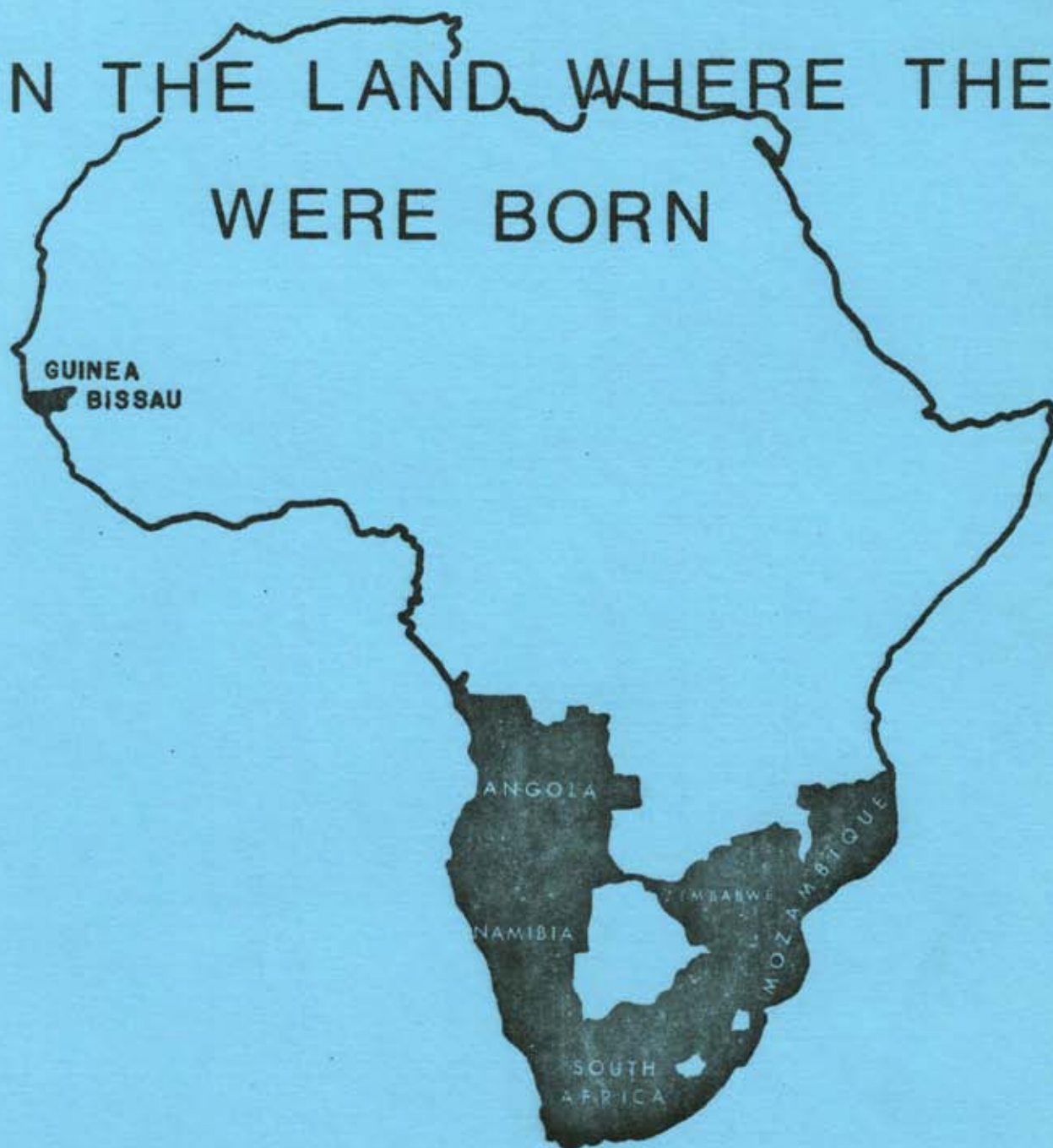


MEN

SHOULD WALK UPRIGHT

IN THE LAND WHERE THEY

WERE BORN



prepared by  
the SOUTHERN AFRICA TASK FORCE  
for the annual meeting of the  
MASSACHUSETTS CONFERENCE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST  
pittsfield, mass.  
may 5-6, 1972

And what was there evil in their desires, in their  
hunger? That men should walk upright in the land  
where they were born, and be free to use the fruits  
of the earth, what was there evil in it?

