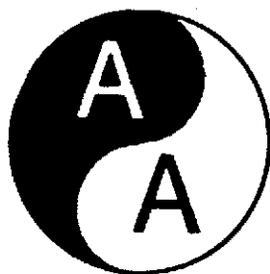
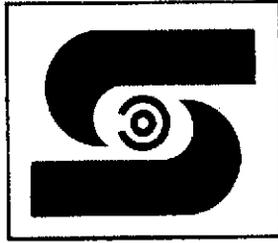


SHEFFIELD AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



An Anti-Apartheid Movement Publication



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The Sheffield Declaration



An Anti-Apartheid Movement publication based on the key-note addresses to a United Nations Symposium on the role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia organised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Sheffield City Council on the theme "Sheffield and Southern Africa" on November 1st and 2nd 1982



Nelson Mandela Gardens, in front of Leeds Town Hall

Introduction

Robert Hughes MP

Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

I am delighted to be able to write the Introduction to this short pamphlet which reproduces the keynote addresses to the United Nations Symposium held in November 1982 on the theme "Sheffield and Southern Africa".

The Symposium was a historic event for it saw the United Nations and a local authority combining forces to extend public understanding about the situation in Southern Africa. At the same time it represented a very serious effort to come to grips with the problems confronting us in seeking effective action against the apartheid regime.

I must start by paying tribute to Sheffield and David Blunkett, who on the occasions I have heard him speak, has proved to be a man of vision. But, as I am sure he will be the first to concede, he articulates the collective voice of the majority of Sheffield Council.

We in the Anti-Apartheid Movement are grateful to them for extending the debate on sanctions. We are the persuaders, we must create the climate, the conditions, the commitment to ensure that Governments do more than pay lip service to the aim of ending apartheid, but actually cease prevarication and take action.

For those of us who are actively engaged in the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement it is difficult for us to record progress, for we cannot be satisfied until apartheid is eradicated.

We can, however, take credit for forcing the issue of sanctions to the forefront of national and international debate. No one now argues or very few do that we have no locus standi for intervention in the affairs of South Africa.

The argument, the debate, the discussion is now about what should be done, and when.

It is important to recognise that the first appeal for sanctions was made by Albert Luthuli in 1959 when he said

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

That call for an economic boycott has been repeated and reaffirmed, countless times, during the intervening years between then and now.

During this period a number of principle themes have emerged from the sanctions debate.

In summary these are

Increasing foreign investment in the South African economy will lead to further industrial development and apartheid will wither away.

The late Aneurin Bevan used to say "why look into the crystal ball when you can read the book". It can clearly be demonstrated that this proposition of the benign influence of investment is contrary to the facts.

It is often forgotten that the black population did once have a tenuous toehold in the political system. Prior to 1936, Africans in the Cape Province were on the common voters roll, but this was abolished in 1936 and replaced by a separate roll to elect three white representatives in the House of Assembly. Simultaneously, provision was made for African electoral colleges to elect four white senators to represent Africans throughout the Union. This prevailed until 1961 when blacks were totally excluded, even from this indirect representation. Until 1956, Coloured voters, a separate race group under the apartheid system, remained on the common voters roll — this was replaced by a separate roll to elect four white representatives to the House of Assembly. In 1961 this too was abolished and the 177-member House of Assembly was elected exclusively by whites for whites.

This is but one example of how, far from withering away, the apartheid system has become even more entrenched and its roots have been nurtured by investment. Apartheid is much more than an evil racist system based upon a misreading and misinterpretation of the Bible. It is now and in reality probably always has been, an economic system.

The second proposition we are often faced with is "that foreign investment can be used constructively to advance African interests and to improve wages and conditions."

Essentially this is no more than a refinement of the defence of slavery, which was to the effect that slave owners provided shelter and food and paternalism for the slaves and that abolition would make them economically worse off.

However, again the facts disprove the proposition for investment has been going on for a long time.

In 1924 Africans made up 68% of the population and earned 18% of the country's personal income.

In 1970, Africans made up 70% of the population and received 19% of the income.

In 1975 African per capita income was estimated at between R200 and R250: white per capita income was R2500, ie 10 times as much.

The recent wave of industrial action results in my view from falling living standards for Africans and from a desire for real economic advance coupled with demands for real political change.

The third proposition is that "economic relations with South Africa can be employed selectively to pressurise for change in South Africa".

There are two strands to this:

An echo of the previous proposition that investment is benign – which once again can be disproved.

During the 1960s the South African Parliament put on the Statute Book ever more repressive laws against civil liberties. 1963 saw the 90-day law – enabling interrogation in solitary confinement for 90 days at a time of persons suspected of certain security offences or of having information relevant to national security. No court control or intervention was permitted. I should stress 90 days at a time – when released the detainee could be immediately re-detained and the process could be repeated ad infinitum.

In 1965 the 90 day law was replaced by the 180 day law which extended the period for which a detainee could be held.

In 1967 the Terrorism Act introduced indefinite detention of any person suspected of the catch all offence of terrorism or of having information on terrorism. Again, the courts are expressly precluded from intervening. In 1976 preventive detention was introduced which authorises the Minister of Justice to detain for as long as he wishes.

It is no exaggeration to say that thousands have been detained under these various laws, hundreds have been tortured and many have not lived to tell the tale of their incarceration.

In parallel there is the power to restrict activity under the 'banning orders'. How dare anyone speak of the constructive influence of investment?

The second strand of this proposition is the selective sanctions approach. That is by choosing a particular commodity or financial stricture white South Africa can be pressurised to mend its ways and pursue meaningful reform. Here I must be careful about mixing my analogies. But this is a bit like treating an allergy, you try one thing – if it does not work you try another – and so on if the allergy persists.

