IS SOUTHERN AFRICA WISCONSIN'S BUSINESS?
An African factory worker who is absent from work for 24 hours without permission, in addition to being dismissed, is guilty of a criminal offence.

It is unlawful for an African worker to take part in a strike for any reason whatsoever.

Published by the
Madison Area Committee
on Southern Africa
306 N. Brooks Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53715

February, 1971
On March 21, 1960, in the township of Sharpeville, South Africa, Africans gathered for a non-violent demonstration to protest the "pass" laws, which rigidly control the movement of black people in South Africa. White police fired into the crowd, killing 69 people immediately and wounding 257, many of them seriously. In the crackdown that followed, African political organizations were banned - their leaders arrested, held without trial, forced underground or into exile. More than a decade later, and many United Nations resolutions later, there is war in Southern Africa. South Africa is still protected by the tier of white-ruled states to the north: Namibia (South West Africa), Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Mozambique. But in that buffer zone African guerrillas are fighting now - against Rhodesian, against Portuguese, and against South African troops.

For some it may not be necessary to explain why there is war, but many know little of conditions in Southern Africa, or may be misled by the propaganda portraying a "tourist paradise" of wild animals, bustling cities, and "happy natives". Why then is there war?

In each of the white-ruled countries of Southern Africa, Africans are a majority. But it is the whites who get the profits from the land, the mines, the industries, profits largely dependent on low-paid African labor. It is the whites who control the governments - Africans must obey, and are told to forget about "independence" or "one man, one vote". Protest and dissent are efficiently repressed. Nowhere else in the world are the lines so clearly drawn, and the persistence of racial and colonial oppression so blatant.
PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

In Angola and Mozambique, as in Portugal's other colony in West Africa, Guinea (Bissau), the official theory is that the territories are really only part of Portugal. To support independence is therefore treason. Portuguese colonialism, moreover, still makes use of a system of forced labor. By classifying subsistence farming as illegal "idleness", a supply of labor is ensured for Portuguese enterprises (and South Africa's mines). Under Portugal's authoritarian government, not even Portuguese can dissent from colonial policy - much less Africans. The only recourse left to Africans has been to fight for their independence, with the result that Portugal now has more than 150,000 troops involved in three colonial wars in Africa. But none of the weapons
in the counter-insurgency repertoire - napalm, "strategic hamlets", raids on neighboring states, assassination - has stopped the African nationalist movements, which have gained control of liberated zones in all three countries.

ZIMBABWE (Rhodesia)

In 1965 Rhodesia's 230,000 white settlers, determined to prevent majority rule by the African population of 4½ million, declared their country's "independence" from Great Britain. The "independence" is not officially recognized by any state. But white rule has been solidified. The inferior position of the African community has been reinforced: by the deterioration of African education (which only gets one-tenth as much government revenue per pupil as education for whites), and by new "separate development" legislation such as the Property Owner's Bill, which removes non-whites from white residential areas if their presence is considered undesirable by the white residents. African political leaders remain in concentration camps. South Africa's open evasion, and western opposition to strict enforcement, render United Nations sanctions ineffective. Since 1967 Zimbabwean guerrillas have taken up arms against the forces of the Rhodesian regime (which include reinforcements supplied by South Africa).

NAMIBIA (South West Africa)

South Africa has controlled Namibia since 1918, under a League of Nations mandate to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress" of its inhabitants. Instead, South Africa has in fact annexed the territory, and imposed its own white supremacy policies there. Most of the southern two-thirds of South West Africa, the "police zone", has been reserved for whites. It includes all the cities, harbors, and coastline, and almost all the mineral deposits. South Africa refuses to recognize any obligations to the United Nations, which has declared South Africa's mandate terminated. In Namibia, African guerrillas have begun the struggle against the white regime of South Africa itself.

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Finally, South Africa's notorious apartheid is the heart of the system of repression in Southern Africa. Literally meaning "apartness", it is one name for the racial separation and white supremacy policies followed by South African governments since the consolidation of white control in the nineteenth century. In practice it means the most rigid, most absurdly "logical" system of racial discrimination in the world, with such results as the following:

- Hearings under the Population Registration Act to determine, in ambiguous cases, to which racial group a person belongs - White, Coloured, Asian, or "Bantu" (African).
- Separate phone booths, elevators, bus systems, trains, and other facilities.
- Systematic discrimination by reservation of certain jobs for whites, and prohibition of strikes by Africans.
-Mass removal from "white" areas of non-white populations under the Group Areas Act.
-Inequality of wages, education, medical care, nutrition, housing, and other social conditions.
-Pass laws to control movements of Africans.

This system imposes systematic and continuous violence on the African population of South Africa, the hidden violence of the status quo.

The "pass," a document of some 90 pages, must be carried by a non-white on his person at all times, day or night. It must be signed by his employer every month, and kept up to date with tax payments, residence permits, and other information. For pass violations, he can be arrested, or "endorsed (kicked) out" of the urban area. The theory is that the African's homeland is in one of the poor rural areas included in the 13% of the land reserved for Africans. In the city an African, even a third-generation urban resident, is legally a "temporary sojourner" in a white area. Even if his pass is in order, he can be ordered to leave any area if "it is considered that his presence is detrimental to peace and order" (Native Laws Amendment Act). The pass laws make possible indiscriminate harassment of Africans, and raise the arrest statistics to an incredible level. Every day more than one thousand five hundred Africans are prosecuted for pass law offenses.

Pass regulations also assist in efficient control of the work force, creating a massive labor pool of non-white workers, and of course wages are kept down. The family of a worker can be excluded from the urban area, making it possible for employers to pay only enough for a single male worker to subsist, while his family tries to eke out a living on the over-worked land of the rural reserves (the mines recruit such labor from all parts of Southern Africa). Strikes by African workers are prohibited under the Native Labour Act, and trade unions having African workers cannot be officially registered. The system of job reservation, although not consistently enforced because of the shortage of white labor, allows non-whites to be restricted to certain jobs. They are in no instance to be placed in a position of authority over whites. The 1970 Bantu Laws Amendment Act allows the Minister of Labour, at his discretion, to prohibit the employment of Africans in any job in any area by any employer.

The result is extreme disparity between white and African wage rates. In 1968 the average wage for Africans in manufacturing was $65/month, compared with $345/month for whites. Even in occupations with similar training the disparity remains: an African high-school teacher with a university degree received in 1968 a minimum of $105/month, while a white high-school teacher with the same qualifications received a minimum of $350/month. Per capita income for the whole white population is $1600/year; for Africans it is $118/year.
Racial and colonial oppression is entrenched in Southern Africa. In May, 1966, the then Prime Minister H. F. Verwoerd of South Africa proclaimed, "This is a white republic, ruled by the white man, part of the white domain of the world." Prime Minister John Vorster, speaking in March, 1970, said, "the world must be told clearly that if it touches one white in South Africa it touches us all. ... We are building a nation for whites only". And Premier Marcelo Caetano of Portugal insists as strongly as his predecessor Salazar that Portuguese rule in Africa must be maintained. On September 27, 1970, he asked of Portugal's critics, "Why do they have to close their eyes to the reality that these majorities do not have the mentality nor do they possess the technology and capital that would permit a true independence?" The time for peaceful change in Southern Africa has run out.

