

TUC

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BEATING APARTHEID

*The current crisis in South Africa
— and the TUC's programme of action.*



Illustration: ICFTU

TUC

Trades Union Congress

THE FREEDOM CHARTER-

We the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour race sex or belief

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together - equals countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race colour or sex;

All bodies of a minority rule, advisory boards councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE

EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practise of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All the people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture goods, and to enter all trades crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors, and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers.

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm-prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;
No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be for serious crimes only committed against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

All who work shall be free to form trade unions to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others to work

Child labour, compound labour the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life

All cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens.

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES SECURITY AND COMFORT

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres.

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all,

The people of the protectorates -

-Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland-

shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of the peoples of Africa to Independence and self government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation

Adopted at the Congress of The People at Kliptown Johannesburg on June 25 and 26, 1955.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY AS WE SAY HERE - "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR SIDE BY SIDE THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WON OUR LIBERTY!"

BEATING APARTHEID

**The current crisis in South Africa
- and the TUC's programme of action.**

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Opposite: Charter presented to Trevor Huddleston

TUC

Trades Union Congress

1. BEATING APARTHEID

On July 17 Ron Todd and Norman Willis left for South Africa, the first General Council representatives to visit the country since 1973. They went as members of the most senior delegation from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions ever to be assembled.

The delegation was unusual in its scope. As well as the TUC General Secretary and Chairman of the International Committee, it also included Ernst Breit, President of the West German DGB; Lane Kirkland, President of the American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organisations; and Kaare Sandegren, from the Norwegian LO, representing all the Nordic confederations, as well as John Vanderveken, ICFTU General Secretary. They were the representatives of eighty million trade unionists: what they saw, and their subsequent testimony to their colleagues at home, will greatly assist in spreading the word that apartheid must end — and that workers everywhere must press that that end be soon.

They went to extend practical support to the independent trade union Movement in a time of intense pressure. Trade union offices in all parts of South Africa had been raided; all trade union meetings, strikes, and boycotts were banned; worst of all, more than three hundred trade unionists, national officers, shop stewards, and members were detained without charge.

The arrests and harassments had been common to the experience of many trade unionists in South Africa for years. But the imposition on June 12 of a new state of emergency — this time across the whole country — marked a new pitch of intensity in the repression. The ICFTU and the TUC were main sources of information about the names of people detained, using links with South Africa built up over many years before. The TUC made sure that the brave people in South Africa who were prepared to defy the blanket censorship by naming detainees succeeded in that aim.

But more was needed from the British trade union Movement. In July the TUC held a briefing conference to inform unions of ways in which help was being extended in South Africa and ways of giving further assistance. Denis Healey, who had recently returned from a visit to South Africa in a Labour Party delegation, addressed the conference. Meetings were held also with representatives of the African National Congress (ANC). Norman Willis had met Oliver Tambo in November. The acting ANC President had welcomed TUC support for the independent unions. In

Advance Briefing

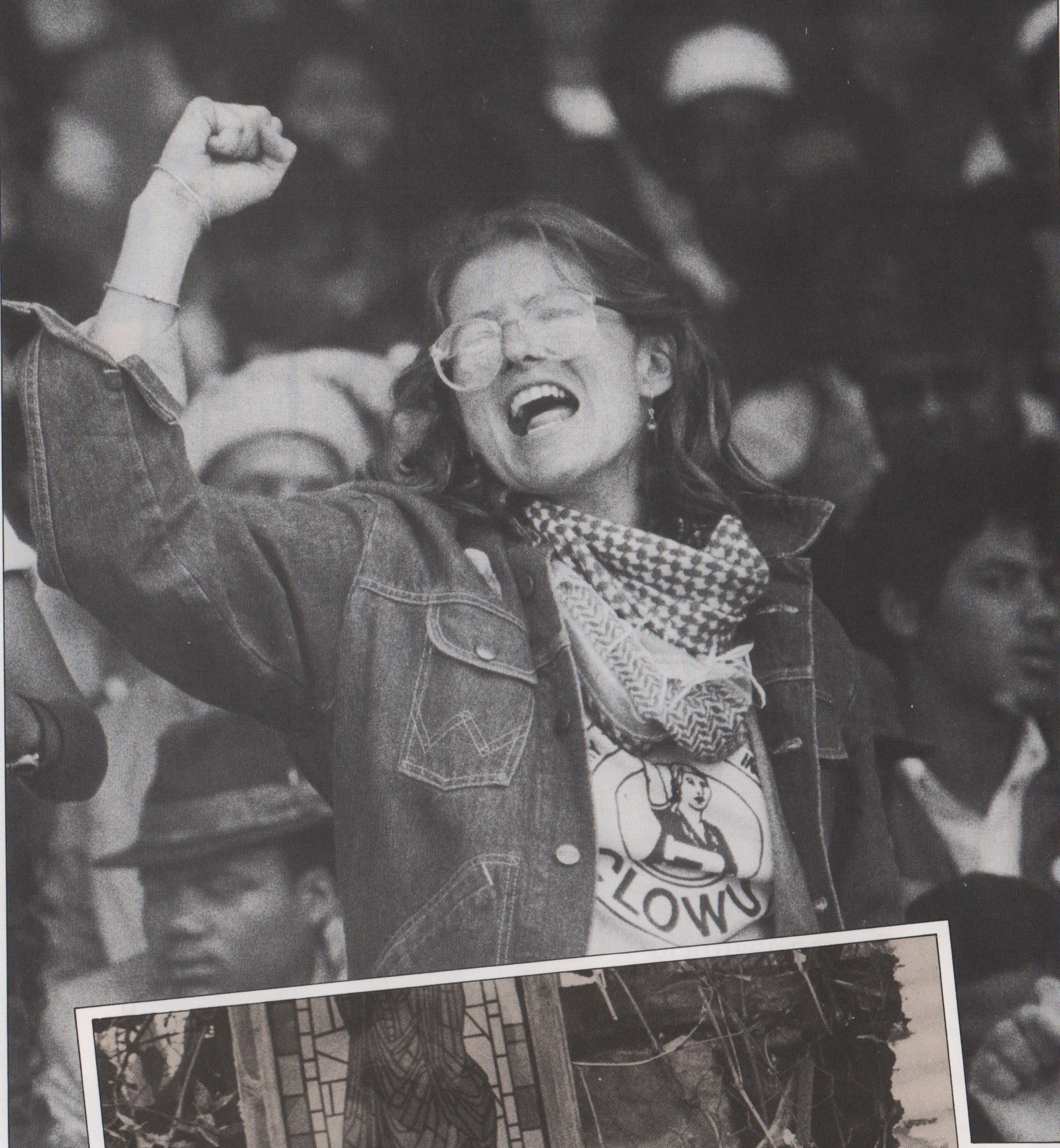
■ **Left:** The faces of young South Africa. **Above:** celebrating the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions at the University of the Western Cape. **Below:** the children of Alexandra township in their local park.

■ **Right:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions delegation meet Bishop Desmond Tutu. (From **Left to Right**) Lane Kirkland (USA), Ernst Breit (West Germany), Norman Willis, John Vanderveken (ICFTU), Ron Todd, Kaare Sandegren (Norway), Michael Walsh (TUC International Dept).



Orde Eliason: Link

Gill de Vlieg: Link



July the subject was the delegation to South Africa. The TUC also met the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and Terry Waite, the personal representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury who had also recently returned from South Africa. The TUC had many contacts with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and with Council of South African Trade Unions (CUSA). The message from South Africa was that a visit by TUC representatives, on their own or as members of an ICFTU delegation, would be most welcome.

- It would demonstrate the support of trade unionists outside for the oppressed inside the country;
- It would give a boost to efforts to secure the release of detainees;
- It would enable the independent unions to say what practical assistance they needed from overseas;
- It would enable the trade union Movement outside to see what apartheid really meant for black people; and
- It would give black working people the opportunity to say what action they wanted from governments to end apartheid.

The Results

The ICFTU delegation succeeded in its aims. Time and time again trade unionists and other opponents of the regime said that the visit strengthened them. As Bishop Tutu put it:

"It is already a great help to them (the independent trade unions) for the Government to know that they have powerful friends overseas".

The lawyers acting for detainees wanted as much publicity as possible to be given to their names outside South Africa. The delegation met the families of detained trade unionists. They named them before the media in South Africa. They publicised the cruelty of the regime against detainees. Many had been beaten up, some were tortured. The delegation saw the scars. Since the visit two of eight detainees on whose behalf the delegation made representations, have been released.

The unions also set out their needs. They want no let up in the messages of support. They need funds for the invaluable and effective legal work on behalf of detainees. They need funds for the relief of the families of detainees. In the midst of their adversity they talk about their organisational shortcomings and their need for trade union training to equip them to build and to become more effective.

But most of all, they value contacts. The General Council representatives cannot overestimate the value to them of union delegations going to South Africa — shop stewards as well as national officers and general secretaries. But the TUC must be enabled to brief unions on this: and visits, which should be at the invitation of independent unions, must serve a clear trade union purpose. That done, the visits can only give encouragement and hope.

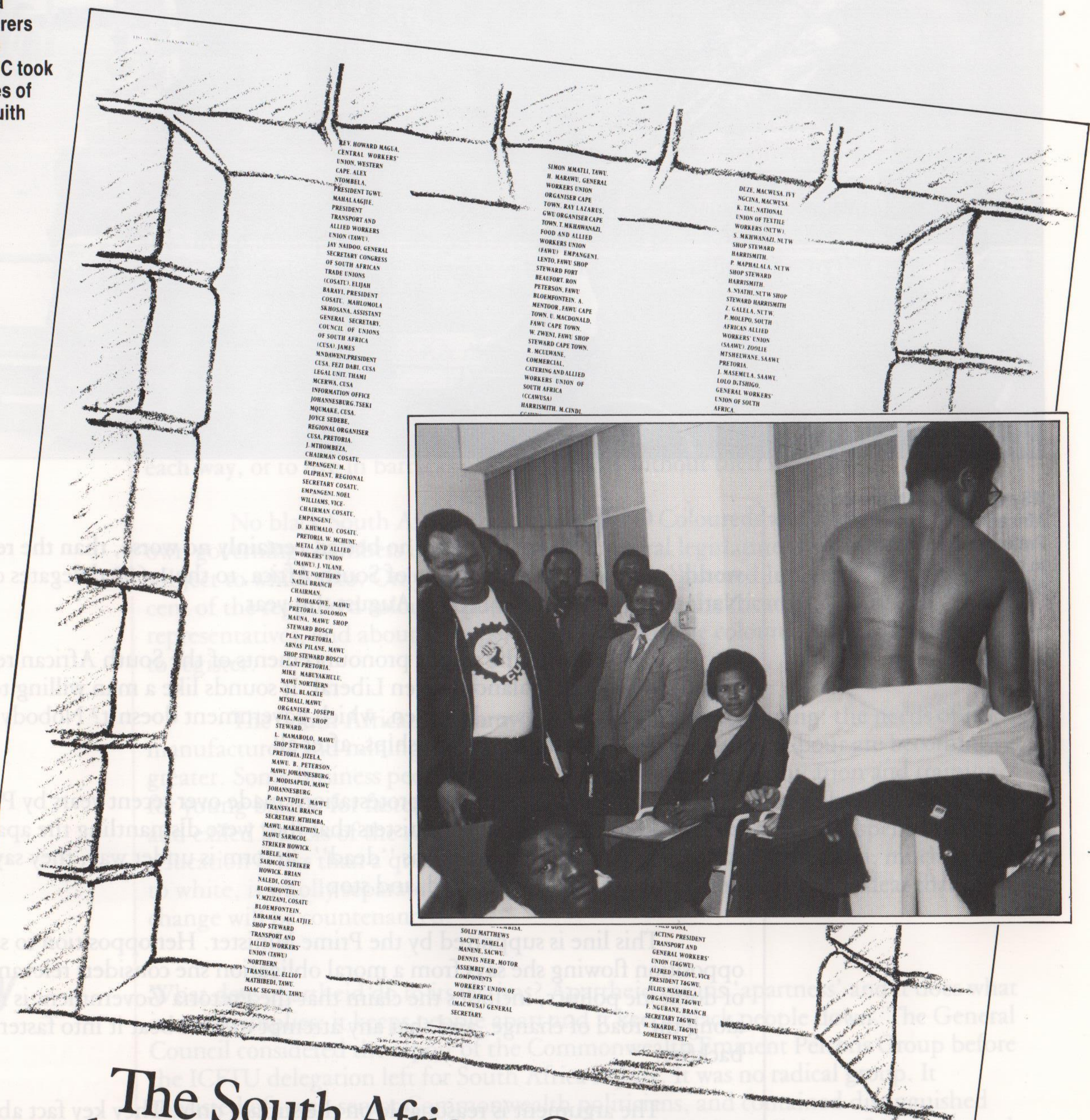
The delegation also — albeit for a brief time — began to feel what it was like to be black in South Africa. In the squalor of Alexandra and Soweto the TUC representatives were stunned: at the contrast with the white suburbs only a short distance away, at the inhumanity and destitution of conditions in the hostels, at the display of intimidation by the army and the police.

For all the guns and armoured vehicles, for all the indiscriminate violence of the security forces black people spoke freely about sanctions. To a man and a woman they wanted South Africa to be isolated. Several singled out the British Government

for scorn and disgust at its failure to disassociate itself from the regime by practical action. They were well aware of Mrs. Thatcher's words about the immorality of sanctions. They knew that sanctions would bring new suffering on them but, as one CUSA official told the delegation: *"the casualties of the inhumanity of apartheid alone have the right to prescribe the remedy"*.

Another trade unionist when asked about the losses he would suffer from sanctions looked around at his squalid surroundings in Soweto and asked "What is there to lose?" For others the issue was as simple — people would have to suffer, but they were suffering already and would suffer more to gain freedom which was the paramount objective.

■ Members of the ICFTU delegation see the physical evidence of the Botha regime's official torturers and, **background:** the advertisement the TUC took to publicise the names of those detained in South African jails.



The South African Government would rather the world forgot these names.

Many hundreds of trade unionists are among the thousands of people detained by the South African authorities. Despite the efforts of the South African Government to prevent the world finding out what's happening, over 100 names have already reached this country. More people are being arrested every day.

They have not been charged with any crime. They have been denied access to lawyers. And their families have no information concerning their whereabouts.

With the situation in South Africa continuing to deteriorate, there is now genuine concern for their safety. Which is why we are publishing their names. Because the more people that know about them, the less likely they are simply to disappear. You can help by urging your local MP to press for their release. You don't have to be a trade unionist to be concerned about the imprisonment of innocent people.

THIS ADVERTISEMENT IS PLACED BY THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS, WHICH REPRESENTS 14 ORGANISATIONS WITH A TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 80 MILLION IN 92 COUNTRIES.

2. WHAT APARTHEID IS



Orde Eliason: Link

■ Symbols of white power. African workers pass a Pretoria monument erected to honour Paul Kruger and his Boer Republic.

“We are probably no better, certainly no worse, than the rest of the world”. So said President Botha of South Africa, to the 1,600 delegates of his ruling Nationalist Party on the 12th of August this year.

Like many of the public pronouncements of the South African regime, it sounds reasonable, balanced, even Liberal. It sounds like a man willing to admit his government has faults — but then, which government doesn’t? Nobody’s perfect: the world’s full of nasty dictatorships, after all.

It is of a piece with the protestations made over recent years by President Botha and other Nationalist ministers that they were dismantling the apartheid system: even, that the system was “dead”. Reform is under way, they say: be patient: don’t rush us, or we’ll get mad, and stop.

This line is supported by the Prime Minister. Her opposition to sanctions, an opposition flowing she says from a moral obligation she considers relevant to few areas of domestic politics, includes the claim that the Pretoria Government is now moving along the road of change, and that any attempt to browbeat it into faster progress will backfire.

