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**Business In The Black**

**Uncle Tom is not Dead  
A Prayer for Sowell**

By Charles E. Belle

"Have mercy on me, wash me, cleanse me, create in me a clean heart." a prayer black Americans expect Thomas Sowell to say when he meets his Maker. Surely Sowell, a reputed black American scholar, hanging his hat at the Hoover Institute for War and "peace," can decipher the siege of depression aimed at black America out of the latest unemployment figures.

Black America going up to 14.2%, white workers going down to 6.4% for June, according to the U.S. Labor Department. David's prayer, Psalms 51:10 may not do justice for a sin so great as the rape of one's own brothers and sisters for the lust of just a few extra pennies. Bathsheba with all her beauty could not compare with a twinkle of hope in a black child's eye.

On July 28, 1981, as published in the *Wall Street Journal*, Sowell said "the actual results of a decade of this controversial program (affirmative action by numerical goals and timetables) are seldom mentioned."

We submit his job as its success! Without affirmative action programs calling for goals and timetables to be set, some institutions would never run scared and select a black American as a senior fellow! Playing the role of a parrot for the President can be misleading to the unaware white readers of the *Wall Street Journal* and dangerous to the whole society.

Some people reading Sowell's article will believe white America has at last found what it always wanted — a black American soul sold for little money, a minute amount of media limelight and the promise of eternal whiteness from the White House. (Required reading: *Andy's White House Year*). Whether or not the White House is hiding behind these written continuing attacks on affirmative action programs across the country is academic.

A person who would deny his own brothers and sisters, his children and their children and their children's children a chance for

equal opportunity can be cut down even with the President propping him up.

Understanding the need for affirmative action programs for promoting black Americans and other minorities requires a mentality apparently lacking in the make-up of the present administration. All of nineteen black Americans have been appointed out of the first 400 top Reagan Administration positions, or four per cent versus a national black American average of 12%, 33% is a failing grade when you are going for 100.

In the event the President believed in quotas, black Americans, yeah, black Republicans, would occupy over 100 more jobs just in the top administration. Naturally, these non-Sowell like appointees then could needle the nest of government jobs for other highly qualified black America.

The aim of the administration seems somehow kin to Walter Berns' blast as written in the *Wall Street Journal*, August 5, 1981. Berns bellows "Every federal executive knows, or ought to, that the equal employment opportunity program has been corrupted beyond recognition..."

A thought from a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute (think tank for out of office or retired Republican and other conservative creatures). Berns belittles the former head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Council, Eleanor Holmes Norton.

No one who can appreciate the remarkable acceleration of all women regardless of their color during Ms. Norton's tenure should take lightly this attack on affirmative action programs.

Since Sowell appears but a single tool in this planned destruction of affirmative action programs, perhaps we protest too much. Nevertheless, "the end of pretension, coming out of hiding," has a joy only Sowell will know when at last he sings the song of his soul, "Lift every voice and sing." And we know he can sing.

**Affirmative Action:  
Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation  
Struggle of the Peoples of Southern Africa**

Gerald C. Horne, Esquire

Many critics of the Reagan Administration have alleged that "it has no foreign policy." But as far as apartheid South Africa goes, it seems that Reagan's policy is all too clear. Consider the following:

**Item:** On March 13th U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeanne Kirkpatrick met with five leading South African military officials in open contravention of stated U.S. policy. Observers recall that when a similar meeting took place between Andrew Young and a PLO official, the Carter Administration official was sacked immediately.

**Item:** When the issue of comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria arose recently in the U.N., Ambassador Kirkpatrick exercised the U.S. "veto."

**Item:** On May 14 Secretary of State Alexander Haig engaged in intensive talks in Washington with South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha. Haig called for a "new beginning of mutual trust and confidence between the U.S. and South Africa, old friends who are getting together again..." South Africa can rely on (the U.S.).

Earlier, President Reagan had praised South Africa as an "ally" that had stood by the U.S. in past wars, despite the fact that the present leadership there had been interned during World War II because of explicit Nazi sympathies.

**Item:** The State Department has approved the visit of the South African rugby team, the Springboks, for a series of games in Chicago, Albany and New York in September. African nations, led by Nigeria, have raised the specter of a boycott of the 1984 Olympics scheduled for Los Angeles.

**Item:** The Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its most recent meeting in Nairobi condemned the Reagan Administration for stalling on a settlement in Namibia (Southwest Africa) and collaborating with South Africa against the authentic representative of the Namibian people — SWAPO (Southwest Africa Peoples Organization).

