

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

A FEW REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING WITH MR. SAL G. MARZULLO
GENERAL MANAGER, INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS,
MOBIL OIL CORPORATION U.S.A.
AND MR. BOB ANGEL, MANAGING DIRECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA
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INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE
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Mr. Marzullo, you and Mr. Angel, are most welcome in Ulundi. I have always appreciated the extent to which you have kept in contact with me and what is happening on the ground in South Africa. Mobil Oil is an international giant and that you have taken the trouble to keep yourself regularly informed by visiting South Africa personally, and exchanging views with me when you do come to South Africa, sets an example to other major corporations whose action affects the poorest of the poor in this country.

I particularly value Mobil's steadfastness in its commitment to remain in South Africa against all the opposition in the United States 'to it doing so. That steadfastness is appreciated now in South Africa and Mobil will yet find that it makes sound business sense. South Africa is not only an expanding market but it is the gateway to the whole of Southern and Central Africa.

The Black South African struggle for liberation from the tyranny of apartheid will succeed and when I talk about it succeeding, I am talking about it succeeding to establish a multi-Party democracy to replace apartheid. When this happens South Africa's relationship with its neighbouring States will radically alter. The South African economy which the majority of Black South Africans are committed to preserve during the struggle for liberation, will then really come into its own. Not only will there be massive economic development in this country but neighbouring States and States as far afield as Central and East Africa, will at last have the circumstances in which they can finally liberate themselves from the tyranny of poverty, ignorance and disease.

South Africa is on the continent of Africa; it is part of Africa and is a participant in African history. Everywhere in the whole of Southern Africa and Central and East Africa, there will be spin-off benefits from economic growth in this country. - I can envisage a massive economic back-bone running down from Brazzaville through Lusaka and then through Harare and °Barone to Cape Town.

I am very aware that there is a strong tendency for international businessmen to withdraw from the world's trouble spots knowing that when problems are solved, they will still be in demand. I am also, however, deeply aware that however intractable First World/Third World problems appear today they will have to be tackled sooner or

later. The role that free enterprise then plays in facilitating these solutions will be affected by the role that they play now in the Third World.

I believe that major corporations such as Mobil Oil owe it to themselves and to their shareholders to develop medium and long term interests in South Africa. That they do so serves Black South Africa's immediate interests. The struggle for liberation in this country is fired by the frustration of Black South Africans who bump their heads against apartheid's ceilings during their upward mobility in society. The contributions that foreign-owned companies have made to the development of their Black personnel in this country have therefore also been contributions to the generation of Black bargaining power. It is when Blacks bump their heads against apartheid's ceilings that they seek to develop bargaining power. :

Those who develop bargaining power because their job horizons and their professional horizons have been expanded by employment opportunities and the training that comes with them, will continue to serve their vested interests within the framework of the free enterprise system after liberation. The idiom of future politics is being established right now in South Africa.

This is something that those who argue for disinvestment should stop to think about. We can either bring about change through violent means or through the politics of negotiation which reconciles the race groups of this country. Both are being attempted and whichever succeeds will put an indelible stamp on future politics in this country. I am often deeply distressed when I realise the extent to which many Americans are unaware of the extent to which the politics of confrontation aimed at making South Africa ungovernable are actively working to destroy all prospects that the Great American Dream could also become a Great South African Dream.

People who campaign for the acceptance of disinvestment are so frequently unaware that sanctions which they see as a last resort for peaceful means of bringing about change is actually a first step towards abandoning peaceful change. They should stop and ask themselves why it is that bloody-minded revolutionaries who see the prospects of peaceful change as threatening their revolutionary intentions and their intentions to set up a one-Party, Socialist/Communist State, cry out the loudest for sanctions against South Africa. They support sanctions because they know it is not a last step in peaceful change. They support sanctions because they want the economy destroyed. They support sanctions because they want Black South African's desperation increased to the point that people have nothing to lose. They want anarchy to prevail after the economy has collapsed because it is in anarchy that they can establish themselves as forces unsurpassed in their ability to wield brute force.

