APPENDIX A


(Excerpts)

Clearly there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes. For moral as well as historical reasons, the United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination.

At the same time, the 1960's have shown all of us -- Africa and her friends alike -- that the racial problems in the southern region of the Continent will not be solved quickly. These tensions are deeply rooted in the history of the region, and thus in the psychology of both black and white.

These problems must be solved. But there remains a real issue in how best to achieve their resolution. Though we abhor the racial policies of the white regimes, we cannot agree that progressive change in Southern Africa is furthered by force. The history of the area shows all too starkly that violence and the counter-violence it inevitably provokes will only make more difficult the task of those on both sides working for progress on the racial question.

The United States warmly welcomes, therefore, the recent Lusaka Manifesto, a declaration by African leaders calling for a peaceful settlement of the tensions in Southern Africa. That statesmanlike document combines a commitment to human dignity with a perceptive understanding of the depth and complexity of the racial problem in the area -- a combination which we hope will guide the policies of Africa and her friends as they seek practical policies to deal with this anguishing question.

APPENDIX B

UNITED STATES OPTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Address by David D. Newsom
Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, December 8, 1970.

(Excerpts)

Against this background, let us examine the various approaches suggested to us and other concerned nations.

The first we might call acceptance. South Africa's problem is its own. We have our own; we should not meddle in others. Let us accept it as it is, have normal relations with it, benefit from its economic possibilities. It is, moreover, anti-Communist; we should put our chips on it in the global struggle.

No American government has accepted this approach. We cannot do so and be consistent with our own efforts to solve the dilemma of prejudice. We cannot do so and maintain our bonafides with even the moderate African governments. We cannot effectively provide alternatives to Communist efforts in black Africa if we isolate ourselves with the white-dominated enclaves of Southern Africa.

The second option might be called liberation. This calls for support for the liberation movements directed against the present regimes in white-dominated Southern Africa. It has been manifested in the recent controversial decision of the World Council of Churches. It has been an issue in the recent meeting of the African Studies Association. It appeals to many who see no other alternative and who are concerned that, in the absence of Western support, the liberation movements will find help only from the Communist countries.

This is the road to violence. Many of those who are in the liberation movements are undoubtedly conscientious, capable men, frustrated by the lack of progress at home. Undoubtedly there are others who find in the movements more of a political than a military base. But even a
sympathetic observer finds it difficult to see this path as being either right or effective.

More than any other acts of pressure against South Africa, those directly related to support for the liberation movements have the effect of increasing the fear and determination which lie at the base of the resistance of the white community to change. Given the formidable security and military power of South Africa and Rhodesia, it is difficult to see success for these groups within the foreseeable future. Armed intervention could well set back rather than advance progress toward change. As a Government, however much we might understand the frustrations leading to the espousal of the liberation approach, we cannot find in it a realistic or supportable solution.

A third approach is isolation. This approach suggests the breaking of diplomatic relations, the withdrawal of investment, the further isolation of South Africa in sports, communication, trade, and finance.

This is questionable even if workable. United States investment in South Africa represents only 16 per cent of their foreign investment. Even if it were possible to obtain congressional authority to force its withdrawal, an unlikely prospect, there is no assurance that its place would not be taken by other investors. Neither is it a foregone conclusion that US investment in South Africa necessarily helps apartheid; it is also a factor in the economic pressure on apartheid which I mentioned earlier. The South African, particularly the Afrikaaner, is a determined, resolute man. There is no assurance that he would respond constructively to the pressure of total isolation. Further, such isolation would isolate also the African; not many of them want this.

There is a fourth option: Communication.

The visitor to South Africa is impressed by the grave lack of communication among the principal elements of the scene in that area. White does not talk to urban black in any meaningful way. South Africa does not talk to black Africa, except in a limited way. Similarly, in black Africa there is an imprecise knowledge of current South
Africa and the attitudes and circumstances of both black and white.

* * * *

Communication does not mean acceptance. It means, in a sense, a greater challenge than isolation. It does not mean departing from the arms embargo, from the refusal to submit to apartheid in any of its forms, from our continued expression of abhorrence for the system. It could mean that each side knows better what the other is talking about. It could mean that greater hope could be given to both whites and blacks in South Africa who seek another way.

APPENDIX C

UNITED STATES POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Address by Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, Lusaka, April 27, 1976.

