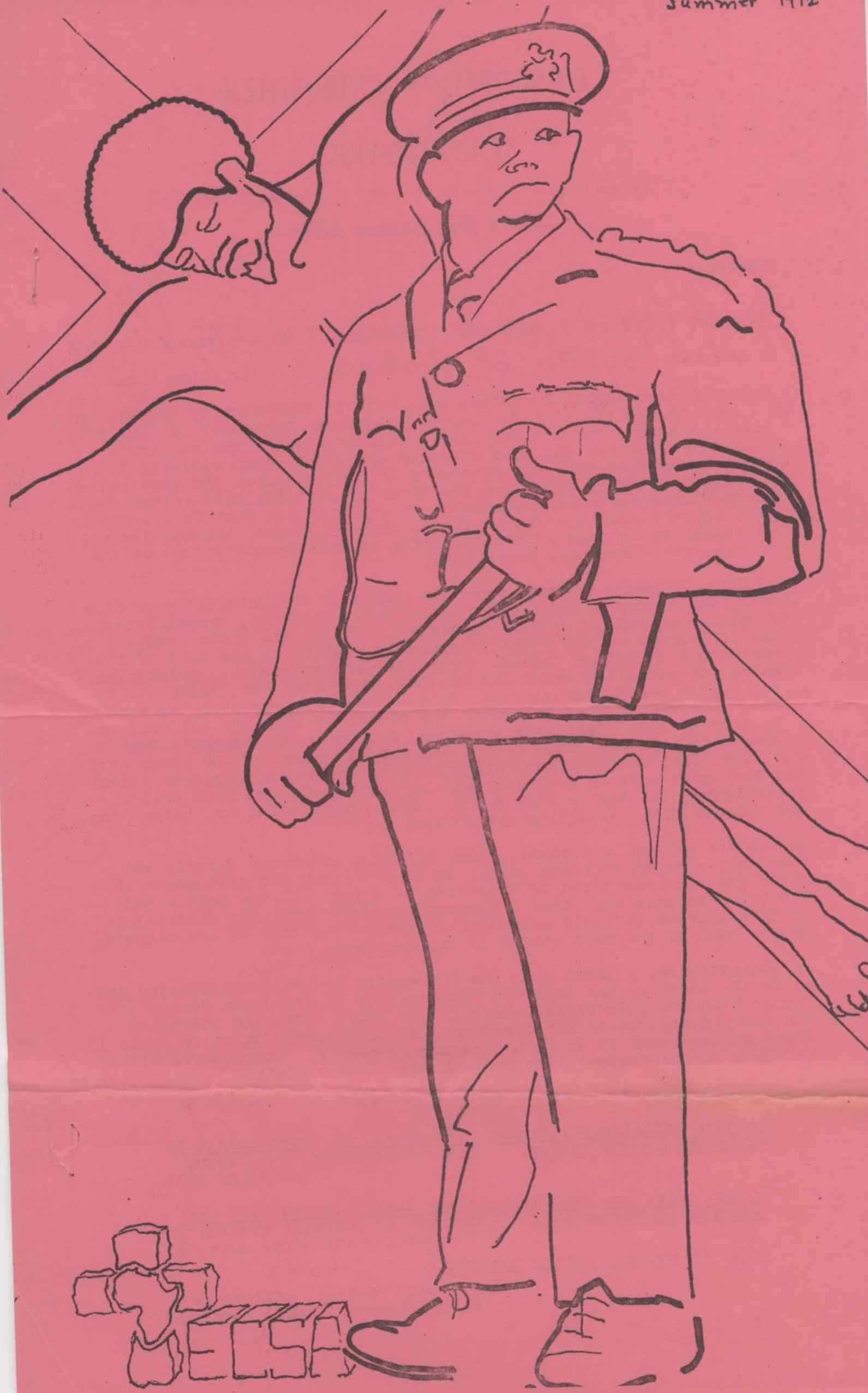


Summer 1972



EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN  
for  
SOUTH AFRICA

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

PENTECOST

1972

*South Africa's pseudo-peace is maintained by a whole system of violence.* - Rev. Theo Kotze

A peaceful demonstration against apartheid in education by 100 students on 2 June on the steps of St. George's Anglican Cathedral in Cape Town, a bare 100 yards from the Parliament buildings where the country's legislators were sitting, was attacked by 50 policemen wielding truncheons. Some fled into the sanctuary of the cathedral and were beaten and dragged by their hair from the altar by pursuing blue-coated South African Police and plainclothesmen. A reporter for Cape Town's SUNDAY TIMES, herself beaten - and a witness to both events, likened the police charge to Chicago police brutality against demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

On 5 June, students marched from the campus of the University of Cape Town to St. George's and a crowd of 10,000 - students, sympathizers and onlookers, mostly whites - gathered. Church and civic leaders spoke in support of the right of peaceful protest as the bell of the great Gothic structure tolled. A police officer read a proclamation banning the gathering under the Riotous Assemblies Act, which was ignored. Then the police charged, hurling tear gas and slashing with clubs. Hundreds sought refuge in the cathedral and were not followed this time. Sixty-eight were arrested, including St. George's Dean Edward King, the Rev. Theo Kotze, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and Father Bernard Wrankmore, Anglican priest who last year went on a 67-day fast to protest the death in police detention of the Moslem Iman Haron. Dean King's wife, Dr. Helen King, was charged with assaulting the police.