At the beginning of the sixties many thought that the pressure from "international public opinion" would lead to reforms in South Africa. Many expected that Portugal would decide eventually, like other colonial powers, to grant independence to its colonies. Some thought that Great Britain, as the colonial power responsible, would ensure that Rhodesia only obtained independence under majority rule. Some believed that the World Court and the United Nations would be successful in taking the trusteeship over South West Africa away from South Africa. But as protest within Southern Africa was met by violent repression, the peaceful options dissolved. International action was frustrated by the reluctance of the Western powers to approve measures that went beyond verbal condemnation of apartheid and colonialism. So now it is clear that the expectations of the early sixties were mistaken. The African liberation movements have been forced to turn to a strategy of armed struggle, the only option left to eliminate colonial rule and racial oppression in Southern Africa.
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AMERICAN SUPPORT BOLSTERS RACISM

But what does all this have to do with the United States, or, specifically, with Wisconsin? People ask why we should get involved. The answer is that the United States is already involved, through military and economic ties, with the white regimes of Southern Africa. The United States has voted for United Nations resolutions condemning apartheid and colonialism as long as they remain pious generalities. But the United States, with other Western powers, has also consistently blocked effective action by the United Nations in this area. It has voted against resolutions that call for economic disengagement or elimination of military ties, even using its Security Council veto (for the first time ever) to block a strong resolution on Rhodesia. And this negative role is accompanied by more active involvement as well. In South Africa, American investments are second only to those of Great Britain. The investment there makes good profits; it also helps maintain the system of racial oppression. Portugal gets American investment in its African colonies, and, as a NATO ally, receives military assistance as well. The United States is already involved.

U.S. GIVES MILITARY SUPPORT TO RACISM

Portugal is itself an underdeveloped country. It would be hard put to continue its wars of counter-insurgency if it were not for the aid from its western allies. In a war heavily dependent on air power, Portugal does not produce its own aircraft, nor its own napalm. The use of NATO weapons, from the United States and Western Europe, is essential to Portugal's African wars. From the United States, T-6 trainer planes, B-26 bombers (supplied by the CIA), F-84 and F-86 fighters form part of Portugal's arsenal. Recently it has been reported that Portugal is now using herbicides in Angola, the only country besides the United States to use such weapons in war. According to the New York Times (December 10, 1970), the State Department was worried that the Fulbright committee might ask where the Portuguese got the herbicides.

Official U.S. statements maintain that American military aid to Portugal is not used in Africa, and is irrelevant to the African wars. But Portugal is fighting in Africa, not in Europe, and official statements are not very convincing in the face of military equipment captured by African nationalists with "Made in U.S.A." written on it. The effect of American military aid to Portugal is clearly against the interests of the African peoples.
In spite of the United Nations arms embargo on South Africa, which the United States claims to observe, South Africa does get military equipment—executive jet aircraft classified as "civilian type" equipment for use by the South African Air Force, and spare parts for items supplied before 1963 (when the embargo was voted by the United Nations Security Council). In 1969 such items amounted to $3.1 million in Pentagon sales to South Africa.

U.S. GIVES ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO RACISM

American economic support is even more significant, especially if one focuses on South Africa. But to many Americans it is hard to understand that this economic involvement is just as much an attack against Africans as is the military aid to counter-insurgency forces. Businessmen with investments in South Africa, or in Angola, claim that they are supporting economic development, and that in the long run this is good for everyone, black and white. The idea is that the benefits will trickle down, and that development will increase the demand for skilled labor and break down discrimination. But in this case, as in others, the idea that the pursuit of profit will automatically bring improvement for everyone is mistaken. It simply doesn't conform to the facts:

FACT: Although South Africa's economic advance has been going on for decades, during those very same decades restrictions on the non-white population have increased, rather than diminished. Indeed, the worst of the repressive legislation has been enacted during the decade of greatest economic growth. Political rights have been abolished, and those who once voted or organized protests can do so no longer. African education has been set back by the Bantu Education Act, which specifically aims at inferior education for Africans. And while the average level of income grows, the disparity between white and non-white also grows.

Businessmen are upset at "petty apartheid," which causes economic inconvenience for them, but they make no protest against the basic elements of the cheap labor system that ensures them high profits. American business involvement reaps the benefits of this system, contributes to its expansion, and enhances the stability of oppression in Southern Africa.

FACT: American business involvement, by strengthening the economy, strengthens the economic and military power of those who control it. It adds not only to their capacity to continue racial oppression, but also to their military potential. When, after Sharpeville, there was a crisis of confidence in the South African economy, American business moved to protect its investments by aiding in stabilization (led by a loan from ten American banks to the South African government), thus ensuring the maintenance of apartheid as
usual. Kaiser Jeep Corporation, a subsidiary of American Motors, brags in its advertisements of being the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles. Its plant in South Africa has produced jeeps for use both in South Africa and in Mozambique. In Angola, Gulf Oil Company's royalties to the Portuguese government amount to a substantial proportion of Portugal's military budget there. American oil companies are also involved in South Africa's search for oil, in anticipation of possible United Nations sanctions.

FACT: Discriminatory labor practices are required by law in South Africa and businesses investing there comply with these practices. A British businessman who decided not to invest in South Africa, Mr. Neil Wates, concluded after a visit there that "We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralize and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance." (London Observer, August 23, 1970).

FACT: While American businessmen in offices in New York or Milwaukee may claim that their presence helps to "liberalize" South Africa's racism, their representatives in South Africa show no such urge. A recent survey of American businessmen in South Africa revealed that only 8% of them regarded South Africa's racial system as "an approach that is altogether incorrect." Sixty-two percent said they would probably vote, if they were South African citizens, for either the Nationalist Party, or the United Party, both of which are firmly committed to white supremacy. In a July, 1970, interview, the Managing Director of Union Carbide in South Africa said that "majority rule would be bad for the economy of South Africa and bad for Union Carbide - we're against it." Ford's Managing Director in South Africa was even more blunt, replying to a query about his contacts with non-whites that "I didn't mix with them in the States, and I don't mix with them here." Many American companies, moreover, contribute to the South Africa Foundation, an organization which promotes "international understanding" of South Africa, particularly in the western countries.

American economic involvement, then, helps to consolidate the apartheid regime. It is carried on, moreover, with the encouragement of the U.S. government which professes to abhor apartheid. The United States has seen fit to limit economic transactions with other countries under the Trading with the Enemy Act. It has even cooperated with England in the limited Rhodesian sanctions (leaving the South African loophole open). But the Department of Commerce continues to encourage new investments in and trade with South Africa, including that which may have military significance (e.g. oil).
The business involvement clearly has its effects in setting a bias for government policy as well. The men whose companies are involved in Southern Africa are men of influence. Charles Engelhard, a major American investor in South Africa, is also a prominent contributor to the Democratic Party, and member of the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations. The Council, which has a membership of some 1400 businessmen, lawyers, diplomats, and academics, is of crucial importance in setting the general assumptions under which American foreign policy operates. Among its officers and directors are three officials of Chase Manhattan Bank, involved in Southern Africa not only through the loan already mentioned, but also through the British-based Standard Bank and the Portuguese Banco Totta-Standard. American Metal Climax, one of the largest mining companies in Southern Africa, is also represented with three directors in the Council on Foreign Relations. As the conflict escalates in Southern Africa, and these men find their interests endangered, there is danger of even greater American support for the white regimes in Southern Africa.

The effect of business involvement touches American workers too. American business, confronted with increasing problems in competing with Western Europe and Japan, is trying to ensure itself against difficulties here. Exports can help insulate a company against fluctuations in the economy here, as ex-Governor Knowles emphasized so strongly in his push for export expansion. But subsidiaries overseas can provide an even more effective insulation, against depression, import tariffs, and labor organization. For if wages become too high, and the pressure from labor too great, those companies large enough to afford it can transfer operations overseas, and use cheaper labor to produce the same products. This pattern is already a common one for American business, especially the large multinational corporations. Recently John Deere sold a large shipment of spare parts to the United States, parts which had been manufactured at lower cost in South Africa. In Southern Africa the cheap wages and high profits which these companies seek are available because of the force of the South African state.

