



publishers of AFRICA TODAY

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6th October 1966

Dear Candidate:

The potential for explosiveness of African issues in international affairs is sometimes lost sight of with the immediate urgency of the civil rights struggle at home and the Vietnam war abroad. Whatever our views might be on these questions, Americans would agree that the race issue, as seen in southern African affairs, must not be allowed to become the cause for wholesale international strife. And yet it can, unless the potential for just this is seen now and dealt with. The racial injustices in South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Angola must be eliminated. The big powers, and especially the United States, have a crucial role to play. It cannot be avoided.

Because this is my belief and that of the American Committee on Africa, I am enclosing a statement which, in capsule, tries to point up the issues and suggest what American approaches should be.

I feel that the political campaign is the time to air these issues for the American people. Part of the task of the candidate for public office is to apprise Americans of the big issues. I urge you, therefore, in your present campaign, to give some time to these very pressing questions of southern Africa. Our staff will be glad to provide more background information if this will assist you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph

Southern Africa:

the facts

crisis for AMERICAN POLICY

CANDIDATES' BRIEFING

TODAY'S CRISIS

In southern Africa today, nearly 30 MILLION black Africans stagnate under the indifferent domination of a handful of white settlers. The Africans demand basic human rights and freedoms, their right to determine their own political and social systems, their right to equal education and labor opportunities, their right to political independence. The peoples of Africa and Asia have fully identified with the struggle for freedom in southern Africa, but Western countries have maintained a policy of reluctant concern.

In southern Africa today, most of the guns are in the hands of Vorster's troops, and Ian Smith's and Portugal's. Politically their actions which are now envenoming race relations throughout the world, must eventually, if doggedly pursued, bring general disaster upon the whole subcontinent.

Southern Africa "Captive Nations"

<u>The people</u>	<u>White</u> :	<u>Black</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
Angola		24		4,900,000
Mocambique		67		6,700,000
Rhodesia		15		4,000,000
South West Africa		6		525,000
South Africa		4		17,000,000

Apartheid

At the center of the supremacist web of southern Africa is the apartheid system of the Republic of South Africa.

The laws of oppression, applied also in South West Africa, designate -- for

- Labor** no African trade union shall be registered or official;
no strikes by Africans shall be permitted;
no African may be employed in most categories of skilled labor, such jobs being reserved for whites;
- Religion** ... most churches are segregated;
- Separate amenities** .. hospitals, schools, buses, trains, park benches, beaches, sport, theatre, rest rooms, Africans-only townships are ten or fifteen miles from city center;
- Voting** In 1960 the four white representatives for thirteen million Africans were removed from Parliament;
- Land** no African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa;
- Passes** an African must carry his pass-book at all times or go to jail. To reside in the white area (87%), to move from town to town, to hold a job, he must have his pass separately stamped;
- Political Parties** the major African parties, A.N.C. and P.A.C., have been banned. It is a criminal offense to further their aims;

The Penalties

- Banning the government can confine any critic to his home for years, forbid newspapers to quote him on any subject;
- 180-Days a renewable prison term without charge, for political witnesses or alleged political offenders;
- 5 years painting political signs or wall slogans;
- Death fleeing the country without a permit;
willful damage of private or public property (Rhodesia);
possession of firearms by Africans over the age of 14.

Statistics cannot begin to show the affront to human dignity caused by apartheid; however, this brief table summarizes some of its important ramifications:

	White (Europeans)	Black (Africans)
Population (millions)	3.4	12.1
Income per capita	\$1,790	\$116
Average wage (mining)	\$3,800	\$210
Income exempt from tax	\$ 840	none
Education expenditure per pupil	\$ 300	\$ 19
Infant mortality per 1000 births	29	200 plus
Life expectancy	67-72	37-42
Percent of population (balance Asian and Coloured)	19	68
Percent of land reserved	87	13
Persons in registered trade unions	344,752	none
Persons convicted of pass offenses since 1948	none	5,000,000

The UNITED STATES is implicated...

Investment 259 U.S. companies operate in South Africa with direct investments worth \$500 million (if indirect and portfolio investments are added the total is \$800 million). In 1964, direct investments generated earnings of nearly \$100 million, or a 21% return. For some sectors South Africa is the most profitable country in the world. Why? Controlled Black labor. For every dollar of investment, we are buying ourselves thousands of dollars of animosity.

Trade The United States provides 19% of South Africa's imports
and takes 9% of South Africa's exports

More Significantly.. U. S. companies lead in building South Africa's self-sufficiency, in building the defenses to economic sanctions: U.S. companies refine and explore for South Africa's most scarce commodity, OIL; rubber companies produce synthetic; motor companies make vehicles which can be used for policing the Blacks; banks and investment companies supply scarce risk capital to the small South African market.