We do not have time for this approach. How long do we allow for the particular sanction to work? How long are we prepared to allow the oppression and degradation to continue?

It is for that reason that I turn to the fourth and in my view the only real proposition with any chance of success: the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions to isolate South Africa completely.

I come to that for the fundamental reason that I do not believe the apartheid system is capable of reform.

I should say that in going for comprehensive economic sanctions, I am not taking a blue print approach, that is to say, I do not argue that nothing can be done until comprehensive sanctions can be achieved.

I am not rejecting what I can best describe as a multi-pronged approach. Each country should in conjunction with others impose, if necessary, selective and where possible co-ordinated sanctions. Oil sanctions is one example.

Similarly, each country can do things of its own accord. For example, Britain could

- refuse Export Credit Guarantees to South Africa
- stop trade missions
- stop all new investments through exchange controls

Similarly the African countries could force transnationals to choose — to stop investing in South Africa or face action against them by African Governments. All these may seem a small part of the whole. But I re-emphasise that whilst these individual or co-ordinated activities take place they will be no substitute for comprehensive sanctions.

Now the type of sanctions which the international community decides to apply will depend on what the objectives are. Are they minor reforms and amelioration of conditions? Or are they to be small but sustained political advance? Or are they to be the complete eradication of the apartheid system?

If you share my objective that only eradication of apartheid will suffice, then we have to look at the role sanctions have to play in events in Southern Africa.

We are, in my view, faced with what many people will regard, as I myself have regarded it, as a major moral dilemma.

I believe that sanctions can only be applied — and be successful — as part of, and in support of the liberation struggle in its totality — including the armed struggle of amongst others, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress.

The ANC decided to include the armed struggle in its strategy only after decades of non-violent passive resistance, only after it was declared an unlawful organisation, and only after the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21 1960 when the regime made it clear that it would continue to retain its domination by its own military strength.

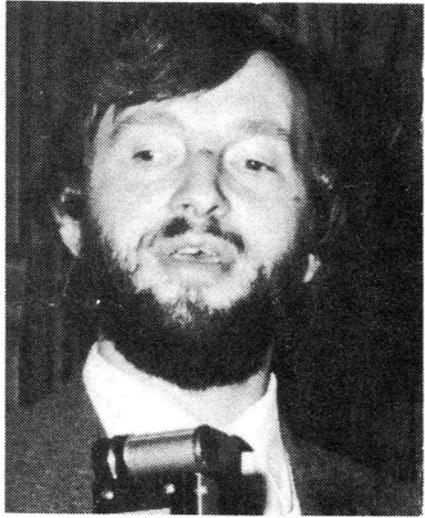
The armed struggle is a reality which I believe we must support. During the Second World War we supported the French resistance, the Yugoslav partisans and other liberation groups.

We can do no less for the liberation movements in Southern Africa. All our efforts, in however small or large a part we can play, will help to reduce the conflict, will help to save lives, will assist in reducing the bloodshed, will reduce the South African regime's capacity to destroy.

Everything we can do together will bring the day of freedom nearer. I recognise that the struggle for freedom from oppression in its widest sense only begins the day after national political independence is achieved.

It is not for me or anyone else to choose for a free South Africa how it should order its affairs. But I do believe that our purpose is to help bring about a non-racial democratic society where all South Africans may have the opportunity to have access to the riches and resources which abound in that country, and where all may work in harmony to contribute towards its further development.

We must all strive to our utmost to bring this about as soon as is humanly possible.



Apartheid: Its Challenge to Sheffield

David Blunkett
Leader of Sheffield City Council

It is a very serious matter that we are dealing with but a lot of things we are dealing with need to be got across to the ordinary people in the street. That is why we in Sheffield are very pleased indeed to be able to host this UN Symposium. It is alright holding discussions in places like New York, London, Paris or Switzerland, eating good dinners, drinking wine, being friends and having bonhomie, but the real struggle is going on in South Africa.

The struggle also goes on in the industrial cities throughout the world, in cities like Sheffield, because we have to convince ordinary trade unionists and ordinary workers, not only that they should be taking action themselves to promote the interests of their fellow workers in South Africa who are facing the exploitation and degradation of apartheid, but that we, as a City, and they, as people, must appreciate the inter-connection of what is happening in South Africa and what is happening in our cities, towns and villages. It is all the same struggle.

Freedom from exploitation

I make no apology for repeating something that I have said before and that is the relevance of the seminar in Sheffield today is the relevance of the issues of justice and equality, freedom from exploitation, and the promotion of democracy. What we actually face in the industrial world, as well as in the under-

developed world, is a struggle to prevent the further creeping paralysis of exploitation, of man using other people in order to make profit and to make success for themselves. That fight is taking place in Sheffield and in the UK today. It is taking place in a way that should relate what is happening in South Africa to the struggle of ordinary individuals and ordinary workers here. That is important because unless the ordinary workers feel that the problems they face are relevant to those of the international community, they will be persuaded to turn away by a climate of selfishness and greed that is being promoted throughout the industrial world. They will be persuaded that the struggles taking place in South Africa are nothing to do with them.

Racism in Sheffield

It is absolutely crucial, therefore, that we get across the message that the fight against racism in South Africa is a fight against racism back here in Sheffield. If we are to do that, if we are to actually persuade people that the fight against racism in our communities, in our schools and in our factories, is the same fight as the one in South Africa, then we are in fact going to have to do a job of education.

When Ruth Mompati, on behalf of the African National Congress, came to Sheffield in 1981 and received the Declaration on behalf of Nelson Mandela, we listed not only the things that the Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth referred to, but we listed some things that I think are often forgotten.