(Excerpts)

President Ford has sent me here with a message of commitment and cooperation.

I have come to Africa because in so many ways the challenges of Africa are the challenges of the modern era. Morally and politically, the drama of national independence in Africa over the last generation has transformed international affairs. More than any other region of the world, Africa symbolizes that the previous era of world affairs, the colonial era, is a thing of the past. The great tasks you face -- in nationbuilding, in keeping the peace and integrity of this continent, in economic development, in gaining an equitable role in world councils, in achieving racial justice -- these reflect the challenges of building a humane and progressive world order.

I have come to Africa with an open mind and an open heart to demonstrate my country's desire to work with you on these great tasks. My journey is intended to give fresh impetus to our cooperation and to usher in a new era in American policy.

The United States was one of the prime movers of the process of decolonization. The American people welcomed the new nations into the world community and for two decades have given aid and encouragement to economic and social progress in Africa. And America's responsibilities as a global power give us a strong interest today in the independence, peace, and well-being of this vast continent comprising a fifth of the world's land surface. For without peace, racial justice, and growing prosperity in Africa, we cannot speak of a just international order.
There is nothing to be gained in a debate about whether in the past America has neglected Africa or been insufficiently committed to African goals. The United States has many responsibilities in the world. Given the burden it has carried in the postwar period, it could not do everything simultaneously. African nations, too, have their own priorities and concerns, which have not always accorded with our own. No good can come of mutual recrimination. Our differing perspectives converge in a common purpose to build a secure and just future for Africa. In active collaboration there is much we can do; in contention or apart we will miss great opportunities. President Ford and the American Government and people are prepared to work with you with energy and good will if met in the same spirit.

So it is time to put aside slogans and to seek practical solutions. It is time to find our common ground and act boldly for common ends.

Africa is a continent of hope, a modern frontier. The United States from the beginning has been a country of the frontier, built by men and women of hope. The American people know from their history the meaning of the struggle for independence, for racial equality, for economic progress, for human dignity.

* * * *

Apartheid in South Africa remains an issue of great concern to those committed to racial justice and human dignity.

No country, no people, can claim perfection in the realm of human rights. We in America are aware of our own imperfections. But because we are a free society, our problems and our shortcomings are fully aired and made known to the world. And we have reason to take pride in our progress in the quest for justice for all in our country.
The world community's concern with South Africa is not merely that racial discrimination exists there. What is unique is the extent to which racial discrimination has been institutionalized, enshrined in law, and made all-pervasive.

No one, including the leaders of black Africa, challenges the right of white South Africans to live in their country. They are not colonialists; historically, they are an African people. But white South Africans must recognize as well that the world will continue to insist that the institutionalized separation of the races must end. The United States appeals to South Africa to heed the warning signals of the past two years. There is still time to bring about a reconciliation of South Africa's peoples for the benefit of all. But there is a limit to that time -- a limit of far shorter duration than was generally perceived even a few years ago.

A peaceful end to institutionalized inequality is in the interest of all South Africans. The United States will continue to encourage and work for peaceful change. Our policy toward South Africa is based upon the premise that within a reasonable time we shall see a clear evolution toward equality of opportunity and basic human rights for all South Africans. The United States will exercise all its efforts in that direction. We urge the Government of South Africa to make that premise a reality.

In the immediate future, the Republic of South Africa can show its dedication to Africa -- and its potential contribution to Africa -- by using its influence in Salisbury to promote a rapid negotiated settlement for majority rule in Rhodesia. This, we are sure, would be viewed positively by the community of nations as well as by the rest of Africa.

APPENDIX D

HUMAN RIGHTS


(Excerpts)

Our greatest source of strength has always come from basic priceless values, our belief in the freedom of religion, our belief in the freedom of speech and expression, our belief in human dignity, our belief in the principle of simple justice. These principles have made us great, and unless our foreign policy reflects these principles we make a mockery of the celebration of our two hundredth birthday as we look back to the ideals and hopes of those who founded our great country.

* * * *

Ours is a great and a powerful nation, committed to certain enduring ideals, and those ideals must be reflected not only in our domestic policy but also in our foreign policy. There are practical, effective ways in which our power can be used to alleviate human suffering around the world. We should begin by having it understood that if any nation, whatever its political system, deprives its own people of basic human rights, that fact will help shape our own people's attitude toward that nation's repressive government. If other nations want our friendship and support, they must understand that we want to see basic human rights respected by all governments.

