

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Minutes: Southern Africa Committee, NSCF, December 10th., 1965

Announcements:

A.A.I.: Dave said that the African American Institute is planning to hold a meeting of all those students who are under their direct scholarship sponsorship. This meeting will be in Chicago around the same time as the meeting of the Rhodesian Students Union. It is hoped that this will aid Rhodesian students particularly.

The African American Institute may sponsor a Southern Africa Journal which would be written by students from Southern Africa. (ACCA is also considering whether or not they should revise Africa Today to have exclusively a Southern Africa focus.)

Gerhard read a brief article to the committee from a Philadelphia newspaper stating that South Africa will probably make an increased effort to get missiles from Western countries "given her vulnerable state" in Africa. He also said that apparently Western Germany has been shipping arms to South Africa continually in spite of the UN prohibition.

Teach-In Group on Foreign Policy: Gerhard introduced a visitor he brought, Pat Griffiths, who spoke to the committee in behalf of a new group, Teach-In Group on Foreign Policy. This group is attempting to encourage long term investigation of United States foreign policy, and is not exclusively concerned with Viet Nam. Their emphasis is twofold: (1) Creation of national awareness through mass media actions, e.g. televised dialogues of prominent persons. (2) Smaller local groups in which many people themselves could participate. Some of the resources she mentioned for these local groups were libraries of information which could be sent to them on specific topics, films, tapes, and Congressional hearings in which the group's regional Congressman would discuss the issue with them. She said that this needed to be implemented by those groups which were related to the Teach-In Group on Foreign Policy and who had national organizations. She said that there was an urgent need to try to understand the political power structure of the United States. She felt that ultimately there were more powerful people on the community level. She was asked which foreign policies would be discussed in these dialogues. Pat said that although the dialogues were open, she personally felt that a major problem was our nation's cold war psychology whereby Communism is perceived as a monolithic evil. She said the various domestic issues, e.g. freedom of dissent, patriotism, and the draft, had been strongly affected by our foreign policy. One of the major problems with the discussions, dialogues, and teach-ins thus far has been that they have been so polarized without the much needed neutral ground. Pat felt that this group of the means as well as the extremes is essential to the ideal of the democratic process. She is hoping that the NSCF will endorse and work with the Teach-In Group on Foreign Policy. There will be a meeting of this group in Washington in January at the USNSA offices. NSCF has been asked to have at least unofficial representation at this meeting.

Rhodesian Minister's Visit: This Monday, December 13th, 1965 at 11:30 a.m. two Rhodesian ministers will be meeting a small group at the Episcopal Church Center (115 Second Avenue--9th floor). One of these ministers is Bishop Skelton of the Anglican Church and the other is the leader of the Presbyterian Church in Rhodesia. A few days ago they left Rhodesia, went to Geneva, and are now in London. Lord Caradon will also be at this meeting. Mr. Tucker has informed us that we may send one person. Richard Van Horn said he would go. At 3:30 p.m. they will be speaking at ICC to NCC people. As many committee people as possible are encouraged to attend.

Teach-In: Janet asked for volunteers to hand out leaflets on Monday and Tuesday 12:00-2:00 and 4:00-6:00 at 116th St. subway platform concerning the Teach-In on Rhodesia which is being held Wednesday, December 15th, 1965 from 4:30-12:30 at Weinstein Hall, 5-11 University Place. Press releases are being sent to the major newspapers, magazines, radio-television stations, etc. Gerhard suggested that we should have done this through NCC machinery, as they have well-established channels. Committee people are also taking notices to Union, ACCA, and the New School.

The General Board of the NCC did not discuss Rhodesia at their recent meeting in Madison Wisconsin as they spent their time on Viet Nam. Their next meeting is in February.

Mary and Bill reported that about 15 letters were sent to people in Rhodesia. Gerhard suggested that carbons of these letters should be sent to Hank Cranon in Kitwe, Zambia.

It was suggested that we should attempt to communicate with Andrew Kers of the UPCUSA General Board before he arrives in Rhodesia on December 23rd.

Doug Parks is to be invited to attend our next meeting. He will be asked to be a liaison person for the committee while he is at Mindolo Ecumenical Institute in Zambia beginning January, 1966.

Reports

Bucknell Conference: Mary reported that it was a very good conference. There were between 70-80 Southern African students there, many of whom are studying at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (15 students are from South West Africa). She said that the conference leadership was good. She said, however, that there were the usual disappointments of lack of unity among Africans and African organizations. She said that the Rhodesians see their rejection of UDI as synonymous with their own fight for independence, and that they now reject all white governments.

Jenny responded stating that Africans want Britain to ruin Smith, have Britain govern for a very brief interim (e.g. six months), which a constitution is drawn up for an African government. She said: "When one fights UDI, one is fighting for African government. You can't fight UDI for Europeans, you can only fight UDI for Africans". Although she is not hopeful of the necessary leadership coming with ZANU or ZAPU, there is hope for a National Liberation Front. Britain wants to establish white rule, but an African government must be the next government in Rhodesia.