These are not ideological statements; they are not political propaganda statements. They are statements by a concerned South African about the future of the country. What we do now and how apartheid is finally eradicated, will lay the foundations for what kind of society we are going to have in the future. I draw on world-wide experience when I say that successful revolutions do not end up setting up open democracies. They certainly do not set up multi-Party democracies. More often than not, revolution is followed by counter-revolution and more often than not, successful revolutions leave the masses worse off than they have ever been before. I do not want that experience repeated here in this country.

I see society as a totality in which its various components are interdependent. I want a multi-Party democracy; I want the rule of law; I want a sovereign Parliament with an independent judiciary. I want freedom for the press; I want freedom of political association and I want all the great freedoms. I know, however, that a multi-Party democracy, the rule of law and freedom of political association invariably hang together with a free enterprise economy. They all form one idiom of politics and government . You cannot have the one without the other. Because I want the things I want for South Africa, I must necessarily also want free enterprise to be liberated from apartheid.

I believe I speak for the vast majority of Black South Africans when I express these sentiments. Blacks vote with their feet in support of these sentiments everywhere in South Africa every day. The fact that there is not a single factory out of production and the fact that the country's transportation system, its electricity and water supply systems are entirely intact bears testimony to the fact that Black South Africans vote with their feet in favour of the sentiments I have expressed.

Inkatha is a mass movement in which internal democracy ensures that people at the grass root level have the political power to appoint Inkatha's leaders and to dictate Inkatha's tactics and strategies. There is no other Black organisation as representative of Black South Africa through its members, as Inkatha is. Each and every year Inkatha votes unanimously to reject the strategy of disinvestment which Blacks wish to employ.

Mr. Marzullo, I am not saying these things because I believe that Mobil Oil needs a lecture on what it should be doing in South Africa. I am saying these things in appreciation of a bold stand that Mobil has taken on the South African issue. You, Mr. Marzullo, are Chairman of the signatories to the Sullivan Code and you are intensely aware of the pressures which have been mounted in the United States to get US companies to withdraw from South Africa. You do not need any lectures. I say what I say, as a tribute to Mobil.

I believe that not only have foreign investors played a positive role in recent years in harmony with the captains of industry in South Africa, as they have sought to do something to assist in bringing about change, but also that circumstances are now emerging in which their voice could be ever-increasingly more important. As a Black strategist I am aware of the extent to which the South African Government's privatisation programme is going to add to the importance of business in South Africa.

I say this not only because there will be more business for business, but I also say this because it is quite clear to me that the State President and the South African Government have finally put themselves in a position where they are now increasingly susceptible to pressure from business. The State President has had to conclude that the South African Government does not command the resources to bring about change and to make change meaningful to ordinary Blacks. Part of the responsibility of making change meaningful to Blacks has now passed to business. The Government is in business to govern and Parliament must necessarily pass the laws which make change a reality. If it does so, however, the businessmen of South Africa will have to bear their fair share of the burden by making the changes that are legislated for in Parliament, meaningful to ordinary Black people.

It would be suicidal for big business not to influence changes and not to influence the circumstances which these changes bring about. It is in these changed circumstances that big business will sink or swim, on its ability to make profit and to make profit in such a way that the changes brought about are meaningful to Blacks. If business is going to play a vital role in the South African economy less hampered by legislation and regulations, then they must now see to it that that vital role is made manageable. The Government has declared its dependency on business and businessmen have now inherited new circumstances in which it and the Government work towards making the economy manageable.

Apartheid is doomed; there is no question about that. White minority rule is doomed and there is no question about that either. There will be a new South Africa and the new South Africa will remain being locked into the global north/south axis. We want the multitude of ties which this axis makes possible extended and strengthened. It is not an economic axis. It is one of "the world's political axes. It is a cultural axis. It is a sporting axis. It makes no sense to deny the reality of this axis for the future of South Africa.

Multi-national corporations which remain on here on the ground and which participate in the re-shaping of South Africa, will earn their right to make profits in the future.

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