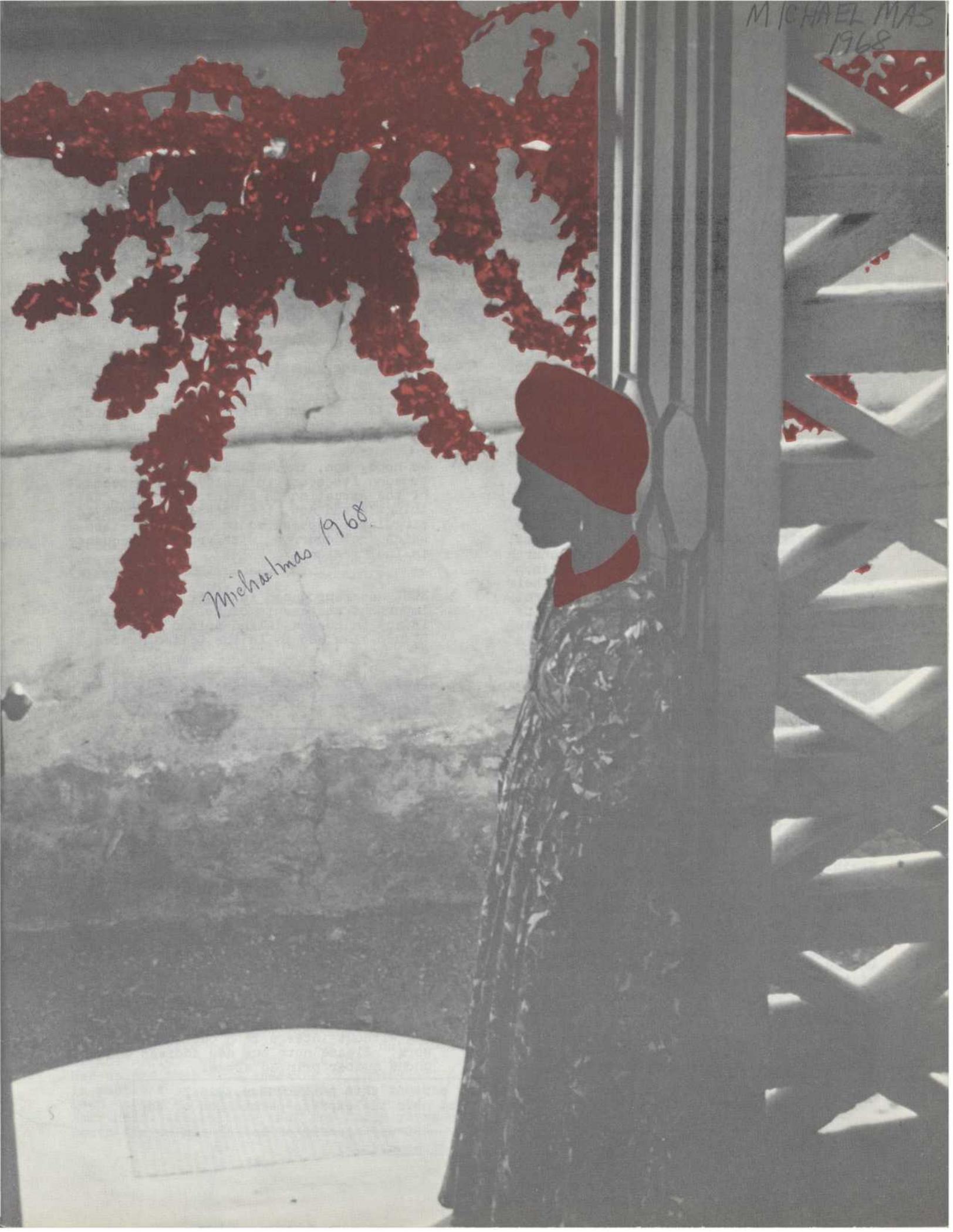


MICHAEL MAS
1968

Michaelmas 1968



EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

14 West 11th Street • New York, N. Y. 10011 • Phone: (212) 477-0066

An organization of Episcopal laypeople founded in 1956 to support the work and witness of the Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa, particularly as it faces the doctrine and practice of apartheid.

Michaelmas 1968

"An act of defiance of the world community, an interference in the life and work of the Christian Church and an offense against the consciences of free men everywhere."

This is the American message to the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the issue of the termination of a permit for Bishop Robert Mize.

ECSA's nation-wide petition campaign resulted in 4300 Episcopalians and their friends signing their names to the protest. Parish clergy, laypeople, members of church organizations, people outside the Church, a few bishops, joined in making known their condemnation of this act by the government of South Africa. The petitions were shipped directly by air freight to South African Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster in Pretoria.

Americans took part in other aspects of the ECSA program by writing and wiring their congressmen and senators, the U.S. Ambassador at the United Nations, the State Department and the South African Ambassador in Washington. We are very grateful to all of you who took part. Your efforts did not go unmarked.

ECSA's executive members spoke with representatives of the U. S. government at the United Nations and with various people attached to the U.N. A Day of Prayer for Namibia on June 23 was widely observed. On June 12, ECSA and friends celebrated our birthday by participating in the Eucharist at the Chapel of Christ the Lord at the Episcopal Church Center in New York City and then marching a block down the avenue to picket the South African Mission to the United Nations in a driving rain. The doors of the Mission were locked and officials refused to see an ECSA delegation.

The Episcopal Church's Executive Council has set up a Committee on Investments in Southern Africa to try once more to tackle

the nagging question of the Church's inherent support of racialism through financial involvement. We trust the new group will face the issue more squarely than did the recent Creighton Commission, the report of which has never been made public.

We hope, too, that the new committee will broaden its scope to include all aspects of the situation in Southern Africa. As things stand now, the Episcopal Church is singularly unprepared to meet the crises which are occurring with greater frequency in that region.

ECSA has reproduced in their entirety the important statements of Mr. Ja Toivo who is now in Robben Island prison and of Bishop Mize who is in the United States.

You can obtain these from the ECSA office. Please send 10¢ for each copy desired in order to cover costs of preparing and mailing.

ECSA has moved from All Saints Church after 8 happy and congenial years there. All Saints is reducing the size of its occupancy and there was no space for us.

We are grateful beyond words for the kindness and hospitality shown us by all at this active parish in the center of New York City. Our deep thanks to the Rector, the vestry, the staff and the members of the congregation.

We start our 13th year in new quarters provided by the Rector and vestry of the Church of the Ascension.

We are happily settled in, and appreciate the warm welcome we have been given here, a welcome which makes possible our sustaining without interruption our ever-mounting work. Please note our new address and telephone number printed above.

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LOSE UP



NAMIBIA

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE BISHOP

ROBERT HERBERT MIZE, JR., American-born Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, was ordered to leave Namibia (South West Africa) by the

Government of the Republic of South Africa. Following are excerpts from the bishop's farewell sermon in Cape Town:

CHRISTIAN LOVE IS SO SEARCHING, SO DEMANDING AND SO REVOLUTIONARY IN ITS FORCE THAT IT HAS NO KIND OF RELATIONSHIP TO THE THING WHICH IS SO OFTEN CALLED BY ITS NAME. -TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR

THE PRISONER

TOIVO HERMAN JA TOIVO, Anglican layman and officer in the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), was sentenced to a 20-year prison term by a Republic of South Africa court under terms of the Republic's Terrorism Act. He is now in the Robben Island prison. Following are excerpts from his plea before the court:

"You, my Lord, decided that you had the right to try us, because your Parliament gave you that right. That ruling has not and could not have changed our feelings. We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future recognize your right to govern us: to make laws for us in which we had no say; to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters. We have always regarded South Africa as an intruder in our country.

"...The South African Government has again shown its strength by detaining us for as long as it pleased; keeping some of us in solitary confinement for 300 to 400 days and bringing us to its capital to try us. It has shown its strength by passing an act especially for us and having it made retrospective. It has even chosen an ugly name to call us by. One's own are called patriots, or at least rebels; your opponents are called terrorists.

"...Your Government, my Lord, undertook a very special responsibility when it was awarded the Mandate over us after the First World War. It assumed a sacred trust to guide us towards independence and to prepare us to take our place among the nations of the world. We believe that South Africa has abused that trust because of its belief in racial supremacy (that white people have been chosen by God to rule the world) and Apartheid. We believe that for fifty years South Africa has failed to promote the de-

"...It is not bad goals that so often disrupt the world as bad methods of achieving the goals; and as Christians, we must point out that no matter how good the goal, any method which is not Christ-like in achieving the goal, any method which is a travesty on love for God and humanity, courts trouble ultimately, and disaster. It is far better not to achieve a good goal than to use un-Christlike methods in achieving the goal. Patience is a virtue.

"In the Second World War, the Danes treated the Germans as their unexpected guests, and hate was avoided. With an un-Christlike meeting of force with force, you might be able to achieve cutting off the head of a dragon, but as one head is lopped off, ten others appear.....

"... I have been asked by a group of Christian people in another country not to obey the Department of the Interior's injunction for me to leave my Diocese. The many members of this Christian organization have written to me to remain in Windhoek in civic disobedience to my adopted country and, in non-violence, to allow myself to be carried to the airport by the police, this to bring the world's spotlight upon the South African Government's action in separating a Bishop needlessly from his Diocese. I do not intend to follow any such method in spotlighting what I believe to be an unfairness and injustice to the Church. Would this type of non-violence reflect love for the country which has been my home for nine years? Would it bring greater love and understanding between its various peoples, between Whites and Africans or would it only increase, not only the bitterness of the world towards South Africa, but also between its races? NON-VIOLENCE that forces hatred and misunderstanding is not of CHRIST any more than super-imposed force is of Christ, super-imposed force, whether it be of an organized army, or of random guerrillas and terrorists. Both are of the same evil.

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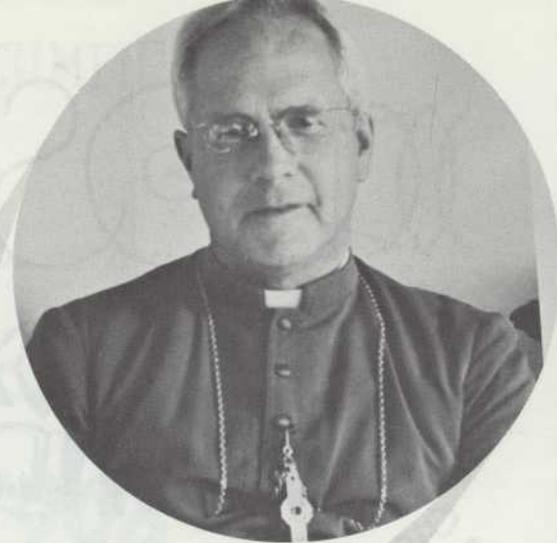
velopment of our people. Where are our trained men? The wealth of our country has been used to train your people for leadership and the sacred duty of preparing indigenous people to take their place among the nations of the world has been ignored.

