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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
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AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA
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AFRICA - CHALLENGE AND CRISIS

Africa is a vast human volcano seething with unrest which threatens eruption at any time into a massive, violent, catastrophic race war between black and white Africans.

An irrepressible bloody conflict looms menacingly upon the horizon of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. South of the Zambezi River, which divides Zambia from Rhodesia, is a hotel which overlooks the vast expanse of Kariba Lake. At the entrance to the hotel is a sign which reads: "This hotel is not multiracial." This is a warning of "ne plus ultra", or no further beyond, to the traveler who may entertain beliefs in the idea of the brotherhood of man, for he is crossing the divide of Africa into two completely different worlds.

To the north as far as the Sahara Desert virtually all of the continent, as a result of the sweep of the fires of nationalist revolutions of rising expectations, is ruled by Black Africans.

To the south lies the white man's Africa. Four million whites of Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique live among and dominate, exploit and oppress 30 million Black Africans.

IMPENDING CONFRONTATION

The impending hostile racial confrontation stems from two dynamic forces:

One, the determination of Black Africans to rule all Africa south of the Sahara Desert.

Two, the equal determination of White Africans to maintain their control of southern Africa at any cost.

The danger of armed conflict between Black and White Africa was escalated and became more acute when the Rhodesian Government, representing 220,000 whites, on December 5, rejected British terms for ending a year old dispute over Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence without regard to the wishes and interests of 4 million Black Africans.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S LEADERSHIP ON AFRICA

President Johnson is to be commended upon his constructive, wise and timely act of statesmanship in supporting the highly sensitive policy of mandatory sanctions against the rebel regime of Rhodesia voted by the United Nations. It is not surprising that the John Birch Society-Barry Goldwater reactionary wing in the Senate should intemperately denounce President Johnson's order invoking sanctions against Rhodesia as "dictatorial, deceitful and dangerous." These anti-Black African critics and partisans of the white African school of thought contend that the Ian Smith white government of Rhodesia has only exercised the right of self-determination and that does not constitute a threat to the peace.

While Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has brilliantly answered the opponents of President Johnson's Administration's position on Rhodesia, support is needed and required, especially from the Black American community as a catalyst for mobilizing public opinion in support of the cause of Black Southern Rhodesia in particular, and Black Africa in general.

Well, does the New York Times editorially observe in a recent issue: "And anyone who argues that this illegal act aimed at perpetuating the rule of the 6 percent white minority over the 94 percent African majority is not a long-run threat to peace simply ignores the realities in Southeast Africa."

SANCTIONS

Moreover, in view of the growing mood of anger of Black Africans and the widening credibility gap between Black and White Africa, as well as between Black Africa and Western Man, it is a serious question as to whether the sanctions will be vigorously enforced and, if adequately enforced, whether they can bring down the rebel Smith regime of Rhodesia.

MILITARY FORCE

Certainly there is little faith among Black Africans in sanctions alone as an effective weapon to topple white Rhodesia. Black Africans take the position that the only answer to white Rhodesia's refusal to agree to Britain's demands for guarantees of majority rule for the country's four million blacks is the use of military force by Great Britain or the Military Peace-Keeping Forces of the United Nations.

Verily, there is considerable justification for the skepticism of Black Africans in the capability of sanctions alone to overthrow Rhodesia. Black Africans understand that white governments in southern Africa are realizing that survival is only possible, at least for some time to come, if they unite into a white bastion, for a defeat for one is a defeat for all. Thus, until sanctions

are extended to South Africa, a great industrial power and the heart of the alliance of southern White African governments, Rhodesia is not likely to fall under the pressure of U. N. sanctions.

There is, of course, another weapon in the arsenal of the U. N., namely, international military force. But unless much greater pressure of world opinion is mobilized to defeat the white rebellion in Rhodesia, its implementation is quite unlikely.

If the U. N. venture against Rhodesia should succeed, it will have established its importance as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of one of the last stubborn problems of world decolonization. If it should fail, it will have reduced the U. N. to a sounding board of world problems and an agency for occasional voluntary peace missions.