Mary said that the Africans attending the Bucknell conference asked for our support in seeking sanctions against Portugal. They also asked that we use any influence we have with the Roman Catholic Church. There was no word about Portugal at the Vatican Ecumenical Council. Bill suggested that Gerhard could explore Roman Catholic contacts. Dave suggested a meeting of Catholic students, Bucknell conference people, Gerhard, and other people from our committee. Ken said that Prof. John Markum of Lincoln University keeps up on Angola very well, and therefore he would be an excellent resource person.

Bill is going to write the New York Times congratulating their sending Joseph Levyfeld to Rhodesia and "apparently" sending the dubious Lawrence Fellows elsewhere.

Dave will ask Elmira for any new statistics from action of the UN Portugal Committee on Sanctions. Ken said Redi should be asked also.

Chicago: Rich Voorhes reported on Sharon Gorman and his plans for a Chicago committee. First they hope to list and contact 15 persons who are already interested in Southern Africa and who would work as coordinators in for the formation of a group. Rich said he thought that the Ecumenical Institute could be used as a base,

and that not only are some of the Institute's faculty concerned about Southern Africa, but they also have an offset printing press that they might make available to us. Sharon will be in Chicago at Christmas time, and will make contacts. The second stage of their plan is to contact YMCA-YWCA to encourage Southern Africa as a major emphasis at their national meetings, to develop contacts with inner-city churches, to begin to pull the church related people together and to contact Barnett O'Hara who is chairman of the Congressional sub-committee on Africa as he is from the Chicago area. They need the following information: (1) What O'Hara is doing and plans to do from Houser and Danforth. (2) Financial help. Dave suggested that some mission boards might be interested in this project. (3) Lists of people for the 15 who would act as coordinators from the committee. Bob Spike is going to Chicago to be the head of a new program at Chicago Theological Seminary. He may also go to South Africa with Bobby Kennedy this spring.

Consultative Council: Bill Minter reported on the December 6th meeting of the Consultative Council: They hope to be able to employ a coordinator for the C.C. This person would require approximately \$7540.00 a year. The problem now is to raise the money for the salary, etc. There was discussion of the need for brief leaflets concerning various Southern Africa problems. The enclosed manifesto was read at the CC meeting. Bill read it at our meeting. Ken asked whether or not we could change the manifesto? Bill said that it was much more a resource to aid planning groups, than a position paper. The Washington Conference will be from March 18th-24th, 1966. Its purpose is to be a briefing on the latest developments in South Africa and facts on American involvement. Secondly, to send deputations to Congressmen, Senators, and State Department and White House personnel to urge adoption of policies agreed upon at the conference.

USNSA is planning to send suggestions to its constituency concerning the March emphasis groups and has asked us to give them any ideas we have concerning its contents. A group of people from our committee met after the meeting to brain-storm on this. USNSA is also planning to begin a monthly newsletter on Southern Africa.

Don Steffa reported that a group of 12-15 people were now regularly meeting at Union to discuss Southern Africa. Their particular focus is publication, petition, and teach-ins.

Dave Mann will be in various parts of California during Christmas vacation. Ken suggested that he see Bob Kelley as Bob has been doing various things concerning Southern Africa. Dick Van Horn suggested talking with the Africa desk of the Institute of International Relations at Sanford University. The Institute is an entirely student run organization. Dick will write the Africa desk.

Rhodesian Newsheet: The Rhodesian newsheet is now being sent to 267 people. Several persons suggested having editorials. Margaret Deyo of the Methodists is now sending 25 people overseas the newsheet. We need to determine a price for it. Don Steffa said that it could be mimeographed at Union, which might be a faster way of processing than at ICC. There are the questions of how the newsheet is to be financed and who is going to do it in the future. It was suggested that Colin Gonze of the ACOA might process it, or we might get the ACOA to contribute. Several committee members will be seeing Margaret Deyo, Mel Williams, and Mr. Tucker about the future of the newsheet.

Nathan Opoku from Ghana will be travel associate for the CWM of NSCF beginning January, 1966. Carol George will be posting his itinerary on the bulletin board in Room 754. Give Carol any suggestions concerning possible locations and ideas

concerning subjects of discussion, contacts, etc.

There may be a luncheon for the committee to talk with Jacob Kuhangua who is secretary general of the South West Africa People's Organization.

At our next meeting we will discuss plans for future meetings and future speakers. The next meeting will be Friday, December 17th, at 12:30 in the eighth floor conference room of the Interchurch Center.

Glossary of Acrostics

CWM	Commission on World Mission of the NSCF
NSCF	National Student Christian Federation
CC	Consultative Council of the ACCA
ACCA	American Committee on Africa
USNSA	United States National Student Association
ICC	Interchurch Center
UPCUSA	United Presbyterian Church in the USA

DRAFT MANIFESTO OF AMERICANS AGAINST APARTHEID

As the sixth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre of March, 1960 approaches, we see only signs of deeper bitterness and tragedy in South Africa. The policy of apartheid is established on the principle of the subservience of the black majority to the white minority. This policy is every more completely carried out by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party under Prime Minister Verwoerd. All non-white opposition has long since been eliminated (or forced completely underground) by the banning of African political organizations, the legislation against collective bargaining by Africans, the stringent enforcement of the pass laws, and the cynical creation of Bantustans as supposed "homelands" of the Africans but in reality segregated areas whose policies are dominated by the Republic's white government.

