



EMBASSY OF SOUTH AFRICA
3051 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

25 March 1985

Dear Congressman Crockett,

With several disinvestment bills affecting South Africa before the Congress, I thought you might find interesting, for the light they shed on the severe impact these measures would have on Blacks in South Africa, the enclosed comments on disinvestment by black South African leaders, trade unionists, and opposition political parties in South Africa. All of these voices oppose disinvestment. While there are differing views in South Africa on the nature and speed of reform, even the majority of critics of the Government oppose disinvestment.

I also enclose a brief summary of political, economic, labour and social reforms in South Africa which may give you a perspective of current changes and developments in the country.

If I can provide any further information as to the impact of these measures on Blacks in South Africa and on the movement for reform in South Africa, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

B.G. Fourie
Ambassador

The Honorable
George W. Crockett, Jr.
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THE PACE OF CHANGE
IN
SOUTH AFRICA

POLITICAL

NOVEMBER, 1983 - BLACK VOTERS ELECTED MAYORS AND TOWN COUNCILS TO GOVERN THEIR COMMUNITIES NATIONWIDE.

NOVEMBER 2, 1983 - NATIONAL REFERENDUM CONDUCTED IN WHICH THE THEN ALL-WHITE ELECTORATE OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVED A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION THAT EXTENDED THE NATIONAL FRANCHISE TO NON-WHITES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY.

AUGUST 1984 - VOTERS OF THE COLORED AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES WENT TO THE POLLS FOR THE FIRST TIME TO ELECT DIRECT REPRESENTATIVES TO PARLIAMENT.

JANUARY 25, 1985 - MULTIRACIAL, TRICAMERAL SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT CONVENED. WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS, ENJOYING EQUAL FRANCHISE, PARTICIPATE JOINTLY IN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE FIRST TIME.

JANUARY 25, 1985 - IN A SPEECH OPENING PARLIAMENT, STATE PRESIDENT BOTHA:

- ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE PERMANENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA OF THE URBAN BLACK POPULATION,
- AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE RIGHT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BOTH THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND IN MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE,
- INDICATED THAT THE QUESTION OF CITIZENSHIP WOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH BLACK LEADERS,
- ANNOUNCED THAT A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH BLACK LEADERS TO DEVELOP CONSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR BLACKS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

FEBRUARY 1, 1985 - THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED DISCONTINUATION OF RESETTLEMENT OF BLACK COMMUNITIES, THEREBY ABANDONING SO-CALLED "BLACK-SPOT POLICY".

FEBRUARY 8, 1985 - DOWNTOWN COMMERCIAL DISTRICTS NATIONWIDE OPENED TO ALL BUSINESSMEN IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE.

FEBRUARY 1985 - AMNESTY, CONDITIONED ONLY ON A RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL ENDS, OFFERED TO AND REFUSED BY NELSON MANDELA AND OTHERS SERVING PRISON SENTENCES FOLLOWING CONVICTION OF SABOTAGE.

ECONOMICS AND LABOR

1979 - 1984 DESEGREGATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND WORKPLACE. BLACK AND MULTIRACIAL TRADE UNIONS LEGALIZED. OF 200 TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY, 79 ARE MULTIRACIAL, 21 ARE BLACK, 43 ARE COLORED AND 57 ARE WHITE. JOB RESERVATION FOR WHITES ELIMINATED IN 1983. RIGHT TO STRIKE AND TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY PROTECTED BY STATUTE; APPRENTICE SYSTEM OPENED TO BLACKS; EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HIRING BECOMING COMMONLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE. ALL REFERENCE TO RACE, COLOR OR SEX REMOVED FROM ALL LABOR LEGISLATION. FACTORIES AND OFFICES DESEGREGATED.

1970 - 1980 RISE IN BLACK INCOME AND EMERGENCE OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS. IN THE 10 YEARS, 1970 - 1980, BLACK SHARE OF TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME IN SOUTH AFRICA RISES FROM 25 PERCENT TO 40 PERCENT, AND BY 1985 IS NEARLY 50 PERCENT. BY 1982, BLACKS OWN 227,000 CARS, UP 16 PERCENT FROM 1977.

SOCIAL

EDUCATION

BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS RISE FROM 105,000 TO OVER ONE HALF MILLION 1970 - 1980; SPENDING ON BLACK EDUCATION INCREASES 230 PERCENT 1975 - 1980, ANOTHER 51 PERCENT 1980 - 1981, AND IS STILL RISING. THE LITERACY RATE FOR BLACKS AGED 12 - 22 IS 80 PERCENT.

HEALTH

SOUTH AFRICA TRAINS MORE BLACK DOCTORS THAN ANY OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY; OFFERS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH SERVICES ON THE CONTINENT; PROVIDES COMPLETE TREATMENT TO ALL PATIENTS AT A NOMINAL FEE OF SOME \$2,00; INFANT MORTALITY IS THE LOWEST IN AFRICA; SOUTH AFRICA HAS THE HIGHEST DOCTOR-PATIENT RATIO IN AFRICA.