BRITAIN AND MILITARY FORCE

Because of long historical political domination and economic exploitation of Black Africans in southern Africa by Great Britain, it is the responsibility of Britain to employ her military power to strike down the Rhodesian government. But Britain evinces a lack of will to send expeditionary forces to Rhodesia to bring down the white Rhodesia government in the interest of the Black African majority. Britain just cannot stomach white British soldiers shooting their white kith and kin in Rhodesia for Black African majority rule.

But, at the turn of the century, British troops went to South Africa and fought for three years against the Boers before achieving a doubtful victory. The Boers used guerrilla war tactics

and, although the British were much stronger, the war dragged on. Thousands lost their lives. There is no reason to assume that it would be different today.

While Britain stresses its appalling financial plight as a reason for not embarking upon military action against the rebel Ian Smith regime, one might inquire where Britain found the money to support the Malaysian operation, and to send troops to Aden, and to pay for the support of the puppet states in the Persian Gulf.

BLACK AFRICANS CANNOT WIN ALONE

Obviously, because of South Africa's strong army, viable economy and prosperous export and import trade with Great Britain, United States, West Germany and Japan, Black Africa cannot win the fight against the evil racialism of apartheid of South Africa and Rhodesia alone. Britain has 3.5 billion dollars worth of investments, and the United States 700 million, in South Africa. More than 200 U. S. companies are doing business with South Africa.

A revolving credit of 40 million dollars has been extended to South Africa by ten great American banks, including Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical, Bankers Trust, Morgan Guaranty, Manufacturere Hanover Trust, Irving Trust in New York, Continental of Illinois, National Trust and Saving, and First National in Chicago. This economic blood of the banks of the United States helps to give and maintain the life of apartheid.

Despite the utter horror of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the unspeakable degradation of the racial separatism of the system of Batustans, it will take nothing less than a major

revolution to break the grip of South Africa on the financial lifeline of American business. Of course it can be done if the American churches, unions, educational and fraternal institutions could be aroused to withdraw large amounts of their accounts in these giant banks because of their support of apartheid. There is no nerve so sensitive as the nerve of the pocketbook.

FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

The fight against apartheid has been waged not only inside South Africa but in almost every part of the world, be it said to the great credit and racial pride of Black Africans. A veritable deluge of information and propaganda has been disseminated, pointing out the evils and inhumanities of apartheid. This has resulted in an unparalleled growth of repugnance to apartheid and total commitment by its victims to fight for its eradication.

The South African government has now taken steps to counter this rising tide of propaganda against apartheid. Her information services are expending millions of pounds on counterpropaganda. Semi-government bodies are hard at work trying to sell apartheid to the world. This is proof of the value of and need of Negroes of the United States and the West Indies joining hands with our Black African brothers in warning the world of the grave dangers of apartheid to the peace of the world.

The life of a non-European under apartheid is very cheap in South Africa, as cheap as the life of a Jew in Nazi Germany. But if the Buchenwald in South Africa, the sadistic fury with which the Herrenvolk policemen belabor the Black African - guilty or not guilty - is comparable only to the brutality of the SS Guards, and

if we accept the premise - as I hope the nations of the world do - that peace is indivisible; if we accept the moral concept that there could be no peace as long as the scourge of Nazism exists in any corner of the globe, then it follows that the defeat of Nazism is not the final chapter of the struggle against tyranny.

To the Black Africans, and to us of African descent, there can be no peace in the world as long as the tyranny of apartheid remains. One of the grossest of insults, not only to the millions of Black Africans and non-Europeans of South Africa but to all those who are honestly striving to shape the world upon new foundations of freedom, equality, racial and social justice, occurred when, in 1945, Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who had once declared that "every white man in South Africa believes in the suppression of the Negro, except those who are mad, quite mad", stood before the assembled peoples of the world and pleaded for an article on human rights in the United Nations charter.

Nothing so vividly illustrates the twisted contradiction of thought in the minds of white Western man. What brought it about? What caused this paradox? I believe it was the slave trade commerce in human beings between Africa and America, which flourished between the Renaissance and the American Civil War, which is the prime and effective cause of the contradictions in European and American civilization and the illogic in modern thought and the collapse of human culture. Nor are Nazi Germany and South Africa alone guilty of this grave moral contradiction. How can we account for the Founding Fathers of the United States writing the

Declaration of Independence, in which they asserted, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," while they owned slaves.