Across the way in Parliament, Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster was speaking: "Right thinking people in South Africa and throughout the world are sick and tired of this sort of thing. If the police had not acted in this way, then I personally would have been disappointed in them because it would have been an indication that we are slipping on the road of the maintenance of law and order."

In Johannesburg, a march from the University of the Witwatersrand ended at the doors of the Anglican Cathedral of St. Mary the Virgin (its former Dean Gonville French-Beytagh was tried under the Terrorism Act and had his conviction overturned by the Appeals Court in April), where police broke it up in the customary manner. Other universities in South Africa seethed with protest and class boycotts.

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"We have definitely learned. There will be improvements in equipment in the future." - Police spokesman, Cape Town, 10 June 1972

"Do you think you have learned any useful lesson from the evidence in Sharpeville?" - counsel at judicial inquiry into Sharpeville massacre, June 1960

"Well, we may get better equipment."

- Lt. Col. Pienaar, officer in charge, Sharpeville, 21 March 1960

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"Black man, you are on your own."

- Barney Pityana, former president,  
South African Students' Organization.

South Africa's student demonstrations during the summer achieved world-wide attention largely because the demonstrators were white. Behind their actions lay those of black university students at the 'tribal universities' whose determination to oppose apartheid and to express rapidly growing black consciousness has consolidated amongst Africans, Indians and Coloureds seeking higher education.

The 'tribal universities' are separate collèges concocted by the Pretoria regime to further divide South Africa's 18 million African, Coloured and Indian people amongst themselves and from the 3.5 million Whites. Tribal universities were set up 13 years ago and they furthered the development of black student groups independent of the liberal multi-racial National Union of South African Students. In 1968, the black South African Students' Organization was formed.

"...The challenge to every black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions - restrictions without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from schools - rests on all those who do not actively dissociate themselves from the system breeding such evils and work for the eradication of it..... Of what purpose is your education if you cannot help your people in their hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless."

- Abram Ramothibi Tiro

Late in April, 1972, Mr. Abram Ramothibi Tiro, president of the Students Representative Council at the University of the North, Turfloop, delivered a scathing denunciation of education under apartheid at the graduation ceremony at which he received his B.A. The white Afrikaner rector of Turfloop dismissed Mr. Tiro. Fellow students conducted a sit-in. They were expelled - all 1146 of them. South African police moved in, sealing off Turfloop. SASO called for a boycott at all black universities, on 20 May students at the University of Zululand acclaimed their Turfloop compatriots, and the shock waves went throughout the country to crest with international note at Cape Town on 2 June.

The government's violent reactions to the white students shook South Africa's whites to the root. The astute journalist Stanley Uys views it as Afrikanerdom's last phase in its fight for survival. Liberals cried out about the loss of civil liberties and the coming darkness of totalitarianism, two concepts about which their fellow countrymen of black and tan complexion could give them expert and detailed advice.

The overriding question: Will the common enemy - the South African State - backed by the preponderance of whites, blatantly or covertly, weld a new force composed of the African, Indian and Coloured majority and an undetermined number of Whites, who despite privileges of position and race, commit their lives to a new society?

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University apartheid was introduced in 1959, with the creation of five separate universities by the South African government:

- for Africans: Universities of: the North (Turfloop); Zululand; Fort Hare.
- for Coloureds: University of the Western Cape.
- for Indians: University of Durban.

ENROLLMENT: June 1971: 2380 Africans; 935 Coloureds; 1710 Indians.  
GRADUATIONS: January 1970: 245 Africans; 95 Coloureds; 300 Indians.  
STAFF: African universities: Whites 235; Africans 57  
Coloured university: White 72; Coloured 2  
Indian university: White 122; Indian 28

IN 1971, there were 57,000 White students at 10 universities.

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA: May 1970

Africans: 14,893,000	Whites: 3,779,000
Coloureds: 1,996,000	Indians: 614,000

## BANNINGS

STANLEY Ntwasa, 23-year-old student at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, was served with a 5-year banning order in April and restricted to his home in Kimberley. He was due to be ordained to the diaconate in December. The government gave no reason for its action.

