

WISCONSIN
CORPORATE
INVOLVEMENT
in
southern
africa

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On March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, South Africa, a non-violent crowd of African protesters was fired upon by white police. More than 70 Africans were killed. Shortly thereafter both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the two major African parties in South Africa, were banned - party leaders were banned, arrested, went underground, or into exile. A decade later, and hundreds of United Nations resolutions later, there is war in Southern Africa. South Africa itself is still protected by the buffer of friendly white-ruled states to the north: South West Africa, Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique. But African guerrillas are fighting now on the battleground of these buffer states - against Rhodesian, against Portuguese, and against South African troops.



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

Common to the Southern African regimes, in spite of their divergent colonial histories, is a system in which whites have political power, while blacks have few, if any, political rights. Whites, numerically in the minority, nevertheless control the major economic resources of the countries; blacks provide a usefully cheap labor force.

And political action to change such a system, by blacks or whites, is met by systematic and efficient repression.

In Angola and Mozambique (as in Portugal's other colony, Guinea-Bissau in West Africa) the colonial ideology is that the territories are really just part of Portugal. Movement towards independence is therefore treason. And with a dictatorship at home as well, Portugal does not tolerate dissension. The result is that Portugal is fighting three colonial wars in Africa, with more than 150,000 troops. Unable to eliminate the African nationalist movements, which now control 'liberated zones' in all three countries, Portugal tries now to apply a 'strategic hamlet' strategy, combined with bombing of the African population in the liberated zones.

Rhodesia and South West Africa are both subjects of virtually unanimous United Nations resolutions. Rhodesia's minority white 'independence' has been judged illegitimate, and is recognized by no countries but Portugal and South Africa. The United Nations has also determined that South Africa, by its continued imposition of apartheid on the mandated territory of South West Africa, has forfeited its right to the mandate. But the words of resolutions have not prevented the consolidation in these two countries of systems more and more close to that of South Africa. And since 1967 the liberation movements in these two countries also have turned to armed struggle. South African white troops are engaged on both fronts, in an attempt to keep the fighting outside South Africa's borders.

South Africa's apartheid is perhaps better known. 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. It means in practice not only such petty measures as separate phone booths and elevators, but a division of land in which only 13% is allocated to the Africans (who compose more than two-thirds of the population), a system of pass laws designed to control African labor, and an elaborate system of discrimination in the economic sector.

According to the pass laws, an African must have his pass signed by his employer every month. If he forgets, or does not have his pass on his person at any time, he can be arrested, or expelled from the urban area, on the theory that his 'homeland' is in one of the rural areas included in the 13% reserved for Africans. Under South African law, white workers have a limited right to strike; Africans are denied the right absolutely. Strikes are punishable by a fine of up to \$1200 or three years' imprisonment or both. Job reservation further secures the labor system. The Minister of Labour may reserve any job or class of work for members of a specified race. Wage rates are also divergent, the average wage of whites in manufacturing being five times that of Africans. In mining it is even worse - the average wage for whites is seventeen times that for Africans.

The systems of racial oppression in Southern Africa are entrenched. At the beginning of the sixties many expected that Portugal might decide, with other colonial powers, to grant independence. Many thought that the pressure from 'international public opinion' would lead to reforms in South Africa. Some thought that Britain, as the colonial power responsible, would ensure that Rhodesia got independence only 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. Now it is clear that those expectations were in vain, and the African liberation movements still able to operate have all turned to a strategy of armed struggle as the only option left if colonial rule and racial oppression in Southern Africa are to be eliminated.

But what does this all have to do with the United States, or, even more particularly, with the mid-western state of Wisconsin? Many 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 such regimes, as long as they remain within the realm of pious generalities. But the United States, with other Western powers, has consistently blocked effective action by the United Nations in this area. And the reasons are not hard to find: Portugal is a NATO ally, and investment in Southern Africa is attractive, and highly profitable.

It is quite clear that Portugal, itself an underdeveloped country, would be hard put to continue its wars of counter-insurgency without aid from its western allies. The notion that NATO ties with Portugal are relevant only for Europe, as the United States officially maintains, is a sophistry. In a war heavily dependent on air power, Portugal does not produce her own aircraft, nor her own napalm. And one can document again and again the use of NATO weapons in Africa (See the pamphlet Portugal and NATO by the Dutch Angola Committee). Yet NATO is sacred to the American military and foreign-policy elite, and military cooperation with Portugal continues.

