a colonial concession in Namibia was rejected by SWAPO. And, even during the talks between South Africa and SWAPO, the South African air force bombed SWAPO refugee camps in Angola.⁴⁶ But, clearly, the end of South Africa's control of Namibia is not far off.

2) Who are the real terrorists in Zimbabwe?

The U.S. press has carried a number of stories of guerillas wantonly killing white civilians in Zimbabwe, upon investigation these stories have proven to be false. During the past 18 months, more than 30 missionaries have been arrested or imprisoned and a similar number deported by the regime.⁴⁷ In a recent incident 94 Black civilians were killed during an attack on a village by Rhodesian security forces. Although it was discovered that no guerillas were involved the Rhodesian authorities said the killings occurred during a "cross-fire" with guerillas.⁴⁸

The circumstances of these alleged guerilla attacks is also important. The recent killing of missionaries and their children at Vumba near the Rhodesian border occurred after the revelation by survivors of a previous attack on Vumba that Rhodesian security forces had massacred nearly 100 villagers and that no guerillas were involved. The killing of two Red Cross workers last May followed the gift of a Red Cross mobile clinic to Rhodesian refugees in Mozambique. One of the first missionary killings was of Bishop Adolph Schmitt, a life-long friend of the Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo.⁴⁹

The Rhodesian security forces also contain many blacks and their notorious Selous Scouts unit masquerades as guerillas in attacks upon rural villages, mission stations, and refugee camps. The pattern of these attacks is remarkably similar, the Scouts wear guerilla dress, they carry Soviet made weapons, they call each comrade, and they always leave one eyewitness to relate the attack. After the killings "ballistic evidence" is produced to "prove" that the fatal bullets were supplied by the Soviet Union. Actually the Smith regime has summed up best its attitude towards the killings in the warning it gave to a priest charged with failing to report guerillas in his area, "one dead missionary is as good as 100 dead terrorists to us."⁵⁰

Another myth that has been spread about the liberation movements is that they are heading towards a racial bloodbath. But what has been the history in other African countries where colonial, white minority governments were overthrown by national democratic revolutions. Donald Woods, a white journalist who is banned in South Africa gave a succinct description: "if they point to 'what has happened to the whites in the rest of Africa', my reply is 'what indeed has happened to the whites?' The Mau MAU killed fewer whites in Kenya (36) than the Nationalists have killed Blacks in detention in South Africa. More whites have died by the policies of Ian Smith's government in the civil war in Rhodesia than have died under Black governments in Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, and even Uganda, together."⁵¹

What is happening in Rhodesia is not a racial war but a national democratic revolution. The Black Africans who make up over 95% of the population are determined to end the domination of the white minority government and establish a democratic state, one person - one vote, i.e. Black majority rule. The Zimbabwean people have decided that they will determine their destiny, not the white minority, and they are expressing this in the support they are giving to the Patriotic Front. The aspect of white vs. black that appears in the war comes mainly from the fact that most of the whites in Rhodesia are big landowners, sons of British colonial administrators who are now in the Rhodesian government, etc. who have enforced a brutal system of white minority domination and exploitation. The revolution is aimed at bringing an end to this system, therefore it is mainly directed at these white oppressors. It has nothing to do with so-called "inherent racial antagonisms" since many white missionaries have aided the guerillas, and have been deported or arrested for doing it.

The situation in Azania, under very different circumstances than Zimbabwe such as much greater industrialization is also one of a national democratic revolution of the Azanian people for self-determination, an end not only to apartheid but also to white minority rule, and the establishment of Black majority rule based on one person - one vote.

3) Why should the American people support these liberation movements?

The struggle of the people of southern Africa is for self-determination. They have fought towards this end through all manner of strikes, demonstrations and protests. The people have taken the road of armed overthrow of white minority

rule because these regimes have given them no choice. The Black people in southern Africa have a just cause and they are working toward its realization through the only means open to them. Therefore we should not oppose these liberation movements. We should support their struggle for an end to white minority rule, for one person one vote, Black majority rule.