Cry the Beloved Country  
Alan Paton

## AN AWAKENING

Fifty million people was the toll exacted. The British, the Portuguese, the Arabs, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Americans, each robbed a continent of its life blood in their search for slaves. In the wake of the slave trade came the scramble for Africa. A struggle for power and colonial territories which left that continent a patchwork of artificial divisions (see map on page 4).

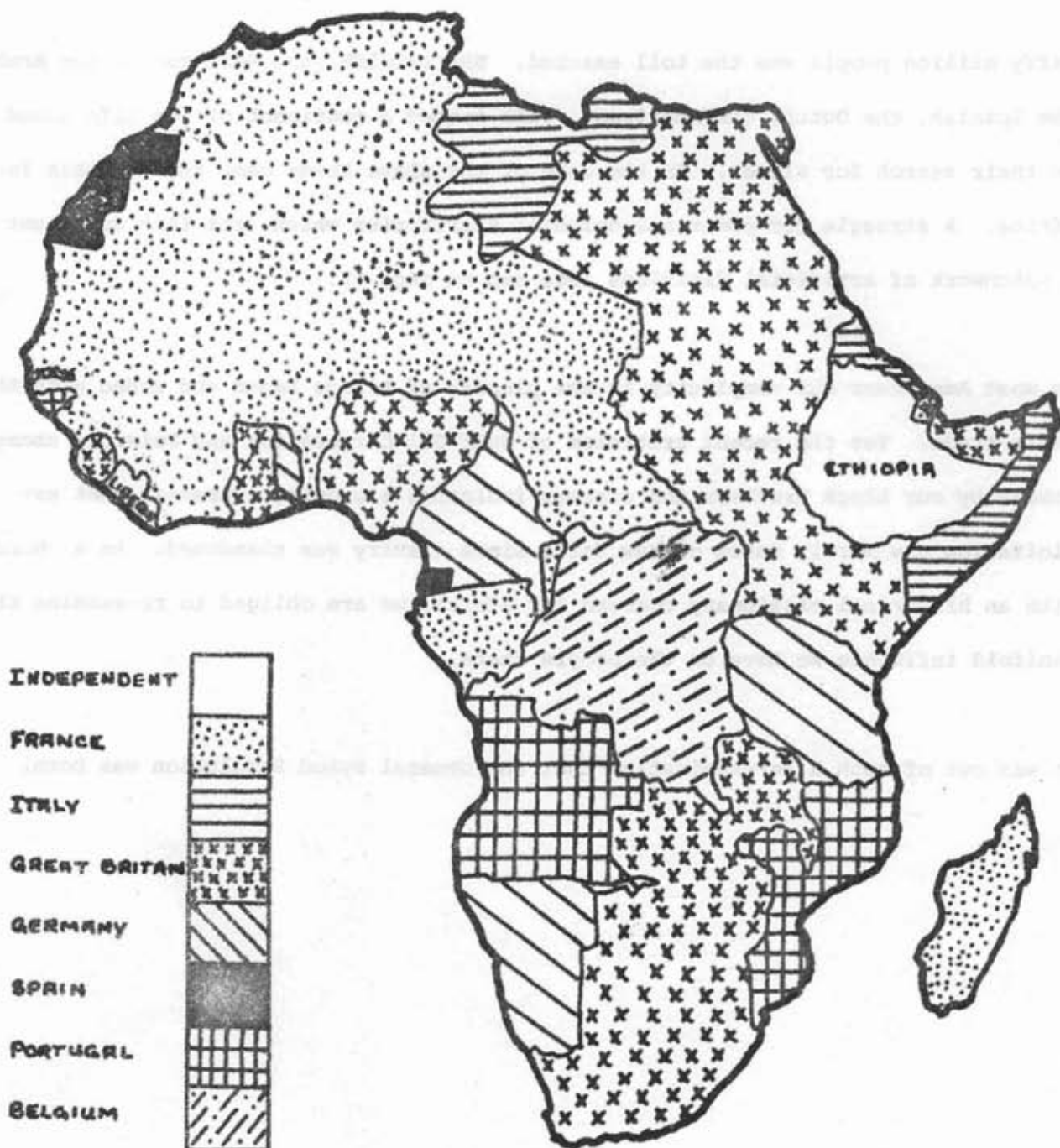
To most Americans our complicity in the plunder of Africa began and ended with the slave trade. Yet the recent criticism of Gulf Oil Corporation and Polaroid among others by our black brothers and sisters indicates a growing awareness that exploitation has merely taken on new forms since slavery was abandoned. As a church with an historical missionary concern for Africa, we are obliged to re-examine the manifold influence we have on the people there.

