

American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa

Suite 700A, 15 East 40th Street, New York 17, N.Y./LE 2-1640-1

All communications to:
Theodore E. Brown
Director

December 13, 1962

CALL
COMMITTEE

James Farmer
Dorothy Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

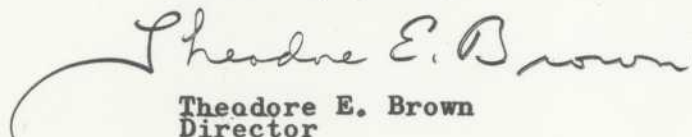
Dear Sir:

The American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa held a three day conference on the Arden House Campus of Columbia University at Harriman, New York on November 23, 24, 25.

This conference brought together 100 of America's top Negro organizational leaders for the purpose of analyzing The Role of the American Negro Community in U.S. Policy in Africa. The work was principally in workshops and plenary sessions, preceded by nine background papers prepared prior to the conference by eminent authorities.

We are enclosing a copy of the Resolutions Report of that conference in the hope that you might find its contents of interest.

Sincerely yours,


Theodore E. Brown
Director

Encl.

CONFERENCE SPONSORS

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BIBLE WAY CHURCH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WORLD WIDE

Resolutions

AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

PREAMBLE

The struggle for freedom and equality in Africa is a struggle for the freedom and equality of all people. It is a struggle for the freedom and equality of all people who are oppressed and who are denied their basic rights. It is a struggle for the freedom and equality of all people who are denied their basic rights. It is a struggle for the freedom and equality of all people who are denied their basic rights.

AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

Resolutions

ARDEN HOUSE CAMPUS OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



HARRIMAN, NEW YORK • NOVEMBER 23, 24, 25, 1962

AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

Conference Sponsors

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WESTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

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James Farmer
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.

A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Planning Committee

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John Morsell
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Samuel R. Pierce
A. Philip Randolph
James Robinson
Hope R. Stevens

Theodore E. Brown, *Conference Director*

Resolutions

PREAMBLE

The struggle for freedom and equality is world wide. It has reached a critical state in Africa. In the Portuguese territories, particularly Angola and Mozambique, in South Africa, South West Africa, the Congo, the Central African Federation and Kenya the Africans' fight for freedom has reached a decisive stage. We rejoice with those nations of Africa who have recently achieved independence and who have taken their place in the community of free nations. Without overlooking the enormous problems of these young countries, it is the unfree areas of Africa to which we address ourselves in this conference.

The American Negro community in the United States has a special responsibility to urge a dynamic African policy upon our government. Although we have a serious civil rights problem which exhausts much of our energy, we cannot separate this struggle at home from that abroad. If the United States cannot take vigorous action to help win freedom in Africa, we cannot expect to maintain the trust and friendship of the newly independent and soon-to-be independent peoples of Africa and Asia.

Further, the American Negro community has a responsibility in simple terms of historical continuity. Since the turn of the century Negro leaders and scholars have expressed the concern of Negro Americans for the elimination of colonialism and its evils. While our conference will not initiate a new interest on the part of American Negroes, it will launch a more aggressive determination to make our influence felt on the policies of our government in these critical areas of that vast continent.

We, at this first American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, meeting at Arden House in Harriman, New York, strongly endorse the principle of the Charter of the United Nations which commits the signatories to "promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." We call upon all the signatories, and especially upon the United States, to pursue in Africa a policy designed to achieve these goals.

We assert our belief that the achievement of these objectives conforms to the commitments of the United States expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Constitution of the United States, and in our national policy expressed notably in Supreme Court decisions, and executive orders forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin, in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, and further expounded in state laws and municipal ordinances prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin.

We rededicate and reaffirm our ethnic bond with and historic concern for the peoples of Africa and our complete solidarity with their aspirations for freedom, human rights and independence.

We commit ourselves to a wholesale involvement in the affairs of Africa and the yearning of the African people for full freedom, and we call upon the entire Negro community in the United States to join with us in this commitment to the end that our total influence as a group will be used to aid Africans in their march toward freedom.

Accordingly, we resolve:

I

Recent events in the Congo underscore the need for close scrutiny of the actions of our own government in relation to Africa. We are opposed to the continued exploitation of Africans in the Congo and frustration of their natural aspirations; equally we are opposed to such exploitation and subjugation of Africans in those areas not yet free and the thwarting of their aspirations for freedom. To that end we pledge ourselves to be informed and eternally vigilant concerning the policies and actions of our government relating to any part of Africa.