We see violence and bloodshed ahead as the white minority attempts to extend its racist control, and the black majority deepens its resolve to resist. This will be no limited conflict. The whole of independent Africa will support the black majority in South Africa. Thus, the struggle against apartheid is inter-national in scope. All peoples and nations will be engulfed in this struggle-- unless measures are adopted to change the policies of the present South African regime.

We as Americans see our own responsibility as a major one. At present our Government, although making more vigorous pronouncements against apartheid, is initiating only very limited programs in opposition to the South African brand of racism. Furthermore, Americans, through private channels, are economically and psychologically strengthening the architects of apartheid.

We are joined in our belief that Americans must work with those throughout the world committed to the destruction of apartheid. We believe Americans must disengage themselves from any contact with South Africa which in any way strengthens the forces of apartheid or extends its power. Therefore, we call upon our Government to initiate the following policies as a bare minimum, to make clear American intentions to oppose apartheid:

1. DISCOURAGE ECONOMIC INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

How is it possible for the United States to claim to be an opponent of apartheid, when at the same time our banks are loaning money to South Africa and many of our large corporations are expanding their operations there? It seems to most of the world that Americans have a stake in apartheid. American business cannot claim to be neutral or uninvolved in South African political realities because the act of increased investment is in itself a vote of political confidence. We believe that the United States should, as a matter of policy, end this business involvement. At the very least our Department of Commerce and State Department must discourage future investments on the ground that it is a

a risk not only for business, but more importantly for the United States in its relation with the rest of Africa.

2. **END IMMEDIATELY THE SUGAR QUOTA GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICA**
The United States currently has agreed to import 48,000 tons of sugar from South Africa. Why should the United States bolster the economy of South Africa even to this extent, especially when there are so many developing countries desperately in need of selling their goods to the United States.
3. **GRANT AID TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID THROUGH A SPECIAL U.N. FUND**
In the 18th General Assembly a resolution was passed recommending that governments make contributions to certain non-governmental agencies helping to support the families of imprisoned South African opponents of apartheid. In the Port Elizabeth area alone, there are over 2,000 "political orphans" who are completely dependent on outside support for food, clothing, education, etc. Although a number of governments have contributed through the International Defense and Aid Fund to help meet this need, the U.S. Government has taken the view that contributions could not be made to a non-governmental agency. The need is so monumental that aid from Governments is needed to care adequately for families whose breadwinner is removed, in some cases for an indefinite period of time.
4. **GRANT POLITICAL ASYLUM TO OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID**
The issue has arisen a number of times already in the case of Africans who are in the United States and who, because of their opposition to apartheid, would be in physical jeopardy if they returned to South Africa. There are growing numbers of students from South Africa doing graduate and undergraduate work in the United States who will be faced with the dilemma of nowhere to go, once they have completed their courses of study. If the United States had a declared policy of offering political asylum to opponents of apartheid, such a decision would be both a clear warning to the South African Government and an encouragement to opponents of apartheid within South Africa.
5. **ADOPT A POLICY OF INTEGRATING PERSONNEL AT U.S. GOVERNMENT POSTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**
This issue became very clear last June 25th when the South African Minister said in a public speech that personnel in the U.S. Tracking Station installations must be "white only". Although our Government has stated that it will not be dictated to by the South African Government in this matter, no effort has been made to uphold the rights of our Government in free assignment of American personnel in the Tracking Stations, the Embassy, Consulates, or USIS offices.

6. EXPAND POLICY OF DENYING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA BY FORBIDDING AMERICAN CONTROLLED FIRMS TO SUPPLY EQUIPMENT WHICH CAN BE CONVERTED FOR MILITARY USES

A case in point: early in 1965 the Ford Motor Company of the U.S. and Canada refused to bid on a South African Government contract to supply lightweight four-wheeled trucks, on the grounds that these trucks could be converted to armoured vehicles. An auxiliary of General Motors, however, agreed to supply the desired trucks.

7. IMPLEMENT POLICY OF GRANTING SUBSTANTIAL AID TO HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

The High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are all scheduled to become independent within the next two years. Substantial aid must be forthcoming or they will be at the complete economic mercy of South Africa.

We recognize our responsibility does not end with governmental action. As individuals and members of private organizations-- whether churches, trade unions, student groups, civil rights organizations-- we must take independent action.

We call upon others to join us in the following courses of action:

- Support private Defense and Aid Funds to help the victims of apartheid.
- Don't invest in companies doing extensive business in South Africa.
- Don't buy South African goods.
- Discourage ordinary tourism to South Africa.
- Oppose any exchange program with South Africa not conducted interracially.

A serious extension of these policies by the United States Government and among the American people can be a beginning in the process of eliminating apartheid, and can pave the way for interracial harmony in southern Africa.