Of course, the questions of disinvestment, of removing trade, of struggling to ensure that we do not purchase goods that are made in South Africa, are important but the issues of educating, of informing and of acting in the local community are as crucial to our success as the wider issues that we can try to persuade nations to adopt, because unless we can begin to get across a policy of anti-racism in our schools and colleges and in our libraries, unless we can spread that policy to our community services and our adult education, unless we can begin to inform people in their everyday lives of trade unions struggling in factories throughout this City, then we are bound to fail because we will not have won over the people to the cause. The battle that we have to win to get rid of apartheid will have merely convinced sufficient people to make gestures that may well fail in the long run. That is why it is important to have a Symposium in the fourth largest city in Britain, to link that with the struggle for alternatives to the system that we have in our own country and to the difficulties that we face in bringing about a more equal and just society in our country. All these things are linked together and ought to be discussed fully.

Rowntree Mackintosh

If I can begin to list the kind of things that are relevant to workers in Sheffield then I think people will begin to get a picture of the degree of difficulty that we are going to have. I don't just mean in making gestures like stopping buying Rowntree Mackintosh sweets or South African oranges, or in ensuring that we disinvest and that we, as a City Council, put our money into

particular firms, particular industries and particular holdings. The struggle that we have is to actually ensure that the gestures we make are turned into the kind of reality relevant to those people who are struggling and giving their lives in South Africa.

We know that we have large numbers of firms in Sheffield who have both investment and relevant trade links with South Africa. We have RTZ owning Thos. Ward. We have, of course, the Lonrho Corporation who have managed to destroy a large part of Hadfields. We have the situation of firms like Record Ridgeway, now owned by Barco of Sweden, who have been involved in subsidiaries trading, producing and selling back to this country for some time. There is a whole range of firms which are relevant to Sheffield, as well as the national firms like Ford, BL and so on, who are involved not merely in trading with South Africa but in using South Africa as a method of disengaging from this country, undermining employment in this country and ensuring that our workers are put at risk, whilst at the same time undermining the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa. It is that dual pincer movement of the multi-nationals that we need to appreciate. The actual reality of undermining the struggle for working people to have dignity and independence in this country whilst at the same time denigrating and destroying the struggle of the worker in South Africa for freedom from apartheid. That is the crucial endeavour that we need to be engaged in whether we are in a community like ours in Sheffield or whether we are fighting in the international community through the United Nations. We must convince people that what we say is both morally right and economically and politically right as well.

Coal exports

We have, for instance, in this city (and I shall link the whole question of imports and exports because they cannot be separated from the question of investment) a firm called Burnett and Hallamshire. Not many people have heard of it. They are actually engaged in investment in South Africa in the mining industry. They not only produce goods that are sold to the mining industry in South Africa but they are in the business of the export of that product to the European Community. Seventy five per cent of the exports of coal from South Africa comes to the EEC. Not much of it comes to Britain but a large proportion of it actually goes to our main markets in the EEC. The Burnett and Hallamshire company are just installing in Gwent a major import capacity which will allow them to import 1,000 tons of coal an hour from the EEC. They are doing so at the same time as the threat to the mining industry in this country is being exacerbated by the deliberate policy of our own government to expand investment in nuclear power. The international pincer movement that we see there is reflected, time and time again, in firms who currently export under the guise of promoting trade with South Africa, whilst at the same time deliberately undermining the future of the people in this and other industrial countries. They do not do so to enhance the capacity of the workers in South Africa to be able to produce and develop their standard of living and their freedom. They do so

purely to produce profit for themselves. We cannot separate the struggle for a different sort of society at local, national and international level from the struggle of the worker in South Africa to throw that yoke off, because even firms that tell us that they are only investing in South Africa as a way of ensuring that we can keep people in employment in Sheffield and elsewhere, actually with their own actions undermine the very words they use.

Chamber of Commerce

Take the Chamber of Commerce in Sheffield. They are frightened of this symposium. They are worried about people openly debating genuine issues. Of course, they are sympathetic to the worker being exploited. They come to our dinners, they sit down and drink our wine (that is, the community's wine), they shake our hands and blow their cigar smoke all over us and they tell us how concerned and worried they are about apartheid but that since they cannot do anything about it, they might as well join the rabble in carrying it through.

I wondered why the Chamber of Commerce were so concerned that the City Council should not promote an alternative way forward. Well, it seems the present Chairman of the Chamber in Sheffield is Dr. Harvey. Dr. Harvey is Chairman of British Acheson which is part of Union Carbide. Union Carbide own 49% of the investment in Ferrochrome which is now one of the main exports in terms of the dependence of the British steel industry on South Africa. Only 30% of Ferrochrome in the world comes from South Africa, but nearly three quarters of the Ferrochrome used in the British steel industry comes from South Africa. Investments by Union Carbide in the mining industry and promotion by the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce is something quite unique.

It was very rightly mentioned by the Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth that Sheffield has a major stake in the struggles of the past and I hope that it will in the future. It is interesting to look at slavery. We have now got a new version of it. It is called the export of skills, the export of the white skilled worker from Britain, enhanced and helped by Mrs. Thatcher's latest export policy. It is called 'mass unemployment'.

In 1980, the Chamber of Commerce hosted mining, engineering and metal experts from South Africa. They came here as guests of the Chamber with one intention. That was to recruit skilled workers from the steel, engineering and mining industries of this area to go to South Africa. Those skills have been recruited in order to promote the further exploitation of the South African worker and the South African economy. Those workers not only exploit and provide greater profits, but they also destroy the struggle and the opportunity for black workers to develop their skills and expertise in order to provide a way forward for the 80% of the population currently held in the latest form of slavery.

