

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

CRISIS FOR AMERICAN POLICY

The Facts:

TODAY'S CRISIS

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

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

SOUTHERN AFRICA "CAPTIVE NATIONS"

<u>The People</u>	<u>White:</u>	<u>Black Ratio</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
Angola	1	24	4,900,000
Mozambique	1	67	6,700,000
Rhodesia	1	15	4,000,000
South West Africa	1	6	525,000
South Africa	1	4	18,298,000

APARTHEID

At the center of the supremacist web of southern Africa is the apartheid system of the Republic of South Africa, cloaked under the guise of the policy of "separate development" THE LAWS OF OPPRESSION, APPLIED ALSO IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA, DESIGNATE--for

LABOR...

no African trade union shall be registered or official; no strikes by Africans shall be permitted; no African may be employed in most categories of skilled labor, such jobs being reserved for whites;

RELIGION....

most churches are segregated;

SEPARATE AMENITIES...

hospitals, schools, buses, trains, park benches, beaches, sport, theatre, rest rooms, African-only townships are ten or fifteen miles from city center;

VOTING...

in 1960 the four white representatives for thirteen million Africans were removed from Parliament;

LAND.....

no African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa;

PASSES...

an African must carry his pass-book at all times or go to jail. To reside in the white area (87%) to move from town to town, to hold a job, he must have his pass separately stamped;

POLITICAL PARTIES...

The major African parties, A.N.C., and P.A.C., have been banned. It is a criminal offense to further their aims;

THE PENALTIES**BANNING...**

the government can confide any critic to his home for years, forbid newspapers to quote him on any subject;

180 DAYS...

a renewable prison term without charge, for political witnesses or alleged political offenders;

5 YEARS...

painting political signs or wall slogans;

DEATH....

fleeing the country without a permit; willful damage of private or public property (Rhodesia); possession of firearms by Africans over the age of 14, "embarrassing the state".

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

1966	White (Europeans)	Black (Africans)
Population (millions)	3.4	12.5
Income per capita	\$1,790	\$116
Average wage (mining)	\$3,800	\$210
Income exempt from tax	\$ 840	none
Education expenditure per pupil	\$ 300	\$ 19
Infant mortality per 1000 births	29	200 plus
Life expectancy	62-72	37-42
Percent of population (balance Asian and Coloured)	19	68
Percent of land reserved	87	13
Persons in registered trade unions	344,752	none
Persons convicted of pass offenses since 1948	none	5,000,000

VORSTER'S NEW LOOK?

South Africa's new Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, has been striving since his election last September to spruce up South Africa's world image and to eliminate the "leprosy" which has infected her foreign relations. To do this, he has extended the hand of "friendship" to the newly independent countries to his north, (Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana), with both financial and technical assistance. He has apparently relaxed apartheid rules on South African participation in sporting events outside the country (while maintaining strict apartheid within) in a supreme effort to have South Africa accepted for the Olympic Games in February 1968 in Mexico. He has launched a full-scale information campaign to promote South Africa's "positive" image abroad. The purpose of all this activity is to strengthen apartheid within the country; by promising not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations and demanding the same in return, he hopes to be able to increase South Africa's influence in Africa and the rest of the world without relaxing the domestic policy which has thus far somewhat obstructed that influence.

What is not publicized abroad as the "New Look" is the new repressive legislation and the old suppression and discrimination, which continue within South Africa. The National Government is struggling to implement its policy of apartheid by controlling the influx

of Africans into urban areas, by relocating non-whites already living in urban areas, by passing an even harsher race classification law. It has created a law which compels coloured youths to register for compulsory work camps in an attempt to replace the African labor which they want to remove from the cities. And it has passed the harshest bill ever against "terrorists" -- a bill which provides for the indefinite detention of suspected informants and for a maximum penalty of death for terrorism, and a minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment. Even without this new legislation, the bannings, deportations, and general harassment of individuals and organizations continue unabated. There may be a new face being presented to the outside world, but the internal workings of racism and repression remain the same.