The argument is reasonable on the surface only. They key fact about apartheid is that it remains what it has been for nearly forty years: a system where a minority of whites can rule a majority of blacks without the latter’s consent, achieved by dividing all non-whites into separate and often artificial groups which have no say in the policies which affect their life.

There are indeed some nasty dictatorships in the world: but none secures its domination by systematically excluding all citizens of the dominant ethnic group from any political power. None has the apparatus of **separate development**, ensuring white rule and white wealth, based explicitly on racism. There are many societies where racism is practised: there are none where it is preached, officially, over and over again, against the bulk of that society’s members.

Division and subjugation

It is true the system has undergone some alteration. But the fact of white rule of black, Indian and coloured majority remains essentially untouched. The experience of President Botha’s reform is that it will remain untouched. Apartheid is just too privileged, too profitable, too entrenched to be given up voluntarily. Left to itself, apartheid is forever.

It infects the whole region. Namibia is under the control of the Apartheid regime. It ruthlessly and arrogantly attacks its neighbours to the north through armed raids and economic pressures.

Apartheid in its present form stems from 1948, when a Nationalist Party Government came to power and passed the Group Areas Act confining peoples of different ethnic groups to their “own” areas. In order to effectively confine people, they had to be classified according to race. The whites are treated as a whole: but the Indians and coloureds are divided into seven groupings, while the blacks are divided into ten “national units”. In this way, the white minority becomes merely one in a “nation of minorities”: and it is on this that President Botha bases his often repeated claim that true democracy in South Africa can only be served by balancing the interests of the various minorities. Because of the way in which apartheid has been constructed, and the virtual monopoly the whites have on political power, on business and on property, “balancing the interests of the minorities” simply means the perpetuation of white power.

The Groups Areas Act meant the removal of millions of blacks to newly designated “homelands” — homelands which are now, one by one, made “independent” — Ciskei, Transkei, Boputhatswana, and Venda. In the homelands, independent or not, men seeking work in towns either have to travel up to **five hours each way**, or to live in barracks or shanty towns without their families.

No black South African citizens can vote. Coloureds and Indians have their own governing chambers in the so-called tricameral legislature, but all decisions are subject to white veto. Only twenty per cent of the registered Indian and thirty per cent of the registered coloured populations voted for the tricameral legislature’s representatives, and about forty per cent of the eligible coloured population refused to register.

The South African economy is, like every other, changing: the needs of its manufacturers and mining and mineral companies for skilled labour are becoming greater. Some business people have been pressing for better education and training for young blacks, for faster liberalisation; a group has even held talks with the banned and exiled leaders of the African National Congress. But the amount spent on black education is less than a quarter of that spent on white: black education, much inferior to white, is wholly separate from it: and the Government has made it clear that no change will be countenanced.

The Injury

What does apartheid do to its victims? Apartheid means ‘apartness’ and it does what its name implies: it keeps people apart and it keeps black people down. The General Council considered the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group before the ICFTU delegation left for South Africa in July. It was no radical group. It consisted of seven senior Commonwealth politicians, and contained distinguished Conservative politicians: Malcolm Fraser, the former Prime Minister of Australia and Lord Barber, Chancellor under Edward Heath, from 1970 to 1974. It contained a former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo; and Dame Nita Barrow, President of the World Council of Churches.

They opened their report with the words: “None of us was prepared for the full reality of apartheid”.

Ron Todd and Norman Willis had also read much about the injustice and cruelty of the South African system. They had an advantage — not open to the Commonwealth group — of being in regular and friendly contact with South African

Alexandra and Soweto

trade unionists over a period of years. Yet they and the other members of the ICFTU delegation could have used precisely the same words to describe their impressions of apartheid.

Coming from the opulence of the centre of Johannesburg to Alexandra barely twenty kilometres away they experienced two entirely different worlds. Alexandra is one the oldest townships in the Johannesburg area. It was racially integrated until the Group Areas Act forced out the coloured and Asian people. The wide road through the leafy and tranquil suburbs changes to a narrow, pot holed dirt track when it crosses the Alexandra boundary. Then the squalid, huddled shacks come into view.

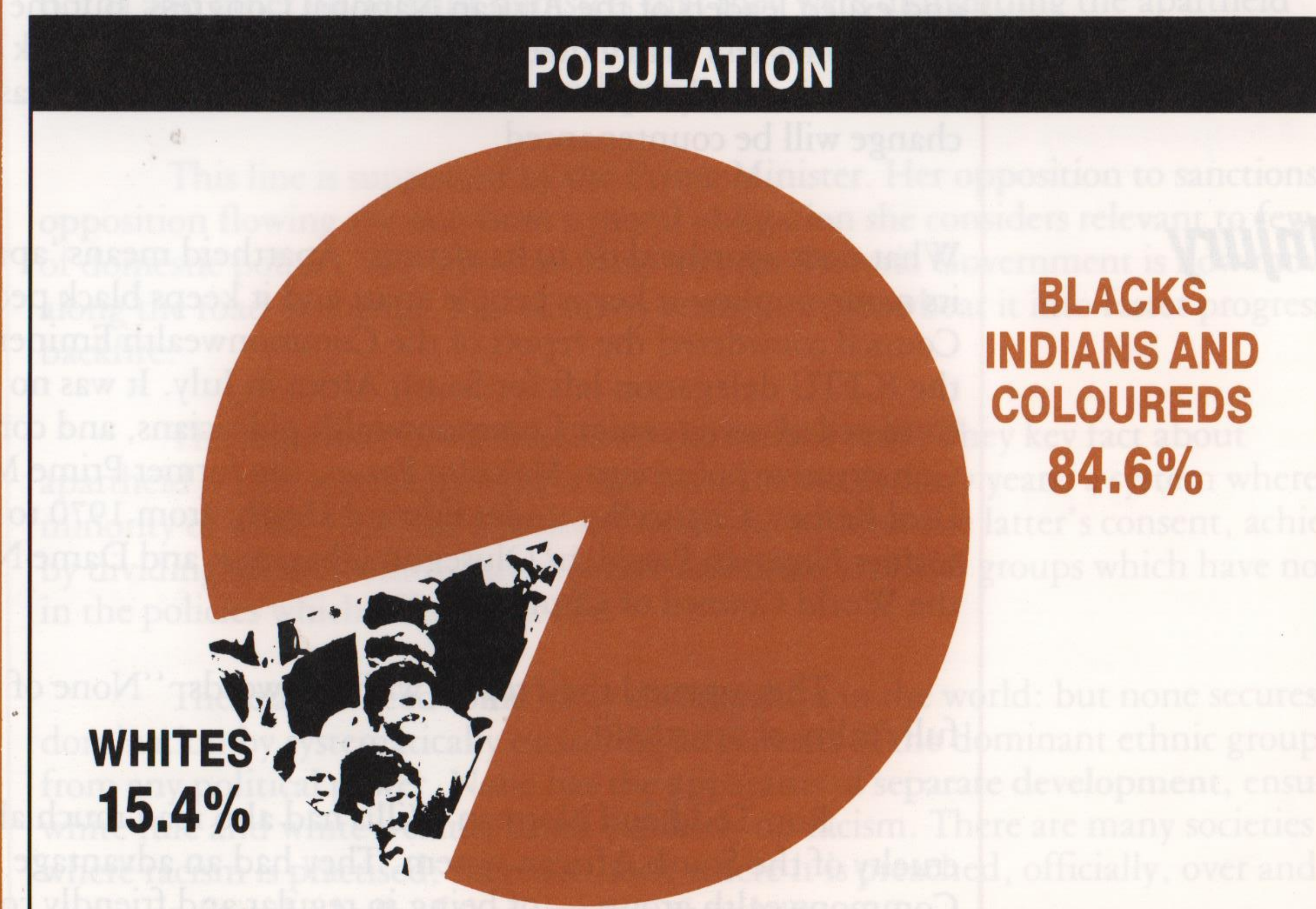
But Alexandra is not a squatter camp. Families pay rent for permanent accommodation without proper drainage or sanitation. Stand pipes protrude at intervals along the littered streets. Several diseases are endemic and there is an exceptionally high rate of child mortality.

The children old enough to know about white men in Alexandra ran away on seeing the delegation until their parents told them that these white visitors at least would not hurt them. From the families and from the men living in a hostel the delegation heard what life was like there. They saw a hostel for single men — mostly men separated from their families who live in the homelands on other parts of the country and whom they see once or twice a year. The dark and forbidding hostel was surrounded by an eight-foot fence, topped with barbed wire. It consisted of one vast room bare of any covering or comfort. Rusting iron beds with nothing to hide their metal springs were the only facilities. There were no cupboards, tables, or storage space. Clothing was hung from the ceiling on hooks. Curfew was at nine in the evening and there was nowhere else to go if it was broken.

In Soweto the picture of squalor was similarly repellent, the stench was overpowering. Soweto is much bigger than Alexandra — about two million people live there. Many of the buildings are of brick but they are all tiny about twelve feet square. They were much too small for family living and overcrowding is rife. These were the homes of people who in many cases worked in plants of multinational companies; including British based companies.

Behind the obvious economic achievements of the society — built up on the labour of a largely black working class — lies a persistent and pervasive tragedy: the tragedy of continual deprivation, man-made, deliberate, enforced. Generations of black people

POPULATION



The National Picture

LAND OWNERSHIP OR OCCUPATION



live and die in the narrowest, deepest poverty — while the fruits of their labour create a huge wealth in which they cannot share, a privileged society in which they have no say.

The figures tell some part of the story. There are 26.5m blacks, Indians and coloureds. There are 4.8m whites. In percentage terms, that means 15.4 per cent of whites to 84.6 per cent of blacks, Indians and coloureds.

Yet the whites own or occupy 86.3 per cent of the land to 13.7 per cent for the rest: the minority white population, through the workings of the apartheid system, has made South Africa into a "white" country in law.

Wealth shows the same contrast. The white population receive some 60 per cent of total disposable income: the rest is for the vast majority, who are thereby condemned to poverty.

Most employers in South Africa say that they are opposed to at least some elements of apartheid. In the workplace, the signs of apartheid are less obvious than in the townships and the cities, and in the countryside. There is plenty of low pay and dangerous working conditions — but some evidence, too, that employers understand that apartheid is bad for business. But they have not used their economic and political power in a concerted way to push the regime to make radical changes. They draw back at the crucial stage.

Generally many whites are aware of these disparities and injustices, some wish to change them. There are many courageous white citizens, in South Africa or exiled from it, who have worked for change, and thrown in their lot with the trade unionists and others who are in the van of the struggle.

Opposition among the privileged

■ Security forces stifle opposition from any quarter.



3. HOW WE HELP

Trade unionists have always stood for freedom. Freedom to form unions, to organise working people, to negotiate, to disagree, to take industrial action in the last resort. Trade unionists, in this and other countries, have always been the first to argue for and support an extension of freedom — so that wider sections of the population can be enfranchised, both politically and economically. Trade unionists believe in real freedom: in the freedoms to vote, organise, speak and publish — and in the creation of a society where citizens are progressively freed from want and hardship, from economic compulsion. They see too that restrictions on freedom anywhere are a threat to freedom everywhere else. That is why international trade union co-operation is essential.

That is why we oppose apartheid with the full force of the ICFTU, representing more than eighty million trade unionists round the world. We who have achieved some of the goals we have set ourselves feel at one with fellow workers struggling to achieve even the most basic of rights. Active international trade unionism is always part of the struggle to extend freedom: in the South African struggle. **We are all engaged.**

Training

Because of the historic relationship between Britain and South Africa, first forged in imperial times, our unions, often through the TUC, have played a larger role than other national union centres in bringing comradeship and practical support to the growing unions of South Africa.

As the new workers' organisations began to gain a foothold in the early seventies, the TUC made contact with their leaders: in September 1973, a TUC delegation visited them in South Africa: the visit marked the beginning of nearly a decade and a half of deeper, richer involvement in their concerns and their struggles.

The TUC assists in a number of overlapping ways. First, it helps with trade union education — training trade union representatives in organisational skills. Second, it provides direct relief to the unions themselves. Third, it puts pressure on the companies which employ South African workers, many of them multinationals, many of these with their headquarters in Britain. Fourth, the TUC puts pressure on our own Government — and, though various trade union international centres, on Commonwealth, West European and other governments as well. Fifth, the TUC is taking a leading part in campaigning for the economic isolation of South Africa.

Funds

Most of the money the TUC sets aside for training overseas trade unionists has gone to South Africa for years: the General Council made the area a priority long before it became a priority for the media.

South African trade unionists tell what they want from the TUC in training needs: then it supplies as much as we can. In the last year the following organisations have benefited: the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, CUSA, the Urban Training Project, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa. Representatives of COSATU told the TUC in March that they saw trade union education inside South Africa as a force for consolidating unity and building up resistance to attacks. They said that they would look to the TUC for help. Representatives from COSATU will come to Britain to study regional education structures to help it to establish its own system.

This work has meant helping with courses run in South Africa in basic education skills, trade union administration, and collective bargaining, as well as



■Members of the South African NUM who have played such an important part in the trade union struggle.

Funds

health and safety. Many trade unionists have visited Britain for courses run by the TUC and by British unions. In running these courses, new relationships have developed between British and South African colleagues: they know each other well: they are friends as well as brothers.

At Congress last year, the General Council launched an appeal for funds to help the South African National Union of Mineworkers in its dispute with the mining companies: the appeal raised more than £40,000. The NUM won important victories in the mines, gaining reinstatements of dismissed workers and compensation for others. The TUC gave a further £10,000 to the Metal and Allied Workers' Union for the relief of members who had been fired by the UK-owned company BTR.

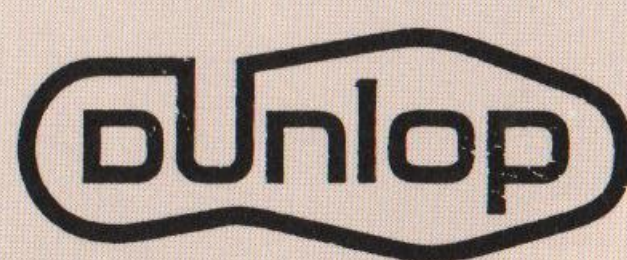
In March of this year, the General Council set up the May Day Centennial Fund to help the trade unionists who are particular victims of the new wave of repression — and the TUC has already sent £1,500 to the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, 180 of whose members were dismissed and whose homes were destroyed by their local authorities. A further £500 was given to two COSATU representatives who have to work underground to enable them to keep their families. With the help of the ICFTU in August the TUC provided £50,000 for legal assistance to COSATU.

Every year, the TUC compiles a list of British companies who have subsidiaries in South Africa, and an analysis of how they treat their workers. It often makes dismal reading — often, the companies do not even match up to the minimal standards set out in the Code of Conduct of European Community governments. Often, the pressure the TUC have put on those companies who are paying badly, or have particularly bad conditions for their workers, or are in dispute with their unions, has worked, and conditions or pay have improved. South African unions involved in disputes with Dunlop, ICI, Norcros, BL, Lucas and other groups have all said that British trade union pressure helped win their cause. Sometimes the pressures fail.

During the last year the TUC and British unions helped MAWU to negotiate a pay settlement with GEC. The TUC and unions have also stepped up pressures on BTR to negotiate a settlement with the Metal and Allied Workers' Union. Its South

African subsidiary BTR Sarmcol had dismissed 970 people after a strike of three days for recognition. The company still refuses to deal fairly with its employees. The case has gone to the Industrial Court. BTR like Rowntree-Mackintosh and Shell before it refused to bow to union pressure to negotiate settlements with independent unions. Instead they have tried to smash the unions — unions which had achieved a majority of members among their black employees. The TUC has also raised with Unilever its refusal to negotiate an agreement with the Food Beverage Workers' Union about pay for leave on May Day. The President of CUSA was arrested and detained in the dispute.