It was out of such a re-examination that the General Synod Resolution was born.



# SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

COLONIAL PARTITION - AFRICA 1914





A Resolution adopted by the Eighth General Synod  
June 28, 1971

The General Synod reaffirms its deepest concern for all human beings in the quest for Whole People in a Whole World. It urges upon the constituency of the United Church of Christ, personal and corporate, a sense of outrage in the continuation and reinforcement of any and all institutions that divest any people of their God-given right to peace, security and liberty.

The United Church of Christ has expressed a concern for the peoples of Southern Africa for well over a century—since 1835 in South Africa, 1879 in Rhodesia and 1880 in Angola. Our investment in the peoples of Southern Africa has been restricted in recent years by the white minority regimes of this area. Missionaries have been refused visas and have been deported. Leaders of our sister Churches have been imprisoned. The Portuguese government has prohibited the meeting of the General Synod of the Church in Angola since the war of independence began in 1961.

Many of the traditional means of ministry and concern in Southern Africa are no longer possible. We seek new means of supporting the peoples of Southern Africa in their legitimate aspirations for freedom and self determination.

The UCC has consistently joined numerous other Protestant bodies over the years in expressing its sense of urgency and concern for the problems of racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. In 1965 the General Synod stated that the United States should actively support United Nations recommendations for economic sanctions as a remedial action pending changes in apartheid, and the U.S. corporations should be encouraged to make known their opposition to apartheid in as effective a manner as possible. The General Synod further urged the church membership to provide wider discussion of this problem in local churches and communities and otherwise to express concern to their representatives in government.

In 1969 the General Synod passed a specific resolution urging withdrawal of funds from banks "doing business with South Africa." There has been marked success in this area. Partly as a result of church, labor union, United Nations and citizen pressure, a \$40 million floating bank credit arrangement with the South African government has been cancelled.

#### The Situation in Southern Africa

The crisis in Southern Africa is the increasing dehumanization of the 34 million black majority by a white minority numbering 4.5 million.

Portuguese colonialism continues in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Portugal has made clear its unwillingness to grant independence to its colonies in the face of almost universal condemnation of colonialism by the countries of the world. Militarily it is fighting against African liberation movements which seek self-determination and independence for their countries. The United States, meanwhile, continues to furnish economic and military assistance to Portugal under its NATO commitments, thereby releasing Portuguese resources for the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. U.S. companies, most notably Gulf Oil Corporation, have made sizeable investments in Angola, and their monetary payments to the Portuguese government significantly assist the Portuguese in their colonial wars.

Rhodesia, despite international economic and diplomatic sanctions, remains dedicated to white minority rule and is moving consistently toward the apartheid policies of South Africa.

South West Africa, renamed "Namibia" by the United Nations, is still illegally under the control of the Republic of South Africa, which extends apartheid to that territory in gross violation of the mandate entrusted to it in 1920. To signify opposition to the South African government's policy regarding South West Africa, the United States government has recently discouraged any further investment in Namibia. Most recently, the International Court of Justice has ruled that South Africa's control over South West Africa is illegal and that South Africa should surrender this territory immediately to the United Nations.

South Africa, the hub of the Southern Africa wheel, stands determined to keep all political power in the hands of its white minority. In South Africa 3.8 million

whites prosper at the price of poverty and oppression for over 16 million inhabitants of South Africa whose only crime is that their skin is not white. The United States is deeply involved in South Africa, even though the U.S. government vigorously condemns apartheid in public statements at the UN.

It provides a preferential sugar quota for South African sugar.

It allows the government-owned South African Airways landing rights in the U.S., although the government of South Africa excludes many black Americans by a selective visa policy.