We recognize the critical need for across-the-board educational assistance to the people in those areas in Africa which are the concern of this conference. We are convinced that the situation demands a crash program, which will include the introduction in these areas of aid, such as the Nyasaland Teacher Placement Project of the Peace Corps, as well as an urgent acceleration in providing full scholarships for the advanced training, both technical and professional, of Africans in the United States. We especially urge the State Department to expand its program of educational and cultural services to facilitate the education and development of the people in this part of the world.

We call upon the leaders of organized religions in the United States to re-evaluate the role of the churches in its missionary activities in respect to the training and use of indigenous leaders and of Africans in the other related professions and to reconstruct its goals in terms of the need of the African people for education and for training in modern day skills and techniques, and in terms of the Africans' aspirations for freedom and independence.

We look with disfavor and deplore the use of any arm of our government to protect those who are working for interests that are inimical to the interest of the people of the Congo, Angola, Mozambique and other areas of Africa of especial interest of this conference.

In view of the patent need due to long years of economic and cultural deprivation, we urge our government to review its policy of economic aid to Africa and suggest that it develop programs comparable in scope and magnitude to those programs administered in Europe.

II—American Negro Participation in United States Programs in Africa

In spite of pledges by the State Department that it would follow a policy of fair employment, we find that Negro citizens are still excluded from top level jobs in the area of policy making.

We urge the Department to make appointments of Negro citizens to high level policy posts.

We call for an end to the restriction of ambassadorial appointments to one or two persons of color.

We urge recruitment of more Negro Foreign Service staff personnel and Foreign Service Reserve personnel and equal assignment for such persons.

We urge the recruitment of Negro Foreign Service Officer Personnel, not only through the Foreign Service Officer Entry Examination, but also by lateral transfer and lateral examination from the Foreign Service Staff and Foreign Service Reserve Corps.

We are disturbed by the failure of American foundations to include Negro citizens in policy posts handling African affairs. We call upon them to appoint distinguished and competent American Negroes to their Boards and to top staff positions.

We view with disapproval the policy of philanthropic foundations in ignoring predominantly Negro institutions and organizations which have demonstrated an abiding interest in Africa and Africans, and Negro scholars versed in African affairs. We urge, therefore, foundations to include Negro institutions, organizations, and scholars more adequately in their grants and endowments.

We call upon the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to enforce the non-discrimination clause in contracts between our government and corporations and educational institutions operating in Africa.

III—South Africa

The American Negro Leadership Conference condemns apartheid as a system to exploit the African, Asian and Colored majority in South Africa by white supremacists and endorses the campaign of Appeal for Action Against Apartheid.

We deplore our government's opposition to the United Nations resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa. We urge the United States to support such action by the United Nations against South Africa and to seek its implementation through effective policing of the modes of entry.

We recognize that the United States prohibits the shipment of arms to South Africa designed for use in the implementation of apartheid, but we call upon the Government to undertake a total embargo of war material to the South African Republic, because no practical distinction can be made between weapons for maintaining apartheid and weapons for any other purpose.

We call upon United States business firms to cease lending money to South Africa and to withdraw investments from that country since such financial transactions can only strengthen the present racist government.

We urge the United States Government to actively discourage any public or private economic aid to South Africa.

We urge the State Department to include opponents of the apartheid policy among the South African recipients of leadership grants.

We call upon individual Americans to join the growing international boycott of South African goods.

We demand that the United States Armed Forces cease military maneuvers in cooperation with South African forces and the use of South African waters or bases.

We urge that the United States abandon the practice of excluding American Negroes from its missions to the Republic of South Africa and Africans from affairs sponsored by the American Embassy and all other United States Missions in that country.

We urge the American Olympic Committee to fight for the exclusion of South Africa from the coming Olympic games unless that nation permits all South African athletes to compete for places on its team without regard to race or color.

We oppose the efforts of the Republic of South Africa to incorporate the three High Commission Territories, namely, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland into the Republic of South Africa.