First we can give material aid - money, food, clothing - to the liberation organizations and give them political support through bringing them to speak on campus. Second we must oppose the U.S. government and corporations who are supporting the white minority regimes. Demands for U.S. corporate withdrawal, university divstment, boycotts of South African and Rhodesian goods have been raised around the country. These demands are in line with what the African people are fighting to acheive, and have been called for by every liberation organization.

Finally, the Black peoples' fight for liberation in southern Africa has a relationship to this country as well. The same corporations that oppress Black people in southern Africa through low wages and no democratic rights - also oppress Black people in this country. Ties should be developed between the fight for liberation of Black people in the U.S. As Malcolm X said, "if you don't understand what's going on in the Congo you won't understand what's going on in Mississippi."52

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DIVESTITURE

THE UNIVERSITY AND AFRICAN LIBERATION

The University of Illinois endowment fund currently holds over \$4 million in direct investments in banks and corporations doing business in South Africa:

<u>BONDS</u>	<u>COMPANY</u>	<u>VALUE 9-30-78</u>
\$ 50,000	U.S. Steel	\$ 42,768
\$250,000	Ford Motor Credit	\$253,750
\$500,000 (250,000)*	G.M. Acceptance Corp.	\$487,915
\$250,000	Weyerhaeuser	\$237,760
\$250,000	General Electric	\$252,363
<u>STOCK SHARES</u>		
5,384	Exxon	\$303,185
1,053	IBM	\$291,681
4,662 (212)	General Electric	\$246,504
700	J.P. Morgan Co.	\$ 33,338
2,000	TRW (common)	\$776,750
1,200	TRW (preferred)	\$ 88,200
8,144	Bank of America	\$219,888
2,250	Caterpillar Tractor	\$132,469
7,376 (456)	Citicorp	\$193,620
5,016 (16)	Dow	\$141,702
2,803 (803)	Kodak	\$169,231
2,432 (432)	General Motors	\$153,520
1,053	3M	\$237,078
3,000 (2000)	Merck and Co.	\$180,000
5,000 (5000)	Coca Cola	\$220,000
5,490	Texaco	\$135,878
	TOTAL VALUE	\$4,687,454

*Amounts of stocks and bonds in parenthesis indicate purchases made by the U. of I. in 1977-1978, in contempt of the 1977 divestiture referendum.

As a result of a student referendum passed in the spring of 1977, (which read: U.S. corporate investment in South Africa is the main fiscal and social prop to the racist white minority regimes in Southern Africa, including the apartheid system in South Africa. We feel that as long as the University holds stock in corporations that operate in or lend money to the white minority regimes in Southern Africa, that the University objectively supports these governments. Therefore we demand that the University, its officials, Board and Endowment Fund officials, publically call for such corporations to withdraw from these countries and sell such stock.) , Board of Trustee hearings were held at which all testimony presented again called for complete divestiture. However, the Board of Trustees instead adopted a policy of formal opposition to apartheid, based upon the University voting its stock proxies in behalf of shareholder proposals calling for corporate withdrawal from South Africa. Implicitly, it would seem that the university therefore recognized that U.S. corporations do not play a progressive role in restructuring South African society. In reality, the university did not even take its own policy seriously enough to apply it to the future expansion of university stockholdings, as can be seen by the increases in shareholdings in these corporations in the period since this policy was adopted.

The corporations in which the U. of I. invests in, account for over a third of all U.S. investment in South Africa. Looking at some major ones:

<u>U.S. CORPORATION</u>	<u>TOTAL INVESTMENT IN S.A.</u>	<u>% OF U.S. TOTAL S.A. INVESTMENT</u>
Caterpillar Tractor	\$ 6.4 million	0.7%
General Electric	\$ 55 million	6.1%
G.M.	\$125 million	14.1%
IBM	\$ 84.4 million	1.0%
3M	\$ 12 million	1.3%
Cal tex(Texaco, Standard Oil of Calif.)	\$103 million	11.4%
TOTAL	\$309.8 million	34.6%