HOUSING

SINCE 1975, TWO BILLION DOLLARS SPENT TO BUILD NEW HOMES FOR URBAN BLACKS, AT A RATE OF 100 HOUSES PER DAY. HOME OWNERSHIP OPENED TO BLACKS IN 1982.

OPINIONS ABOUT DISINVESTMENT EXPRESSED BY SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK AND OPPOSITION LEADERS

MANGOSUTHU GATSHA BUTHELEZI (THE LEADER OF MORE THAN 5 MILLION ZULU PEOPLE AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA, THE LARGEST BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION) - "HAVING COME FROM A PEASANT BACKGROUND AND HAVING BEEN IN POLITICS FOR SOMETHING LIKE THIRTY YEARS, I AM IN A POSITION TO TALK ABOUT BLACK SOUTH AFRICA WITH, I HOPE, SOME AUTHORITY... INKATHA (IS) A MASS MOVEMENT WITH WELL ABOVE 750,000 CARD-CARRYING MEMBERS ... INKATHA WAS BORN IN 1975 AND ROSE LIKE A COLOSSUS THROUGH THE 1976-78 PERIOD OF BLACK CIVIC PROTEST...IN THE DEMOCRATIC MECHANISMS AND PROCEDURES WHICH SO STRONGLY CHARACTERIZE INKATHA I AM MADE INTIMATELY AWARE OF BLACK PUBLIC OPINION. INKATHA IS AS REPRESENTATIVE OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS OF RURAL SOUTH AFRICA... (I)T IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF BLACKS SUPPORT THE DISINVESTMENT LOBBY." (ADDRESS IN DURBAN, SEPTEMBER 1983)

"I UNDERSTAND THE MORAL INDIGNATION OF THE WORLD AND I AM GLAD FOR IT. HOWEVER, DISINVESTMENT IS A WRONG STRATEGY, AND WILL DO NOTHING TO AID THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

"FOR ME THE FIRST QUESTION THAT MUST ALWAYS BE ASKED IN THE DISINVESTMENT DEBATE IS WHAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA THEMSELVES SAY ABOUT IT. I HAVE YET TO MEET A (BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN) WORKER WHO FAVORS DISINVESTMENT... (D)ISINVESTMENT WOULD STRIP US BARE. SO I MUST CONCLUDE THAT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE DISINVESTMENT DO SO IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF WHAT BLACK PEOPLE THEMSELVES THINK". (FORTUNE, JULY 27, 1984)

LUCY MVUBELO (PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF CLOTHING WORKERS, ONE OF THE LARGEST BLACK UNIONS) "I AM A WORKER AND TRADE UNIONIST LIVING IN SOWETO WHO KNOWS HOW THE ORDINARY AFRICAN WORKER SUFFERS UNDER THE DISCRIMINATORY EFFECTS OF APARTHEID...

"TO PROPONENTS OF ISOLATION, DISINVESTMENT, AND EMBARGOES I MUST SAY: DON'T BREAK OFF CONTACT, AND DON'T ADVOCATE DISENGAGEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS. ONLY INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS - THE TRADE UNIONS, THE POLITICAL GROUPINGS, THE SCHOOLS, THE BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS -- WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA CAN BRING ABOUT SIGNIFICANT, POSITIVE CHANGE. OUTSIDERS CAN INFLUENCE IT, BUT ONLY THROUGH PARTICIPATION, NOT BY ISOLATION." (FOREWORD TO THE POLITICS OF SENTIMENT, BY RICHARD SINCERE, 1985)

TRADE UNION COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA (MULTIRACIAL AND LARGEST TRADE UNION FEDERATION) - "TUCSA BELIEVES THAT ANY ACTION OF THIS SORT (DISINVESTMENT) WILL HURT THOSE IT IS SUPPOSED TO HELP. TUCSA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT MOST BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT A POLICY WHICH MUST LEAD TO FEWER JOBS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT. THEY WANT EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN A FREE AND EXPANDING ECONOMY NOT UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY."

RASHID ALLI (GENERAL SECRETARY OF MUSLIM BUSINESS LEAGUE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA) - "WE ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO ANY FORM OF DISINVESTMENT OR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS FOR IT IS VERY WELL FOR THOSE 'INDIVIDUALS' TO LOBBY FOR IT WITH THEIR FULL STOMACHS AND THEIR POCKETS FULL OF COINS - HUNGER IS AN EXPERIENCE - POLITICAL TALK IS A PREROGATIVE - HUMAN BEINGS ACT, CARE AND FEEL AT ALL TIMES - POLITICIANS TALK, AND PERFORM ONLY DURING THE STORM'. " (A LETTER TO MUSLIM BUSINESSMEN DATED DECEMBER 13, 1984)

RICHARD MAPONYA (BLACK COMMUNITY LEADER AND BUSINESSMAN) "FOREIGN COMPANIES COULD, THROUGH PARTNERSHIPS, HELP BLACKS TO GET STARTED IN BUSINESS WHERE IT WOULD OTHERWISE BE IMPOSSIBLE AND BY INVESTING IN BLACK COMMUNITIES, FOREIGN FIRMS COULD HELP COMMUNITIES, GENERATE THEIR OWN CAPITAL." (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR OF JANUARY 30, 1985)