IV—South West Africa

Taking cognizance of the dispute between the United Nations and the Republic of South Africa with respect to the latter's jurisdiction over the territory of South West Africa, the Conference urges the United States Government to support the United Nations in its attempt to win acceptance of its claim that South West Africa belongs under the trusteeship system of the United Nations. Should these attempts prove unsuccessful, the United States must resume and assert its obligations in this territory as one of the Allied and Associated Powers to which South West Africa was surrendered at the close of hostilities of World War I.

The American Negro Leadership Conference endorses Resolution 1702, XVI, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in the fall of 1961 which calls for:

(a) The evacuation from the territory of all military forces of the Republic of South Africa;

- (b) The release of all political prisoners without distinction as to party or race;
- (c) The repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves and denying them all freedom of movement, expression and association, and of all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid;
- (d) Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly, based on universal adult suffrage, to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations;
- (e) Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparing the territory for full independence.
- (f) Coordination of the economic and social assistance with which the Specialized Agencies will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare;
- (g) The return to the territory of indigenous inhabitants without the risk of imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the territory; and further urges the United States Government to support the implementation of this resolution through the United Nations and in such other ways as may be appropriate.

V—Angola-Mozambique

We support the Nationalists of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle for freedom and independence.

We urge the United States Government to support the recommendations of the United Nations Subcommittee on Angola calling upon the Portuguese Government to enter into negotiations with African Nationalists for the purpose of implementing self-government for the Angolans. We also call upon the United States Government to support similar negotiations between the Portuguese Government and African Nationalists in Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

We urge the United States Government and private sources within the United States to make a humane response to the medical, educational, and material needs of Angola and Mozambique, and of the refugees from those territories.

We deplore Portugal's expenditure of large sums of money on public relations designed to misinform and mislead the American public, and call upon all media of communications in the United States to counter these activities by the Portuguese Government by making special effort to publicize and disseminate the true facts about Angola and Mozambique to the American public.

We urge the American Government to take immediate steps to insure that no arms, weapons or war material supplied to Portugal by the United States are used against

the peoples of Portuguese territories in Africa in its effort to keep these peoples in subjugation.

We call upon the United States Government to use its influence to persuade other Western powers to urge Portugal to grant Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea their independence.

We urge the United States Government to support a United Nations resolution permitting the Commission of the United Nations to make on-the-spot inspection in the Portuguese territories.

VI—Congo

We regard the restoration of the territorial unity, integrity and unification of the Congo with Katanga as an integrated part of the country as an immediate necessity and to that end we support the use of sanctions and force, if necessary, to bring Katanga into a unified Congo. We call upon our government to exert its full power to achieve this objective.

We endorse the continued United States financial support of the United Nations operation in the Congo.

VII—Central African Federation

The Central African Federation embracing Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was not conceived or structured and has never been maintained or operated in the interests of Africans. We, therefore, oppose it in its present form.

We oppose and will refuse to support any political structure in any of these three countries which is not founded upon universal suffrage based upon the principle of one man, one vote.

We condemn the present government of Southern Rhodesia as being both politically bankrupt and callous. Its primary function has been to keep Africans in a depressed and subservient political, economic and social status through legal and extra-legal means, including discriminatory and repressive laws and the denial of freedom of speech, assembly and free movement of Africans.

We deplore the fact that the United States abstained on a resolution in the United Nations on Southern Rhodesia in the 17th Assembly which, among other things, called for lifting of the ban against the nationalist party, ZAPU, release of political prisoners, and for discussions between the British Government and representatives of African nationalist organizations leading to a new constitution giving full voting rights to Africans.

We seek full disclosure of all facts which will detail the manner and extent of American economic influence, both public and private, in this part of Africa.

In light of the failure of the white labor movement in this area to provide leadership and assistance to the

Africans in their quest for freedom, we call upon the trade unions to initiate and implement a policy calculated to bring the most meaningful benefits to Africans in these three countries, in terms of their economic, political and social status. We further urge the American trade union movement to take the leadership in assuming this responsibility, and to this end we propose a meeting of representatives of this Conference and those of American labor.

VIII—Kenya

As the independence of Kenya approaches we look with hope and pride toward its future development. It is in the interest of the Kenya people and the United States Government to have a free and stable Kenya Nation. Therefore we urge the United States Government to consider seriously, in consultation with Kenya Nationalists, affording financial aid and assistance to help Kenya develop a viable political entity.