<u>U.S. CORPORATION</u>	<u>APPROX. INVESTMENT IN S.A.</u>	<u>% OF TOAL U.S. INVESTMENT</u>
Caterpillar	\$ 6.4 million	0.7%
GE	\$ 55 million	6.1%
GM	\$125 million	14.1%
3M	\$ 12 million	1.3%
IBM	\$ 8.4 million	1.0%
Caltex (Texaco, Standard Oil of Calif.)	\$103 million	11.4%
TOTAL	\$309.8 million	34.6%

U.S. direct investments are concentrated in the most advanced and essential sectors of South Africa's industrial economy. GM, Ford and Chrysler produce approximately half of all motor vehicles sold in South Africa. Collectively, The Big 3 have have over half a billion dollars invested in S.A. The Big 3 compete for South African government contracts for military and police supplies. (in the decade before 1973 Fords' yearly sales to the government were over \$2million annually.) In the event of an arms embargo, South African law directs the seizure of foreign factories and their conversion to military production. The Big 3 assembly lines are designed to facilitate such a change within days.

GM (U of I holdings of \$650,000 in stocks and bonds), pays its African workers an hourly rate of 65¢ /hr. to start, with a maximum of \$1.35/hr. General Electric (U of I holdings of 470,000 in stocks and bonds) had sales in S.A. in 1973 of over \$4.5 billion. Its African workers are paid between 473 and 4213/month (heavily weighted towards the lower end). By comparison, white workers are paid from 186/month (skilled labor) to \$ 502/month (technicians and lower level management.) (Note: Africans make up less than 2% of the professional and technical sector, are barred from administrative and executive positions, and are prevented from gaining any apprenticeships in skilled trades by color bars.)

Three American companies, Caltex (U of I holdings in Texaco of 135,000 in stocks), Mobil and Exxon (U of I holdings of \$300,000 in stocks) control 44% of the South African market in all petroleum products. Through their South African subsidiaries, Mobil and Caltex are helping to break the 1968 U.N. Security Council economic boycott of Rhodesia. As with the Big 3 auto companies, Caltex has stated... " ...it would be a crime under South Africa's laws were Caltex South Africa to undertake a commitment not to supply petroleum products to the Government of South Africa, wheter for use by the South African military or any other Branch of the South African government." (Barbara Rogers, Divide and Rule, International Defence and Aid Fund, P.11)

South Africa has no major domestic computer firms. 70% of the computer market in South Africa is controlled by American firms. IBM (290,000 of stocks held by the U. of I.) has sold computers to the Departments of Defense, Prisons and the Interior (used for passbooks for coloreds and Asians. IBM has also sold computers to the South African Atomic Energy Board and Armaments Board.

These few examples illustrate how the U.S. corporations, all essential contributors to the South African economy, "progressively" exploit South African workers. The wages listed for GE and GM are typical of U.S. corporations, which pay wages below or minimally above the Monthly Household Subsistence level which excludes costs for medical, educational and recreational expenses. It replced the poverty datum line in the late 70's)

The latest figures available (Southern Africa, Mar. 1977) show:

<u>CITY:</u>	<u>AFRICAN M.H.S. LEVEL (Nov. 1976)</u>	<u>AFRICAN MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOMES (197</u>
Capetown	\$157.94	less than \$23 22.5% households
East London	\$148.50	less than \$92 63.5% households
Johannesburg	\$154.87	\$92 to \$171 25.4% households
Pretoria	\$151.05	over \$172 11.1% hoseholds
Umtata	\$128.09	

These government guaranteed low wage rates enable the corporations to realize a 19% return on investments as opposed to the 11% world wide average. To continue this profitable situation, the corporations have cooperated with the South African government to prevent major changes in the structure of apartheid. U.S. corporations have fought against black unions, GM for example recently defeating a unionization drive in its South African plant. Although the U.S. corporations are changing to remove the "petty apartheid" laws (such as separate eating and wash room facilities), these are sham "reforms" which do not affect corporate and/or government control over work-place conditions, job reservation laws, union organizing and striking, etc. "Equal pay for equal work" for example, is a totally sham reform, which ignores the fact that the primary factor in income inequality is due to job reservation laws which preserve higher paying jobs for whites. So called job training programs usually involve upgrading blacks' jobs slightly by breaking down skilled white jobs into lesser tasks, reserving the most skilled portion for whites (so as to prevent unrest among white workers). Such South African laws, which go unchallenged by "law respecting" corporations, provide the safeguard against further reaching changes which would seriously affect profits. After all, as U.S. News and World Report said ten years ago: "Many U.S. businessmen clearly approve of the way South Africa is attempting to solve its complicated racial problems... The American..adapts quickly to living under a system of total racial segregation... He is often frank to admit that he enjoys it."