"...I do not claim that it is easy for men of different races to live at peace with one another. I myself had no experience of this in my youth, and at first it surprised me that men of different races could live together in peace. But now I know it to be true and to be something for which we must strive. The South African Government creates hostility by separating people and emphasizing their differences. We believe that by living together people will learn to lose their fear of each other. We also believe that this fear which some of the whites have of Africans is based on their desire to be superior and privileged and that when whites see themselves as part of South West Africa, sharing with us all its hopes and troubles, then that fear will disappear. Separation is said to be a natural process. But why, then, is it imposed by force, and why then is it that whites have the superiority?

"...There are some who will say that they are sympathetic with our cause, but unwilling to condone violence. I would answer that I am not by nature a man of violence and I believe that violence is a sin against God and my fellow men. SWAPO itself was a non-violent organization, but the South African Government is not truly interested in whether opposition is violent or non-violent. It does not wish to hear any opposition to Apartheid.....We have found ourselves voteless in our own country and deprived of the right to meet and state our own political opinions.

"Is it surprising that in such times my countrymen have taken up arms? Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country.

"...We are not looking forward to our imprisonment. We do not, however, feel that our efforts and sacrifice have been wasted. We believe that human suffering has its effect even on those who impose it. We hope that what has happened will persuade the whites of South Africa that we and the world may be right and they may be wrong."



"...Love must often be expressed in what appears to be defeat - just as in the case of Our Lord, crucified upon the Cross. He accepted non-violence as a way of loss, absorbing evil without transmitting it and hitting back. He chose the Cross because it was the only way left for him to express his love for all mankind, even for those who were crucifying him.... Don't run away from areas of hatred and darkness if you want to reveal God's love.

"Now there is a second ingredient in the method of Christ in addition to love. It is fearlessness in witnessing to truth. All this accepting and absorbing of injury is nonsense if one does not make articulate what one's position is. We must make known evil as evil, not as something that is being condoned. If we want the evils within our country to be corrected, we must say what they are....For a South West African as myself to ask an outside foreign agency, such as the U.N.O. to intervene is wrong. It is not the way of love; for even if the goal were achieved and an outside agency was to bring an enforced equalization of races in South West Africa, nothing in the name of Christ could be achieved without the enhancing of love between all peoples within the country. This enhancing of love can only be done from within the country.

"...South Africans, be they black or white or in-between, if they are allowed to observe without interruption or fear of condemnation by other nations, these Christian South Africans will begin to know and understand their fellow citizens of other races, to appreciate each other's company, and to love each other as fellow members of one family, and of the greater Supernatural Nation - the Body of Christ."



What about
APARTHEID
POLITICAL
PRISONERS?

I DON'T THINK I SHOULD FIND IT TOO HARD TO FORGIVE A PERSON OR EVEN TO LOVE HIM, IF HIS ACTIONS WERE DIRECTED AGAINST ME. BUT WHAT RIGHT HAVE I TO BE PATIENT AND FORGIVING WHEN ALL HIS VICIOUSNESS IS DIRECTED AGAINST OTHERS? I'M NOT SUFFERING UNJUSTLY; THEY ARE. I'M NOT SEGREGATED AS IF I WERE LEPROUS; THEY ARE. I DON'T HAVE TO LIVE IN A SHANTY-TOWN BECAUSE NOBODY CARES A DAMN WHERE I LIVE; THEY DO. IT SEEMS TO ME TOO EASY TO BE PATIENT AND CHARITABLE - NINETY PER CENT OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS CAN BE JUST THAT - AT THE EXPENSE OF INJUSTICE AND CRUELTY TO SOMEONE ELSE. - TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR

A CHRONOLOGY OF NAMIBIA

- 25 JAN 68 - Bishop Mize advised by South African Department of the Interior his permit expires 26 JULY 68
- 8 FEB 68 - 30 Namibians sentenced under South Africa's Terrorism Act.
- 2 MAY 68 - Bishop Mize issues pastoral letter on termination of his permit.
- 6 JUNE 68 - Windhoek City Council requests end of Old Location.
- 8 JUNE 68 - Chief-designate Kapuuo writes U.N.
- 16 JUNE 68- South African Minister of Bantu Development's formal notice of demolition of Old Location published.
- 23 JUNE 68- Bishop Mize visits Ovamboland.
- 30 JUNE 68- Bishop Mize gives farewell sermon in Cape Town.
- week of 1 - Bishop Mize leaves
JULY 68 South Africa.
- 24 JULY 68- Chief Kapuuo speaks by phone with U.N.
- 26 JULY 68- Bishop Mize's permit expires.
- 19 AUG 68 - Chief Kapuuo speaks by phone with U.N.
- 28 AUG 68 - Old Location meeting; most people leaving.
- 1 SEPT 68 - Old Location now officially closed.



DEATH of an AFRICAN COMMUNITY

South African Imperialism claims another victim

The 8,000 African men, women and children of the Old Location at Windhoek, capital of Namibia (South West Africa), are being forcibly removed from their homes by decree of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

This is the latest uprooting of non-white people in obedience to the policy of apartheid.

Clements Kapuuo, Chief-designate of the Herero people, by letter, cable and transatlantic telephone notified the United Nations of the situation and pled for an urgent meeting of the Security Council. The matter was referred to the Council for Namibia and brought to the attention of the Security Council.

The international territory of Namibia, until recently called South West Africa, is a mandate of the United Nations. The U.N. in 1966, by an overwhelming vote in the General Assembly - in which the United States of America concurred, stripped the Republic of South Africa of legal authority in the territory. But South Africa maintains de facto control over Namibia and continues to work toward annexation of the territory in defiance of the U.N.

Pressures of every conceivable kind have been used to force the people to move. As of September 1, 1968, it is an offense for Africans to live in the Old Location. Men remaining there may not be employed. African women - the cooks, housekeepers and laundresses of Windhoek's white homes - and boys are not affected.

Health and educational services and the water supply are being cut off. Bribes in the form of compensation for homes vacated before the deadline were offered. There has been a steady barrage of official pronouncements and statements in the white press and over the government-controlled radio. Police activity noticeably increased.

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The South African government protests that its removal of the inhabitants of the Old Location is "rehousing.....essential from a humanitarian point of view". South Africa claims the residents could not have been accommodated by renovating the Old Location, and for that reason built a new township three and a half miles outside of Windhoek, replete with modern homes and civic amenities. The Africans in large numbers refused to move to this settlement which they named "Katutura", or, "we have no place of our own".

The underlying fact behind the government's latest move is that the Old Location, which has existed for years, is too near to Windhoek and white homes have spread up to its borders. This violates a tenet of apartheid laid down by former South African Prime Minister Verwoerd that there be a "buffer strip of at least 500 yards" where "no development at all is allowed...between the Native residential area and that of any other racial group".

The Old Location, far from being the "slum" which white residents of Windhoek consider it to be, is a tightly-knit community with a strong sense of identity very much like that of Sophiatown in Johannesburg about which Bishop Huddleston writes in NAUGHT FOR YOUR COMFORT. Sophiatown was wiped out by the South African government in the late 1950's, and the area is now a white suburb called Triomf - Triumph.

The Old Location consists of several hill-sides of homes constructed of tin and corrugated iron with some of masonry. Streets are unpaved, rocky and pot-holed. Scraggly trees are scattered about, and public water taps occur at intervals. The people of the Old Location have repeatedly been denied improvements in their community and refused permits to repair homes, schools and other buildings on the city-owned land.

Members of the Ovambo, Damara, Nama, Herero and other of the territory's tribes live together in the Old Location in harmony. For 10 years these people have clung to their homes on the edge of the white city and have resisted constant blandishments and threats upon them to move. The first attempt by the government to do away with the Old Location in 1959 resulted in an African boycott of municipal services and culminated in South African Defense Forces firing on demonstrators, killing 11 and wounding 44.



Kaiserstrasse in the heart of Windhoek

A joint memorandum to the United Nations by Chief Hosea Kutako of the Hereros, the Ovamboland Peoples' Organization (now the South West Africa Peoples' Organization), and the South West Africa National Union pointed out that opposition to the move to Katutura was based on three principles. They were: relation of the move to the policy of apartheid; strict regulations applying to residents in Katutura; and the vastly increased expenses in the form of rentals and bus fares for residents of the new location.

The South African government concluded that the resistance was instigated by people in New York.

Now, by September 1, most people of the Old Location had yielded to the enormous pressures upon them and had moved. Bulldozers followed to destroy their homes and level the ground. Chief Kapuuo announced on August 28, according to a report in the white-controlled Windhoek ADVERTISER, that he was moving to Katutura. Opposition to his action was pronounced, with some people asserting they would remain to face what further moves authorities might make.

The Old Location has been in symbol and in fact an assertion of Namibian resistance to South Africa's illegal occupation of a foreign country. And the Old Location has stood squarely in the way of apartheid and white supremacy.

The people of the Old Location, virtually without white friends inside and all but cut off from friends in the world outside, have called for help. Years of pleading to the world through the United Nations have brought only frustration and despair to the over half million black people of Namibia who are under the domination of some 90,000 whites backed by the might of the South African Republic.

We urge you to support these Namibians. Please write the American Ambassador at the United Nations, asking him to support a meeting of the Security Council to consider the instance of the Old Location and the entire present condition of Namibia. Write:

Ambassador George W. Ball
United States Mission to the U.N.
799 U.N. Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

Justice South African Style:

An Observer's Impressions

by RICHARD A. FALK

Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice, Princeton University

—from an address given at a meeting of the Episcopal Churchmen
for South Africa in New York City, April 17, 1968.

I went to Pretoria as an official observer for the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) which is a Geneva body concerned with the observance of the rule of law throughout the world. It is an organization which has done good work within recent years in reporting and disseminating reports on gross kinds of injustices that have arisen from failures to treat individuals fairly in various societies and failures to treat groups fairly in other societies. The ICJ has been particularly emphatic about conditions of racial oppression in Southern Africa and has put out several widely distributed informative reports in the last two or three years.