It continues to operate a NASA base in South Africa.

It allows and encourages U.S. companies to invest freely in South Africa in ways which support and strengthen the white supremacist policies of that government. Many of these companies not only strengthen the South African economy but provide important products and materials for military use. In South Africa over 350 U.S. Companies conduct business, making some of the largest profits on the international scene. The total list of U.S. companies investing in South Africa are listed in the appendix. Among those U.S. companies investing in strategic and economic sectors of the South African economy are:

Auto: General Motors, Ford and Chrysler

Oil: Mobil, Caltex and Standard Oil of New Jersey

Computer: IBM, Honeywell and National Cash Register

Banking: Chase Manhattan, First National City

Rubber: Goodyear Tire, General Tire & Rubber

Mining: Union Carbide and U.S. Steel

The United Nations has continually warned that the Southern Africa situation is filled with the possibility of a violent racial war of international scope and consequence.

#### Action recommended

In light of the seriousness and urgency of the Southern Africa situation and the need for a movement toward a just solution, the General Synod urges the members, local churches, Associations, Conferences, Instrumentalities and Boards of the United Church of Christ:

1. To urge the U.S. government and her NATO allies
  - (a) to refrain from any sales of arms to South Africa and Portugal
  - (b) to end those military, diplomatic and economic practices and policies which support minority rule and colonialism, especially the preferential sugar quota
  - (c) to seek new ways to press for racial justice in Southern Africa.
2. To discourage United States tourism to Portugal and to the Republic of South Africa.
3. To examine the role which U.S. corporations play in Southern Africa in maintaining the status quo; furthermore, to use their various resources, including the leverage of their investment and stock ownership powers, to press these companies to develop vigorous policies and practices in employment, compensation, public relations attitudes and business operations which will challenge repressive and unjust conditions. If their activities appear to strengthen colonial or racist oppression rather than change it, they should be pressed to withdraw.
4. To support the humanitarian programs of Southern African liberation organizations through the World Council of Churches.
5. (a) To educate themselves about the situation in Southern Africa, the serious implications of this situation and the extent to which the U.S. is involved;  
(b) to hold seminars, conferences and educational workshops on this issue. The General Synod urges all levels of the UCC to cooperate with other denominations and concerned secular agencies in the implementation of this resolution.

## THE STRUGGLE WITHIN

*Our dream has the size of freedom . . . .* the words are those of an unknown poet in Mozambique, but the dreams are the universal aspirations of those who are oppressed - FREEDOM!

They are black.

They did not ask to be black.

Because they are black, they are poor.

They are without meaningful prospects of development or of participation in government.

They are the victims of a white society - privileged, prosperous and powerful. If there was no oppression, there would be no need for liberation!

The form of apartheid may take many shapes and dimensions. Opposition to it brings only greater repression in the form of laws. Specifically, that repression has taken the form of Pass Laws which require that every black South African, 16-years of age and older, carry at all times a reference book stating his color, his work record, his permission to live or work in certain areas, and payment of taxes. These Laws -

- prohibit the right of workers to strike or engage in collective bargaining.
- establish separate reserves as black communities.
- limit certain skilled jobs and public premises to whites only.
- compel workers to accept employment on pain of criminal penalties.
- divide families by denying wives the right to live with their husbands who of necessity must work in white areas.

Those whites in Southern Africa who have opposed apartheid have themselves become victims of repression - and there are many.

*There are many problems which beset a White person who joins the non-white emancipatory movement. They arise from the fact that while he struggles against racial privilege, in his daily life he enjoys many of the amenities denied to non-whites. This conflict pursues him even into the depths of prison.*

-- The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs



For black Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, resorting to armed struggle has meant the end of the dialogue which began with peaceful resistance. Within the last eight to eleven years, nearly one-third of Angola and Mozambique has been liberated while virtually all but a small coastal area in Guinea-Bissau is now free. Today hospitals and schools exist where once there were none. More land is under cultivation than at any time during the Portuguese occupation. Roads are under construction; school books are being written; refugees displaced by the fighting are being resettled. The rebuilding of a society has begun from the ground up.