For further information on the nature of apartheid and U.S. government and corporate involvement and support, see the other sections.

Therefore, all black South African organizations (with the exception of the coopted Bantustan "leaders" whose positions depend on their collaboration with the white minority regime). have called for American corporate withdrawal from South Africa. The South African Students Organization, Black Peoples' Convention, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the African National Congress, have all called for withdrawal.

Over the last few years, the U.S. support movement for African Liberation has developed on many campuses, among church groups and in union caucuses. On the universities, the struggle for U.S. corporate withdrawal from Southern Africa has taken the form of the demand for complete divestiture and an end to all university support for apartheid.

A nationwide movement has begun, demanding university divestiture. The Univ. of California has over \$800 million in investments in corporations in S.A. Princeton has over \$80 million. Students at nearly 100 universities have begun demonstrating- confronting Boards of Trustees, rallying and sitting in. Four hundred, then 1000, finally 4000 students demonstrated at Harvard last spring. In last April alone, there were demonstrations and sit-ins at 17 state universities and at Rutgers, Cornell, Yale Dartmouth, Brandeis, black colleges in Atlanta... on and on.

But even with the universities billions of dollars of investments in corporations doing business in South Africa, university stock holdings amount to only a few per cent of all shares held in the U.S. The universities have little economic power; even complete divestiture of most or all universities, would have little economic impact on the corporations. Then why have university students across the country demanded divestiture? Why do so many see divestiture as one of the most effective means of supporting liberation movements for black majority rule in South Africa.

The only way to understand the role of university divestiture is in the broader context of the American anti-apartheid movement, and its efforts to provide political and material support to the struggle for African liberation. As we have become more and more aware of the harsh realities of the apartheid system, how U.S. corporations profit from it, and how the U.S. government supports it, Americans have begun to render material and political assistance by:

- Building material support for liberation groups via rallies, fundraising, collecting clothing, food, medical and other supplies.
- Bringing all possible pressures on U.S. banks and corporations to withdraw from South Africa: Withdrawal of Union pension funds, church group funds etc., from banks loaning to South Africa, Anti-Krugerrand Campaigns, workers' embargos on handling South African goods (bv U.S. longshoremen, coal miners so far)
- Isolating Southern African propaganda efforts: Davis Cup Protests, demonstrations against Ian Smiths' visit.
- Countering U.S. government support: Campaigns for Chrome embargo, denial of import/export credits, exposure of U. S. role in arranging international loans (IMF) to prop up the regime.

Many students have been involved in these actions. But restricted to the University campus, especially one as isolated as the University of Illinois limits involvement in many of these activities. Hence university divestiture has emerged as the one unique contribution students can make to the anti-apartheid struggle.

What is the contribution of university divestiture, especially to the campaign for corporate withdrawal? The total stock holdings of all university portfolio's are too small to have any impact on corporate policies. Neither the students nor the universities have any real political control over corporate policy. Hence the role of the divestiture movement is an indirect attack on the corporations, via the intermediary of the university. This attack manifests itself within the university but has an impact on society as a whole. Within the university divestiture exposes the close integration of the corporations, the universities and the United States government into one network which at this time mobilizes United States support and tries to neutralize potential opposition to apartheid. In the larger society, the divestiture movement builds the mobilization of broad public opposition to United States involvement in Southern Africa, which is essential to preventing a deepening of United States aid to the white minority regime.