The axe fell, too, on two other young Anglican churchmen. STEPHEN HAYES, worker priest, and DAVID DE BEER, sub-deacon and the former treasurer of the diocese of Damaraland - both expelled from Namibia with Bishop Colin Winter and fellow South African Toni Halberstadt in March - are banned until 31 May 1977. Dave had just taken the post of administrative secretary of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, an association of churchmen which is the subject of a parliamentary investigation. He is confined to Johannesburg. Steve is restricted to his birthplace, Durban, where he once worked as pastor to the Missions for Seamen. In addition to the stiff prohibitions on both men (they may not be with more than one person at a time, must be home alone evenings and weekends, may not be on premises where academic instruction takes place or publications are prepared or printed - Steve worked for a newspaper in Windhoek, may not attend social, political or educational gatherings), Steve cannot enter any union office or harbor area.

Bishop Winter announced in London that he had instituted the Order of Bernard Mizeki to honor Anglicans who had shown outstanding courage and were prepared to suffer for their faith. He named Dave de Beer to be the first recipient of the Order. Bernard Mizeki was a catechist who was martyred in Zimbabwe in 1896.

## DEFIANCE

Father Cosmos Desmond, Roman Catholic Franciscan who has been under banning orders for over a year, broke those orders on successive Sundays during July by attending mass and by preaching on a couple of occasions. On July 2, he and Dave de Beer gave bread, salt and water to 200 people at a service at the Anglican Cathedral of St. Mary the Virgin in Johannesburg. So far no retaliation has come from the South African government, but the police state cannot long remain quiescent.

## THE PIETERMARITZBURG TRIAL

Kader Hassim  
Joseph Vusani  
Mogami Moeng  
Mfolwane Mbele  
Pindiso Zimambane  
Dan Mahanjane

Ngcikwa Vimba  
Max Tabata  
Albert Shangana  
Montford Mabuto  
Frank Anthony  
Robert Wilcox

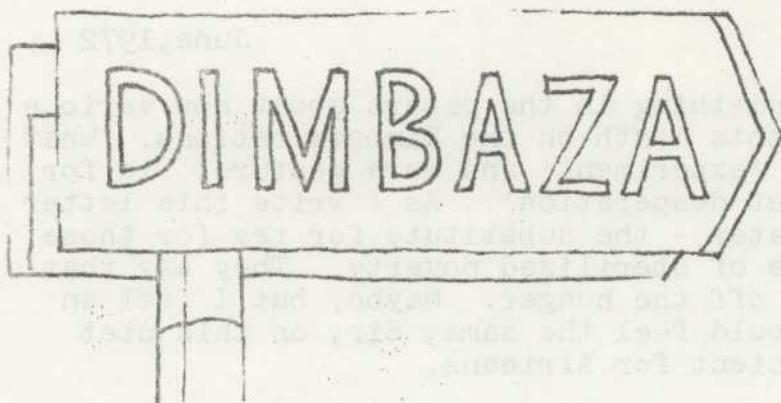
Surinarayan Venkatrathnam

These 13 members of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa and the Unity Movement of South Africa, whose trial under terms of the Terrorism Act began the same day as Dean French-Beytagh's, 2 August 1971, were all convicted early in April and given sentences ranging from 5 to 8 years in prison. They were found guilty of conspiring to overthrow the South African government by force of arms and collecting money and recruiting people toward that end. The judge rejected defense claims of torture, accepting the word of Special Branch Lt. Col. T.J. Swanepoel that no ill-treatment of detainees had taken place.

Defense trial costs were reported to have run close to \$200,000. The appeal to a higher court, which was allowed by the judge in Pietermaritzburg, will require another \$100,000. In addition, the 13 men have 57 dependents who have no source of income while their breadwinners are imprisoned. Something like \$3700 per month is needed to provide food, rent and other personal expenses for wives and children.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S PRISONERS

Mr. Justice Victor G. Hiemstra, high in the ranks of the South African judiciary, has denounced his country's penal system. He pointed out that in the past 10 years the daily prison population has increased by 76 per cent compared with a 24 per cent rise in the nation's populace. Of every 100,000 South Africans, 417 were in prison. Some 80 per cent of those in jail were held for periods of 4 months or less.



"..... it may seem absurd for me to write you, a senior cabinet minister, about teaspoons of soup, but the pathetic truth is that the lives of thousands (millions) in this wealthy country of ours revolve around these mean amounts and less."

- Rev. David Russell

Can you live for a month on -  
20 lbs mealie (corn) meal; 8 lbs  
mealies (grits); 5 lbs beans;  
one lb margarine; 2 lbs skimmed  
milk; 1/2 lb salt?

Six hundred people, women and their families and unemployed men at the Dimbaza resettlement camp in South Africa do. Those rations are all that South Africa's Bantu Administration and Development Department provides for these black people. Did provide, that is. In mid-May BAD deputy-minister Raubenheimer cut off the rations because the people were receiving an additional maintenance grant of \$3.33 per month. This at a time when pensions for South African whites were raised from \$50.54 to \$54.53.