**Item:** The Reagan Administration has come out strongly for repeal of the "Clark Amendment" in an effort to destabilize the government of Angola, a prime supporter of SWAPO.

**Item:** The Washington-based black lobbying group TransAfrica released a series of internal State Department memos that document in detail this U.S.-South Africa attempt to prevent SWAPO coming to power and maintaining Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia.

These diplomatic maneuverings are merely the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. multinational corporations — General Motors, Ford, Firestone, etc., while shutting down plants in the U.S. have been moving operations in droves to South Africa to take advantage of the cheap black labor there. U.S. Corporate investment in the land of apartheid has been growing at an astonishing 25% per year,

the most rapid rate of any U.S. foreign investment. Hundreds of U.S. monopolies have found a home in South Africa and right now the U.S. continues to be Pretoria's largest trading partner, exporting the tune of \$2.5 billion and importing \$3.3 billion.

The OAU countries, Nigeria in particular, have expressed a growing concern toward South Africa. In a recent *New York Times* interview, Dr. Chuka Okadigbu, senior political advisor to President Shenu Shagair, said Nigeria had not excluded its "oil weapon" against the U.S.

Nigeria's trade alone dwarfs the amount of commerce done with South Africa and the U.S. investment in the oil industry of Gabon, Cameroon and other West African nations is rising daily, along with dependence on this source. Nigeria supplies about 13.5% of U.S. oil imports and ranks second to Saudi Arabia among foreign oil sources. The importance of Nigerian oil to the U.S. economy is magnified by the fact that their crude is "sweet oil," which, unlike oil from the Persian Gulf, is largely light, low in sulfur and ideally suited for refining into gasoline.

In short, the volume of U.S. trade with Nigeria is twice as big as U.S. trade with South Africa. Last year the U.S. exported goods worth \$1.49 billion to Nigeria but imported goods valued at \$10.95 billion — mostly oil — leaving a staggering \$9 billion deficit. Nigeria's threat to use the "oil weapon" should not be considered idle and rhetorical. The British Petroleum Company was banned from operating in Nigeria and had its Nigerian assets nationalized in 1979 on the ground that it had been selling oil to South Africa.

Dr. Okadigbu, barely concealing his anger, described Reagan Administration policy as "retrogressive" and expressed particular disquiet about the proposed tour of the South African rugby team. A ban on U.S. athletes at international sporting events would be a "step in the right direction," he declared forthrightly.

There has been growing concern and action in this country about the content of Reagan foreign policy. The Philadelphia Chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists has initiated a South African Support Project to support progressive forces there politically and materially. They have rallied around the case of 71-year-old Oscar Mpetha, who has been detained since last August at Capetown Prison under what the apartheid regime calls the "Terrorism Act." He and other labor leaders were arrested after strikes in the industrialized Capetown area threatened to shut down several plants. Mpetha is also the former leader of the Capetown branch of the African National Congress (ANC) — the spearhead of the liberation movement — and is suffering acute harassment because of this.

TransAfrica is sponsoring "Freedom Sundays," which began June 14. On these Sundays, churches will post detailed signs describing the ravages of apartheid and attempt to educate their membership about South Africa and how events there affect us here.

Across the country there are numerous committees and persons of goodwill campaigning against apartheid, the vicious system of segregation implanted illegally in South Africa. This is nothing new. During the Cold War, Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois faced severe government persecution because the organization they led, the Council on African Affairs, which was a relentless critic of the cozy relationship between Washington and Pretoria. Even before this, at the turn of the century, Afro-Americans responded in mass to the call of John Dube, a black South African involved in campaigning in this country against his government's racist policies.

Yet, anti-apartheid organizers have long felt the need to come together under one roof, confer and plot a coordinated national campaign against U.S. South Africa collaboration — a need urgently felt in light of the dangerous turn of Reagan Administration foreign policy.

Consequently, Coretta Scott King, Ossie Davis, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, a host of religious and trade union organizations and numerous prominent personalities have issued a call for a massive "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of South Africa" to take place October 9-11, 1981 at New York City's Riverside Church.

Co-sponsored by the two leading liberation movements of southern Africa — ANC and SWAPO — and organized in cooperation with the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICAA), the conference is expected to be an historic gathering and raise anti-apartheid solidarity in this country to a new level.