I was somewhat surprised to be granted a visa as an observer at the Terrorist Trial. I had previously acted as one of the lawyers for Ethiopia and Liberia in the South West Africa cases argued in 1965 before the International Court of Justice at the Hague. I had also written critically of South African policies and supportively of efforts to do something about them. My efforts may have been sufficiently insignificant and unnoticed so as not to encumber my application for a visa.

I had earlier experienced a great deal of difficulty when I had been asked by the defense in the Terrorist Trial to be a witness on the issue of whether South Africa had legal competence to prosecute South West Africans in a South African court for the commission of allegedly terroristic acts. The South African Government did not turn down my application for a visa for this purpose but it did delay acting on it until the issue on which I was to testify had been already determined. The South African Government pretty obviously chose to delay action to avoid having to issue a denial of the visa application. I mention this item of autobiography to suggest how complex it is for outside observers to get into South Africa.

It's hard to grasp the significance of the Terrorist Trial without a little sense of the context within which a trial of this sort took place. Possibly the most obvious element was the fact that the trial was held in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa, rather than in Windhoek, South West Africa. The purpose of these terrorist trials (the one I observed is likely to be the first of a series: a second has already been announced) is to dramatize the dangers that presently exist for the security of the South African state.

These dangers assume greater saliency by holding the trial in Pretoria, capital of the Republic of South Africa, where front page publicity was received every day. Such an atmosphere puts pressure on officials of the Government who are less than fully committed to the drift toward dictatorship that is taking place in South Africa.

I regard the real political importance of these terrorist trials in South Africa to be the part they play in hastening the drift toward dictatorial control by the Pretoria regime over the white community. The Government is intent evidently to deal now with its white problem more than with its black problem, which it feels it already controls. One interesting experience in South Africa was to talk with some fairly prominent Nationalists active in the ruling Nationalist Party. They feel that it is necessary to create a war psychology in South Africa so that the Government is in a position to have recourse to a state of emergency justifying abridgement of normal freedoms.

The people in charge of the South African Government are quite clearly aware of the drift toward dictatorship. One very brilliant young Nationalist, with whom I spoke

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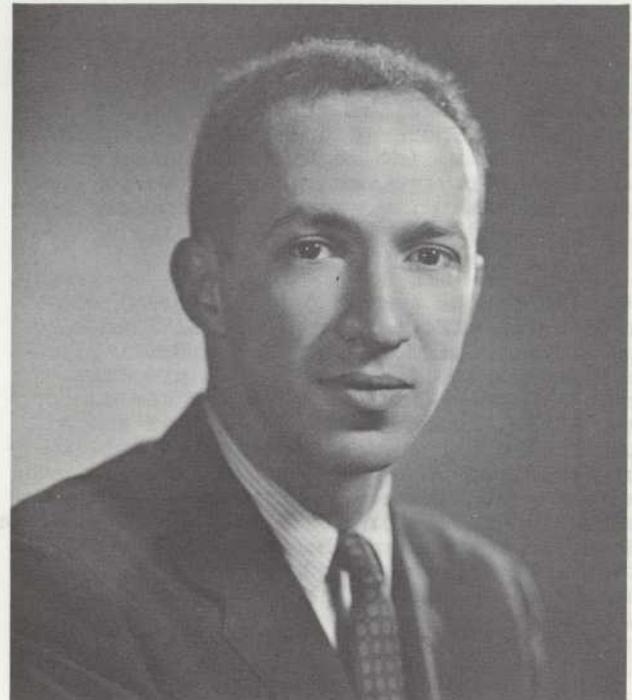


Photo by Orren Jack Turner

in Johannesburg, emphasized that there is no ideology in the leading circles of South African Government. This forceful and articulate young man went on to say (he was reportedly one of Vorster's favorite people in the whole country), that if Prime Minister Vorster could be sure that no one would attribute views to him then he, too, would affirm the absence of racist ideology.

Primarily a White Problem

Vorster is said to believe in the necessity for a transition to a dictatorship over the white community so as to impose an economically unpalatable solution on the white population. South Africa, in Vorster's terms, at this point has primarily a white problem, not a black problem. And the problem is amongst the Afrikaners, not the silent English-speaking liberal opposition. The liberals feel guilty because they are accomplices of the system and at the same time are helpless to oppose it. They are appalled by the moral impact of the system on their daily lives, on how they bring up their children, and so on.

One of the surprising things about South Africa for a new visitor is that at the present time, for the white community, there is a reasonably high degree of freedom of speech. The newspapers are highly critical of apartheid policies on a day to day basis. The press seems rather uninhibited about criticizing the Government. I doubt that this freedom can endure for any appreciable time. There are already signs of its erosion; for instance, Laurence Gandar, Editor of the RAND DAILY MAIL, is under indictment because his newspaper exposed torture in the prisons.

Part of what the Terrorist Trials are doing is to build up the political basis for taking additional steps to repress any form of opposition. Only the most symbolic gestures of dissent and opposition are continuing in the white community. Even these symbolic gestures are declining in magnitude and frequency. There is much less opposition to the Nationalist regime today than there was two years ago, and less two years ago than there was four years ago, and so on.

The Special Branch

Related to the growth of dictatorial control is an effort by the Special Branch, or secret police force, of the South African Government, to attain much greater relative power within the governmental structure. These terrorist trials and all the political security trials are public pageants put on by the Special Branch to enhance their own national prestige. There were significant indications that it was the Special Branch, not the attorney general, that selected the time and place of prosecution and chose which of the detainees should be made to stand trial. Leading officers of the Special Branch were much in evidence in the court itself.

One of the characteristics of a society moving towards totalitarianism is to increase the relative role of the secret police. One of the ways the secret police increases its role is through publicly dramatized trials of great political significance and symbolism. One has only to think of the use made of these kinds of public trials in the Soviet Union and even in Cuba in recent years to have some appreciation of the way in which security trials may be used by regimes that are trying to move toward totalitarianism.

Another general impression, which is part of the background of my experience of the Terrorist Trial itself, was that I found the racial conditions in South Africa far worse than I had anticipated, despite the fact that I had been for many years a convinced opponent of the regime and its racial policies. The experience that was more profound for me in a sense than my role as an observer at the court itself was the opportunity I had to see the conditions under which Africans are compelled to live. I went to several African townships, talked with as many Africans as possible.

The Politics of Demoralization

I had not appreciated before just how systematic the racial conditions in South Africa are and how the politics of demoralization involved in apartheid affect the life of each individual African from the moment of birth. It's a situation which you have to see and existentially experience to grasp in its full gravity and extremity. A condition of humiliation and demoralization is imposed on the African community, and imposed not so much for racist reasons as for purposes of power and domination.

One of the things I was very struck by in talking with Nationalists, rather than with liberals, was the relative absence of ideology in the mentality of intelligent people in South Africa. They think in terms of ethnic ratios; there are four Africans for every white person, making for a Darwinian survival struggle. Under these circumstances the only way the privileged white groups can hold their land and their wealth is by imposing the most rigid structure of domination possible - a structure not only physical and socio-economic but psychological and psycho-political. Above all the repressive policies are designed to prevent any crystallization of opposition.

A New Yorker by birth, RICHARD A. FALK is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and holds an LL.B. from Yale Law School and a J.S.D. from Harvard Law School. He is widely published in the fields of world order, international law, nuclear problems, the United Nations, and peace. His books include: LAW, MORALITY AND WAR IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD; THE STRATEGY OF WORLD ORDER; VIETNAM WAR AND INTERNATIONAL LAW; LEGAL ORDER IN A VIOLENT WORLD; and INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATION: An Introductory Reader. In June Professor Falk visited Hanoi and is co-sponsor with three other Princeton academics of a plan for neutralization of South Vietnam.

The whole governmental structure is set up to prevent a reoccurrence of Sharpeville. The South African Government learned a lesson at Sharpeville in 1960. They learned that there is an enormous latent opposition to white rule throughout the whole African community. Any crystallization of that opposition through political action, even of the most mild sort, is potentially revolutionary. The Government perception is correct. South Africa is a latent revolutionary situation, needing only a fuse to be lit at the right moment and place. Any act, even a muted act, by an African that involves political action is interpreted as an offense against the state.

I spoke to an African who was organizing a group of friends to discuss poetry once a week and I was told that they really could not meet legally because any meeting of over a certain number of people was treated automatically as a political event. It is true, conditions are so oppressive that any group of intelligent people is political as its members are so alienated from the system that they share an obsessive concern about doing something to change it. The only way the Government has found to cope with this situation is to impose its very rigid, very cruel structure of domination.

One expression of this structure is toleration of crime in the African township communities. These townships are enormous and very depressing. They are like open concentration camps. After dark they become enclosures of terror. The inhabitants cannot walk around their own neighborhoods. People really cannot leave their homes; the townships are inadequately lighted and policed. The effect of this condition is to impose a virtual curfew upon all Africans except those who belong to criminal gangs and which enjoy some freedom. Naturally, the African crime rate is very high.

A second element in the pattern is the reliance upon unarmed black police to carry out the really dirty work of the regime. The use of black police disrupts racial solidarity among the Africans. It is noteworthy that the highest paid job open to an African in South Africa is employment as an unarmed policeman for the Government. It is very striking for a visitor to see unarmed African police walking next to armed white police.

A third element is to enforce the so-called "Bantu Laws" (the pass laws, the trespass laws and other regulations applied only to the African community) through mass arrests typically conducted between midnight and four in the morning. An area of a township is cordoned off and police enter the homes of everyone living within that area and carry off in huge police vans to the Bantu Commission Court all those who are in violation of these laws.

I did not appreciate beforehand that these Bantu Laws are of such a character that only a relatively small percentage of the African population is in a position to comply with them at any particular time.

These laws are of such complexity that someone with legal training could not easily understand the requirements of compliance. The notion that an ordinary uneducated African could possibly have any sense of what was required of him or how to deal with these laws is absurd. These laws are real Kafka instruments of bureaucratic terror - a very complex set of regulations having nothing to do with whatever functional policies are claimed to be served by these laws is imposed upon the African community.