DEVELOPMENT DECADE

While the freedom fighters of Black Africa, the West Indies and the United States must not cease in their crusade against apartheid in white South Africa, it must not be forgotten that Black Africa, Asia and the Carribean countries are in the category of "have-nots." They are developing countries yet seeking to enter the Twentieth Century while many of them, in many respects, have not yet reached the Nineteenth. Many still need to achieve the precondition of industrialization, including stable government and the capacity of advancing technology. It, too, is important to recognize that the price of admission to the industrial society is much higher today than it was a century ago. Technology is costlier, capital requirements are greater, established producers are harder to overtake in world commercial competition. The fact is the poor nations are getting poorer while the rich nations are getting richer. Of the 80 or more developing countries of the world, 30 or so depend for more than half their foreign exchange earnings on exports of a single crop or commodity such as cocoa or sugar.

Just as a Marshall Plan was necessary to help rebuild Europe out of its ashes of economic exhaustion and despair, it is obvious that Africa, Asia and the Caribbean areas of the world, whose

people have been exploited and oppressed for centuries by imperialist colonialism, must be lifted up by another world Marshall Plan, under the aegis of the United Nations, or the world may set afire with a conflict of catastrophic dimensions between the "have" and "have-not" countries. The United States, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, should lead the way. It is the responsibility of Negro Americans to point the way.

AMERICAN NEGRO
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

I therefore want to commend the Negro leaders who have seen the wisdom of forming and developing this movement to awaken, inform and arouse the mind and conscience of black and white America to the menace of apartheid.

A strong, aggressive and dedicated Negro movement committed to the abolition of apartheid in Africa can exercise effective and meaningful influence on the foreign policy of the United States in behalf of Black Africa. Such a movement can give help and hope to the brave and dedicated black African freedom fighters in the Resistance movement against apartheid in South Africa and Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique.

Negroes in the United States and West Indies have exhibited pride in the great aboriginal cultural endowment and heritage of Africa, which well might be the original home of Homo sapiens.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' imperishable work for the recognition of the monumental contribution of ancient and medieval Africa to civilization must ever live in the book and memory of all black men.

He held five Pan-African conferences during his lifetime for the memorialization of the priceless treasures of art, science and philosophy of our African forebears.

His last creative effort was the conception and building of the Encyclopedia Africana in Ghana. Let us hope that African, American and West Indian Negro scholars will not permit this great work to die. It will be of incomparable value, not only to all Africa and the black men and women and youth of America and the West Indies, but to modern man.

In Greek mythology Andromeda was the black daughter of Cephus, King of Ethiopia, and of Cassiopeia,

That starr'd Ethiop Queen that strove

To set her beauty's praise

Above the sea nymphs and their powers offended.

It is that Poseidon, angry at this black woman's affront to the Nereids, threatened to flood the land and send a sea monster. The Egyptian oracle of Ammon foretold that only the sacrifice of Andromeda to the monster could stay destruction. Thus, Andromeda was chained and exposed on a headland facing the sea; Perseus, forefather of the Asiatic Persians of Iran, returning from the slaying of Gorgon freed Andromeda and married her. After her death she reigned among the stars, her arms extended and chained, together with Cassiopeia and Perseus; and anyone may see them shining upon a beautiful night.

"It might be asked what has this or any other fairy tale to do with a world in crisis, stricken, starving, and half-insane; or with the relations of Africa to Europe and America? Very little

perhaps; and yet we must remember that this folk tale was part of the culture complex of the Mediterranean area where there was no color bar and no name of race; and where, at least in theory, the world was at war between civilization and barbarism. Perhaps then in some way this legend may guide us in the present and future." Thus spoke that great scholar of sorrow and light - Dr. DuBois.

Finally I speak of the Africa of which Langston Hughes sings:

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the
world and older than the flow of
human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.

I build my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the Pyramids above it.

Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O, Zion! Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly the virtues of private profit from capital stolen from your land and labor. Africa, awake! Stand tall in your glorious and ancient cultural heritage.

You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to regain! You have freedom and human dignity to attain.