The economic involvement of American business is even more extensive, second in Southern Africa only to that of Britain. The role of ten major American banks in reestablishing investment confidence by a loan to the South African government immediately after the Sharpeville massacre is well known. Ford and General Motors are central to the South African automobile industry, and American Motors is there as well, along with its newly acquired subsidiary Kaiser Jeep Corporation (Kaiser is the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles). One could continue the run-down industry by industry, or note

the intricate connections between Charles Englehard of New Jersey and the mining and distribution of precious metals (gold, platinum, uranium) in South Africa and around the world. (Englehard, the original model for Ian Flemings' Goldfinger, is also a major contributor to the Democratic Party). But the full story is beyond the scope of this pamphlet (See Africa Today, January, 1966, for more details).

The importance of such ties is not just in the amount of profit to American big business, in absolute terms less than that from many other parts of the world, but in the role of men involved in these corporations in the foreign policy elite, in organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Foreign Policy Association (See Domhoff, Who Rules America? for more information on these groups). Among the officers are directors of the Council on Foreign Relations are three officials of Chase Manhattan Bank; five more Chase men are CFR members. Chase Manhattan was not only one of the major banks in the revolving loan to the South African government, but also now owns a substantial share in Standard Bank, one of the largest banks in South Africa. American Metal Climax, one of the major mining companies in Southern Africa, is also represented with three directors and three members in the Council on Foreign Relations. The officers and directors of the Foreign Policy Association reflect a similar pattern; together they represent 7 corporations, 1 bank, 2 investment houses, and 1 law firm with direct interests in South Africa. (For more details see Bruce and Lynda Ewen, "American Involvement in the Republic of South Africa").

The general picture then is one in which military interests, the importance of Europe (NATO) for the State Department, and the economic interests of big business put the United States in Southern Africa, on the side of the white regimes, at the beginning of a long war of liberation. And that involvement is not limited to the Pentagon officials in Washington, or to the corporations and banks based in New York City. It extends even to Wisconsin.

Wisconsin-based Companies in South Africa

The following includes all companies with headquarters in Wisconsin appearing in a list of American firms, subsidiaries and affiliates in the Republic of South Africa, Appendix F to the Report of Special Study Mission to Southern Africa by Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan, Chairman of the Africa subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The lists of directors given are partial; complete lists can be found in Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors, and Executives.

- (1) Parker Pen Co.
Janesville, Wisconsin

Net income(1969): \$3 million
Net current assets: \$23,842,681
No. employees(Feb.1969): 3,250
No. stockholders: 2,750

South African subsidiary: Parker Pen (Pty.) Ltd.
P.O. Box 8674
Johannesburg, South Africa

Directors:

B. Jeffris, Janesville
D. Godfrey, Jr., Milwaukee
N. Byford, Paris (African Representative)
K. Parker, Florida
George S. Parker, Janesville
Daniel Parker, Milton, Wisconsin (President,
also on the Boards of Northwestern Mutual
Life Insurance, S.C. Johnson & Sons, Rex
Chainbelt Co., Bank of Janesville, and
others)

- (2) Nordberg Manufacturing Co.
3073 S. Chase Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Average Wisconsin Employment: 2,250
Shares authorized: 50,000 no par; 8,000 @ \$50
Shares issued: 33,953 no par; 3,217 @ \$50

Products: gas turbines, generator sets, diesel marine engines, mining crushing and processing machinery, mine hoists, railway track maintenance equipment, hydraulic presses, and air compressors.

South African subsidiaries:

Nordberg Manufacturing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
6 Hollard, P.O. Box 4139
Johannesburg, South Africa
and

Nordberg-Ramsey Africa (Pty) Ltd.
same address (in conjunction with
Ramsey Engineering Co., St. Paul,
Minnesota)

Directors: Clarence A. Bickel (Also director
of J.I. Case, and of G.J. Meyer Manu-
facturing Co.); Chester Foster (also G.J. Meyer)

- (3) Lakeside Laboratories (acquired by Colgate-Palmolive
P.O. Box 718 in 1959)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Average Wisconsin Employment: 236
Net assets: \$2 million
Net assets (Colgate): \$199,321,000

Products: ethical pharmaceuticals

South African subsidiary: Lakeside Laboratories (S.A.)
P.O. Box 9724
Johannesburg, South Africa
Colgate-Palmolive also has a South African subsidiary:
Colgate-Palmolive
528 Commissioner St.
Johannesburg, South Africa

Directors: R. D. Hetterick, Milwaukee

- (4) J. I. Case (controlled by Tenneco Corporation)
Racine, Wisconsin

Net income (1968): \$3½ million

Products: farm implements and machinery, construction
equipment, utility vehicles.