Job losses

Now the Chamber of Commerce in their many guises are concerned. They talk about the loss of hundreds of jobs in Sheffield by our policy of disengagement and yet thousands of jobs are destroyed in Sheffield and in Yorkshire



The National Union of Mineworkers delegation to the Sheffield Symposium make a special presentation to Thozamile Makheta, an organiser for SACTU who has worked in the South African gold mines

alone by the policies which are currently being followed, policies like the investment of capital that goes into providing temporary exports from South Africa into this country, temporary because of the instability and the lack of future of the South African Government. What we actually need in this country is a number of key indicators that ordinary people out there who often won't listen and won't talk about the deeper issues relating to the struggle against apartheid, would understand. They go out and buy clothing from Hornes or from Cole Brothers (part of the John Lewis Partnership). They buy clothes from South Africa, and they are actually putting out of work their fellow workers, their fellow comrades in Yorkshire itself. They buy vices which are produced in South Africa which could be produced in Sheffield. They buy hand tools which are produced in South Africa and could be produced in Sheffield. They buy goods from Wickes Do-It-Yourself Store (and some of us in Sheffield are familiar with the effort to get the Wickes Store to set up in Sheffield) and find they are buying South African goods. Every time they buy South African goods, they are of course destroying their own engineering, their own hand tool and steel industries, their own mining industry and their own clothing industry and they are

putting thousands out of work, just as GEI (Sanderson Kayser), having lost over a thousand jobs in Sheffield, are proud to announce that they have managed to increase their investment, their employment, their exploitation in South Africa.

Alternative way

I mention these economic factors because if we are to look at an alternative way forward, then first of all we have to get across that the emotional, moral and correct political stance is directly related to the lives of those people out there. So what are we to do? Are we just to provide platitudes, United Nations symposiums and fly a few people around the world, or are we to go forward from today with a vision for the future. It is clearly important that if we are to relate to what is happening in our own communities, then we have got to discuss with trade unionists locally how we can begin to use their money to enhance the struggle in South Africa.

Take the disengagement policy. What about pension funds – the thousands of millions of pounds of pension funds available in this country. Are they to continue to be invested in South Africa or are they to be invested in the developing Third World that we are so often talking about helping? Are we in fact to look very closely at the way in which we invest our funds, not only those pension accumulations but also at the way in which people like the Sheffield City Council decide on their investment? How do we disengage, not only from the obvious multi-national companies but from the holding concerns, the financial institutions who surreptitiously and carefully invest their money in South Africa? A difficult task. One that we did not ought to under-estimate because when you look at the question of purchasing goods as a City Council, at where your investments are going, and at the question of pension fund portfolios, you find that whilst you are disengaged from one, you discover that another has suddenly arisen. The inter-connection, the maze that exists in international finance and international capital, ensures that the task we face is difficult. That is why we don't just need political leaders or even trade union leaders to be aware of the things that we are fighting for. We also need individuals in key positions, whether in local authorities, financial institutions or in industry, to be actually there, aware and struggling with us.

Nigerian market

I would like to pose that it is not merely a question of switching our investment – and after all Nigeria now forms a more substantial market for UK exports than South Africa. What is needed is a whole new redirection of what we are doing as a community so that the policies of the Sheffield Employment Department, the Sheffield Trades Council and community groups and trade unionists in Sheffield – policies to re-examine the kind of production that we are engaged in, to look at alternative products, to switch to socially worthwhile production and to look at how what we produce can help the development of the Third World – are all equally linked as one with the struggle that we have for freedom from nuclear annihilation and the struggle of 'North/South' (Brandt) for a more just and equal world.

We can produce things here that are beneficial to those who currently have a deplorable and unacceptable standard of living. We can ensure that what we

produce for them helps them to export back to us the things that we need. We can ensure that we balance out the way in which the old colonialism and now neo-colonialism is swept away, and the dependence of the Third World on the economies of the industrialised world.

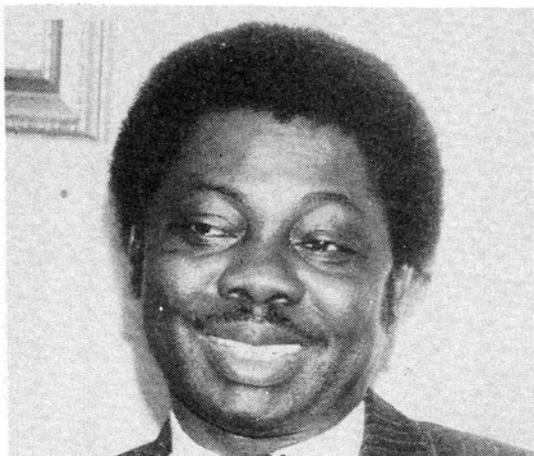
We can begin to talk about how those pension funds can be re-invested in those areas and if we do that, then we won't be threatening people's jobs. We won't even have to rely on the revolution which is inevitably going to come in South Africa to sweep away the apartheid regime (because it is going to come – and if Robert MacNamara thinks it is going to come, then the millenium must be very close). We won't have to rely on the struggles of the front-line states and the people who have been helping for years, whilst the rest of us have been sitting back in comfort, because we will be developing alternatives that will make the South African regime defunct. We will ensure that we make our struggle in Sheffield for a better economy here, directly relevant to that of the South African workers fighting as described by SACTU and which we are able to see when we are allowed access to reasonable information by our media.

Our community

When we have actually begun to talk these things through in our community, when we have begun to use our schools and colleges, our libraries and our community facilities and made the fight against racism here a fight that people can engage in in terms of the fight against apartheid, then those slogans about justice and equality, about struggles for freedom and against exploitation, will come alive, because it will be the white worker in Sheffield linked with the black worker in Pretoria. It will be the white worker here who sees the fight against racism and against the most blatant and degrading example of it in apartheid in South Africa, as something that they will want to engage in and something that they believe in strongly and not just as a gesture.