THE UNITED STATES IS IMPLICATED...

INVESTMENT... over 250 U.S. companies operate in South Africa with direct investments worth \$500 million (if indirect and portfolio investments are added the total is \$800 million.) In 1964, direct investments generated earnings of nearly \$100 million, or 21% return. For some sectors, South Africa is the most profitable country in the world. Why? Controlled Black labor. For every dollar of investment, we are buying ourselves thousands of dollars of animosity.

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

MORE

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

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

IN ANGOLA/MOZAMBIQUE

The U.S. assists Portugal with arms supply and military training through the NATO organization. This action releases the strain on the backward Portuguese economy caused by supporting 120,000 troops in Africa: the Portuguese, through NATO support, are able to use other military supplies to maintain domination.

United States' inability to prevent the "smuggling" of warplanes through Canada to Portugal and thence to Angola is the source of wry wonder in Africa. Moreover, it is hard for Africans to believe that the 120,000 Portuguese troops in Africa do not use any NATO arms and do not benefit from NATO advisers in guerilla counter-insurgency.

IN RHODESIA The United Nations policy of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia has not brought about the fall of the illegal regime of Ian Smith primarily because the border with South Africa and Mozambique has been like a sieve.

Although the United States has apparently complied with the U.N. sanctions, it hides behind the skirts of a British policy which is ineffective and unrealistic.

IN SOUTH WEST

AFRICA (NAMIBIA) The U.S., after supporting a U.N. resolution (October, 1966) which declared that "henceforth Namibia comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations", (and thus terminating by international law South Africa's right to administer the territory), failed to sponsor a final resolution (May, 1967) implementing the October decision. The May resolution established a U.N. Council and Commission for S.W.A. to proceed to the Territory and administer it until independence. But in fact the South West issue has been deadlocked and the Council immobilized because the big powers did not support the May resolution and because South Africa has declared its intent to ignore U.N. action.

PRESENT POLICY: ACCOMMODATION

The United States has condemned apartheid in the halls of the U.N. In the enforcement of the arms embargo on South Africa the American government has gone further than metaphor and rhetoric and further than any other major arms supplier. Otherwise, the U.S. has done nothing to restrain its most profitable involvement with the Republic; "the United States neither encourages nor discourages investment in South Africa". Yet it is in the very nature of private enterprise that it will go where there are profits and stability; South Africa has the stability and maximum security of a police state. Africans consider that the supranational corporations are leading our foreign policy by the nose. To them, the stake of U.S. private enterprise in South Africa and the growing public statements of our businessmen there, continues to outweigh the "slap on the wrist" which the U.S. occasionally administers at the U.N.

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

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

**POLICY
PROPOSALS**

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

1. Economic Disengagement

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

2. a) Request integration of U.S. diplomatic personnel in South Africa.
 b) Remove tracking stations to Botswana and off-shore.

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

3. Increase AID to refugees from southern Africa and the dependents of political prisoners.
 ...recognize the right of asylum of black South Africans in the U.S.
 ...support the U.N. Trust Fund, for which the U.S. voted but has only given \$25,000.
 ...support refugee education projects in Zambia and Tanzania;
 ...initiate through UNHCR a centralized vocational testing center and settlement scheme for the 350,000 refugees in Central Africa;
4. Increase AID to the economic hostages of white southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Malawi.
5. Namibia. Support the activity of the Council for S.W.A. in the spirit of the commitment to the U.N. resolution of October, 1966. Support the Council taking "first steps", from outside the territory if necessary, such as issuing travel documents for Southwest Africans, and taxing corporations which function in S.W.A.
6. Rhodesia. Support mandatory selective sanctions, i.e. OIL sanctions. Support implementation of these sanctions against those nations supplying oil to Rhodesia. Do not allow the British to "sell out" in Rhodesia by compromising on their declared policy of "No Independence Before Majority Rule" (NIBMAR).

YESTERDAY'S ISSUE IS TODAY'S WAR; TO COMBAT TOMORROW'S CONFLICT IS OUR DUTY TODAY

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