As a consequence a high proportion of Africans are constantly in violation of these laws and subject to instantaneous arrest. The result of this situation is to create among the African community hardly any distinction between being a criminal or being a non-criminal. The whole of the African community has both the sensibility and the temperament of a criminal class. For an African it is only a difference of small degree between being in prison or to be so-called "free" in South Africa. There arises as a consequence a very different psychology, an attitude of indifference toward one's fate, among the Africans.

One of the main criminal trades in South Africa is stealing people's reference or pass books and selling them to others at a high price. Those who do care about conforming to the regulations, at least in a minimal way of carrying a pass book, are constantly in jeopardy because this book is such a valuable item. To get another pass book is an incredible, maybe impossible, task. It is impossible for a lot of Africans because if the place where you were born doesn't any longer have the records needed originally to issue the pass book, then the commissioner doesn't have the power to issue it, and an individual may never be able to get it. The entire structure in South Africa is conditioned by a highly oppressive bureaucratic superstructure that leaves very little room for any kind of decent existence for Africans.

An Enormous Yard Like a Zoo

I visited a Bantu Commission Court. A white person is allowed to look through the whole prison area in search of his particular black servant who may be among the people arrested for violation of one or other of the Bantu Laws. In the Fordsburg court there is an enormous yard like a zoo in which the police put hordes of Africans brought there in vans to await trial before the Bantu Commissioner. There is no protection from the sun and when I was there it was mid-summer in South Africa and extremely hot. The prisoners were kept in the yard for extremely long times. Their average time before the Bantu Commissioner is a few seconds, long enough to plead guilty or not guilty. A plea of not guilty results in automatic remand to jail for two weeks which is longer than the time that someone would normally serve if convicted of the offense. These Bantu Commission Courts are a gross mockery of justice, in fact so gross as to be frightening. The ritual of a court is used to implement a

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very crude form of oppressive and institutionalized terror. This terror is expressive of apartheid as a system of race relations as it imposes itself in the everyday life of Africans in South Africa.

I think this wider South African setting bears on the whole understanding of so-called "terrorism" in South Africa and South West Africa. The conditions of apartheid in South West Africa are evidently somewhat worse than in South Africa. The economic conditions in the former Mandate are somewhat more depressed. The trial I observed was based on the Terrorism Act of 1967 which was an extreme item of retroactive legislation passed by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa after these defendants had been apprehended. The Terrorism Act includes provisions for unlimited detention of anyone suspected of the crime or having information about the crime. These South West Africans had been held for periods of months, some for over a year, in solitary confinement in prison without their families being notified and without being given access to lawyers or anyone else.

It was widely accepted common knowledge that torture was practiced in relation to these defendants during the period of their imprisonment. I talked with several Africans in South Africa who had been tortured at different times previously when they had been in prison. One of the shocking things about the South African style of justice is that it would be contrary to the interests of the defendants to complain that torture had been inflicted. Such a complaint might be expected to inflame the judge and produce harsher sentences at the end of the trial for the defendants. In the trial I attended the lawyers for the defense felt unable to bring this issue of torture up even though they had very firm indications and evidence really of the torture, including physical manifestations of torture and the willingness of the defendants themselves to testify that they had been tortured.

Toivo's Statement

A less inflaming act than testifying about torture was the statement delivered in court by Toivo Herman ja Toivo, one of the defendants. Toivo delivered a very forthright statement describing his own motivations in joining with the other defendants in opposing the Government in South West Africa. Even though this statement disclosed only moderate participation in the guerrilla effort and a restrained view of the effort to overthrow the South African regime by violent means, it was generally recognized that his sentence would have been five to ten years less had he not made this statement in court. Toivo knew this. It was a wonderful, persuasive statement, delivered with great control and dignity and power. Aware of the imprudence of the statement, Toivo wanted to make it because he had been one of those who had been broken down by the experience of torture in jail and had made a long statement of con-

fession including things that he never even had done. The prosecution had problems of "over-confessions" received from the prisoners as a result of torture. Toivo evidently wanted to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of others in the defense. Almost all the defendants were broken during their period in jail. I think that each defendant gave prison statements in support of the prosecution's case.

When examining the trial one has to recognize three important background facts. The first is that the whole quality of social and political injustice in South West Africa includes no possibility of inducing peaceful change, no possibility of challenging the present system by peaceful means. No political opposition is tolerated. Everything done to oppose apartheid is characterized as communism. One of the interesting aspects of the South African white mentality and society is that communism and the Suppression of Communism Act refers to race relations having little to do with political ideology.

Worry About the United States

This emphasis on the communist character of dissent is partly for American consumption. There is the feeling among brighter Nationalist leaders that anything done in the name of anti-communism will not be regarded as truly bad and that the United States will moderate its criticism of and reaction to any policies carried out under the banner of anti-communism.

The South African Nationalists are worried about the United States more than we have any credible basis to believe they should be. Part of the irrationality of the South African white community reveals itself in the belief that the United States is more serious about South Africa than in fact it is. It is an irrationality of perception that is quite important to take into account in planning for intelligent pressure against the South African Government.

Part of the reasoning that underlies this South African perception is the feeling that the American urban Negro vote manipulates the United States Government through its control of the domestic political process and, furthermore, that the American Negro community is deeply concerned about the liberation of black Southern Africa. This kind of perception reinforces the South African view that the United States really might - if it wasn't tied up in Vietnam, for which they are grateful - intervene militarily in South African affairs. South African supporters of the regime are surprisingly and uniformly intimidated by this virtually non-existent prospect.

These background facts condition the whole experience of the trial. The nature of apartheid as a system gives opponents no alternative but violent challenge. Secondly, the statutory standards are so sweeping as to deny a defense for anyone the Government is seriously interested in convicting. The statute contains a broad definition of what constitutes terrorism

and gives the State great latitude in gathering evidence and confessions.

Thirdly, there is the fact of the prison experience. People are not brought to trial until they have already confessed the crime for which they are accused. There are presently another 150 to 200 Africans in prison awaiting trial at some time that suits the convenience of the Government, without any obligation being felt by the Government to either release them or bring them to trial. The choice of defendants is apparently based on how they react to the period of prison confinement. The real trial and the real criminal conviction occurs within the prison. The public trial itself has to be thought of as a nominal appeal from a prison conviction.

The terrorist trial itself is extraordinarily artificial. The trial is a sequence of legal forms that culminate in reaching a predetermined result that can be varied only slightly by what happens in the court. The defense may lighten the penalty if it sufficiently appeases the judge. There is a kind of gentlemen's accommodation reached whereby some of the defendants are given somewhat lighter sentences, and, as in this case, two were even acquitted. But it is essentially a morality play - in this instance, morality without morals - for the South African population.

Mr. Justice Ludorf

It was a strange experience to talk with the judge. Mr. Justice Ludorf invited me to join him during a tea break in the trial proceedings. Justice Ludorf earned his reputation in South Africa as a leading defense lawyer for Nazi sympathizers and agitators active in South Africa during World War II. He told me that he understood how difficult it was to defend unpopular clients because of this experience of his own. Justice Ludorf is a very trusted Nationalist political figure. He asked me to give my impressions of South African Court procedure and whether I thought that South African trials were conducted more or less fairly than comparable American trials. Justice Ludorf was eager to discuss South African rules of evidence and their relation to certain aspects of Irish procedure. The entire conversation was carried on within a framework of accepting the unchallengeable premises of government that exist in South Africa, the major premise of apartheid and the minor premises of the legitimacy of the terrorist statute and of South African administration of South West Africa.

One of the things that an outsider like myself felt disorienting was the acceptance by the defense lawyers of these premises. Their argument developed within the context set by official South African policy. Defense counsel had no effective alternative, considering their own best interests and the best interests of the defendants. These defense lawyers were very competent and were among the leading members of the South African bar. Several members of the defense team were appalled by the system

and by its application to these South West Africans. They had built up a considerable personal affection for their clients, the defendants.

My impression of these defendants was that they were an outstanding group of people. They were men of gentleness and dignity. Most of them lacked formal education but many had received considerable informal education, evidently under church and other private auspices. These defendants were much more informed and sensitive than their educational profiles would suggest. It is tragic for South West Africa, that these men, who represented a fair percentage of the African elite of South West Africa, should be permanently withdrawn from the society.

The atmosphere of the trial reflected the overall context of race relations in South Africa. The prisoners were brought to court from Pretoria jail each day and delivered by truck to a kind of cage placed in the courtyard outside the prison. It was like an animal cage and these men were stuffed into it and then led through a gantlet of trained dogs held by armed police. These dogs had been trained to regard Africans as their enemies and whites as their friends - apartheid dogs.

A Gantlet of Barking Dogs

The defendants were forced to walk this gantlet of barking dogs and young South African white policemen holding Sten guns each morning through the course of several months of trial. I was told that the prisoners, especially in the early stages of the trial, were absolutely terror-stricken by this daily experience. There was no conceivable security excuse for subjecting the defendants to this intimidation. The court area was crowded with police; there was no place for prisoners to go in the midst of white Pretoria, no possibility of any kind of escape. In fact the courtyard was completely enclosed by stone walls.

The men were led into the court, a converted synagogue in the center of the capital city of Pretoria. Each defendant was given a number to wear while he was sitting in the court. The lawyers for prosecution and defense, as well as the judge, never referred to the defendants by name; always by number. This mode of address seemed part of the dehumanization of Africans within South African society.

The defense lawyers helped sustain the morale of the prisoners who felt themselves to be in a foreign enemy country, being prosecuted far from their homes in a country whose authority to prosecute them they did not recognize at all. Even the native languages of South Africa were very different from their own Ovambo tongue.

The results of this trial became known on February 8, 1968, when Mr. Justice Ludorf sentenced nineteen of the accused to life imprisonment, nine to twenty-year terms, and two to five-year terms under provisions of the Terrorism Act. Three others were found guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act and given five years in prison.

(continued on page 14)

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA
 CALLS YOU TO JOIN IN
 DAY OF PRAYER
 for
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
 SUNDAY
 JUNE 23, 1968

the undersigned, protest to you and your government
 permit for South West Africa for Bishop Robert H. Miz
 of defiance of the world community,



 the
 Episcopal Church
CONDEMNS
 the
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
 "attack on the life of
 Christian Church in
 Southern Africa."
 What about
TORTURE
 POLITICAL
 PRISONERS?

