ROY WILKINS, Chairman

James Farmer
Dorothy I. Height

Martin Luther King, Jr.
A. Philip Randolph
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

This Call was printed in anticipation of convening conference Dec. 1. Supplementary statement on current Rhodesian developments will be issued shortly.

ALL

You to Attend

THE AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

Third Biennial Conference

January 26 through January 29, 1967

Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Conference Director: Theodore E. Brown
CONFERENCE THEME: The Role of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa do to help assure that black people in South Africa, Southwest Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola attain those human rights which are guaranteed to all people—black or white—by the Human Rights Charter of the United Nations and by the Constitution of the United States to all American citizens.

The time is overdue for the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa to give vigorous support to the African independence movement, as it faces the hard-core in Southern Africa, and to communicate its views to the highest officials in the United States Government. Certainly without this support, the future prospects for black Africa are indeed bleak.

What can the Conference do to help move the foreign policy of our government into a position of world leadership expressed in deeds against racism in southern Africa? Specifically, what can our Conference do to assure that our government is constantly petitioned and constructively pressured by millions of American citizens concerned now for the prompt elimination of apartheid in South Africa and the achievement of independence for South West Africa? In this connection we must have as a first step, a reversal of the recent International Court of Justice judgment. How can independence be attained for Angola and Mozambique and one man—one vote be achieved in Rhodesia?

What can the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa do to be truly relevant to the problems of southern Africa when the circumstances are not present for the implementation of the orderly legal processes of constitutional change?

The present United States focus of interest seems to be in Asia and in Latin America. We have no reason to believe, that without our expressions of concern, Africa will be given higher priority than it now has. We meet to accept this responsibility for action.

Important questions must be put to each of the sponsoring organizations which make up the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa. We are aware that each sponsoring organization has its own constitutional and programmatic domestic commitments, developed in most cases over a long period of time. We meet to determine what is expected of each of us and of our organizations in assuring a more wholesome United States-Africa relationship. Each organization in the areas of civil rights, religion, education, labor, business, the professions, sororities or fraternities must now join in this cause under the banner of the leadership of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, supporting a single program of action.

All of the component organizations urge the way of orderly legal change. This approach is consistent with our own constitutional structure. The frightening dilemma seems to be that there is no constitutional structure that provides for orderly transition to majority rule in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique on Angola.

What can we take? Can we learn from the relations to their homelands of Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans who have faced a similar problem?

The situation for Africans in Africa is deteriorating with incredible speed. Most immediately, the consequences of the International Court of Justice decision on Southwest Africa exacerbates the many other rising problems of achieving self-determination in Southern Africa. In the many months preceding the ICJ decision the United States emphasized its commitment to observe the “rule of law” and stated repeatedly its expectation that South Africa would also conform to the court decision.

New we have an incredible ICJ judgment which held that Ethiopia and Liberia were not competent to bring forward the case thus leaving aside completely the issue of the “merits” of the charges brought by the applicants.

It is becoming increasingly clear that economic sanctions alone will not insure African participation in the government of Rhodesia. The Ian Smith regime appears to be fully entrenched. After five years of inadequately publicized protest and armed attacks the Africans of Angola and Mozambique have been unable to drive the Portuguese from their lands. Unbelievably, but realistically, it now appears that Tshombe is gaining increased support from certain powerful private interests for a return to power in the Congo. And with Tshombe comes greater Belgian influence.

Some of the strongest African civilian leaders are no longer in the period of youthful vigor. The future leadership is uncertain. Who will follow Kenyatta, Selassie, Tubman, and Houphouet-Boigny? Other potentially strong leaders in Africa at the moment, such as Nyerere and Kaunda seem to have been able to exert modest influence in the confrontation now developing in Southern Africa.

South Africa’s posture on African questions is frozen. Most of the evidence suggests that the white “fortress” in southern Africa is being strengthened.

If the United Kingdom’s present declared position on the Smith regime in Rhodesia is weakened or abandoned the achievement of full African participation in that country’s government will be more remote than ever.

The United States has often stated that it would not like to see Africa divert resources from pressing domestic needs to a competitive arms build-up. However, Black Africa takes the position that military power is a sine qua non if the situation on the southern Africa scene is to be changed. Recent events in the Congo suggest the possibility of a confrontation between the Congolese army and Portuguese power.

Given the current political problems of middle Africa, and the ambivalent position of North Africa with respect to southern Africa, the black Africans are left with few alternatives. They may (1) quietly accept the develop-
ments in southern Africa, (2) appeal to the United Nations, (3) request military assistance from the West, (4) decide independently to mobilize their own military resources and conduct a guerrilla war similar to that going on in Mozambique and Angola but on a more massive scale, taking arms from wherever sources will supply them, (5) request military assistance from the East.