The extent of American involvement is graphically illustrated by the fact that it is not limited just to the Pentagon or to the large New York banks and corporations. It extends right into Wisconsin. Companies here too are eager to shield their profits from depressions and from strikes. And they also have found their way to the high profits, cheap labor, "stable" political situation, and economic expansion of white-ruled Southern Africa.
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CLARK OIL GOES INTERNATIONAL

Clark Oil & Refining Corporation, Milwaukee, is a Midwest company refining and distributing petroleum products through a network of 1,257 service stations in ten states. Its net income for 1969 was about $13 million; the number of employees in Wisconsin about 2,000. Until recently the company had little or no overseas contacts. In 1967, however, Clark entered into a joint arrangement with Sunray and Skelly for exploration in Mozambique, and obtained a concession from the Portuguese colonial government.

According to a Clark News Release of May 4, 1970, net income for the first quarter of 1970 was down because of the "extensive drilling programs in Mozambique". The company is involved elsewhere in exploration, but, according to the same release, "the company's most important program is being conducted in Mozambique, where a fourth offshore well is being drilled."

Did the Clark executives think, when they went into Mozambique, of the war against Portuguese colonialism going on there? Did they think that their activities there, even if they didn't strike oil, provided income to the Portuguese Government, and strengthened it in its fight against granting independence to Mozambique? Or did they simply figure that Gulf Oil is making money by cooperating with the Portuguese, maybe Clark will strike it rich too? Who cares that the Mozambican people had nothing to say about the concession? Other companies (such as the Swedish electrical firm ASEA) have refrained from economic involvement in Mozambique (in the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project) because of African protests that the involvement would only help Portuguese colonialism. Clark Oil, far from refraining, has chosen Mozambique as its first major overseas exploration site.

South Africa Strikes Oil at Sea

The strike was made by the Superior Oil Company Ltd, one of four American companies in a prospecting partnership. The Minister said the oil-drilling vessel *Gloman Sirte* had made a "significant petroleum and gas discovery" in the first well it had drilled.

The companies, most of which have now completed their preliminary surveys, include Esso, Karroo Basin (Johannesburg interests and American Pacific), Karroo Petroleum, Capricorn, Amoco, Atlantic Richfield, Caltex and Topco (Caltex), Placid International, CFP, Mobil consortium (Mobil, Shell, BP, and CFP), and American Pacific.

Towards the end of 1963, a U.N. resolution urged member states to refrain from supplying oil to South Africa. Though the proposed boycott failed to materialise, it underlined South Africa's almost total dependence on imports for its oil supplies.

Local marketers include Shell, BP, Mobil, Caltex, Esso, Total, the Portuguese SONAP, and the South African Trek-Petroleum.
WOULD YOU GIVE SOUTH AFRICA NUCLEAR POWER?

Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company markets its products in 135 foreign countries. In South Africa Allis-Chalmers received the contract for building and servicing a nuclear reactor. It also sells farm and construction machinery, and advertises in South African magazines.

According to the Capital Times (8/24/67), Allis-Chalmers "is the most diversified of the five major farm machinery companies". It is Wisconsin's largest firm in transformers, electric motors, and power generators. It also manufactures construction and road building equipment, and is the beneficiary of a $3 million Army contract for forklift trucks and scoop loaders. It has granted $15,000 to the UW Law School for a Center for Mediation in labor-management disputes.

From the New York Post,
Aug. 12, 1970:

The discovery frees South Africa from any threat that its nuclear growth can be blocked by outsiders. And there apparently would be nothing to stop other medium-size and small nations from getting on the bandwagon to secretly build atomic weapons. Vorster hinted that the secret new method was within the financial means of modest nations.

Allis-Chalmers

DID

The Atomic Energy Board, which is responsible for South Africa's atomic energy program, provides another example of the country's close scientific and technical links to the United States. According to the Board's published reports, scores of its scientists and engineers have been trained in the United States, particularly at the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge National Laboratory, since South Africa's lone reactor is an Oak Ridge design, purchased through Allis-Chalmers. Considering South Africa's strategic sensitivities, the question of nuclear weapons intentions naturally arises.

Nuclear Apartheid

Apartheid intrudes into everything in South Africa, but it does so in a most curious fashion in the field of nuclear research. Of the 900 or so employees at Pelindaba, all are white, including—a rarity from experience elsewhere in South Africa—the lady who served the lunch that I had with J. P. B. Hugo, the deputy director general. Hugo explained, "We had quite a problem when we were planning to build this place. There are lots of radioactive materials here and we have to have decontamination facilities in case of an accident. Of course, we'd have to have white and nonwhite facilities, since no sharing is allowed. We added it up, and decided that the cost would be too high, so we've kept it all white. We've mechanized the cleaning operations and things like that and it's worked out very well."
S. C. JOHNSON & SON, INC.

RACINE

INTERNATIONAL COMPANY

S.C. Johnson, which makes your auto polish, household polishers and cleaners, is an international company. In 1968 foreign sales represented 40% of the sales volume, and the percentage was expected to reach 50% in 1970. In 1968 already more than half of the company's 5,400 employees worked abroad. In South Africa S.C. Johnson has a plant in Johannesburg.

FAMILY COMPANY

S.C. Johnson is also a family company. S.C. (Sam) Johnson and 24 of his relatives own 91% of the stock (the rest is owned by other officers and directors of the company). With its stock not listed on the exchange, S.C. Johnson is one of the ten largest privately held corporations in the country.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS FOUNDATION

The Johnson family foundation has played an important role in Wisconsin in promoting world affairs "education." Leslie Paffrath, its director, came to the foundation from a previous post with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of the major institutions supporting establishment foreign policy institutions. The Johnson Foundation was responsible for helping start the Institute for World Affairs at the University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee), and holds numerous conferences bringing together "opinion leaders" from the state and from around the world. Two examples of the "education" are:

September 16, 1970 -
"A major conference on military spending and national security... The three-day meeting, which will include speakers from the Pentagon, Congress, the defense industry and universities, has as its purpose the development of 'citizen insight into defense issues'."

The S.C. Johnson Foundation has been a contributor to the "United States-South African Leadership Exchange, Inc.", which promotes visits of South African leaders to the U.S. and vice versa.

April 30, 1962 -
South African business magnate Anton Rupert speaks to the U.S.A.-South African leadership exchange at Wingspread (Johnson Foundation conference center) on "I Plead for my Country and All Its Peoples." He told his audience that "The fact that the Whites have kept themselves separate and maintained a certain standard of living has caused them to set a standard to which the non-Whites aspire. In the process the latter are being helped up, whereas the Whites are not being pulled down...in South Africa you need not fear Communism...the Pax Americana - like the Pax Britannica of old - embraces the Cape."
CUTLER-HAMMER IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Sun Never Sets on Cutler-Hammer

"The hum of activity never ceases in the growing world of Cutler-Hammer, for the company's business literally spans the clock as it spans the globe. Whether it is sunset over a copper mine in South Africa, midmorning in the Cutler-Hammer Mexicana plant or midnight on a ferryboat in New York, Cutler-Hammer people and products are at work serving the electrical needs of an increasingly technological world." 1965 Annual Report

Cutler-Hammer is an important American partner in the electronics engineering field in South Africa which is dominated by American, British and Dutch firms.

Cutler-Hammer Igranic Ltd., Johannesburg is a joint venture with British and South African capital. Its production of electrical controls has recently been moved into a new 100,000 sq. ft. factory in the township of Wadeville. Cutler-Hammer International boasts that it is now "the largest producer of electrical controls in the fast growing South African industrial market."