EVENSONG: 4 O'CLOCK
 CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE DIVINE
 110th Street, New York



Life, Liberty
 and the
 Pursuit of
 Happiness

"WE BELIEVE
 THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS
 ROBBED US OF
 OUR COUNTRY."
 — Toivo ja Toivo,
 NAMIBIAN LEADER
 Serving 20 years
 in South African



PRIME MINISTER
 BALHAZAR JOHANNES VORSTER
 What about
TORTURE
 POLITICAL
 PRISONERS?

for SOUTH WEST AFRICA

APARTHEID
imposed
 on **NAMIBIA**
 (SOUTH WEST AFRICA)
 by the **SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT**



TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR

We, the undersigned, protest to you and your government permit for South West Africa for defiance of the world community of the Christian Church and men everywhere.

CHAPEL of CHRIST the LORD
 Episcopal Church Center
 815 Second Avenue
 (corner 43rd Street)
 Holy Eucharist with intercession

We, the undersigned, protest to you and your government permit for South West Africa for defiance of the world community of the Christian Church and men everywhere.

WE ACCUSE
 the **REPUBLIC** of **SOUTH AFRICA**
TURBULATOR IN **NAMIBIA**
 (SOUTH WEST AFRICA)

Why has SOUTH AFRICA
AMERICAN PACIFIST BISHOP ROBERT MIZE
out of NAMIBIA?
(SOUTH WEST AFRICA)

PROTEST
 South Africa forfeits its right to continue to administer the territory of South West Africa
AMBASSADOR ARTHUR
 complicity with the African regime
EDWARD BROOKS

SOUTH AFRICA
 the **USURPER** in **NAMIBIA**
DEFIES the **UNITED NATIONS**

DEFIANCE of the United Nations, the lawful authority in the international territory of Namibia
VIOLATION of the original mandate of the League of Nations
EXPULSION without reason of Anglican Bishop Robert Mize from Namibia
FORBIDDING UN COUNCIL
 for Namibia from entering that

TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES
 We, the undersigned, protest to you and your government



June 1968

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
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ATTACKING THE
 of the Christian Church in Namibia

Their terms were suspended provided there was no repetition of political crimes. Of the original thirty-seven men charged in August, 1967, one died during the trial, another was ill and subsequently sentenced and two were acquitted.

Other than a few people from the diplomatic corps who came to the court from time to time, there was in addition to myself, another American observer, Dr. Arthur Larson who came on behalf of the World Council of Churches. I was known as an observer who was non-sympathetic to the Government's case, and a small story about my presence at the trial appeared in the RAND DAILY MAIL.

It is impossible to tell whether outside observers affect the decision of the court. There was great concern at the outset of the trial that these men would be sentenced to death. It is extremely difficult to get any sense of causation, why the Government people did what they did. It is not going to be made known and never will be. I think that some combination of United Nations pressure and the presence of outside observers had an effect of making South African authorities refrain from imposing the death sentence. I think that precisely because the United States has some leverage upon the South African Government the results of the trial were not even more serious than they were. The existence of this leverage is the last thing that a South African official would ever acknowledge. To acknowledge leverage would be to invite it.

I think it is important for people like myself to go to South Africa, if only to get a better sense of how the system operates. It is impossible to comprehend apartheid from books. It is necessary to be there in the existential situation to sense how bad the situation is and how radical any solution has to be to deal with the problems as they are. There are in the South African white community some people who are sympathetic with these defendants and understanding of the nature of their political movement. They are people in the university community and in the churches, as well as people in the arts, writers, painters and so on. But they feel intimidated and helpless. The people in the Black Sash and other well-known liberal movements are very confused. Their efforts are really directed at moderating the implementation of apartheid, opposing the last step taken by the Government, rather than challenging the system itself. The liberal opposition more or less accepts the framework of racial oppression within which opposition has to be carried on.

Another surprise for me was that the South African Government authorities were apparently prepared to go along with an adverse judgment of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa. The Government had evidently instructed their administrators to be prepared for a loss at the Court and to be ready to turn South West

Africa over to international administration within a period of five years. I met quite a number of people in South Africa, including people of very different political outlooks, who reported this in a fairly convincing way. This startling perception was shared by both apologists and opponents of the Government.

I put this discovery together with the fact that South African officialdom is more afraid of outside intervention than they have any valid reason to be, and as a consequence of this concern they are somewhat more prepared to reach accommodations than we think they are, at least on issues the Government might regard as peripheral. Whether South West Africa is regarded as peripheral is hard to say. I'm sure that giving up of control over South West Africa would have provoked a tremendous conflict within the white ruling groups of South Africa. Even a slight possibility of compliance makes the outcome in 1966 of the International Court decision even more distressing than it previously was. It makes the adventitious circumstances which led to that which produced an outcome favorable to the South African Government case one of the greatest historical misfortunes of recent times.

A Genuinely Revolutionary Situation

The situation in South Africa and South West Africa appears bleak. Those in control of the South African Government are very clearly aware of the challenge they face. It is in this spirit that we must understand that the whole of Government policy is aimed to prevent not just a revolution but even a prelude to revolution, such as the incident at Sharpeville. The whole of the strategy of the Government is to prevent Africans from gathering in politically meaningful ways. Any gathering, any organization, any coordination, any crystallization of Africans is necessarily animated by opposition sentiment. A Nationalist I talked with felt that this enterprise of his Government was doomed to failure. The Government could break down African organizations for some years, but eventually they would rise up more strongly. To repress was like cutting off the heads of a hydra. This Nationalist shared the interpretation of South Africa that I am making, that South Africa maintains an intolerable structure of domination which has evolved in reaction to the perception of a revolutionary situation. This awareness does not make the oppression any better; in fact, the realistic understanding accentuates the oppressiveness.

I think South African society is a genuinely revolutionary situation. A fairly small and well-coordinated diplomatic and political effort might have surprisingly significant results, which cannot be anticipated.

Let me close by saying what we here in the United States can do. I think, first of all, we must find resources for humanitarian purposes, to get money for the families of these men who have been tried and who will be tried in the future. Beyond this I think we should begin to gather resources for

political purposes, to try to promote social change from the outside.

I think also one might try to organize something like what has been supposedly done at Dartmouth College following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination: urging alumni who had any investments in South Africa to withdraw them and to reinvest them in black America. American bankers and industrialists may be reluctant to do this. South African authorities may say to those who threaten to withdraw funds to go ahead, it won't make any difference to them. But if this withdrawal was coordinated and done collectively as a political act it would have great domestic as well as international significance.

I think that the United States should appoint a first class ambassador to South Africa. We have at the present time ineffectual diplomatic representation in South Africa. This assessment confirms my impression that South Africa enjoys a very low priority in American foreign policy. Our official policy is not supportive of apartheid, but it's ineffectual.

In my judgment we should appoint a first class ambassador and a very strong diplomatic team. The ambassador does not necessarily have to be someone who is identified as an opponent of South African policies, but it does have to be someone who will make clear that Southern Africa has been given a high priority in American foreign policy.

The Liberatory Movements

I have another thought which applies to the general problem of dealing with Southern Africa. There should be an effort made to accord more diplomatic status for the liberation movements. This effort might be very threatening to South Africa, creating a gradually viable legitimate alternative to the constituted regimes. The African liberation movements are too shadowy at the present time to have any meaningful political identity in the United States.

During World War II governments in exile were created for the countries of Europe occupied by Axis powers. I believe that this is a useful precedent for Southern Africa. I believe that support for external counter-elites is the direction in which solutions lie, if they lie at all.

One needs to confront this course of action at the earliest possible moment and desirably before it becomes enmeshed with global politics. There is a very important possibility that the recognition for the liberation movements will be preempted by action taken by the Chinese or the Russians. Prior communist initiative would make it extremely difficult in an American context to do anything along these lines. If the United States and Europe did something at an early stage in support of liberation movements, then it would be much more likely to be a politically viable strategy.

South Africa is not interested in the United

Nations unless it feels what the U.N. says is strategically connected to South Africa's relationship to the United States. The mentality of the people in control in South Africa is shaped by considerations of power, much more than questions of ideology. Therefore, South African leaders are concerned with the United States because in their judgment the United States is the only country with the potential capability and will to inflict hurt upon them.

America and Southern Africa

Southern Africa is an extremely disturbing and probably represents a historically unique situation. Southern Africa is an issue that remains by and large remote from the American public. It still is hard to get its importance across to an American audience. But there are recent indications that there is a lot of latent interest in African problems around the country. It's a matter of making Southern Africa alive politically by finding the way to direct this latent interest toward specific ends.

I believe that domestic potential of these issues depends on connecting the plight of Southern Africa with a serious commitment to doing something solving our own racial problems in the United States.

What we do about American diplomatic and investment involvements in Southern Africa depends on the commitments of the President, the Secretary of State, the Congress, the whole context of government, and these commitments are shaped by the effective hierarchy of domestic political forces.

APPEAL BY 31 NAMIBIANS

An appeal of 31 Namibian men convicted in the Supreme Court in Pretoria on January 26 and sentenced on February 8, 1968, will be heard by the Appellate Division of South Africa on September 25.

The full bench of 11 judges will sit at the court in Bloemfontein.

The Appeal Court will take up the question of whether the Supreme Court in Pretoria had jurisdiction "to inquire into, or pronounce upon, the validity of the Terrorism Act no. 83 of 1967 and section 5 of the General Law Amendment Act no. 62 of 1966 in so far as they purport to apply to the mandated territory of South West Africa.

The judge at the Pretoria trial, Mr. Justice Ludorf, had ruled at the beginning of the Terrorism Trial that his court was competent to try the case. According to the Johannesburg STAR, the judge ruled "that he could not question an Act of Parliament, but had merely to enforce it.

"While Mr. Justice Ludorf granted the convicted men permission to take their case to the Appellate Division, he refused to allow them to appeal against the sentences he imposed."

THE TIME HAS COME *to* *from this pattern of* *with the Southern African*

I cannot emphasize enough the critical nature of conditions in southern Africa today.

There are significant European populations in these five territories, to be sure. For many of these Europeans, Africa is the only home they have ever known. They do not want to leave, yet they are afraid to stay if majority rule ever becomes a reality. In their fear they ignore the commendable experiences of Zambia and Kenya, and are instead seeking strength in military suppression. It will not work.

The leaders of the African liberation movements have come increasingly to believe that they will achieve their objectives only by violence. When one considers that they are denied the opportunity for peaceful demonstrations, rallies and petitions, that political organization is forbidden, that 99 percent of the population is not even allowed to vote in most of these areas, their desperation is understandable.