South African subsidiary: J. I. Case (S.A.) Pty, Ltd.
McLure Road, Mill Hill
P.O. Bryanston
Transvaal, South Africa

Directors: Clarence A. Bickel (also director of
Nordberg and G.J. Meyer companies)
S. B. Payne (partner, Morgan Stanley & Co.)
N.W. Freeman (also director of Tenneco)
G. Symonds (also Chairman of Tenneco)
Thomas Hancock (also director of Employers
Insurance of Wausau)

Tenneco is itself involved in oil exploration in South
Africa, and has also invested \$300,000 in exploitation
of sulphur, bypsum and anydrite in Angola.

(5) Kimberly-Clark Corporation
Neenah, Wisconsin

Net income(1969, including overseas): \$43½ million

Employees in Wisconsin: 4,190

Capital spending in Wisconsin(1968): \$87 million

Products: conducts an integrated business of manufacturing and selling cellulose wadding products, cultural industrial paper and allied products. Brand names include "Kleenex", "Tampons", etc.

South African subsidiary: Kimberly-Clark of South Africa
74-78 Marshall St.
P.O. Box 3955
Johannesburg, S.A.

(51% owned by Kimberly-Clark; operates two mills in South Africa, at Springs and at Merebank)

Directors: John R. Kimberly (also a director of First Wisconsin National Bank, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance, First National City Bank of New York, Wisconsin Telephone Company, and others)
Edmund B. Fitzgerald (also President of Cutler-Hammer, director of First Wisconsin National Bank)
A.G. Sharp(also director of First National Bank, Appleton)
James S. Rockefeller
D.C. Slichter (also director of Rex Chainbelt Co., Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance, First Wisconsin Bankshares)

(6) S.C. Johnson & Son, Inc.
Racine, Wisconsin

Products: auto polish, household polishes & cleaners

South African subsidiary: S.C. Johnson & Son of S.A.
19 Wepener St.
Booyens, Johannesburg, S.A.

Directors: S.C. Johnson (also director of Cutler-Hammer, Marshall & Isley Bank; trustee of Cornell University; secretary-treasurer of Johnson Foundation; director of Abbot Laboratories -Abbot Laboratories is also involved in South Africa)
H. Packard (also director of Wisconsin Telephone Company, Schlitz Brewing Co.)
Daniel Parker (chrn. Parker Pen, etc.)
James A. Allen(also trustee of Northwestern University; director Abbot Laboratories)
John A. Barr (Dean, Graduate School of Management, Northwestern; Director, Commonwealth Edison, Chicago)

Herbert F. Johnson (also trustee of Cornell University; chairman, Johnson Foundation; director of S.C. Johnson subsidiaries in Canada, England, Australia, France, Hollan, Italy)

- (7) Geo. J. Meyer Manufacturing Company
P.O. Box 452
Milwaukee

Sales (1969): \$63 $\frac{1}{4}$ million
Wisconsin employees: 3,000

Products: bottle cleaners, labeling and packaging machinery, conveyors.

South African subsidiary: Geo. J. Meyer (S.A.) (Pty) Ltd.
P.O. Box 856
Braamfontein, Johannesburg, S.A.

Directors: Clarence A. Bickel (also director J.I. Case and Nordberg)
Chester W. Foster (also director, Nordberg)
L. B. McKnight (also trustee, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance)

- (8) Cutler-Hammer, Inc.
4201 N. 27 St.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Net sales: \$225,500,000
Net income: \$5,402,000
Total employment: 11,600

Products: electronic equipment and systems; aviation, radar, industrial controls, commercial gauging, aircraft switches and power relays, precision measuring instruments.

South African subsidiary: Cutler-Hammer Igranic(Ltd)
Box 89
Wadeville, Transvaal, S.A.

(joint ownership with Metal Industries Ltd., London - a Cutler-Hammer associate company, and with R.T. Uruquhart Ltd.(S.A.)).

Cutler-Hammer Igranic, the "largest manufacturer of electrical controls in the fast growing South African industrial market", moved in 1967 into a new 100,000 sq. ft. factory.

Directors: Edmund B. Fitzgerlad (President, also a director of Kimberly-Clark, First Wisconsin National Bank, and others)
A.M. Slichter
R.B. Marston (member Rockefeller Family and Associates)
S.C. Johnson (President S.C. Johnson, etc.)
Francis E. Ferguson (President Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance)

From the Cutler-Hammer 1968 Annual Report: "Approximately 40% of the company's business currently comes directly or indirectly from the U.S. Government. The great bulk of this is in our Airborne Instruments Laboratory Division. ... AIL remained one of the nation's largest contributors of electronic reconnaissance systems to the Department of Defense. ... Acquisition of FMA, Inc. of Los Angeles gave the AIL Division access to the market for multi-sensor systems which process and integrate data obtained by electronic and photographic techniques. ... This multi-million dollar program gives the AIL Division a broader and stronger capability in the entire field of electronic warfare, a military field of increasing importance."