■ Household names in Britain. They are also well known to South African workers.



BARCLAYS



Little trust in European Code

The TUC has little trust in the Code. It is intended by governments to give an impression that the involvement of European companies in South Africa is accelerating positive change, that European employers are in the van of progress. The British Government has consistently refused to accept TUC proposals to make the Code a useful instrument of policy. In 1986 again the Government released its brief report on the performance of British companies on Maundy Thursday, a time calculated to attract the least possible attention in the media. It again refused this year to name the companies paying their employees below the minimal levels proposed. It refused to use its undoubted power to make BTR come to terms with MAWU in the Sarmcol dispute.

The TUC alone has analysed the record of British companies for years. It alone has named the companies failing to comply. What influence the code has arises from TUC work.

In November the European Community governments announced that the Code had been revised. The TUC was not consulted about the changes but the Chairman of the International Committee and the General Secretary did see Mrs Chalker, Minister of State, in February to discuss the format to be followed by companies in reporting. The TUC pressed the Government to demonstrate that it really was serious by penalising companies not observing the Code. There was still no sign in the White Paper issued in July that the Government would do so.

It is depressing, but not surprising that the TUC had less success in pressing for action with the British Government than with at least some companies. Our Government has attracted world wide odium for its reluctance to countenance any action which would hurt the Pretoria regime. The TUC has run up against the brick wall of Government indifference for years.

In two meetings with the Foreign Secretary in 1985, in frequent meetings with officials, in public and private protests, in speeches and press releases, the TUC General Secretary and other union leaders have called for Government action, called for moral leadership, demanded a recognition of the plight of the South African black population.

The TUC took the lead in the European Trade Union Confederation in calling on European Community governments in June to apply effective economic sanctions against South Africa. Norman Willis has repeatedly called for sanctions, most recently at the Commonwealth summit in London in August. The TUC has joined with

International Pressure

■ The case for sanctions: the TUC advertised in the national press at the time of the Commonwealth Summit.

Commonwealth trade unionists in the Commonwealth Trade Union Council and with COSATU and CUSA representatives to concert pressures for sanctions. The Prime Ministers of the Bahamas and Australia used the meetings with the CTUC to mass further arguments for sanctions based on the first hand testimony of the South African representatives and the TUC's impressions during the visit. When Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia reversed his decision to pull out of the Commonwealth if Britain did not support sanctions, it was after talks with the CTUC — and with other groups, all of whom assured him that the TUC and other trade unionists were at one with him, not with the British Government. The other Commonwealth governments failed: but then, so has everyone else.

Most of the TUC's work has been complemented by that of other national centres in the ICFTU which has co-ordinated assistance. It has helped build up international approaches against BTR and Shell.

The ICFTU will provide more than £1 million in 1986 for relief, training, and legal aid for the independent trade union Movement in South Africa. It has also provided the TUC with substantial resources for campaigning activities. The determination of the international trade union Movement, including the South African Movement, is summed up in the practical ICFTU programme also titled *Beating Apartheid (Appendix B)*.

Ron Todd was a member of the ICFTU delegation which met representatives of the newly-formed COSATU in Gaborone in April to discuss relations and assistance. The COSATU representatives recognised the need for co-ordination of assistance by the ICFTU although they preferred to receive help directly from national centres.

THE CASE FOR SANCTIONS ACCORDING TO P.W. BOTHA.

Opponents of economic sanctions say that they will have no real effect on the South African government. P.W. Botha has said as much himself. But when it comes to dealing with governments of which he does not approve, Mr. Botha has taken a quite different view. In the case of Lesotho, for example, he imposed sanctions that amounted to a total blockade. And he didn't lift them until the government had been overthrown and replaced by a military ruler he found more acceptable. Ironically, one of the ways the previous government had upset Mr. Botha was by supporting the idea of sanctions against South Africa. At various other times the South African government has exerted economic pressure or imposed punitive sanctions on Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and Malawi. Nevertheless, Mr. Botha still insists that sanctions against South Africa will not work. He says they will only bring hardship to the black people they are intended to help. (A view that has been echoed by the opponents of sanctions here in the UK). But black South Africans have repeatedly said that they are willing to endure the consequences of sanctions. Because, unlike the hardships endured every day under Mr. Botha's regime, sanctions offer hope. They also offer the only real alternative to a downward slide into civil war. As time runs out, the few remaining opponents of sanctions may find it instructive to examine the actions (as opposed to the words) of P.W. Botha.

Who are we helping?

South Africa has developed, mainly in the last decade, a rich and diverse trade union culture with which the TUC have strong links. Of the 6m or so black workers, about 900,000 are members of independent trade unions — around 15 per cent of the workforce. That's not a large number, but it is still growing, in spite of increased repression. The absence of political life for black workers means that unions often have to carry their political aspirations as well as their need for representation at the workplace. They are deeply rooted in South African society: they cannot be uprooted.

The largest centre is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), with some 600,000 members — of which the Mineworkers, with some 260,000 members, is by far the largest affiliate. The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) has around 180,000 members; while the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (Azactu) has around 90,000 members. There are other independent unions representing black working people which are not affiliated to any national centre.

These unions are strongly organised in engineering, transport, food and textiles as well as in the mining sector, on which the wealth of South Africa is largely based. They are the most effective trade unions in the whole continent of Africa.

All of these union sectors, together with the 400,000-strong independent unions, believe that the international community must impose sanctions in order to force the regime to lighten the burden of repression. They make these calls, in spite of the fact that merely to say so in South Africa is an offence, for which many trade unionists have been jailed.

These organisations are democratic, responsible bodies: their members, many of whom run risks to be members, are ordinary working people who know from personal experience what deprivation and hardship are. Yet they are united and they are effective. As Bishop Tutu put it "They are the cutting edge of the struggle for liberty".

This is the action we have taken, and continue to take: these are our friends and allies against apartheid. One day, they will share in the government of their own country. It is the proud duty of British trade unionists to assist the coming of that day.



■ A torrential downpour did not dampen the spirit of those taking part in the TUC vigil outside Marlborough House.

4. THE GROWING CRISIS

We are witnessing an ultimately irresistible revolt: the revolt of a people cut off from the most elementary freedoms and dignities, "yearning", as the motto on the Statue of Liberty puts it, "to breathe free".

This revolt is being met by force: the South African state, well armed, brutally policed, has no scruples about using its might to suppress rebellion where it occurs. Its opponents — the rising black population — have no weapons: there is no strong internal guerrilla movement as there was in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. But "law and order" is, in large areas in South Africa, simply non-existent: and it will get worse, for all the force used.

There is a second crisis facing the South African regime: the economic one. President Botha has told the Nationalists that sanctions will make the economy stronger: it's a transparent lie, since if it were true, his Government would have imposed the effects of sanctions itself in order to assist the economy. In fact, South Africa is facing the deepest economic and financial crisis in its history.



Orde Ellason: Link

Forced migration

The stripping of millions of black men and women of their homeland under the Group Areas Act was conducted by force: it was, and is still, one of the biggest forced migrations in world history. From the late 1940s, when the Act came into force and the apartheid apparatus was set in place, the South African regime took steps to deal with the reaction they knew would follow: for, since no human beings could be expected to accept such cruelty, apartheid had to rely on a system of coercion and spying which was designed to kill, torture, or incarcerate all who showed a spark of resistance, every organised centre of dissent.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1952 was a prime tool in the state's hands: under it, anyone who resisted was first branded communist, then locked up. When, in 1952, a campaign of peaceful resistance was launched, its 20 leaders were charged under the Act — most had had no connection with communism whatsoever. In 1955, the newly formed African National Congress, together with Indian, coloured and radical white groups, adopted "The Freedom Charter of South Africa" during a Congress of the People held at Kliptown, near Johannesburg. It is a document of great power — the more so since it remains unfulfilled. Its opening passage reads:



IDAF

■ Most of the troops defending apartheid were not born when Nelson Mandela was jailed



IDAF

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the people of South Africa to know:

- *that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;*
- *that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of Government founded on injustice and inequality;*
- *that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;*
- *that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief."*

African National Congress

For promulgating that, 156 black leaders were arrested and tried for treason — a word as elastic in its use in South Africa as communism. When, on March 21st, 1960, the ANC and the rival Pan African Congress organised a protest in Sharpeville against the pass laws, the police lost control and opened fire. The death toll was 69: all black.

The ANC, till then committed to non-violence, adopted a "fight fire with fire" position and went underground. In 1964, ten men were convicted on a charge of sabotage: one of these was a man who has become a legend, first in South Africa, then the world: Nelson Mandela. Mandela explained to the court why the ANC had adopted its policy of sabotage: he refused to renounce violence. Twenty-one years later, offered his freedom after more than two decades of grinding imprisonment, his answer was the same. "I am," he said in February last year, "*in prison as the representative of the people and the African National Congress, which was banned. What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people is banned?*"

Mandela is now 68. His lawyer told the ICFTU delegation in July that he exercised for two hours every day, that he is outstandingly fit, and visitors talk of his immense dignity and personal power. The manner of his imprisonment, and more than that the courage with which he has borne it, have marked him out as a symbol of all his people.

Violence, sporadic and often spontaneous, continued in the 1960s and 70s. Legislation grew more, rather than less, repressive: the 1982 Internal Security Act enforced a clamp on unrest tighter than anything before: it included, in section 29, the provision for indefinite detention for "interrogation" which often became a synonym for torture, even death. The courts, to a limited extent independent of the state apparatus, have in general been unable to prevent the worst abuses.

These pressures, always growing, composed the present explosion. The state of emergency, lifted in March of this year, was re-imposed in June. Detention without trial, shootings, beatings, forcible removals, continue in black areas everywhere — while the white areas remain insulated from it, unable to read of it in their press or see or hear it on the media.

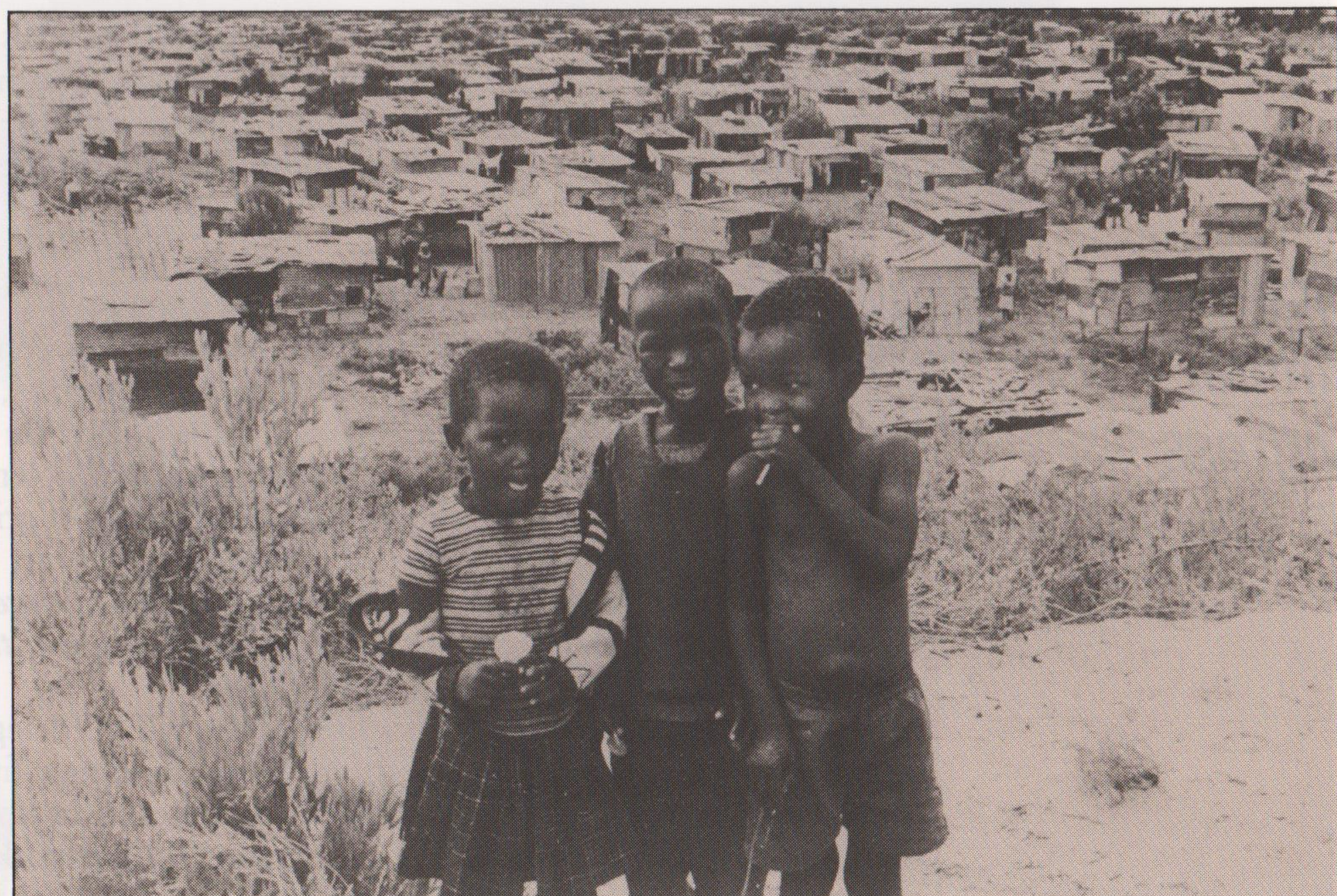
The best guess is that, since the present unrest began, some 1,700 people have been killed (20 probably in police custody). The present rate of killings is 150 a month. Most of those shot are young: one recorded instance was 13. During the state of emergency, 11,500 people were detained without trial, including 2,000 under 16. Some detainees have been released when the state of emergency was lifted, but most political prisoners were held pending trial.

Death rate

The death rate may be higher. The Eminent Persons Group, talking to residents of Alexandra, heard "stories of police removing bodies and not returning them for burial, of families forced to bury their dead in secret and of bodies being distributed over a number of hospitals and police morgues."

The Group heard one story in particular which moved them, told by an Alexandra resident. *"Fearing his son might be dead, he had gone to look for him in a local morgue. The first body he saw was that of his son, shot several times. Steeling himself from his personal grief, he determined to see how many other bodies there were there and so pretended not to recognise his son. In all, he told us, he counted in excess of 40 bodies, all of them victims of gunshot wounds, in one morgue alone".*

During their own visit to Alexandra and Soweto the TUC representatives had direct experience of the tension and intimidation which lead inevitably to violence and death. The delegation was confronted by a hippo — a military personnel carrier with 25 armed men on board which straddled the road. Quickly about 100 armed troops surrounded the group. The soldiers restlessly fingered their rifles for about half an hour until the police came. The ICFTU representatives were told that harassment by the army and the police was continual. Shooting incidents were frequent. An unexpected movement might have provoked a shot and then led to carnage.



The economic crisis is less graphic, less immediately tragic. But it is no less real.

Foreign investment in South Africa, frightened off by the threat of sanctions which the Prime Minister declares will not work and by the growing unrest, has virtually dried up.

The price of gold, South Africa's largest export, has fallen from \$850 an ounce in 1980 to about \$380 now. Gold, with other precious metal, diamonds and other minerals, account for some 60 per cent of the country's exports. The balance of payments dived into deficit in 1981 — recovering temporarily since, but forecast to slump once more. This decline in the currency eloquently testifies to economic decline. This report written in mid-August costs Rand 10 new. At this time last year it would have cost Rand 5.

The sheer necessity to repress revolt now means that the police and military take up nearly 30 per cent of Government expenditure. Oil supplies, also affected by sanctions, means that the country must rely more on its SASOL oil-from-coal process — an expensive one, especially at a time of an oil glut. The regime has had to store at great cost reserves of strategic materials. The oil glut has also adversely affected another large export, coal.