Specifically, divestiture exposes the ties between the U. of I. and the major corporations supporting apartheid. The U. of I. Foundation, a private endowment fund has Thomas Murphy (Chairman of the Board, G.M.) as President. University stock buying (which does not take into account current Board policy on shareholder proposals, as shown by the 1 million dollars of stocks and bonds added in corporations invested in South Africa since last year) is managed by Continental Bank of Illinois and First National Bank--two major lenders to South Africa. These ties of direct economic control, in addition to reliance on corporate gifts to endowment and research funds, reinforce the ties to corporations represented by just the university stock portfolio.

Divestiture also directly exposes the role of the university. The U. of I. defends its policy of proxy votes to influence the corporations; many people speak of the "progressive" role of the corporations in South Africa, or of the "progressive" role of the university as an investor. The divestiture campaign exposes the real role of the university in socializing students. The very corporations which invest in South Africa, recruit every semester at the U. of I. U. of I. Corporate policies are supported by a university system that socializes students to "work within the system," to respect the legal procedures of corporate control by a small majority of stockholders, to accede to management (or the Board of Trustees) total control over decisions as to where and how to invest. University students, the future scientist, engineers, business and accounting majors are socialized by the university to compute profits, design weapons, manage stock portfolios, while real policy decisions are controlled at a higher level. These corporate ties, and the socialization role of the university are masked under the guise of the University as a neutral force, an island of "morality."

Therefore divestiture is part of a process of building broad public opposition to apartheid. Divestiture forces the university to take the strongest possible public stand against the role of U.S. corporations and government policies in support of apartheid. In struggling for divestiture we can also attack corporate control over the university.

In line with the close cooperation between universities, corporations, and the U.S. government, several arguments have been advanced against divestiture by the U. of I. officials:

- 1) Loss of American investment will hurt Africans the most
- 2) Present University stock policy is effective
- 3) If the U. of I. sells its stock, someone else will buy it
- 4) Divestiture will hurt the University financially, meaning less money for educational aid grants.
- 5) American corporations play a progressive role in overcoming apartheid

1) As noted earlier, all black organizations in South Africa favor corporate withdrawal. Steve Biko said "The argument is often made that loss of foreign investment could hurt Blacks the most. It would undoubtedly hurt Black in the short run because many of them would stand to lose their jobs, but it should be understood in Europe and North America that foreign investment supports the present economic system and thus indirectly the present system of political injustice. We Black are therefore not interested in foreign investment."

Selby Semela, who helped organize the Soweto demonstrations and student boycott in June 1976 and is now living in exile in the U.S., recently received a letter from some Black who work at IBM in Johannesburg. The letter read in part:

"We work for IBM in the city. The money we make there is our life, even if it is not much. But we know that these American bastards support the government. Vorster is the one who needs them, we do not need them. Even if it means that we will lose our jobs we want the American companies to go home. We are pleased to hear that there are brothers and sisters in America that support us. We have decided that there is really nothing these companies can do to bring change in South Africa. So we decided that they should go home."

And from an interview with Selby Semela this summer:

"Interviewer: Students are demanding that universities divest themselves of all investments in corporations and deposits in banks that deal with South Africa. Do you feel this is the most effective protest the American students can make at this time?"

Semela: Definitely so!...the people working in America really have a great effect on the people of South Africa. It really shows the people who are fighting in South Africa that they are not isolated in the struggle, that there are people struggling with them, and this keeps them pushing."

2) The university, in its present policy implies that it believes that corporations do not play a progressive role in South Africa. This policy states that:

- A) The university will vote its proxies in support of all share holder proposals seeking the following corporate acts:
 1. Termination of further investment in South Africa
 2. Prudent withdrawal of all current investment in South Africa
 3. Provision of information about corporate activities in South Africa
- B) The university will provide a public report concerning its proxy votes
- C) The university will communicate with the management of the corporations expressing university opposition to all corporate activity which supports and/or furthers the policy of apartheid in South Africa

The total ineffectiveness of this policy was demonstrated by its record. Last spring the university participated in five shareholder proposals. Two proposals were withdrawal of investment in South Africa. The Texaco withdrawal resolution received 2.19% of the vote, the 3M resolution only 1.9%. A proposal that Bank of America end new loans and present renewal of current loans to South Africa received support from 4.77% of the shareholders. Two resolutions merely requesting information on loans, the financial effects of loans and loan policy achieved 4.58% of the vote at Citicorp Co. and 4.38% at J. P. Morgan and Co. The average withdrawal resolution receives 2% of the vote, the average request for information on corporate investment and policy receives only 8%. Even this is a joke, Under South African law (NY Times report) it is a crime "for subsidiaries of foreign companies to release information to parent corporations without the permission of South Africa's Minister of Economic Affairs." In such conditions U.S. corporations engage in activities strongly supporting apartheid without the information becoming public.