With many of the leaders of the liberation movement in exile or in prison, some of the struggle in South Africa and Namibia as well as in Rhodesia has of necessity gone underground. The struggle surfaced recently when 12,000 Namibian contract workers, in defiance of the contract labor system, went out on strike in December, 1971. The strike spread to mines (including those controlled by two U.S. companies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining), fishing industries, railways and farms.

In Rhodesia the Pearce Commission was met with strong black opposition. The Pearce Commission was sent by the British government to determine the peoples' response to an agreement which would allow limited constitutional concessions in return for British recognition of an independent Rhodesia and an end to economic sanctions.



How can we tell you the size  
of our dream?

Today  
our Revolution  
is a great flower  
to which each day  
new petals are added.

The petals are the land  
reconquered,  
the people freed  
the fields cultivated  
schools and Hospitals.

Our dream has the size  
of Freedom.

Poet unknown  
(Mozambique)

HELP FROM WITHOUT

Aid varies from direct support of the forces of freedom to attempts to change the policies of the institutions that support the oppressor.

The UNITED NATIONS, though largely ineffective in gaining compliance for some of its resolutions, has condemned apartheid; requested member states to employ diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa; established a trust fund to provide legal aid to persons on trial for opposition to Apartheid; voted economic sanctions against Rhodesia; condemned by a vote of 94 to 6 the continued oppression of her African colonies by Portugal.

The DUTCH ANGOLA COMMITTEE on February 4, 1972, the eleventh anniversary of the beginning of the Angolan liberation struggle, introduced a consumer boycott of coffee from Angola. Holland and the U. S. account for 68% of all Angola's exported coffee (21% and 47% respectively). With broad based community support as well as support from supermarket chains and labor unions, within one month virtually the entire Dutch market was free from Angolan coffee.

GULF BOYCOTT COALITION grew out of action taken in the Ohio Conference U.C.C. in 1970 calling for a boycott of Gulf because of its business relationship with Portugal. Working with city officials and the Human Relations Council, the Coalition was successful in preventing the award of the gasoline contract for the City of Dayton to Gulf.

CHURCH PROJECT ON UNITED STATES INVESTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. This is a cooperative venture of five religious denominations: Episcopal, United Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, American Baptist, Disciples of Christ. In March of 1972 they prepared a proxy statement for General Motors Corporation, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, and Gulf Oil Corporation which would require that the Board of Directors of those companies provide a full written report to the shareholders within four months of the date of the 1972 Annual Meeting on its involvement in the Republic of South Africa, particularly with regard to the history of that involvement, its relations with workers (African, Colored, White) and relations with the government.

DOCK WORKERS REFUSE TO HANDLE ILLEGAL CARGO. Rhodesian chrome, due to arrive at Burnside, Louisiana in direct opposition to sanctions voted in the United Nations with the support of the United States, would not be unloaded by members of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO).

CHICAGO UCC TASK FORCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA challenges Continental Illinois on its bank loan to South Africa. The Export-Import Bank, a government agency, agreed to guarantee a 10-year loan of \$48.6 million (from Continental Bank of Illinois) to South Africa for the purchase of diesel locomotives (from General Motors).

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FUND TO COMBAT RACISM, established in 1969 to aid directly organizations working to overcome white racism as well as aiding victims of racial injustice through medical, educational, social, and legal assistance. In September 1970 and 1971 grants totalling \$400,000 were made to 43 organizations in Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, North America, and Latin America. Nearly two-thirds of this sum went to Southern Africa alone. The action of the WCC has sparked controversy, but to many it has provided some real hope that churches can help to build a more humane world. Anglican Bishop Colin Winter, recently expelled from Namibia by the South African Government, recalled being *deep in lion and elephant country* and learning of the World Council of Churches grants to liberation movements from a *small transistor radio set on an old tin can*. *I was deeply moved.*



Everyone must work to live, but the  
purpose of life is to serve and show  
compassion and the will to help others.  
Only then have we ourselves become  
true human beings.

