

of the man he defeated at the polls, Jorge Carpio Nicolle, whose National Union of the Center will hold the second largest bloc of votes in the new Congress. "We know that our role is to be in the vanguard of defending the new democratic system," Mr. Carpio said after conceding defeat.

The outgoing chief of State, General Oscar Mejia Victores, has also wished the civilian Government well. He says he does not object to Mr. Cerezo's plan to disband the feared Technical Investigations Directorate, which has been accused of involvement in political kidnapping and torture. He hinted, however, that officers would continue to follow political developments with interest.

"I am not God," Mr. Cerezo warned after his victory, "and I am not going to perform miracles in this country." The new leader went on to say that he was taking at face value the army's pledges not to obstruct his Government. "If I finish my term, it will be because they obeyed," he told reporters, "and if I do not, it will be because they did not obey, in which case we will talk in Miami."

LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 17, 1985

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring the plight of South African unions to the attention of my colleagues.

The freedom of association is a privilege which many Americans take for granted. Our workers are permitted to choose whether they wish to be represented by a union, or whether they wish to maintain an open shop. This choice is made without government harassment, and is protected by Federal statute.

South African workers do not enjoy this privilege. They live in a country which officially suppresses any expression of opposition to the status quo. Black miners who are building a growing union movement are closely watched by the government, and many have been arrested for their anti-apartheid sentiments. However, this National Union of Mineworkers continues to grow rapidly. As its strength grows, so does its influence. Considering that the vast majority of workers are black, it is very likely that the trade union movement will soon be at the forefront of the freedom movement.

Mr. Speaker, we must understand that freedom will come to South Africa. Time is running out for apartheid, and leaders who advocate change are being heard more and more by young activists. A truly free labor movement would be a gigantic step in the right direction. We must encourage them if we are to bring about a peaceful demise of apartheid.

I would like to submit the following article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was written by William Lucy, the International Secretary-Treasurer of AFSCME. I urge my colleagues to read it closely.

LINKS OF FREEDOM

(By William Lucy)

The Free South Africa Movement is making "Voodoo II"—the second term sequel of Ronald Reagan's presidency—any-

thing but a re-run. That's bad news for the government in Pretoria, which has found refuge in the administration's southern Africa policy of "constructive engagement." It's bad news too for companies and banks that exploit cheap black labor in South Africa but say they abhor the social system of legalized discrimination that makes their fat profit margins possible. But it's goods news in the townships, in the squatter camps, in the mines and in the schools of South Africa, where the institutions of apartheid are most oppressive and most despised.

Reverberations of the Free South Africa Movement have also reached the black trade unions in that county. Very appropriate, because it was the arrest and detention of twenty-one black South African trade union leaders last November that ignited the mass public demonstrations in the U.S. against both apartheid and the administration's policy in the region.

In an era of single issue campaigns, the Free South Africa Movement is not just another "cause." It is a direct and creative political tactic, one rooted in the long tradition of conscientious dissent. The Free South Africa Movement has been an antidote for the state of political comatose that has threatened to seize the opponents of a teflon President. It has recruited new cadres of activists and inspired veterans in all other movements for social change in the U.S.

Perhaps the Free South Africa Movement's most valuable contribution has been to focus national and local attention on the shameless bankruptcy of American foreign policy toward people of color who are fighting for peace and their right to self determination. But once again, the administration has tried to walk away from its own policy failure, this time by closing the American liaison office in the Namibian capital of Windhoek, which was set up to monitor the South African troop withdrawal from Angola.

But U.S. policy in Southern Africa is being regularly exposed to an American audience that is repulsed by what is seen as ugly flashbacks to the days of Bull Conner, to the days when black American citizens were routinely beaten, tortured, murdered, jailed and denied their civil right. One opinion poll has found that nearly 41 million adults who know about the daily demonstrations in front of the South African embassy supported them. Divestment campaigns have mushroomed throughout the country, buoyed by this groundswell of opposition to apartheid and our own government's cozy relationship with such a racist and undemocratic regime.

This upsurge clashes with those who believe that apartheid can and is, indeed, withering away. Some paternalistically point to the alleged harm that disinvestment by U.S. companies operating in South Africa would have on black workers there. Better to rely on economic growth or the Sullivan Principles, or more unions for black workers. Better for black South African unionists and workers to stick solely to economic reform, leaving the racist social order of apartheid intact. This kind of strategy is both reactionary and untenable, and merely serves to camouflage support for an unjust and oppressive status quo. It is also being articulated at a time when black South African workers and their unions have emerged as a strategic and unified political force, one increasingly empowered to cripple or shut down the economy. The Two Day Stay Away, which was organized last November in less than a week by a coalition of trade unions, student groups and community and political groups, paralyzed South Africa's in-

dustrial heartland. This explicitly political strike drew the support of one million workers, even though union members number only about 300,000.

The working class movement in South Africa now has reached the point where black unions have grown five times more rapidly than white unions since the government was forced to offer limited recognition to black unions in 1979. The fact is that the entire South African economy would collapse if all black workers were to go on strike for about three days. The leadership role of black trade unions, therefore, is critical. It is also the reason why more than 400 black trade unionists were detained by South African authorities between 1981 and 1983.

But it is too late. Our union brothers and sisters are already clutching the jugular vein of the South African economy: the mineral-rich sector. Only seven weeks before the 5-6 November 1984 general strike, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) shook the industry and the government to their roots, with the first legal strike by black mineworkers in South African history. Although the strike was settled within three days—after seven miners were killed, 500 injured and mine property worth millions of dollars destroyed—the tremor remains alive.

Nearly 40 percent of South Africa's GNP is derived from foreign trade, gold accounts for about 50 percent of the nation's export earnings, and the mining sector is by far the largest single source of government tax revenues. The fact that black mineworkers' wages average only one-sixth (\$160 per month) of white workers' wages may—just may—have something to do with this profit bonanza.

But then there is the other side of the ledger. The NUM, which was formed only three years ago, represented four percent of the mining workforce in 1983. Last year that percentage shot up five-fold to 20 percent of South Africa's half million black miners.

Under the banner of the Free South Africa Movement, organized labor in the U.S. will continue to step-up its anti-apartheid campaign. Since day one when this movement began, organized labor has grown with it, marched in it and celebrated each blow struck for freedom and self-determination in South Africa.

Apartheid is seen as an enemy of American workers. Strategic minerals imported from South Africa help satiate the Pentagon's nuclear weapons orgy, while social programs are strangled to death. South African steel imports have been increasing 5,000 percent in the last ten years, while hundreds of thousands of American steelworkers have been especially hard hit by apartheid exports. A major study by Steelworkers Local 65 in Chicago found that 30 percent of the white former steelworkers laid off from U.S. Steel Corporation's South Works plant in 1979 are still unemployed; among black workers the rate of joblessness is at 61 percent after five years. This tragedy is even more bitter because the South Works plant produces steel beams identical to those imported from South Africa to construct a new state building in Chicago—in their city and paid for with their state tax dollars.

Thus, as the spotlight of anti-apartheid resistance sprays out from the success of the Free South Africa Movement, the American labor community will continue to bring light to its members the deep connections between the fight against Reagan's "constructive engagement" foreign policy and his anti-worker policies at home, and the