The question of "runaway shops," or U.S. plants fleeing with jobs to low wage havens in South Africa, the investment of unions' pension funds in corporations doing business with South Africa, the spending of tax dollars on military and nuclear material for South African apartheid instead of health care, education and mass transit here, are expected to be just a few of the topics of primary concern.

For further information on the conference and the all-important local organizing committees springing up across the country, write Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of South Africa, c/o United Methodist Office for the United Nations, 777 U.N. Plaza, United Nations, New York, 10017. Call: (212) 661-0176.

**A View From Capitol Hill:**

**Blacks Report South Africa  
Becoming More Oppressive**

By Gus Savage  
Member of Congress

I am still reporting from Kenya on the East coast of Africa. However, I am reporting on my visit to South Africa, which I cut short, separating myself from the congressional delegation with which I am traveling, and flew here alone.

Last week, I was in Johannesburg, an ultra-modern city of 1.6 million people, officially Lily white. It is commercial, industrial, financial and media capital of South Africa.

The more than one million blacks who labor hereabouts are forced to leave each night to eat and sleep in a nearby ghetto, called Soweto.

An estimated two million blacks are forced to spend their nights in Soweto, the largest concentration camp the world has ever known. Most are compelled to live ten to fifteen in each bungalow, which usually is no larger than twelve by fifteen feet, or in all-male barracks called hostels, forcibly separated from their families to work in nearby gold mines.

The dirt roads of Soweto are well-patrolled by police, constantly checking individual's identification passes and preventing them from leaving before day and time for work.

They are prisoners without rights, on what in America we might call a kind of work-release program — but without hope or promise of release ever, except through their revolutionary seizure of state power. They are mass imprisoned in their own country, where they outnumber their racist prisoners by five to one. Of South Africa's 28.5 million population, fewer than five million are white.

Blacks are not allowed to select their own employment or to own any real property, and only whites are permitted to vote.

Nonetheless, the U.S. Embassy here officially designates South Africa as "a republic," despite admitting that only whites may participate in the national political process. Moreover, Prime Minister P.W. Botha's ruling National Party only won about one million of the 2.5 million registered voters in the last election.

Also, the U.S. Embassy considers the press in South Africa "the freest in Africa." Yet, as in Nazi Germany, the

government owns the radio-TV broadcasting authority, and some forty laws restrict news reporting, including laws against quoting "banned" persons and "communists" ("Banned persons constitute most who dare to publicly advocate racial equality and political democracy).

For background purposes, let me note that south Africa became wealthy through the discovery here of diamonds in 1866 and gold 1886.

Yet, before that, this Bantu-speaking area was invaded in 1652 by the Dutch, who subsequently named themselves Afrikaners. They enslaved the natives through a series of brutal wars.

As late as 1879, the British colonial army suffered a heavy defeat in its attempted invasion of Zulu land. The British, after the Afrikaners had settled as plantation operators, supplied the financing and skills to exploit the area's rare minerals and begin its industrialization. It was not until the early part of this century that Britain conceded the Afrikaners political control.

Racism here is now officially known as apartheid. And, according to South African leaders, at present it is becoming more exploitive economically and more oppressive politically.

It is worse than the Third Reich because its racism against the majority of its people, and its facism is grafted onto an historically evolved internal type of colonialism.

The South African Prime Minister defined apartheid in 1964: "South Africa is a white man's country and... he must remain the master here. . . . There is no place for (blacks) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . . For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community."

Today, South Africa is comparatively an almost self-sufficient, major industrial power. It consumes more steel and electricity than the rest of Africa combined.

In 1980, the value of its gross national product was \$76 billion, 22 times that of Zimbabwe. Currently, it accounts for one-fifth of the total production and one-half of the manufactured products of all

47 of Africa's sub-Sahara nations combined.

Helping to account for this essential economic undergirding for facism, the book value of direct U.S. investment in South Africa by 1980 was \$2 billion. In addition, U.S. firms and agencies imported \$3½ billion worth of South African products.

About 350 U.S. firms operate in South Africa and another 6,000 have agents in this country. Included are General Motors, Ford, 3M, Firestone, Goodyear.

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**Things You Should Know**

**Dr Henry M. MINTON**

Born in Columbia, S.C. in 1871, educated in New Hampshire; He was a class orator and co-editor of his college paper! He got his Ph.G in 1895; His M.D. from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia in 1906. As a scientific researcher he made medical history with his pioneer work on the causes and prevention of Tuberculosis. He was also a celebrated chronicler of Negro History.

Continental Features