With positions hardening on both sides, the conflict seems destined to grow, and to involve not only the peoples of southern Africa, but neighboring African states and an increasing number of nations throughout the world.

Already the lines are being drawn. Despite official government denials, rebel leaders are apparently using both Zambia and Tanzania as staging areas. Most of the freedom movements have headquarters either in Lusaka, in Dar-es Salaam, or both. With the outbreak of wider conflict in southern Africa, Zambia and Tanzania would inevitably be drawn into the war, to the great detriment of their own development. The superior military capabilities commanded by the minority regimes would probably combine, and would further compound the bloodshed and devastation.

The other independent nations of Africa have cast their lot with the freedom fighters. At the September meeting of the Organization for African Unity in Kinshasa, the 38 members of the OAU voted to give \$2 million of their \$3.1 million budget to the various liberation groups.

Although some of the Angolan rebels are employing Western arms, much of the weaponry and other support for the liberation organizations seems to come from Communist sources.

I discussed this matter with several of the leaders of the freedom movements, and their

replies were virtually identical: "If we have to use Communist aid to free ourselves, we would be foolish not to use it. Where else can we get it?" These leaders do not expect that they or their people will turn to communism as a way of life. They do not use the rhetoric of communism; they do not view the impending conflict in Marxist class terms. But they are using Communist weapons, and have Communist advisers. Some of their officers are being trained in Communist countries, and many of their students are studying there. In the long run, while southern Africa may not go Communist, it may turn out to be very pro-Communist.

In these circumstances, with a long and bitter struggle looming ahead, the choices for American policy are as difficult as they are urgent. To be sure, we have often expressed our ideological position and our hostility to both colonialism and the anti-democratic systems in southern Africa.

The United States has long made clear its opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa. This Government has joined in economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. It supported the creation of an ad hoc U. N. committee to study the problem of South West Africa. It deplored the trial in Pretoria of the South West African freedom fighters. And the United States has tried to exact guarantees from its NATO ally, Portugal, that military equipment provided by the United States will not be used outside the NATO area.

But in African eyes, the record of what we have not done speaks much more clearly. We have taken no purposeful action to discourage American private investment in South Africa, which is now in excess of \$600 million and serves as a vital pillar of support for that unpopular regime. In addition, we have placed no restrictions on U. S. trade with South Africa, other than a prohibition against the sale of military equipment. Trade with that country has now risen to \$650 million a year.....

America's allies sell arms and sophisticated military equipment outright to the South African Government, and the U. S. Government has made little effort to persuade them to do otherwise.

Portugal receives considerable military assistance from the United States, and the African freedom fighters insist that American weapons are killing their people in Angola and Mozambique.

wrench ourselves implied complicity regimes.

- the Honorable Edward W. Brooke
of Massachusetts
in the Senate of the United States
Monday, April 29, 1968

- excerpted from Senator Brooke's major foreign policy address on Africa following upon his visit to that continent.

I believe that the time has come to wrench ourselves from this pattern of implied complicity with the southern African regimes. I do not fancy that maximum American pressure will bring early and easy political change to the area. I realize that firmer action on our part may increase tensions with our European allies. But I believe we must remove from the United States any hint of sympathy for the minority governments of southern Africa.

Conditions in southern Africa confront the United States and other members of the international community with the most difficult issues of international law and morality. No one who respects as I do the rule of law among men and among nations will lightly transcend the principle that the domestic affairs of sovereign states are not an appropriate subject for international consideration. The United States and other Western nations have been understandably reluctant to take stringent action against southern Africa precisely because of their respect for this standard.

But the facts are that the abridgement of human liberty in this area is so overwhelming that it is necessarily the concern of all nations; the danger to international peace is so great that it must be dealt with by the larger community of nations; and, with the exception of South Africa itself, none of the territories involved is itself a sovereign state which can properly invoke the privileged claim that its domestic affairs are immune from international review. What we face in southern Africa is a last, terrible harvest of practices which have won the general condemnation of mankind.

The trusteeship provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, agreed to by all of its 120 members, stand in decisive testimony that there is a definite international responsibility for the dependent peoples of this planet. The United States and the world community must take every reasonable step to fulfill that obligation.

This will require us to take a number of costly actions now in order to avoid more costly actions in the future.



I believe we must make clear to South Africa that, lacking evidence of that Government's willingness to move toward social justice and equality for the African population it controls, the United States will begin to disengage from its burgeoning economic ties to that country.

I believe that we must make clear to Portugal that, lacking a credible commitment to self-determination in Angola and Mozambique, the United States must and will begin to reduce its military relations with the Lisbon Government, even at the sacrifice of the military facilities which we have been permitted to develop on Portuguese territory.

I believe we must do all in our power to end the intolerable situation in Southern Rhodesia, and that includes an absolute ban on U.S. trade with the territory. We must surely support the belated British proposal in the United Nations Security Council for comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

These steps will not suffice for the purposes we seek, but they will represent a beginning.

At stake is our moral and political credit with all of Africa. I believe that credit is more precious than any short-term advantages we might protect by maintaining cordial relations with the minority regimes in southern Africa. And if there is any hope for a gradual and peaceful transition to true self-government in that troubled region, I believe it will be enhanced by a more decisive and more vocal posture on the part of the United States.



ANGLICAN STUDENTS' FEDERATION
ANGLIKAANSE STUDENTE FEDERASIE

A. S. F.

Patron: His Grace The Archbishop of Cape Town

President: J. Mosimane
Sec./Treas.: D. de Beer

29. Homestead Rd.,
Bramley,
Johannesburg.

May 12th, 1968.

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO
ALL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Dear Sir,

The Anglican Students' Federation wishes respectfully to bring to your notice the following facts about the recent refusal to extend the temporary residence permit of the Right Reverend Robert Eize, Bishop of Damaraland.

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VICE-

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

BP/AW



HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

The Secretary,
Anglican Students' Federation,
29, Homestead Road,
Bramley,
JOHANNESBURG.

27th May, 1968.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for and acknowledge receipt of your circular letter of the 12th instant.

I must disappoint you in your appeal to me to interfere with the workings of sound government in South Africa and South West Africa.

In the first instance I must record my disappointment that you (and your vice-president) with an Afrikaners name, as a member of the Anglican Church, should write to me, obviously an Afrikaner, in English.

Secondly, where this Government preaches and practises a policy of separate development, I find you apparently serving as Office-bearers in a multi-racial Students' Federation! What grounds for appeal to Government members have you got?

Thirdly, I cannot see what privileged priority you may have to misinterpret God's will in a manner which would upset the order (and differences) which He established.

For your enlightenment I may inform that God uses frail human-beings to do his work and some have proved very fallible. So, spiritual leaders and Churches in South West Africa have harboured terrorists "in Christ's name"! I do believe that religion in general and any Church in particular, should not misconstrue God's will to further, not religious, but political, liberalistic ends. You would do well to reflect on these matters - objectively.

Yours faithfully,


B. PIENAAR. M.P.
ZULULAND.

"On the Side of a Free Society"

University students in South Africa exploded with nation-wide demonstrations in mid-August.

The occasion was the government's refusal to allow an African, Archie Mafeje, to take up an appointment as a senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town.

Mr. Mafeje had been chosen by UCT's council for a post in the Department of Social Anthropology whose head is Professor Monica Wilson, distinguished in her field not only in South Africa but throughout the world, an active Anglican laywoman, and co-author with Mr. Mafeje of a classic study of the African township of Langa. Mr. Mafeje has a B.A. degree and an M.A. degree from UCT and is at present a research fellow at Cambridge University.

The Minister of Education, Senator Jan de Klerk, guiding hand behind South Africa's parliamentary attack upon freedom of the academic community, threatened that the government "will not hesitate to take such steps as it may deem fit" to assure compliance with apartheid. The university rescinded its appointment. UCT, like all the nation's institutions of higher learning, depends heavily on government subsidization. It is not against the law for an African to teach at the white universities, and indeed several are on the staff of the University of Cape Town, although at not so high a level as that proposed for Mr. Mafeje.

The protest started at UCT with a sit-in, the first of its kind in South Africa. Over 100 students occupied and held the central administrative block of the university at the foot of Table Mountain for nine days. They repelled a smoke bomb attack and the assault of other students, many of them from the Afrikaans-speaking Stellenbosch University.

Sympathy demonstrations in the three other English-language universities - Rhodes, Natal and Witwatersrand - sprang into being. At Wits in Johannesburg, students lined Jan Smuts Avenue, frustrated because of a prohibition against their staging a protest march through the city. Opposing students attacked them with eggs and paint. Five student leaders who travelled to Pretoria to try to present their demands to the Prime Minister at his office and at his residence, "Libertas", were kidnapped by opposing students who beat them, shaved their heads and covered their bodies with polish. Police witnessing the beatings and kidnapping did not interfere.

Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster warned that if the university governing bodies did not quell the student rebellion over the Mafeje affair, "I will do it, and I will do it thoroughly." The Prime Minister later agreed to meet with student leaders to hear their complaints.

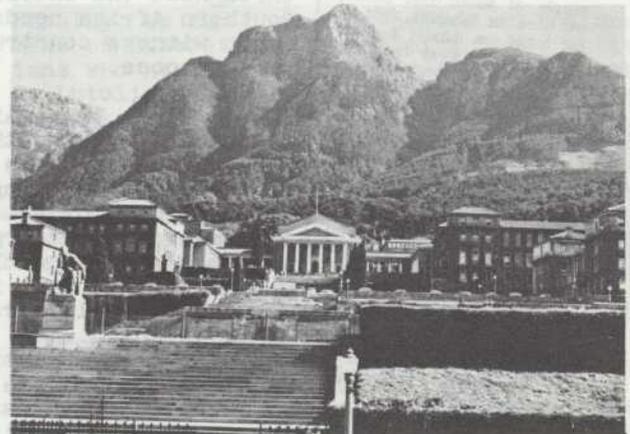
Mr. Vorster also issued a warning to the University Christian Movement. This campus association was set up last year and is officially sponsored by the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches. An Afrikaans-language press report of "some sort of multi-racial orgy" at UCM's annual conference in July, at which students and clergy of all of South Africa's racial groups together with many foreign visitors gathered, doubtless sparked Vorster's remarks. At a meeting hailing the 20th anniversary of the Nationalist Party, he said: "I am busy having another look at these movements, and if it is necessary for me to take action, then it will not be my fault."

