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A FEW REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING WITH MR. B.J. GRIERSON, PRESIDENT, QUEBEC IRON & TITANIUM, MR. J.C.E. WEBSTER, EXECUTIVE-VICE PRESIDENT STANDARD OIL OHIO, MR. H. FLINT, DIRECTOR ., EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CLEVELAND STANDARD OIL, MR. M. THIBODEA, VICE-PRESIDENT HUMAN RESOURCES AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS Q.I.T.,

MR. McPHERSON, MANAGING DIRECTOR AND MR. F. UYS, MANAGER GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS RICHARDS BAY MINERALS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE ULUNDI. 2 MARCH 1987

I am always very pleased to meet top and senior people in overseas holding companies with South African investments. I am aware of the immense pressure which is brought to bear on Boards of Directors by various lobbies demanding that companies divest themselves of their South African interests. I take a keen interest lin how companies deal with this pressure because in South Africa, there are many millions of Black workers for whom the disinvestment debate is not academic. I am a constituency leader. I really do head a mass democratic political organisation, Inkatha. It lis democratic lin every sense of the word. It has over 1.3 million members, the vast majority of whom are workers and it is they who finally decide who represents them at the Inkatha Annual General Conference which endorses or rejects the public stances of Inkatha's leadership. I am in touch with workers and the unemployed and at the mass rallies I address, where tens upon tens of thousands of Blacks gather to support the aims and objectives and the tactics and strategies of lInkatha, I receive standing ovations when I speak on their behalf in opposition to disinvestment as a strategy Blacks endorse.

I, like every Black leader, take opinion polls seriously but like every person with his feet on the political ground, I am aware that opinion poll findings must be interpreted in the context of the respondent's life, and prevailing opinion climate in the country. I have to look at opinion poll results on the question of disinvestment against the background of the way in which Blacks vote with their feet on the subject. If we break away from point and counter-point, and not only take cognisance of interpretation and counter-interpretation of opinion poll results on the disinvestment issue, and include in our framework of analysis indisputable behavioural fact, one comes very, very clearly and easily to the conclusion that Black South Africans reject disinvestment as a strategy they wish to endorse.

When you read misleading media representations abroad about South Africa, you would be quite entitled to believe that the country is on the verge of going up in smoke. When one looks at the undeniable facts, however, one must question media representations. Not a single railway bridge in South Africa is today destroyed. Not a single rail route is not in full operational use. The

country's electricity supply grids are totally intact. There is today not one single factory which is not producing because of worker opposition to its existence. These facts speak for themselves and they speak of a Black worker population who are not clamouring to have their places of work closed. I could take you on a tour of factory areas in every South African city on a Monday morning and show you the thousands of workers seeking work who are gathered around the gates of factories owned by foreign investors. They are not voting with their feet adding to the pressure on boards of directors to divest themselves of their South African holdings.

My message to Q.I.T. is that the workers of Richards Bay Minerals want Q.I.T. continue investing in R.B.M. They value their jobs. They value the prospects of technical and other training while they are working there. They value the security that enlightened company policy provides to workers, and at the same time, they loathe apartheid, they want it destroyed and they want the normalisation of South Africa as a modern Western-type industrial democracy.

Such workers who are employed by Richards Bay Minerals, and any other enterprise in South Africa, must protest against apartheid and it is this spirit of protest which is measured by opinion polls asking about disinvestment as a strategy against apartheid. People are not 11ineal in the dimensions of their mind and their perceptions. Workers must and do protest but workers must and do work s They value both work and protest but what workers really want now today is shown how they vote with their feet. Every Black township in the country shows the extent to which people demand at least the minimal degree of normality which enables them to earn money and commute to do so. They want to live a life which enables them to do the best they can to keep starvation at bay and educate their children so that future generations may find greater relief from poverty, want and ignorance than the present generation of Black South Africans have done.

Black South Africans demand progress and there is a deep-rooted drive amongst them to seek that progress by full entry into the country's social, economic and political 11life. That is a healthy drive and the <closer one gets to the core of Black political gravity in South Africa, the more focussed on normalising South Africa that drive becomes. It is an awareness of this central political fact that has led the ANC Mission in Exile and its working partners in South Africa, the UDF and COSATU, to indulge in the politics of intimidation. They have found that Black workers cannot be reasoned out of their commitment jobs and the companies who employ them. They have found that Black workers cannot be reasoned out of their commitment to the free enterprise system and because they have discovered these things, they have adopted tactics and strategies which attempt to escalate internecine Black-on-Black conflict and to generate every possible source of political intimidation.

We as Black South Africans are drawn into a deadly battle for minds about the future of our country and political decency in the struggle for liberation now has to survive against very problematic intimidatory politics, fully supported by the Kremlin, Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Colonel Qhadaffi. Decency has also to survive with the additional moral support forthcoming from so many Western pressure groups demanding the recognition of the legitimacy of the forces of violence in the country.

I sadly understand the dilemmas of boards of directors in the Western world who have business interests threatened elsewhere by publicity campaigns against apartheid and I can understand, again sadly, how their own financial interests can become threatened by disinvestment lobbies. Companies which withdraw from South Africa now are, however, doing so for their own sakes and not for the sake of the struggle which is being waged in our country for the liberation of its Black citizens.

There must be pressure on Pretoria from the international community, and particularly from the West but when that pressure moves to threaten an end product of change which the West itself hopes for, then it becomes counter-productive. It is not productive to rap Pretoria over the knuckles and in doing so end up bashing Black South Africa over the head. It is not productive to destroy the foundations of economic advancement in this country and leave the kind of unmanageable mass poverty which has been proven to be the enemy of democracy throughout the world. And it is tragic that the disinvestment lobbyists in the West are so often such very nice people adopting protest stances against apartheid in terms of their own domestic Party political vested interests. Disinvestment lobbyists may put Party political pressure on your Prime Minister, President Reagan, Mrs. Thatcher, Dr. Kohl and Mr. Chirac. ;

The call for disinvestment makes nice news copy and it is a very convenient Party political football in Western countries. However, boards of directors who accept the international responsibility of capitalism and Western-type democracies, need to weather the storm which disinvestment lobbyists create and continue doing that which will sooner or later help in establishing the kind of South Africa which will take its rightful place in the company of Western industrial democracies in the international community. My plea to Q.I.T. is to weather the storm. Decent Black South Africans have no option but to weather the storm. Be our allies in the crucial battle which is now being fought about whether or not South Africa will emerge as a Western-type industrial democracy, or as a socialist, one-Party State.

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