(9) Allis-Chalmers Corporation
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Net current assets: \$157,723,000
Net income: \$ 4,964,000
Wisconsin employees: 3,400

Products: hydraulic turbines, electric generators, transformers, cement kilns, farm equipment and machinery, nuclear reactors.

South African subsidiary: Allis-Chalmers International
P.O. Box 132
Johannesburg, S.A.

(Allis-Chalmers was given the contract for building and servicing a nuclear reactor in South Africa)

Directors: D. C. Scott (also director First Wisconsin Bankshares Corporation)
W. E. Buchanan (also director Appleton Wire Works Corporation, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance)
J. Coates (also director Gulf Oil, Mobil Oil)
H. J. Tobin (also President, Wisconsin Gas Company, trustee Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance)
M. H. Herriot (also trustee Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance).
J. W. Simpson (also director First Wisconsin National Bank, Wisconsin Telephone Co., First Wisconsin Bankshares Corporation).

(10) A. O. Smith Corporation
Box 331, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Product: Petroleum product meters

South African subsidiary: A. O. Smith Corporation Internat.
P.O. Box 10487
Johannesburg, S.A.

(11) Doughboy Industries, Inc.
New Richmond, Wisconsin

Net worth: \$7,000,000
Wisconsin employees: 615

Products: packaging equipment

South African subsidiary: Doboy(S.A.) Pty Ltd.
236 Baker Square
Rosebank, Johannesburg, S.A.
(an indirect subsidiary through Switzerland)

University of Wisconsin Investment and South Africa

Of \$13.4 million in stock directly managed by the regents, nearly \$3 million has been invested in stock of well-known companies that have extensive South African subsidiaries and business connections. The following figures appear in the June 30, 1969 report of the Trust Fund operations:

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

Many of the other 40 companies in which the University owns stock also do business with South Africa. The ones listed above have either subsidiary companies in South Africa or branch offices. The only major Wisconsin company in which the University owns a large block of shares is Kimberly-Clark.

Each of these companies is deeply involved in Southern Africa. Gulf Oil, however, occupies a special position. In 1966 Gulf discovered oil in Cabinda, an enclave of Angola. Oil production there has already put Angola fourth in oil production in Africa. And the income to the Portuguese Government was \$20 million in 1969, almost half of the military budget for the 'province' of Angola. Gulf agreed with the Portuguese Government that Portugal "agrees 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. Thus Gulf is playing a major role in Portugal's colonial war in Angola.

University Policy and 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 receive the answer that such civil rights legislation does not apply. This question was raised specifically in a letter from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa and the African Students Union to Chancellor Edwin Young, UW, Madison, on February 22, 1970. The text of the letter was as follows:

Dear Chancellor 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 a 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?

Sincerely,
Ebrima A. Janha
William Minter

The reply from Chancellor Young, dated March 6, 1970, 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

It is well known that U.S. Companies in South Africa are bound by labor laws that establish quota systems for the number of black people that can be hired, strictly limit the opening of skilled jobs and promotions that black

people can attain, and under no condition allow a black to hold a position higher than a white. This applied not only to South African blacks but also to black American citizens if they should work in South Africa (which does not happen, of course, as the U.S. companies are careful not to offend ~~the~~ ^{against} the policies of the South African government.)

Even though more emphasis is being placed on recruiting, training and appointing black executives in U.S. firms, these men could never represent their companies in South Africa. Black people are not supposed to be of executive calibre under the South African philosophy of apartheid. This is certainly a violation of the spirit of the Civil Rights legislation. An opening for an executive position in a U.S.-owned but South African based firm cannot be filled by a black person, American or South African. Thus, in fact the company is discriminating because of skin color.

In the 1969-70 school year, 545 companies (excluding Federal, State, and City agencies) were listed as sending recruiters to the UW 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."

World Affairs Council of Milwaukee

The role played at the national level by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association is played, in Wisconsin, by the World Affairs Council of Milwaukee. The difference in scope means, of course that the World Affairs Council hardly seems as important an organization as the other two, but a similar pattern of tie-ins with the business elite, and of bias in the 'educational' programs directed to the public, is found at both national and local levels.