Economic crisis

Bankrupt tinder box

The South African economy is up to its ears in debt. It has foreign borrowings amounting to \$24 bn: an interim agreement to reschedule some of that debt is close to breaking up. Few banks are prepared to lend fresh sums, especially since output growth is likely to decline sharply next year. Black unemployment is now around 25 per cent: even some whites are on welfare, and in poverty. Apartheid and job reservation have meant that the skill required to sustain growth are not available. In the words of The Economist, the South African Government is creating "a siege economy of a destabilised Third World State". All the whites who can get out are doing so: many of those who stay only do so because stringent exchange controls prevent their taking any of their wealth. The joke in Johannesburg is that these are the patriotic South Africans.

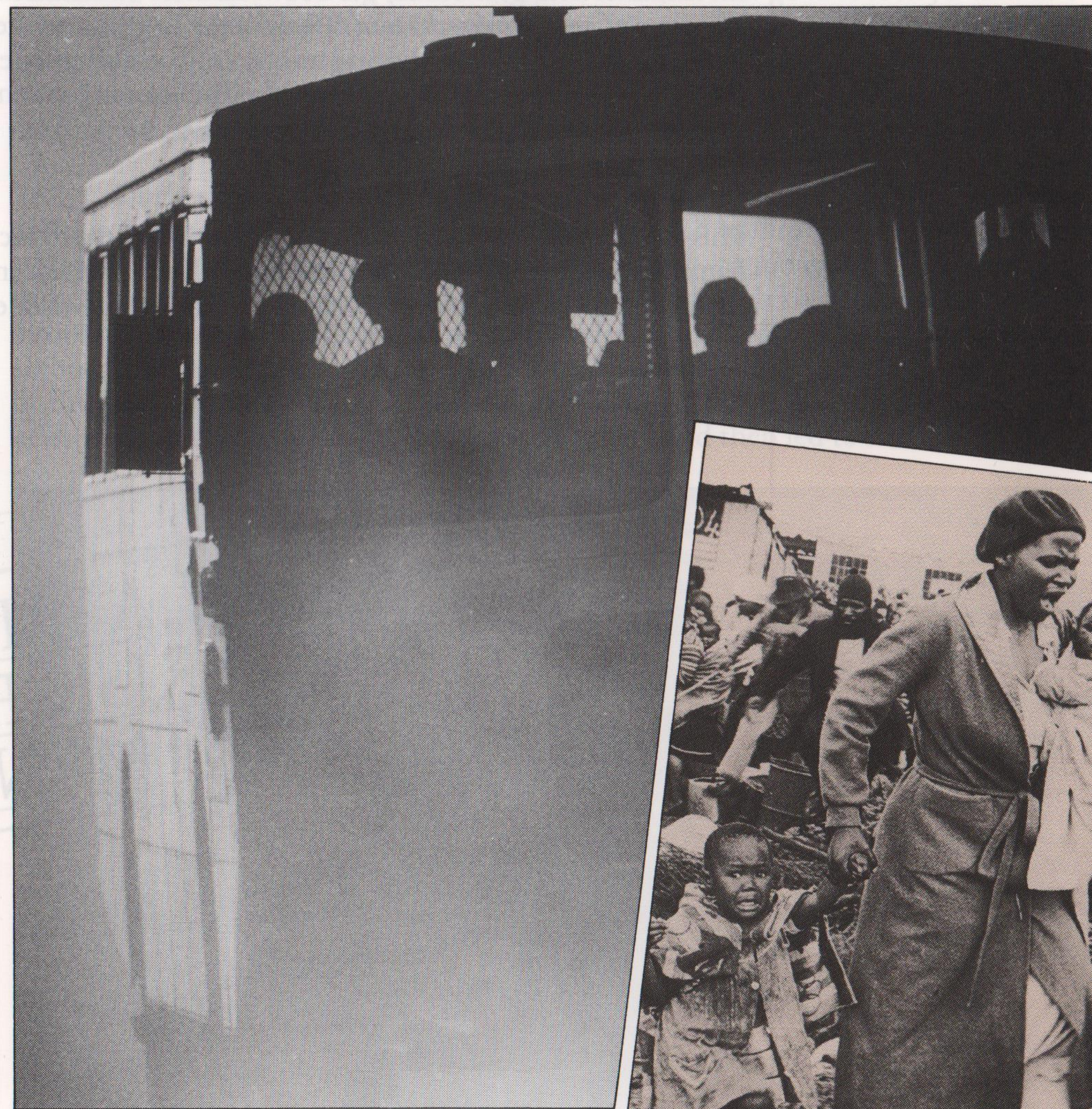
This is the reality which underlies President Botha's defiance: a tinder box, and a bankrupt one at that. The whites have very little time left in which to secure peaceful change: tragically, no moves towards such change are visible.

**SOUTH AFRICA.
A BAD RISK FOR
INVESTMENT.**

TUC

Investing in apartheid is not just morally wrong, it makes no economic sense as the TUC showed in its report, which is reproduced in full in Appendix C.

5. THE TASK AHEAD



Orde Eliason: Link

IDAF

This report has given some idea of the nature, the scope and the misery of apartheid — through the observations of the TUC representatives who visited South Africa and those of others. Not everyone who visits South Africa is a committed trade unionist: but everyone with open eyes and an open heart cannot fail to be angered and distressed by the brutal evidence of remorseless injustice and repression, day in, and day out.

The ICFTU delegation brought concrete solidarity. Its members were welcomed by all they met. And the visit kindled new levels of determination and dedication among the trade union leaders concerned.

Lane Kirkland went back to give evidence to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging Congress to heed the independent trade union Movement. He said that it represented the best hope of dismantling apartheid peacefully. He spoke of the whip wounds he had seen, of the violence, exploitation, and degradation. He called for strong and effective sanctions against the racist regime. Congress has since voted a list of strong sanctions. The majority was so great that President Reagan will have great difficulty in blocking them.

**Action
overseas**

The message is the same in the Federal Republic of Germany. Ernst Breit, President of the DGB and of the European Trade Union Confederation, demanded concerted international sanctions. Sanctions "could not be radical enough" to hasten the elimination of apartheid.

Ron Todd and Norman Willis the day after their return pressed the unanswerable case for sanctions on the British Government. Sir Geoffrey Howe was about to set off for his fruitless journey to meet President Botha.

While trade unionists in the TUC vigil stood in solidarity outside Marlborough House, inside Mrs Thatcher stood in the way of agreement about effective sanctions by Commonwealth governments.

The international trade union Movement will not let go. Short-sighted and recalcitrant governments will not prevail.

So — what can we do? How can we translate our horror into action?

TUC ACTION PROGRAMME



The action programme the General Council have adopted is well under way. All trade unionists can help. It will need hard work and dedication. But remember: the ideal of freedom, which sustains our Movement, needs to be and can be won in South Africa — the quicker for British trade union help.

Solidarity

First, the latest list of the detainees is in appendix D. The TUC has publicised the names: the General Council took out a page in the *Daily Telegraph* to do so. The advertisement setting out the names as prison bars is available as a poster.

The TUC has given unions the addresses of the South African organisations which have members detained. Send them messages of support. Adopt detainees in unions which organise the same groups of workers as your own. Above all keep the issue up front before members and the public at large.

The TUC has sent extensive sums for relief and legal assistance to South African unions. The families of the detainees are often destitute. The needs there are undiminished. Unions should step up contributions to the May Day Centennial Fund.

The TUC is pressing the CBI and British companies to recognise their own interest in obtaining the release of detainees. It is concerting pressures on the companies to deal fairly with the independent unions; to recognise them; and to help in such ways as paying the wages of detainees.

British unions can build on this. In cooperation with the TUC they can step up pressures on companies with subsidiaries in South Africa to give strength to the South African unions in their efforts to win recognition and improved pay and working conditions.

Isolating South Africa

Trade Union Action

The TUC has campaigned for effective sanctions to deny the South African regime all comfort from the rest of the world and to break off vital economic links. The campaign included a vigil outside Marlborough House during the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in August. It included a further advertisement in the national press showing that sanctions do work.

The British Government will be put to the test on sanctions again in September when EC foreign ministers will meet. The TUC will step up the campaign for sanctions. Unions' members can help by writing to members of parliament outlining the economic and moral arguments for sanctions now.

The TUC has campaigned for a consumer boycott of South African goods. Norman Willis wrote to all leading retailers asking them not to sell South African lines. Several retailers have since decided not to offer South African products.

In July the TUC launched an extensive press campaign for the boycott pointing out how South African imports helped to sustain the regime. Posters and stickers have been distributed and further material is available from the TUC. For the first time ever, the TUC has produced a cinema commercial.

The TUC has met the National Association of Pension Funds. It is providing new advice to unions about pension fund investments. The risks in investing in South Africa are much too great for safety.

Much more can be done. Members can press their employers to stop using South African products. They can insist that British companies with South African interests review their operations. Unions should be examining ways in which they can bring the strongest possible practical pressures against South African economic interests. They must be effective plans and they must be deliverable. The TUC stands ready to support such effective official action by unions.

There is a great deal that the British trade union Movement can do. The General Council have given a lead by putting aside £50,000 to extend campaign activities. They have encouraged unions to increase their contributions to the TUC for this purpose.



The TUC is the sum of its members; and it's the individual members who will make this campaign a success.

Change is coming in South Africa. Fundamental change is inevitable through the trade union Movement as Bishop Tutu said to the ICFTU delegation. It can bring freedom and democracy. These must be worth struggling for.

The British trade unions are already in that fight. Now is the time to make our contributions decisive.

■ Britain has massive links with the apartheid regime. The TUC drew this to the public's attention with these advertisements which appeared widely in the national press, in the political weeklies and in the religious press.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. A BREAKDOWN.

For most people it's easy to be outraged by apartheid. Outrage costs nothing. But for people whose business is investment, making a stand could mean making a loss. Recently, however, the moral arguments for disinvesting in apartheid have been given new impetus from an unexpected source. The South African economy. In 1981 a collapse in the price of gold (South Africa's biggest export) began an economic depression. Subsequent embargoes by foreign governments made raw materials for industry scarce and expensive. The result was a huge loss of income and a fall in the Rand, which left the Botha government unable to repay its debts. By September 1985 those debts had reached \$24 billion and South Africa imposed a repayments moratorium. And new trading laws, designed to discourage disinvestment, were introduced, stripping 35% off the value of South African assets the moment they were converted into foreign currency. As a result, new investment stopped and many investors began to withdraw despite the losses, taking the view that things would get worse before they got better. Without foreign capital the government found it increasingly difficult to finance the biggest drain on its resources: apartheid. Nearly one third of all its expenditure is devoted to the police and military that are needed to enforce the laws of 'separate development'. And now further international sanctions will add to their problems. It's not surprising then, that the Economist has described South Africa as having 'the siege economy of a destabilised third world state.' All investors, including pension fund trustees, now have to consider what impact a change of control in South Africa will have on their shares. As the situation deteriorates, so the prospect of losing everything becomes more real. However, options do exist. They are set out in a new booklet, compiled by the T.U.C. along with a detailed analysis of the breakdown of South Africa's economy and its consequences. If you would like to cut your losses, cut the coupon and we'll send you a copy.



South Africa earns around £990 million a year from exports to Britain. That's around 50p a week for every adult in Britain. This money acts as both practical and moral support to the system of Apartheid. You contribute as an individual whenever you buy South African produce (like Cape or Outspan fruit). And if your company pension scheme has shares in South African companies, it's also investing in the future of Apartheid. The Government won't stop trade with South Africa, but you can. Here's how. Don't buy South African goods. Ask stores that still stock them to find alternatives and support them when they do. Press your company to sever any links with South Africa. And raise the issue of sanctions with your M.P. Finally you can help us to get this message across to more people by sending donations to the TUC South Africa Campaign Fund. Apartheid is an indefensible evil. Don't buy it time.

TUC

TUC SOUTH AFRICA ACTION PROGRAMME

There must be change in South Africa. The long established commitment of the British trade union Movement to the abolition of apartheid has never been in doubt. But the graphic report by the recent British delegation to South Africa of the horrors of apartheid must act as a catalyst, stimulating a renewed practical commitment to the cause of change.

The South African trade union Movement is the cutting edge of the struggle for freedom. In sharp contrast, the British Government, to their shame, are in the forefront of those giving help and succour to the South African regime, and are failing to take into account of Britain's long term political, trade and economic interests.

The TUC accordingly require a three pronged strategy with the following elements.

SUPPORT of a practical nature to the S.A. trade union Movement.

SANCTIONS against the regime, imposed by workers and unions themselves, as part of maximising the broader political pressure on governments, and in particular the British Government on mandatory economic sanctions.

CAMPAIGNING to build the support of trade union members and the wider public for the TUC Action Programme.

SUPPORT activities will need to include:

- continually showing solidarity, for example, through sending messages of support and visits by British delegations to S.A. under the TUC's policy approach (which requires that visits should be at the invitation of independent unions, should be for a specific trade union purpose, and should be preceded by TUC briefing);
- building up fraternal links between counterpart unions and between the TUC and the independent South African union organisations through even more regular, direct contacts;
- increasing the level of assistance with training;
- channelling financial assistance through the ICFTU to unions to help cover costs of legal as well as industrial activities;
- targetted action by unions pressing British companies remaining in S.A., at the least, to ensure that they conform to the relevant European codes on recognition and pay and conditions issues; spotlighting and following up any identified cases of British companies tolerating the appalling single men's hostels as accommodation for their employees;
- continually highlighting the plight of detainees, monitoring names and numbers, urging unions to 'adopt' detainees from counterpart unions.

SANCTIONS action will include:

- strong pressure on the British Government to change their stance, in particular before the Commonwealth Summit to be chaired by Mrs Thatcher next month, bringing together the ICFTU, ETUC and CTUC to jointly press for action from the Summit.
- other coordinated international trade union action pressing governments and intergovernmental institutions to support comprehensive, mandatory, economic sanctions;
- stepping up the consumer boycott of South African goods;

- pressing companies and public authorities and services to discontinue trading links, not to use S.A. products themselves — in the canteen or on the production line, or in hospitals, schools or other workplaces;
- insisting that British companies with interests in S.A. review their operations;
- issuing revised guidelines to union pension fund trustees stressing the growing commercial insecurity of any investment in S.A.;
- urging unions and workers to exert the strongest pressure possible against economic links with S.A. through whatever means that can be devised and delivered that are likely to be most effective. Unions are urged to pursue this call urgently and report back to the TUC on action taken and further action planned.

CAMPAIGNING actions must include:

- an **IMMEDIATE** commitment to using the occasion of the Commonwealth Summit to stage a rolling vigil of Marlborough House;
- circulating campaign materials to unions for circulation to their members and union journals;
- producing a detailed and graphic report of the delegation's visit to S.A. for presentation to Congress and wide circulation within and without the Movement;
- considering further advertising initiatives including the possibility of a cinema ad and a video;
- stepping up the effort to raise funds from unions to enable the campaign to be taken forward even more vigorously;
- urgently compiling a detailed examination of the vulnerable pressure points of the S.A. economy together with an assessment of how these can most effectively be tackled.

The General Council decided to allocate an initial £50,000 to extend campaigning activities and to encourage unions to increase their contributions to the TUC for campaigning, relief and assistance activities.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

BEATING APARTHEID

(Statement adopted by the ICFTU Executive Board at a Special Session held in Washington, D.C., 11 April 1985)

INTRODUCTION

1. The situation in South Africa is at crisis point. The political and economic foundations of the apartheid regime are under attack as never before. Repression of black leaders is intensifying, the hated influx control measures are being tightened, and clashes between the black community and security forces occur daily. The regime is desperately trying to change the image, although not the reality, of apartheid both in South Africa and abroad. Business leaders in countries with extensive economic links to South Africa are beginning to reassess their ties with apartheid. This is due to the pressure of public opinion in their own countries, to growing doubts about the future return on their investments and increasingly effective opposition to apartheid in South Africa. Yet conservative political leaders have yet to react to these realities. Now is the time to step up the international pressure against apartheid by governmental and further trade union action.