If we can do that, then those tears that are shed for apartheid, and the people who wipe those tears away by enjoying the fruits of exploitation, as we have done in this country through colonialism for years, will all be swept away. We have it again now – neo-colonialism has replaced the straight political colonialism of the past. But if we can wipe those mock tears away from people's eyes and get them to engage in their own lives, in their own community, with the threat to the lives and well-being of those people in South Africa that we, in this Symposium, are talking about, then we will have done something in Sheffield that will carry us forward from today.

My hope, whether it is in those industrial policies, whether it is in the investment policies or whether it is in engaging people in the street in debate and dialogue, is that from today we will actually go forward as a City, not merely to say what a wonderful thing it was to have had the UN Symposium here, but what can we do from today onwards to ensure that the words we have used come alive and make sure that the worker in South Africa in 10 or 15 years time, says 'Thank God that people in Sheffield, in the UK, in Europe and in the World actually cared sufficiently, not just to talk but to do something about the struggle that we are all engaged in'.



Sheffield and the International Campaign against Apartheid

H.E. James Victor Ghebo

UN Special Committee against Apartheid

I wish to express, on behalf of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and on my behalf our deep appreciation to the Department of Public Information for organising this important seminar. I also wish to thank the Sheffield City Council and its Leader, Mr David Blunkett, for their co-operation in ensuring the success of the Seminar.

The Special Committee maintains a close working relationship with the leadership of the City of Sheffield in the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. The solidarity of the City of Sheffield and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement with the people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their fight against racism and apartheid will be remembered in the annals of the struggle of Africa to eliminate all forms of colonialism and racism from that continent.

The focus that is today being given to the activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia is long overdue because those activities have helped and continue to assist in keeping the South African economy healthy and therefore exploitative. The growth in the number of Transnational Corporations and the extent of their respective operations are, at any given time, an indication of the quantum of investments in the two countries. It is therefore through the persistence of these Transnational Corporations that we judge Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom, United States and the Federal Republic of Germany because their respective Governments have not only tolerated but encouraged and facilitated these Transnational Corporations while reassuring us that they do not and cannot accept the apartheid system.

The seminar is timely and justified because it helps focus long overdue attention on the fact that the activities of these Transnational Corporations are in defiance of the overwhelming international consensus against economic relations with South Africa and are, in some cases, against the mandatory arms embargo imposed on South Africa by the highest organ of the United Nations, the Security Council.

The Special Committee and the United Nations as well as the anti-apartheid movements have been engaged in the last twenty years in the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Events throughout the past twenty years have convinced us that the imposition of total sanctions is the only available peaceful solution to the tragic suffering of the people of South Africa and the continuous aggression against independent African States by the apartheid regime. Apartheid cannot be improved or ameliorated, it should be eliminated. The policies of appeasement can only lead to more intransigent behaviour on the part of the Pretoria regime. The on-going negotiations for the independence of Namibia have proved once again that the racist regime of South Africa is determined to obstruct all peaceful change in Southern Africa. But we are still far from the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa because of the life-blood that Transnational Corporations continue to infuse into the economy.

Western Governments

The argument often heard from certain Governments and business houses is that economic relations with South Africa is different from a political collaboration with it and that their respective governments use actions only in protection of their investments already in that country. I need not enter into too much detail about the fallacy in this kind of argumentation because I believe that its blatant attempt to justify wrong-doing is clearly evident.

In the first place, the distinction that those Western countries are trying to make is not possible because the two are parts of the same evil. South Africa's economic well-being is inversely proportional to the well-being of its black population who form the bulk of its labour force. Therefore to keep South Africa rich and economically attractive under the present system, the black majority will have to be exploited more intensively through disenfranchisement and demeaning wages. If that is not politics, nothing else will be. I believe some of my colleagues on the panel will demonstrate to you later that South African gold and industry generally are that attractive because of the cheap and exploitative labour that they are produced with. It is a policy of the South African racist white minority to keep the black majority politically hamstrung so that their exploitation can continue indefinitely.

Secondly, the protection of existing investment argument is at best disingenuous because the statistics show clearly that new investments are being made by the same countries, largely through the instrumentality of the Transnational Corporations. So false are these arguments that one wonders whether the commitment to South Africa is not in part a manifestation of racial solidarity.

The Special Committee, the General Assembly and all the anti-apartheid

forces in the world achieved a remarkable progress towards the isolation of the racist regime of South Africa and the elimination of the criminal system of apartheid when it adopted Security Council resolution 418 (1977) imposing an arms embargo against South Africa which was considered as a first step towards total sanctions against that regime. However, in the last five years, South Africa, with the assistance it received from Transnational Corporations and with the co-operation of Israel, Taiwan and certain Western States, has been able to develop its military industry to the point of becoming an exporter of arms.

We have emphasised the need for strengthening the arms embargo by prohibiting any form of nuclear collaboration with South Africa including the purchase of South African and Namibian uranium. We have stressed that loopholes in the embargo which permitted the apartheid regime to develop its military industry and modernise its war material should be closed. Many experts have shared our assessment that for the arms embargo to be effective, it should include an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products and should receive the unqualified support of all countries, especially the Western ones. However, the Security Council has been unable to reach a decision on this issue due to the negative positions particularly of the Government of the United Kingdom and the United States.

Those of us who hail from the unfortunate and brutalised continent of Africa and who necessarily bear the scar of apartheid because of colour are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the excuses of those who continue to maintain economic relations with South Africa are insincere and selfish. These countries will therefore have to soon choose between South Africa and the rest of African countries which are united in their opposition to all that apartheid stands for. The volume of trade which these Western countries, especially Britain, maintains with South Africa and that country's share in international trade do not justify their solidarity with South Africa. Our prediction is that very soon they should be prepared to pay the price for their solidarity with the racist regime.