We urge the British Government in the pending constitutional negotiations and elections to adopt a hands-off policy in regard to the internal affairs of Kenya.

We further urge Great Britain to continue to give aid and technical assistance to Kenya after it attains independence.

We urge our government to grant the 15 million dollar aid requested of it by a joint mission representative of the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union.

IX

We instruct the convenors of this body to seek a meeting with the President of the United States on Human

Rights Day, December 10, 1962, to present the findings of this conference.

X

We further authorize the six convenors of this conference to continue as an informal committee and to evaluate developments in the areas with which we have here concerned ourselves, and to communicate and consult with the constituent organizations on continuing activity to the end that we may move steadily toward the attainment of the objectives embodied in these resolutions.

WHEREAS, The American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, held November 23-25, 1962 at Arden House, Harriman, New York, was one of the best planned and organized conferences in our memory, and

WHEREAS, most of the work of this conference was done by voluntary help under the direction of Theodore E. Brown and his staff:

<i>Brooke Aronson</i>	<i>Linda Lynch</i>
<i>Shirley Branch</i>	<i>Carole Merritt</i>
<i>Isobel Clark</i>	<i>Merline White</i>
<i>Marjorie Ellis</i>	<i>Bernice Wilds</i>
<i>Florence Gordon</i>	

in putting together a great conference which will, in our opinion, release some of the pressures of our African brothers.

THEREFORE, be it resolved that this conference go on record with a standing vote of thanks.

Participants

Delegates

Andrews, Regina M., New York City, National Council of Women of the United States
Baker, Ella, Atlanta, Georgia, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Baker, James K., New York City, American Society of African Culture
Beamon, Vivian J., Cincinnati, Ohio, The Links, Inc.
Brown, Aaron, New York City, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc.
Butler, George O., Washington, D.C., National Urban League Board of Trustees
Carter, Robert L., New York City, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
Clark, Isobel C., New York City, National Urban League
Clark, James I., Washington, D.C., Bible Way Churches World Wide
Cornwell, Henry, Lincoln University, Pa., Lincoln University
Current, Gloster, New York City, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
Davis, John A., New Rochelle, New York, American Society of African Culture
Dawkins, Maurice, Los Angeles, Calif., Western Christian Leadership Conference
Farmer, James, New York City, Congress Of Racial Equality
Ferebee, Dorothy, New York City, National Council of Negro Women and Women's Africa Committee
Gaston, Minnie, Birmingham, Ala., National Council of Negro Women and Women's Africa Committee
Goodlett, Carlton B., San Francisco, Calif., California Negro Leadership Conference
Hale, William H., Langston, Oklahoma, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
Hayes, Charles, Chicago, Illinois, United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO
Height, Dorothy, New York City, National Council of Negro Women
Johnson, Arnold P., New York City, Small Business Chamber of Commerce
Jones, David, New York City, American Committee on Africa
Jones, William B., Los Angeles, Calif., American Society of African Culture, Executive Council
Kennedy, Joseph C., New York City, Human Ecology Fund
King, Martin Luther, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Lanier, R. O'Hara, New York City, Phelps-Stokes Fund
Lasley, Russell P., Chicago, Illinois, United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO
Lawson, Belford, Jr., Washington, D.C., Afram Continental Corporation
Logan, Rayford, Washington, D.C., Howard University
Martin, Louis E., Washington, D.C., National Democratic Committee
Mazique, Edward C., Washington, D.C., National Medical Association
Miller, William E., Pittsburgh, Pa., Refuse And Salvage Drivers And Helpers Union, AFL-CIO.
Mitchell, Clarence, Washington, D.C., National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
Montero, Frank, Bronx, New York, American Committee on Africa
Morrow, E. Frederic, New York City, African-American Institute