2. The ICFTU and its affiliates are proud to be in the forefront of the campaign against apartheid. We welcome the recent upsurge in international awareness of the evil nature of apartheid, an upsurge which is in part due to the campaigning work of the free trade unions over many years. In the fight against apartheid, the ICFTU's distinctive contribution is the emphasis on assisting the development of a strong independent black trade union movement in South Africa. The key importance of democratic trade union organisations in the freedom struggle is now apparent to all. As was stated in the recently updated ICFTU Programme of Action, the growth and strengthening of the independent black trade union movement is the single most effective measure for the repressed majority in South Africa to gain freedom and justice and to abolish apartheid. This conviction will continue to be at the centre of the ICFTU campaign and against apartheid. Apartheid is an entrenched system of racial discrimination and economic exploitation which is based on a number of key pieces of legislation, backed up by the administrative powers of the government. Ending apartheid means majority rule in an undivided society.

3. The existence of the South Africa regime depends on apartheid. It will not end it. Diplomacy has failed to get across the abhorrence felt by people all over the world against the repression of the black majority. The ICFTU is therefore convinced that governments must firmly commit themselves to escalating political pressure on and applying sanctions against South Africa. As a matter of urgency all governments and especially those of the main trading and investment partners of South Africa should increase and implement the range of measures so long threatened by the United Nations.

SANCTIONS

4. Support for a tough sanctions policy is growing as public awareness of the continued repression and injustice suffered by the black majority in South Africa has increased. The threat of economic isolation is a major concern for the apartheid regime, but must be made more credible by specific commitments to effective action by the large industrialised countries.

5. The ICFTU proposes sanctions which should begin with the tightening of the UN arms embargo and proceed further. In cooperation with the UN, all governments should develop immediate effective machinery for the implementation and monitoring of an international sanctions policy.

6. Governments should by administrative and legislative action build up the following sanctions:

- i* The extension of the arms embargo to include sales by South African subsidiaries of transnational corporations, a tightening of the definition of arms sales to include all types of equipment intended for use by South Africa's military, security and police services, sales of machinery to South African arms-producing companies, the purchase of South African produced arms and the strengthening of international monitoring to ensure compliance by all major industrial countries.
- ii* The ending of investment guarantees, export credits and all trade promotion measures, and steps, product by product, to switch both import and export trade from South Africa.
- iii* Prevention of new investment in South Africa by transnationals.
- iv* The ending of all contracts for the expansion of the South African nuclear energy and oil from coal programmes.
- v* The ending of all commercial operations by transnationals in the so-called "homelands" or "Bantustans".
- vi* A stop on bank loans to the South African State and publicly-owned companies, and new IMF loans.
- vii* Punitive action against the owners of any ships which carry oil to South Africa and against oil

companies or oil traders which break or are party to the breaking of the UN oil embargo. This will entail intensified national and international monitoring by governments of shipping traffic to South Africa.

viii A ban on the sale of Krugerrands.

ix A ban on purchases of South African coal.

x A programme of compulsory disinvestment by transnationals operating especially in the armaments, energy, and high-technology sectors in South Africa, and including all those companies which have been identified by the independent black trade union movement as being in violation of internationally-accepted standards of labour practice.

7. These measures should culminate in the adoption of mandatory UN sanctions to enforce the economic isolation of South Africa.

EMIGRATION AND CULTURAL CONTACTS

8. Linked to sanctions on trade, investment and other commercial links, governments of the countries of origin of white emigrants to South Africa should take immediate steps to warn their citizens of the reality of apartheid. Governments should also take steps to:

- i* Close all official and unofficial South African recruitment offices and tourist promotion offices;
- ii* Ensure that no public employment agencies handle job vacancies in South Africa; and
- iii* Actively discourage the advertising of South African job vacancies;
- iv* Vigorously discourage sport and cultural contacts with South Africa.

9. The ICFTU and its affiliates will also undertake a co-ordinated information campaign in support of measures to discourage white emigration through trade union action targeted on individual countries in turn (UK, USA, West Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Greece, Australia and Belgium) and at multinationals or South African companies which recruit white labour for South Africa.

GOVERNMENT COLLABORATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME

10. Special note should be taken of the collaboration between the South African government and other governments. The ICFTU believes that the present racist government of South Africa should be isolated and that visits by exponents of apartheid should never be entertained by any country.

TARGETING TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

11. At the same time as working for governmental action against apartheid, the ICFTU, the ITS and their affiliates will also increase pressure on transnational corporations operating in South Africa and on South African multinationals with operations outside that country. Such transactions are pivotal to economic relations with South Africa. They are directly affected by changes in South Africa and by efforts outside the country to increase pressure on the regime. Both individually and collectively transnational corporations have a major influence on the future of apartheid and their vulnerability to international trade union pressure should be exploited.

12. The ICFTU firmly believes that measures must be taken to reduce links with South Africa. The ICFTU calls on all TBCs operating in South Africa to co-operate fully with the international effort to step up economic pressure on the apartheid regime. In addition, and within the framework of the ICFTU's policy on sanctions and disinvestment, the ICFTU, the ITS and national affiliates will work in consultation with the independent black trade union movement to further their demands vis-à-vis particular companies. These campaigns will be targeted at individual companies, including South African TNCs with operations outside that country, and will involve, among others, the following activities:

- i* Approaches to management by unions in a company's home country in support of demands for full collective bargaining rights by independent black trade unions in South African subsidiaries;
- ii* Meetings between representatives from the South African union concerned and their counterparts from the parent company of the South African subsidiary involved in a dispute, in order to put direct pressure on management;
- iii* Working contacts between union representatives in a parent company and its various subsidiaries inside and outside South Africa in order to pave the way for effective collective bargaining by the independent black trade union movement in South Africa;
- iv* In cases of continued obstruction by management, international campaigns on the TNCs concerned involving appropriate solidarity action. Such international campaigns will be initiated in response to the expressed needs of the independent black trade union movement, by the ICFTU, in cooperation with national centres and ITS;
- v* Research into the activities and structure of target companies with a view to identifying the scale and nature of commercial links with South Africa;

- vi The development of information material on the situation of South African workers in the companies and their unions, with particular reference to their views on the fight against apartheid and the companies' policies, for distribution to union members in the target companies;
- vii Suspension of contracts and calls for bans on new investment and disinvestment where companies refuse to work with the independent black trade unions in South Africa.

INFLUX CONTROL AND MIGRANT WORKERS

13. The ICFTU reiterates its abhorrence of the apartheid system and particularly singles out the pernicious influx control system which denies South African workers the right to seek work where they wish, to live with their families and to live normal families lives. The fight of the independent trade unions against this obnoxious system should be supported by the international trade union movement by providing assistance aimed at mitigating the immediate problems. Programmes of assistance to migrant workers such as those already operating in Botswana and Lesotho should be extended into South Africa in order to strengthen the trade union movement in the Southern African region as a whole.

STRENGTHENING SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOURS

14. The ICFTU believes that apartheid is at the root of the hegemony pursued by South Africa in the region, beginning with Namibia for which the ICFTU calls for compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 which decided to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the UN. The ICFTU vigorously condemns the continued destabilisation of the region through political, military and economic interference. The ICFTU strongly believes that strengthening of the economic base of the front-line states would also contribute to the dismantling of apartheid. It therefore calls on all countries to support effectively measures proposed and being undertaken by the Southern African Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC) countries to reduce dependence on South Africa. In supporting the SADCC countries, trade unions in industrialised countries should also contribute to the strengthening of trade unions in those countries to enable them to play a major role in the SADCC process of development. The unfavourable conditions imposed by international agencies and banks in respect of aid, loans and investment funds negatively affects the economic growth of these countries. The ICFTU calls on the international community to change these policies in order to strengthen the economic position of the countries in the region.

CONCLUSION

15. The key to change in South Africa lies within the country and will be determined by the black majority. However, international resolutions translated into action can help accelerate progress towards democracy and justice. Escalating economic sanctions, discouraging white immigration, ending government collaboration with the South African regime and targeting campaign activities on specific transnationals offer four specific and practical ways of forcing the message home to the South African government that apartheid must end. These measures will be supported by a wide spectrum of opinion in all countries, including most importantly the independent black trade unions in South Africa. The international free trade union movement strongly urges all governments, and especially those of South Africa's main economic partners, to adopt these proposals and thus clearly inform the apartheid regime of the consequences of continuing its racist policies. The ICFTU reiterates its call for the immediate release of imprisoned black trade union and political leaders, the cessation of repressive measures against the black community, the unbanning of all political organisations and of political activity in order to develop a society based on universal suffrage, full respect for the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and an undivided South Africa.

Appendix C

SOUTH AFRICA, A BAD RISK FOR INVESTMENT

1. The TUC has strongly condemned the detention of hundreds of trade unionists including over 300 trade union leaders and officers during the current state of emergency in South Africa. This brief explains why a country that can imprison trade unionists on that scale is not only morally wrong but it economically unviable in the long-term. It is primarily a brief for trade union trustees who can take immediate action to press their pension fund boards to disinvest in South Africa. But its analysis and description will be of use to all those with an interest in financial and industrial matters. It also contains key facts and arguments that can be used by trade unionists in the current debate over the need for sanctions against South Africa. It is divided into three sections:

- i The current crisis in the South African economy;
- ii The extent of UK economic links with South Africa;
- iii The impact of withdrawal on the South African and UK economies

Section I: The current crisis in the South African economy

2. South Africa is facing the most severe economic and financial crisis in its history: new investment has dried up, the economy has been in a deep recession over the last four years and it was forced to declare a debt moratorium in September 1985. The roots of this crisis are threefold: firstly, its heavy dependence on one commodity — gold — for much of its export earnings; secondly, the cost of operating an apartheid economy; and thirdly, its debt rescheduling problems.

The 'One Commodity' Economy

3. South Africa has a deeply divided economy. On the one hand it has one of the most highly industrialised sectors in Africa; on the other hand it has a large labour intensive low technology sector. Its most striking feature, however, is its heavy reliance on gold and other precious metals and stones for the bulk of its export earnings. Figure 1 shows that these products make up around 60% of total export earnings. This makes South Africa extremely vulnerable to the large fluctuations in the gold market: the price fell from \$850 an ounce in 1980 to \$320 in 1984 and it has since risen to around \$350. There is little sign of any strong upward pressure on the gold price.

Figure 1

EXPORTS

- Some major categories, with values for 1985 in Rm million rand

Class	
Unclassified (mainly bullion)	16,671
Unclassified (platinum and uranium)	2,273
Diamonds and other precious stones	2,275
Mineral products (includes coal)	4,936
Chemicals	935
Base metals	4,024
Agricultural products	1,821
Total (including bullion)	36,489

Source: Standard Bank

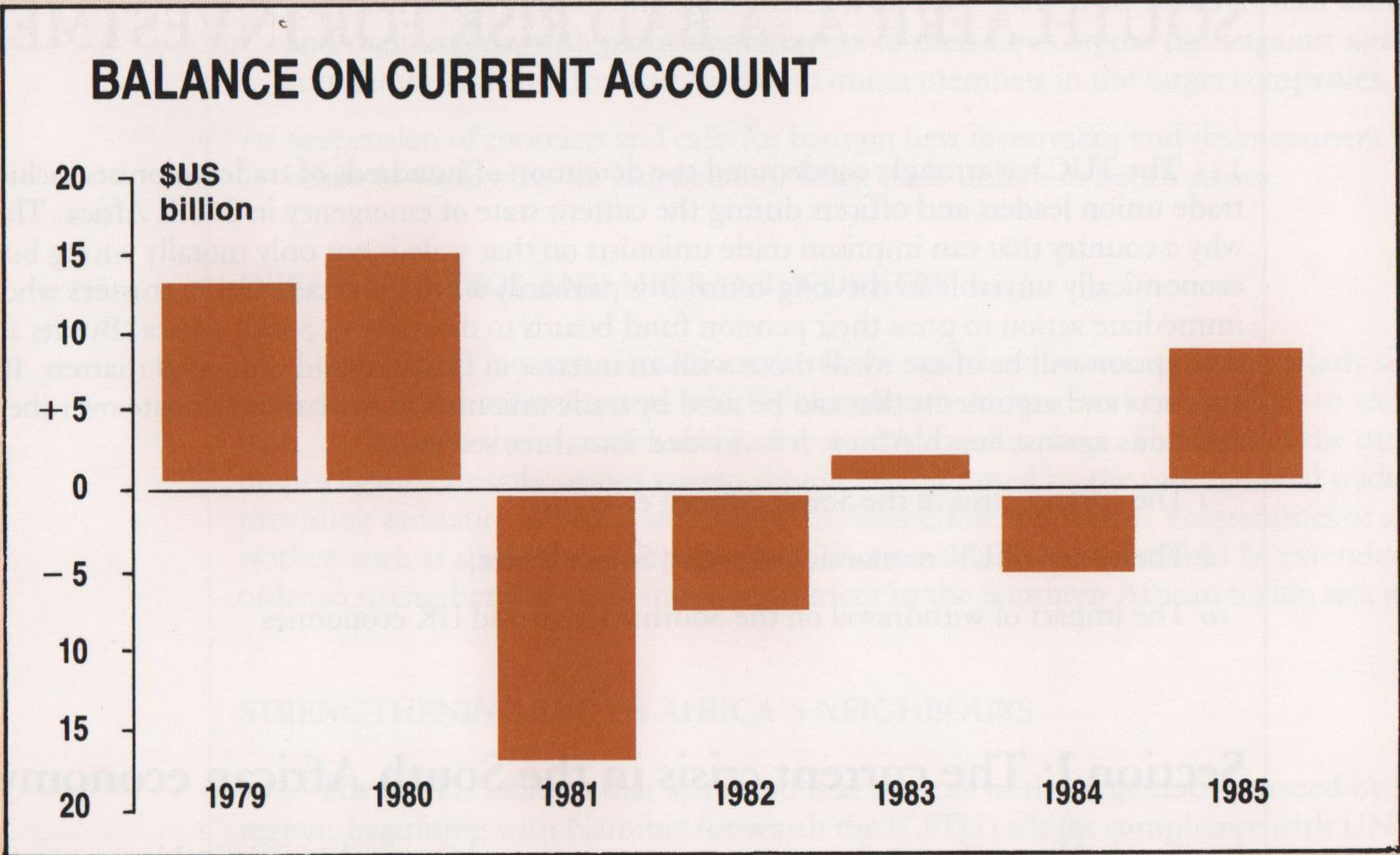
4. The **Financial Times** in a recent survey also concluded that the strong growth in coal exports in recent years is likely to fall off in the light of the oil glut and uranium, another leading mineral export, is 'in eclipse and is unlikely to recover in the foreseeable future'.

5. The impact of these fluctuations is reflected in the balance of payments current account — figure 2 (see page 28). The large deficit in 1981 reflects the fall in the gold price. The surplus in 1985 reflects the depressed state of the economy which reduced imports and it is likely to be wiped out in 1987.

The Apartheid Economy

6. Apartheid is uneconomic as well as immoral. The cost to the economy of maintaining white supremacy through massive security operations both inside and outside South Africa is enormous: by 1984 the proportion of government expenditure devoted to the police and military was estimated at 28%. The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) highlighted the fact that the apartheid system is an extremely wasteful one: 'the sheer bureaucracy required to sustain its machinery is vast; the commitment of resources to security for the maintenance of apartheid is massive; a leading economist informed us that Civil Service salaries account for two-thirds of budget expenditure'. It is ironic that the UK Government, which claims to be committed to reducing bureaucracy should fail to recognise the burden of the apartheid system on the South African people.