Dimbaza is one of South Africa's 24 resettlement camps being stocked with black people who have lived and worked in and near white cities all their lives and who have been declared by the Pretoria regime to be unnecessary or unable to work for the benefit of the country's white minority. In the past 4 years the BAD Department has 'endorsed out' 209,000 Africans (one official called them 'superfluous appendages') and in the Cape Province alone 600,000 more are scheduled to be uprooted. Countrywide, the total will run into the millions.

Dimbaza today is swollen with 10,000 deportees, mostly women, children, old people. King Williams Town is the nearest city - 12 miles and a 54¢ bus fare away - and there are few jobs for the working men. At Dimbaza there are two paying jobs: house building and grave digging. BAD is now embarrassed by the publicity, has ceased shipping in more people and caused construction to be in abeyance. That leaves grave digging, which gives employment to a team of men who use pneumatic drills to penetrate the flinty soil. In January there were 337 graves. Two months later the death of 52 children from malnutrition raised the count to 389. By mid-May the total was 404 - and the fathers-grave diggers had carved out 84 new waiting graves.

David Russell, 33-year-old Anglican priest serving Dimbaza since 1965, has since April of this year been living on rations costing \$6.65 per month. In June, to dramatize the cut off of government rations, he has eaten for \$3.43. Father Russell drew international attention to Dimbaza last year when he kept a 4-day fasting vigil at Cape Town Cathedral. He also hosted American Dean Francis Sayre and Judge William Booth during their South African trip in May, 1971.

Father Russell has been reporting each month to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. Botha, and the deputy ministers, Abraham Raubenheimer and Piet Koornhof, on what it is like to live under those conditions. David Russell is frank about the symbolic nature of his action: "There is no comparison between the way I am living and the way the people of Dimbaza are living....No white man can completely identify and feel what it is like to be black in this country. But it is we whites who let Botha, Raubenheimer and Koornhof do this to the African people because we put them in power."



"10: The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Hon.  
M.C. Botha

"Dear Sir,

June, 1972

"I expect you will have read something in the papers about how various Whites are attempting to live this month on the Dimbaza rations. What for us is a grim but temporary 'experiment' and mere gesture, is for Africans, life - 'lives of quiet desperation'. As I write this letter I take a sip at a mug of hot water - the substitute for tea for those you have relegated to this life of sterilized poverty. They say that hot water helps a bit to stave off the hunger. Maybe, but I feel an emptiness, and I believe you would feel the same, Sir, on this diet which you insist must be sufficient for Africans.

"It is often said that Blacks are used to this diet. What a misleading half-truth! If they are used to mealies, they love coffee and sugar and meat no less than you and I, and miss them just as much. Some Whites who started with these rations on June 1 find the diet so unappetising that they cannot swallow it all, and thus, in effect, live off their own bodies. When I myself began with the rations at the beginning of this month, I had already been trying to cope for six weeks on my African pension of 5 Rand per month. I found I was ready to consume the rations greedily and feel thoroughly unsatisfied afterwards - wishing I could have more.

"I understand only too well now how those at Dimbaza tend to finish their rations before the next lot is due. One's body begins to demand immediate satisfaction regardless of the 'foolishness' and 'lack of self-discipline' involved in eating too much too soon, and going hungry when all is finished. I feel I must confess to you how I myself have lapsed into this undisciplined shortsightedness of which poverty-stricken people are so unremittingly accused. On more than one occasion I have dug rashly into my supply of powdered milk, literally craving for the taste. On another occasion I was even more irresponsible; I was feeling the hunger and longing for satisfaction. I walked out of my house like one possessed and went to buy a packet of cigarettes for 26¢. What a waste! It is true I haven't the money for such 'falls'. I think I am beginning to learn from within why the poor man turns so 'foolishly' to drink, or buys sweets instead of Pronutro, and cold drinks instead of cabbage.

"At times I feel quite limp and weary - listless and without zest for life. May those pause and ponder who charge the poor of 'having no initiative', of 'laziness', and of 'not bothering to help themselves'. The enervating effects of this diet make me, too, feel lazy and not want to bother. I have felt myself wondering whether I was crumbling - whether I could stand the grimness of this diet. I have prayed for strength. Even in my prayers my thoughts wander so often to food, my longing for adequate food.

"But it is not food alone I want. It is warmth. It is cold today. I wear two vests, two jerseys with my shirt and jacket. On cold nights in bed I also wear my underclothes and socks and sleep under six layers of blankets. I find it hard to understand how the poor at Dimbaza manage, specially when for heating they are refused paraffin or any regular form of fuel with the rations.