World trade

After all South Africa accounts for less than one half per cent of world trade and could therefore not be that crucial to Western countries as to make them tolerate the brutalisation and disenfranchisement of the black majority. On the other hand the foreign trade of the rest of Africa with these Western countries accounts for more than eight times the trade of South Africa. Our partners in the West should therefore make up their minds whether they wish to stick by the side of their racist friends or forego the trade with the rest of Africa. They cannot have it both ways all the time.

Looked at from the South African point of view, the racist regime's trade with the West is more crucial to it than the other way round. Foreign trade constitutes a very high percentage of South Africa's gross domestic product and should therefore be the leverage for pressurising the racist regime to abandon the system of apartheid. Failure to use this advantage is significant and African countries had better re-examine their economic relations with those who shamelessly aid and abet the exploitation of the black majority in South Africa.

Today, sanctions are more imperative than ever. In spite of the demands of

the General Assembly and the Security Council, South African foreign trade — excluding gold, diamonds, oil and military purchases, has increased from less than R2 billion in 1959 and 1962 to more than R34 billion in 1980. The total foreign investment in South Africa increased from about R3 billion in 1959 and 1962 to R30 billion in 1980. This surge in the figures of trade with and investment in South Africa is substantially due to the notorious role of certain Transnational Corporations and the total disregard for the resolutions of the United Nations by their home governments. These governments, it must be understood, are part of the criminal designs of these Transnational Corporations to increase their profits through the exploitation of the cheap African labour. This Seminar should therefore consider the facts very carefully. It should expose the role of loans to and investment in South Africa in the reallocation of funds there in favour of increasing military expenditure. For it is only by so doing that the chicanery of those who collude with the racist regime can be truly understood.

Bank loans

I had to honour to join the Chairman of the Special Committee, H.E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, in issuing a statement last month concerning the report of the Sepcial Committee on Bank Loans to South Africa, 1979-1982. We reiterated in that statement that every dollar or pound, mark or franc invested in South Africa is a bullet directed against the oppressed people of South Africa. We stressed that it was totally incongruous that governments which profess to favour a peaceful solution in South Africa continued to provide massive aid to the terrorist regime of that country and thereby help finance the expansion of its military and repressive apparatus. We hope that the findings of this symposium will give us support in convincing the general public that those interests in Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany and France which continue to make huge bank loans available to South Africa are the enemies of freedom and equality, and must be prevailed upon to desist from the granting of further loans to the racist regime.

In the past twenty years, the agenda of the United Nations has been filled with a number of issues arising from the criminal behaviour of the apartheid regime. It has never hesitated to direct its bullets against innocent school children. It has murdered labour leaders in prison. It is involved in the daily banning, arrest and imprisonment of all men and women of conscience who declare their defiance of its oppressive laws. Its police force was responsible for the death of Neil Aggett and Steve Biko through torture in their prison cells.

The apartheid regime is also involved in the assassination of freedom fighters and in the abduction and kidnapping of refugees residing in neighbouring African States. The dastardly murder of Ruth First is an example of the continuous terrorist campaign by the apartheid regime. These are its impressive bloody record in South Africa which I dare say has been made possible through the assistance of Transnational Corporations.

It is also widely known that the racist regime is conducting aggression against its neighbours. Over twenty per cent of its budget is devoted to military expend-

iture with which sovereign independent states are threatened and desecrated. It is unacceptable therefore that the IMF should decide at this time to grant South Africa a 1.1 billion dollar facility to compensate for short-falls in its external trade because by so doing it is helping that country to wage an expensive and unnecessary war. The recent fall in the gold price, the consequent labour unrest in South Africa, particularly in the motor industry, are all part of the penalty that South Africa will have to pay for practising apartheid. The intention of the IMF to lend such a heavy amount to South Africa is not only an economically very risky step to take, but more importantly, a betrayal of human values, honour and trust for monetary profit. I hope that it would be possible for this meeting to address a plea to the Fund not to grant the facility

Having dealt with the criminal behaviour of the apartheid regime, I would now like to express, on behalf of the Special Committee, our total rejection of any attempt to provide any semblance of legitimacy to the operations of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia. These corporations, a large number of which are British, are exploiting illegally the natural resources of these countries. They are taking advantage of the cheap labour. Furthermore, they are assisting the regime in its criminal designs. If the International Court of Justice and the Security Council have determined that South Africa is occupying Namibia illegally then those corporations operating under the license of South Africa are involved in an illegal exploitation which they will have to pay for one day.

They are supplying petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa clandestinely, in spite of the oil embargo imposed by most of the oil-producing countries. They have assisted the regime in establishing its oil-from-coal industry. They are involved in the strengthening of the military and nuclear capability of South Africa in spite of United Nations resolutions. This seminar should examine these illegal acts with a view to exposing the facts upon which alone the international community can take a collective and meaningful action.

I am sure that the experts invited and all the other participants in the Seminar will concentrate on ways and means of persuading Transnational Corporations from investing any further in or providing any financial assistance to South Africa. The consideration should touch upon steps that may be taken to assist those corporations which are interested in disengaging from their present activities in South Africa and Namibia.

As you are aware, certain states within the United States of America have adopted legislation preventing investments in corporations which are involved in business activities in South Africa and Namibia. There are similar initiatives taken by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to push for the adoption of legislation on national and local levels calling for disinvestment from South Africa. I hope therefore that this Seminar will contribute to the international campaign to bring to an end all loans to and investment in South Africa. It is a duty that we all have in the interest of our shared values and in the interest of peaceful change.

Finally I wish to assure you of the full co-operation of the Special Committee in all your efforts aimed at strengthening the boycott of the apartheid regime.