Figure 2



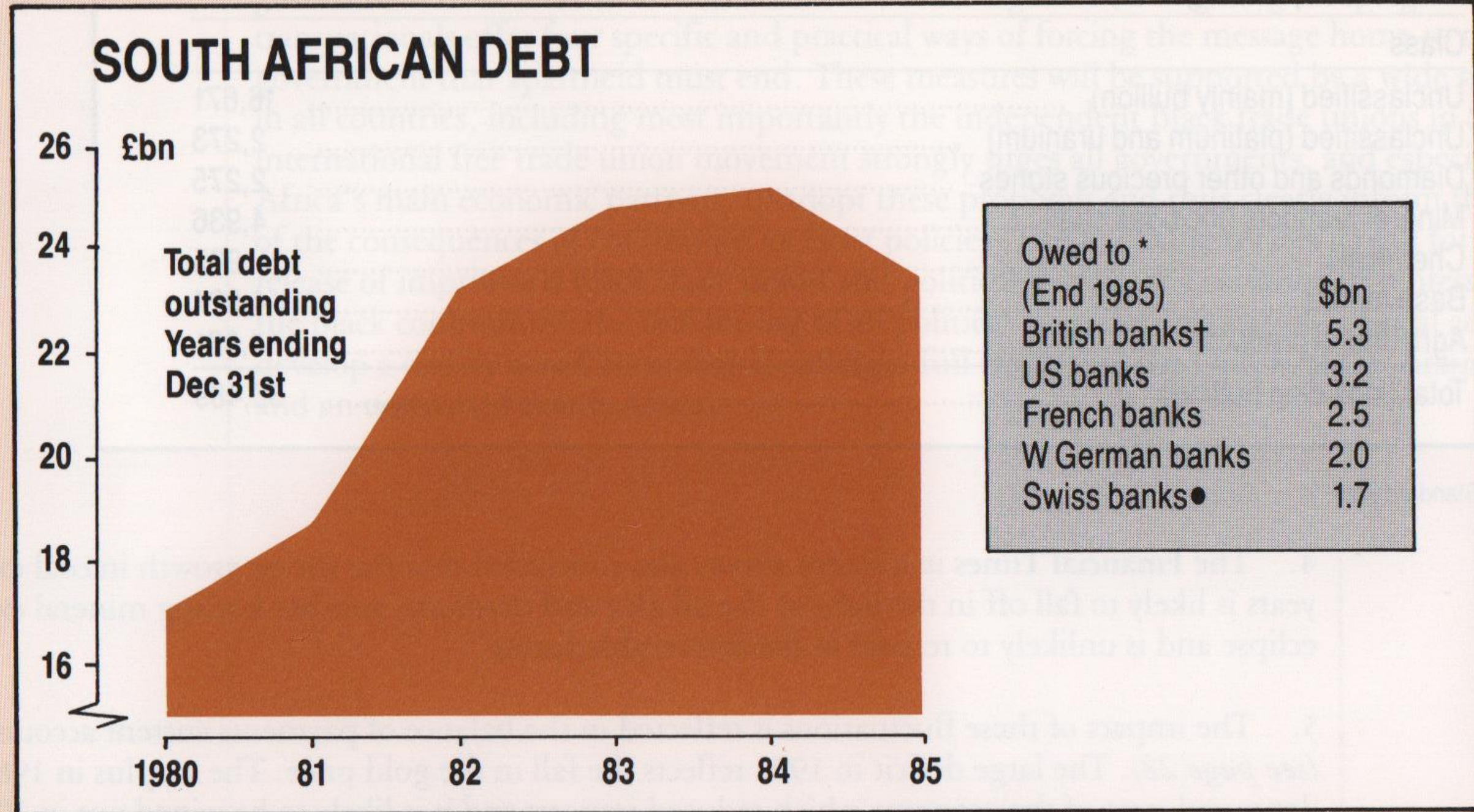
Source: Standard Bank of South Africa

7. In addition, international embargoes have forced South Africa to develop alternatives to imported oil; the high cost of the SASOL process (manufacturing oil from coal) resulted in oil supplies absorbing around 18% of government revenues in 1984.

8. The apartheid education system also leads to a gross waste of skills and talent which means that the South African economy is far less efficient and productive than it could be. The South African Government currently spends seven times as much on a white child as a black. The EPG report suggests that 'education was deliberately withheld to ensure that blacks would not be educated to a level where they would aspire to positions in white society from which they were excluded'. The consequences of years of job reservation and its continued informal application in the mining industry means that there is a crippling lack of skilled personnel which would be felt all the more keenly if economic growth accelerated.

9. It is of course not yet possible to quantify the cost of the growing labour unrest to the economy.

Figure 3



*Coverage of banks and loans varies slightly between countries. †End June. ●1984. ▲August 31st
Source: South African Reserve Bank; central banks

Growing Debt Problems

10. South Africa is now facing an acute debt crisis. It entered into the international money markets on a large scale in the early 1980s, in part to finance the expensive projects, such as SASOL, which were needed to preserve the apartheid system.

11. But the most significant change came after the collapse in the gold price and the sharp deterioration in the current account in 1981. The Government cut back spending and raised interest rates to 25% in an attempt to minimise the deficit. The economy consequently suffered a sharp contraction between 1982-84 and living standards fell. Nevertheless, the Government was forced to increase sharply

the level of short-term debt to foreign banks which increased from under \$3 billion in 1980 to over \$12 billion in 1984.

12. The debt crisis came to a head in July 1985, primarily because of the deteriorating political situation. A state of emergency had been declared and the rand had fallen from \$0.93 to \$0.35 in only a month. The first move was made by Chase Manhattan Bank, the second largest US bank, who decided to stop all loans to South Africa and to withdraw credits as they matured — they refused to roll-over the loans. This action was followed by other leading US banks who decided to reduce their South African exposure; Barclays cut its stake in its South African subsidiary and more banks refused to renew short-term credits. The South African Government responded on September 3 by announcing a moratorium on capital repayments on \$13.6 billion of the \$24 billion foreign debt. Virtually all the \$14.6 billion short-term debt had to be frozen.

13. At the same time, tough exchange controls were introduced which re-imposed a dual exchange rate — a 'commercial' and 'financial' rand. The 'financial' rand is designed to dissuade potential disinvestors by preventing South African investment funds from being transferred into foreign currencies unless discounted at a lower exchange rate. It is currently around half the level of the 'commercial' rand.

14. Discussions between South Africa and the major creditor banks have so far only resulted in an interim settlement, proposed by debt mediator, Dr Leutwiller. The February settlement falls way short of a debt-rescheduling agreement which the South Africans had hoped for. In fact, it imposes stringent conditions which will swallow up the bulk of the 1986 current account surplus. Moreover, its limited one year duration, linked to half-yearly reviews, was designed to put South Africa on parole; the international banks have made it clear that 'normalisation of relations' and a resumption of normal financial flows is dependent upon tangible progress along the path of political and social reform.

15. The screw has been tightened further by the recently announced (July 3) resignation of the debt mediator, Dr Leutwiller, because of his disappointment over the declaration of the state of emergency in June. In view of the fact that many US banks were unhappy about even signing the interim agreement, this must put a major question mark over the half-yearly review of the economy due in September. It is increasingly clear that few banks are prepared to lend fresh money to South Africa, let alone sign a formal rescheduling agreement.

16. In summary, the long-term weakness in the South African economy, resulting from the cost of 'apartheid' and its heavy reliance on gold, has been sharply reinforced by the debt crisis since mid-1985. The immediate prospects are bleak: the interim debt agreement is in danger of breaking up, the current account surplus in 1985-86 is likely to disappear in 1987 and output growth is forecast to decline sharply by the end of the year. Unemployment is unofficially at over 25% for the black workers and is also at record levels among whites and coloured workers. The Economist suggests that the South African Government is creating 'a siege economy of a destabilised third world state'. The Foreign Office sums it up as follows:

'the continuing political crisis by reducing consumer confidence at home and investor confidence at home and overseas, diminishes the potential for growth. In combination with the poor external outlook this makes it difficult to be optimistic about the South African economy in general and the position of blacks in particular.'

17. The issue now facing investors is not just the loss of a share of their investments as the rand falls in value. There is in fact a real prospect of losing assets altogether as the economic and political situation becomes more and more unstable.

Section II: Current UK Links with South Africa

18. The UK, by its trading links and investments, is heavily exposed to the current problems in South Africa.

19. The UK is South Africa's third largest trading partner — figure 4 shows that the UK raised its share of South African imports from 11.1% in 1984 to 12.3% in 1985. Nevertheless over the period from 1980-85 the UK's trading links declined by around 10%.

20. The UK is the largest investor in South Africa. Figure 5 shows that the UK had more investments in South Africa than the rest of the world, excluding the USA, put together. The UK South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA) put the UK's stake even higher at around 40-45% of all foreign investment.

21. It is estimated by UKSATA that there are 1,200 companies with some investment in South Africa. However, according to the Ethical Investment Research and Information Service (EIRIS), under 200 of the 1,700+ UK companies on the London Stock Exchange have subsidiaries or associates in South Africa. Of these companies some 137 reported in 1985 to the Department of Trade and Industry under the Code of Conduct of European Community Governments. These 137 companies employed around 300,000 — around 6% of total South African employment.

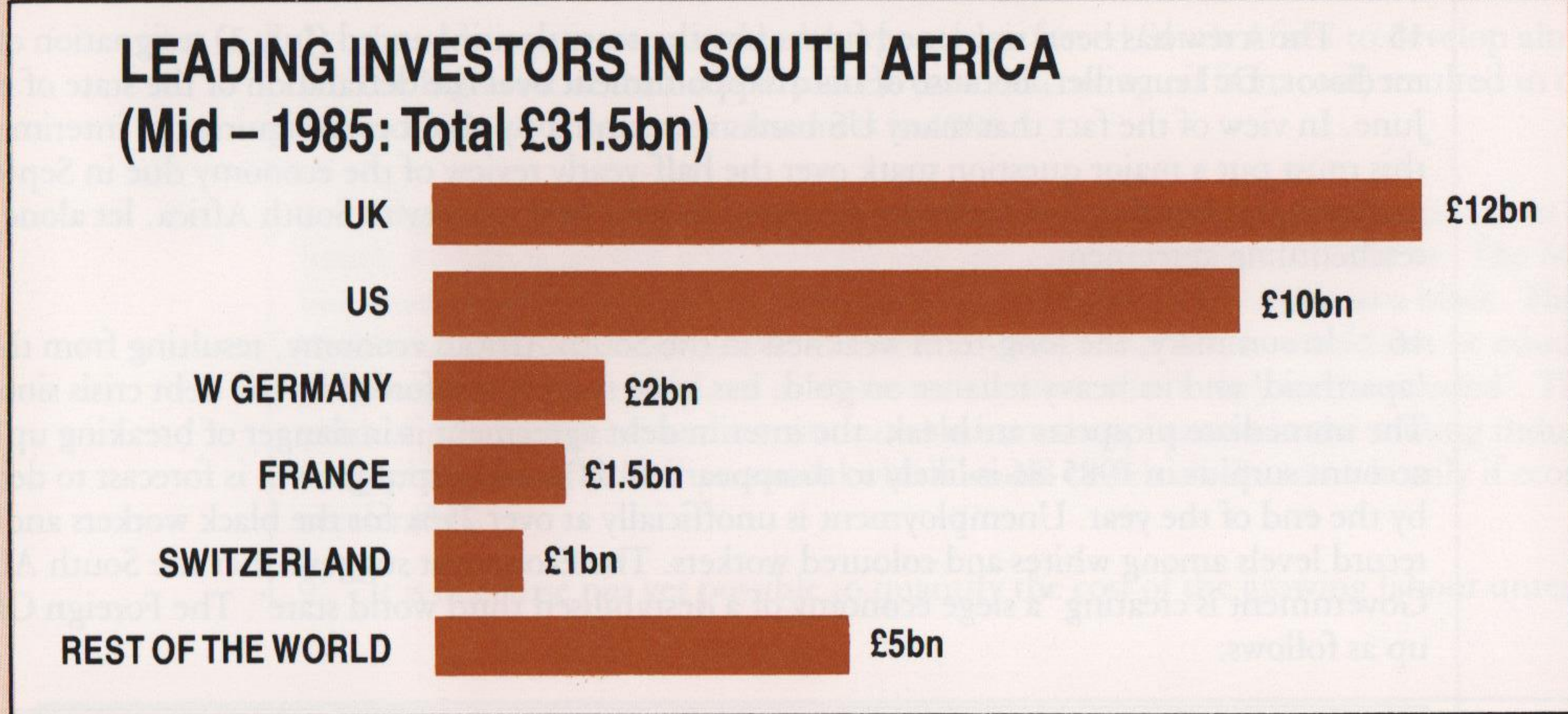
22. Figure 6 shows that around half of the 300,000 workers are employed by the South African affiliates of just five companies and only twelve companies have workforces of more than 5,000.

Figure 4

SOUTH AFRICA'S MAIN TRADING PARTNERS						
Exports to:			Import from:			
	as % of total exports	average around % change		as % of total imports	average around % change	
	1984	1985 est.		1984	1985 etc	
US	8.4	8.9	W. Germany	15.7	16.8	- 6.1
Japan	7.7	8.3	US	15.9	12.7	- 12.1
Britain	4.3	6.1	Britain	11.1	12.3	- 10.6
Italy	2.5	4.2	Japan	12.9	10.1	- 8.8
W. Germany	3.9	4.0	France	3.8	4.6	- 7.3
Holland	2.4	3.2	Italy	3.5	3.3	- 9.8
Switzerland	6.8	3.2	Switzerland	1.8	2.1	- 6.3
France	2.2	2.0	Holand	1.8	2.0	- 3.6
Hongkong	1.8	1.8	Belgium	1.6	1.8	- 3.5
Belgium	1.7	1.7	Australia	1.3	1.2	- 1.1
Spain	0.6	0.9	Sweden	1.4	1.2	- 8.4
Israel	0.7	0.9	Canada	1.1	1.0	- 9.5
Canada	0.7	0.7	Spain	0.8	0.8	- 1.3
Australia	0.7	0.6	Argentina	0.8	0.8	+ 37.6
Denmark	0.6	0.6	Norway	0.7	0.8	- 7.2
Special categories*	46.6	45.8	Special categories†	14.7	15.7	- 20.7

Source: IMF Direction of Trade Statistics. *mainly gold. †mainly oil and armaments

Figure 5



Source: Anti-Apartheid Movement.

23. In the case of Barclays, Consolidated Goldfields and Pilkingtons, their South African workforce make up over 20% of their worldwide operations. Barclays had around 10% of its worldwide assets in South Africa in 1984 and Standard Chartered received around 30% of its trading profits in 1984 from its South African interests.
24. These figures under-estimate the UK's presence for three reasons: firstly, there are at least three companies which should report under the Code of Conduct of European Community governments but do not: these are Trust House Forte, Sun Alliance and Siebe. Secondly, there are firms with stakes of under 50% and over 10% in South African companies which are requested to provide information under the Code of Conduct but mostly do not. Consolidated Goldfields claims for example 'that it does not employ anyone in South Africa' even though it has a 48% stake in Gold Fields of South Africa which employs 84,000 workers and produces a quarter of South Africa's gold.
25. Thirdly, employment is not the only measure of a company's involvement in the South African economy. The Merchant Bank Hill Samuel employs only 233 in South Africa but it was the leading British bank in organising new loans to South Africa which totalled \$2,440m in 1982-84.
26. However there are some signs that UK companies are beginning to decide that the political and economic risks can no longer be justified. For example, Alfred McAlpine, Smiths Industries, Crown House and Valor have recently sold off their South African interests entirely. Metal Box has sold its controlling interest in Metal Box SA. British Electric Traction has reduced its holdings in its SA subsidiary and Turner and Newall reduced its stake in its SA affiliate 'to improve the company's image on the stock exchange. Barclays and Standard Chartered have also both reduced their stake in their SA subsidiaries by not taking up recent rights issues.
27. This recent trend is mirrored by similar moves by US companies; 55 US firms have left SA since 1985 — 17 have left this year. In 1984 only 7 companies left.