Obviously the majority of stockholders desire to continue profiting in South Africa. Given the profile of stockholding in the U.S., where a single company like J.P. Morgan controls large portions of the American economy, or where the shareholdings of a few large investors--the Morgan, Duponts, Rockefeller--can control a company against the much smaller shares of thousands of minor shareholders (the U. of I. included), a proxy policy such as the U. of I. policy must be futile. These companies are dependent upon the high rates of profit to be made in South Africa, we can not force corporate withdrawal by playing on their battleground of corporate stockholdings.

Given that such expert investors as the U. of I. administrators are obviously aware of the realities of corporate power, the contradiction between the Boards statements against apartheid and the reality of their ineffectuality is clear. The board has adopted this policy to defuse student, faculty and community protest, knowing full well it threatens neither corporate nor university profits. Only the threat of divestiture, and the actual carrying out of divestiture publicly adds the voice of the university to effective pressure for corporate withdrawal.

3) The argument that if the U. of I. sells its stock another, less "progressive" investor will buy it, is a total irrelevancy. As we have already stated, divestiture is not an economic battle. It is of no concern who buys the stock after the U. of I. sells it. No small, "progressive" investor such as the U. of I. will ever have any effect on corporate policies through the legal means of shareholder votes. The battle for divestiture is a struggle whereby the university community forces the U. of I. to publicly oppose apartheid and its U. S. corporate supporters. As awareness of the nature of apartheid and the interlocking of U.S. government, corporate and university support for apartheid spreads, the divestiture movement will broaden. As more university communities challenge their universities ties to apartheid the divestiture movement, allied with non-campus anti-apartheid activists will become a real political force capable of restricting the options of U.S. government support for the white minority regimes.

4) The spectre of the financial implications of divestiture have no merit at a state funded university. That divestiture of blue chip stocks could decrease dividend returns is a debatable, though irrelevant point. (The top 14 U. S. corporations in South Africa account for 80% of all U.S. investment in South Africa.--Caterpillar, Chrysler, Firestone, Ford GE, GM, IBM, ITT, Goodyear, 3M, Mobil, Texaco, Union Carbide, Standard Oil of California. If the U. of I. is concerned with maintaining its dividends, it could easily do this by balancing investments in other corporations.) In this day, to speak of the loss of stock dividends as weakening U. of I.'s aid to education, is to ignore the attacks on minority recruiting programs, revenue cuts, etc., and to lay the responsibility for funding our universities at the wrong place. We do not

accept the attempts of the University to divide Black and White students, now Black Americans and South African Blacks by pitting U. of I. support for Apartheid against financial aid to minority or poor students. If the University does lose some money through divestiture, the loss must be made up in other areas besides financial aid, or by increased state funding.

University officials have asked why we are singling out South Africa. Should the University also divest stocks of corporations involved in Chile, Iran, South Korea...?

South Africa is a more extreme example of the role of U.S. corporations in the exploitation and domination of countries throughout Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. The U.S. government had supported many repressive regimes such as Iran, South Korea, Brazil, Chile, which deny their people basic democratic rights like political and labor organizing. As in South Africa, the basic motive is to support regimes that will insure supplies of cheap labor (as for U.S. runaway shops to Taiwan and South Korea), cheap supplies of natural resources and no profit restrictions such as taxes on import/export duties.