Morsell, John A., New York City, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
Nabrit, James M., Washington, D.C., Howard University
Oliver, William, Detroit, Michigan, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO
Parker, Margery, Washington, D.C., Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.
Parris, Guichard, New York City, National Urban League
Randolph, A. Philip, New York City, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO and Negro American Labor Council
Ray, Wilma, Washington, D.C., Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
Reddick, Lawrence D., Baltimore, Maryland, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Reynolds, Hobson, Philadelphia, Pa., Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World
Rhodes, E. Washington, Philadelphia, Pa., National Newspaper Publishers Association
Sam, Leo, New York City, Operation-Crossroads Africa
Scantlebury, Albert R., New York City, Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World
Stevens, Hope R., New York City, American Committee on Africa
Thornton, John M., Washington, D.C., United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
Walker, Wyatt Tee, Atlanta, Georgia, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Watts, Daniel H., New York City, Liberation Committee for Africa
Wells, Clara, New York City, National Council of Negro Women
Wilkins, Roy, New York City, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People
Williams, Smallwood E., Washington, D.C., Bible Way Churches World Wide
Wilson, Boyd, Pittsburgh, Pa., United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
Young, Whitney C., New York City, National Urban League

Contributors of Background Papers

Davis, John A., City College of New York
Drake, St. Clair, Roosevelt University
Hill, Adelaide Cromwell, Boston University
Houser, George, American Committee on Africa
Kilson, Martin, Harvard University
Lowenstein, Allard, North Carolina State College
Marcum, John, Lincoln University
Mondlane, Eduardo, Syracuse University
Smythe, Hugh, Brooklyn College

Observers

Bassett, Grace, New York City
Belafonte, Marguerite, New York City
Davis, Mavis Wormley, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Essien-Udom, E.U., Providence, R.I.
Garvin, Roy, Washington, D.C.
Goncaives, Carlos, National Front For Liberation of Angola
Kunzika, Emmanuel, National Front For Liberation of Angola
Johnson, Willard, Cambridge, Mass.
Lewis, John H., New York City
Nkosi, Morley, Lincoln University, Pa.
Parker, Dorothy C., Washington, D.C.
Weaver, Harold, New York City
Woods, R. Delmar, New York City

U.S. NEGROES URGE MORE AFRICAN AID

Wilkins Opens Drive to Help
New Independent States

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

HARRIMAN, N. Y., Nov. 23 —A campaign to mobilize the political power of 19,000,000 American Negroes behind the sub-Sahara independent African states and other natives peoples still living under colonial rule was started here tonight.

The campaign was initiated at the opening of a three-day conference at Arden House of Columbia University. It was designed to follow the pattern in which Jewish opinion and resources in this country were mobilized to support Israel.

The keynote was sounded by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after a dinner attended by 100 Negro leaders from all parts of the nation.

Presiding at the opening session was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The committee that called the conference included Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., integration leader; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League.

Meeting Ends Sunday

The conference is scheduled to end on Sunday with the adoption of a resolution on the United States policy in Africa. This will urge the Government to abandon its "wordy policy and to adopt a dynamic course that, the resolution says, will help raise the international status of the 28 new African states, and help liberate the remaining colonial territories.

In a prepared statement to the conference Mr. Wilkins indicated clearly that Negroes believed that the emergence of the independent African states be apace at which the American had substantially quickened the Negroes have been progressing in their fight toward equal status.

In helping the sub-Saharan African peoples, Mr. Wilkins implied the American Negroes also help themselves in their own struggle.

"The not inconsiderable abilities we American Negro citizens possess," Mr. Wilkins said, "effective fashion to the task of persuading our Government to 'should be harnessed in an effective fashion to the task of persuading our Government to aid the emerging peoples of Africa toward their place in the world of nations."

"In developing this activity we should not relax our prime efforts to achieve our proper place in our own country since progress toward that end will enhance our influence in behalf of Africa.

"And in pressing our claim for action in Africa, our emphasis must be not upon the paternal and social treatment, but upon the thesis that our traditions as well as our national security demand such forthright steps; a free Africa will buttress a free America."

Praises Kennedy's Actions

Mr. Wilkins praised the efforts of the Kennedy Administration to enforce the U.S. Supreme Court's rulings against segregation. He also praised the President's Executive order banning racial discrimination in housing constructed or financed with Federal money.

But Mr. Wilkins sharply criticized the Government's policies of Africa. He called those policies a "wordy condemnation" of the Union of South Africa's apartheid practices, and of

what he termed the repression of Negroes in Angola, Portuguese territory.

"It ill becomes the United States of America in 1962," he said, "to content itself with wordy condemnation of such courses, the while refraining from supporting a sanctions resolution in the United Nations and continuing normal relations with the Union of South Africa."