U.S. companies foster apartheid through their officials' propaganda statements; by investing in government-prescribed cheap labor areas and thus assisting the separation of the races by the artificial location of industry. U.S. companies in South Africa export goods made by the Blacks to Europe, North America and Latin America, undercutting domestic U.S. products and labor.

In Angola/Mocambique

The U.S. assists Portugal with arms supply and military training through the NATO organization. This action releases the strain on the backward Portuguese economy caused by supporting 80,000 troops in Africa: the Portuguese, through NATO support, are able to use other military supplies to maintain domination.

United States inability to prevent the "smuggling" of warplanes through Canada to Portugal and thence to Angola is the source of wry wonder in Africa. Moreover, it is hard for Africans to believe that the 80,000 Portuguese troops in Africa do not use any NATO arms and do not benefit from NATO advisers in guerilla counter-insurgency.

In Rhodesia

The policy of voluntary economic sanctions upon the illegal Smith regime has failed because the border with South Africa and Mocambique has been like a sieve. The United States is associated with the failure and has taken the unpleasant role of Britain's chief apologist in the U.N.

PRESENT POLICY

Accommodation

The United States has condemned apartheid in the halls of the U.N. In the enforcement of the arms embargo on South Africa the American government has gone further than metaphor and rhetoric and further than any other major arms supplier.

Otherwise, the United States has done nothing to restrain its most profitable involvement with the Republic: "the United States neither encourages nor discourages investment in South Africa". Yet it is in the very nature of private enterprise that it will go where there are profits and stability; South Africa has the stability and maximum security of a police state. Africans consider that the supranational corporations are leading our foreign policy by the nose. To them, the stake of U.S. private enterprise in South Africa and the glowing public statements of our businessmen there, continues to outweigh the "slap on the wrist" which the U.S. occasionally administers at the U.N.

TOMORROW'S WAR

When democracy is seriously endangered across the world, it is our concern. It is not enough, after democracy has been ravaged for decades in South Africa, to state: "We will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law." (President Johnson on OAU anniversary, 1966.) That sounds strange considering that this year our nationals will derive more than \$100 million from the stability of oppressive discrimination.

Leadership of the Western World has been thrust upon the U.S. Vietnam is sapping our energies and initiative. We fail to recognize a new kind of race conflict, race war, hidden from us by the veil of Vietnam.

POLICY PROPOSALS

A Policy of Preparedness

The U.S. should disengage from South Africa. As South Africa's major trading partner and financial ally, Britain, turns toward Europe, the Republic will become more isolated. Concurrently as the peripheral territories become liberated to majority rule, the pressure for change in South Africa will grow. The U.S. must take the lead in a firm and active demonstration to South Africa that the U.S. will no longer accommodate the economics of apartheid. The U.S. must initiate the effort to derive for all Southern Africa the basis for an orderly achievement of fundamental human rights and self-determination.

1. Economic Disengagement

- ... end the sugar quota for South Africa;
- ... proscribe Ex-Im Bank loans and FCIA credit to South Africa;
- ... apply the Export Control Act to heavy machinery and transport equipment;
- ... extend Fair Employment Practices to U.S. companies abroad;
- ... devise legislation to tax imports from South Africa;
- ... work for an Executive Order demonstrating that new investment in South Africa is contrary to the best interests of U.S. policy.

2. a) Request integration of U.S. diplomatic personnel in South Africa.

b) Remove tracking stations to Botswana and off-shore.

The South African Prime Minister in a public speech made in June 1965 said that American personnel in the U.S. Tracking Station installations must be "white only". Although our government has suggested that its policies would not be dictated by the South African Government in this matter, no effort has been made to uphold the principle of integration in the assignment of American personnel in the Tracking Stations, the Embassy, Consulates, USIS offices, and other official American delegations.

3. Increase AID to refugees from southern Africa and the dependents of political prisoners.

- ... support the U.N. Trust Fund and Scholarship Fund;
- ... support refugee education projects in Zambia and Tanzania;
- ... initiate through UNHCR a centralized vocational testing center and settlement scheme for the 350,000 refugees in central Africa;
- ... recognize the right of asylum of black South Africans in the U.S.

4. Increase AID to the economic hostages of white southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Malawi.

5. South West Africa. Support transfer of the Mandate to the UN and assist a UN Administering Authority to enter the country to prepare the people for independence.

6. Rhodesia. Support mandatory selective sanctions, i.e. OIL sanctions.

Yesterday's issue is today's war; to combat tomorrow's conflict is our duty today.

It is the OBLIGATION of an elected Representative to grasp now the issue of RACE AND WORLD PEACE.