Now I know that our power is not unlimited, but it is not insignificant either; and I believe that if we are sensitive, and if we are openly and constantly concerned, there can be many instances when our power can make a crucial difference in the lives of thousands of men and women who have been the victims of oppression around the world. Now we must be realistic. Although we believe
deeply in our own system of government, and in our own ideals, we do not and should not insist on identical standards or an identical system of government in all nations. We can live with diversity in governmental systems, but we cannot look away when a government tortures people or jails them for their beliefs or denies minorities fair treatment or the right to emigrate.

* * * *

I have outlined to you today a few of the things that our nation can do for a change to promote rights in our imperfect world. The basic question is one of leadership. In foreign affairs, and also in domestic affairs, we need leaders who are not only concerned with the powerless, with the weak, with the disfranchised, with the persecuted, and with the victims of oppression throughout this globe. We have not had that kind of leadership in the White House in recent years. If I am elected President, I intend to provide that leadership.

APPENDIX E

SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES FOR U.S. FIRMS OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Sullivan Principles, first drawn up by the Reverend Leon Sullivan in March 1977, have been amplified twice -- in July 1978 and in May 1979. The text of the principles as amplified in May 1979 follows.

PRINCIPLE I.

Nonsegregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Eliminate all vestiges of racial discrimination.
* Remove all race designation signs.
* Desegregate all eating, comfort, and work facilities.

PRINCIPLE II.

Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Implement equal and fair terms and conditions of employment.

* Provide nondiscriminatory eligibility for benefit plans.

* Establish an appropriate comprehensive procedure for handling and resolving individual employee complaints.
* Support the elimination of all industrial racial discriminatory laws which impede the implementation of equal and fair terms and conditions of employment, such as abolition of job reservations, job fragmentation, and apprenticeship restrictions for blacks and other nonwhites.

* Support the elimination of discrimination against the rights of blacks to form or belong to government-registered unions, and acknowledge generally the right of black workers to form their own union or be represented by trade unions where unions already exist.

**PRINCIPLE III.**

Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Design and implement a wage and salary administration plan which is applied equally to all employees regardless of race who are performing equal or comparable work.

* Ensure an equitable system of job classification, including a review of the distinction between hourly and salaried classifications.

* Determine whether upgrading of personnel and/or jobs in the lower echelons is needed, and if so, implement programs to accomplish this objective expeditiously.

* Assign equitable wage and salary ranges, the minimum of these to be well above the appropriate local minimum economic living level.
PRINCIPLE IV.

Initiation of and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other nonwhites for supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Determine employee training needs and capabilities, and identify employees with potential for further advancement.

* Take advantage of existing outside training resources and activities, such as exchange programs, technical colleges, vocational schools, continuation classes, supervisory courses, and similar institutions or programs.

* Support the development of outside training facilities, individually or collectively, including technical centers, professional training exposure, correspondence and extension courses, as appropriate, for extensive training outreach.

* Initiate and expand inside training programs and facilities.

PRINCIPLE V.

Increasing the number of blacks and other nonwhites in management and supervisory positions.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Identify, actively recruit, train, and develop a significant number of blacks and other nonwhites to ensure that as quickly as possible there will be appropriate representation of blacks and other nonwhites in the management group of each company.
* Establish management development programs for blacks and other nonwhites, as appropriate, and improve existing programs and facilities for developing management skills of blacks and other nonwhites.

* Identify and channel high management potential blacks and other nonwhite employees into management development programs.

**PRINCIPLE VI.**

* Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health facilities.

Each signator of the Statement of Principles will proceed immediately to:

* Evaluate existing and/or develop programs, as appropriate, to address the specific needs of black and other nonwhite employees in the areas of housing, health care, transportation, and recreation.

* Evaluate methods for utilizing existing, expanded, or newly established in-house medical facilities or other medical programs to improve medical care for all nonwhites and their dependents.

* Participate in the development of programs that address the educational needs of employees, their dependants, and the local community. Both individual and collective programs should be considered, including such activities as literary education, business training, direct assistance to local schools, contributions, and scholarships.

* With all the foregoing in mind, it is the objective of the companies to involve and assist in the education and training of large and telling numbers of blacks and other nonwhites as quickly as possible. The ultimate impact of this effort is intended to be of massive proportion, reaching millions.