"It is you, Sir, and your colleagues who do this to the poor of this land, by taking people and pushing them into the Bantustan resettlement townships. Your Deputy, the Hon. Mr. A. J. Raubenheimer, told Parliament (May 8) that the people were taken 'from gravel pits, from under trees and from everywhere'. Yes, I have been helping a family who had been picked up from a quarry near Queenstown. But to give the impression that the majority were thus 'saved' is grossly misleading. I am only too keenly aware that there is poverty not only in Dimbaza. There was poverty where they came from. However, the fact that they have been forced by White man's laws, and circumstances, to become refugees in their own land, hardly makes your Dimbaza rations an act of generosity. The truth surely is that you, Sir, are determined to remove Africans into Bantustans as cheaply as possible, even if it means confining them to lives of bare survival.

"Is not this violence of a subtle and insidious kind? May God have mercy on you, Sir, maybe you know not what you do.

"Yours sincerely in Christ's service, (The Rev.) David P.H. Russell"

## NAMIBIA, THE U.N., ET AL

United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was instructed in February by the Security Council to contact all parties and establish conditions leading to self-determination for the people of Namibia. The SG visited Namibia and South Africa in March and spent a week talking with South African Foreign Minister Muller in New York in May. Negotiations have been secret, excluding the UN's specifically-created Council for Namibia.

Namibia has been a problem and an embarrassment for the UN since the world body's inception: the tendency among member States is to get rid of the matter once and for all. The territory is wealthy with minerals beyond the counting, and a feasting ground for multinational corporations. Namibia is a buffer protecting the Republic of South Africa from African liberation movements. These interests converge to work at a gigantic rip-off at the expense of three-quarters of a million Namibians.

South Africa is frantically carving up Namibia into 'homelands' (it has promised 'full self-government' for Ovamboland next year) in an endeavor to divide the Namibian people at the very time that Namibian national unity - following last year's World Court decision and protests culminating in the strike of contract workers - is becoming a reality.

The scheme at the UN revolves around some kind of UN presence in the territory, an observer who could be circumscribed and manipulated by the South African overlords. To settle for an observer would lend the sanctity of legality to South African rule - which Pretoria desperately desires - and thwart the precious nationhood the Namibian people have struggled and sacrificed for for so long.

### THE HAPPY TREASURE HUNTING GROUND

The United States government has a policy to "neither encourage nor discourage investments" in South Africa. Yet, THE RAND DAILY MAIL reports, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the United States Geological Survey are cooperating with the South African government in an earth satellite mapping program this summer of that country's mineral and mining potential.

The editor of the American ENGINEERING AND MINING JOURNAL told the DAILY MAIL he believed South Africa was on the threshold of great mining developments. "I have been surprised at the number of foreign mining companies which have recently opened offices in Johannesburg. Mining corporations must now rate South Africa high on their list of countries in which to invest, because of its political stability as well as its wealth of minerals."

He goes on: "Mining ventures today cost hundreds of millions of Rands - as in the case of Botswana RST and Rio Tinto's Rossing uranium mine - and corporations are acting in multinational consortiums. I can see further ventures in South Africa with overseas companies participating financially, while South African companies provide management and mining expertise as well as finance. We will look at the total infrastructure for supporting large base minerals enterprises. We will also discuss the government's role in providing support facilities for the mining industry, its taxation policy and its forward planning."

Botswana RST is 30%-owned by American Metal Climax, Inc., the same US firm controlling 29.2% of Tsumeb Corporation in Namibia. Rio Tinto-Zinc is a British corporation operating the super-secret uranium mine at Rossing near Swakopmund, a seaside resort town in Namibia, which stands to make South Africa an independent nuclear power. Another indication of growing international interest in South Africa's - and Namibia's - vast untapped mineral wealth is the May visit to both countries by Aristotle Onassis. He was reportedly looking over prospects in diamonds and oil and he did go to Rossing.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has announced an investigation into the influence of multinational corporations on US foreign policy - inspired by the ITT affair and revelations with regard to Chile. Both Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman, and Senator Frank Church, who proposed the inquiry, should have letters from the American public urging that US business in Southern Africa be high on their list.

## DEAN FFRENCH-BEYTAGH

The Terrorism Act conviction and sentence of Johannesburg Dean Gonville ffrench-Beytagh was overturned on 14 April by a unanimous decision of the Appellate Division of South Africa's Supreme Court.

The dean was convicted last November in Pretoria Supreme Court of inciting violent overthrow of the South African government and of distributing \$70,000 from the banned Defence and Aid Fund. He had been given 5 years imprisonment by a judge sitting without jury, the lightest sentence allowable under the Terrorism Act (the maximum is death). The three-man appeals court found that the State had not proved the dean advocated violence and declared he had not been on trial for his political views.

Some will say the reversal of conviction is a triumph for justice in South Africa. The fact that a white church leader who is a British subject can be exonerated must be seen in conjunction with the conviction of 13 men who are not white in Pietermaritzburg, in the context of police detentions, torture, bannings without trial or judicial review, against a panorama of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children being uprooted and ghettoized throughout South Africa and Namibia by administrative decree. The dean's freedom is due to an expression of the remaining shreds of objective justice, fast disappearing under the onslaughts of a police state.