THIS IS CUTLER-HAMMER

Cutler-Hammer, Inc. is an international developer and producer of electrical/electronic products and systems. It supplies a wide range of products for the home, industry, commerce and the military.

Founded in 1892 the company has worldwide employment of 12,600. It is owned by 7,350 shareholders. Corporate headquarters is in Milwaukee, Wis., which also is the headquarters for four of its five operating divisions.

PUTTING HIDDEN VIETCONG ON TV -- HAVE RADAR, CAN TRAVEL

So announced the 1966 Annual Report. Cutler-Hammer developed a portable radar system which could pick out the movements of men over a six mile radius. These and other "electronic counter-measure systems" (a convenient euphemism for counter-insurgency) are being readily put to use defending the American global empire against popular movements for national liberation.

Cutler-Hammer has grown into a major producer of the instruments of electronic warfare, as it has extended its interests into the very areas of the world where this warfare will be tried in the future, for example South Africa. As movements for national liberation grow stronger, the experience and capital of international corporations like Cutler-Hammer become more vital to protect and lend economic stability to a racist and oppressive status quo.

40% of Cutler-Hammer's business comes from the United States government, most of it in the Airborne Instruments Laboratory Division. "All remained one of the nation's largest contributors of electronic reconnaissance systems in the Department of Defense." (1967 Annual Report)
In case you haven’t heard of Kimberly-Clark, it is "the largest producer in the United States of facial tissues and feminine hygiene napkins" (Annual Report, 1969). Ever heard of Kleenex? The Kleenex company also produces a great variety of other paper products, commercial and industrial.

Kimberly-Clark is big in Wisconsin, big in the U.S.A., and big in the international market. "In general terms, the company's international market grows at two to three times the U.S. rate both in sales and earnings. Profit margins and returns on investment also run higher in most instances" (Annual Report, 1969). That includes South Africa. Kimberly-Clark of South Africa operates two paper mills.

Kimberly-Clark also seems especially close to Wisconsin politics. William R. Kellett, former President of Kimberly-Clark, served as chairman in 1965 of a committee of "citizen-businessmen" that developed a proposal for total reorganization of Wisconsin state government. Another "Kellett Commission" has been at work on the reorganization of the state's system of higher education. State Representative David Martin, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in 1970, is an employee of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation. And John R. Kimberly is not only a director of Kimberly-Clark, First Wisconsin National Bank, Northwestern Mutual Insurance Company, and First National City Bank of New York (one of the banks involved in the consortium loan to South Africa). He was also State Finance Chairman of the Republican Party from 1965 through 1970. The men who invest in South Africa are men of influence.

Dear Concerned Businessman:

In the July issue of "Insider" we list some of the key points being discussed in the current Wisconsin campaign.

Republicans are running on a record of six years of responsible administration in Wisconsin. We can talk about industrial growth, about new business, about job opportunities, and we can talk about the "We Like it Here" attitude that's developed in Wisconsin under the Knowles-Glisan administration... and that can continue under Jack Olson as our next Governor.

You, as businessmen, know what an administration can do that puts the emphasis on economic growth and a healthy economy to generate tax revenues. On the other hand, Pat Lucey, speaking before the executive board of the Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce, has served notice on business and industry "that the ceilings on personal income and corporate taxes are not sacred..." and these are the areas where Democrats will go for funds in the next Biennium.

You know as well as I do who will pay the freight for the next four years if the Democrats get elected. It will be those who invest the funds, who provide the jobs, who build our economy. Can you afford it?

If you agree with our belief in fiscal responsibility, then, please help us to elect Jack Olson, Bob Warren, John Erickson, and the Republican team by making your contribution today as an investment in tomorrow.

Thank you.

(Signature)
John R. Kimberly
State Finance Chairman
OTHER WISCONSIN COMPANIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. Doughboy Industries, Inc.
   New Richmond, Wisconsin
   -In South Africa, Doughboy Industries produces packaging equipment. In Wisconsin, Doughboy is into turkey feed and swimming pools. In 1966 Doughboy was charged with price fixing and trying to drive small poultry farmers out of business. One of the major stockholders at the time was Governor Warren Knowles.

2. Lakeside Laboratories
   Milwaukee, Wisconsin
   -Lakeside Laboratories is a pharmaceutical firm. Since 1959 it has been owned by Colgate-Palmolive. Both Lakeside and its parent company have subsidiaries in South Africa.

3. Manpower, Inc.
   Milwaukee, Wisconsin
   -Manpower is the world's largest contractor of temporary employment. In South Africa that means inevitably employment along racial lines.

4. Parker Pen Company
   Janesville, Wisconsin
   -Parker Pen is heavily dependent on international markets, with two-thirds of its production sold outside the U.S.A. It also has plants in many countries, including both South Africa and Rhodesia. United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia have been officially in effect since 1965, when the white minority regime there illegally declared its independence. Parker operations continue, however, in Rhodesia as well as South Africa. Daniel Parker, Chairman of the Board, is a nationally prominent businessman, the 1968 President of the National Manufacturers Association, and a member of the prestigious Committee for Economic Development.

5. Geo. J. Meyer Manufacturing Company
   Milwaukee, Wisconsin
   -Geo. J. Meyer produces a complete range of bottling equipment in South Africa.

6. Nordberg Manufacturing
   Milwaukee, Wisconsin
   -Nordberg is involved in South Africa with mining machinery, instrumentation, and automation. Since 1970 it has been merged with Rex Chainbelt, another Wisconsin company.
7. A.O. Smith Corporation
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- In South Africa A.O. Smith is reported as manufacturing petroleum product meters. A major product in Wisconsin is automobile frames. Harvestore Products (crop storage units) is a subsidiary of A.O. Smith.

8. Sta-Rite Industries
Delavan, Wisconsin
- Through an arrangement with the South African firm Penguin-Poolquip Holdings, Sta-Rite is involved in the production of centrifugal and submersible pumps in South Africa.

9. J.I. Case Company
Racine, Wisconsin
- J.I. Case is involved in South Africa in sales and distribution of farm implements and machinery, construction equipment and utility vehicles. It is 90% owned by Tenneco, a large American conglomerate which is also involved in Southern Africa, in oil exploration in South Africa, and in mining for sulphur in Angola.

10. Ray-o-Vac
Madison, Wisconsin
- Ray-o-Vac has been since 1957 a division of ESB (Electric Storage Battery), Inc., with headquarters in Philadelphia. ESB products are "produced at 32 plants in 16 countries of the free world" (Annual Report 1970). Among these "free world" countries is South Africa.

VICE-VERSA?
The American Zinc Company, near Benton, Wisconsin, has been owned (60%) since 1963 by Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, with offices in London and Johannesburg. Consolidated Gold Fields, the mining house built by Cecil Rhodes, is one of South Africa's largest mining groups.
* indicates man is director of more than two companies on the chart

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES IN WISCONSIN COMPANIES
BUSINESS IS NOT JUST BUSINESS, YOU KNOW!

A common answer to criticism of business involvement in South Africa is that business can't get involved in politics, especially not foreign policy, and that to disapprove publicly of South Africa's policies would be politics. But the men in these companies do not hold themselves aloof from molding opinion on foreign policy. Peter Foote (of Cutler-Hammer), E. B. Fitzgerald (of Cutler-Hammer, etc.), Donald Slichter (of Rex Chainbelt, etc.), and several others in key positions with First Wisconsin and Northwestern Mutual (William G. Brumder, George M. Chester, Catherine B. Cleary) are all consultants for the World Affairs Council of Milwaukee, which cooperates with such agencies as the University of Wisconsin Extension and the League of Women Voters to "inform" the people of Wisconsin about foreign policy. The initial funding for the Council's Institute of World Affairs came in 1960 from the Johnson Foundation. Leslie Paffrath, of that foundation, is also a consultant to the World Affairs Council.