He said the situation today demanded "something more than deploring resolutions coupled with business-as-usual —both issuing from the convenient umbrella of one or another aspect of the East-West cold war."

"We do not underestimate the resourcefulness and the persistence of the propaganda of our Soviet opponents," he went on, "but recent events in India and Cuba may suggest to new nations the degree of dependance that may be given to Soviet assurances." Irrespective of fortuitous developments, American aid to Africa, the kind and a scale to help its people effectively, will be the test answer to the Soviets."

Mr. Wilkins said, however, that the important improvements had been made in the lot of the American Negroes in the last 10 years.

"It is in this setting with free nations over there and with increased and strategic political, economic, and educational influence over here that this conference convenes," Mr. Wilkins said.

U.S. Negroes Link Aid to Sub-Sahara African Nations With Rights Struggle

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

HARRIMAN, N. Y., Nov. 24—Negro leaders agreed today that their decision to link the integration struggle in the United States with the fate of the sub-Saharan African states would represent a "new phase in the civil rights struggle."

This view was expounded by Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League.

It was endorsed by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality, at a meeting with a small group of reporters.

Consensus of Leaders

This seemed to reflect the consensus of the 100 Negro leaders who are meeting this week at Columbia University's Arden House near here. But none had any illusions about the difficulties they would encounter in seeking to achieve two primary and interrelated forms of political action.

The first is to use Negro voting strength in this country to convince the United States Government to adopt a dynamic economic and political course of action that would raise the status of the independent sub-Saharan states and help liberate the remaining colonial territories, the second is to instill within the Negro population of the United States a conscious identification with the Africans.

The Negro leaders rejected the suggestion that such a policy might work at cross purposes with their own struggle for integration in the United States since a conscious identification with the Africans might stimulate a greater awareness of separateness as opposed to integration.

Organization Uncertain

The Negro leaders were not quite certain what organizational forms would be needed to carry through the new policy. Mr. Wilkins said that a permanent committee might emerge from the conference to give further thought to the problem of devising special techniques.

But he said he was confident that the far-flung networks of organizations represented at this conference could be used as effective agencies through which "the Negro masses could be moved."

Mr. Randolph was confident that the United States Government would be more receptive today to suggestions from Negro organizations because, he said, the Negro vote is much more important in the national picture today than it was 20 years ago.

Economic Need Cited

Dr. King and Mr. Randolph stressed that the new phase was part of a worldwide struggle for freedom rather than a specific interest focused in Africa, although African development has "given the American Ne-

groes inspiration for their struggle here."

Dr. King said "the real problem is to bring about economic independence along with political independence or the Africans."

He urged a massive Marshall Plan, the recruiting of American Negroes for official United States and unofficial American jobs of all categories in Africa, and an intensive effort to cultivate African diplomats and their families in this country.

Dr. King's suggestions were endorsed by the other leaders. Mr. Wilkins and his colleagues aired their personal irritation with what they considered to be an erroneous picture of the United States power structure, and the relationship of the American Negroes to it, which they said they frequently encountered among African diplomats and politicians.

They said they felt that the Africans too frequently did not understand the social and economic progress achieved by the

Negroes, and also failed to understand that the political power of a minority of 19,000,000, although important, was necessarily limited in what it could achieve.

State Department a Target

On the other hand, the Negro leaders were highly critical of the State Department and other government agencies for failing to employ competent Negroes in the sub-Saharan countries.

They accused the department of evasive action and of hiding behind what they maintain is an erroneous view that the Governments of the new African states prefer to deal with white ambassadors rather than with Negroes. They say this view has no foundation in fact.

Mr. Wilkins suggested that the problem might be seen in its proper perspective if the new African governments were to issue a statement to the effect that they had no objections to dealing with Negro

ambassadors and other high Negro officials.

Mr. Randolph, on the other hand, suggested that it was possible that the new African governments preferred to deal with white Americans because they seem to hold the view that the American Negroes were excluded from the United States power structure and therefore had no influence on decisions.

There seemed to be a division of opinion about the extent to which Negro students were interested in Africa and the degree to which they were emotionally involved.

Some felt that Negro students had little active interest in Africa and this explained why so few had volunteered for the Peace Corps and other organizational jobs in the new countries.