### A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

U.S. firms have close to a billion dollars invested in South Africa. Almost 300 corporations - their names are by-words - have interests, agencies and installations that bring them near fabulous returns. Public outcry and pressures in their home countries about American and other foreign enterprises in South Africa have caused them much embarrassment (even making such big shots as the chairman of General Motors to visit South Africa) and occasioned attempts to appear to better the life and livelihood of black employees, a multitude of pious announcements and in some instances rejection of plans to set up shop out there. Campaigns by churches, students, labor and black groups demanding corporate withdrawal increase without let-up and are having effect.

The whole empire of foreign investment in South Africa ties in neatly with apartheid and is dependent upon the use of low paid black labor. The South African regime has devised its system of stringent and constant control over the African people - the 'pass laws'. Over three hundred thousand Africans are arrested each year and whisked through the courts in 10-second, star chamber 'trials' for minor infractions in these 'pass law' documents. Rarely does any one have an attorney.

Dean ffrench-Beytagh visited the USA in May and June as the guest of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. He says: "No company is doing one one-hundredth of what it ought to for black workers". His work in providing funds for prisoners and their families and his own detention/court experience for this work have led him to propose one way to press American corporations in South Africa.

It works like this. An African employee doesn't show up for work. The company personnel manager immediately ascertains if he has been picked up for pass law violations. (There are usually plenty of witnesses - at bus stops, on street corners.) The company lawyers go at once to the police, who generally deny they hold such a person. The company lawyers go to a judge in chambers, say they have witnesses, obtain a court order, thus armed go bail the man out. He returns to his family and resumes work. The company lawyers appear for him at his trial before the Bantu Commissioner's court.

Since the pass laws are so all-encompassing, the man will probably be found guilty. The company must pay his fine (10 Rand for a first offense) or follow up with an appeal. The dean sees these procedures as snarling up the courts and stemming indiscriminate arrests of Africans - relieving one aspect - an utter catastrophe for people living so close to the poverty line - of the application of apartheid in their daily lives. Furthermore, the dean says the company's concern must extend to the black employees' wives, children and the wider family - uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, cousins - still a strong feature in African life.

## Few U.S. Concerns Aid Africa Blacks

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Aug. 18—Following the growing debate in the last year on American business involvement in South Africa, several United States companies operating in this country have increased pay and improved working conditions for their black employees.

But recent investigations also show that, out of some 300 subsidiaries or affiliates of United States corporations in South Africa, only a few—probably fewer than 10 per cent—are attempting to improve the lot of their black workers. The rest are largely content to slouch behind a curtain of apartheid restrictive labor laws that limit opportunities for black advancement in white industry.

### 'Any Amount You Wish'

"I doubt if some of them know, or care, that there's no law in South Africa that says you can't pay a black man any amount you wish," said Johan Ferreira, director of the South African Productivity and Wages Association. Mr. Ferreira's organization—privately sponsored by businessmen—has just produced a wage survey that shows that, out of about 1,000 companies, the lowest grade of black worker is being paid the American equivalent of about \$56 a month and 80 per cent are being paid about \$80, uncomfortably below the poverty line of \$115, estimated for an African urban family of five.

The Wages Association questioned about 8,000 companies throughout the country. They included, said Mr. Ferreira, a fair representation of overseas—mainly American and British—companies.

The result is far from impressive. But individually several United States companies have shown that they are aware of their responsibilities in South Africa and are trying to do something about them.

The Polaroid Corporation, one of the first to come under public scrutiny for its South African interests, has no direct subsidiary and therefore has no

employees of its own in the country but its local distributor, Frank and Hirsch, pays 150 Africans an average of about \$122 a month. Polaroid, and more recently, Pepsi-Cola, contribute some \$50,000 a year to educational funds for blacks.

### Assisted by Polaroid

Menasseh Moerane, the editor of a black newspaper owned by whites, and president of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans, which is a private organization run by black business and community leaders and is one of the organizations assisted by Polaroid, said:

"The feeling that a black man is a human being as well as an economic labor unit has begun. South African companies, you know, can get away with a lot of exploitation, but a competitive labor market is growing and even they will find one day that, if they don't pay their workers well and look after them well, they will have no workers at all.

"Now, American companies have their reputations to uphold and when someone gets beneath their guard and hits them where it hurts—at their corporate reputation—it stirs them into action and the black laborer is the one to gain by this. We need the interest and the criticism of the people in the United States. We need the involvement of American companies because we would be suffering without them. But we want them here to help and not to exploit us."

Shortly after the visit to South Africa this year of Rich-

and C. Gerstenberg, chairman of the General Motors Corporation, the company issued a statement saying that the hourly wages of G. M. South Africa's "colored" (mulatto) and black employees had been "increased substantially" and they had received wage increases averaging 32 per cent. It added: "While this represented significant progress, efforts are now under way to broaden the impact of this wage policy by upgrading non-white employees through intensified training."