Leeds City Councillors and local trade union leaders welcome Ruth Mompoti, ANC representative, to Leeds

Sheffield, the Commonwealth and Action against Apartheid

Chief Emeka C. Anyaoku

Commonwealth Deputy Secretary General

May I begin by thanking the organisers of this Symposium for the honour they have done me in asking me to address this gathering. As you all know, 1982 has been designated by the international community as the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa. And in that context, many meetings have been convened in various parts of the world all dedicated to the mobilisation of international public opinion against the precepts and practices of apartheid. In the galaxy of these international conferences and symposia, however, this one has an unassailable claim to being almost unique in that it represents one of those all-too-rare occasions on which a civic authority has co-sponsored an anti-apartheid initiative with the international community. This may appear at first sight surprising; but in fact it is not.

My Lord Mayor, I can scarcely claim to be in a position to instruct this gathering on the history of Sheffield. But I would like, with your indulgence, to refer to a moment in the history of this city which has a striking relevance for

this Symposium and is of particular significance and poignancy for me as an African.

In 1792, the citizens of Sheffield sent a petition to the Government demanding the abolition of the African slave trade. Two years later, they followed this up with a second petition. For us today, looking back on these events from the vantage position of the twentieth century, they may appear trivial. At the time they were not. As you will remember, the two-year period between 1792 and 1794 was the height of the Jacobin scare in England. So deep-seated was this obsession with Jacobinism (the 18th century's equivalent of our red scare today) that a Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was considered an unwarranted interference by the State with the liberty of the individual and was denounced in the House of Commons by Coleridge as the "strongest instance of legislative Jacobinism".

On the whole, the generality of educated opinion at the time held the view that conflict with revolutionary France was "not a time to make hazardous experiments". As a result, the anti-slavery campaign which had only just begun to make an impact, suffered a major reverse and the slave trade obtained a new lease of life, all in the name of liberty! But the city of Sheffield, to its eternal credit, had taken its stand, a stand at once humanitarian and internationalist and requiring at the time unusual civic and political courage.

But there was not much, if any, economic price to be paid for such a stand, the cynics would say. To these cynics, my answer is this, if the abolition of the slave trade had entailed an economic price, the people of Sheffield would have been prepared to pay it. We are told by the standard history of Sheffield that in November 1792 the inhabitants of the City "celebrated with jubilation the victories of the French revolutionary armies" even though these same victories had robbed Sheffield, depending then as now on its steel exports for a living, "of one market after another" on the continent of Europe. What was at stake was a principle greater than material self interest and the citizens of Sheffield elected to uphold that principle — a principle of "liberty and democracy" — at the price of deep economic depression, one of the worst in the history of industrial Sheffield. That this tradition of humanitarian internationalism is still very much a living part of Sheffield is attested by this Symposium today and is immortalised by the Sheffield Metropolitan District Council Declaration on South Africa and Namibia adopted on 7 October 1981.

Sheffield Declaration

Mr Chairman, the Sheffield Declaration on South Africa and Namibia represents a landmark in the international campaign against apartheid and will go down in history as one of the most remarkable policy documents of the decade. Many of you in this hall will be familiar with the provisions of the Declaration but to an international audience more accustomed in this matter to hearing words rather than deeds, they bear repetition.

In pursuit of its anti-apartheid policy the Sheffield Metropolitan District Council has undertaken to:

- cease purchasing goods which originate from South Africa

- withdraw investments held by the Council in companies with South African interests
- ensure that the City Council is not officially represented at any functions attended by representatives of the South African Government or trade missions
- discourage all economic links with South Africa and promote better relations with the developing economies of the Third World

To underpin this anti-apartheid policy the Council has also adopted a number of policy measures which include:

- encouraging the positive teaching of the history, culture and struggle for self-determination of the African peoples
- instructing the City libraries and schools not to make available South African Government propaganda
- promoting public understanding of the situation in South Africa

For those of you who may have missed the point, let me put it another way. What the Sheffield Metropolitan District Council has done has been to impose comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa and this without waiting for a lead from the Government. It is for this reason that I think this document will go down in history as one of the most moving manifestations of solidarity among peoples. Indeed, to the large and growing number of people all over the world for whom cynicism is inescapable in the face of rhetoric unmatched by action where apartheid South Africa is concerned, Sheffield City Council must now become more than an *elixir vitae*.

Human slavery

Apartheid is our world's closest historical analogue to the human slavery of the past centuries and faced with this contemporary scourge, Sheffield has again taken a stand worthy of its history and traditions. The form of that stand, namely through the medium of a Declaration, is also in the best of Commonwealth traditions.

For straightforward historical reasons the Commonwealth has long been pre-occupied with the problem of apartheid, and rightly so. To be sure, apartheid is an affront to human dignity and a humiliating insult to the self-respect of all non-white peoples including in particular, those of African descent. For the Commonwealth, however, it also poses a peculiar threat. The Commonwealth, as a free association of independent multi-racial sovereign states, either symbolizes racial equality or it symbolizes nothing. It follows therefore that South Africa's apartheid system, based on the presumed innate superiority of, and suppression of another by one racial group, strikes at the very heart of the Commonwealth. A vigorous Commonwealth committed to the preservation of international peace and the harmonious economic and social development of its constituent members is clearly incompatible with the endurance of apartheid. At bottom

this is what has motivated the Commonwealth's relentless campaign against apartheid in all spheres of international life.

The Commonwealth's anti-apartheid campaign took a dramatic turn at the beginning of the 1960s and culminated in its first major victory against apartheid in 1961. I refer, of course, to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. In itself, a major event in the history of the Commonwealth, matters did not however rest there. South Africa's apartheid system continued to loom large in the deliberations of Commonwealth leaders.

