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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Assistant Secretary

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SANITIZED VERSION

TO: The Secretary ULK-76-312 June 12, 1963
THROUGH: M - Mr. Harriman
FROM : AF - G. Mennen Williams
SUBJECT : U.S. Policy Towards South Africa

As I reflect on what has been happening in Africa during recent weeks, especially what took place at the Addis Ababa conference, I believe we are face to face with a new and decisive phase in the apartheid issue. We have reached the point where we must take a more vigorous stand against apartheid. In African opinion we can no longer rest our case on a condemnation of apartheid. We must be ready to back our condemnation with some form of meaningful action. This has been the message conveyed to us following the Addis meeting by Nyerere, Houphouet-Boigny and other responsible African leaders who are our friends. We confront this African pressure for action at a time when powerful forces in our own society are demanding action on racial inequalities at home. The two forces are inter-related and, as Addis showed, Africans are as aware of the inter-relationship as those who are opposing segregation in the United States.

One clear outcome of the Addis Ababa conference is the organization by the African countries of a better coordinated, more militant campaign of pressure on the South African Government and on Governments considered capable of influencing South African policy, especially the United States and the United Kingdom. There are no African "moderates" on the colonialism issue and apartheid is looked upon by Africans as another facet of colonialism. According to President Nyerere of Tanganyika, the "Liberation Committee" being set up in Dar es Salaam as the result of the Addis Ababa conference will have "military" as well as "political" functions. Thus, while consideration of the apartheid issue in the UN can now be considered as falling under Chapter VI (Pacific Settlement of Disputes of the Charter, it is moving in the direction of Chapter VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, etc).

The U.S. will be faced with the issue in the UN in July. The Addis Ababa conference, as you know, decided to send a delegation of four Foreign Ministers to New York "to inform the Security Council of the explosive situation existing in South Africa." (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Tunis, Madagascar.)

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The Security Council meetings will come at a time of greatly intensified domestic pressure for a stronger stand by the Administration on civil rights in the United States. Failure of the United States to take a stand on the racial issue on the international scene in the same forthright fashion as it has handled matters in Alabama and Mississippi would lead to unfortunate domestic, as well as international, repercussions.

In my view, the time has come to review our arms supply policy toward South Africa. I believe we should be thinking now in terms of a total arms embargo. Our present partial arms embargo policy is equivocal, is not an effective pressure on the South Africans, and is considered inadequate by the African countries and by many influential sources in the U.S. who are concerned about racial discrimination. While a total arms embargo would fall far short of the complete economic, diplomatic and arms embargo sanctions already recommended by the General Assembly and which will be even more vigorously urged by the African states as a result of the Addis Ababa conference, it is the only way we can convince both world and domestic opinion that we mean business in our disapproval of apartheid.

Recommendation:

That we examine the possibility of moving to a full embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa.

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