Figure 6

LEADING UK EMPLOYERS IN SOUTH AFRICA	
Company	Workforce
Consolidated Goldfields *	93,851
Barclays *	26,231
Standard Chartered *	22,848
ICI **	16,503
Lonrho	10,817
Courtaulds	8,198
Pilkington Brothers *	8,016
Unilever (including Brooke Bond)	7,372
BET	7,238
BTR (including Dunlop)	6,482
Shell Transport & Trading	5,870
BOC	5,666

* Many or all are employees of associate companies as distinct from subsidiaries

** AEI which makes up the majority of this figure reports figures for black Africans only

Source: Department of Trade and Industry, E1RIS

The Record of UK companies

28. The British Government has sought to justify the involvement of British companies in South Africa by saying that they are a force for the erosion of apartheid and for the advancement of black people.
29. The information for 1984-85 made available by British companies with interests as employers in South Africa under the Code of Conduct of European Community governments gives a quite different picture. The figures for the July 1984 to June 1985 period show that for the third consecutive year the number of black working people paid below the subsistence Minimum Living Level has increased. The information from companies shows that the number of people paid below the Supplemented Living Level, which the governments of European Community countries have set as a target, also increased in 1984-85 with the result that at least ten per cent of black employees of British companies were paid at rates below even the minimal targets accepted by the British Government. The companies which have failed to meet the target are listed in figure 7.

Figure 7

BRITISH COMPANIES WITH SUBSIDIARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA PAYING WAGES BELOW THE SUPPLEMENTED LIVING LEVEL SLL			
Company		No of employees below SLL	
1	Allied Colloids	2	25 Low and Bonar
2	Babcock International	35	26 Marley plc
3	Beecham Group	3	27 McKechnie Brothers
4	BETEC plc	5	28 Metal Closures Group
5	British Electric Traction Co	699	29 Midland Bank
6	Bush Boake Allen	1	30 Minet Holdings
7	Cape Industries	181	31 Norcros
8	CCL Group	7	32 Northern Engineering Industries
9	Croda International	1	33 Pilkington Bros
10	Dunlop Holdings	307	34 Pritchard Services Group
11	Exchem	20	35 Record Marples
12	GEI International	2	36 Renold
13	General Accident	2	37 Scapa Group
14	Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance	19	38 SGB Group
15	Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds	410	39 600 Group
16	Hall Engineering	1	40 Smith and Nephew
17	Hawker Siddley	4 (1983-84)	41 Standard Chartered Bank
18	P C Henderson Group	9	42 Tate and Lyle
19	Hunting Associated Industries	15	43 Turner and Newall
20	IMI	12	44 The Union International
21	International Distillers and Vinters	319	45 George Wimpey
22	Thomas Locker	13	
23	Lonrho plc	148	
24	Lopex	75 (1983-84)	

30. In their industrial relations records some British companies have blatantly impeded constructive change in South Africa. Subsidiaries in South Africa of BTR, Rowntree-Mackintosh and Shell have ruthlessly sought to break independent trade union organisations of black working people in their plants. The independent trade unions have made great gains in recruitment and in winning recognition mostly in the face of resistance by foreign companies in South Africa.

31. The British Government has consistently refused to penalise the companies for failing to meet the industrial relations or pay requirements of the Code, even by publicising the names of offending firms. The Government has sought to maintain a pretence that British companies' involvement has stimulated progressive change without in any way encouraging it.

Section III: Impact of UK Withdrawal from South Africa

32. This section assesses the likely impact of different economic measures that could be taken by the UK against South Africa. It looks at the effects of stopping loans, disinvestment, a general trade ban and targeted measures against such sectors as gold and fruit.

Ending Loans

33. This is a highly effective means of applying pressure on the South African economy. The action of the US banks in July 1985 precipitated the debt crisis in August-September which has still to be resolved.

34. The US banks — which are owed around \$5.3 bn — could exert a major influence. A demand for an extra \$2 bn capital repayments would require a cut in imports of more than a fifth. That in turn would have a sharp impact on the South African economy.

35. The South African Government has hinted that such action could result in a default on their international debt repayments which would have a destabilising impact on the world economy. However, this threat is rather hollow: a default would further undermine its ability in the long term to reschedule or raise new loans, without which South Africa would be driven into a deeper and deeper siege economy.

36. Moreover, the international money markets — which have managed to cope with the far more serious debt problems of countries such as Brazil and Mexico — could ride out the effects of a debt default on this scale.

Disinvestment

37. Market forces — as Section II pointed out — are already resulting in disinvestment in South Africa. UK investors are now taking out more in interest, profits and dividends than they are putting back in new money. What would be the impact of accelerating this process?

38. It has been argued that disinvestment would simply mean selling the total assets held by UK companies to South African companies, possibly at a knock-down price — leaving the productive capacity of the economy unchanged.

39. However, this underestimates the impact for two reasons: firstly, if disinvestment occurs on a wide scale it will have a depressing impact on the Johannesburg stock exchange as a whole. This would make it more difficult to raise new finance through rights issues.

40. Secondly, in the longer term, a freeze on new investment will hold back the modernisation of the economy and living standards. South Africa is highly dependent, for example, on imported technology.

41. The main problem facing investors is the need to convert out of rands at the Financial rather than Commercial rand rate.

42. One immediate step that could be taken by the Government would be to **remove** the Export Credit Guarantee Department's (ECGD) **export credit cover** for UK exports to South Africa. The Foreign Office believe that a ban on new export credit, if widely applied, could have a significant impact on economic growth and development in South Africa. New credit sources in 1985 were around \$2 billion. It would particularly affect large development projects which would be difficult to fund with cash.

43. British companies with assets in South Africa must judge the short term costs of withdrawal against the longer term financial damage which will inevitably flow from a deteriorating political situation and an economy under international economic siege. As observed above new investment in South Africa by foreign companies has already dried up because of the anticipated commercial risk. The losses which would be incurred through the withdrawal of assets at the discounted financial Rand exchange rate pale into insignificance when compared with the loss of trade with African and other countries which may result from reprisals against companies which retain assets in South Africa. The longer term and global interests of all British companies with investments in South Africa would best be served by complete disinvestment, whatever the short term costs. Likewise, investment opportunities in the inevitable future non-racist South Africa will be greatest for those companies which retract all economic support for the apartheid regime.

44. However, a long term assessment would still suggest that it makes more sense to withdraw assets at the financial Rand rate than run the risk of losing assets altogether. This is clearly the view of those companies which have already run down or sold off their holdings even before the recent sharp deterioration in the economic and political climate in South Africa. Over 10 million Rand flowed out of South Africa in 1985 alone. This could accelerate dramatically if the moves in the US Congress to impose sanctions are successful.

45. The current uncertainty on the South African Stock Exchange could in fact lead to a collapse in share prices if a siege economy develops. This will leave those with investments remaining in South Africa with paper assets of little or no value. Moreover, account should also be taken of the possible response of Commonwealth countries if the UK fail to withdraw investments from South Africa. It would be far more damaging to the UK if Commonwealth countries decided as a result to freeze UK assets or prevent the repatriation of profits. In 1984, for example, the Commonwealth took 39 per cent of net new outward investment by UK companies and contributed 38 per cent of total UK earnings from outward direct investment. The comparable figures for investment in South Africa were 2 per cent and 5 per cent.

46. Trustees could therefore be ignoring their long-term fiduciary duties if they fail to press for the return of assets, even if it is at the financial Rand rate.

Trade Ban

47. An effective UK ban on trade, especially if it was backed up by other leading economies, such as the US, Japan and W Germany would have a major impact on the South African economy.

48. Opposition to a trade ban has been voiced, especially in Government circles, on the grounds that it would lead to the loss of up to 250,000 jobs in the UK. A Foreign Office answer in December 1985 gave a figure of 50,000; within less than six months Downing Street has upped this figure to 120,000.

49. A number of points can be made in response to these claims: firstly, it is remarkable that the Government should show such concern over the threat of job losses in view of the fact that its policies have resulted in record job losses and the sharpest rise in unemployment this century.

50. Secondly, estimates of probable job losses are very difficult to make with any accuracy. UK visible exports to South Africa in 1985 amounted to around £1 bn — less than 1½ per cent of total UK exports. Actual job losses would depend on the state of world trade and the success of British exporters in finding alternative markets. Certainly the Government's figure, which has varied wildly anyway, is too high. Other estimates range as low as 10,000 predicted by Anti-Apartheid. However these surveys do not take account of the jobs which could be **gained** if trade with South Africa was to end ie, as a result of the potential credit built up with black African States. Nor does it take account of the potential vast increase in the South African market if the burden of apartheid was lifted. The following points can be made:

- That jobs will be lost on a much greater scale if the situation degenerates into civil war as will probably happen if sanctions are not applied.
- That failing to apply sanctions will cost us many more jobs if, as seems likely, other African countries and other third world countries switch orders for exports to other industrial countries which have said that they will apply sanctions. British firms are already at risk of losing orders and contracts in other countries as a result of the British Government's opposition to sanctions.
- That the government which will sooner or later replace the present regime will not be well disposed to economic and political co-operation with Britain if our government failed to act to isolate South Africa when it had the chance. In the long term that will cost us many more jobs than would the temporary application of sanctions.

51. The banning of South African imports could also be lived with. An industry expert has stated that virtually every mineral which we buy from South Africa could be bought elsewhere. A ban on **South African fruit sales** — which were valued at £158m in 1985 — could lead to some increase in price but alternative sources, including New Zealand and Australia, are readily available. The Foreign Office evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee published on July 30 indicates that a **ban on coal imports** would be a serious setback for the South African industry which account for 9 per cent of total exports. It suggests that it would not be difficult for the UK to find alternative sources for the £40m worth of coal imports. It does not mention the possible employment benefits to the UK industry.

52. A ban on **steel** products would be harder to enforce as the identification of source is more difficult. But a joint ban by the EEC, Japan and the US would have a significant impact on South Africa's total steel exports and it would have a minimal impact on the UK economy.

53. A ban on **air links** would increase South African isolation and further damage business confidence. British Airways could stand to lose up to £60m in revenues but much would depend on how much business was diverted to airports in the Front Line States. If this did occur then it would at least mean that the Front Line States would receive much needed hard currency.

Gold Ban

54. Gold sales could be targetted as a highly effective way of putting pressure on S.A. Although it is difficult to impose a complete embargo on such a product, a collective decision of leading economies to sell a part of their gold reserves could force down the gold price. A halving of the gold price would, for example, reduce total export earnings by a quarter.

Summary

55. There is a range of economic measures which could be used to put pressure on South Africa. Financial sanctions, through the termination of loans, would possibly have the most direct and immediate impact. Disinvestment would inevitably take longer to implement effectively but it would eventually have a major impact on the modernisation of the economy. A trade ban could also be undertaken quickly; the share of UK exports going to South Africa is less than 2 per cent and the overall jobs impact in the UK would be minimal. A 'gold' sanction would be a particularly effective trade measure. What cannot be in doubt is that longer term costs in terms of jobs and investment of opposing effective sanctions far outweigh the short term costs of action against South Africa. Eventually the apartheid regime will be replaced and the new South African Government will certainly not be well disposed to opening up constructive economic and political links with Britain if it continues to take in its power to frustrate change. The rest of the world, with which Britain conducts 98 per cent of its trade, will make its own judgement.

Commonwealth Summit

56. At the recent Commonwealth Summit on Southern Africa, six of the seven governments represented agreed to implement a package of economic measures against South Africa. The British Government however, refused to support effective sanctions and instead agreed to largely voluntary measures which would have little impact. The UK is to place a ban on new investment in South Africa, which has virtually ceased in any case because of commercial uncertainties. The promotion of tourism to South Africa will be voluntarily curbed, although it is difficult to estimate what this will add up to in practice. The UK will also go along with the proposed EEC co-ordinated package of sanctions which focusses on coal, and iron and steel imports from South Africa.

57. Coal imports to the EEC total \$4.2 billion of which South African coal accounts for \$969 million. Italy and France are South Africa's biggest customers, followed by West Germany and Denmark. The main sources of alternative supply for coal are likely to be the US, Australia and Poland. Iron and steel imports from South Africa account for only \$324 million in a total trade worth \$7.6 billion. West Germany is the largest customer for South African iron and steel.

58. The other six Commonwealth nations at the summit agreed a much stronger package of sanctions, in line with the Nassau agreement. The sanctions include a ban on the import of South African fruit and vegetables, a severing of air links, an enforceable ban on new investment or re-investment or profits earned in South Africa, the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa, and the termination of government assistance to investment and trade with South Africa.

59. The Democrat-controlled House of Representatives in the US has passed a sweeping sanctions bill, severing virtually all US commercial ties with South Africa. Measures approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee include a ban on US investment, bank loans and imports from corporations controlled by the Pretoria government, primarily affecting coal and uranium. Landing rights for South African Airways would be withdrawn, the President would be authorised to sell US gold to depress world prices and the South African Government and state controlled corporations would be prevented from using the US banking system. These developments make strong US economic measures against South Africa in the near future almost certain. This would leave Britain isolated as the main appeaser of apartheid.

60. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence presented in this document is unmistakable. Though Britain has so far avoided the issue of mandatory and effective economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa, global opinion is flowing inevitably towards that conclusion. Britain will eventually have to come into line with this universal condemnation and delay now will only increase the costs later. The same principle applies to British companies which have investments in and trade with South Africa. Whatever the short term costs of withdrawal, the eventual price of delay will inevitably be higher. Action now is the most prudent financial course.

The Role of Pension Fund Trustees

61. Trade unionists can play a key role in applying economic pressure on South Africa, through pension funds and trade embargoes.

62. Trade union trustees on pensions funds can put pressure on UK companies in a number of ways. Firstly, pension fund trustees can use their shareholder rights in companies with major holdings in S.A. to press for no new investment and for no reinvestment of profits in South Africa. Secondly, companies

could then be pressed to disinvest altogether. Thirdly, as an interim measure, trustees should ensure that UK companies are at least complying with the Code of Conduct of European Community Governments. Advice on these matters can be obtained from the TUC Economic and International Departments.

63. The wider pension fund issues will be discussed fully at a TUC conference on pension fund investment in October, but the TUC will be pressing pension fund trustees to raise immediately the question of investment in South Africa. If necessary, emergency meetings of pension fund boards should be called for in view of the escalating crisis in South Africa. A letter, attaching this brief, will be sent to all the trustees on the TUC circulation list.