In 1967, and again in 1969, the World Affairs Council hosted men who have been prominent defenders of the racist regimes in Southern Africa. In 1967 one of the principal speakers at the Institute of World Affairs was Charles Burton Marshall, author of a book opposing United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, and professor at Johns Hopkins University. He was asked how citizens could influence foreign policy, and gave this revealing response:

"I am not going to suggest that great numbers of us should desert our tasks in order to become experts on foreign policy. We should comfort ourselves with the thought that there are still many children to be reared in this country, streets to be swept and repaired, roofs to be mended, many young to be taught, and all kinds of things to be done besides attending to foreign policy. ... So I want to caution you to moderation. Do not overdo this business of getting involved in foreign policy. Do not neglect your husband or your wife or your professional duties for the sake of trying to save the world situation. ... When you think the United States is being carried, by some excess of enthusiasm, into something it is not going to know how to finish, write a cautionary note to someone in authority."

In October, 1969, the World Affairs Council gave a dinner in honor of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. In recent years Acheson has been one of the leading spokesmen for even closer American cooperation with Portugal, and has opposed even the limited sanctions against Rhodesia. In his memoirs, entitled Present at the Creation, he praises Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, a man with whom he was impressed on first meeting, as a modern version of Plato's
philosopher-king. Of United Nations actions against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa, Acheson spoke on April 16, 1969, condemning the harassment of "three friendly countries in Southern Africa." These three friendly nations are South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. In his memoirs Acheson expresses his regret that the United Nations has become "an instrument of interference in the affairs of weak white nations."

The World Affairs Council, it seems, is not likely to raise questions about racial oppression in Southern Africa, or to criticize American support that reinforces its strength. This is not to suggest that the World Affairs Council, its members, or the companies many of them represent, are active propagandists for Southern African racism. Rather it is that their involvement not only reinforces racial discrimination in Southern Africa, but also biases the consideration of Southern Africa by the public here.

GREAT DECISIONS: 1970

This eight-session, noncredit lecture series—Great Decisions: 1970—offers an excellent opportunity to survey eight critical areas of United States foreign policy under the guidance of University faculty and other area specialists. The eight-week series is sponsored by the Institute of World Affairs (University Extension and The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee).

February 3: "Soviet Union." What course for the Kremlin in the 1970's?
February 10: "Latin America." Does U.S. policy promote military rule south of the border?
February 17: "France." After de Gaulle, a new deal for France's allies?
February 24: "Race and World Politics." What role for the U.S. in the struggle for racial equality?
March 3: "Japan." A great power role for the rich man of Asia?
March 10: "U.S. Defense Policy." The Pentagon and its critics—what policies should prevail?
March 17: "Middle East." What stakes for the great powers in the Arab-Israeli conflict?
March 24: "United Nations." After 25 years, still man's "last, best hope" for peace?

Coordinator: Carol Edler Baumann, Director, Institute of World Affairs, UWM.
Time: Tuesdays, 7:30-9:00 p.m.
Dates: February 3 through March 24 (8 meetings).
Place: The Wisconsin Center.
Class Fee: $13 (includes "Great Decisions" booklet).

Great Decisions is an annual publication of the Foreign Policy Association used around the country in courses and discussions. In the 1970 study on "Race and World Politics" Portuguese colonialism is not mentioned at all, and South Africa is presented as a very "strange" country, in which it is economic advance that holds out hope for the future. Suggested readings are two: a survey of economic trends, and an article entitled "South Africa: Are There Silver Linings?" The Foreign Policy Association has among its directors, along with other executives of companies involved in Southern Africa, Charles Engelhard, who was honored as chairman of its annual dinner in 1967.
OTHER COMPANIES INVOLVED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND WISCONSIN

Aetna Insurance
Allied Chemical
American Motors
Armco Steel
Borden Co.
Carnation Co.
Caterpillar Tractor Co.
Chrysler Outboard Corp.
Cities Service Oil Co.
Coca-Cola
Crown Zellerbach
Del Monte
Du Pont
Fairbanks Morse Power Systems
Gardner-Denver Company
General Electric
General Motors
Goodyear Tire and Rubber
Gulf Oil
Interchemical Corp.
IBM
International Harvester
John Deere Horicon
Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing
Mobil Oil
National Cash Register
Oak Manufacturing Co.
Olin-Mathieson
Otis Elevator Co.
Owens Illinois Inc.
Pepsi-Cola
Rockwell-Standard
St. Regis Paper Co.
Dr. Scholl Shoe Co.
Shell Oil
Sun Oil
Union Carbide
Uniroyal
Weyerhauser

Butler Building System

AVIS
Hertz

Firestone
EM TODAS AS FRENTES da ECONOMIA e do PROGRESSO

Mobil

MAIS DE CEM ANOS NA VANGUARDA DA INDÚSTRIA PETROLÍFERA

This Mobil ad was taken from the Portuguese army journal, Jornal do Exército, December, 1967.

Mobil Oil Corporation, the eighth largest corporation in the world, is one of the family of Standard Oil Companies (Standard Oil, New York). It is reputed to have still substantial Rockefeller interests. It has two subsidiary companies in Portuguese Africa. Mobil Oil Portuguesa, the more important, is engaged in "marketing in Portugal, neighboring islands, and Portuguese Africa." It is 99.99% owned by Mobil Oil International. It is at present building, in Luanda, Angola, a new plant for oil storage and processing of lubricating oil.

A translation of the ad: "ON ALL FRONTS of ECONOMY and PROGRESS...On all the fronts that separate order from disorder and mark the menaced frontiers of our territory, the Armed Forces protect Progress and the Economy of the Nation...On all fronts, MOBIL also protects the equipment of Progress for the service of the National Economy...MORE THAN 100 YEARS IN THE VANGUARD OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY."
GENERAL MOTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 1969, General Motors, with a total South African investment of $125 million, sold 31,701 cars and 11,314 trucks, representing 17.2 percent of the South African car market, and 14.4 percent of the commercial vehicle market. General Motors has had an assembly plant in Port Elizabeth since 1926, and by 1971 anticipates having sold a total of one million cars in South Africa. GM South Africa now has three plants, all located in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area. In 1968 it produced what is regarded as the "first South African car", the Ranger, with 55 percent local content.

GM exports products to South West Africa and Mozambique and, until the United States embargo in July 1968, also exported to Rhodesia. GM's increasing export activity and increasing local manufacture are directly in line with the South African Government's policy of self-sufficiency and provide material help in alleviating her balance of payments problem.

GM employs 5,500 workers, 3,500 of whom are Non-whites. GM Chairman J. M. Roche explains the wage policy in South Africa as follows:

"With regard to GM South African's wage policy, GM South African does not discriminate between the races as to wages, except for a difference in starting rates which are higher for Whites than for Colored or Native employees. Any employee of any race can progress to a higher rate of pay on his job performance and length of service".

The starting rate for Africans and Coloureds at the GM engine plant is 52 cents an hour, or $83 a month. A semi-skilled worker, usually a Coloured, received between 70 cents and $1.00 an hour. Machine setters and changers, mostly Whites, earn between $1.40 and $2.00 an hour. A skilled artisan, always a White, receives over $2.10 an hour.

GM operated for 42 years in South Africa without a union. Recently a Coloured and a White union were formed in the Port Elizabeth plants. (African unions are not allowed in South Africa.) GM negotiates with the White union on the job categories to be reserved for Whites. Because of the labor shortage, some Coloured and African workers occasionally get positions vacated by Whites. However, GM has also actively encouraged the immigration of workers from Europe and Latin America to fill the shortage of white labor. Roughly 20% of the skilled labor force in one of GM's plants is made up of such immigrants.