Student opposition to the South African government and apartheid has for years centered around the National Union of South African Students. NUSAS president Duncan Innes was the leader at the UCT protest; he is also president of the Student Representative Council there.

In Johannesburg, John Kane-Berman, president of the Students' Representative Council at Wits, said: "The students have made their commitment to academic freedom and university autonomy clear. They have ranged themselves fairly and squarely on the side of a free society and upheld their right to dissent and protest.

"It is now up to the Opposition parties and other bodies to come out and join us in defence of these rights. Let the churches state where they stand. Let the Progressive Party. Let the South Africa Foundation - so concerned with promoting South Africa's image overseas - and other major public institutions."

White university students in South Africa have entered a new era. Whether they can successfully instigate meaningful changes in that society remains to be seen. The odds are heavily against them.



The University of Cape Town

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South Africa's Move in South-West Area

To the Editor:
In the midst of the many troubled events there is another crisis which the world community must face.

The Government of the Republic of South Africa—in pursuit of its policy of apartheid—is forcing 8,000 African men, women and children from their Old Location at Windhoek, capital of the territory of South-West Africa, now called Namibia.

After Sept. 1 the Old Location is to be entirely demolished and its residents moved to a township several miles outside Windhoek. It will be illegal for white employers to hire African men of the Old Location, and already many have been fired and they and their families face starvation.

Every conceivable means is being used to force the Africans

to move: loss of jobs, hospital services and water supply; bribes in the form of compensation for homes abandoned; a steady barrage from the white press.

Namibia (South-West Africa) is a territory under mandate to the United Nations. The U.N. in 1966, by an overwhelming vote in the General Assembly—in which the United States concurred—stripped the Republic of South Africa of all authority in the territory. But South Africa maintains *de facto* control over Namibia and continues to work toward annexation of the territory in defiance of the United Nations.

For years the African people of the Old Location, under the leadership of 100-year-old Chief Hosea Kutako and 45-year-old Chief-designate Clemens Kapuuo, have clung to their community on the edge of the white city of Windhoek. Chief Clemens has called for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council. He states: "As indigenous people of South-West Africa, we have an inherent right to the lands we inhabit and we will not move away from our lands on order from a foreign government whose rights in South-West Africa have been suspended."

The Old Location stands squarely in the way of the implementation of South African apartheid and police containment. The people of the Old Location have virtually no white friends inside Namibia and are all but cut off from friends in the world outside, but they firmly stand their ground.

They and the South African authorities face each other in an atmosphere increasingly tense and ominous.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON
President
Episcopal Churchmen for
South Africa
New York, Aug. 30, 1968



BY FIRST CARRIER TO
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UNION BUILDINGS
PRETORIA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

SHIPPER'S ACCOUNT NUMBER

SHIPPER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
BISHOPAL CHURCHMAN FOR SOUTH AFRICA
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NEW YORK N.Y. 10011

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20 August 1968

The Editor
THE LIVING CHURCH

Dear Sir:

In your August 4 editorial you comment on Bishop Robert Mize's farewell sermon before leaving Southern Africa and you single out the issue of the proposal that the bishop remain in his diocese in South West Africa until ejected by South African authorities. Your condemnation of "non-violent" tactics and your espousal of the bishop's refusal to stay beyond the expiry date of his permit are part and parcel of the general confusion about the Church's role in Southern Africa.

In the first place both you and Bishop Mize make the initial and grave error of including South West Africa as part of the Republic of South Africa. South West Africa - now called Namibia - is an international territory lawfully under the jurisdiction of the United Nations; the Republic of South Africa is the usurping power in that territory in open defiance of the United Nations. South Africa has no right, although it has the power, to remove the bishop.

The contention that Bishop Mize, by remaining in Windhoek until deported by South African authorities, would have engendered hatred and misunderstanding is specious. The hatred and misunderstanding in Namibia and in all the nearby countries of the white-controlled sub-continent are due to the racist policies of those regimes. The oppression of black and brown Southern Africans, and of the minority of whites who reject apartheid, is building toward a giant explosion. Indeed the situation has deteriorated to the point that now there is open warfare underway throughout the entire periphery of the Southern African enclave. Southern Africa needs people inside - particularly Churchmen - to stand up to witness constructively to love - to the end and regardless of the consequences.

Bishop Mize, by remaining with his flock until removed by civil authority instead of leaving three weeks early, would have heartened immensely not only black and brown Anglicans but all the half-million non-white people of Namibia, including those who have in desperation taken to armed revolt - many of whom now rot in South African prisons and are held incommunicado, undergoing torture at the hands of the secret police. And, can we assume that such a pacific and firm stand by the bishop would not have made its mark on some white Namibians, who, like Cornelius, would have been converted?

The method of Christian love is far more strenuous than preaching patience to a people on whose necks the jackboots of a conqueror grind. It requires sound perception, a clearly articulated position and a compassionate identification with the oppressed - to the final moment and regardless of the consequences.

Very truly yours,

IN THE NAME OF JESUS OF NAZARETH WHO DIED FOR THE LIBERATION OF HIS PEOPLE

from a sermon preached by the Rev. Arthur Walmsley of the staff of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church and a member of the Board of Clergy Advisors of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa at a service of Evensong at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine sponsored by Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa on Sunday, June 23, 1968:

To call Southern Africans to non-violent resistance is to invite them to suicide. Those of us who are Christian must face the tragic irony that liberation movements turn to the gun because their white, affluent, westernized and Christian oppressors are such masters of the gun. The struggle in the American Congress over a simple law to register guns is a dark parable, written in the blood of some of this nation's men of greatest vision, of our failure to face the violence in our own history. Those who seek to free their people from the violence of the oppressor have no alternative but the revolutionary course.....

We can, in this service, do three things in honor of our brethren, known and unknown, who stand up to the tyranny of racist governments, particularly those in Southern Africa.

We can celebrate the unquenchable spirit God has placed in the human breast, and which is overflowing in the movement of many peoples - the poor of the world, men of color oppressed by men of paler color, the young. Let us be clear. Jesus' preaching of the Kingdom is a preaching about liberation, of a day of judgment, that moment in time and out of time and at the end of time when men and societies stand in nakedness, judged by their capacity for and their practice of justice and brotherhood. The poor understand that. The young understand it. And both scorn the powerful and the established for our hypocrisy in pretending that judgment will not come. Jesus was close to the poor and the young. And he would be there - he is there - in the movements of liberation.

Second, we can be clear about the issue of violence. I have said that it is not for us to sit in judgment on the situations of other men in other places. But there can be no doubt about Jesus' instructions to the disciples: they are and we are called to a radical non-violent way of life in the service of the poor. It is ironic that those who are not Christian understand this more clearly than do the churches in their captivity. What men, having been with Jesus, can have any doubt about the way of life to which we are summoned? The life of the early Christians shows them: a band of dropouts from society, unflinching in their resistance to the established powers, aggressively non-violent in their non-cooperation with the military, with the rituals of the state, with the economic powers that be. What shall be the style of life for Christians, American Christians, in our day?

South Africa is a case in point. Our arrogant and brutal and unsuccessful military adventure in Vietnam is surely evidence that American policy regarding Africa south of the Sahara cannot take a military turn, even if the State Department and the Administration were to change from their current stand-off position. It will come to that if we do



not find means for bringing the power of moral persuasion and economic and political sanctions to produce change. And the fearful danger is that white America will be fighting on the wrong side.

Two years ago there began the so-called Banks Campaign, the effort to persuade major institutions like the Episcopal Church to withdraw funds from those banks which support the South African economy. The gesture seemed futile to me then. It is not. The dramatic upsurge of popular indignation about guns, the new hope which Eugene McCarthy has given the political process in America are signs of a growing confidence of millions in this country and around the world that moral power, the cry for justice, for a non-violent and urgent tackling of our human problems, is not only a vision but a strategy. My plea is that we leave this Cathedral today with a renewed sense that the world's conscience can be aroused on South Africa, that a complacent Church and a complacent State Department and complacent economic institutions will develop the moral muscle to offer, on a world scale, those forces which shall make possible revolutionary change among all countries in torment.

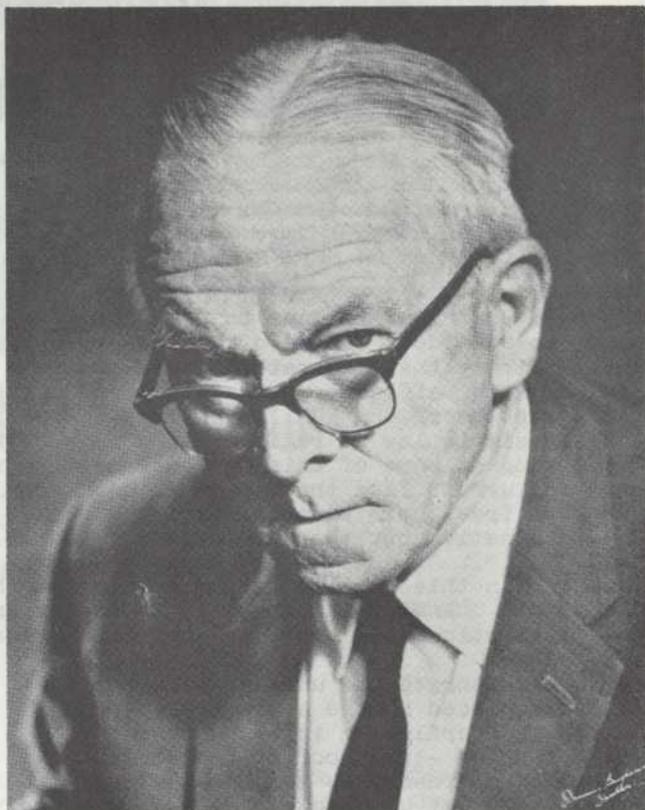
Finally, we can honor the heroes of the movement of liberation: two distinguished Christians who have finished their course - Albert J. Lutuli and Z. K. Matthews: the thirty men convicted under the Terrorism Act; all the untold others who have died in the struggle for dignity and freedom. Let us honor men of SWAPO, of ANC and PAC, of FRELIMO and ZAPU, little bands whose vision is of a free people living beyond the racism of today. Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may disjoin, but cannot destroy them." The hand of force has relentlessly sought to destroy them. But it cannot disjoin their lives from the liberty which burns in them, nor from the liberation which one day - soon - will lift men all over this planet beyond violence to a new and universal brotherhood.