We can rule out the first; the second will probably be debated over a long period; the third will meet with limited response. The fourth alternative would necessarily invite the support of black people outside of Africa calling upon them to act in solidarity with other black people particularly in America, to reinforce by manpower, finances or political pressure the African military force. Such an alignment would underscore the obvious racial component in much of the warfare now going on elsewhere. The fifth alternative conceivably could prove quite productive from the African point of view, for a variety of reasons. This alternative would face the obvious risk of bringing on an East-West confrontation in southern Africa: race plus the cold-war, heretofore separated, would be the result of decisions which had largely been determined by the actions of the West.

All of this comes at a time when the Federation in Nigeria seems on the verge of dissolution, and thereby continuing the fragmentation of Africa, and when military rule is replacing civilian government in the number of African states. Therefore the outlook in Africa for Africans in the immediate future is grim. White influence and control will probably be strengthened. There can be little if any serious effort to challenge the power of South Africa or Portugal without outside assistance.

There seems little hope for a spontaneous combination of forces for independence and strength to emerge unaided from the resources of present African leadership. With the absence from the scene of the very effective charisma of such Pan-African oriented figures as Du Bois, Nkrumah, Fanon, Padmore, Lumumba, Mandela, Ben Bella, and Azikiwe.

The present then represents a nadir in the struggle for black African political and economic independence. The continued expression of righteous indignation by men and nations of goodwill has particular significance for the immediate problems facing black Africa, but it is not enough.

Given these facts, the crucial responsibility for cooperative action leading to African freedom rests among the friends of Africa in the United States and in the capitals of other western countries. A major source for such an interest in America is the existence of 22 million American Negro citizens of African descent, whose position in this country has always been related to the color of their skin which has served as a constant reminder of their African origin.

In other periods of history, it has been fashionable, even obligatory, to speak of the "white man's burden". Today black men want to assume that "burden". They want to help wherever and whenever they can in freeing black men from the position of inferiority and inequality. The source of the problem is in Africa. If black men are not free there, they will never be free anywhere on this planet. Isolation for American Negroes is no more realistic a solution to their problem than isolation is a solution for white Americans. The badge of color can be more binding for blacks than it is for whites.

If we can charge and inspire 22 million black Americans to assume forthwith the leadership in this endeavor, with the help of millions of our white fellow citizens who share our concern and commitment, then we will have contributed something toward assuring the attainment of full human and civil rights for all people, black and white. If we are successful in this objective, we can truly say that we have contributed much to the attainment of world peace in our time. The time is now.

---

**CONFERENCE SESSIONS**

1. The Future of Rhodesia.
2. Central African Problem.
4. The Portuguese in Africa.
5. The Negro Role in African-American Relations.
8. Techniques for Involving the Total Negro Community in U. S.-African Relations.
11. Trade Union Movement in Africa.

**FACT SHEETS**

1. Background to the International Court of Justice Decision on Southwest Africa.
3. Facts of Military Strength in Africa.
5. President Johnson's Statement to African Ambassadors on O.A.U. Anniversary.
10. U.S.A.I.D. to Africa.
11. African Students in U. S.
13. Negro's Relations to Africa.
AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

CONFERENCE SPONSORS

(Partial List)

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
American Committee on Africa
American Society of African Culture, Inc.
Bible Way Church of Our Lord
      Jesus Christ World Wide
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
California Negro Leadership Conference
Chicago Daily Defender
Congress of Racial Equality
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
Improved Benevolent Protective Order of
      Elks of the World
The Links, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement
      of Colored People
National Association of Fashion and Accessory
      Designers, Inc.
National Council of Negro Women
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Urban League
Negro American Labor Council
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.
Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc.
Phelps-Stokes Fund
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Trade Union Leadership Council
United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO
United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
Western Christian Leadership Conference

PLANNING COMMITTEE

James Baker
Theodore E. Brown
Robert Browne
Robert Carter
George Daniels
John A. Davis
Maurice A. Dawkins
Frank Evans
James T. Harris
Dorothy I. Height
Adelaide Cromwell Hill
Charles Howard, Sr.
George Mears
John Morsell
Carl Moultrie
William Oliver
Peter Otley
Guichard Parrish
Frank Patton
Frederick Patterson
Samuel R. Pierce
Cleveland Robinson
James H. Robinson
Horace Sheffield
Hope Stevens
Wyatt T. Walker

PAPER AND FACT SHEET COMMITTEE

Theodore E. Brown
St. Clair Drake
Adelaide Cromwell Hill
Charles P. Howard, Sr.
Martin Kilson

All Inquiries to:
THEODORE E. BROWN, Director
American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa
15 EAST 40th STREET, SUITE 305
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016
Telephone: 212—685-2260