GENERAL MOTORS

* is the world's largest manufacturer
* sold 7.2 million vehicles for $24 billion in 1969
* is the 10th largest defense contractor ($700 million)
* makes 30% of its cars overseas
* spent $384 million in Wisconsin in 1969
* employs 11,000 workers in Milwaukee and Janesville

GM press release, June 30, 1970 - "GM South African has made a major contribution to the growth and development of the Republic."

GM plant manager, July, 1970 - "We are dependent on the skilled White to keep us in business and the Coloured man to keep us running."

GM plant manager, July, 1970, referring to Africans - "I wouldn't say these people don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited."
This Willys ad was taken from the Portuguese army journal, Jornal do Exército, April, 1969.

Kaiser (Willys) Jeep Corporation "is now the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles" (Business Week). It has subsidiaries around the world, including Portugal and South Africa. A large shipment of jeeps was exported from the United States to Angola in 1963. More recently, in July, 1968, the South African plant of Kaiser received an order worth more than $3 million from the Portuguese government.

A translation of the ad: "The name that made the all-terrain vehicle universal...Willys Jeep is the vehicle with the largest world production, the vehicle that has shown the best test results, that is the most resistant to wear...It is the 'all terrain' vehicle preferred by the armed forces because of its incomparable resistance and versatility of application."

Since 1969 Kaiser Jeep has been a subsidiary of American Motors.
INVESTMENT, RECRUITMENT, AND THE STATUS QUO

The scope of American economic involvement in Southern Africa, as illustrated by the companies described and listed above, is big enough so that the involvement there becomes nothing out of the ordinary - "business as usual". Racism and colonialism are given extra support not as a result of exceptional malice on the part of businessmen, but as a result of the basis on which the system operates. The stage is set for cries to defend American interests against movements for independence and inequality that might threaten them. And the status quo orientation is reinforced by the investment policies of state and university, and by university policy on corporate recruiting - the assumption is that business is business, and that criteria of human welfare are irrelevant.

Thus the Wisconsin State Investment Board, and the University of Wisconsin, each hold stock portfolios, managed on a strict business basis. The result is substantial holdings in companies involved in Southern Africa. As of June 30, 1969, the Wisconsin State Investment Board held common stock in 117 companies. Of these, 33 had subsidiaries or affiliates in Southern Africa, including Cutler-Hammer, Dow Chemical, General Motors, and Kimberly-Clark. As of the same date, some $3 million of the $13.4 million in stock managed by the University of Wisconsin regents was in companies involved in Southern Africa. Among the companies were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>No. of shares</th>
<th>Market value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gulf Oil</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>$153,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobil Oil</td>
<td>4,850</td>
<td>284,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressograph-Multigraph</td>
<td>4,200</td>
<td>310,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Cash Register</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>255,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deere &amp; Co.</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>100,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Motors</td>
<td>5,429</td>
<td>422,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly-Clark</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>201,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simplicity Patterns</td>
<td>7,472</td>
<td>554,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Foods</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>489,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. C. Nielsen</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>169,525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these companies, Kimberly-Clark and General Motors are discussed in the preceding sections. There is an ad from Mobil Oil. But Gulf Oil also deserves special notice, because of its role in Angola in support of the Portuguese war effort. Income to the Portuguese Government in 1969 from the Gulf Oil concession amounted to some $11 million, equivalent to a large proportion of the military budget for the "province" of Angola. The Portuguese Government promised Gulf "to undertake such measures as may be necessary to ensure that the company carry out its operations freely and efficiently, including ... such measures as may be necessary to prevent third parties from interfering with the company's free exercise of its contractual rights." The possible third parties include, it is clear, the African people of Angola themselves.
The same reinforcement of the status quo is revealed in university policy on recruitment on campus. On March 4, 1967, the University Faculty passed a resolution to allow organizations to recruit on campus only if they did so in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Civil Rights Act and the Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Statutes. Both of these state categorically that it is unlawful for any employer to discriminate and deny employment because of race, color, sex, or national origin. But inquiry about U.S. companies that have subsidiary plants or offices in South Africa receives the answer that such civil rights legislation does not apply. This question was raised specifically in a letter in spring 1970 from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa and the All African Peoples Union to Chancellor Edwin Young:

In the Wisconsin State Journal of February 13, you were quoted as saying that any 'legitimate business' had a right to recruit on the UW campus. We would like from you a clarification of what you mean by legitimate.

According to a University Faculty resolution of 4/3/67, incorporated in a policy statement of the University Placement Services, "Any organization recruiting on campus will do so in accordance with the provisions of Title VII of the federal Civil Rights Act and Wisconsin's Fair Employment Practices Statutes Sections 1131-1137." Both state categorically that it is unlawful for any employer to discriminate and deny employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Yet many companies that make use of campus facilities for recruitment (including First National City Bank, Kimberly-Clark, General Electric, Cutler-Hammer, and others) operate subsidiary businesses in the Republic of South Africa. There, as you must be aware, discrimination in employment is the universal practice, one of the cornerstones of the 'way of life' imposed by white South Africa on the rest of the population. This means that American companies operating in South Africa adopt as a matter of course policies of clear and unambiguous racial discrimination against non-whites.

Such practices affect not only the people of South Africa, but also Afro-Americans who work for these American companies. An Afro-American, who might work for such as company as a junior executive, does not have the same opportunity to be employed in its South African subsidiary as does an American white. Such a policy is clearly discriminatory.

We would like to know then: do you consider racial discrimination legitimate? Is it right for the university to make its facilities available to those practicing discrimination? Or did you really mean that any business is legitimate?
The reply from Chancellor Young read as follows:

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your recent letter. I appreciate your concern over the racial policy of the government of South Africa. Certainly it is a policy which is unacceptable in our own country.

However, I do not wish to indulge in a semantic debate about the word "legitimate" as it applies to any particular business or businesses. In the context you refer to, I take the word legitimate to mean, quite simply, that a legitimate business is one which subscribes to the legal requirements imposed by our state and federal governments.

Those businesses that conduct interviews on our campus do not deny employment to any of our students on the basis of race, religion, or ethnic background. If they did, they would be in violation of both the Civil Rights Act and the Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Statutes.

Until the question of the legitimacy of those businesses you mention in your letter is successfully challenged in the courts, we shall continue to consider them bona-fide employers and thereby eligible to conduct job interviews on campus.

Sincerely,

Edwin Young,
Chancellor

In the 1969-70 school year, 545 companies were listed as sending recruiters to the UW Madison campus. Of these companies approximately 18% have subsidiaries or affiliates in South Africa. The University, according to Chancellor Young, will "continue to consider them bona-fide employers and thereby eligible to conduct job interviews on campus".

At the University of Michigan this fall, the response was different. Companies involved in South Africa are not barred from using the services of the OSS Placement Office there (See next page for details.)
The following is a memo sent from a student group at University of Michigan:

TO: Office of Student Services Policy Board
FROM: The Brain Mistrust (BMT)
SUBJECT: Enforcement of the University’s policy governing the use of its facilities by corporate recruiters
DATE: 6 October 1970

The University of Michigan maintains the following policy for campus recruiters:
The University of Michigan Placement Services is administered in a manner which provides equal opportunities for placement and employment of University of Michigan students and alumni. Consequently its services are not available to any organization or individual which discriminates against any person because of race, color, creed, sex, religion or national origin, nor which does not maintain an affirmative action program to assure equal employment opportunity.