-- Albert Schweitzer

ACTION TAKEN: RESOLUTION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GUINEA-BISSAU  
CONSIDERED AT  
THE MAY 1972 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONFERENCE  
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

We wholeheartedly endorse the resolution on Southern Africa adopted with the support of the Massachusetts delegation at the Eighth General Synod on June 28, 1971, and we resolve to implement its principles in the following ways:

- (1) That a Task Force will be formed to study, make recommendations on the the problems of freedom and justice in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

All concerned members of U.C.C. churches in Massachusetts who wish to share in the work of the Task Force may become members. The Task Force will determine its own organizational structure. It will be responsible to and report its findings and recommendations to the next annual Conference Meeting and in the interim be responsible to the Board of Directors of the Conference. The Task Force will work with the Church and Community Committee when joint action is desired. The assignment of the Task Force shall be:

- (a) To develop criteria for confronting and eliminating our complicity in racism in Southern Africa that results from ownership of stock in companies whose business supports white government domination and oppression of black Africans. Stock held by Conference endowment funds and the Congregational Fund shall be considered for examination.
- (b) To recommend that the trustees charged with supervising such stockholdings use their proxy power to support the efforts of groups challenging the policies of corporations doing business in Southern Africa. It is the intent of this resolution that the Task Force shall develop recommendations concerning the use of proxy power and it is the further intent that the Board of Directors shall urge the

trustees of the Funds, and any other funds acting as endowments, to follow such recommendations as the Board of Directors present.

- (c) To investigate broadening the use of restricted endowment funds in order to rechannel some of them into African Liberation movements.
- (d) To recommend to the next annual meeting additional forms of action challenging corporations doing business in Southern Africa, such as sponsoring resolutions at stockholders' meetings, or divestiture of the offending stock and reinvestment in more socially responsible companies.
- (e) To educate local church members on the nature of American political and economic support of white dominated regimes in Africa, and encourage them to examine the stock held by their own churches.

ACTION TAKEN: VOTED

- (2) The Conference will secure funds earmarked for the World Council of Churches Fund to Combat Racism, in order to aid the movements for liberation of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, by directing that 5% of OCWM receipts be sent through the Board of World Ministries to the World Council of Churches. In addition, the Board of Directors of the Conference and the new Task Force shall create a special fund to raise additional money through individual giving directed for the Fund to Combat Racism.

ACTION TAKEN: REFERRED TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- (3) Recommend that a programmed budget item for the use of the Task Force be included in the Conference budget at the fall meeting to pay for the necessary expenses of the Task Force. ACTION TAKEN: VOTED

- (4) We unite with the members of the Ohio Conference in encouraging the boycott of the use of all Gulf Oil Company products until the company withdraws its heavy investment in Southern Africa white domination.

ACTION TAKEN: DEFEATED 270-241



S O U R C E S

The Anatomy of Apartheid. United Nations Office of Public Information, New York.

Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans. United Nations Association of the United States of America, 833 UN Plaza, New York, New York, 1971.

War on Three Fronts. The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, and the Africa Research Group, 531 Caledonian Road, London, England.

Angola Committee, Da Costastraat 88, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Notes and documents from the Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations, New York.

Women Under Apartheid, No. 9/71

Basic Facts on the Republic of South Africa and the Policy of Apartheid, No. 5/72.

World Council of Churches, Programme to Combat Racism, Geneva, Switzerland.

A Profile of Frelimo, November, 1970

A Profile of PAIGC, December 1970

Namibia (South West Africa), September, 1971

Our Dream has the Size of Freedom. The Committee for a Free Mozambique, 616 West 116th Street, New York, New York.

Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa, 1609 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. "Proxy Statement for General Motors, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., and Gulf Oil Corporation," March 14, 1972.

Center Survey for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C.

Portugal and her Colonies, Part I. Vol. I, No. 4, February, 1972.

Portugal and her Colonies, Part II. Vol. I, No. 5, March, 1972.

Rhodesia: White Supremacy. Vol. I, No. 7, April, 1972

Resistance to Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, Vol. I, No. 8, April, 1972.

Race to Power. Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Luthuli, Albert. Let My People Go. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Davidson, Basil. Africa: History of a Continent. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966.

Cole, Ernest. House of Bondage. New York: Random House, 1967.

*Copyright Clearance Center*, Inc., 27 Congress St., Salem, MA 01970  
 Copyright © 1986 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

© 2004 by International Brotherhood of Bookbinders

me to you saying, let my people go, that

they may serve me in one way or another, and

World Council of Churches, Division for Church Unity, Geneva, Switzerland

Exodus 7:16