

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
COMMISSION ON ECUMENICAL MISSION AND RELATIONS  
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

To : Members of the Southern Africa Group;  
N.C.C. Detroit Conference.  
From : Rev. William K. DuVal

I have finally managed an attempt to draw together  
a report on the final session of our working group.  
A copy is enclosed.

Corrections will be appreciated for the sake of  
precision and concensus in the report itself.  
Broader comments or concerns should be addressed  
aside from the specific reporting process.

Rev. William K. DuVal,  
recorder.

11/13/67

In moving toward specifics regarding tactics and strategies for dealing with Southern Africa problems it was recognized that most people come to the issue of action with an "either/or" approach. They are either for general "disengagement" being the way to shock change from within or for "engagement" in order to erode the internal structures and strictures. Our orientation, however, suggests a pragmatic, realistic, and multi-strategy approach. We seek first to determine a general direction, keeping the goal clearly before us, in the light of which we consider contextually the several possibilities for action under various criteria.

We may, for example, (after concerted consideration) encourage economic disengagement while at the same time judging the positive aspects of an exchange program concluding that it should be continued.

Thus it is one can support African Liberation Movements at the same time that one seeks to assist in the amelioration of suffering within Southern Africa, and express our concern to Afrikaaner fellow Christians. This approach does not presume to know the ultimately decisive means of change in Southern Africa and provides for multiple approaches and relationships. The realism of such a policy becomes apparent when one recognizes the inappropriateness of direct church sponsorship of violent revolution in Southern Africa, and the inability of the U.S. Government to directly back violent revolution in Africa.

The basic criterion on which decisions are made regarding relations with Southern Africa is, "In the long run, will an action strengthen or weaken the system of social, economic, and political injustice in Southern Africa?"

With this in mind, and recognizing the need to develop priorities as well as strategies, the group proceeded to list specific items of concern and the categories of involvement.

#### A. U.S. Government

- \* 1. Enforcing sanctions in Rhodesia (via Legislative and Executive Branches)
- 2. Defense Policy
  - implement arms and strategic goods embargo, esp. Covert arrangements
- 3. Development aid to dependent nations
- 4. Support of O.A.U.
- \* 5. Support implementation of U.N. authority and decisions on
  - S.W.A. - U.N. Council
  - Southern Africa - Visas and Passports
  - Tax payments by U.S. Corporations
- \* 6. Scholarship programs
- 7. Political Asylum
- \* 8. Sugar quota (Rhodesia)
- \* 9. Fair employment practice by legislation or executive order
- 10. Exceptional passport arrangements
- 11. Withdrawing tracking station
- 12. Pressure U.K. to strengthen sanctions - Rhodesia
  - no compromise on M.I.B.M.A.R.
- 13. Aid to contiguous countries
- 14. End Gold Standard
- 15. Exchange programs
- 16. Control of U.S. Companies based in Southern Africa
- 17. Control of S.A. Foundation.

B. Intergovernmental Organizations  
- ICEM - Migration to So. Africa

- \* - World Bank
- Leadership Training
- O.A.U.

C. Cultural/Social

1. Teachers for contiguous territories
2. Arts embargoes
3. Defense and Aid funds
4. AFL/CIO - Fair Employment
5. Support of U.N. petitioners
6. Research, Information - Counter Propaganda
7. Orientation of exchange personnel - change of exchange criteria
- \* 8. 1968 Olympics

D. Commerce and Industry

1. Stockholders meetings
2. Defense and Aid contributions
3. Halt strategic sales and imports from S.A.
4. Technological/Management leadership training
- \* 5. Banks withdraw Credit
6. Technological Aid
7. Control of re-investment by U.S. Corporations
8. Control expansion of Corporations
9. Briefing of Business personnel by Church

E. Denominational

- \* 1. Pressure on S.A. Churches
- 2. Support Liberation Movements including U.N. petitioners
- \* 3. Washington Office Representations
- \* 4. Public Information - Counter Propaganda
- 5. Mission to Whites in So. Africa
- 6. Disengage from Mission Institutions
- \* 7. Funds for Action Groups

F. N.C.C.

- \* 1. Scholarships
- \* 2. Disengage from Banks and Corporations
- 3. Support Liberation Movements
- \* 4. Washington Office Representations
- \* 5. Public Information - Counter Propaganda
- 6. Mission to Whites in So. Africa
- 7. Missionary Orientation

G.1 International Christian (W.C.C., WSCF, WRA, LWF, etc.)