This policy has not been enforced. Many of the companies recruiting on campus operate in the Union of South Africa. It is well known that these companies practice blatant discrimination through unequal wage scales based entirely upon race, through segregated facilities in their plants, through discriminatory promotion practices, and through adhering to other apartheid laws and policies. The companies themselves openly admit to practicing apartheid, as illustrated by Henry Ford II’s statement: “When abroad, we must operate by the standards of the host country or forfeit our welcome.”

No corporation operating according to South Africa’s apartheid policies should be permitted to use University of Michigan recruiting facilities. We call for strict and immediate enforcement of the University’s stated policy.

Thank you.
Jeff Field
Liz Field
Don Larkin
for the BMT


The new policy below is the result:

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN OFFICE OF STUDENT SERVICES POLICY BOARD STATEMENT

The University of Michigan Placement Services is administered in a manner which provides equal opportunities for placement and employment. Consequently its services are not available to any organization or individual that discriminates against any person because of race, color, creed, sex, religion, or national origin, nor which does not maintain an affirmative action program to assure equal employment opportunity.

1. No corporation operating where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis of race, color, creed, or sex, for example, South Africa, shall be allowed to use the services of the OSS Placement Office. Furthermore, the OSSPB urges other academic placement offices to follow this policy.

2. Allegations that a company has discriminated in its recruiting or hiring in any of its business activities either within or without the United States may be made within the Office of Student Services. A determination shall be made if there is sufficient evidence to request the company involved to participate in a public forum. Failure to participate in a public forum will automatically result in the company not being allowed to use OSS Placement Office services.

3. If there is an allegation that a company or its representative has discriminated in its recruiting or hiring activity on this campus, the Placement Office of the Office of Student Services will undertake to conduct an investigation. Determination of violation and the sanction to be applied (warning or denial of use of the services of the OSS Placement Office) will be determined within the Office of Student Services.
WHERE IN THE WORLD ARE YOU GOING?

South Africa's soft sell reaches every community in Wisconsin through:

Tourism...
Programs of exchange...
and "Information Service"...

TOURISM: Tours through commercial agencies for "fun in the sun" via Pan Am or South African Airways' new U.S.-approved flights from New York to Johannesburg. (Sorry, no blacks, please.)

As an American tour director writes, S.A. is "physically the most comfortable country and the most like home....If this is darkest Africa then somebody must have let in a lot a light" (L.A. Times, 2/15/70) While there, see "the fake native village where the government sells you a permit to shoot photos of bare-breasted black women." (Air Travel, 4/69)

More than 14,000 Americans went last year. S.A. Tourist Corp. director Basson tells us why: "South Africa needs friends for influential people in the world." Mr. Basson adds that the tourist industry was also a major force in attracting foreign investors." (Sunday Times 7/9/67).

Visits to South Africa are good business for the white South Africans. Their effective control over all inhabitants and the threat of punishment for those who dissent from racial policies means the tourist does not hear disagreement. The physical beauty and white wealth combine to create a pleasing picture to the naive American visitor.

One such veteran wrote recently in a "letter to the editor" "Yesterday I returned after five weeks in South Africa and Rhodesia, and the visit was, indeed, an eye opener...I talked to a number of black people and all expressed the highest satisfaction with the status quo and with the prime minister."

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGE: South Africa wants Wisconsinites to "visit" and see how peaceful is the "strongest anti-Communist government in Africa." And Wisconsin residents go... to conferences of "female fliers," to world ploughing championships, to consult with Dr. Christian Barnard, etc.

The American Field Service sends Wisconsin high school students to South Africa for "international learning and goodwill." A Stoughton, Wisconsin girl reported on her stay with the family of the Deputy General of the South Africa Reserve Bank. "Susan had her picture taken sitting on $26,000,000 in gold brick!" Susan also reported that, "Meals at the Groblers were served by a maid named Martha, who has been with the family for 14 years." (Capital Times 9/22/69) Another "soft-spoken American export" of A.F.S. of 17 told the Johannesburg Star that "When we read about apartheid in the States, it sounds terrible...But I can't see any other solution."

In exchange, A.F.S. brings white South African youth to Wisconsin, where they are free to tell their story about "what it's really like in South Africa."

On a national level, the United States South Africa Leadership Exchange Program, Inc., exchanges "professional, business, community, and religious leaders" of "all races."

Of course blacks may go only if the South African government will give them a visa or passport. Financial supporters of this project from Wisconsin companies are the
Johnson Foundation, Del Monte Corporation, the Weyerhaeuser Foundation. At the University of Wisconsin white South Africans are welcome to learn the complex technologies of nuclear physics, of computers, of social control, of industrial techniques - all to strengthen the status quo there.

INFORMATION SERVICE: Every Wisconsin school teacher has access to free films, posters maps and teacher guides on South Africa. Between 1966 and 1969, South Africa allocated more than $1.75 million for publicity in the United States. The South Africa Foundation explained, "The promotion of South Africa's image in the U.S. is without doubt the Foundation's highest priority...to convince them that a policy of friendship and cooperation with S.A. is not in the final instance irreconcilable with the best interests of America and the West." (Johannesburg Sunday Times, 5/14/67). G.M. and other U.S. companies in South Africa help finance the Foundation's work.

In addition, literature on South Africa floods the schools, companies, libraries, and newspapers of America. The Detroit Free Press editor noted, "I receive more propaganda from South Africa than from all other foreign governments combined."

MODERN AMERICAN CAPITALISM:

A BRITISH CONSTRUCTION FIRM
"...The idea of doing business in South Africa is totally unacceptable; we could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process...We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races...We should have to operate within an economic system which is designed deliberately to demoralise and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance." (Mr. Neil Wates, Man. Director, Wates, Ltd., London - a leading British housing construction firm)

POLAROID
"How can we presume to concern ourselves with the problems of another country? Whatever the practices elsewhere, South Africa alone articulates a policy exactly contrary to everything we feel our company stands for. We cannot participate passively in such a political system. Nor can we ignore it...We decided whatever our course should be it should oppose the course of apartheid." (Ad, Polaroid Corp., New York Times, 1/13/71, p.23)

FORD - IN AND FOR SOUTH AFRICA
"Give them (the South Africans) an opportunity to expand their philosophy of sending Bantus back to their homelands. Give them an opportunity to pursue this policy without criticism. (Managing Director, Ford Motor Company of South Africa, Ltd., 7/70)

CHRYSLER IN SOUTH AFRICA
"...near Pretoria, Chrysler has built the most modern automobile plant in Africa... Why? Because this is the fulfillment of Chrysler's faith in South Africa. Faith so strong that it is backed by every resource that Chrysler can bring to bear."(Ad, Financial Mail, 3/17/70)

General Motors - South African
"GM South African has made a major contribution to the growth and development of the Republic." (GM Press Release, Washington Post, 6/30/70)

"I don't consider it appropriate to publically work for changes in laws...I feel that companies such as ours are really performing a very useful service...our non-white peoples here in South Africa can work their way into the economy to come out of their rural and tribal existence out in the country where they can actually participate in a civilised industrial life and this is pretty much the story of the development of the U.S." (Managing Director, GM South African,7/70)

LABOR UNIONS IN S.A.
"Of the 168 trade unions in South Africa, 86 are limited to White (sic) persons only, 37 to Coloured and Asians, and 45 are open to Whites, Coloureds and Asians. Under the Bantu Settlement of Disputes Act of 1953, no Bantu persons in South Africa may be members of trade unions." (South African Tempo, 4/68)

"We feel at this stage the less we have to do with unions, the better. There's enough incentive for us to look after our people." (Chrysler South Africa Personnel Official, 7/70)
CONCLUSION

It is probable that a similar analysis, tracing the links between Southern Africa and American companies involved there, and the role of the American foreign policy elite that believes such involvement legitimate, could be carried out for many other states in the United States. In some one might even find Portuguese military men studying electronics or counter-insurgency, in others one might find the same men involved in South Africa also playing important roles in state politics (e.g. Englehard in New Jersey). But the argument might come back: except for men like Engelhard, South Africa is really peripheral. Their companies have other profitable investments to exploit, and South Africa is a small percentage, even if it is particularly profitable. And World Affairs Councils have other propaganda points they are more interested in communicating to opinion leaders than anything about Southern Africa.