### Other Workers Cited

G.M.'s employees were well paid both in relation to local standards of living and to workers in other industries in South Africa, said the statement. It went on: "G.M. believes its economic presence in South Africa is its greatest contribution to progress in this country. A recent comparison of other companies in South Africa with respect to employment, wage rates, employee benefits and educational assistance and training of their employees indicates that G.M. South Africa is in a leading position."

General Motors has stepped up its technical-training programs for non-white employees and has encouraged its black workers—who are forbidden by law to belong to trade unions—to build up a communication with the management through a "works committee."

The three biggest American companies in South Africa are the automobile manufacturers

—General Motors, the Ford Motor Company and the Chrysler Corporation—who employ some 13,000 workers between them and who are undoubtedly giving more attention now to pay, welfare and working conditions of their non-white employees. Although they are disinclined to cite precise figures, their hourly wage rates show that they are paying blacks an average of \$100 a month.

The Mobil Oil Corporation and the Caltex Petroleum Corporation are also high on the list of "verligte"—a Afrikaans-Dutch word meaning "enlightened"—companies who pay reasonably well, with a starting wage of about \$120, and who are constantly on the lookout for concessions in the labor laws that enable them to employ skilled or semi-skilled non-whites (when they can prove that whites are just not available, for instance).

A Mobil statement to shareholders last month defended its business activity in South Africa: "Over the long term, only economic growth can create additional jobs, more job mobility and greater opportunities for human advancement. And capital investment is the catalyst for economic growth."

In South Africa, the company follows a strict policy of equal pay for equal work, says the statement, with all positions evaluated in terms of a single salary structure.

### Average of \$247 a Month

I.B.M., South Africa, revealed at its June stockholders meeting that it pays an average of \$247 a month to its black employees—a figure that most businesses employing an appreciable number of blacks could not hope to match. I.B.M. employs 59 blacks. Three of them are of junior-executive status and one of them, Ishmael Tekane, is the concern's African personnel director and shares the services of a white secretary—probably the only situation in South Africa where a black gives orders to a white.

I.B.M. has already spent some \$30,000 this year on African benefits and development and could double this amount before the year-end.

I.B.M. and other companies, can produce impressive lists of benefits—bonuses, pension plans, subsidized meals and buying facilities, death benefits, medical aid, etc.—that were not established or certainly were not on a par with white benefits a few years ago.

But United States companies that do have this outlook are in the minority. Dudley Horner, a research officer of the private non-political South African Institute of Race Relations, who has completed a report on United States corporate investment and social change in South Africa, said:

"It seems that United States businessmen—and they are not alone in this attitude—adapt very easily to the South African situation and that they become conditioned to South African norms with facility.

"This would of course carry over into their labor policies and practices in South Africa."

The same situation apparently holds true for other foreign companies. Most British companies—and two-thirds of all foreign-owned assets are content to follow the norm in South Africa and therefore equally underpay African labor.

Mr. Horner points out that a market research survey carried out in 1968 showed that 35 per cent of American and Canadian businessmen based in South Africa at the time would have supported the apartheid Government if they had been eligible to vote.

The debate on American business in South Africa is far from ended and more United

States companies are finding they cannot ignore the realities of their position particularly as it is obvious that South African companies themselves are becoming increasingly aware of the need for a decent wage for the job.

"Local businessmen are working out specific programs for raising the prospects of employment and the productivity of blacks by adequate training—the gateway to better training and ultimately equal pay for equal work," says Mr. Ferreira.

## CHURCH UNIT ACTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

World Council to Liquidate  
Stocks to Set Example  
in Fight on Racism

Special to The New York Times

UTRECHT, The Netherlands, Aug. 22—The World Council of Churches voted overwhelmingly tonight to liquidate its financial stake in all corporations doing business with white-ruled African countries.

The decision, made by the council's 120-member policy-making committee, could oblige the church agency to sell off its entire portfolio of \$3.5-million in company stocks, the committee's finance unit said.

By its action the committee hoped to set an example for its 250 Protestant and Orthodox member churches in the fight against racism.

A council official said that a preliminary study indicated that the council's holdings in about 18 United States corporations would be affected by the sell-off.

The corporations were not named, but Baldwin Sjollem, head of the council's Program to Combat Racism, later identified the following concerns with investments in South Africa or Angola as being among those in which the council holds shares: Chrysler Corporation, the General Electric Company, the Polaroid Corporation, the Ford Motor Company, Monsanto Company, Squibb Beech-nut, Inc., Merck & Co., Inc., Atlantic Richfield Company, Burroughs Corporation, Black & Decker Manufacturing

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

## CHURCH UNIT ACTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

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Company, Halliburton Co., Johnson & Johnson, International Business Machines Corporation, Tenneco Corporation, Texaco, Inc., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Company, Upjohn Company, and Gulf Oil Corporation.