Main Sources

End Loans to South Africa (ELTSAs)
(PO Box 686, London NW5 2NW)

Ethical Investment Research and
Investment Services (EIRIS)
(Poland Street, London)

The Financial Times
(Survey, March 2)

The Economist

Labour Research Department
(September 1985)

Appendix D LIST OF TRADE UNIONISTS DETAINED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

D. HARTFORD, *Editor, Johannesburg*
D. KHUMALO, *Pretoria*
GREGORY MALEBO, *Tembisa*
R. MARAWU, *Cape Town*
M. MKHWANAZI
BOTH A MODISAPOLI, *Tumahole*
SIBUSISO MPANZA
SKAKANE MPANZA
VELABANTU MZUZANI
BRIAN NALEDI, *Bloemfontein*
S. NCAPAYI
N. NHLEKO
HLANATHI SIBANKULU
HAZEKA SKHAKANE
LANGELEHLE SKHAKANE
NOEL WILLIAMS, *Vice-Chairman, Empangeni*
ZULENI

Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)

JAMES MNDAWENI, *President*
FEZILE DABI, *Legal Unit*
MADI MATHEWS, *Organiser, Newcastle*
SIMON MSIBI, *Organiser*
MERCIOUS MADI
MARY JANE NTLAKANA
D. MADOLA
TEMBILA MJESU
MIRIAM NOKELELO
VICTOR TWALA
PAULOS NKOSI
SIPRIUM CEBEKULU
JOHANNES NGODESE
DAVID RATHULU
SIMON MASIBI
ABRAHAM MARUTING
MZIWEMTI TWALA
THOMAS KEKANE
HERZION SEKETE
THULINGITHINI ZULU
ISRAEL MCHUNU
MATHINIKWANA KUMALO
THOMAS MACHABA
CHRISTOPHER DUBAZANA
EZEKIEL THABONG
JOSEPH MAPHONGA
ALBERT SEBANGA
BEN MOTSHELE
TOLO NOTOLO
JOHANNES NCOLOLANE
SAREL SHUPING
DAN LETHOLE
ZADO KGATLE
ANDREW MORIFI
ALEX MAHLAJI
ELIOT MATIBITIDI
AVRAGAN NAKATHU
LEWIS MATSHABANE
ISAAC SEGWATA
JACK PHAHLAMOHLAHA
JAMES MOTLANA
MESHACK MAHONONO
FREDDIE PILANE
SIPHO MZOLO
MKHIZE MJEMLA
DAVID SHAI
RUBEN ASHEKA

Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (AZACTU)

M. BOKALA
BATHEMBA LUGEHUANE
SAMKELO MAGEZA
HENDRIK MAHGALAGODI
THEKISO MLATSWANE
M. MPHALELE
T. MOHLEKA
T. RAMALAMULA
MONWABISI VIKI

African Allied Workers Union (AAWU)

BATHEMBA LUGULWANA
SAMKELO MNGEZA
CARTER SELEKE

African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA)

H. H. DLAMENZE, *General Secretary*

Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU)

S. THEKISO HLATSWANE, *Organiser*
S. MOKGALAGADI, *Regional Organiser*
MONWABISI VIKI, *Kimberley*

Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)

NHLAPO

Black General Workers Union (BGWU)

M. BOKALA, *Regional Secretary*
E. MATSAPA
MOSES MPHAHLELE, *Regional Secretary*
T. RAMALAMULA, *Organiser*

Black Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (BHAWUSA)

JABU VILAKAZI, *Johannesburg*

Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)

PHILLITUS MONOKENG

Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU)

G. DAVID
I. M. KETOLO
REUBEN KOMANA, *East London*
V. MAVUSO, *Johannesburg*
TAPHI MASILEILA, *Evander*
ALFRED MONARENG
GERALD MSIZA
LAURENCE NTLOKOA, *Krugersdorp*
ALEXANDER PETERSON
I. RANTSATSI, *Shop Steward, Germiston*
I. SEDWABA, *Shop Steward, Germiston*
W. SELEKU, *Shop Steward, Secunda*
BENJAMIN THABO TSELE, *Benoni*
J. M. XOTIENI, *New Brighton*

Clothing Workers Union (CWU)

ELIZABETH ERASMUS, *General Secretary*
DAWN ADAM
CHARLES AZIZA
GAVIN HARTLEY
MIKE NORTON

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA)

BEN BOIKANYO
PETRUS BEKKERS
M. HLONGWENI
MATSAMAI KELELE
P. KLAAS
SIMON MAHLANGO
WILLIE MAKARINGE, *Tembisa*
C. MAKHENE
MAKHUDU
A. MALETSO
JOHANNES MAMABOLA
O. MAROELTSE
JOSIAS MASANGO
MURIEL MASHELE
MATSOSO
F. MAZIBUKU
R. MCULWANE, *Harrismith*
VUKILE MGQUBA
JOSHUA MLONGO, *Empangeni*
E. MMABO MOKGETHI, *Rustenberg*
M. W. MNCEDISA
S. MOGOBORI
DANIEL MOGLOSANE, *Brakpan*
JOSEPH MOKOENA
M. MOLOITSI
E. MONGALE
O. MOROELETSE, *Bloemfontein*
SATHIEL B. MOSOBORI, *Hlabane*
VICTOR I. MOTHATA
AVON MTSANE, *Shop Steward*
JUDITH MTSHALI
TIMOTHY NKWANA
STELLA NOHUTTULA, *Katlehong*
ELIAS NSELE
A. NYATHI
STEVEN PATSA
LILLIAN RADEBE, *Germiston*
ISIAH M. RAMALOTO
A. RAMOLOPE
SHADRACK SEGALO
ISAAC SEGWAPA
ALBERT SELLO TIBANE
KAISER THIBEDI, *Organiser*
A. TLEANE, *Johannesburg*
LUCAS TSHABADIRA, *Bloemfontein*
ZOLIKE VILAKAZI
K. XULU

Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU)

LIZ ABRAHAMS
LINDA COOPER
COROLLA, *Ashton*
DAYI, *Ashton*
FINIZE, *Ashton*
GERTSE, *Ashton*
GREET
GWINTA, *Ashton*
JANTJIES, *Ashton*

JAPHTA, *Ashton*
M. NARE JULIAS, *Ashton*
GERT KUNANA
LENTU, *Shop Steward, Fort Beaufort*
SOLOMON MACINA, *Grobblersdal*
PHILIP MAGAQA, *Grobblersdal*
RABADLILE MAGOLIYANE, *Grobblersdal*
MAGOLO, *Ashton*
ASSEMBLE MAISELA, *Grobblersdal*
M. T. MABUZA
U. MACDONALD, *Cape Town*
ELIAS MAKUEN, *Cape Town*
MANGCOLA, *Ashton*
JOSEPH MARUIMO, *Grobblersdal*
TEMPLETON MASINA, *Grobblersdal*
MATROOS, *Ashton*
ANNIE MENTOOR, *Cape Town*
ENOCH MFIKWA, *Harrismith*
WELCOME MGABI, *Grobblersdal*
TOM MKWANAZI, *Empangeni*
SAMUEL MKWANAZI, *Grobblersdal*
ADAM MODINGWANE, *Grobblersdal*
ANDRIES MOKOKENG, *Grobblersdal*
SAM MOIKOENA, *Grobblersdal*
SAMSON MSIPHA, *Grobblersdal*
THEMBA MUBUSA, *Brakpan*
BERNARD MWELAFE, *Grobblersdal*
NABTHILE, *Ashton*
NDUNDWA, *Ashton*
T. NHLAPHO, *Vereeniging*
BETTIE NICOSI, *Grobblersdal*
JOSHUA NICOSI, *Grobblersdal*
TSETSEDO NTHLAPO, *Vanderbilt Park*
RON PETERSON, *Bloemfontein*
PIETERSE
GEORGE PUNDA
QHAWULA, *Ashton*
ALAN ROBERTS
JOSEPH SELEPE, *Grobblersdal*
ARNOLD SIPHOXO, *Grobblersdal*
MARIANNE SMITH
REMIOUS SOCIDLA, *Grobblersdal*
LIYMOND THABETHE, *Grobblersdal*
WILLIAMS, *Ashton*
W. ZWENI, *Shop Steward, Cape Town*

Food and Beverage Workers Union (FBWU)

CHRISTOPHER DUBANZA, *Shop Steward*
MZIWEMPI JWALA
THOMAS KEKANE, *Shop Steward*
ABEL KHUMALO
MATHINIKWANA KUMALO
THOMAS MACHABA, *Shop Steward*
ABRAM MARUPING, *Shop Steward*
LUCY MAINE
SIMON MASIBI, *Organiser*
ISRAEL MCHUNU, *Shop Steward*
MOGALEFA
JAMES MOTLANA, *Shop Steward*
HERTZION SEKETE, *Shop Steward*
THULANGITHINI XULU, *Shop Steward*

General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU)

IMPI H. ADU, *Port Elizabeth*
JOHN DIRE
MABEBO
ABEL S. MAKONYOU
AMOS MASONDO
EDWIN MOEKETSI
PATRICK MOKOBUNG, *Kimberley*

SUCH MUKONYONE, *Krugersdorp*
WILLIAM S. SEIMELO
THABO SILO, *Klerksdorp*

General Workers Union of South Africa (GWUSA)

LOLO DITSHIGO
J. MAKHAMBELA

Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA)

MATHATHA TSHEUDI, *Chairman, Pietersburg*
MICHAEL COETZEE
MXOLISE FUZILE
KHANGALE MAKHADO
PHILA NGQUMBA

Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU)

MOSES MAYEKISO, *General Secretary*
DUZI
JIZELA
J. KOMANE, *Shop Steward, Pretoria*
ELLEN KOZA
ERIC LINDA
SIPHO MABIZELA, *Katlehong*
MICHAEL MABOYAKULU, *Empangeni*
PETER MABUSELA
D. S. MADI
M. T. MADIMOKOAME, *Brits*
EZEKIEL MNGXOLO, *Kimberley*
BARNEY MASHIGO
STEVEN MATUME
S. M. MAUSANE
DUMA AMOS MCALA, *Duduza*
VINCENT MKHONZA, *Empangeni*
J. MOHAKWE, *Pretoria*
J. MOGATUWE
M. T. MODIMOKOANE
B. MODISAPUDI, *Branch Secretary, Johannesburg*
J. MOROPA
P. MOROKE
JACKSON MTHEMBU
MTHIMBA
FREDDIE MTSHALI, *Newcastle*
S. MOYO
NELSON NGWENYA, *Johannesburg*
J. NKU, *Shop Steward, Pretoria*
B. PETERSON, *Johannesburg*
TOM PETERS
D. SIHLANGU, *Shop Steward Pretoria*
DANIEL TLADI
SIMON TSHABALA, *Brakpan*
GORDON VUYANI NKOSI, *Chesterville*

Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA)

DENNIS NEER, *Secretary*
THEMBA DUZE
HLABIZULA
FIKILE KOBESE
MICHAEL M. KOYANA, *Port Elizabeth*
GEGE MBIKANYE, *Port Elizabeth*
IVY NGCINA

National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU)

ENOCH CHUNGWA, *Port Elizabeth*
ERIC DALI, *Zwide*
T. C. DUNJWA
JOHANNES MAMABULA
JIMMY MANYISANE
W. MCHUNA
SETSI MOROESELE, *Official*
TINY NTULI, *Official*
PETER PHEKU
S. RAMAKUBE, *Pretoria*
DEREK SESHEGO

National Education Workers Union of South Africa (NEWUSA)

S. DICKSON

National Iron, Steel, Metal and Allied Workers Union (NISMAWU)

HAMILTON MKWANAZI, *Empangeni*
THABANI MLAMBO
HERBERT NDLANZE

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)

L. BABUSENG, *Kimberley*
MANNIE DIPITSO, *Kimberley*
MOSES GLADELE, *Klerksdorp*
M. T. HEMPA
D. LEKOWA
EZEKIEL MNGXOLO, *Kimberley*
R. MCLOKWANE
J. MOROKA
TSHIDO MOTHUPI, *Soweto*
NONQOQB, *Kimberley*
JOHANNES PHATE, *Regional Coordinator*
J. PIKI
PYPAS, *Kimberley*
MOSES TLADILE, *Klerksdorp*

National Union of Printing and Allied Workers (NUPAW)

THANDEKA MPANDE

National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW)

Z. GALELA
F. HADEBE, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
M. KHESWA
FREDDIE MAGUGU, *Uitenhage*
P. MAPHALALA, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
SHADRACK MARUMO, *Tumahole*
S. MAVUSO, *Shop Steward, Thembisa*
C. M. MINI
M. MKHIZE
S. MKHWANAZI, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
HARRY KENALAMENG MOILOA, *Moblakeng*
A. MOLOI, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
P. MOLOI, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
M. MOTSOUNYANE, *Shop Steward, Harrismith*
L. MSIBI
JAPHET MUSA
JABULANI NTULI
SELLO MOLEFE RADEVE, *Harrismith*

K. TAU
P. TSHABALALA
RICHARD KHULU TSHABALALA,
Harrismith
LYDIA TSOTETSI

**National Union of Wine, Spirits and Allied
Workers (NUSWAW)**

D. MADOLA
M. F. MAQUINGO
T. W. MJESU
DOCTOR NKOSI
MARY JANE NTLAKANA, *Shop Steward*

**Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union
(PWAU)**

ZAMXOLO JEBESE
MALUSI KEPE
S. KHUBEKA, *Johannesburg*
ALBERTINA MAGIDA, *Zwide*
J. MAGAGULA, *Shop Steward, Piet Retief*
A. MOTH, *Shop Steward, Piet Retief*
R. MPAKHO
Z. E. MTHIMKHULU
JAMES NTSHINGILA
MXENDISI PIYO
A. M. WILLEM, *Official, Port Elizabeth*
MLOLAMI ZENGETHWA

**Retail and Allied Workers Union of South
Africa (RAWUSA)**

DONSI KHUMALO, *Mamelodi*

**South African Allied Workers Union
(SAAWU)**

JAMES BOOI, *Cape Town*
BUSAKHWE
JOACHIM K. DAU, *Pretoria*
K. DAU
LOLO DITSHEGO
GWUSA
SIDWELL HALIM, *Cape Town*
ELLIOT LEPHOO
ANDREW MAFUTA, *Johannesburg*
J. MAKHAMBELA
THABO MATSIENG, *Welkom*
J. MASEMULA, *Cape Town*
ASSEMBLE MAYISELA, *Springs*
MKHOSA
P. MOLEPO
MOZWI
ZOLIE MTSHELWANE, *Pretoria*
JANNIE MOHAPI, *Bloemfontein*
JOHN MOKOENA
NONTSOLO MZUZWANA
B. NAKEDI, *Bloemfontein*
THEMBA NGUNI
NKAYI
ADAM SAILA
SEFILE
BIGBOY SETSUMI
TEMBA SITAS
GEORGINA SOAHAOTSI, *Bloemfontein*
THOZAMA TSOLO, *Cape Town*
FREDDIE VANGCA, *Welkom*

**South African Chemical Workers Union
(SACWU)**

CYPRIAN CEBEKULU
JACK KGATLE
DAN LETHOLE
MESHACK MAHONONO
JOSEPH MAPHANGA
SOLLY MATHEWS
JERRY MOLOKOANE
ANDREW MORIFI, *Branch Chairman*
TOLO MOTOLO
V. MOTSAMAI
BEN MOTSHELA
SIPHO MXOLO
JOHANNES NCOLOLANE
GORDON SMILE NGWENU
PAULOS NKOSI
DAVID RAPHULU
ALBERT SEBANGA
SAREL SHUPING
EZEKIEL THABONG
VICTOR THWALA, *Shop Steward*

Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU)

SAM FEZILE TIYO, *President*
THEMBA WILSON NQIKASHA

Transport and Allied Workers Union (TAWU)

ABRAHAM MALTJIE, *Shop Steward,
Northern Transvaal*
LOUIS MASHABANE, *Chairman, Shop
Stewards Committee, Lebowa*
ELLIOT MATHIBEDI
SIMON MMATLI, *Shop Steward*
JOHANNES M. NGOBESE, *Organiser*
JACK PHALAMOH

**Transport and General Workers Union
(TGWU)**

SAMSON CHABULA, *Cape Town*
H. MARAWU, *Organiser, Cape Town*
JAPIE MASILELA, *Secunda*
J. MATROOS, *Official, Port Elizabeth*
L. MTHANE
NGUBENI
A. NKOSI
SABELA
M. SIKARDE, *Shop Steward, Cape*
SAMPSON TSHAMBULA, *Shop Steward,
Cape*
TIMOTHY ZONDO, *Shop Steward, Secunda*

**United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers
Union of South Africa (UMMAU)**

E. GODONGWANE
S. NTULI

Others

CITE HLABIZULU, *Welkom*
AUBREY MORIFI
DORA NTIBANE
P. SEABELA
SEAPEI, *Bloemfontein*
STOREY THULO

Total number
of trade unionists
detained as known
at 22 August 1986:

426