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 the limited sanctions against Rhodesia. In his recently published memoirs Present at the Creation, he praises Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, as one of the men with whom he was most impressed on first meeting. Rhodesia so much likes what he has to say that the Rhodesian Information Service has recently published a booklet entitled Dean Acheson on the Rhodesian Question.

Two years ago, in 1967, one of the principal speakers at an institute on foreign policy sponsored by the World Affairs Council and the Institute of World Affairs (Extension, UWM) was Charles Burton Marshall, professor at Johns

Hopkins, also an outspoken defender of Ian Smith's Rhodesia. His response, when questioned about how citizens could influence foreign policy, reveals a very interesting attitude:

"I am not going to suggest that great numbers of us should desert our tasks in order to try 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".

This is not to say that the World Affairs Council has carried on an active propaganda campaign in favor of the white Southern African regimes, but rather that the bias ensures that the issue will be raised not at all, or only in such a way that 'business as usual' is not disturbed. Thus the Foreign Policy Association, in its Great Decisions 1970, used by the World Affairs Council, University Extension, the UW Political Science Department, and in similar places around the country, does contain a section on Race in World Politics. In a small portion devoted to South Africa, Africans are consistently referred to as 'Bantu' (the South African government term), and no mention at all is made of the African liberation movements. The impression is given that the white regimes are threatened if at all only by the independent African states.

That the World Affairs Council would take such a role is not surprising considering the type of people found among its "consulting members". The following are some of the more prominent:

(1) Peter C. Foote, a director, is also Vice-President of Cutler-Hammer, in charge of the international division. This means that he sits on the Board of Directors of the Cutler-Hammer subsidiaries in Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, West Germany, South Africa, India, Canada, Mexico, Central America, and Italy. (See Cutler-Hammer, in previous section).

(2) Edmund B. Fitzgerald is Chairman of Cutler-Hammer, and also a director of First Wisconsin Trust Company, First Wisconsin National Bank, First Wisconsin Bankshares, and Kimberly-Clark. His father was chairman of the Board of Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company (See Cutler-Hammer, Kimberly-Clark, in previous section).

(3) Donald Slichter is a director of Rex Chainbelt, Northwestern Mutual, First Wisconsin Bankshares, Wisconsin Electric Power, Kimberly-Clark, and several other companies (See Kimberly-Clark in previous section).

(4) William G. Brumder is chairman of First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee, director and president of First Wisconsin Bankshares, a director of Waukesha Bearings Corporation, Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company, and other companies, also a trustee of Beloit College.

(5) George M. Chester is also connected with the First Wisconsin Bankshares group, and with Northwestern Mutual, as well as with the Wisconsin Securities Co. of Delaware, and the Kurth Malting Corp.

(6) Catherine R. Cleary is Executive Vice-President of First Wisconsin Trust Company, and a trustee on Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance.

(7) Leslie Paffrath is President of the Johnson Foundation of Racine (See S.C. Johnson in previous section). From 1950 - 1959, before coming to Racine, he was secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (connected with the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Institute of World Affairs (Extension, UWM), was established in 1960 with an initial grant from the Johnson Foundation, shortly after Paffrath's arrival.

(8) J. Martin Klotsche is Chancellor, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Some of these are, as indicated, directly tied to companies involved in Southern Africa. Those that are not so directly tied are linked by interlocking directorates centered on First Wisconsin Bankshares, Northwestern Mutual, and related companies. The companies in this group involved in South Africa are Parker Pen, Kimberly-Clark, S.C. Johnson, Cutler-Hammer, and Allis-Chalmers. An examination of the directors of the five shows numerous interlocks among them, and with Northwestern Mutual and First Wisconsin Bankshares.

The other six companies are either owned now by larger non-Wisconsin companies (this is the case with Lakeside Laboratories, J.I. Case, and Geo. J. Meyer), or are comparatively small companies (Nordberg, A.O. Smith, Doughboy). J.I. Case, Geo. J. Meyer, and Nordberg share a common director in Clarence A. Bickel. But it is the other group of larger companies that is involved in the World Affairs Council. It is also involved in Wisconsin's economy and politics, but that is another story.

Conclusion:

It is probable that a similar analysis, tracing the links between South 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 discover 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 Englehard, 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'S NOT THE POINT. The point is that the profits are being made, the involvement is growing, and it is important is 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 profits here, and profits 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; 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.

This pamphlet was prepared by members of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa. This is a preliminary draft, and any suggestions, comments, or additional information are welcome. Contact the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 306 N. Brooks (257-2534), or George Lowe: (251-1909).