THE LONG VIEW, by Alan Paton. Edited by Edward Callan. Frederick A. Praeger, New York. \$6.95

Over the past decade, Alan Paton has authored a series of columns, "The Long View", for the South African journal, CONTACT. Many of these writings have been collected into a volume now published in the United States. Background for each selection and biographical comment is clearly and competently provided by the editor, Edward Callan, professor of English at Western Michigan University, who himself lived in South Africa from 1938 to 1959.

A student leader in his native South Africa, Alan Paton has throughout his life been a seeker for answers to his country's many deep problems. He always wanted to write and to do creative social work. His books, plays, poems, articles and short stories are ample proof of fulfillment of one direction. His enlightened work as principal of the Diepkloof Reformatory for African boys in the 1930's carved a path in this field. Paton was at the center of an opening up in understanding which began to flourish in South Africa.

But this was not to last. In 1948, the Nationalist Party swept to power and the momentum was set for the beloved country which has brought it to the dead-end of today. In this disastrous process - which THE LONG VIEW vividly narrates - Paton the writer and social worker was caught up in the political scene as alternatively president and chairman of the non-racial South African Liberal Party. The Liberal Party disbanded this year because of a new South African law prohibiting multi-racial organizations.



Alan Paton speaks to the people of his own country, and he speaks trenchantly to the American people at this time in their history. THE LONG VIEW shows the destruction of an awakening and striving for liberty by a 20th-century totalitarian force. THE LONG VIEW has an inherent lesson for us in the United States of America in 1968.

ANOTHER VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA

American third party candidate George Wallace has indicated he might demand a reversal of United States policy on Southern Africa if he holds the balance of power in the electoral college after the November elections for president.

In an exclusive interview with a Washington reporter for the Johannesburg STAR, the ex-governor of Alabama was quoted as saying that in the event of this outcome "then the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa could well be one of the conditions I would insist on in return for the extra votes the other candidates would want from me.

"I will not say it definitely at this time, but it could well be. After all, the majority of Americans are against those sanctions, just like the majority of the British people, I understand." Mr. Wallace was asked if he meant the U.S. arms embargo against South Africa. He said: "Just whatever sanctions there are in force right now."

A BISHOP FOR SWAZILAND

The first Bishop of Swaziland has been chosen. He is the Rev. Canon Anthony G. W. Hunter, the vicar of Huddersfield in England, a long-time friend and supporter of the parent diocese of Zululand & Swaziland. Father Hunter was picked at an Elective Assembly on August 17. He is due to be consecrated on Sunday, November 17, when the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church of South Africa meets in Durban.

The new diocese of Swaziland comes into being concurrently with the declaring of Swaziland as an independent nation. Also before the Provincial Synod in November will be plans for the separation of a half-dozen of South Africa's unwieldy dioceses.

On October 12, an Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Damaraland meets to select a successor to Bishop Robert Mize. This new bishop should be scheduled for consecration also at Provincial Synod.

Chronicle of the 12th year

- 30 SEPT 67 ECSA Southern Africa WORKSHOP.
- 1 OCT 67 Publication of **BANTUSTANS: The Solution**, Rev. P. Dill
- 11 OCT 67 Southern Africa workshop.
- 26/30 OCT 67 All Saints issue of ECSA bulletin.
- 2 NOV 67 **BISHOP AMBROSE REEVES** addressed Africa workshop.
- 16/17 NOV 67 **EMERGENCY** mailing **TERRORISM TRIAL**, S.W. Africans.
- 28 NOV 67 **EUCCHARIST** for South West Africa, Episcopal Church
- 7/11 DEC 67 ECSA Christmas mailing Center.
- 26 JAN 68 Welcomed ECSA guest, Sister Prudence, OHP, for USA tour.
- 10 FEB 68 Southern Africa workshop.
- 22 FEB 68 Southern Africa workshop.
- 2 MARCH 68 Exhibit of Ovamboland handicrafts.
- 14 MARCH 68 ECSA FORUM, with Mr. S. M. Khan, **FRELIMO**.
- 20 MARCH 68 **EUCCHARIST** in memory of **JOOST DE BLANK**, Episcopal Church Center.
- 26 MARCH 68 Lime Hill emergency mailing.
- 26/30 MARCH 68 ECSA Epiphany-Lent **BULLETIN**.
- 30 MARCH 68 Southern Africa workshop.
- 4 APRIL 68 Bade farewell to Sister Prudence, OHP, at end of tour.
- 6 APRIL 68 **EXHIBIT** of Ovamboland handicrafts.
- 17 APRIL 68 ECSA FORUM, with **PROF. RICHARD A. FALK**.
- 18 APRIL 68 Published **TOIVO** statement, **ONLY ONE WHO IS NOT WHITE**
- 11 MAY 68 **EMERGENCY** program initiated re: **BISHOP ROBERT MIZE**
- MAY/JUNE 68 **BISHOP MIZE**: Letters to USA bishops; press releases; continuing **DELEGATIONS** and phone conferences with **DIPLOMATIC** missions; petitions.
- 31 MAY 68 Mailed call for **DAY OF PRAYER** for **NAMIBIA** (South West Africa).
- 1 JUNE 68 Southern Africa workshop.
- 12 JUNE 68 ECSA celebrated the beginning of its **13TH YEAR** by taking part in the **EUCCHARIST** at the **EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTER**, followed by conducting a **STREET DEMONSTRATION SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION** to the United Nations.
- 23 JUNE 68 **EVENSONG** at **CATHEDRAL CHURCH** of **ST JOHN THE DIVINE** as part of **DAY OF PRAYER FOR NAMIBIA** (South West Africa).
- 23 JULY 68 Shipped **PETITIONS** to **PRIME MINISTER VORSTER** in Pretoria.
- 18 AUGUST 68 **OLD LOCATION**, Windhoek: sent funds for human needs.
- OCT 67/ SEPT 68 **CONTRIBUTIONS** sent to Southern Africa: **HUMAN NEEDS**, **EDUCATION**, **THEOLOGICAL** Education, **ANGLICAN STUDENTS FEDERATION**.
Advice and funding, **STUDENTS** and **REFUGEES** in USA.



GOD HAS A PLAN AND A PURPOSE FOR AFRICA. WE HAVE TO BE THERE AT THE HEART OF THAT PLAN AND THAT PURPOSE. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR

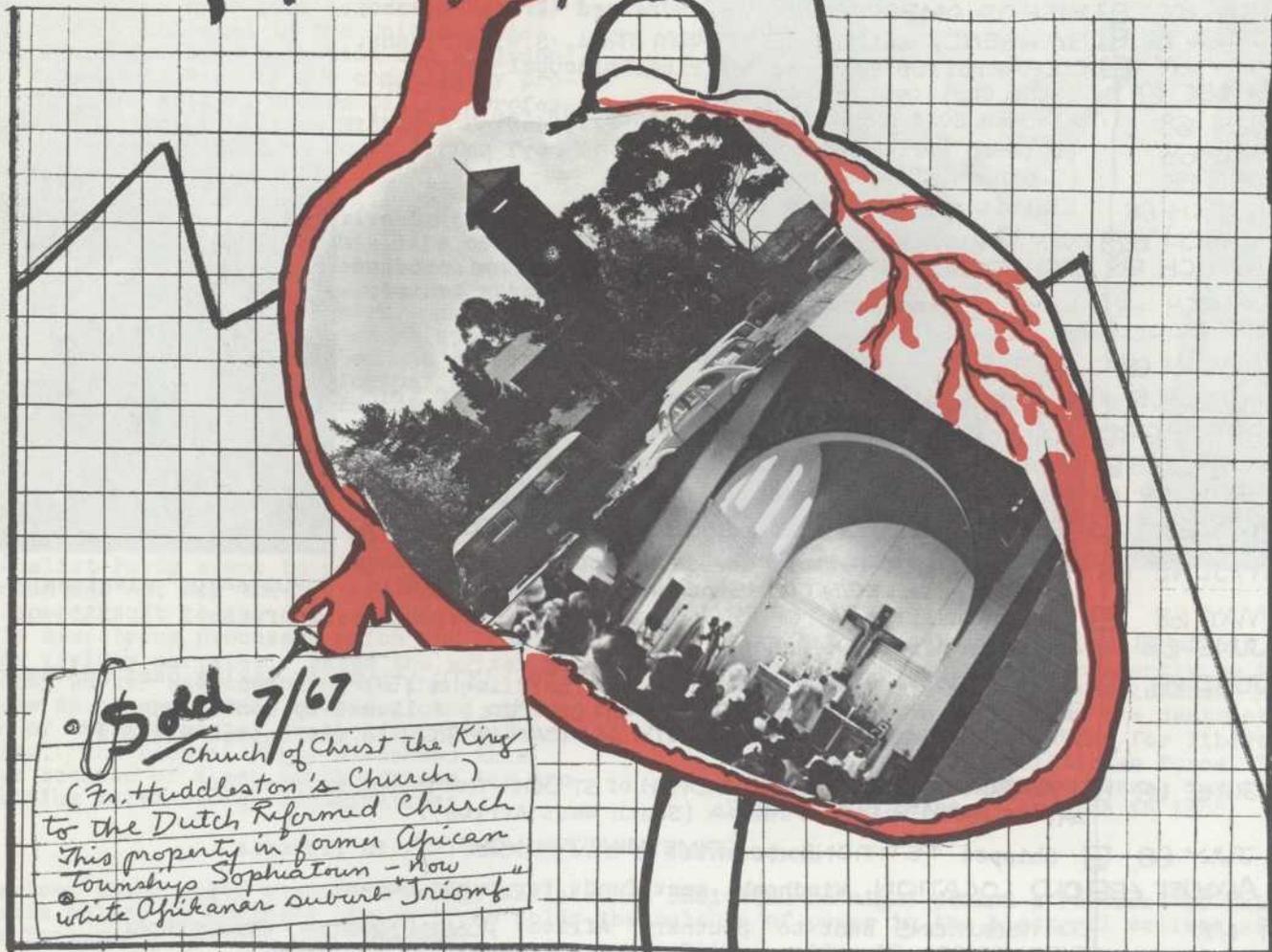
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