The committee followed up its action on shareholdings by decreeing that none of the council's funds were to be deposited in banks that "maintain direct banking operations" in the African countries with white governments.

The decision to liquidate the council's holdings in companies "directly involved in investment in or trade with" South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese African territories of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola, was meant to symbolize dramatically the group's "commitment to combat racism."

While not questioning this commitment, the central committee's finance unit opposed the decision to sell. The group noted that the sweeping terms of the decision would preclude investment in companies whose activity in the incriminated countries was only a very small part of their business.

### Other Strategy Suggested

The finance unit said that it was unconvinced that the refusal to hold shares in companies operating in these countries was the "most effective strategy of investment action in order to bring maximum pressure on the minority regimes in southern Africa."

It would have been better, the finance group argued, to bring pressure as a stockholder on companies with a view to getting desired changes in corporate policies.

Debate centered on a call the committee was asked to make on its member churches and on all Christians outside these white-ruled African countries to use their influence, including the sale of stocks, to get companies to break relations with such countries.

Black members of the committee strongly voiced the positions of the overwhelming majority when opposing moves by spokesmen of the Churches of Scotland and England to soften the proposed action.

These moves were aimed at first seeking a change in corporate policies in favor of "interracial social justice" rather than an immediate withdrawal of investments and a cutting-off of trade.

Jean E. Fairfax, a United States member who is a lawyer on the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said it was "naive" to think that the governments in the countries cited would permit companies to undertake racial reforms.

But the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Marshall, president of the Lutheran Church of America, and H. Ober Hess, a lay member of that church, both argued that stockholders could exert greater influence on companies by exercising their rights rather than by selling off their shares.

The proposals for the sell-off of the council's holdings and for action by individual churches and Christians were carried by a show of hands without a formal count.

The approval had been urged by the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the council's general secretary, who said it was in accord with earlier decisions by the organization's principal bodies.

Dr. Blake, an American Presbyterian who retires this year, has made the fight against racism a major council policy during his six years in office.

Council officials say that "hundreds of millions of dollars" are invested by the member churches. But they add that no precise estimates of the amount of these investments in companies involved with the African nations concerned can be given until studies have been made.

In another action as the 11-day conference neared a close, the committee agreed to double the council's fund for combating racism by raising it to \$1-million.

The committee said it "deplores" the bypassing by the United States of the United Nations embargo on imports of chrome from Rhodesia.

Approval was given to a policy statement calling for the "total withdrawal" of all United States forces from Indochina by the end of the year.

### Four Other Concerns Cited

A spokesman for the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ said in New York that a comparison of the stock portfolio of the World Council of Churches as of Dec. 31, 1971, and a United States Department of Commerce listing of companies doing business in South Africa, indicated that four additional corporations would be involved.

He listed them as the Insurance Company of North America, Control Data Corporation, the R.C.A. Corporation and the Xerox Corporation.

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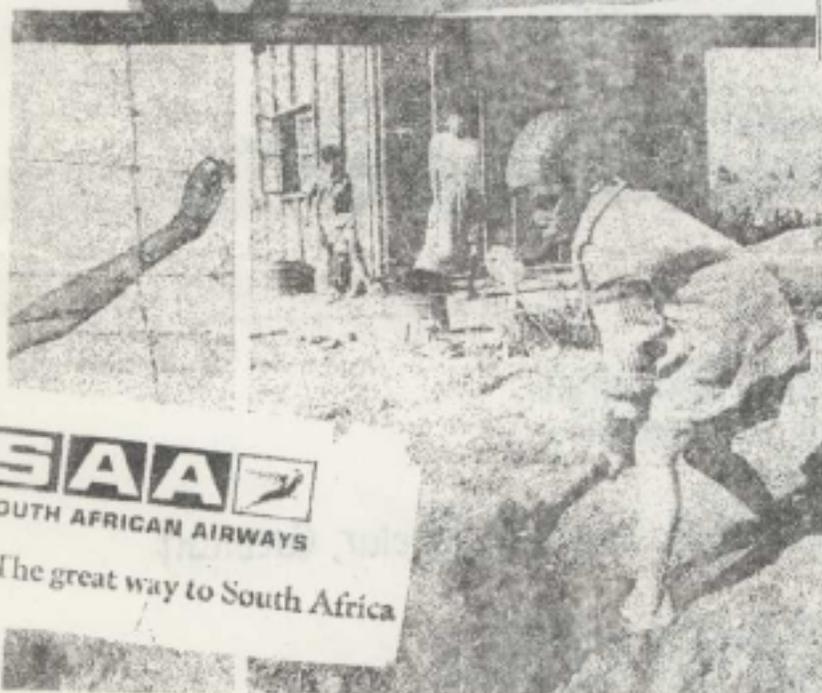
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