- \* 1. Defense and Aid funds
- 2. Support petitioners
- 3. Lobby - U.N.
- 4. Joint Action vis-a-vis other nations
- 5. Development Aid to contiguous countries
- 6. ICEM
- 7. Leadership Training

\* denotes problem of some immediacy suggested as priority for action.

In outlining priorities for action tactics must also be considered. Following are delineations in several areas of immediate concern:

A. U.S. Government

Priority

- Support implementation of U.N. resolutions
  - S.W. Africa
  - U.N. Trust Fund
- Enforce U.S. decisions on U.N. approved sanctions against Rhodesia

Tactics

- Direct representation: Congress, State Dept., White House, U.N. Delegation
- Demonstration
- Letter writing
- Research into and public exposure of U.S. business ways of bypassing sanctions.
- Making use of African speakers

Priority

- Sugar quota for Rhodesia; in keeping with U.S. Government's agreement on sanctions against Rhodesia it is necessary to enforce the Government's participation in seeing that sanctions are carried out.
- An immediate way is to remove Rhodesia from the sugar quota.

B. Cultural

Priority

- 1968 Olympics -
  - So. African participation in the Olympics will be decided in February by the International Olympic Committee.
  - Approval will amount to acceptance of apartheid.
  - Protest Channel is the U. S. Olympic Committee.

Tactics

- Pressure from Civil Rights groups
- Letters to Congressmen
- Letters to Olympic Committee delegation to International Olympic Committee
- Student Organizations
- Social Action Groups
- Internationalize Church Pressure; (including Roman Catholic Church).
- U.S. National Conference of Christians and Jews.
- If accepted urge protest at Olympics by Mexican Churches.

Priority

Arts Embargo

- Since censorship mitigates against introducing controversial plays and books in South Africa, and since South Africans are culturally sensitive it is important for artists to protest against apartheid by not performing in South Africa.

Tactics

- Appeals to Artists' groups
- Theater
- Music
- Playwriters

Priority

Defense and Aid

Of special concern to the churches are the needs of detainees and their families although funds are also needed for legal fees. Defense and Aid funds programs exist under the AACC/EPEAA and the ACOA. There is an immediate and on-going need for funds for these programs in Southern Africa.

Scholarship Aid

The So. African Government has fixed expenditure for education at £ 13 million. With the increasing Black population the inevitable deterioration of education of Blacks becomes obvious.

Tactics

1. To investigate, through the Christian Council of South Africa and other groups the possibility of channeling scholarship funds to African Students.
2. To raise funds for schools in Botswana and Zambia.
3. To raise funds for refugee South African students in the USA.

Present or pending situations around which activities can be undertaken include:

1. The two-year anniversary of U.D.I. - Rhodesia, on November 11, 1967
2. 20 years of Nationalist Government in the Republic of South Africa (in 1968)
3. The "treason" trial of 37 Southern Africans in Pretoria
4. Rhodesia sanctions (U.N.)
5. The Southwest Africa mandate decision (U.N.)

Finally, a single element of common concern underlay all discussions on relations with and strategies for dealing with Southern Africa and that was information and counter-propaganda.

The group strongly urged the establishment of research and information facilities in order to have a regular and meaningful flow of information on Southern Africa issue at the level of comprehensive research and for general information.

Coupled to this was the expressed need for full-time activity in Washington involving presenting concerns about and seeking support for Southern African issues among members of the Legislative and Administrative branches of the Government.