But at this point, South Africa is the most prominent of these oppressed nations, not only because of the overt racial characteristics of the poor in South Africa, but because the people of Southern Africa are closest to liberating themselves, thus inflicting a severe blow to the worldwide imperialist system. In this they have worldwide support. We are only one part of a worldwide movement on support of the liberation of Southern Africa. The United Nations has passed numerous resolutions against apartheid, calling upon all governments "to take effective action to prohibit all loans or investments in South Africa," and affirming "...the legitimacy of the struggles of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination." Anti-apartheid movements in Europe and the U.S. have extended material and political support.

Hence we have no illusions about "purifying" the University. As long as the existing political, economic, and cultural institutions of the U.S. exist, the University will be inevitably intertwined with them. The University can never exist as a neutral, independent institution.

5) The final argument against divestiture is the same one argued by the U.S. government and corporations against corporate withdrawal from South Africa. This position is exemplified by the adoption by most U.S. corporations of the Sullivan principles (named after Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black minister and director of GM). The Sullivan principles pledge corporations to: nonsegregation of races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities, equal pay for equal work, and training programs to prepare Blacks, Coloreds, and Asians for supervisory, administrative and technical jobs.

The real contradiction in these policies comes from these companies, which are also pledge "to respect the laws of the host country." First of all, the Sullivan principles address mostly petty apartheid (i.e. segregated washrooms and cafeterias). Where they do address real economic relations, they ignore the fundamental need for basic political and economic rights (e.g. the vote, the right to form unions and to strike, free movement without pass restrictions—in other words, all substantial changes that would give Blacks effective power, up to and including majority rule). As Steve Biko put it: "The African people do not want their chains polished, they want to break their chains of slavery."

Even where the Sullivan principles rhetorically address economic reforms, they are blocked by the reality of South African law. No Black may supervise a White. No Black may become an apprentice at a skilled trade. Job restriction laws still preserve many trades for Whites. Where Blacks are allowed into a trade, they still do not work alongside Whites—skilled jobs are then subdivided

with the higher paying portions reserved for whites. Black Unions are forbidden to strike.

Then what has been the effect of the Sullivan principles. The wage gap between whites and blacks is still growing. Acts of compliance with the Sullivan principles are represented by such ludicrous efforts as GM replacing racial signs for segregated lavatories by color coded doors - blue for whites, orange for blacks. Supposed trainee programs, such as the Ford Program (cited in Time Magazine, Sept. 18, 1978) ignore the fact that

- 1) Black workers are grouped in the five lowest pay grades at the Ford plant.
- 2) Ninety per cent of the Africans and two thirds of the coloreds were in job categories paying less than 84¢ an hour.
- 3) There are only six Black foremen out of one hundred. They supervise only black workers.
- 4) The "union" may have a representative at the bargaining sessions. It has no power to make contract demands or strike.

As Ford's labor relations executive in South Africa said in an interview with U.S. journalists, "the master-servant relationship has been a good one here". (Ford has not yet ended its separate eating facilities for whites and blacks. A GM South African plant manager has said, "I don't consider it appropriate to publicly work for changes in the law." As stated in the Time article, GM has recently acted to defeat a unionization drive in its South African plant.

Some U.S. corporations are even directly serving the apartheid regime. ITT supplies communications equipment to the South African police and the Simonstown Naval base. Many U.S. firms, under government and public pressure, continue to pay their white workers their normal salaries while they serve in the South African armed forces. It is clear that these corporations at best will do nothing to jeopardize their profitable operations, while several corporations are actively assisting the white minority regime to stay in power.

Clearly then, U.S. corporations must be forced into leaving South Africa. As students, the demand for divestiture is the strongest action we can take towards this end. We must continue to press the University, until they are forced to publicly divest. The growing political support successful divestiture actions will generate for the people of South Africa, is of concrete aid in their struggle against apartheid and white minority rule. The existence of a broad movement, providing political and material support for South Africa, and the other countries oppressed by white minority rule - Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South-west Africa), will make it more difficult for the U.S. government to expand its support for the white minority regimes, as their rule becomes more threatened by the rising liberation struggles.

Of course divestiture, or any external actions will not end apartheid. The only people who can end white minority rule throughout Southern Africa are those struggling to overthrow apartheid and establish black majority rule.

U of I/ U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

U of I DIVEST NOW!

VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!