JOHN NKADIMENG (GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS) - "ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ONLY WORSEN THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS." (RAND DAILY MAIL, MARCH 1, 1985)

SAM MOTSUENYANE (CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL AFRICAN FEDERATED CHAMBER OF COMMERCE) - "I BELIEVE THAT INSTEAD OF PUTTING THE ACCENT ON DISINVESTMENT, CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ALTERNATIVES SUCH AS GIVING DIRECT FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO BLACK HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS: OR THE CHANNELING OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS INTO WORTHWHILE BLACK BUSINESS ACTIVITIES. THIS IS CERTAINLY ONE OF THE WAYS IN WHICH CONCERNED AMERICANS COULD HELP TO GENERATE GROWTH WHICH WILL PLACE THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN A BETTER POSITION TO BECOME A VIABLE PART OF THE COUNTRY'S FREE ENTERPRISE ECONOMY". (IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY'S SPEECH AT THE CARLTON HOTEL, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA ON JANUARY 8, 1985)

PHILIP DHLAMINI (GENERAL SECRETARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK MUNICIPALITY AND ALLIED WORKERS' UNION) - "TOTAL DIS-INVESTMENT COULD CAUSE SEVERE HARDSHIP. WE THEREFORE ADVOCATE PRESSURING COMPANIES TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS. WE'LL SUPPORT DISINVESTMENT IF IT WILL BRING GENUINE CHANGE, BUT AT THIS STAGE WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT IT WILL BRING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE," (WASHINGTON REPORT ON AFRICA OF JANUARY 15, 1985)

HELEN SUZMAN (CIVIL RIGHTS SPOKESWOMAN FOR THE OPPOSITION PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT) "THERE IS A SIMPLE APPEAL IN THE COURSE OF ACTION THAT ADVOCATES DISENGAGEMENT FROM ANY FORM OF ASSOCIATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA...THIS RELIEVES THE CONSCIENCE, BUT IT ALSO DILUTES ANY INFLUENCE OVER FUTURE EVENTS...THE RECENT AMENDMENTS (BY REPS. SOLARZ, BERMAN AND GRAY)... COULD BE MORE DAMAGING. IF REFORM IS THE OBJECTIVE IT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE...THE DETERMINING FACTOR (IN REFORM) HAS BEEN - AND I AM CONVINCED WILL CONTINUE TO BE - ECONOMIC PRESSURE FROM WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA; THE STEADY UPWARD MOVEMENT INTO SKILLED OCCUPATIONS BY BLACKS, EVENTUALLY GIVING BLACKS THE MUSCLE WITH WHICH TO MAKE DEMANDS FOR SHIFTS IN POWER AND PRIVILEGE..." (THE WASHINGTON POST, OP-ED PAGE, MARCH 22, 1984)

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER (PROFESSOR, CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL) "BLACK PRODUCTION WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE NOT LIKELY AT THIS STAGE TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAMMES ABROAD TO PROMOTE WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN OR MORE SPECIFICALLY UNITED STATES CAPITAL FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY." PROFESSOR SCHLEMMER'S SURVEY FOUND THAT 75 PERCENT OF THE WORKERS OPPOSED DISINVESTMENT. (CONCLUSION BASED ON SCIENTIFIC POLL OF BLACKS IN INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA PUBLISHED IN "BLACK ATTITUDES, CAPITALISM AND INVESTMENT", AUGUST 1984)

PIROSHAW CAMAY (GENERAL SECRETARY OF MULTIRACIAL COUNCIL OF UNIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA) - "TOTAL DISINVESTMENT WAS NOT GOING TO WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA". (WASHINGTON REPORT ON AFRICA OF JANUARY 15, 1985)

OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY LEADERS IN BOTSWANA, SWAZILAND
AND LESOTHO ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

PETER MMUSI (VICE-PRESIDENT OF BOTSWANA) "CERTAINLY BECAUSE OF ANY ECONOMICAL SANCTION, WORLD ECONOMICAL SANCTION, BOTSWANA BEING SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOUR AND HAVING BEEN SO DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA LIKE MOST OF THE OTHER INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES AROUND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SUFFER." (COMMENT DURING TELEVISED INTERVIEW WITH JOURNALIST OF SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, FEBRUARY 1985)

PRINCE MADTSITSELA (CHAIRMAN, SWAZILAND DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION) "BUT THE PAIN OF IT ALL IS (THAT) THE SUFFERERS IN THE REGION WOULD BE THE BLACK PEOPLE. BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, BLACK PEOPLE IN LESOTHO, IN BOTSWANA, IN SWAZILAND WHO MAINLY LIVE ON WAGES FROM THESE INDUSTRIES..." (COMMENT DURING TELEVISED INTERVIEW WITH JOURNALIST OF SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, FEBRUARY 1985)

DESMOND SIXISHE (MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF LESOTHO) "OUR POSITION IS THAT IN THE EVENT OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA THESE PEOPLE WHO WILL ADVOCATE SUCH MOVES SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH MOVES ON LESOTHO..." (COMMENT MADE DURING TELEVISED INTERVIEW WITH JOURNALIST OF SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, FEBRUARY 1985)