The leaders who met with reporters today disagreed with this view. They said that even in cases where Negroes were ignorant of the fact about Africa they nevertheless had an emo-

tional involvement, the power of which should not be underestimated.

They attributed the relatively small numbers of American Negroes working in Africa to sociological and economic conditions in the United States. A white student, they held, could afford to spend two or three years in Africa because he knew that he had status and a certain amount of security in the United States to which he could return, whereas the Negro student frequently felt he could not sacrifice several years because there was nothing for him to return to.

Study Centers Limited

The Negro leaders said that one of the problems in preparing cadres for work in Africa was the restricted number of African study centers at Negro institutions of learning. Mostly the American foundations that finance African studies, they said, direct their funds to the principal white institutions

with the result that the best work done in this field is by white scholars. The need to finance African studies in Negro institutions was heavily stressed.

In a background paper on one aspect of this problem, St. Clair Drake of Roosevelt College, Chicago, contended that the reason for this one-sided distribution of funds was that with the exception of one foundation, Negroes were not members of any decision-making body that controlled the funds nor can the American Negroes be classified as "power wielders" or members of the upper reaches of the "American power structure."

Mr. Drake indicated that it would be necessary for the Negroes to break into this power structure and into the decision-making bodies if real progress was to be made and he suggested that it would be useful to start by breaking the white monopoly of foundation decision-making groups.

LEADING NEGROES AGREE ON GOALS

Arden House Session Asks
South Africa Sanctions

By M. S. HANDLER

HARRIMAN, N. Y., Nov. 25 —One hundred of this nation's leading Negroes ended a three-day conference at Arden House, Columbia University, with a set of resolutions designed to transform the struggle for civil rights into an international problem.

The program would involve the American Negro community in a total commitment with sub-Saharan African affairs.

One of the resolutions of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa said that the calling, or organization, committee of the conference would seek an appointment with President Kennedy at the White House for Dec. 10, Human Rights Day, to urge upon the President economic sanctions against the Union of South Africa. It was assumed that the committee would also transmit to the President all the resolutions voted today that trace the new line of political action for America's 19,000,000 Negroes.

Committee Membership

The committee includes the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The resolutions designated this committee to determine a detailed action program, but there was discussion in the lobbies of the possibility of eventually creating an organization similar to the American Jewish Congress to coordinate and direct the political action of this country's numerous Negro organizations.

Some of the Negro leaders

candidly admitted in private conversation that they regarded the organized political action of Jewish groups in the United States as a model, but were not certain that at the present stage of development the Negro groups were ready for such a highly integrated and sophisticated organization effort.

The mutual relationship and interaction between the many Jewish groups in the United States and Israel seem to have riveted the attention of Negro leaders who decided at this conference to establish an intimate link between the American Negro community and the sub-Saharan African peoples. They feel that such a link would be of help not only to the sub-Saharans in attaining international status or freedom, but also to American Negroes by

giving them a new impetus in their fight for civil rights.

The conference also urged the unification of the Congo with Katanga and United States support for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa.

It also urged financial aid and assistance in consultation with the Kenya Nationalists to develop a viable political community, and urged the British Government to adopt a hands-off policy on internal affairs of this territory pending constitutional negotiations.

One resolution said that in spite of pledges by the State Department to follow a policy of fair employment, "we find that Negro citizens are still excluded from top level jobs in the area of policy making.

"We urge the department to make appointments of Negro

citizens to high level policy posts," the resolution went on. "We call for an end to the policy which has restricted ambassadorial appointments to one or two persons of color. We urge recruitment of more Negro foreign service staff personnel and foreign service reserve personnel."

The same resolution called on the American philanthropic foundations to appoint American Negroes to top staff positions and to include Negro institutions, scholars and organizations more adequately in their grants and endowments.

In the final plenary session, at which the committee resolutions were amended and adopted, all phraseology that might have involved the United States Government in any unpleasantness with its European allies was rejected as politically un-

sound and of no practical value to the purposes of the conference.

Mr. Wilkins on one of two occasions indicated to the conference that it was necessary not to overstep the terms of reference set for the conference and unwittingly involve the United States in embarrassing situations. He was hinting to the conference, in effect, that it would serve no practical purpose to attempt what was not possible.

Several participants said that this was the first time that so many American Negro leaders had met under one roof to make important decisions that might affect all the Negroes in the United States.