In some cases, this may be true. But that is not the point. The point is that the profits are being made, the involvement is growing, and it is important in helping maintain the racist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa. In the absence of pressure against them, the companies, and the elite, have no intention of changing their ways. Perhaps some companies would sacrifice their South African investment for something somewhere else - if they had to choose. Now they don't: it's profits there, and here, and elsewhere. Meanwhile the oppression in Southern Africa goes on, and the war. Cutler-Hammer, Kimberly-Clark, Parker Pen and the others continue to make their profits. So do Gulf, and Mobil, and General Motors, and the University of Wisconsin, which owns their stock. Companies that openly adhere to racial discrimination recruit on campus, and World Affairs Council speakers counsel audiences not to "overdo this business of getting involved in foreign policy". The result of following that advice might well be another Vietnam-scale involvement; at the least it would mean the continuation of America's tacit alliance with South Africa and Portugal. For those who profit from the present policy cannot be expected to change it out of the goodness of their heart.

The weight that such involvement has in determining policy is reinforced by the legitimacy granted to business and its leaders by the rest of us. Such thinking as "What's good for GM is good for the country" still pervades the American mentality, in spite of a growing scepticism based on pollution, the war, and the economic squeeze for workers. Southern Africa is an extreme case of the disregard for human welfare involved in accepting such a principle. To expose and to challenge American business involvement there is important for Southern Africa. It can also be a part of the struggle for reorientation of America, towards solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world, solidarity instead of enmity.
WHAT CAN YOU DO?

1. Write to the Wisconsin companies discussed in this pamphlet. Ask them why they are in South Africa, and what their policies there are. If you are a stockholder, raise these questions at the annual meeting.

2. Protest the visits to campuses by recruiters from these companies. Let people know what the companies are doing. Support workers on strike and tell people about the cheap labor the companies use in South Africa.

3. Demand that the United States curb American investment in South Africa and stop all military aid to Portugal and South Africa.

4. Support the African liberation movements with money and material aid. Let people know what the movements are fighting for.

This list is just a beginning. Much will depend on who and where you are. The next few pages tell of what one group of black workers at Polaroid has been doing. And the last page gives some sources for further information on Southern Africa and American involvement there.
* POLAROID has been doing business with South Africa since 1938. They sell film, cameras, sunglasses, and identification systems through a local distributor.

* POLAROID admits (Polaroid Newsletter, November 2, 1970) that "the black native is treated as an unwelcome foreigner in his own country. His activities and movements are arbitrarily restricted. He is required to carry a passbook whenever he is in any of the work centers or cities and is subject to imprisonment without trial if caught without it."

* POLAROID still does business with South Africa. They say that the ID-2 identification system is not used for the passbooks, but since 1967 approximately 65 ID-2 systems have been sold to "industrial users in South Africa for employee identification purposes...and to the South African army and air force solely for identifying military personnel." (Polaroid Memorandum, October 6, 1970)

* The POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT is a group of black workers who have come together to act and protest against the sale of Polaroid products in South Africa. They demand:

1. That Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa. We believe that all American companies doing business there reinforce that racist system.

2. That Polaroid announce its position on apartheid publically in the United States and South Africa, simultaneously.

3. That Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to the recognized African liberation movements.

Polaroid has refused to meet with the PRWM or recognize the demands.

* The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement has called for a world-wide boycott of Polaroid products until Polaroid discontinue all sales in South Africa. Support has been growing in the Boston area, where Polaroid has its headquarters. YOU CAN HELP TOO. BOYCOTT POLAROID.

* President Edwin Land, of Polaroid, says, "The world is watching us right now. Other companies are saying that 'if Polaroid can't make the grade, none of us can.' (The Phoenix, Boston, November 10, 1970). EXPOSE POLAROID "LIBERALISM".

SPREAD THE WORD

contact:
Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement
c/o Caroline Hunter
46 Longwood Avenue
Brookline, Massachusetts

Boycott
Support the black revolutionary workers at Polaroid.

Polaroid
Until all sales to South Africa are discontinued.
On January 13, 1971, Polaroid placed full-page advertisements in over 20 newspapers (at a cost of about $50,000) in an attempt to answer the demands of the workers that it stop all business with South Africa. Polaroid did say "We abhor apartheid, the national policy of South Africa. ... South Africa alone articulates a policy exactly contrary to everything we feel our company stands for". But instead of withdrawing, Polaroid said, it will stay in South Africa and work to upgrade non-white workers there. The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement rejected this as a diversionary tactic. And in a letter to the Boston Globe (January 26, 1971), Margaret Marshall, a former President of the National Union of South African Students, exposed the fallacies in Polaroid's arguments:

"The Polaroid Corp., in support of its decision to continue a business relationship with the Republic of South Africa, cites the fact that they 'talked to and listened to more than 100 black people of South Africa' and to 'a broad spectrum of whites.' What Polaroid and so many Americans fail to realize is that it is a treasonable offense for any South African inside or outside the Republic to advocate a policy of economic withdrawal. In terms of both the General Law Amendment Act No. 76 of 1962, Section 21 (2) and the Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967, support for economic sanctions is illegal and carries a possible death sentence (minimum penalty five years). In both acts the accused is guilty until proven innocent. No one inside South Africa would be foolish enough to openly advocate a policy of economic withdrawal - not even to Polaroid's visiting team.

Polaroid's 'experiment' in South Africa is to train non-whites for 'important' jobs in Polaroid-connected companies. No matter what, Polaroid cannot bypass the mass of discriminatory labor legislation that makes it illegal for any black man to occupy a position senior to any white man in a company. Industrial Labor Acts specifically confine blacks to certain jobs, while white government spokesmen from the Prime Minister and Cabinet members down the line have constantly reiterated that they will never allow blacks into responsible position over whites. What a farce the 'important' jobs become when every white in the company has to occupy jobs senior to every black.

Polaroid states that 'education' is the 'key to change in South Africa.' All education for black South Africans is under government control through the Bantu Education Department. Private education for blacks is illegal. Bantu (black) education is based on the premise that 'the Bantu must be guided to serve his own community. There is no place for him in the European (white) community above the level of certain forms of labor.' This premise is rigidly enforced in all black schools. This is education for servitude. Polaroid, by stating that education is the 'key to change' calmly ignores the years of struggle against apartheid - including Bantu Education."
SOURCES FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For more information on Southern Africa, you can write to:

1. Africa Research Group
   P.O. Box 213
   Cambridge, Mass. 02138
2. American Committee on Africa
   164 Madison Avenue
   New York, New York 10016
3. Liberation Support Movement
   474 55th Street
   Oakland, California 94609
4. Southern Africa Committee
   637 W. 125th Street
   New York, New York 10027

In Madison, the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa often has literature from these groups available.

On American support for the regimes of Southern Africa, the most recent sources are:


TELL THESE BLACK WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES WHO ARE NOT ALLOWED TO LIVE TOGETHER THAT:

Diamonds make a gift of love.
We’re involved.

right now

products from American Motors

in and for South Africa

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

Goodyear

Cummins Diesel (S.A.) Ltd.

Hertz