By the 1970s South Africa's apartheid system and its ramifications, especially in the former Rhodesia, and Namibia, had become a dominant concern of all major Commonwealth gatherings. In 1971 Commonwealth leaders, meeting in Singapore, issued their Declaration of Commonwealth Principles in which they described "racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race" and initiated a policy that significantly reinforced the international campaign to isolate South Africa. At their London meeting of 1977 which took place against the backdrop of the Soweto massacre, Commonwealth leaders again reaffirmed their belief that the "policies and actions of the South African regime, both at home and abroad, constituted a grave threat to the security and stability of the whole area" and "urged the international community to take effective measures to compel South Africa to bring about majority rule". It was also on this occasion that Commonwealth leaders issued their famous Gleneagles Statement on Apartheid in Sport which, in spite of the occasional breaches, has done so much to discourage sporting contacts between Commonwealth countries and apartheid South Africa.

Lusaka Declaration

Again in 1979, the Commonwealth reiterated its anti-apartheid commitment in another solemn pronouncement, the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice. Only three weeks ago in Brisbane, Commonwealth sports administrators in a historic meeting adopted a Code of Conduct which sets out the responsibilities of Commonwealth sportsmen and sporting bodies in relation to the Gleneagles Agreement and provides a clear set of guidelines for the future. Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General who himself had been present at the meeting described the Code as a major step forward in fulfilment of the Commonwealth stand against apartheid. All this is of course a matter of record and I recount it only to bear out the point that South Africa's apartheid system remains for the Commonwealth one of the most intractable problems of the day.

Yet although all member countries of the Commonwealth are agreed that apartheid is an evil and are unanimous on the need for its speedy eradication, they are by no means at one on how that speedy eradication might be brought about. All Commonwealth countries which are also members of the United Nations subscribe to the UN arms embargo against South Africa but not all Commonwealth countries have so far declared themselves willing and ready to apply economic sanctions as a means of bringing the apartheid regime to heel. It is true that the great majority of Commonwealth countries have generally been in support of economic sanctions as the only humane course open to the

international community in its fight against apartheid and to foresake that course is in their view to declare for war. On the other hand, some Commonwealth countries, and these have generally been its older members, fight shy of economic sanctions against South Africa on grounds that include the argument that their economies are so closely interlinked with that of South Africa that a sudden brusque rupture would spell immediate industrial dislocation accompanied by mass unemployment on such a scale as to be politically unacceptable.

Mr Chairman, this is not so much an argument as an excuse for doing nothing. If the returns on investments in apartheid are high, investments in a post-apartheid South Africa will be even higher. To the businessmen in the audience this may come as no surprise, but to those outside the business community who may need some evidence, they have it from no less an authority than the Deputy Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa Limited, probably the largest multinational corporation operating in South Africa today. In an address to the International Management Symposium held at St Gallen, Switzerland, on May 10 1982, the Deputy Chairman of Anglo-American pointed out that "the ideology of separate development (ie apartheid) exacts an economic price" and that "we would make larger, not smaller, profits without it".

In the face of the evidence, therefore, far from ruining their economies, Western Governments will, in withholding investments in apartheid, be putting the foundations of those economies on an incomparably more secure basis. What appears missing to bring about this transition is the necessary perception, comprehension and above all, humanity. What the people of Sheffield have done in their Declaration on South Africa and Namibia has been to show these very qualities which appear to elude many a Western Government. The Declaration has made a dent in the argument against sanctions and I would urge that it be part of the duty of this gathering to publicise its provisions in the wider world.

Transnational corporations

But if in spite of the evidence and notwithstanding the human and moral issues at stake, some people persist in investing in apartheid, then such people cannot expect to be also equally welcome to the even greater economic opportunities of independent Africa. A choice has to be made; and it is a choice that cannot be fudged or postponed for much longer, least of all by the transnational corporations some of whose very nature and well-being must increasingly depend on their ability to do business with other African countries.

However, any sanctions policy, if it is to be successful, must not only embrace all economic goods and services, perhaps more crucially, it must also command the whole-hearted support of all Governments. And this may not be forthcoming, especially as long as there are powerful Western Governments and transnational corporations which either because of short-term economic gains or because of misguided strategic calculations, continue to offer support and friendship to South Africa. For those of us who take the view that the alternative to sanctions is war, perhaps our greatest challenge is to work tirelessly for an end to such support.

The Sheffield Declaration

Sheffield Metropolitan District Council declares its abhorrence of the apartheid regime of South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia. We believe that the racist system of South Africa is an affront to human dignity and a threat to world peace.

In accordance with these views we pledge that the Council will campaign to end all links between the City of Sheffield and the apartheid regime of South Africa, utilising all social, political and economic measures that are at the disposal of the authority. In particular we will: —

- Cease purchasing goods which originate from South Africa, and pursue this policy within the purchasing authorities in which the Council is involved
- Withdraw investments held by the Council in companies with South African interests
- Ensure that the City Council is not officially represented at any function attended by representatives of the South African Government or trade missions
- Withhold use of recreational facilities from any sporting or cultural event involving South African participants
- Discourage all economic links with South Africa, promoting better relations with the developing economies of the "Third World."
- Encourage the positive teaching of the history, culture and struggles for self-determination of the African peoples
- Instruct the City Libraries and schools not to make available South African government propaganda
- Promote public understanding of the situation in Southern Africa

In commemoration of this declaration, the Council will designate 7th October as a "Day of Solidarity with the People of Southern Africa", and will, in association with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, organise appropriate events each year to highlight the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement campaigns against all links between Britain and the apartheid regime in South Africa and in support of all those who are struggling against apartheid and against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. It distributes publications and educational materials about the situation in Southern Africa, has a network of local groups in major centres throughout Britain and publishes a monthly newspaper, ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS.

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